THE POLISH REVIEW AND EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

VOL. VIII

APRIL 22, 1948

NO. 6



Hands That See

By HENRY E. NILES

VICE PRESIDENT, THE BALTIMORE LIFE INSURANCE CO.

H AVE YOU EVER seen a blind child investigating a new automobile?

I will never forget the experience I had last summer at Laski, near Warsaw, Poland, where there is a school for blind children. I arrived at the school in a new Chevrolet belonging to the American Red Cross. Within a few minutes the car was surrounded by a group of children, boys and girls, who patted and stroked the car and chattered enthusiastically. Although they could not see the car they could feel its newness and cleanness. They smiled as they explored it, — smiled as a group of seeing children might who were looking for the first time at some exciting new model in this country.

And then a little boy, — he couldn't have been over six years old, touched a part of the bumper. His hands flitted over it. They were quick-moving, sensitive hands. It was as though they were not only feeling, but seeing. They took the place of his eyes. Suddenly he put his face down and tried to bite the metal bumper. I watched him — with a lump in my throat. I wanted to help him, but no one can give him his sight. We can give him help and he needs it.

I was in Poland as a representative of the Committee for Poland affiliated with the American Foundation for Overseas Blind. My duty was to find out whether the supplies sent by the Committee were getting through properly,

Please turn to page eight

POLAND SHOULD BE FREE

By HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
REPRESENTATIVE OF MASSACHUSETTS*

I N OUR CONFUSED postwar efforts to promote a just peace on earth, based upon the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations, there is no sorrier blot on the annals of history than the disgraceful betrayal of the smaller nations, particularly Poland, by the major world powers, including, I am unhappy to say, the United States.

The treatment of Poland is a problem which most Americans here, and millions abroad, regard as the test case of American resolve toward questions of international justice and that fair play among nations which alone can provide an enduring basis for peace.

You will recall that on the 3rd of September 1939, 3 days after Germany's attack on Poland, Great Britain declared war on Germany in accordance with her treaty to defend Poland's independence and territorial integrity.

You will recall further that on July 30, 1941, the day that the Polish-Soviet treaty was signed by General Sikorski and Ambassador Majski in London, Mr. Anthony Eden, then British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, handed to General Sikorski a statement which ended with these words:

"I also desire to assure you that His Majesty's Government does not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August 1939."

You also know that the Atlantic Charter, which was incorporated in the United Nations Pact of January 1, 1942, declared:

"Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

Free public opinion in all the countries which were signatories of this pact interpreted these phrases to be a guaranty by the United Nations, jointly and severally, of the independence and territorial integrity of Poland and the other small nations.

The basic pledge given during World War II to the fighting Polish Nation was that the common victory would bring full restoration of Poland's independence and its territorial integrity.

Neither the United States nor Great Britain have lived up to this pledge. In the three successive agreements reached at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam we scrapped the Atlantic Charter and all provisions of international law to become a party to the extinguishment of Poland's independence. The Polish people were forced, in a series of acts inspired by Soviet Russia, to accept a territorial settlement without being given any opportunity to express their views; the administration of Poland was given over to a group of Soviet officials sponsored by the Russian Government.

Shortly after the Polish elections were held, last January 19, 1947, the President of the United States himself declared that the so-called free and unfettered elections promised to the Polish people at Yalta and Potsdam, were carried out, under a rule of fraud, coercion, and intimidation.

The Honorable Arthur B. Lane, former United States Ambassador to Poland, declared publicly on April 3, 1947, that "he could no longer stay in Warsaw because his presence there might have been construed as an acquiescence to the rule of terrorism and oppression exercised by a Communist-dominated administration over the Polish nation."

The Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, President of the United States Senate, stated on January 29, 1947, that "a world war, which started on behalf of Polish liberty, could scarcely be considered adequately won until Polish liberty is something more than a rigged and terrorized election which defies every elementary concept of autonomy, self-determination, and democracy and which nullifies the most solemn pledge of which Britain, the United States, and Soviet Russia are capable."

All the leading United States authorities agree that Poland, the first nation to fight against the common enemy, has been deprived of its independence, sovereignty, and territory by one of the victorious allies with the consent of the other United Nations.

It is my considered opinion that the whole European dilemma cannot be brought to a satisfactory solution until the Polish question has been solved. If we fail to correct this original injustice, all our actions, based as they must be on that mistake, will be fraught with portentious implications for the future.

I believe that most Americans are daily becoming more concerned about the present fate of Poland, which stands in accusing testimony to our failure to live and act according to the principles for which our people have fought and died in two world wars.

It is increasingly apparent that we have not only sacrificed moral principle but also needlessly weakened our strategic and economic position in a confused effort to preserve by appeasement something of what was gained for all of us by force of arms. The American public realizes now that, particularly, with respect to Poland, the United States is suffering serious strategic set-backs and losses in prestige all over the world.

^{*} Excerpts from a radio address delivered over WORC, Worcester, Mass. in support of the Justice for Poland program sponsored by the Polish American Congress, Inc. Inserted in the Congressional Record.

POLAND FIRST -- OURSELVES LAST

BY RUPERT HUGHES®

Our intervention in World War I resulted in some of the most glorious pages of human history.

Poland became a republic. Professor Masaryk became President Masaryk, the Father of his country, Czecho-Slovakia. The stormy Balkan peoples were freed and united in a federation known as Yugoslavia. War is horrible; and yet without war there would have been no freedom for those peoples. Unless WE had fought, this country of ours would have lost its liberty, too.

World War I was called "the war to end war" — the war to 'make the world safe for democracy." World War II became the war to end democracy, the war to make the world safe for nobody.

The nation to be attacked first and to suffer worst was Poland. The Asiatic peasant Stalin, far more despotic than any Czar ever was, joined hands with the German fanatic, Hitler, the housepainter, who became far more despotic than the Emperor William had ever been.

Stalin and his partner, Hitler, openly avowed that they would first crush Europe, then crush their greatest hatred, the United States.

Together they turned their gigantic engines of war and their vast multitudes of men on the young republic of Poland. Cruel as Hitler was, Stalin was crueller, a more conscienceless liar and breaker of pledges, a wholesale butcher of his own people, as well as other peoples.

Poland was so soon overwhelmed that foreigners said she had no fighting spirit — until the other nations of Europe yielded even MORE quickly. Even Great Britain's armies soon lay bleeding and helpless on Dunkirk Beach. But Hitler was stopped there by the British fliers, the Royal Air Force, and with them thousands of Polish aviators.

Hitler turned on his fellow-brigands, Stalin, and would have destroyed him but for the help of the Americans. Stalin called himself our ally — which he never was. He took 6 billion dollars' worth of our supplies, and they saved him from being driven back into the Asia he came from.

All history can be ransacked in vain to find a more bloody butcher, a more perjured assasin. He rose from obscurity and poverty in the New Russia that Lenin and Trotzky had built. When Lenin fell ill, Stalin poisoned him, according to the charges that Trotzky made in the biography of Stalin he was writing when Trotzky himself was assassinated, after he had been driven into exile by Stalin. After that, Stalin purged Russia by the wholesale slaughter of the Old Revolutionaries and the building-up of slave-camps containing millions of helpless Russians, not to mention the millions of Poles and other peoples he enslaved.

The war ended and the peace-talks began. After World War I there was a wholesale building of republics. After World War II, our President flew all the way to Teheran and back, and again all the way to Yalta and back.

He returned both times with agreements long kept secret. When they were revealed, the world saw no new republics. It saw the infamous Stalin, whom we had saved from destruction, given a free hand in the enslavement of nation after nation, and the imposition upon them of Communist tyrants, stooges for the world-tyrant, Stalin.

Like Stalin, they had been allies of Hitler's in the early part of the war. In Yugoslavia, the great patriot, Mihailovitch, who fought against the Germans while Tito was fighting on their side — Mihailovitch was left to be captured and put to a shameful death by that Communist, Tito, while we looked calmly on.

We stood idly by while Stalin drove Polish patriots into exile, into slave camps or into their graves, and imposed on once-free Poland that mockery of Communist Quislings, the Lublin government. What is more, our government officially recognized that tyranny and gave it a vote in the United Nations.

