

THE **POLISH REVIEW**  
AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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International News Photo

Governor Earl Warren of California, making the rounds of Governor Thomas E. Dewey's dairy farm at Pawling, N. Y., found himself passing a building with a horseshoe over the door. On the theory that a politician never overlooks a bet, he rubbed the shoe for good luck, while the New York State Executive smiles approvingly.

# Dear Friends of the Polish Review:

MANY OF YOU know me personally, from long years of working together in a common cause. Others know me only from hearsay, and from newspaper reports of the case which has been stirred up in recent days by my resignation from the Slavic Department of Columbia University.

To all of you I address the following statement, clarifying my position in connection with this case. I assure you

I have loved my work at Columbia during these twenty years, and Mrs. Coleman too has loved her part in it. With the deepest regret we sever our connections with this great institution. That we must take this step, you will readily understand, once you have read my statement below.

*/-/ Arthur Prudden Coleman*

## My Reasons for Resigning from the Slavic Department of Columbia University

ON JUNE 1ST, 1948, Acting President of Columbia Fackenthal announced in the NEW YORK TIMES and other papers that he had accepted from the present Polish regime in Warsaw an initial gift of five thousand dollars toward the establishment of an Adam Mickiewicz Professorship of Polish Language and Literature and the appointment of Manfred Kridl to this Professorship. This action has now been ratified by the Trustees of Columbia and President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

I am opposed to the policy represented by the acceptance of this gift and cannot continue working in a department financed in this manner. I am unalterably against the acceptance by Columbia or any other American university of money from Poland or any of the other satellite governments of Moscow.

To continue teaching in a department financed by Cominform regimes would be to fall into the error for which we blame the German professors who, by remaining in their chairs in obedient silence, gave tacit approval of the Nazi regime. I do not wish to appear to condone any totalitarian regime, Fascist or Communist.

As the national Secretary-Treasurer of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages, I have signed the non-Communist affidavit, giving my word under oath that I "do not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force." One has but to read any day's batch of the papers issued in Poland today to know that the regime in power in Warsaw would like nothing better than to do just this: to overthrow not only our government but our whole way of life, under the leadership of the "glorious Red Army."

There are many ways of working toward the overthrow of our government and one is by academic infiltration. This is the method we see being undertaken with the above gift. I cannot connive in any such business, or seem

*Anyone who desires to register a protest in the matter of Prof. Coleman's resignation from the Polish Department of Columbia University would do well to write to the Editor of the New York Times. Assuredly an avalanche of letters to that important paper would have useful results.*

to approve it, by collaborating amicably with the professor who is to be the recipient of the subsidy.

I have taught at Columbia twenty years, and in that time, in accordance with the policy laid down by the late Nicholas Murray Butler, have been free to teach whatever I have felt to be the truth. Can one believe this will be the case in the future, as more and more men are brought in, paid by regimes having as one of their main principles Marxian thought-control? I do not think so.

It will not be long before professors free to think as they please will be outnumbered by those behind whose backs we can see the shadow of some dictator. In some departments the time is close at hand when this will be the case.

Apparently Columbia is selling its birthright for the Greek gift of totalitarian subvention. I want no part of this.

*/-/ Arthur Prudden Coleman.*

### THE POLISH REVIEW

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*Arthur Prudden Coleman was born in Seymour, Connecticut, on July 19th, 1897, the son of Michael Lyon Coleman and Carrie Davis Coleman.*

*He was educated in the public schools of Seymour and Southington, Conn., and in the Cheshire Academy, in Cheshire, Conn.*

*During the First World War he enlisted in the United States Navy and served first as a Second Class Seaman, later attending Officers' Training School at Yale.*

*With the ending of the war, he went back to his studies at Wesleyan University, and was graduated with honors in languages in 1920.*

*He did one year of graduate work at Yale, and it was at this time that he began his formal studies in the Slavic field. Because Yale did not at this time have full facilities for Slavic work, Coleman transferred to Columbia, where in June, 1922, he took his M.A. degree in Slavic Languages and Literatures. From this he went on to work for his Ph. D. degree, still in the Slavic field, and still at Columbia, where the Honorable John Dyneley Prince, founder of the Department, was Chairman.*

*In the year 1923-4 Coleman studied in Charles University, Praha, Czechoslovakia, as a Fellow holding a grant from the Czechoslovak government.*

*Returning home in the autumn of 1924, Coleman took his final doctoral examination, and in June, 1925, was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic. He was the first American of non-Slavic ancestry to receive this degree. While finishing up his work for the degree, Coleman taught French at New Haven High School.*

*In 1925 (autumn) Coleman accepted a position as Professor of French and German at Olivet College, Michigan. The following year he transferred (along with the former President of Olivet) to Battle Creek College, where he was Chairman of the Department of Modern Languages.*

*In the spring of 1928 Coleman returned to the field of his choice, which was Slavic, when he accepted a post as teacher of Polish in Extension at Columbia.*

*In 1930 Coleman was made Lecturer in Polish at Columbia, and in 1946 Assistant Professor of Polish at the same university.*

*Coleman has written widely on Polish matters.*

## *The Significance of "East" and "West" in Connection With Europe*

**W**E WRITE EAST Europe and West Europe with capitals, thus implying much more than direction, says an eminent Polish literary figure, discussing the meaning of those terms. For the average European, he continues, East Europe implies everything in the Asiatic world that is different, strange, and sometimes even repugnant. East Europe, therefore, is that part of the Continent that came under Asiatic influences. And yet no demarcation lines can be drawn; neither nature, history, or law has fixed any such lines. But Poles have always considered Poland a part of Western Europe and themselves Western, despite the facts of geography that make Western Europe and America think of Poland as being in the Eastern European area.

And why does the Pole think of himself as Western? The writer of the article in question answers by analyzing his own attitude.

"Until recently I had spent all my life in Poland. What does that mean? What were the most important events in that life? What were the greatest influences exerted upon it? Well — I was christened in a Catholic church and given a Latin certificate to that effect. This led me into a world of principles and culture from which I have sometimes devi-

ated but which have always been the 'ultima ratio' of my life.

"When I was six years old I entered a school based on an educational system accepted by the whole of the Western world. When I was twelve I read Cornelius Nepos and a year later Julius Caesar. I formed my ideas of beauty from the Renaissance and Baroque churches in Krakow; in my travels over the country I saw the Greek columns of the manorhouse porches. On my first visit to the theater I saw the popular play about Kosciuszko, the Polish hero of freedom; my second play was Ibsen's 'Master Builder'... I learned astronomy from Newcomb, natural science from Darwin. I fought for the independence of Poland, regarding Poland and Freedom as one and the same thing.

"I read Corneille, Moliere, Victor Hugo in the original. And Goethe and Schiller. Excellent Polish translations familiarized me with Petrarch, Dante, Calderon, Cervantes, Byron and everyone else — everyone! — of the Western literary world. I did not have to wait long for any new ideas that arose in Europe. Whatever Western minds devised was known next day in Poland...

*Please turn to Page Ten*

# THE UKRAINE IN FERMENT

By Janusz Kowalewski

THE WORLD PRESS has carried reports of bloody mass revolts in the Ukraine — vague reports, for they have not come from eye-witnesses. For even should an eye-witness escape he would have reasons enough for not revealing himself. The only ways by which such news could come out from behind the Iron Curtain are the short-wave radio, and press, diplomatic, or military posts in Moscow which had got the reports from the Ukraine. The news we have received through such channels more or less confirms what has appeared in the press.

At the end of December and the beginning of January of this year, a wave of desperate revolts occasioned by hunger and terrible lack of housing, swept over the Ukraine, being particularly violent in the western area. Shortage of housing is a burning question in the Ukraine. The Five Year Plan, based almost exclusively on war production, has seen only a small part of last year's building program carried into effect. The Soviet press wrote about it, delegates to the local and to the highest Soviet Councils complained about it, until in the late autumn (1947) it was forbidden to mention that subject.

