

THE POLISH REVIEW

AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

VOL. VIII

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HIS EMINENCE FRANCIS J. CARDINAL SPELLMAN
A miniature portrait by Zygmunt Sowa-Sowinski.

THE miniature portrait by Zygmunt Sowa-Sowinski was presented to H.E. Francis J. Cardinal Spellman by a delegation from the American Polish Citizens Intellectual Committee.

"No one suffers more than I do at the injustices suffered by the Polish people," the Cardinal told his visitors. "I saw them in exile all over the world. Nobody sacrificed and suffered more than the Polish people for the common cause of liberty, and unfortunately Poland is still suffering."

Zygmunt Sowa-Sowinski was born in 1908 in Lodz, Poland. After completing his initial painting studies under the guidance of Prof. Leon Wyczolkowski of Bydgoszcz, Sowa-Sowinski en-

tered the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. A few years after graduating from the Cracow Academy he became well known in Poland and afterwards in Europe for his miniature paintings. His works were exhibited in Warsaw, Vienna, Paris and Rio de Janeiro. Among his subjects were: King Carol of Rumania, Princess of Orleans and Braganza, Countess of Paris, Countess de Crespi, Princess Biddle Hohenlohe, Marshall Pilsudski, Prince Radziwill, Prince Czartoryski, Prince Lubomirski, etc. etc.

Reviewing the work of Sowa-Sowinski, French critics have this to say: "He is the most outstanding miniaturist in Europe." "Sowa's miniatures have their own life." "There is a fresh breeze in his work."

THIS IS THEIR RECORD

CAN AMERICAN FRIENDS of Poland look to the Democratic Party for a just and wise handling of the problem of Poland? On the basis of what that party has done in these matters during its fifteen years in office, we say, No. This is their record.

I. THEY OPENED THE DOORS OF ALL EUROPE TO COMMUNISM.

1. They did this first shortly after taking office by recognizing the Bolshevik government of the USSR as the legal government of Russia. This gave that government and those leaders an air of respectability and thus helped them attain their present status and great power.
2. They did it later at Teheran in December 1943 when they backed Stalin in his plan for seizing Eastern Europe. Churchill wished to keep the Russians out of Europe by attacking the Germans through south-eastern Europe and thus containing the USSR within its own boundaries.
3. They did it again in early 1945 when they permitted the Russians to take Berlin and Prague. These cities were the proper fruit of our own army's advance into Central Europe.
4. They did it during the war by representing Russia to the USA as having a decent, liberal, representative government not so much unlike our own, a bald lie. The leaders of the Democratic Party said to Stalin in effect (See Isaiah 1:18) "Come now, let us reason together; though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." And then after each conference they proceeded to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people.
5. They did it by shutting off all criticism of Russia and the efforts of those who knew the

truth to get it into print and on the radio.

6. They did it by employing scores of Communists, radicals, and fellow-travellers in the highest branches of our government, who played up Russia and crushed all effort to get the truth before the people. And now Pres. Truman calls the Congressional exposure of this evil doing "a red herring."
7. At Potsdam they gave all Eastern Europe to Russia.
8. Our Office of War Information, a Democratic Party affair, conducted a very effective propaganda in favor of the USSR and the Russians, selling Russia to the world as a respectable government, which it is not. The OWI officials handling Polish affairs were Communists. And now Pres. Truman continues this by calling bloody-handed Stalin "a good fellow."

II. THEY GAVE POLAND TO ITS AGE-LONG ENEMY, RUSSIA.

1. In September 1939 and the following months they made no vigorous protest against the Russian seizure of half of Poland.
2. April 25, 1942, John G. Winant, U. S. Ambassador to London and a high man in Washington, told Louis Fischer that Moscow would absorb all of Poland up to the Curzon Line, but that this was very hush-hush and must not be told until after the war; a base betrayal of a loyal ally, concurred in by the Democratic leaders.
3. At Teheran December 1943, but more concretely at Yalta, February 1945, it is now known that the Democratic Party leaders quite definitely gave Poland to Russia, a shameful thing.

4. At Potsdam, August 1945, this delivery of Poland to Russia was confirmed.
5. The USA never held Russia to its agreements in regard to a free election in Poland but allowed Russia to take that land and keep it.
6. UNRRA, a Democratic Party affair, was given outright to Russia in its administration in Poland when it appointed the infamous Menshikov the director in that country, and it was never taken out of Communist hands, so that it became a definite instrument of Communist policy in Poland.
7. The Democratic Party must bear the responsibility for the brutal treatment of Polish Displaced Persons in Germany, a record almost equalling Yalta in perfidy. That record is open for all to read and for Americans to read and blush.
8. The Democratic Party recognized the puppet government of Poland put there by Russia and withdrew recognition from the legal Polish government still existing in London.