The other day President Masaryk's son, seeing his beloved republic in ruins and in chains, leapt from a high window to his death.

Finland is next, and Stalin, grinning beneath his moustache, demands of it a military alliance to help protect Russia!

Today Poland is crushed, Czecho-Slovakia is crushed, Yugoslavia is crushed, all Eastern Europe is in bloody slavery and brave little Finland helplessly awaits her doom.

Shall we, too, await OUR doom? We are not helpless if we will arise and act — oh, not for the glorious sake of the freedom of other martyred peoples, but selfishly to save ourselves from the slavery WE have helped impose upon them.

Our helplessness is due to our own pacifists, and those traitors whom we allow to move among us, the American Communists, whom countless Americans defend while they prepare our ruin.

Henry A. Wallace has openly proposed that we give to Russia 16 billion dollars in addition to the 6 billion already given. And five or six million Americans want Wallace for our next President!

In China, the Communists are on the brink of complete conquest. That will give them the Pacific coast of Asia. The Eastern Russian boundary now is within 67 miles of our Western boundary in Alaska.

How much longer can we delay? It is upon our own heads that the blame must fall for the present misery of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and Finland.

We did not act when we could have saved them. There was a time when strong words — mere words from us — would have saved Poland. And in re-building the Polish republic, we could have saved Europe — and ourselves perhaps from the most horrible war that ever stained this globe.

Our American ambassador to Poland saw what we

Please turn to page nine

^{*} Condensed from the radio talk in Los Angeles, Cal.

Soviet Recklessness --- Pressure For Concessions

BY ANTHONY B. ATAR

In the atmosphere surrounding the present international crisis, opinion prevails that Soviet policy is unpredictable and that is impossible to detect its true plans. This writer was able to discover rather sensational evidence that would prove the contrary — evidence that also throws important light on the background against which the recent United States foreign policy is being formulated.

According to reliable information, in the latter part of February a mysterious and highly important Soviet dignitary arrived in Berlin directly from Moscow. He was carrying definite Kremlin proposals for a revision of American-Soviet relations and suggestions for a meeting of the heads of government of the Big Three. He appeared before Gen. Lucius Clay's political adviser and invited himself for lunch.

In the conversation that ensued, the Soviet emissary is reported to have stressed Soviet willingness to end "the nonsensical war of nerves" between the United States and Russia. He declared that the Soviet government fails to discover what are the real questions that make the Russian-American understanding impossible. According to Soviet views, there is only one question that constitutes a serious problem, the question of Germany. This is the country where the Allied armies met and where consequently various interests of the victorious powers clash.

To eliminate this friction, heads of the governments of the Big Three should meet in Berlin and again go over all questions left unsolved at the Potsdam Conference and consequently remaining dangerous.

The Soviet proposal was reportedly transferred immediately to Washington and the American answer given soon after. In general outline it is said to have run as follows:

- 1) The United States government is desirous of peace and welcomes all conversations that lead to peace. Nevertheless it wishes to stress that:
- a) President Truman long ago announced, that a meeting of the heads of the Big Three government would this time have to take place in America. This is required, since, in disregard of conditions of war and his own health, President Roosevelt went all the way to Russia for the Crimean Conference and this visit has not been returned by Stalin.
- b) The United States government shares the view that the state of American-Soviet relations is not good and is of the opinion that incessant attacks against the United States by Soviet diplomats, press and radio are largely responsible for that situation. The United States government does not consider that it is engaged in a war of nerves. America is as yet conducting no war and is certainly by no means losing its poise.
- c) American-Soviet disagreement is not restricted to the question of Germany. It is evident from numerous notes and protests of the United States government in the last three years, that outside of the German issue there are

many other problems which the United States government considers important. Thus, not only questions connected with the Potsdam Conference, but conditions both in Europe and Asia must be thoroughly reviewed and problems thus found must be taken as a basis for any renewed discussion.

Should the Soviet government decide to accept such a basis for discussions, namely: conversations on all existing problems, and agree to America as the place of the meeting, the United States government would suggest that before the heads of governments meet, initial negotiations between Soviet, American, British and French experts should take place, in order to determine the problems for discussion and establish points of agreement and disagreement. Only after this has been accomplished decisions by the heads of governments should be reached on the basis of the prepared ground, thus reversing former procedure, when decisions were taken first and their interpretation left for executives to work out.

It seems probable that President Truman's speech requesting American preparedness was largely aimed at strengthening the hand of United States diplomacy in view of the described Soviet proposals. No doubt the road to conversations has not been closed; however the issue of peace or war lies in Soviet and not in American hands. Recent Russian anti-American and anti-British moves around Berlin appear as expressions of Soviet stubborness and determination to force the United States either to make the decision of war or peace exclusively in Germany or to grant concessions.

This phase of the diplomatic conflict between the United States and Russia strongly resembles the methods Hitler used prior to World War II. He tried first to reduce the problem between Germany and the Western powers to the issue of Czechoslovakia, later to that of Poland and accused England and France of "encirclement" and "warmongering" once they insisted on discussing the entire aspect of Nazi aggression in Europe. The basic difference is, however, that in 1939 France and England were disarmed and Hitler knew it. Had they in those days been well prepared, Hitler might never have started a war.

Hence the importance of American strength now, when crucial negotiations are conducted with the Soviet Union. If Russia is made to realize that the United States is firm in its demands and considers freedom of all nations — irrespective of their geographical or economic importance — as foundations of her policy, the Soviets will back down. Falling for the Russian bait and trying a compromise, would only encourage the masters from the Kremlin to further recklessness.

ROLL BACK THE IRON CURTAIN

Demosthenes us Stalin

by Paul Super

Not long ago, reading the famous Orations of Demosthenes in which he sought to awaken Greece to the menace of the aggressions of Philip of Macedon, I was struck by the fact that if instead of Athens or Greece one read America, instead of Philip of Macedon, Stalin of Moscow, these eloquent pleadings of Demosthenes, delivered in Athens about 350 years before Christ, might well be delivered by an American congressman in Washington this very year.

Philip of Macedon rose to a position of great power when the three chief cities of Greece, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, were exhausted by their exertions of mutual war, their attention and energies were deeply engrossed by their interior troubles, and when they were desiring peace at any price of appeasement. The crafty Philip, King of Macedonia, skillful in war and devoid of scruples, was taking advantage of the Athenian absorption in its own affairs to commit aggression after aggression in the north, advancing the boundaries and influence of his own kingdom, seizing or destroying the cities and territories in alliance with or belonging to Athens, or facilitating approach to that city republic.

There you have the setting. Now for Demosthenes' arguments and the considerations he presented. The translation I am following is that of Thomas Leland, an edition of 1899.

Demosthenes' very first paragraph in the first Philippic pictures the scene in Washington, D. C., March 1948. "If they (the usual leaders) on former occasions had advised the necessary measures, ye would not have found it needful to consult at present." Now he begins his arguments:

"First, then, Americans! these our affairs must not be thought desperate; no, though their situation seems entirely deplorable." For the most shocking circumstance of all our past conduct is really the most favorable to our future expectations. And what is this? That our own total indolence hath been the cause of all our present difficulties." Yes, it is our indolence, our errors, our delays, our unconfessed mistakes (Yalta and Potsdam) that are the cause of our present upsetness, not our inherent weakness and incapacity. Now comes a very relevant passage, modernized as I have indicated:

"Why do I mention these things? (Our defeat of Hitler.) That ye may know, that ye may see, Americans! that if duly vigilant ye cannot have anything to fear. Witness the then powerful arms of Germany, which a just attention to your interests enabled you to vanquish; and this man's (Stalin's) late insolent attempt, which our insensibility to all our great concerns hath made the cause of this confusion."