## THE REVOLT OF THE "HOMELESS."

ON THE OUTSKIRTS of Kharkov, Kiev, Kremenchug, Poltava, and Zytomierz there are nightmarish camps of wretched clay hovels and holes in the earth. This situation is the result of war destruction and the return of a great mass of people deported during the war years to the Urals and the far north — under the guise of "settlers." And this last reason is the chief one. In the post-war confusion, when the Ukrainians legally evacuated during the war to the Urals began to return to their homes, this other mass of deported mingled with them and poured like a lava stream back to the homes from which the Soviet police had forcibly taken them in years past; and the Soviet Security police, busy with a thousand other problems, could do nothing to prevent this return.

Cold, hunger, and epidemics created an atmosphere in which there was nothing to be lost. The throngs returning from the Urals and the far north were imbued with a deadly hatred of the regime. A certain unity among these groups wandering in areas not completely controlled by the Soviet police — the little valleys of Podolia, the Bukovina steppes, the mountains and forests of the Carpathians — was maintained by the partisan bands of Bandera, Mielnyk, Stogul and other "atamans"; for these partisan bands were made up of army deserters, persons escaping from forced labor camps, people from areas of Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia that had been incorporated into Stalin's empire.

The largest scale fighting took place in Kharkov on Jan. 9, 1948, when the population poured through the ruined city, sweeping aside the police, destroying the headquarters of the local Communist Party Committee, and looting the food and clothing storehouses. On the arrival of ad-

ditional police support, the rebels entrenched themselves in the ruins but in the end were crushed by overpowering armed forces.

The one cry of the mob here was "bread and shelter." But on the collective farms, where the revolt was directly supported by the partisan bands, the shouts were political in nature — "Down with the dictatorship of the Communists! Long live the Councils!"

Severe purges by the secret police followed these outbreaks. Escorted by troops armed with machine-guns, the dwellers in the hovels and holes of the Soviet cities' outskirts were removed. Punitive expeditions combed the collective farms for fugitives. The little valleys and forests that have been the hideouts of the partisans were surrounded by detachments of soldiers. The local press was given strict orders against making any mention whatever of the revolts and the continuing man-hunts. Such matters are discussed only in the party, trade union, factory, and collective quarters and then only in the areas where such events have occurred. The entire blame is placed upon German, Polish, "fascist," and Bandera partisans.

## "UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM."

BUT THE REGIME well knows that the cause of these desperate revolts and the never-ceasing trouble in the Ukraine lies deeper — that its source is the persistent Ukrainian movement for national independence — a movement that has never been and never can be suppressed. It finds expression in various ways; legally, although more and more illegally, in attempts at creation of cultural autonomy, as permission to use the Ukrainian language in government offices in the Ukraine and the Ukrainian themes in literature, from that to quiet economic sabotage on the collectives, and lastly to open "kulak," Cossack, and hunger revolts.

The recent war, during which the Moscow dictatorship was compelled to make certain concessions in the religious and cultural area, fanned this inextinguishable spark, that dreams fed to make a flame. Ukrainian writers seized the occasion, made full use of national historical material, of the period of the Kiev princes and the Cossacks. Strong anti-Russian attitudes — anti-Tsarist of course — appeared.

Immediately after the war's end the Soviet regime realized the seriousness of the situation, and Kaganovich was sent to destroy the liberation movement at its source. Kaganovich had been in the Ukraine at the time of the sharp struggle between Stalin and Trotsky (1927), where he had brought the Ukrainians into line... carried out a thorough purge in the party and local government, and brought into subjection Ukrainian writers. Under the title "Criticism and Self-criticism in Ukrainian Literature," an article in the Soviet "Literary Gazette" of Dec. 27, 1947 thus sums up that battle with Ukrainian nationalism:

"Ukrainian nationalism in the course of its shameful history betrayed the interests of the Ukrainian people and

was the servant of foreign capital. After the defeat of the chief master of the nationalists, the Hitler Germans, the remains of Ukrainian nationalism found new masters in Anglo-Saxon reactionaries..."

After this general attack the article proceeds, in accord with standard Soviet police practice, to point out individual "shameful nationalists," listing well-known writers, singling out for particular attack the poet and literary historian Rylski, the translator of the Polish epic "Pan Tadeusz..." Rylski had "repented" on a number of occasions already; he humbled himself again, attempting to explain his fault as due to war-time confusion and disorientation. He was reprimanded more severely than ever and informed that what was good in time of war is wrong "in a changed objective situation."

## KORNIECHUK ADVERTISES WASILEWSKA

KORNIECHUK, THE HUSBAND of the notorious Polish renegade, Wanda Wasilewska, fell victim in the Kaganovich purge. On the wave of the legal Ukrainian nationalism encouraged during the war, Korniechuk had become vice-minister of foreign affairs for the USSR. On the receding wave of disappearing liberties and hopes of independence he fell to the rank of provincial correspondent for the Moscow press. In "Pravda" (Jan. 26, 1948) he had an article on Ukrainian culture... in which he had to praise the third-rate Ukrainian phonograph voices sold to the Russian Communists, but could say nothing of his outstanding literary friends, like Rylski and others, who had been condemned to forgetfulness by Kaganovich. But he was permitted to mention his wife, Wanda Wasilewska, "the well known Polish writer, who loves subjects dealing with the life and fighting of contemporary Ukraine above all others..."

Yet the fact that he was penalized as a nationalist makes it clear that the present denationalization course is driving toward a complete elimination of Ukrainian national subjects and material. From that it will be only a step to a decision to forbid the use of the Ukrainian language by writers. Such a move is very probable — after the elimination of Ukrainian in government offices.

## PRAISE THAT IS SUSPECT

THE ATTITUDE of the Soviet press toward the wave of revolts is in keeping with its character. Before the revolts, the Ukraine was sharply attacked for its nationalism, for its relics of capitalism remaining in the minds of the masses, for the subservience of its writers to the West, for its lack of Soviet education, for the low level of its Communist ideological training, and so forth. Following the revolts there was a period of silent consternation, and then — a sudden flood of praise for the loyalty (!) that the Ukrainian nation was showing Russia and Communism, for the industry and great desire of the Ukrainians to complete the Five Year Plan in four years. The sufferings that the Ukraine had ex-

perienced during the war were played up...

The press began to emphasize the unity of Russo-Ukrainian race and culture. In the "Literary Gazette," the organ of the denationalization policy... there appeared a leading article captioned "The Unconquered Brotherhood," that of the Russians and the Ukrainians. The author, W. Katajev, begins in lyric strain: "I was born in the Ukraine... My father was a Russian, my mother Ukrainian. From childhood 'Ukrainian' and 'Russian' have been mingled in one in my soul. Accurately speaking, I should not say mingled but fused..." This present phase of praise is characteristic of the machiavellian policy of the crafty Bolsheviks, a policy of lies, of masking the actual situation and their destructive moves...

## MOLOTOV

A SPECIAL REASON for not calling attention to the revolts was the fact that this year saw the 30th anniversary of the sovietization of the Ukraine. Celebrations with extraordinary pomp and splendor, in the well known Bolshevik Byzantine style, thousands of jubilee speeches, thousands of tons of print, were intended to blot out the fact of the revolts and the eternal hate of the Ukrainians toward Russia.

In this chorus of panegyrics there was only one discordant voice — Molotov's speech of January 24, in which he greeted the Ukrainian people "in the name of Comrade Stalin." "The Ukraine's war wounds are not yet healed," said Molotov. "It still has many complex and difficult problems before it in shouldering and developing its economy, and the same is true with respect to its socialist national culture and Soviet education of the laboring masses..." To speak of the task of "undertaking Soviet education" is fundamentally nothing less than confirmation of the anti-Soviet, anti-regime attitude of the working people of the Ukraine, expressed in a clumsily veiled manner...

## THE BEGINNING OF REPRESSION

IT APPEARS THAT the time needed for fooling the outside world has passed. The honeymoon days of the Ukrainian jubilee are passing. The Soviet police are setting out on a large scale undertaking; and quite apart from this there have been mass releases of Ukrainians from the central Soviet government bodies...

The unhappy Ukrainian people will, it seems, soon be re-living the experiences of 1928, 1934, and 1935, when "pacification" detachments of the GPU (the Soviet secret police of that time) wiped out entire villages and deported whole populations to the Urals and to the northern regions of Asiatic Russia. During those years approximately 15,000,000 Ukrainians were either murdered or deported. How strong and invincible, then, is the survival instinct of a nation, if even such hecatombs are unable to extinguish the fires of independence!