III. THEY HAVE GROSSLY DECEIVED BOTH POLES AND POLISH AMERICANS

This practice of deceit permeates both concealed facts and Democratic intentions with respect to Poland.

1. Part of the story is in Jan Ciechanowski's book, "Defeat in Victory."
2. Part of it is in Arthur Bliss Lane's book, "I Saw Poland Betrayed."
3. All of it is known to all Polish-American leaders.

IV. THEY HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES GULLIBLE AND INCOMPETENT IN THEIR HANDLING OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS.

Poland is the chief victim of their bungling.

The Democrats have liquidated our powerful army, navy, and air force and made us weak and a joke before the world just when the evidences of power are needed to win the peace that should follow the war we won.

V. THEY HAVE NOT CONFESSED THEIR SINS.

Nor have they done anything to undo the results of their evil deeds. No Democratic leader of national and inside rank has fought his party's policies with regard to Poland. Nor do we see any indications that the Democratic Party will repent, confess, and make and seek restoration.

VI. THEY PROMISE NOTHING

Their statement regarding Poland in the "Democratic Platform for 1948" is a weak and sickly thing, meaning nothing and committing the Democrats to nothing.

THIS IS THEIR RECORD!

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THE POTENTIAL MILITARY STRENGTH OF POLAND.

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OUR "STRAW" VOTE

THE POLISH REVIEW has sent the following appeal to a number of its readers and friends:

Dear Friend:

The coming Presidential Election in November of this year will be the most outstanding event in current history of world embracing significance.

In this crucial moment THE POLISH REVIEW wants to ascertain the political consciousness of its friends of Polish descent. It is very important now to have a general idea what percentage of Polish-American voters is going to take part in the election and how Polish votes will be divided between the two major parties. This "straw vote" will prove the political importance of the Polish-American vote and is the first poll of its kind ever conducted in the U. S.

Please mark your choice and mail the card to us. Your answer will of course be anonymous and will be only of statistical value without any involvement on your part.

Attached is a self-addressed postal card with a ballot for your vote.

In anticipation of your prompt execution of our request, we remain

Very truly yours,

THE POLISH REVIEW, Inc.

It is too early to present the final result of our "straw" vote, but the first replies show the majority of Republican voters to Democratic in the ratio of 3 to 1.

This ratio is sustained in our first ballots in all states with the exception of the State of Illinois and specifically Chicago where the ratio is 1 to 1.

New York City gives a different picture with the ratio of 1 to 7 for Republicans.

All these estimates are of course only "early birds" and it would be premature to draw the final conclusion now.

We must point out that we addressed our cards to a selected group of Americans of Polish extraction: leaders of various groups and organizations, clergy, professional people, teachers, businessmen, newspapermen, radiomen, artists, intellectuals, "white collar" and hand workers, etc.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

FOUR YEARS AGO this August the population of Warsaw, led by the famous Polish underground force known as the Home Army, as AK, the initial letters of Armja Krajowa, to the Poles themselves, rose against the German occupants. The story of the base betrayal of the Poles by the Russians, of the heroic sixty-three days of Polish fighting, and the tragic outcome is now a part of history. But in these days when history is so frequently distorted it is well to review events and so keep them in their proper perspective. The anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising was the subject of an article in a recent number of *Polska Walczaka* (London) and from it come these passages:

Did the Uprising have to occur? Everyone who was there would have answered with a straight 'Yes.' Both the emotions and reason played a part. The long German terror systematically increased the desire for armed revenge. Along with that was the unchanging will of the people to themselves take part in regaining their independence. There was a determination that the Germans should not depart from Poland without the participation of the Polish soldier in that departure — an hour for which the Polish soldier had for years been preparing and waiting.

The factor of reason had to do with policy. If the Soviet armies and the Berling troops entered a passive and unarmed Warsaw, Moscow would win a tremendous propaganda card, justification for its thesis that the Polish Underground was inconsequential, the influence of the

Polish Government in London non-existent. Moscow would say that the Polish capital welcomed the Red Army with joy and came out for the Lublin Committee of National Liberation.

Therefore, the Poles said, Warsaw must be controlled and freed by the Home Army before Soviet troops ever entered the city. Thus Russia would have to make clear her intentions with regard to Poland with the world looking on. The correctness of these views was proved by Moscow's treacherous and deliberate delay in attacking the Germans in Warsaw at the time when the initial successes of the Uprising were ringing around the world.

From the military viewpoint, the Uprising was of unexampled and high historic value. If one compares the tremendous advantage in strength of the Germans, based on bombing from the air, on heavy artillery fire, the number of tanks and the splendidly equipped troops of the *Wehrmacht* and SS, with the poorly armed Home Army soldier, always short of ammunition, then and then only can one get the full significance of those 63 days of fighting. The German losses in those memorable days were more than 11,000 killed and 20,000 wounded, 2,000 prisoners, and 290 tanks and armored cars destroyed or captured. Compare that with some of the great battles on the regular fighting front and the Warsaw Uprising will gain new meaning.