"If there be a man in this assembly (Congress) who thinks that we must find a formidable enemy in Stalin, while he views, on the one hand, the numerous armies which attend him, and on the other, the weakness of the state thus despoiled of its allies, he thinks justly; yet, let him reflect on this: There was a time, Americans! when we possessed (as allies) Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and all that country round; when many of those states, now subject to him, were free and independent, and more inclined to our alliance than to his." But what about Stalin? "He knew this well, that all these places are but prizes, laid between the combatants, and ready for the conqueror; that the dominions of the absent devolve naturally to those who are in the field; the possessions of the supine to the active and intrepid. Animated by these sentiments, he overturns whole countries; he holds all people in subjection; some, as by the right of conquest; others, under the title of allies and confederates; for all are willing to confederate with those whom they see prepared and resolved to exert themselves."

What does Demosthenes then ask them to do? In a word "Chastise the insolence of this man." "For you are not to imagine that, like a god, he is to enjoy his present greatness forever fixed and unchanged. No, Americans! There are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly attached to his cause. - It is true, they lie concealed at present, as our indolence deprives them of all resource. But let us shake off this indolence. For you see how we are situated; you see the outrageous arrogance of this man, who does not leave it to your choice, whether you shall act or remain quiet but braves you with his menaces, and talks in a strain of the highest extravagance, and is not able to be satisfied with his present acquisitions, but is ever in pursuit of further conquests; and while we sit down inactive and irresolute, he encloses us on all sides with his toils."

"When, therefore, O my countrymen! When will you exert your vigor? When roused by some event? — Is it your sole ambition to wander through the public places, each inquiring of the other, 'What news?' Can anything be more new than that a man of Moscow should conquer the Americans, and give law to America?"

Now a few brief quotations where 400 pages of this remarkable material is available.

"Determine upon some effectual provision, that you may oppose Stalin not by decrees and letters only, but by actions."

"In the midst of these delays, what we are sailing to defend, the enemy is already master of."

"I do believe indeed, Americans! he is intoxicated with his greatness and does entertain his imagination with many visionary prospects, as he sees no power rising to oppose him, and is elated with his success."

"That he may appear as he really is, treacherous and false."

"All that I have observed, and all that I have heard, convince me that most of your misfortunes have proceeded from a want of inclination to pursue the necessary measures, not from ignorance of them."

Thus Demosthenes. Think it over.

Background Of The Murder Of Two Poles In Palestine

O^N THE 28TH of February 1948, Witold Hulanicki, former Polish Consul in Jerusalem, was called out for a conversation by a person representing himself as a representative of the Jewish organization, Haganah. On the afternoon of the same day, Stefan Arnold, former director of the Polish Telegraph Agency in Palestine, was abducted on the street. Both men lived in the Jewish section of the city. When on that same day, Jan Tabaczynski, who made his home with Arnold, asked the Jewish Agency for information about his friend, he was told that Haganah was not responsible for the kidnapping and that the whole affair was the work of the Stern gang. A search led to the discovery of the tortured bodies of both men. Each had several bullet wounds in the head. Each had his hands bound with cords that cut into the flesh, and the body of each showed marks of beatings. Shortly after the discovery, the directors of the Stern gang confessed to the crime, stating that it was the execution of a sentence passed on the two Poles "for their contacts with Arab bands."

The wide circle of these men's friends were shocked by the murder. Both men had close relations with the Jewish Agency. Arnold cooperated actively with its press section. Recently Hulanicki had in his own car taken salaries for Palestine officials who feared to go to their offices located in the Arab or mixed Jewish and Arab areas. Arnold fought anti-Semitism and sincerely sympathized with the Jewish national tragedy. The Jewish publication "Hoboken" published the hitherto unknown fact that Hulanicki had received a copy of a book by Stern, founder of that organization, with a cordial inscription by the hand of the author.

The universal condemnation of the crime resulted in an unexpected reaction on the part of the Stern gang. Its spokesmen declared that Jewish friends of Hulanicki and Arnold at one time worked with Poles and received pay from the Polish Government in London. "Therefore let them keep still!" Undoubtedly this referred to the employees of the Information Centre in Jerusalem, among whom were 14 Jewish journalists.

The murder of the Poles was not an isolated incident, but one of a whole series of attacks and acts of violence widely commented upon by the world press. Reacting to this violence, the responsible Jewish element openly attacked the Jewish underground, declaring that a third front would have to be formed in the Jewish fight for freedom, namely, a front fighting with Jewish anarchy and the Jewish underground. (The first front fights the Arabs, the second the British.)

The background of the Hulanicki-Arnold murder is composed of many elements.

1. The atmosphere in which the deed was committed was exceedingly tense and extremely anti-Polish. For months the Jewish press had been anti-Polish in its attitude, giving as its reasons the former Polish policy, the anti-Semitism supposedly prevailing in Soviet-occupied Poland, the anti-Jewish feeling supposed to exist among the men of General Anders' army, and lastly the charge of Polish

participation in Arab terrorist activities. The Jews assert that certain Poles are training the Arabs in the use of mechanized weapons and that they belong to Arab bands. Poles, in the opinion of lower Jewish circles, especially those of non-European extraction, are only a variety of Hitlerites who hate the Jews. "The Palestine Post" openly accused the Poles of cooperating with the British in an attack on the editors of this paper, resulting in the death of many Jews.

2. A second factor in the situation is the position of Polish refugees, among whom there is a small number, fewer than a hundred, of former Polish criminals, who got out of Soviet labor camps and into Palestine with the Polish army formed in Russia. This group, consisting of deserters from the Polish army, criminals and adventurers, had been tried and sentenced to concentration camps in Palestine on the initiative of Polish authorities while the constitutional government was still recognized by the West. While serving their sentences, which varied in length from several months to five years the Polish criminal element made close contact with the Palestine underground, with both the local Jewish and Arab. Certain Jewish leaders are well acquainted with this fact and make good use of it as anti-Polish propaganda.

3. But the most serious feature and one that plays the most important role in anti-Polish feeling in Palestine is the activity of local Warsaw puppet, Soviet, and Communist representatives. These groups demand that the British and Jews break officially with the "Anders men," calling the emigres Poles "reactionaries" and "fascists." The Warsaw puppets' representatives strive through hostile and slanderous propaganda to influence both Jews and Arabs against the Poles unwilling to return to Poland. They tell the Arabs that the Poles are conducting pro-Jewish activity and the Jews of pro-Arab Polish work. The Palestine underground Communist work is carried on in agreement with the Warsaw and Soviet Communists, has been strengthened recently by the arrival of Jews from the Soviet zone of Germany, and so becomes a sort of international pool of Communism supplying members for the International Brigade and paid Soviet agents.

The mission of the above-named groups is the destruction of independent Polish centers in Palestine. Until recent months this action has been confined to propaganda and warnings. Now it has been followed by acts of terror, as the murder of Hulanicki and Arnold, the publication of "black lists," etc. Thirty Poles have been condemned to die by the Stern gang on the charge that they have "contacts with the Arabs and British." Anti-Polish activity is carried on officially by the Soviets and Communists, who make use of Jewish terror organizations, especially the Stern gang, which they now dominate.

The growing anti-Polish activity in Palestine is undoubtedly linked with the general world situation and the Soviet preparation for war. The Communist fifth column is liquidating "inconvenient" persons, creating anarchy in im-

Please turn to page seven

Russian Cooperation?

When the russians offer to make concessions, Western governments now know that this is no indication of willingness to yield or cooperate but merely a maneuver calculated to enable Moscow to get out of an unfavorable situation in one spot while at the same time making possible real advance elsewhere. Stalin is not playing to lose but to gain.

During the war, he took but never gave; he demanded and got what should never have been granted. Since the war's end, Britain and America's highest officials have declared that Moscow not only refuses cooperation but is using every possible means to create world chaos in order to further Communist aspirations.

The boundaries of the present Red Empire are vast beyond easy comprehension. And at every point along that forever expanding line Moscow is prepared, if it thinks the time is ripe, to go into action, while beyond these boundaries its daughter Communist parties, its fifth columns, and fellow travellers are busy with subversive activities.

Concessions by Moscow? Rather a warning to the West to go on the alert. A withdrawal at one place, a concession, is merely a strategic or tactical preparation for swift advances at other points of the line.