# POLISH "SECURITY POLICE" THE POLISH COUNTERPART OF THE SOVIET NKVD

THE ORGANIZATION KNOWN as the Internal Security Corps was formed in Poland in May 1945 from the fourth infantry division and several lesser units of Zymierski's so-called Polish army. Its chief task was to be the wiping out of "the reactionary underground" — a task now officially proclaimed completed; yet the Security Police continue to be used as "an armed arm" of the Ministry of Public Security, a Ministry possessing three large forces military in organizational character, the Border Defense Army, the Civic Police, and the Security Corps. In addition, the provincial and county Security Offices have at their disposal large special groups of functionaries of various types, among whom are members of the widespread net of secret agents.

At present the Security Corps consists of some 20 regiments similar in organization to infantry regiments. A regiment is made up of three infantry battalions, one machine-gun battalion, one company provided with mortars, and one detachment of field artillery. It also has an intelligence branch, a liaison company, one of engineers, and anti-tank guns. The Security Corps is motorized throughout, each company has six heavy trucks. The soldiers are better equipped than are infantrymen of the regular army. Their uniforms are better made and of better quality. Their caps are similar to those of officers of the former Polish Army. The shoulder boards are light blue and the sleeve trim and trouser stripes are of the same color.

In organization and with respect to privileges, compared with other military forces, the Security Corps holds a position in Poland similar to that held by the NKVD in Russia.

The Security Corps is under the control of Radkiewicz and comes under the Ministry of National Defense only for training, which gives it the authority to select the personnel, for which only trusted and tested officers and non-commissioned officers are chosen. "Information officers," increasing numbers of whom are being assigned to the Security Corps, have a special role to perform. They have direct contact (outside official channels) with the Security Corps command in Warsaw; all receive special training in Russia, in March of this year 25 were sent to Kuibyshev; their chief function is that of counter-espionage and political supervision of the members of the regiment to which they are assigned. Among these "information officers" are many Russians, a fact worthy of more than passing notice.

Activity of the Security Corps detachments is of two kinds: permanent and occasional. For the latter type, special operational groups exist which carry out mass arrests and what are known as pacification measures in designated areas. Detachments of the Corps, usually the size of a platoon, in the Barrage Commands scattered over the whole of the country constitute the permanent service units of the

organization. The soldiers in these commands wear arm-bands with the letters "KZ" (Komenda Zaporowa — Barrage Command). The duties of these forces approximate those of military and civic police. They watch over all highways and railroads, stations, and so forth. They have authority to examine the documents of any and all persons and to make arrests. And those whom they arrest they turn over to the local Security Corps officials.

Operation groups of the Corps carry out, as already mentioned, pacification orders. As an example of such action, the operation begun in the Rzeszow area in January of this year and still going on may be cited. Several months preceding that date a number of Security Corps detachments had been concentrated there. Then they began systematic raids in the villages. Motorized detachments arrive, usually during the night, surround the villages, and in peasant cottages prepared in advance examine the inhabitants of the community and arrest peasants previously marked for such action. Frightened by this long-drawn out "pacification," the people of the villages, every night fearful of a fresh visit from the Security Corps, prepared their own defense: each nightfall all the men flee into the forests, thus avoiding arrest. Yet the number of arrests in this province alone during the last few weeks has totalled more than 6,000.

But these arrests are not merely a measure taken to bring to light the "guilty." They are used as a means of recruiting confidential agents for the Corps. A peasant, arrested and held on no concrete charges, is kept week after week in one of the Corps' prisons and persistently exhorted to sign an agreement as a confidential agent. If he can be so worn down and exhausted by prison treatment that he signs, he is at once set free.

By giving his signature does not end the affair for the peasant. If the Security officials do not get the expected reports from him, he is again arrested — as "encouragement" to more productive and zealous work in the future.

Using such methods the Security groups have recruited several such confidential agents in every rural community — persons forced into such service and who know nothing of each other's activities. Such a system makes it possible for Radkiewicz's minions to check on the activities of each of these individuals and to compel them to more energetic spywork in behalf of the infamous Security organization.

With this brief characterization of the Security Corps activities, the following sentence from an order issued on the occasion of the anniversary of the formation of the Corps by its commander, General Konrad Swietlik, is understandable: "The soldier of the Internal Security Corps knows that he is fighting for a people's democracy with a greater fighting and political initiative..."

# THE ARMY IN POLAND

THE SO-CALLED POLISH Army is factually if not formally fast becoming part of the Red Army. Its nucleus was formed in Russia in 1942 (May), but before that time, while Hitler and Stalin were still allies, Moscow was feeling out the possibilities of creating a "Polish Army," sounding out Polish officers among prisoners of war held by the Soviets.

Early in November 1940 selected Polish officers among the prisoners of war were taken to Moscow, engaged in pleasant conversation, and asked to accept important posts in a Polish Army contemplated by the Kremlin. The later much-in-the-news "General" Berling was one of this number. Of those thus tried out, 13 "passed the test" and were thereafter housed in a luxurious villa outside of Moscow: the rest were returned to the prisoner-of-war camps. After the signing of the Polish-Soviet Pact of July 1941, those 13 enlisted in General Anders' Polish Army, then being formed in accordance with the pact.

In the meantime, the Kremlin continued to carry on its unpublicized recruiting for its own proposed "Polish Army," even at Buzuluk, the assembly point for the tens of thousands of Poles hurrying from all over Russia to join the true Polish Army being organized under General Anders' command. In April 1943 the formation of the Soviet "Polish Army" began in earnest. In May the Kosciuszko Division was a reality, with the 13 officers mentioned earlier providing the cadres, and 80% of the officers "on loan" from the Red Army. A second infantry division was added in December of that year.

After the re-entry of Soviet troops into Poland in 1944, following German withdrawals, a number of classes were called up, which made possible the formation of two Polish armies, one under General Berling, the other under General Swierczewski, killed in Poland in 1947 by Ukrainian underground fighters. In 1944, General Rola-Zymierski was made Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet-created Polish forces. Berling fell out of Soviet favor when he sent two battalions to the aid of the Warsaw Uprising (1944) and was recalled to Moscow, from which place he was allowed to return to Poland not long since as head of the Staff College.

The postwar military strength of puppet Poland was to be 10 infantry divisions, 1 armored division, 1 cavalry division (later abolished), 1 aviation division, and a few naval units. Toward the close of 1945 modern equipment was replaced by antiquated Soviet equipment, evidence of lack of Soviet confidence in their "Polish Army." However, in accord with a February 1948 Soviet agreement with the puppet Polish regime, the Soviet government is to supply equipment for 5 infantry divisions and one armored division. Poland has no significant war industry and must depend upon the USSR if it gets needed equipment.

But there is nothing specified in the Soviet-Polish agreement for the Polish air force, which will have to continue using the obsolete Russian machines it now has. Neither does the Polish Navy, which consists mainly of 4 Polish prewar submarines and a few boats returned to Poland by Britain, get anything. Moscow took the lion's share of the German Navy, even sending the hulks of German boats sunk or scuttled in Polish harbors to Russia.

If training equipment is being denied the "Polish Army," it cannot be said to suffer from neglect on the "ideological" side. This re-education along political lines is in charge of a Polish Communist ostensibly, actually directed by the Soviet NKVD. A thorough purge of the officers' corps has been conducted, officers in the prewar Polish Army and those who had returned to Poland lured by persuasive propaganda being particularly singled out. Very few of the latter now remain. The Soviet objective is an officers' corps composed mainly of active Communists of peasant or working class origin. Yet Soviet suspicions are never laid and new purges take place, following the discovery of "plots" or "secret organizations" among the troops.

It is reported that Russia and Communism are as unpopular among the soldiers of the "Polish Army" as among the population in general. Officers, if they are Polish, and privates do not like either the masters or their ideology: but the masters believe that time is on their side. Which is something that only time will tell.

## *Soviet Russia Today:* AS SEEN BY THE SOVIET PRESS

IF AMERICANS DEPENDED solely upon Soviet literature put out for the use of foreign readers, they would naturally think the Soviet Union what its propagandists proclaim it. A careful reading of the Soviet press, that is the papers distributed in the USSR, is a wholesome antidote for such pernicious lies and distortions. The excerpts given below have been provided by the Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain (Stockholm).