As for political significance of the Uprising, it brought

Please, turn to Page Fifteen

MICKIEWICZ AND RUSSIA

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the most beloved of all Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz, occurs this year and the Polish puppet regime, having brazenly appropriated and "purged" him for propaganda purposes, are in various ways commemorating the event. Mickiewicz was born in that part of Poland included in the Russian share of the 18th century partitions. No one Pole did more to keep Polish patriotism alive during the long period of Poland's subjection to its powerful neighbors chiefly Russia than did Mickiewicz through his great epic "Pan Tadeusz." But the puppets interpret the poet's works in their own manner, omitting what does not suit their purposes, twisting what he wrote to make him appear the forerunner of the present Polish cultural leaders. Nothing, for example, like this passage from the "Polish Pilgrimage," first published in Paris in 1832, appears in volumes of Mickiewicz in Poland today:

"The Polish pilgrimage is the soul of the Polish nation.

But no Pole taking part in this pilgrimage is a wanderer, for a wanderer is a person who moves about aimlessly.

Meanwhile the Poles is a pilgrim because he has taken a vow to journey to the Holy Land, his Free Fatherland, and he has sworn to travel until he finds it.

The Polish pilgrim says: Let him who follows Free-

dom leave his fatherland and put his life in the balance.

For he who remains in the Fatherland and suffers servitude in order to save his life will lose both his Fatherland and his life; but whosoever leaves the Fatherland in order to defend Freedom at the risk of his life, that one will defend the Fatherland and live forever.

But when they talk about your war for the salvation of the nations they will not say that you have done well but that it was untimely, as the doctors charged the Christ when he healed on the Sabbath, saying: Is it seemly that you heal on the Sabbath? Is it seemly to make war on Russia while Europe is at peace?

It was once said to the nations: Lay not down your arms as long as the enemy holds one foot of your soil; but do you say to them: Lay not down your arms as long as despotism holds one foot of free earth.

In truth I say unto you that your pilgrimage will become a stone of stumbling for the powers.

The powers have rejected your stone for the building of Europe, and behold your stone shall be the head and the corner stone of that future building."

Very little in that which can be used to support Soviet domination of Poland. But very much to strengthen the spirit of the Poles in exile. And considerable to make British and Americans ponder the future of Poland.

THE AMERICAN TRADITION

BY PAUL SUPER

FOR EIGHT YEARS, ever since my return to the United States after the fall of France in June 1940, I have with increasing application been trying to find out what my ancestral land, America, is. I think I am beginning to know. And I like what I learn.

In that quest I have been helped by visits to 185 cities in the United States and Canada during the years 1940-1943. In my wide reading I have been examining the sources of American political and social thought, the Colonial and Revolutionary and Constitutional thinkers, and looking for the roots from which these men drew their sap. I have been aided also by long study in preparation for my book "The Polish Tradition," which came out in the fall of 1939. Study of another land and culture helps one understand his own.

Now at this stage I saw advertised a book by my friend Prof. E. Ernest Johnson, an editing of sixteen essays under the general title "Wellsprings of the American Spirit," and published by Harper and Brothers. I have given this useful volume an intensive reading to garner its contribution toward my search for the American Tradition. That contribution is very large, and I can give it here only in outline, an outline I would love to expand.

THE SOURCES OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION

EVERY AMERICAN THINKS of the New England sources of our American Tradition, the Puritan and Pilgrim elements, but also what might be called the dissenter elements, found in Roger Williams, the early Quakers in New England, in Benjamin Franklin of Boston before Philadelphia, and no few others who tore the spirit of the Puritans. All this plus what we commonly understand as Yankee ways. Obviously there are two strands of thought here, the religious, deeply rooted in the Bible of ideas and freedom of worship, and the political, with the names of John Adams, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock rising in the mind and the whole ideology of the Revolutionary War as its content. Then the Virginia contribution, personified by such names as Jefferson, Washington, and Madison, an essay in itself; the full idea of the rights of man, of political freedom, of religious liberty, of the complete separation of Church and State, and, in Jefferson, of equalitarian democracy and popular education.

We come to that utterly unique factor in political and social thought, the American geographical frontier, an active and potent thing in its westward movement from 1620 until 1890. What did the frontier mean? Bringing order out of chaos, physical, social, and legal. The spirit of adventure, and of vast physical and moral courage. The conviction and the reality of opportunity. The sense of "manifest destiny." The exercise of unparalleled initiative, backed by stamina. The acceptance of personal worth, not of ancestry or heritage, as the only ground for esteem and position. Self-reliance, with deep-seated individualism and re-

sentment of interference, balanced wonderfully with a noble sense of obligation to neighbors and of cooperative effort. Practical inventiveness, indispensable to pioneer life; the spirit of improvisation and of adaptation. A strong realization of the role of the material, of property. Basic equalitarianism, and an almost instinctive understanding of the rights and dignity of man as man, and the will to defend those rights. Looking deeply, we see what a large role in that frontier tradition and spirit was played by emigrants from Europe who came to America seeking freedom and opportunity.