DON'T COUNT BRITAIN OUT

THERE HAS BEEN altogether too much talk these last years about Britain's becoming an inconsequential factor in international life, even about the possibility of Britain not being able to survive. Admitted that she is not the military and naval power that she once was, that she is no longer protected by that narrow moat, the English Channel, separating her from a continent that is now being menaced with absorption into Asia. Geographically, Britain appears but a speck in the path of an oncoming invasion of a conqueror of Europe. But geography is not all, and sometimes geography is tricky.

If the present "cold war" between East and West should develop into armed conflict, Britain has significant assets to contribute to the Western fighting alliance. A dozen can be listed off hand.

- 1. The British are a tough people, extremely tough. They may bend but they do not break. When it looks as if nothing less than a miracle can save them, they cover themselves with glory, though at the same time with "blood, sweat, and tears." As a recent writer has well said, Britain remains intact when others fall.
- 2. Such a nation is naturally a rallying force for all likethinking European peoples. And nothing is more infectious than moral example and leadership.
- 3. Britain can subsidize other nations resisting aggression and immensely increase their effectiveness in the fight.
- 4. Stalin, when he once starts, must keep driving ahead. Britain can do as it always has done hang on and hang on until the other hangs himself through his miscalculations and errors.
- 5. Britain is a nation of mechanics, knowing how to use iron, steel, coal, steam, and electricity, and the art of converting raw materials into what is needed.
- 6. The British are as much at home on the sea as on land. And no matter what form future war may take, it is fully recognized that ships and sailors will be indispensible.
- 7. Located on the circumference of a great land area. Britain is in a strategic position for attack on the great land mass.

- 8. That location and the fact that it is an island make Great Britain a natural vast anchored airplane carrier and military base of inestimable value.
- 9. British industrial equipment, to the improvement of which so much thought is now being given, can and will play its role in any future conflict.
- 10. British brains and brawn know how to make good use of any lend-lease equipment we would send them to make up where they are short.
- 11. Britain is the heart of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and although they are free to go their way she has tremendous influence upon the Dominions. She is still the mother nation, and as such commands respect and prestige. Name over the members of that Commonwealth Canada, Australia, New Zealand. Union of South Africa and consider what assets in the way of man-power, money, distribution, and resources they bring in time of war. It is still the old lioness with the cubs, though the cubs are grown.
- 12. And still not lastly, Britain has a long history, tested character, and an indomitable will to win. These are moral assets which, intangible though they be, are of incalculable worth, as an immoral and aggressor government bent upon conquest is very certain to discover.

Background of the Murder of Two Poles in Palestine

Continued from page six

portant strategic and political areas, hampers the freedom of all movements hostile to the Soviets and prevents freedom of decision.

Hatred of the Poles existing in certain Jewish circles and the lack of counter-action on the part of responsible Jewish organizations play into the hands of the Soviets, facilitating and aiding greatly the activities of the Warsaw puppet and Soviet agents. Even Jews using Polish passports

Please turn to page fifteen

Hands That See

BY HENRY E. NILES, VICE PRESIDENT, THE BALTIMORE LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Continued from Page One

and to report on what additional help was most needed from the Committee. In addition, I had permission from the Polish government to take motion pictures of the work for the blind and of the ruins of Warsaw. Those ruins tell graphically the way many of the children were blinded.

I am glad to report that all material sent by the Committee was then and is still getting through. Sometimes it was delayed for several months apparently due to transportation difficulties. It is easy to imagine how these arise when you learn that at the end of the war there was not a single locomotive in running order in the whole of Poland.

I visited Laski several times and I talked with many persons with a wide variety of background and present duties. My personal, on-the-spot observation was confirmed by the opinion of all with whom I talked, — Laski is doing outstandingly fine work for the blind. It needs more equip-

ment of practically every sort as there are hundreds of blind children who need the care the institution could give but who are not there because of lack of living quarters, equipment and teachers. During the uprising, there had been much fighting between the Germans and the Underground in the buildings of Laski and in the surrounding woods. Practically every building showed some damage, and some were ruined. The equipment for teaching the blind had been destroyed, much of it burnt, some of it apparently maliciously ruined. Some building was going on while I was there last July and I understand that by fall about 50 more children had been added to the 130 odd who were there last

spring. But there were about 800 applicants on the waiting list and many more whose names were not even listed.

The Council of the Society for the Protection of the Blind which runs the institution at Laski, is composed overwhelmingly of lay persons, most of whom have had over fifteen years of work with the the blind. Much of the work of the institution is done by Franciscan nuns who, having taken vows of poverty, do not get paid for their work. I was impressed by their cheerfulness and the way in which they would often play with the children. Not being a Catholic myself, I had had the impression that nuns were always very sedate and reserved, but many of those at Laski showed an outgoing personality to the children.

The Society at Laski arose from the blindness of a Polish noblewoman, Mother Elizabeth Czacka, who in 1910 discovered that she was going blind. Her doctor told her that he could not cure her. He suggested that in her remaining years or so of sight she should study what work was being done for the blind and then organize similar work in Poland. She took his advice and this led to the founding of the Society for the Protection of the Blind. Its constitution provides that it will give aid to the blind without discrimination on account of age, sex, or creed. It seeks to give aid in two major ways:

1. By providing medical care, sustenance, legal advice, entertainment, and spiritual and material help for the blind, sick and infirm.

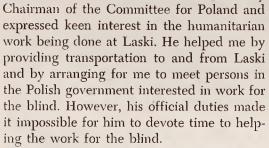
2. By training the blind, especially children, to become partially or wholly self-supporting through learning a trade or pro-

tession

Laski is the major center of work now being carried on by the Society. The war destroyed or removed from Poland some of its prewar properties.

There were many relief agencies operating in Poland when I was there last summer. I was impressed by the excellent way in which their work was coordinated through the Council of Voluntary Agencies in Poland. Its English secretary and his staff acted as a clearing house for requests for aid in order to prevent duplication of gifts and to see that the most effective use was made of the material available.

Mr. Stanton Griffis, American Ambassador to Warsaw is Honorary



Various other institutions in Poland help the blind, but Laski is doing the outstanding work and is by far the largest of the private institutions.

Think for a minute how it would feel to be blind yourself, — or to have your own child blind. If you could see the children at



With hope undaunted.

Laski as I did, I feel sure that you would wish to help. They need clothes, and funds for equipment, for soap, and for food.

Mr. Henry E. Niles is Vice President of the Baltimore Life Insurance Company of Baltimore, Maryland. He visited Poland in July 1947 as a representative of the Committee for Poland, which is affiliated with the American Foundation for Overseas Blind. Mr. Niles was in Europe as a representative of his Company at the 8th International Congress at Stockholm, Sweden and flew to Poland after the Conference.

POLAND FIRST — OURSELVES LAST

Continued from Page Three permitted to be done there — what we con-

nived at. He was so horrified that he resigned

his office and his career, after thirty years in the State Dept.

Every American ought to read his newly published book "I Saw Poland Betrayed." For "betrayal" is the word. As a fiercely patriotic American, I blush to confess that our great nation betrayed Poland.

And in that abandonment, our leaders betrayed OUR nation, too.

I have hardly touched on the horrors of these terrible, these ominous days we are living in.

Two books have just been published of such eloquence in dealing with the ghastly facts that I can only beg you for your own soul's sake to read them and learn the truth. For the truth alone can make you free and keep you free.

One of these books is the magnificent work of our ex-Ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, and it is called "I Saw Poland Betrayed."

The other is a book by an English woman who became a Communist and lived in Russia, and toiled for the Communists until their butcheries and treacheries to their own helpless, benighted people sickened her. She married a Russian Jew, who was a faithful, devoted Communist, but he too, was condemned. She managed to escape alive with their son and to write of her hideous experiences. Buy and read "Lost Illusion" by Freda Utley.

This book will tell you how Stalin and his gang have crushed and slaughtered their own people. It will make you know how they would treat US if once they gained power here. The other book, "I Saw Poland Betrayed," will teach you how Stalin treated a Nation once called his ally. We helped betray Poland. There are in our nation now thous-



Blinded-mutilated war victim one among tens of thousands of Polish children, yet lucky. He found a home at Laski.

ands of American Communists who are doing their utmost to betray us into the power of their own infamous, merciless master, Stalin.