*Pravda*, Nov. 28, 1946, quotes Comrade Galina, chairman of the Leningrad Trade Commission speaking at a meeting of the Town Council: "No readymade children's clothes are to be had in the shops and even such simple and indispensable things as neckties, toothbrushes, shaving-brushes,

needles, tape measures, and scissors. The tailors in the tailoring artel (union) Shevynik cut the material with surgical scissors. Instead of tape measures they use string and sometimes work has to stop for lack of needles."

*Trud*, Jan. 4, 1948: "The most indispensable and most frequently used medicines are lacking in the apothecary shops . . . the war has been over for years but dressings and absorbent cotton are still rarities."

*Izvestia*, July 23, 1947: "Let anybody try to buy a window hinge (Casement windows are the rule in Eastern Europe), a padlock or a door-handle at Lutsk. It would be a hopeless undertaking." Lutsk, Luck in Polish, was a thriving

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# Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 184, July 19, 1948

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

**THE NUMBER OF PERSONS** the Soviet Government and the satellite regimes have drawn into fifth column work has greatly increased during recent months, according to reports coming from European sources. For example, Poles have been compelled to engage in these despicable activities or see members of their families deported to forced labor camps in Russia. Especially sought out are Polish soldiers or others who have returned to Poland because they could not longer endure separation from their families who, they knew, were terribly in need of help. Later they may be approached by the NKVD and asked to engage in espionage activities, told what will happen to wife or children or parents if they refuse; and for a few, not many it is reported, the choice is too difficult. They cannot make loved ones pay the price.

Those who yield are sent to Sweden or Britain or to some other land where there are Polish communities to stir up trouble if they cannot persuade the refugees or exiles to return to Poland. Of course these emissaries always have some plausible mission; their fifth column work is discreetly disguised. How are such subversive workers to be recognized? asks one editor. In reply, he says that if a repatriated Pole gets out of Poland once, it is 60% sure that he is in the service of the regime; if he gets out twice or more, it is 90% certain that he is.

**FORTIFICATION OF THE POLISH COAST** has assumed astounding dimensions, reports a Pole who not long since succeeded in escaping into the West. This work for the most part consists of air bases and strengthened artillery emplacements. The entire area is closely guarded. All civilian inhabitants have been moved from certain stretches of the coast and settled elsewhere, and entrance to such areas strictly prohibited. The fortification work is being carried out according to Soviet instructions issued to the staff of the so-called Polish Army.

Very recent news from Poland states that for three months fully equipped Soviet troops in large numbers have been crossing Poland from Russia en route West. The majority of such troops were taken to the Soviet German zone but a part of them were stationed in the Polish "Recovered Territories," in Lower Silesia, and Western Pomerania. Three tank divisions that went from the Soviet-occupied part of East Prussia moved only by night. These fresh Soviet troops that are kept in Poland are placed on the great German estates that, occupied by Red Armies when the Germans were forced out, have never been handed over to the Poles but to this day remain Red Army collectives. The Soviet troops in Poland are reported to be mostly either armored or tank divisions. Great care is taken that neither

Red Army officers nor soldiers be seen in the Polish cities or towns, the only Soviet soldiers ever seen by the urbanites being the guards on communication lines between Russia and Germany.

Military equipment has also been moving into Poland and Eastern Germany from the USSR. That which is left in Poland is placed in military warehouses located for the most part in the Krakow area. Formally all this flood of equipment is for the "Polish Army" and belongs to that Army; but "every member of the guard of these warehouses speaks only Russian." Reports have it that many new air fields, underground hangars, workshops, storerooms, and modern air bases are either in process of building or have been built in the western Polish districts.

**THE POLISH PUPPETS** have been made uneasy by the difference that has arisen between Tito and the Kremlin. Some of them have been effusive in their praise of Tito, and therefore could well expect to be called up to explain just how nationalistic in spirit they themselves were. So even the so-called Polish Socialists, though they certainly do not deserve that appellation, having voted to merge with the Communists, have fallen over themselves in denouncing Tito's position and all nationalist tendencies. They all know very well that if Moscow should throw them over, they are indeed orphans.

But they have been uneasy on another point. Tito has displeased the Kremlin because of his delay on the collectivization issue. The Polish puppets have also been very slow in putting through that feature of "rural reform," explaining their lack of action by quoting Stalin's remark that sovietization of Poland would have to proceed gradually. The real reason has been, of course, that they did not care to undertake the task of compelling the Polish peasants, who desire above all else to own land and farm it as they please, to accept collective and state farms. However, now the Warsaw puppets hasten to announce through Zambrowski, one of the three powerful members of the Polish Politburo, that "socialization" of farm lands will shortly be undertaken. But collectivization under any other name is still collectivization, and the Polish peasants will not for an instant be fooled. Yet what can they do? It is accept regime decrees or suffer the fate of the kulaks in the Soviet Union in the 1920's. Moreover, the process has been initiated through the enforced pooling of tools, the common use of draft animals, the state-owned farms that have never been parcelled as promised, the establishment of "model villages." Zambrowski's "socialization" will, however, speed things up decidedly if such a course is decided upon.

**IN WARSAW** the shortage of housing is still one of the major problems of the inhabitants. Schools are also in desperate need of quarters. But the Communist Party has no reason to complain. It is building a 1,200 room structure on one of the most important street corners in the capital to be used as party offices. It is to cost several hundred million zlotys, half of which sum is to be paid by the members of the Polish Workers (Communist) Party and the fake Polish Socialist Party that is merging with it, the other half by various ministries of the regime, a regime designated as "a people's democracy."

**NOT A GREAT WHILE AGO** our Government warned Americans of Polish descent about making visits to Poland, as the Polish regime had declared that all persons born of Polish parents, whatever the place of birth, were Polish citizens, and such persons visiting relatives in Poland might find return to America impossible. The Warsaw officials ridiculed the idea, and assured the world that visitors to Poland need have no fear about having their citizenship questioned. But read this dispatch of June 23, 1948:

"For 3 months a group of 30 Brazilians of Polish descent have been trying to get out of Poland. The Warsaw government holds that a person born of Polish parents is a Polish citizen. These Brazilians, who came to Poland to visit relatives, are held now as Polish citizens and despite numerous attempts on the part of the Brazilian Minister in Warsaw, they have not been allowed to leave the country."

**A POLISH PRIEST** who had been "repatriated" from the Polish territory incorporated into the USSR in 1939, was charged with spreading defeatism, stirring up resistance to the regime, sabotage, and opposition to the Communist Party. At his trial, he was accused of having in November of last year said masses for the souls of Poles who died in Siberia. To this he confessed, saying that both his mother and brother had been deported to Russia in 1940 and had died there, and that so many thousand Poles had perished in Russian prison camps that he considered it the duty of the living to pray for them. Then he was accused of speaking against Communism from the pulpit and that in one of his sermons he had called the members of the PPR (Communist Party) "mad foxes." The priest explained that on one occasion he had read from his pulpit a notice sent by the chief county official that mad foxes were appearing in that area and that the people were to be on their guard against them, since they not only caused property loss but had even attacked people. It was not his fault, the priest explained, if some "Security" agent who heard him took the remark to be an allusion to Communists. Further questioning and testimony were along the same lines, ending with the accused being sentenced to four years in prison.

**MOLOTOV**, you may recall, was at that recent Warsaw conference of Soviet and satellite foreign ministers which laid down the conditions upon which something could be done to keep Europe from being divided into two camps — conditions which naturally were wholly in Soviet favor and found no echo in the West. When Molotov left Warsaw on his return to Moscow, the puppets, it is reported, took

some 30,000 working-people and students out to the flying field to give him a proper farewell. People were not asked whether they wished to go. They were loaded into every possible conveyance and hurried out to help swell the crowd. In bidding the sickle-and-hammer man goodbye, the puppet Polish Premier, Cyrankiewicz, said: "Warsaw is especially happy that it has been visited now for the first time by our great friend, that indefatigable fighter for peace, the defender of our frontiers — Molotov. . . This conference has been one of the final features of the struggle for peace against warmongers and imperialists." And the speaker asked Molotov to "convey to the great leader of the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union, the great friend of Poland, Stalin, cordial expressions of admiration and friendship from the Polish people."