There was a French contribution toward the American Tradition, emanating not so much from Rousseau as from Condorcet; and an English contribution, chiefly from John Locke, but bringing to us certain Greek and Roman ideas also. Condorcet emphasized the elimination of inequalities and expounded the doctrine of human perfectibility, with popular education as assisting in that matter. Recent events have led us to be ill-disposed toward things German, but we may well remember Kant's insistence on the individual as an end in himself, now a very American idea, and on the high validity of the moral law and its inescapable obligations.

Of great importance in the American Tradition is our faith in the contribution science has to make to life, more especially when it expresses itself in inventions and usable discoveries. We are of all nations the nation of applied science. Our oldest scientific roots are in Rittenhouse, Jefferson, Franklin, and Newton.

Greatly important in our political tradition is the idea of central and federal unity, expounded at the birth of our Republic by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay.

If our mind turns towards sources in documents, which are indeed both roots and fruits, we think of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights Washington's Farewell Address, and that of Lincoln at Gettysburg; these at least; there are, of course, others.

THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION.

FROM THESE SOURCES the ideas which took root and were fully operative in the Nineteenth Century are easily discernible. Here, in the brief compass of this article, one can do little more than name them. They can conveniently be grouped under four heads, social philosophy, political policy, religious ideology, and scientific concepts. A paragraph for each.

As elements of social philosophy in our American Tradition as it took shape from 1800 to 1900 one can quickly identify convictions as to democratic equality, as to classless society, universality of opportunity, the role of education, the duty to seek the well-being of one's fellow-citizens, of America as an asylum for the oppressed of other lands

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"Columbia University Has Outraged Academic Freedom"

From an address delivered by Professor ARTHUR P. COLEMAN before the National Committee of Americans of Polish Extraction at the Washington Irving High School, New York City, August 15, 1948

ON THE FIRST day of July, exactly a month a half ago, in a spirit of revulsion against Columbia University's policy of financing its Slavic Department with one grant after another received from Cominform governments. I submitted my resignation from the department with which I had been connected since 1928.

The specific act of provocation which drove me to take this step was, as you know, the acceptance by Columbia of a grant of thirty thousand dollars for the establishment of an Adam Mickiewicz Chair of Polish Language and Literature.

The acceptance by Columbia of the Polish grant was far from the whole reason for my severance of relations with the Slavic Department of Columbia. The whole reason for my act was this:

AT COLUMBIA, THANKS TO THE UNLIMITED SUPPLY OF COMINFORM MONEY AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME IN THE UNITED STATES, THERE HAS BEEN CREATED WITHIN THE SLAVIC DEPARTMENT AN ATMOSPHERE, — A CLIMATE, IF YOU PREFER, — IN WHICH NO TRUE AMERICAN WITH HIS HERITAGE OF FREE INDIVIDUALISM CAN PERMANENTLY WORK. IT IS AN ATMOSPHERE AND A CLIMATE WHICH IN ITSELF CONSTITUTES A FLAGRANT AND OUBRIGHT DENIAL OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM.

The ideal of the Slavic Department at Columbia, and the goal toward which it is working is an annual subsidy of "a hundred thousand dollars straight from the USSR." When it gets this, "Then," as Professor Simmons once boasted to me, "we will have a real department."

Progress toward the desired goal has been made. First came the grant from Czechoslovakia (\$7500 annually at first, later \$15,000). This was accepted by Columbia at a time when outwardly Czechoslovakia preserved the forms of democracy, though inwardly, that state was already ripe for Cominform plucking. With Czechoslovakia now openly inside the Cominform fold, the subsidy goes on, and Czech and Slovak studies at Columbia are supported by this member of the Moscow constellation. Last autumn, Professor Roman Jakobson, who arranged the Czech grant and who is its principal beneficiary, was reported by a colleague close to the scene, to "have everything in his hands now." This, we who have worked in the Slavic Department at Columbia know to be true. A man with all the sources of money at his command which Professor Jakobson possesses is one to be cultivated. We have seen the evil effect this has had on men who previously seemed to have independent minds.

After the Czech Chair, the second piece of Comin-

form furniture to arrive in the Slavic Department at Columbia was the Hungarian Chair. With this installed, negotiations were undertaken for a Polish Chair, and a Chair of Yugoslav Studies. In connection with the proposed Polish Chair, trouble was anticipated. In some parts of our country, particularly in Detroit, the Communist regime in Poland can boast a measure of support. In the area of metropolitan New York, however, according to official sources, the very opposite is true. Almost to a man, the Americans of Polish origin in our area here are opposed to the Warsaw regime.