If we act now, before Russia gains her full strength and entrenches herself impregnably upon the bloody soil of Poland and the other nations she has crushed, we can save, not only them, but ourselves, and the world.

Is this, or is this not, the land of the free and the home of the brave? One thing is sure — as sure as fate — if we are not brave we shall not long be free.



Rebuilt in 1947 by the Sisters, the children and the staff, these buildings need the furnishings and equipment to accomodate the children desperately awaiting admission.



These children learn to read.

Č

Starting from the ruins.

Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 181, April 15, 1948

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

pushed these days for all it is worth. The Communist who now serves the Soviet-imposed government of Czechoslovakia as premier, Klement Gottwald, makes that idea the chief note in his letter of April 3 to the National Czech Youth Association: "We are no longer small and weak," he writes. "With the mighty Soviet Union and the other Slav peoples we are nearly 250,000,000. Together with the Socialist Soviet Union and other people's democratic state we stand on the top of the world's history, on top of the world's progress as builders of the higher and more humane regime of the Soviets."

Pan-Slavism is a theme that Slavic nations are hearing about at every turn. But the peoples are not fooled. They know well that Stalin, himself not Slavic, cares nothing whatever about the unity of peoples because of racial kinship; that he is using Pan-Slavism as a handle to get control of them. As for Poland, it has throughout the history of the Pan-Slav effort been accused of being traitorous to the Slavic idea because it chose to accept Western civilization and Western faith. And it is certainly well understood by this time even by the West that has done its best to throw Poland into the East that the real Poland wants none of Pan-Slavdom.

The Slovaks have not been in the news much of late but that is no indication of Slovak acceptance with resignation of the rule that has been forced upon them, even if certain renegades among their people play leading roles in the "new" Czechoslovak regime. They have fought the Communists with every means at their disposal, and continue to do so, remaining a small but stubborn stronghold of truly freedom-loving people in their corner of Central Europe. This passage from the leading Slovak paper in America sums up the present situation: "The Slovaks, even now, look to the United States as their only hope of salvation, the only power still able to free them from the Red bondage they were thrust into by Benes and his stooges and Stalin's fairhaired boy Gottwald. They have had their fill of Magyars and Germans, Czechs and Russians. They want only the stuff that America is made of: freedom - independence democracy..."

East Prussia was in large part "given to the Soviet Union" by people to whom it had never belonged, who knew very little of its history, and cared nothing much what became of that corner of Europe. But the inhabitants of that land do care. The northeastern section of East Prussia has always been Lithuanian in character and population. Read a paragraph or so from a letter signed Michel Tolischus that recently appeared in a Lithuanian Bulletin. It begins: "Please permit me, as a former member of the Council of Lithuania Minor (in Western Germany), to express

to you the aspirations of my fellow nationals in northern East Prussia (Lithuania Minor) regarding the transfer of sovereignty and the future destinies of that area... Russia never ruled any part of East Prussia, including the Memel District. There never was and there is not any aboriginal Russian or, for that matter, Slavic population in northern East Prussia. Russia never provided any economic traffic or business for that area. Russia has no conceivable economic, political, cultural, ethnographic or religious community with the aboriginal population of the area. Russia can claim no other interest in that area — except to cut off the Baltic States from the rest of Europe, to dominate the Baltic Sea, to stifle the political and economic freedom of all of the Baltic coastline and to erect a bridgehead for its aggressive designs against the rest of Europe...

"The Lithuanian population of East Prussia aspires to join their ancestral homeland in a free and independent Lithuanian State... Under no circumstances would they countenance the forcible seizure of their homeland by Russia — be it the Communist, a tsarist, atheistic or Orthodox Russia. They are deeply attached to their soil, to the graves of their ancestors, to their Protestant Evangelical religion, to their Lithuanian language customs, and ways of life. Members of the Western civilization for centuries, ...this people should not be doomed to extinction under the atheistic Russian despotism. After all, genocide is an internatonal crime."

Genocide, you may remember, was the subject of a protest and an appeal by the Baltic exile committees to the United Nations some months ago. It got very little attention from the delegates to that body, none of those from the powers mentioning it and only those from the Union of South Africa and El Salvador gave it so much as passing notice. But even that little roused the wrath of the Soviet delegate Gromyko. "...apparently these documents are written by some traitors and quislings to their own people," he said, speaking before the General Assembly on Nov. 21, 1947. "These documents were written by traitors who have found refuge under the wing of Americans. The representative of El Salvador, and several others who share his views, are well aware that workers, peasants, professors, and clerical workers and all other workers in many countries are only allowed to dream of the rights which are at the disposal of all workers in the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republics..." Wonderful!

Denmark, according to reports in Swedish papers which bear the marks of reliability, has reason to call upon its citizens to be alert for subversive activities. The Soviets are charged with landing arms at various points on the Danish coast, most of such activity centering at spots not far from the Soviet zone of Germany. Witnesses of foreign planes dropping large packages have also appeared, while

from the island of Bornholm, which the Russians occupied for a time at the close of the war without any reason for so doing, comes the news that under cover of darkness or fog, heavy trucks move arms landed there into the thickly forested center of the island.

The Finnish-Soviet treaty will secure no more protection for Finland when the hour comes that the Soviets decide to move, than similar treaties have provided other satellite countries. Moscow observes treaty provisions just so long as they are convenient for Moscow, Stalin having, like Hitler, frankly stated that such was the reason for making treaties. And the Finns know it. Consequently, as many persons as can are getting out of Finland any way they can, 40-50 escaping across the Swedish frontier nightly. Heretofore the fugitives have been largely of other nationalities than Finnish, but now the Finns too are despairing of retaining any semblance of independence and trying to get away while crossing the frontier is not impossible. The border police have become very active and many arrests are made each night.

These fortunate enough to reach Sweden arrive exhausted, "in many cases having crossed the frozen Botnian Gulf (25 miles) in the icy blast of the north wind. The local authorities are preparing for a still greater stream of fugitives in the coming weeks." The people of northern Sweden are depressed and worried, feeling that if trouble comes they are sure to be involved. As for commercial life between Sweden and Finland, there is no longer any thought of it.

Commenting on the German situation, a Polish reporter in Frankfort writes that the Soviets rose in the opinion of Germans when they took over Czechoslovakia. Not that there is any German love for Moscow. They still hate the Soviets but as always they are impressed by strength and technical efficiency, and especially by results and boldness of action. Moral considerations do not enter into the matter. The Western states, with their outcries and protests, appear ridiculous and weak. The Germans take satisfaction in seeing the Czechs brought low, recalling Czech action with regard to Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia after that country's "liberation."

And as usual the Soviets were profiting from such a German reaction, having ready General Sokolowsky's Order No. 35, putting an end to the "denazification process" and opening the way for recruiting former workers with Hitler for work with the Communists. Recruiting was not left to take care of itself but conducted under the direction of Soviet organizations. The vice-president of the SED (Social Unity, Communist) Party issued an appeal to former Hitlerites, in all zones. The son of former Reich president Ebert was sent to Frankfort and other places in the Western zones. The already vicious anti-American and anti-British attacks were increased, over the air and in the press. At the same time, preparations were under way for the People's Congress which was held March 18, and which the Soviets expect to be the nucleus from which will develop a government of all Germany, a Germany under Soviet control.

The people of Poland have resigned themselves to having more and more restrictions placed upon them as long as they are under the present regime or any other dictated to by Moscow. A report of recent date tells of fears that

the collective farm system is to be introduced on a large scale in the autumn. County and township committees of the Communist and Peasant Parties, say persons who have lately crossed the frontier, have received secret instructions concerning propaganda they are to conduct among the smallholders, especially those who were granted plots according to the "rural reform" of 1945-46, urging them to establish rural cooperatives, tool cooperative ownership, likewise of draft animals and livestock.