In reply Molotov quoted the words of the "great Stalin" to the effect that in recent years there had been a complete about-face in Soviet-Polish relations, and said that "the leaders of Poland, who embodied the feelings of the Polish people," are noteworthy for their noble intentions toward Russia. Compare that with the statement the same Molotov made before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on October 31, 1939: "One swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty. . ." That translation, by the way, is the official Russian translation of the speech of "our great friend, the defender of our frontiers," when he made his report on the "glorious victories" of the Red Army after Moscow stabbed Poland in the back, September 17, 1939.

**FROM BOTH LATVIA AND ESTONIA** news comes, through altogether reliable channels, of the pressure that is being brought to bear upon women in those countries whose husbands have escaped to the West to divorce the absentees and marry men picked out for them by the local regimes. Latvians and Estonians in Western Europe have of late been besieged by their wives to return, although hitherto they had been secretly exhorted to remain away until these lands had regained their freedom.

At first the recipients were mystified by this change of attitude. After the arrival of persons who had more recently escaped, they learned the reason. Men and women whose wives or husbands have gone to some other country have been ordered to file petitions for divorce and re-marry immediately. If the local committee chooses the woman's new husband, it chooses an immigrant from Russia, says a Baltic commentator, continuing with, "These compulsory marriages are a link in the campaign of the Soviets to russianize the Baltic countries and to slowly annihilate the original population. The new colonists are all staunch supporters of the Soviet regime. . ."

Naturally, for they are being given good homesteads and a better living than they have ever had. But from the Soviet Union — I do not include the Baltic States in that term — reports continue to filter out that the peoples of those Republics are hoping for war, looking upon it as the only possible means of helping them rid themselves of their servitude.

# How To Make Democracy Live

BY PAUL SUPER

Here are ten lines of action open to every American citizen who can read and write the English language.

1. **KNOW** and understand what democracy is and how it works.
2. **READ** the great documents which are the foundation of our American democratic republic: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States of America, the Bill of Rights written into the first Ten Amendments to our Federal Constitution, the declaration of rights in 47 of our State constitutions, John Locke's essays "On Civil Government" (1690), which were the source of Jefferson's inspiration, and John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty," a fundamental classic (1859).
3. **THINK** out your own attitude toward democracy.
4. **BELIEVE** in democracy deeply.
5. **PRACTICE** it in all aspects of daily life.
6. **REGISTER** as a voter.
7. **THROUGH** belonging to a loyal American political party, and through party work, bring the power of organization to the support of democracy.
8. **VOTE**. For men and women of demonstrated loyalty to democracy.
9. **WATCH** the work of your elected officials, writing them, coaching them, praising their good acts, calling attention to their errors of judgment and action.
10. **HELP** retire to private life all elected officials who are not fully loyal to democratic principles and to the United States of America.

## *The Future Of The Polish Orthodox Church*

**B**Y A RECENT decree of the Polish puppet regime the Orthodox Church in Poland has been deprived of its independence and placed under the authority of the Patriarch in Moscow, thus making the Polish Orthodox Church a tool, like the Russian, of the Soviet Government.

During the years of free Poland, the Orthodox Church in that country was national and independent, this independence having been proclaimed by a Synod of Orthodox Bishops in Poland in 1923-4 and confirmed by all other Patriarchates of the Eastern Church as well as by the Orthodox Churches of the Balkan countries, by all in fact except the Moscow Orthodox Church.

This was simply a return to the situation which had existed before the 18th century partitions of Poland, as an independent Orthodox metropolitan province had been established in that country in the 14th century and had existed throughout the life of the Polish commonwealth under the authority of the Archbishops of Kiev and Halicz. When Kiev became Russian in the late 17th century Moscow attempted to interfere in the affairs of the Polish Orthodox Church but met with no success, the independence of the Polish Church being reaffirmed at the Pinsk convocation that took place shortly before the last of the three partitions (1795). Not until after that partition could Moscow give orders, subordinating the Polish Orthodox churches to the Moscow Patriarch.

In 1918, when Poland had regained its independence, the Moscow Church refused to recognize the independence of the Polish Orthodox group, though the Moscow Patriarchate was having plenty of troubles at home and had no authority until 1943, when the Bolsheviks were confident that it could be made their tool as it had been the tool of the Tsarist governments. In free Poland the Polish Orthodox

Church had possessed five dioceses and had a membership of roughly 4,000,000. But these members were in the great majority White Ruthenians and Ukrainians, residents of the Polish provinces incorporated into the Soviet Union by Moscow's illegal procedures in 1939. The membership now is not more than 300,000.

Why, then, this subordination of the Polish independent Orthodox to Moscow? The answer is that Soviet imperialism is but a continuation of Tsarist imperialism. The Kremlin is using the Church as an instrument in furthering its political policies, in the case of Poland depriving it of even a trace of independence. The Archbishop who will be elected to succeed the Polish Archbishop Dionisius, forced out because he fought for independence of his Church and refusal to be subordinated to Moscow, will be a Moscow tool.

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### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "EAST" AND "WEST"

*Continued from Page Three*

"And then? Europe and the West were for me, under such conditions, equivalent to a confession of faith. As far back as I can remember the question of whether or not I belonged to the West never entered my head. I had to wait until I was greyhaired to hear that my native land is included in Eastern Europe and that Poles are subject to laws and incentives differing from those to which the Western man is accustomed. And because I cannot accept that thesis, I am homeless, a DP."

The writer goes on to discuss the differences appearing in Polish life and culture in the various areas of the country, explaining them as merely provincial variations, such as are to be found in any land. In that discussion he says:

"The farther east one travels from the Vistula River, the more evident it becomes that Western culture is not a mat-

*Please turn to Page Fourteen*

# OBSERVATIONS

By PERIVIEW

IT IS A SAD thing to see Columbia University fall for the Polish puppet government's propaganda plans and puppet professor, Manfred Kridl, and General Eisenhower's acceptance of Prof. Coleman's resignation. The General had better have accepted the unoffered but highly desirable one of Prof. Simmons, who seems to have engineered this odorous transaction, in comparison with which garlic is lilacs. Oh no, no one outside Columbia suggested Kridl to the University authorities; but who suggested Kridl to Simmons? The deaf and dumb and blind can guess, and some of us who are neither very deaf nor very dumb nor very blind trace the smelly trail to the puppet Polish Embassy in Washington and thence to Moscow.

One wonders how many Americans of Polish origin or other non-Bolshevik Americans will register for Kridl's courses. Probably a few will be on hand, but only to razz him. That university chair may turn out to be a hot spot. We have not come to the end of this matter. It is of large interest to every loyal American who is not a dumb-Dora being taken in by Communist infiltration.

There is to be a complete merger of political parties in Poland. Or was that a printer's error for murder?

Wilno and Lwow must be returned to Poland in the freeing of the nations. Otherwise Russia has a bastion thrust deep into Christian Europe, a perpetual menace.

What is Russia today? A leviathan state; a highly organized and fanatic dominant minority; peasant and working class exploitation; the elimination of all members of the middle and upper class; the destruction of all cultured and democratic elements; labor herded in concentration camps; secret police and spies everywhere; a subservient and ignorant army; a monolithic party system and the brutal crushing of all opposition; craft, lying, and hypocrisy in international relations; plots that embrace the whole world; these are some of the more obvious characteristics of Communist Russia. This is the all-consuming and all-crushing moloch with which the weak-minded among us think they can compromise. I want to bring to life some words of Henry Van Dyke written long ago but so true today. "We cannot recognize an abattoir as a constitutional government." My dictionary defines abattoir as a "slaughter-house."

In the Russia of today, where the entire upper class has been either exterminated or driven out of the country, we see what happens when the equipment, arrangements, and responsibilities of civilization fall into the hands of or are seized by a primitive and uncultured population. The vast brutality of Stalin and the Politbiuro, the willing, even joyful execution of frightful plans by the lower officials, plans such as the operation of terrible labor camps, the cruel movement of entire populations, the exploitation of their own as well as other peoples, the crudities and gaucheries of Molotov, Vishinsky, and Gromyko, these are the fruits of the Russian Revolution. These things are the outcome of "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

We hear that Molotov's nick-name in Moscow and the inner circles of the Russian elite is "stony rump", though that is my more elegant translation. This is the latest in Russian culture and Marxian science.