It is a well-known fact that for its students of Polish, Columbia draws principally from the local population. The Polish Ambassador and his Cultural Officer knew that, in establishing the proposed Chair, they would have to appoint a man to occupy it who, while satisfactory to Warsaw, was at least not unacceptable to the local population. They hit on Professor Kridl. We know that he was recommended to his post at Columbia by that arch-apologist for the present Polish regime, Oscar Lange.

Throughout the negotiations leading to the establishment of the Polish Chair, Professor Kridl was virtually unknown to Professor Simmons, who represented the University in the transaction, as I can testify from his own statement to me. Even after he had been appointed, after the initial grant had been received, before Professor Kridl could be notified of his good fortune, the Secretary of Professor Simmons was obliged to call me on the phone (she got Mrs. Coleman) in order to find out Professor Kridl's first name, how to spell his last name, and what was his address!

Even before the consummation of the Polish deal, plans were under way for getting money from the Communist government of Yugoslavia for a Chair of Yugoslav Studies. It was about Christmas time last year when we find pressure beginning to be supplied to at least two individuals to use whatever connections they had in Yugoslavia to make Tito give money for a Yugoslav Chair.

Does Columbia University, does ANYBODY IN THE WORLD WHO UNDERSTANDS ACADEMIC LIFE, really and truly believe that the kind of freedom we in America believe in can flourish within such an edifice?

In allowing the edifice I have described to be created, in giving its blessing to the scheme I have outlined for "taking" one Cominform country after another, Columbia University has outraged academic freedom. One of these days, professors in other departments close to the Slavic will wake up, and see that when the bell tolls for their neighbors, it tolls for them too. They will awaken to the danger and change the situation.

In the meantime, however, badly paid teachers of

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Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 185, August 16, 1948

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

MR. CHURCHILL has taken the first step toward rectification of the shocking wrong he did the Poles in the paragraphs he gave them in his memoirs, by agreeing to the elimination of the slanderous sentences from the English edition and the American second edition of his book. But that is going only half way in making amends. If he is a man of character and conscience he will make occasion to retract publicly and thus in a measure undo some of the immense harm he has done the Polish nation through the wide publication of the calumnies in the American press. Furthermore, it is to the advantage of Churchill the statesman to make this retraction; for the day is approaching when Britain will find it very convenient to have the Poles as friends. Probably Mr. Churchill's friends are not laggard in realizing all this. Let us hope that the keepers of British honor are up and doing.

DAVID SHUB'S BIOGRAPHY OF LENIN deserves reading if only for the reason that Stalin proclaims himself Lenin's close co-worker and heir. But there is another feature that strongly impressed me; the head-and-shoulder stature of Lenin above all the rest of the participants in the Bolshevik Revolution, the fact that this one man through sheer strength of will compelled the carrying out by a mere handful of men, without an organized army, of a revolution that placed the control of "all the Russias" in his hands. No wonder that today the men in the Kremlin are confident of winning everywhere through the establishment of small minority control.

From Mr. Shub's "Lenin" I give you some of his quotations from master and pupil, or, as the pupil will have it, from master and super-master, since Stalin now appropriates as his the wisdom and acts of Lenin. From Lenin: "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other has to triumph in the end. . . ." "In the end one or the other (Socialism and Capitalism) will triumph — a funeral requiem will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism. This is a respite in war." And this — "...there is no other alternative left; either the Soviet government triumphs in every advanced country in the world, or the most reactionary imperialism triumphs. . . . This is the Anglo-American imperialism. . . ."

In an earlier letter I have quoted Stalin's vow in his speech five days after Lenin's death, "We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the world — the Communist International." In 1943 Stalin found it expedient to "dissolve" that organization. What happened, as even the least informed must now know, was only a change of name and certain improvements neces-

sary in the working of the organization. The purpose and the procedures remain as before. On various occasions in speeches and in print Stalin has declared his adherence to the Lenin policies. One with which all reading Americans should be familiar is that he made to Mr. Stassen, April 9, 1947: "Lenin is our teacher and we Soviet people are Lenin's disciples."

"NEW TIMES" is a Russian weekly published in Moscow in Russian, English, French, and German. It professes to be a journal "devoted to the question of the foreign policies of the USSR and other countries and to current events in international life." Copies in English, French, and German are readily obtainable at news-stands here in New York. The dominant note in every article is either castigation and ridicule of the Western countries or laudation of the Soviet way of life and Soviet leaders, the main emphasis given to defamation of the West.