Use of the words "collective farm" and "state farm" is carefully avoided. But the propaganda aims at convincing the peasant that large farms worked by a group are much more profitable than small plots individually managed; that when several or "several scores" of families work together, they can "live like gentry." The peasants are depressed but determined not to give in. In many places they say they will defend their rights with arms, that they will burn their entire property before they will yield to collectivization.

Private enterprise daily loses hold in Poland. The State Trading Centers — which buy from the producers and sell to consumers — have been in operation for some months in a few cities and now are to be increased by 215 new ones, of which 99 will be under direct State management, 116 in the hands of Communist commercial groups. Since State authorities fix both buying and selling prices it is not difficult to understand that in time it can force every producer and merchant to do the regime's bidding.

Discussion of Polish political parties is out of date. I have written many months ago that only facades of any party except the PPR (Polish Workers — Communist) existed, and that those facades were kept for use in courting gullible Westerners. The mask is now being discarded in all Eastern and Central Europe. Moscow says all the territory it occupies or dominates is Communist, and that is all there is about it.

Polish youth is receiving much attention from the regime just now, and Bierut has appointed a Central Youth Council of 22 members. This Council will be in control of all Left youth organizations, it will prepare regulations for rapid training of youth for military duties and for participation in the fight for the "people's democracy." Special political commissars will be attached to every youth detachment, and these men will look after political instruction. Youth is now being enrolled for the "Service of Poland" organization training this summer, uniforms have been ordered, camps are being prepared, and work outlined. It should be remembered that the State stands to get unpaid labor from some 75,000-80,000 young people this summer, under the guise of training for patriotic service.

Anybody who works with the Communists has to undergo special training. In Poland the lawyers and the judges had 8-months courses. Naturally the party "activists" have strict though brief instruction courses. Now it is the turn of the journalists to learn the correct ideology of the "new Poland." They must acquaint themselves with the role a newspaper must play in establishing Communist conditions in their native land. The first of such courses was given in March of this year, and those who profited from it will have the way to journalistic success made easy for them.

Please turn to page fifteen

SOVIET JUSTICE*

A Review by Andrew Corvin-Romanski

THE GREATEST CREDIT is due to the authors of "Soviet Justice" for their authoritative and unprejudiced book. Messrs. Mora and Zwierniak's work gives an illuminating survey of little known domains of Soviet life and has considerable informative value.

The principles of Soviet justice are entirely different from those accepted in other countries. In a popular but thorough manner, the authors trace briefly the main trends of Russian judicial theory and practice. Justice in the USSR is conceived as an instrument of class struggle in accordance with Lenin's pronouncement that "law is a means of power of proletarians and labouring peasantry." Soviet jurists do not profess that the ascertainment of truth is their aim, and they do not even pretend to be impartial. The purpose of Soviet justice, as defined by Art. 2 of the Constitution, is... "to protect the Socialist State of Workers and Peasants." This clearly implies that Soviet Russia has broken with the principle of the independence of the law courts, subjugating them to the State.

Collective responsibility is not only applied in practice, but it is also officially sanctioned by the law. The authors prove this by quoting art. 58/1c of the Penal Code of the Russian Federal Republic:

"If a member of the armed forces escapes abroad, the adult members of his family, if they helped him... in preparing his escape or committing treason, or if they knew about it, and did not denounce him... are to be punished by deprivation of freedom for five to ten years and the confiscation of all their property.

"The remaining adult members of the traitor's family, who lived together with him or were supported by him, are liable to be deprived of their civic rights, and to be deported to the distant regions of Siberia for a period of five years."

In the environment of Akmolinsk exists a whole network of concentration camps for women, designed for so called "wives." The expression "wife" signifies a category of crime. Women imprisoned there belong to the families, mostly wives, of the Trotskyists, and they were condemned on the basis of the "collective responsibility" rule.

Another unique feature of the Soviet legal system consists of *Judgment by analogy*. The relevant article of the Penal Code (art. 16) states that "if... a socially dangerous act is not provided for by the Code, then... responsibility must be ascertained according to other articles... which envisage crimes of a similar kind."

The Soviet law operates retroactively as is illustrated by art. 58/13 which declares that "an activity directed against the working class and the revolutionary movement, exercised under the Tsarist regime or under the antirevolutionary governments... is subject to the measures of social defence..." (from three years imprisonment to the death penalty.)

In this spirit, a Soviet Commissar for Internal Affairs in Kaunas, the capital of Lithuania, invaded in 1939 by the Red Army, issued on the 28 November 1940, Order No. 0054 in which he listed the "anti-Soviet elements" under ten categories and numerous sub-categories. All persons who had *ever* had any personal relations with foreign legations or consulates, or maintained correspondence with such, as well as philatelists and esperantists were set down as anti-Soviet elements, to be imprisoned or deported.

His order was legal from the Soviet point of view, because Russian legislators claim the right to judge and punish *citizens of any other state* for deeds committed in their own countries and directed, according to the Soviet conception, against the interests of the working class. (Art. 58/4)

The same crime may be punished more than once in the USSR. For instance, the well-known Bolsheviks Kamieniev and Zinoview, accused in 1934 as accomplices in Kirov's assassination, sentenced to death and pardoned, were in 1936 again charged with the same crime, and on that occasion were executed.

A law becomes valid in Russia without being published and brought to the cognizance of its citizens. The administrative apparatus of justice is based on secret codes and instructions. There is no distinctly drawn demarcation line between a law and an administrative decree. It is up to the administrative authorities to decide whether a particular case should be tried by an administrative or regular court. If the first course is chosen, the accused is judged and condemned in secret by "Osso" (Osoboye Sowieszczanye), without any chance of defence or appeal. The verdict specifies no reason and mentions only the article of the Penal Code, by virtue of which it was pronounced. "Osso" cannot pass a sentence of more than eight years' labor camp, but it can at any time extend the prisoner's term for another three, five or eight years. Four-fifths of the political cases come before this secret court.

One of the most important points in which Soviet justice differs from Western legal notions is the Middle Age assumption of guilt. Soviet jurists hold to this idea as if it were a fundamental canon of their legal system.

Concluding their account of the theory of Soviet justice, the authors describe judiciary methods, the organization of the courts, the technique of arrests and investigations, conditions in prisons and labor camps. The text is interspersed with anecdotes and stories characteristic of the psychology of prisoners, but the authors never give play to their own feelings. The appaling facts about the inhuman treatment of prisoners, especially women and children thus calmly presented, to make a particularly strong impression. All data

Please turn to page sixteen

^{* &}quot;Sprawiedliwość Sowiecka" (Soviet Justice") by Sylvester Mora and Piotr Zwierniak, published by the Polish Army in Italy, 1945, 275 pages.

OBSERVATIONS

By PERIVIEW

THIS COLUMN is for Gen. Eisenhower for president — of Columbia University. I hope he continues to agree with that point of view.

As a general policy think about this: Western unification backed by both North and South American resources. $-\!\!\!\!-\!\!\!\!-\!\!\!\!-\!\!\!\!-$

More and more as we near our war with Russia we realize the immense role South America can and must play in that conflict, and, of course, as an important player on our side.

The American method of meeting Russian insults, insolence, and imperialistic aggression is to call a meeting. But one of these days we will change policy and call a bluff.

The main facts of the murder of the 4,243 Polish officers at Katyn in the spring of 1940 are now established. That mass murder was definitely a Russian job. Even the names and the rank of those who did the murdering are known. Those who maintain that it was a German job have not a leg to stand on.

Just when did Joe Stalin become immortal? Or those other two, Molotov and Vishinsky, who with Stalin form the three evil spirits that plague the world? How beautiful Death looks when we think of the grim reaper approaching the czar of all the Communists.

I know of no man in America more deeply and sincerely concerned about the fate of the Polish "Displaced Persons" than Ignatius Nurkiewicz of Brooklyn. It is not the policy of this column to puff individuals but that quiet man is devoting so much time and thought and money to those sadly oppressed and disowned people in Europe that this column rises, stands at attention, and salutes him.