We impatiently await whatever of Moscow's massive self-assertion and infantile insolence will issue from Stalin and his Politbiuro in reply to the American and British notes about the "affaire Berlin."

The world will know no peace until the USSR is broken up into its component parts, Muscovy, the Ukraine, and so forth, and its Asiatic Fascism exists no more.

The Berlin affair leads us Americans to consider just where lies our American frontier. Personally, I know. It is on a river you never heard of, the Zbrucz, the stream which separated Western, Christian, civilized Poland from Oriental, pagan, barbarous Russia before Russia over-ran that frontier in September 1939. I have sat on the high bank of that river and looked over into Russia, conscious that I was where Christian civilization ends and something very different begins. Now, alas, Stalin has pushed the boundaries of Western civilization almost eight hundred miles to the west, to far this side of Berlin. We have learned, through war and the inept politics of Roosevelt and his colleagues and successors, that the Polish eastern frontier of 1939 was in reality the frontier of all Western lands, America included.

In March 1793, a Pole who collaborated with Russia in the partition of Poland wrote to a friend: "Today I am an outcast among my own people, looked upon as a man who sold himself to lead his people into error and to dedicate the whole country to Russia. Woe to him who fraternizes with you, Russians! I believed that I could base the future of the Republic on lasting foundations. You have led both my country and me to ruin." How very modern!

In a brilliant article in the New York Times of May 22, 1948, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University, has this to say of Communism. It should be widely quoted: "A believer in Russian communism can take no shelter behind hazy idealism. He is a believer in a police state of the most ruthless character, with a system of secret arrests, dictated convictions, purges and concentration camps. He believes in a system which has killed, imprisoned and exiled many millions where czarism killed and jailed thousands. He believes in an imperialist type of aggression which has destroyed the freedom of a dozen nations; converting them, as with the Baltic States, into mere provinces, or into vassal lands where minorities rule by terror. The appeal of Russian communism to the aspiring is gone."

I love to dig in the old records and find passages as relevant today as when they were written many years ago. This from Jan Kucharzewski's "The Origins of Modern Russia." He is quoting a remark made by an observer of Russia's political tactics, and the year is 1833. "The elasticity and flexibility of the policies of the Petersburg cabinet is beyond all imagination. Wherever anarchy may be harmful, wherever a country's strength may be weakened by such means, the Petersburg cabinet joins the disturbers of order, causes discord, becomes the guarantor of rebellion and civil war." How like Moscow 1948 is to Petersburg 1833!

And that leads to another one, my very much esteemed contemporary Thucydides, who wrote his "Peloponnesian War" in the year 411 B.C. A real contemporary, if Arnold Toynbee is right in giving man a past of at least 600,000 years. Thucydides wrote his history as "a possession for all time." But just now it is his reason for writing it that engages my attention. He gives this near the end of Chapter 1. His history was intended to be useful to "those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future." Now read the preceding 1833 paragraph again. There are scores and scores of such lessons from the past; if only our statesmen would read a little history and ponder its teaching.

# A LETTER FROM AMERICA

## A Short Story

By Helen Kam

ONE DECEMBER DAY, a young woman escorted by Gestapo men, entered the luxuriously appointed modern apartment of Mrs. Weis, widow of a prominent Warsaw attorney. The stranger carried an attractive overnight bag. The Gestapo agent barked at the frightened Mrs. Weis standing in the foyer: "You have ten minutes to leave the apartment." The young woman passed Mrs. Weiss without looking at her. She was preceded by an obsequious young Gestapo man who opened each door for her, explaining the lay-out of the rooms. Mrs. Weis went to her room, took a few dresses and some lingerie from the wardrobe, and removed her daughter's photograph, a box of powder and a few vials from the dressing table. She packed many useless articles, whatever she happened to come across. She heard the young woman give orders: "Please move the blue rug from the living room to the corner room. That will be my bedroom." That used to be Mira's room, Mrs. Weis thought, and her eyes filled.

The Germans came into her room now. The young Gestapo man said: "Raus." She looked at his angry compressed lips, and without a word of protest she closed her suitcase. Picking up a blanket from the bed and her Persian lamb coat, she left the room. As she walked through her apartment she saw porters carrying in the young woman's luggage.

Slowly she descended the stairs. She went up to the janitor who stood in the doorway. "Remember," she said, "if a letter should come from abroad from my daughter. . . ." she paused not knowing what address to give. She slipped some money into his hand. "Save the letter for me. I'm going to the Ghetto," she concluded softly.

Mrs. Weis threw the fur coat over her shoulders, went out into the muddy gutter, and placed her suitcase on a pushcart already loaded with other people's belongings. She joined the crowd around the cart and a moment later they started out for the Ghetto through the streets of Warsaw. The fine snow that fell was mixed with rain. . . .

At first only she and a family of seven shared the room in the Ghetto. The head of the family was a cobbler. He had put up a sign on the outside of the building that read: "Minor repairs." Beneath, for advertising purposes, he had added: "For 50 groszy you can have a new pair of shoes."

In the daytime Mrs. Weis worked in a restaurant. She washed dishes in exchange for her meals. She carefully collected scraps of food from the plates and brought them home in a can for her fellow tenants. She would lie on her straw mattress and listen to the cobbler in the opposite corner of the room hammering far into the night. Early in the morning, before going to work, she would run to the Ghetto gate and ask those lucky ones who could still go out into the city on a pass, to find out if a letter had come for her from her daughter.

The bitter cold came. They used boards pulled up from

the floor of the foyer for firewood. A couple with three children were added to their room. It grew crowded. The children were sick, they coughed all night. As Mrs. Weis watched them suffer, she remembered the time her daughter Mira had had the whooping cough. There had been three doctors and a nurse, and she had spent sleepless nights at the bedside of her only child. She was glad Mira was not here, that Mira did not see her mother lying on the floor in the corner of the room.

She stopped going to the Ghetto gate, she stopped waiting for good news. Suddenly she became suspicious, she no longer trusted her neighbors, she was afraid they would cheat her, steal her priceless treasures. She had no peace. While she washed dirty dishes in the restaurant, in her imagination she saw her fellow tenants going through her things and sneaking them out of the house.

More tenants. A young couple with an infant. Encouraged by the success of the cobbler in the corner of the room, the new tenant set up his own business by the window — watch repairing.

In the spring the restaurant in which Mrs. Weis worked, closed down. Out of a job, she now took her small wardrobe into the street and sold it piece by piece. This provided her with food for a spell. When she sold her Persian lamb coat, she began to peddle bagels. Daily she dragged her weary body along the streets and courtyards, bending under the weight of a leather suitcase heavy with bagels. Clad in her last torn and soiled dress, she called hoarsely: "Who'll buy my delicious home made bagels?"

And then one day she was seized with a strange fear. She refused to go out into the street. This may have dated from the time she saw policemen kick the face of a huckster lying in the street. She had fled then, abandoning her bagels and her suitcase, and had sought shelter in a stranger's home. The other tenants reasoned with her — in vain. She was afraid, afraid of everybody, afraid of the crowds in the streets, afraid of their cries, of the eternal running away from the police, afraid of the shots that rang out in the Ghetto. She sold her once beautiful leather suitcase, which some kind soul had rescued for her, and ceased her peddling.

She would now lie on her crushed straw for days at a time or play with the children. She allowed them to pull the dirty wisps of her unkempt gray hair and was glad when she heard their merry laughter. She told them about her daughter — how beautiful she was, how good, how fine an actress. Mira was far away now, beyond the mountains and the seven seas, and she was writing a letter to her mother. . . . Mrs. Weis would talk about it for hours, tirelessly. Her neighbors looked pityingly at the old lady and thought her faith must surely be rewarded by the miracle of a letter from her daughter.

In some mysterious devious way, a letter from America

arrived for Mrs. Barbara, care of the Artists' Cafe. The innocent-sounding message contained the request of a former fellow actress to give the enclosed photograph and card to her mother. The writer had no idea her mother was in the Ghetto. Touched by the plea, Mrs. Barbara determined to learn the exact address and deliver the letter.

Within a few days she came across someone who agreed to conduct her through the Ghetto walls. She made up a small food parcel for her friend's mother and set out with her guide. They took the trolley to Chlodna Street. Getting off at that stop, they entered a ramshackle tenement house, crossed a dark and dirty yard, and descended into a basement. Having passed through the cellars of three houses, they finally walked up to the third floor of a building that adjoined the Ghetto. The guide knocked at a door.