In the introductory article, "The Soviet Union — Standard-Bearer of a New Epoch," Anglo-Saxon imperialism is accused of desiring a German victory over the Soviets, and the Soviet Union is credited with "demolishing the Nazi invaders." "The Soviet Union's great victory over Hitler Germany was an epoch-making event. . . a logical consequence of the superiority of the Soviet social system, the most progressive and perfect in the world. . . a system in which the exploitation of man by man is unknown, and which is founded upon the fraternity and amity of equal nations. . . Having performed its great liberation mission in the second world war, the Soviet Union is today playing an equally noble role in the postwar period. . . had it not been for the existence of the great Soviet Power. . . the peoples of small countries could not even dream of emancipating themselves from the yoke of imperialism. . . In a number of countries of Europe and Asia the American and British imperialists are engaged even now in crushing. . . the urge of their peoples for liberty and independence. . . But the hand of the imperialists proved too short to reach to the countries which were rescued from fascist slavery by the Soviet Army of liberation. The disinterested support rendered by the great Soviet Power is a reliable guarantee of the progress of the people's democracies towards Socialism.

In the present epoch of struggle between the camp of imperialism and reaction and the camp of democracy and Socialism, attitude towards the Soviet Union is the touchstone for political parties and trends and for individual leaders. For the policy of the Soviet Union, while determined by its own vital interests, at the same time harmonizes with the fundamental interests of all nations, with the progressive development of all mankind. . . (Italics mine.

A. S. C.)

"The Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of a new epoch, stands as a defender of the just cause of the peoples aspiring to liberty and independence and fighting for the destruction of the imperialist yoke in all its forms. . . In the postwar period it is a vigorous advocate and upholder of honest international cooperation, based on recognition of the possibility and necessity for the peaceful existence side by side of two systems. . ."

THE WHOLE ARTICLE is a tissue of lies. Its "democracy" is a reign of blood and terror, of prison and deportation to Asiatic Russia, of exploitation and slavery. Its "disinterested support" means plans for inclusion into the Soviet Union; reports have it that Rumania is soon to have a "plebiscite" resulting in a "request" for such inclusion. But notice is served on the world that all, individuals, parties, or countries, that desire to be free and democratic must follow Soviet lead, and the Soviets will lead according to their "vital interests." Who can doubt, after reading that significant paragraph, that Moscow has its puppets in every society on the globe? As for the hypocrisy in the last sentence quoted, it is brazen almost beyond belief.

THE SECOND ARTICLE in this issue of "New Times" deals with the Marshall Plan. Here is a paragraph I have taken at random: "Politically, the Marshall Plan implies the dismemberment of Europe and the formation, under the American aegis, of a military and political bloc of West-European states directed against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies; it implies the conversion of Western Europe into a strategical bridgehead of American aggression; it implies the partition and dismemberment of Germany and the conversion of her Western part into a major economic arsenal and military base for imperialist adventures of the American monopolies; it implies the imposition upon the European countries, under the guise of 'the American way of life,' of political forms alien to them, which would permit the uncontrolled rule of the monopolies. . . and the scarcely veiled supremacy of reaction and obscurantism in political and public life; it implies the persecution of all progressive elements, under the cry of anti-Communism borrowed from the Hitlerites."

The quotes I have given from this magazine show its character. With the exception of a book review — "Collective Farm Folk" — which extols the Soviet way of life, the whole issue is a vicious attack on the West, especially on America. Yet this publication is regularly on American news-stands and is in some places sold out. And I can assure you persons like myself are not regular patrons. The question arises, Why do we allow such destructive stuff to be sent into our country and put into the hands of gullible or naive people?

JULY 22ND got considerable notice in the puppet Polish world, since it is, according to puppet decree, "Polish Independence Day," for the reason that on that day in 1944 the so-called National Liberation Committee was proclaimed. The Polish people call their present government a Soviet occupation, and naturally therefore do not celebrate

this puppet anniversary. How content the population is with the present regime may be judged from this extract from instructions of Radkiewicz, head of the Ministry of Public Security; issued July 22, 1948 to his department: "Increase your watchfulness and your activity in the struggle with the enemies of People's Poland. Learn to uncover the enemy and reduce him to helplessness, wherever he may be hiding."

The fact is that though the regime long ago declared that all resistance to it had been wiped out and order and security restored, the regime has never felt secure. On this occasion Radkiewicz admits as much when he says: "The forces of reaction, although scattered, have not ceased their criminal activities, inspired and supported by foreign imperialists." The press, all under regime control, is wary about noting troubles of this sort or giving names of regime officials or employees killed by "fascist bandits." Yet a good many such notices do occur, as well as stories of show trials of groups accused of conspiring with foreigners to overthrow the regime. Certainly all is not quiet in Poland.

KRAKOW, has had a vast number of books, pamphlets, articles, and guides written about it. But the puppet regime had to bring out one of its own. In a recent number of *Wiadomosci* (London), Zygmunt Nowakowski, illustrates by passages from this new guide how faulty it is with respect to history, facts, and grammar.