I commend the following firm to the F.B.I. and the Committee to Fight Communism. If we could control these termites for a guaranteed period of 5 years, that would about end them; or at least put an awful crimp in their destructive activities. "Termite Control — Five Year Guarantee — Disinfecting and Exterminating Corp. 421 W. 126th St., New York 27, N. Y."

If anybody in this man's town thinks he dislikes Spain's Franco more than I do, let him raise his voice and I will raise my ante. But remember this: We backed Joe Stalin against Hitler, and by that same token of national interest I am prepared to back Franco against Stalin. With this difference. With brazen brutality we gave Stalin half of Poland as a bribe to fight Hitler, I have not heard of our offering France half of anyone's land or any part of it to fight Stalin.

With great pride we, the United States, announce that we do not recognize Stalin's seizure of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. But this column in deep shame announces that we the United States not only recognize Stalin's seizure of Poland but at Yalta helped give it to him. We strain out the gnat but swallow the camel.

Vera Micheles Dean is stepping on it. She now not only defends Russia as always right but supplies Molotov with ideas as to how to be even more right. Molotov, never very clever, only crafty, would do well to put her on his staff.

A basic question, elevated to high prominence during the

past 35 years is this: Does man exist to serve the state or does the state exist to serve man? Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin say that people exist merely to serve state purposes; hence slave labor, the police state, and all forms of political tyranny. But, Christianity and democracy regard the state as the agent of man and as existing to serve his needs. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." Dictators or democracy. For believers the question is Christ or Communism. Where will you throw your weight?

In the advertisements and propaganda of the Russian state the wells and pipelines of Russian economy belong to the people — but in practice they get none of the oil, only the toil.

A little over 100 years ago Henry Clay and fellow Whig orators made much use of the phrase "the twin powers of the purse and the sword." Our current discussion of the Marshall Plan is showing it to be only half a twin — the purse half. Now we are beginning to discuss the potent twin of the purse — the sword. And how and when to use it in China, Korea, Iran, Europe, and a lot of places.

Let us consider Lincoln's most famous political speech, that made at Springfield, Ill., June 16, 1858, his "house divided" speech, changing his word "government" in the first line to "world," to fit the situation of today. "I believe this world cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. — It will become all of one thing, or all the other." That is the heart of the U.S.A.-Russia war today. All their system or all ours. I vote for ours, knowing each kind well.

"The law of brute force which now crushes Europe," wrote a great American scholar shortly after the crushing of the Polish uprising of 1831. The law of brute force. There is none other east of the Iron Curtain. But there is a higher though more silent power that Stalin will yet have to heed, and that if he forces the issue with us will crush him and all his works; the vast resources of our superior American economic power marshalled for war.

April 13 is Thomas Jefferson's birthday. He was born in 1743. More and more all of us of all faiths are turning to the writings of that great American for political guidance and philosophy in the area of democratic thought and action. Here are a few of his sentences which ring the bell with me: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Cerator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." How brutally Russia violates these noble principles, and that great phrase which precedes the above clauses, "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," which Russia so obviously has not.

In these tense days one may well pause and ponder a clause of Jefferson's in his "Notes on Virginia" — "to respect those rights in others which we value in ourselves." Later in those Notes we see how strong Jefferson was for keeping the power of government really in the hands of the people. He wrote, "An ELECTIVE DESPOTISM was not the government we fought for." The italics are Jefferson's. But quoting Jefferson in this brief way is like deciding which five of a thousand dollars you want. You want them all.

INFORMATION OUT OF THE BALTICS

The RIGA RADIO appears to be highly esteemed by Moscow as a propaganda medium. If Latvians care to listen, and understand the Russian language, they cannot complain of neglect by the Soviet propaganda section. They are given speakers with big names, too — in the USSR. Take, for example, a broadcast of Feb. 23 of this year, by the Deputy for Latvia in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, General Bagramian, Hero of the Soviet Union, noting that a Russian represents Latvia in that body:

"In the capitalist countries the armies exist for the usurpation of power in other countries... The American army does all it can to support the reactionaries in Greece, Turkey and China in their war against the people... The British and the Americans fight for the division of Germany, as their aim is to turn it into an American colony... During the recent war the Bolshevik Party turned our whole country into a fortress... The victories of the Soviet Army have brought freedom and independence to the nations of Europe and Asia. British and American reaction is threatening this freedom and the freedom-loving nations turn their eyes towards the Soviet Union. The power of the Soviet Union frightens and enrages world reaction which is preparing to stir up a new war. But the Soviet Union unites all the democratic forces of the world..."

The General-Deputy was able to keep this up for 27 minutes. Since the people of Latvia know from first-hand experience how utterly false is the boastful talk about the USSR, let us hope that they put all that is said by propagandists about the West in the same category. If such be the case, it is the West, not the Soviet Union, that is being helped by all this fine oratory.

But it is time we ourselves were doing something to regain the position we undoubtedly lost with the small nations through our immoral acts or lack of action. The Estonian Minister to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark states what we all know - that "the small nations have lost their faith in the willingness of the Western powers to defend the principles they so solemnly declared to be sacrosant to them. They have seen how the principles of freedom and democracy have been trampled underfoot without any reaction from the Western powers, except for the notes of protest mostly turned into ridicule by the Soviet satellite governments. The small nations have seen how every Soviet act of violence has at last been tacitly recognized by the Western powers. In the throes of death, the small nations have not even received any moral encouragement from them, not to mention material help... The result is a deep resignation...

"There is only one way to restore the faith of the world in the principles of freedom and democracy and that is the restoration, first of all, of the moral strength of the Western powers. These powers must show that they refuse to bargain when it is a matter of principle. Only the non-recognition of every kind of violence done to these principles will convince the nations of the world that they are not being cheated by the great powers. Therefore the first thing to do is to declare that the great powers do not recognize the pup-

pet governments in the Soviet sphere of influence... The logical consequence of this withdrawal of recognition is discontinuance of diplomatic relations with these puppet governments. The moral victory achieved by this step would far outweigh the value of the information the legations in these countries are able to collect. As a matter of fact, these legations have long ceased to be more than information agencies.

"This done, let the free representatives of these countries represent the latter in foreign countries, the United Nations and other international organizations, for only they can actually voice the real will of the people behind the iron curtain..."

For Americans who fear Soviet progress the following summary of what Estonians taken prisoner of war by the Soviets and now being permitted to return to their native land, if they are practically dead of TB, have to say about Soviet agriculture should be of interest: The scarcity of bread is due primarily to the "collective farm" system. After the State and a half a dozen "fund" quotas of grain are delivered, there is little left for the members of the collective. There are few young people working on the farms; but there is an excessive number of supervisors, bookkeepers, foremen, none of whom do any real work but receive salaries, paid in grain. The actual workers get so little that they have to sell vegetables grown on their private plots and buy bread on the black market. The combine does the harvesting and threshing, the grain is left in piles in the fields and frequently the damp grain rots or internal combustion occurs before the transport groups appear to remove it. To make matters worse, the whole process of sowing, cultivation and harvesting is negligently done. "Nobody is interested in taking care of things or goods that do not belong to him and will never bring him any advantage or profit." (That is worth ponder-

And these extracts from an article in Trud, (No. 66, 1948) the Soviet labor press organ, translation supplied by the Baltic group, Erow further light on Soviet efficiency: "...not all the machine and tractor stations have received the spare parts due them. Very often the machines break down owing to the poor quality of the various parts. In the district of Groznyi the tractors have to be overhauled every two or three days... In the tractor brigade No. 14 of the Turkmene machine and tractor station in the district of Stavropol, one tractor after another is going to wrack and ruin. Tractor STZ hardly managed to plow 5 hectares (11 acres) before it went to pieces. At the Amvrosiev tractor station in the district of Stalino, tractor HTZ broke down before it reached the fields after a capital overhauling. Spare parts no. 61 and no. 99 proved unfit for use. Ten more tractors are idle for the same reason.