"Who's there?" a voice called out.

"Antos," the guide replied.

The door opened. A woman signalled them to come in. Without a word they passed through the kitchen and dining room into a bedroom. Antos expertly moved a dresser away from the wall and pushed aside a picture which rested against it, revealing a small opening. "This way," he said to the amazed Mrs. Barbara. Hesitating a moment, she knelt on the floor and cautiously slipped her head into the opening. She extended her arms before her and gave a startled cry. Someone had pulled her through from the other side. Antos threw the parcel in after her.

A crowd gathered round her and plied her with eager questions. She could hear nothing, so appalled was she at the sight of this ragged emaciated humanity. Her voice stuck in her throat. At length she pulled the letter out of her pocket and pointed to the address. A boy called out: "That's only two blocks away. I know where, I'll take you there." Mrs. Barbara gave him a piece of chocolate. He grabbed it greedily and began to eat it, but he stopped after a while, broke off a piece and handed it to a lad standing next to him.

They went down the stairs, traversed some more basements and came out into a narrow Ghetto street cluttered with rubbish and garbage. The feathers and down dispersed by the wind covered the sidewalks and gutter like a blanket of snow. Naked corpses lay about in the street just as they had been thrown out of the houses. The nauseating odor of decaying flesh made Mrs. Barbara feel sick. She tried not to look, not to see. The crowds that jostled her seemed to be oblivious to it all.

"You lost your armband," somebody told her, pointing to her empty sleeve. Mrs. Barbara looked at the boy in alarm.

"You'll have to put on an armband," he whispered. They went into a crowded little store and bought one. Mrs. Barbara trembled uncontrollably while the boy pinned it to her sleeve.

"Oh, look. . . ." the boy pointed to the house opposite. A short small man was standing at the window on the third floor and playing the violin. In front of him, a group of children were glued to the window sill gaping at the street below. A woman leaned out to talk to her neighbor on the second floor and to lower a small bundle on a string. The street noises drowned out the music. But the movement of the violinist's hands and the way he slid his bow over the strings suggested the sure touch of a musician. Eyes closed, he played on, absorbed in his own world, far removed from the reality that surrounded him. "I heard him play Beethoven at a concert in the Philharmonic," said the boy reverently.

"Help a poor woman, kind lady. . . ." a young woman carrying a child in her arms, begged Mrs. Barbara.

"Let's go," the boy tugged at Mrs. Barbara's arm. They went out into the street and pushed their way through with difficulty. Finally they came to a small building. "It must be here," the boy said. He went inside and reappeared to call Mrs. Barbara.

Forcing themselves through the throng of women seated in the doorway, they went upstairs. Opening a door, they walked inside. The room was teeming with people. The odor of unwashed bodies assailed Mrs. Barbara's nostrils. Everybody was talking at the same time. In one corner of the room, on the bare floor, lay a sick man. Beside him, a young boy, his ears plugged with his fingers, was engrossed in a book. In the center, three children were playing hide and seek in between the legs of the grown-ups. Against one wall an infant, pressing feebly at its mother's dry breast, cried mournfully. Nobody paid any attention to the newcomers standing helplessly on the threshold. Finally the boy shouted impatiently over the bedlam: "A letter from America for Mrs. Weis!"

Silence fell upon the room. An old lady in tatters pushed through to the visitors, crying: "I'm Mrs. Weiss." She grasped the letter and her shaking fingers tore open the envelope. The others surrounded her, all agog with curiosity. The mother pulled out her daughter's picture. Tears obscured her vision. "I can't see," she said and handed the letter to a neighbor.

"Dearest Mummy," the woman began to read, "I'm in America. I was married last spring and we expect a baby. I'm worried about you. I don't know whether you will get this letter. Please answer me. Your very loving daughter — Mira."

Sobbing, the mother avidly drank in every word. She took the letter and kissed it, whispering something softly.

"She's in America," someone called out. Pandemonium ensued again. They began to talk all at once. Suddenly a man picked up a scrap of dirty newspaper from the floor and began to write something feverishly. This inspired the

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# POLAND ON THE INFLATION ROAD

The table below gives a picture of the currency situation in Poland after the war.

1945	26,300,000 zlotys		
1946	zlotys	1947	zlotys
January	27,000,000,000	January	59,700,000,000
February	28,100,000,000	February	63,500,000,000
March	29,900,000,000	March	66,600,000,000
April	32,400,000,000	April	68,300,000,000
May	34,300,000,000	May	67,500,000,000
June	36,700,000,000	June	67,500,000,000
July	39,800,000,000	July	70,900,000,000
August	44,200,000,000	August	73,100,000,000
September	47,500,000,000	September	75,400,000,000
October	52,600,000,000	October	85,600,000,000
November	57,100,000,000	November	85,900,000,000
December	60,100,000,000	December	91,300,000,000

The amount of money in circulation in Poland before the war was 1,400,000,000 zlotys. In comparing the present situation with the prewar, it should be remembered that both in territory and population Poland today is smaller than prewar Poland. The present population is only 68% of the prewar figure. In other words, if the present currency were to correspond to the prewar amount, it would be 950,000,000 zlotys. As the situation now is, there is 96 times as much currency in circulation today than there was in Poland before the war.

But the real evil does not lie in that. Three years have passed since the end of the war. There has been time for the stabilization of currency, from which little deviation, we may suppose, would have occurred. A relative stabilization of postwar currency, not a reduction to prewar amounts, is a principle as well established as it is basic. Stabilization of prices and wages and not a fixing of them at the prewar level is an equally well established and basic principle. We repeat that not only could the currency have been stabilized but the economic level of the workers could have been brought to the same level as that of prewar days.

In the meantime the amount of currency in circulation continually increases; and the rise in the cost of living keeps pace with it. The cost of living index, taking the year 1937 as 100, in 1945 had reached 9,000, in 1946 had mounted to 11,000, and in 1947 had advanced to 16,000. That is, the cost of living in Poland today is 160 times what it was in prewar years. In this constant increase in currency in circulation and in the rise of living costs is to be found the real evil.

What is the situation of labor against this background? Poland has entered an orbit of a system of social wrongs, which are hidden behind fine talk of social justice. It is typical of the situation that in the international able of comparison of wages no figures from Poland ever occur. For a publication of reliable statistics would be publication of the evidence that things are very bad for the workers in Poland today, and publication of false figures might not "get

across" — the lie might seem too facile. At any rate there is no doubt that outside the categories of privileged workers, like the higher officials and persons in the Security Corps service, the hired labor class in Poland lives in poverty and that poverty and wretchedness continually grows worse.

What are the causes of inflation in Poland? The national budget has been balanced. Recently published statistics even show a treasury surplus. However in the balance sheets of the National Bank of Poland one is continually struck by the growth in the number of items under the heading "Economic credits N.B.P." For instance, in 1946 these credits totalled 26,723,000,000 zlotys, in November 1947 they rose to 134,457,000,000. Credit inflation is accompanied by inflation of National Bank of Poland notes.

Chiefly with the help of credit inflation, which in turn leads to inflation of National Bank of Poland notes, the regime is carrying out its investment plans. In regime terminology this inflation is called "anticipation issue." This method of financing investments follows the Soviet recipe, which is, an issue of currency that will be used to purchase production factors for investment purposes, which will be responsible for rise in prices, which in turn will decrease the purchasing power of the working people.

Price rises would necessitate additional currency issues, and these would result in further rise in prices, and so on, continuing the vicious circle, which can only be stopped by such radical measures as were employed in Russia in December of last year. Inflation, which is now in process in Poland, is one of the characteristics of the Soviet system, on which the Polish system is being patterned.

In connection with the continuous rise in prices, resulting in further currency issues, one circumstance is worthy of attention. There must always be supplementary help for the economic factors that were nationalized after the war. This is provided for by the additional currency issues.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "EAST" AND "WEST"

*Continued from Page Ten*

ter of becoming accustomed to new ways of life or of liking but a question of life or death. It is not by accident that we called our eastern lands the Kresy (Border lands). *Kres*, as everybody knows, means something which comes to an end. In this instance the 'something' was in our conviction Western culture or, in other words, the West itself. Never in history has any other nation so categorically designated its border lands. . . ."