The regime is unrelenting in its fight against anything connected with the memory of Marshal Pilsudski. Therefore, when the mound outside Krakow raised in honor of the Marshal is mentioned, it is in connection with a trivial matter quite unrelated to Pilsudski whose name is not even mentioned. Three lines chronicle the organization of the famous Legions of 1914 and their part in the winning of Polish independence, the three ending with "it is a fact of history that it was not to the fighting of some tens of thousands legionaires, but to the break-up of Austria, the revolution in Germany, but most of all to Russia that Poland owes the restoration of its independence after the first world war. Moreover, Krakow should be proud of the fact that Lenin, the leader of that revolution, which also gave Poland its freedom, lived in Krakow and its vicinity (actually while he was preparing that revolution) from 1912-1914." And this strain continues for twelve lines, says Mr. Nowakowski. It was Soviet Russia, Moscow orders the Poles to teach, that restored Polish independence in *both* world wars.

One further quote as given by Mr. Nowakowski: "In the Krakow park alongside the Florian Gate and the Barbican, two jewels from the past, there gleams against the greenery the monument raised over the collective grave of several Soviet soldiers killed in the battle for Krakow. The dignified beauty of the ancient walls of Krakow beside the tomb of those who saved the beauty of these stone pages of the history of the Polish Nation, at the cost of their own lives saving the capital of the Jagiellons from utter destruction. . . If people forget, the stones will speak. . ."!!!

POLAND IN WORLD HISTORY

BY PROF. CLARENCE A. MANNING

TRADITIONAL HISTORY HAS long emphasized the role of Poland as the guardian of the Western world against the hordes of Asia. Not only the writers of Poland but those of the West have believed this and for centuries the statesmen of the West adopted the same principle. Perhaps on many occasions the country was too remote to be closely involved in many of the problems of Europe but none the less the great movements of life and thought that stirred Europe were sooner or later reflected in Polish affairs.

It has remained for the present day to learn better. Under the theories of Marxian scholars who have ignored all concepts of the value of the human spirit, students have arisen to emphasize those aspects of Polish existence which were determined in large part by the nature of the country's location on the plains of central Europe. Under the leadership of certain philologists and dreamers of an ideal Pan-Slavism, attempts have been made to differentiate between Poland and the West to satisfy the aggressive claims of Russia to dominate the Slavs or the desires of the Germans to prove themselves a superior race.

It is time in 1948 after the destruction of two World Wars and before the threat of a Third to look a little more deeply and sanely at Europe and its problems. In the struggle against the reintroduction of human slavery, it is time to forget the sophisticated arguments of propagandists and the playing on words that has marked the last decades and once again seek to penetrate to the realities of human existence.

Recorded history is positive that Poland as an organized state arose at the moment when it accepted Christianity from Western missionaries in its Western form. There was no intervening period when the country was hesitating between the usages of Rome and of Constantinople, even before there came an open break between the two and when there was still a unified Christian world. More than that it was Poland that formed the border state in the struggle against the great Mongolian Empire and it was for that reason that all the peoples of the east of Europe who were struggling against Mongolian and Tatar domination gathered around the Republic of Poland for protection and assistance. It was the border line between Poland and the Mongol-Tatar Empire with all that it possessed of autocratic rule and of slavery that was the dominant factor in the formation of the Polish character. In that struggle we must not overlook the fact that the foremost Christian advocate of the Mongol order was the Grand Prince of Moscow, who for his own aggrandizement turned the thoughts of his people strictly to the East and became the most willing and subservient vassal of the Grand Khan.

There was one other important factor in Polish development. Poland remained outside of the Holy Roman Empire as that turned into a fundamentally German state. Polish culture and Polish thought was dominated more by direct connections with Italy than by its Western neigh-

bors. The Jagiello Kings were in close contact with the leaders of the Renaissance in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Polish scholars as Copernicus were educated in the Italian universities. One of the Kings married an Italian princess. The Wawel in Krakow was rebuilt by Italian architects. Such writers as Kochanowski modelled their work on Italian models, and it was the superior culture of the Polish portion of the realm that led to the social absorption of the nobles and the more prosperous classes of all the groups that were included under the government.

Then came the decline of the state and the sad period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the country fell to ruin. Yet it went down still as an ardent, even if narrow, exponent of certain aspects of Western life, which had involved it in needless controversies and left it an easy prey to the reviving power, first of Moscow and then of Russia.

Yet there can be no better illustration of the conflicting attitudes of the Poles and of the Russians in the eighteenth century than the almost contemporary movements of Casimir Pulaski and of Pugachev. The latter was fighting for the maintenance of the rigid traditional ideas of Muscovite life and its opposition to the West. Pulaski was endeavoring to preserve the freedom of the past. From Poland he came to the United States and died here in the struggle for liberty while his work was carried on by the uprising of Kosciuszko in 1794 with its renewed statement of Western aims and ideas.