"The Kirovgrad and Kaliningrad (Koenigsberg) districts recently received a large number of tractors manufactured in the Vladimir and Kharkov factories. These machines break down very frequently. The oil pumps and a few other parts of exceedingly bad quality. They wear Please turn to page fifteen

INFORMATION OUT OF THE BALTICS

Continued from Page Fourteen

out in no time... Only 60% of the tractor production has been fulfilled, 39.1% for horse-drawn plows, 62.3% of the tractor-drawn sowing-machines and 6.8% of the horse-drawn. The production of other agricultural machinery is progressing at the same snail's pace..."

For the people of Lithuania life grows ever harder — less to eat, more restrictions, more fear of deportation to the arctic labor camps. But for the "Soviet barons" who execute Moscow's will in "Soviet Lithuania" life can be even gay. They are contemptuously referred to by Lithuanians as "the normed people," because of their privileged rations, their special restaurants, theaters, concerts, baths, and — brothels. They are a drunken lot, and delight in parading the streets with their shining "shoulder boards" and collections of medals covering their chests. But, it is noted, "they remain in the towns." As has been reported on various occasions by this writer, the Lithuanian countryside is very much under the control of the resistance bands, at least such bands are apt to appear unexpectedly if Soviet soldiers or officials happen to pay an out-of-the-way area a visit.

ANN SU CARDWELL'S LETTER

Continued from Page Ten

Poles in Poland continue to be arrested and deported to Russia. In a suburb of Danzig is a group of buildings that have been transformed into a prison for transients that accomodates 15,000. The guards here are both Russians and Poles, the latter from the Polish "Security" Police, but these are on duty only outside the prison walls, and all prison authorities are Russians. In the month of December 1947, the Soviet ship "Sevastopol" made two trips between Danzig and a Russian port, reportedly Leningrad, with betweeen 500 and 600 prisoners on board each time. Many of these people were repatriates, some from the territory annexed by the Soviet Union and others Polish soldiers from the West. In most instances they were charged with belonging to "forest bands."

Hungarian prisoners of war who returned to Hungary in February of this year give detailed descriptions of trainloads of Polish and Hungarian deportees seen at the railroad stations of Moscow, Bryansk, Lwow, and Kolomea. They were able to talk with some of these unfortunates and established without doubt that the deported were Poles and Hungarians and that they had been taken from their homes in 1947. Conforming to Soviet deportation custom, the cars used for these people were cattle trucks.

The Polish puppets profit from this deportation of their people. On Sept. 5, 1947 a decree was promulgated according to which all property of persons "transferred to the USSR" automatically becomes the property of the government. How much has thus fallen to the regime is not known; but it has long been public knowledge that immediately after assuming authority the Soviet-imposed puppets made a secret agreement with Moscow giving the latter the right to deport all Poles "dangerous to the regime" to Russian labor camps.

BACKGROUND OF THE MURDER OF TWO POLES IN PALESTINE

Continued from Page Seven

are menaced and had not the Poles left the Jewish residence section en masse, a frightful pogrom might have taken place. In all Palestine, it is reported, no Pole now lives in a Jewish quarter. Even to speak Polish on the street may bring an attack. Under such conditions the murder of Arnold and Hulanicki was something "natural." The artificially created anti-Polish atmosphere provided too good an opportunity for the Communists to miss. Without Communist participation anti-Polish action would have been confined to insults, home inspection, investigations, and expulsion from the Jewish areas. The Communist role was to carry matters as far as possible, ending in murder.

Having this dark picture before us, it is a pleasure to note the praiseworthy stand of certain other Jewish elements. Haganah in this present crisis shows real statesmanship. It defends the innocent, restrains the violence of the Stern and Etzel terrorists, and considers all problems conscientiously before coming to a decision. It also exercises moderation in all its political declarations. The other organizations, the Stern and Etzel terrorist, make war on everything in a suicidal fashion. Thanks to Haganah, many Poles have escaped with their lives and their possessions from the Jewish sections. But Etzel and Stern influence is penetrating even the Jewish Agency and its determined character attracts the radical, belligerent youth element. A bitter war that has already cost a hundred victims goes on between Haganah on one side and the Stern and Etzel groups on the other.

The POLISH REVIEW

A FORTNIGHTLY DEVOTED TO POLISH AND EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Published by the Polish Review, Inc.

Board of Sponsors

Arthur Bliss Lane, President; Ignatius Nurkiewicz, Vice-President; Paul Super, Vice-President Stanislaw L. Centkiewicz, Editor

Advisory Board

ANN SU CARDWELL, EUGENE LYONS

516 Fifth Avenue

New York 18, New York

Telephone: VAnderbilt 6-2168

VOL. VIII - NO. 6

APRIL 22, 1948

CONTENTS:

HANDS THAT SEE. — POLAND SHOULD BE FREE. —
POLAND FIRST - OURSELVES LAST. — SOVIET RECKLESSNESS. — PRESSURE FOR CONCESSIONS. — BACKGROUND OF THE MURDER OF TWO POLES IN PALESTINE. — DEMOSTHENES VS STALIN. — RUSSIAN COOPERATION? — ANN SU CARDWELL'S LETTER. —
DON'T COUNT BRITAIN OUT. — SOVIET JUSTICE. —
OBSERVATIONS. — INFORMATION OUT OF THE
BALTICS.

Annual Subscription Five Dollars Single Copy Twenty-five Cents

SOVIET JUSTICE

Continued from Page Twelve

given are scrupulously verified and documented.

Certain chapters of "Soviet Justice" read like a thrilling detective story. At the end of the volume is a map of the principal labor camps in Russia, framed by photographs of the authentic documents and seals of the NKVD. But a part of this otherwise painstaking scheme, namely the North belt of Siberia, is covered with question marks. It is a forbidden zone, where even the movements of the local trappers are strictly limited. Soviet prisoners believe that a strategic railway is being constructed through these territories, from Murmansk to the Behring Strait, via Archangelsk and Vorkuta. Other sources affirm that huge military industries are already in existence there. Or maybe uranium ores have been discovered in the icy wastes and must be exploited at any cost? The authors record the rumours without commenting on them. The one undeniable fact is that hundreds of thousands of prisoners have been sent into the North Siberian belt, and not one has ever returned. The question marks still hold.

The authors reach the conclusion that the number of

JOHN S. WINIALSKI

NEWTON ROBERTSON BAKERY

750 WETHERSFIELD AVENUE

HARTFORD 6, CONNECTICUT

prisoners in the USSR in 1940-1942 was about 15 million, not including deportees, which is equivalent to one Soviet citizen in thirteen totally deprived of freedom, or 7.73% of the population in prison, as against .05% and .06% respectively in pre-war France and Switzerland. These figures are based on meticulously prepared and convincing arguments.

The study of Messrs. Mora and Wierniak is supplemented by several scores of affirmations written by Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Ruthenians and Lithuanians, who were imprisoned in the USSR and amnestied in 1941. It would perhaps be too much to expect from these persons an objective approach to Soviet Russia. Their memories are naturally permeated with bitterness and consequently less reliable. Nevertheless, all their depositions were carefully checked before being published, and they inspire confidence by the natural, unpretentious way in which simple people tell of their terrible personal tragedies.

"Soviet Justice" contains excellent drawings depicting life in Soviet labor camps, as well as photographs of released prisoners, which vividly recall those of former Buchenwald inmates.

White Eagle Printing Company

510 Adeline Street

Trenton 10, N. J.

TELEPHONE 3-2033

Office, factory and ruled forms, publications, broadsides, catalogues, letterheads, envelopes, statements, billheads

This publication was printed in our plant.

SPECIAL OFFER

SIX BOOKS ORIGINALLY PRICED AT \$14.50 NOW REDUCED TO \$4.50

I.	RED STAR OVER POLAND by Edward S. Kerstein\$2.50
	G. for Genevieve by Lt. J. M. Herbert\$3.00
III.	Poland and the Baltic by Henryk Baginski\$2.50
	Album of Polish Paintings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York \$1.50
V.	German Occupation of Poland; Polish White Book
VI.	Polish Architecture (Old and New) by R. Soltynski\$1.50

Books that will enhance your library on subjects of everlasting interest and artistic beauty.

Take advantage of this special offer now as the stock available is limited.

Order from

THE POLISH REVIEW

516 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Tel. VA 6-2168