And after discussion of the lands behind the Iron Curtain he speaks of the responsibility for what is happening there: . . . While the West deliberated conflagrations loomed on the Eastern frontiers. . . . We were not there because of them. . . . The fires in the East will not burn out. They will be visible with the naked eye from the windows of the capitals of Europe. The West will not purchase peace at the price of Eastern Europe. . . ."

# CULLED FROM CURRENT COMMENT

## FAKE LAND REFORM

"The so-called agrarian reform being carried out in Poland by the Warsaw regime has divided among landless peasants and holders of very small lots, only parts of the larger farms which formerly belonged to the so-called land-owners. The parts are those with poorer soil.

Farms on fertile soil have been excluded from the breaking up, and have been transformed into state-owned farms, similar to the Soviet *sovhozy*."

## THEIR PEACEFUL PURPOSES

"The Warsaw regime is storing large quantities of grain and other agricultural products in the event of war. Great quantities are being stored in the vicinity of Warsaw, and in other parts of the country. On the other hand, large amounts of cereals are being shipped to Soviet Russia from Poland. While the Warsaw press contends that Soviet Russia furnished Poland with 200 tons of grain, it is known that large amounts of Polish grain are being loaded onto Soviet ships in the port of Stettin."

## JAUNDICED JUSTICE

"The Warsaw Ministry of Justice has set up 100 new 'citizen tribunals' to pass on the guilt of persons suspected of activities 'harmful to the people's democracy' and of maintaining contacts with 'foreign Fascists,' among whom the Warsaw regime numbers Americans."

*The ignorant judging the patriotic. By no means confuse this process with a western jury system. It is a system by which to secure the extermination of all who raise their voice or are suspected of Western orientation, a system made in Moscow.*

## PUPPET, NOT POLISH

"The demonstrators (in Warsaw) carried placards which read: 'The Marshall plan carries slavery and unemployment.' 'We salute the Colonial peoples, fighting for freedom against world imperialism.' 'Down with the rightist destroyers of the worker's movement.' 'Down with the war mongers.' 'Down with the assaults of American imperialists on the freedom of nations.' 'Hail to the Soviet Union, mainstay of peace and progress.' 'Down with socialist rightists — allies of American imperialism.' 'Hail fighting democratic Greece.'

"The speakers attacked America, England and the Vatican, called for aid to the Greek 'democrats' and 'the masses of Italy and France, who are fighting for freedom.' They also appealed for a stronger union of communists and socialists for the coming show-down between the 'people's democracies' and the 'Fascist, imperialist West.'"

## SPREADING SOVIET CULTURE

"Fifty thousand Mongols from Central Asia were recently settled by Soviet authorities in the Grodno-Lida-Wilno area in the Eastern part of Poland, annexed by Soviet Russia. The new settlers are on a primitive, nomadic level

of culture, and do not even speak Russian. They were forcibly settled in a score of state-owned farms (*sovhozy*) and in timber camps. They were brought to Eastern Poland with their families to further the Soviet policy of extending Asia into Europe."

## EVIL DOCTRINE

"The Cominform's leading publication, a bimonthly published in Belgrade, often reveals communist plans for the ideological domination of Europe by means of influencing and educating youth in the communist ideology, and using it as an instrument in fomenting world revolution. Said the communist periodical recently:

'Experience gained during the building of the new Poland has shown the decisive role played by party and political consciousness. Immediately after the liberation, the party in Poland began to train the cadres. Until 1947 the situation did not permit the organizing of systematic training. In spite of this, 10,000 party officials graduated from communist schools. In such a manner the 'active' was created and trained for intensive work in order to strengthen the people's government.'

"The periodical continues: 'Independently of party training, a common bureau of studies of the Communist and Socialist Parties was formed. The training of members of these two parties was organized. Graduates of the courses will understand the essence of the new Poland in the Marxist spirit.'

"Simultaneously with its offensive to gain the youth, the Cominform has organized its internal bureaus, the activities of which reach all over Europe and direct the individual Cominform outposts in other countries. The Cominform Central has bureaus for propaganda, economic matters, political, military and intelligence.

"The propaganda bureau has two departments: one for world revolution, the other a domestic one, subdivided into the following sections: Slavic, Latin, German and Colonial.

"The economic bureau has two departments, the domestic and the foreign, the first of which aims to raise the economic level in Soviet-dominated countries, while the other conducts sabotage, incitation to strikes and hindrance of reconstruction in Western Europe.

"The political bureau is also divided into domestic and foreign departments. The first works to strengthen the position of the Communist Party in the satellite countries, while the second supervises the activities of the Communist Parties in Western Europe.

"The military bureau, working on directives from the Soviet General Staff, directs the activities of terrorists in Western Europe, and studies supplementary ways to dominate Europe.

"The intelligence bureau conducts military and economic espionage."

## A LETTER FROM AMERICA

Continued from Page Thirteen

others to follow his example. They fought over a pencil and stealthily copied addresses from each other.

Mrs. Barbara handed the mother the parcel she'd brought. Mrs. Weis fell at her feet, screaming entreatingly: "Write her what you see here. Tell her to get me out of here. Tell her to save me." She attempted to kiss Mrs. Barbara's hands. Mrs. Barbara helped the old lady up and declared: "I can't take any messages or addresses. I don't know how the letter got to me." They refused to listen to her. They forced scraps of paper on her. Clutching at her desperately, they begged for help. Somebody pulled a gold chain from beneath a dirty torn shirt and tried to push it into her hand.

Mrs. Weis was standing by the peeling wall, shoved out of the way by her fellow tenants. The lonely figure gazed raptly at her daughter's picture. Mrs. Barbara threw her one last look, seized her young guide, and holding him before her like a shield, started to flee.

They ran down the stairs, bumping into the women sitting there. They ran along the street that had become strangely deserted. The boy slowed down and fearfully looked around. Suddenly he stopped Mrs. Barbara. The corner building was surrounded by the police. Flames were licking its basement. A mass of shrieking human beings were pouring out of the smoke-filled hall. "They're making up a transport," the boy stated matter of factly. The rattle of machine gun fire filled the Ghetto. Many of the running figures fell and did not get up again.

The boy urged Mrs. Barbara to follow him into the cellar. They heard a plaintive singing. A man in the corner of the basement was intoning a strange eerie melody. "That's the Rabbi," the boy whispered. "He's singing the song for the dead."

They dragged themselves through the cellars. All of a sudden, Mrs. Barbara began to run and cry: "Faster, faster. I can't stand it any longer." She covered her ears with her hands and fled on, while the wailing notes of the song lingered on and then died away in the distance.

## SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY....

Continued from Page Seven

Polish city of some 40,000 population in 1939. Since it is in Volhynia, one of Poland's eastern provinces, it was incorporated into the USSR in that scandalous action of Moscow in October 1939. I have vivid memories of Lutsk, for I passed through it only a few days before the entrance of the Red Army into Poland in that fateful September.

*Pravda*, Aug. 10, 1947, states that in the furniture store of the Federation of Furniture Factories of the Tatar Republic at Kazan you could then buy snow shovels but not one single piece of furniture. (I was in Kazan in July and the thermometer registered well above a hundred. Snow shovels were not exactly the most wanted items.)

*Pravda*, March 3, 1948 notes that no such simple things as hammers, tongs, frying pans, files, saws, axes could be found in the whole town of Sverdlovsk — that metal in-

dustrial center of which we frequently hear Soviet boasting. But what *Pravda* does not tell its readers is that Sverdlovsk is manufacturing war equipment. On the next day, March 4, the same paper reports that farmers look for furniture, buckets, spades, kitchenware and simple household articles in the stores of Ulyanovsk — and do not find them, "as all these things are precious rarities."

Things that are found are complained of as being inferior in quality, "practically rejects." *Trud*, May 23, 1947, wrote that many enterprises of the Ministry for Local Industry produce goods which are not fit for consumer use.

Stalin's address, quoted in *Izvestia*, Feb. 10, 1946, made it clear to the Soviet people that heavy industry would have priority over consumer goods and if the goals he named in that address are to be attained in heavy industrial production, the citizens of the USSR will wait until the approach of 1965 before they can buy the things they need and desire.

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