From then during the entire period of the division of the Polish state in all three portions of the oppressed country, the leaders of the people stood for the development of Western ideas. They followed the trends of European thought and if their efforts often failed to attract attention, it was because they were merely interpreting the ideas of the West. As a result in 1918 the Poles were prepared to start a Republic on Western lines, while the Provisional Government of Russia wavered and hesitated and feebly delivered the country into the autocratic hands of Lenin.

Poland proved its value to the Western world in the battle of Warsaw in 1920, when almost unaided her troops threw back in utter rout the Red Army which was hoping to sweep westward to the Atlantic Ocean. For twenty years Poland again was the key to the resistance to Bolshevism, even long after the clouds began to gather in the West. Yet during these fateful years, it was the statesmen of the West who failed to realize her position and by their appeasement of Hitler prepared the way for the new holocaust. When they did wake up, it was only to fall into the reverse snare and believe that they could save Poland and Europe with the aid of the Bolsheviks. The Poles knew better and so did all the states and peoples between the two totalitarian empires. Europe would not listen and there came the disastrous alliance of Hitler and Stalin, the division of Poland, and then when the dictators fell out, the

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OBSERVATIONS

By PERIVIEW

THOMAS MANN, world citizen, begins the final paragraph of the introduction to his 1948 book on Goethe with this remarkable sentence, which makes one shiver it is so terribly apt in its application to our blundering relations with Russia. "To sit and wait for destruction without the courage to let common sense have a free hand; has this tendency and this danger to mankind not reached its pinnacle today?"

It is rather a debasing thing to independent and self-respecting Americans to have to deal with Stalin, the evil and usurping head of an illegitimate government, either directly or through such canaille as Molotov or Vishinsky.

There is a sentence in Rousseau's "Social Contract" which I would like to bring to the attention of President Truman. "The magistrate, on his side, binds himself to use the power he is entrusted with only in conformity with the intention of his constituents, to maintain them all in the peaceful possession of what belongs to them, and to prefer on every occasion the public interest to his own." Let him ponder that last line.

A few pages after the above sentence we find an excellent and well-phrased explanation of the actions and abject submission of all Russian and puppet officials. "Individuals only allow themselves to be oppressed so far as they are hurried on by blind ambition — and submit to slavery that they may in turn enslave others."

I have long had a high regard for Australia; a recent act of that government has raised my regard even higher. The Polish puppet regime appointed one Litauer as minister to Australia and Australia refused to receive him.

Never in the history of America have so many foreign spies, traitors, "queer" and questionable people been employed by the Federal Government as by the F. D. Roosevelt and Truman administrations. The situation is highly alarming.

To avoid being considered "a second class citizen," do not act like one, do not dress like one, talk like one, vote like one.

Vishinsky at Belgrade! What boors these Russian officials are! They have the manners of coyotes. The Bear indeed acts like a bear. No, that is not fair. No bear was ever so brutal below the level of the beasts as that demoniacal dervish Vishinsky.

In Washington and New York the representatives of the USSR and its puppet states constitute a sort of political leper colony, shunned by the informed, loathed by the victims of the USSR, despised by the higher-minded.

The thing the French have to decide is not "Is Berlin worth fighting for," but "Is France worth fighting for," and the sooner they realize it the better.

Moscow complains that we are departing from Roosevelt policies. We hope they are right.

We pass along the popular estimate that if there are 50,000,000 votes next November, Henry Wallace will receive at most 1,00,000. Yet how one hates to think that there are so many weak-minded voters. We must plow Wallace under just as he had the pigs and crows plowed under when he was Roosevelt's Secretary of Commerce.

If a man will not deny that he is a Communist it is a safe bet that he is in that camp. Of course our courts cannot operate on the basis of safe bets, but society can, and bring social and economic penalties on those associating themselves with the destructive doctrines of Communism. Notice that they say that if they admitted being Communists they would "incriminate" themselves. Sure they would. It is a criminal crew.

In my edition of Dante there is a line of advice for Poles going to the White House on political errands. "Look how thou enter here; beware in whom thou place thy trust."

The virtue and value of the Polish Government in Exile, in London, is its legitimacy. Do not regard this value lightly. That is the only legal and constitutional government of Poland. In this day when all decent people are praying for law and order in the world and for the basic ideas of democracy it is no small thing that there exists a free and legal government of Poland, able to pass on continuous and constitutional legality to Poland when freed. Only the Poles, of all the suppressed governments, have such a government in exile of legal validity. It has a legal President, cabinet, and other organs of government. Hold this value high. Strengthen and support it. It is a great asset.

The present government of Poland is a bastard hybrid. It is bastard because it is the illegitimate offspring of the association of renegade Poles with bandit Russians. It is hybrid because it is a cross outside of nature's laws, and in the classic phrase, can have neither pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity.

A word to President Eisenhower of Columbia University, really a fine fellow who has got off to a bad start in that matter of money from the puppet Polish government. "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheeps' clothing but inwardly are ravening wolves." St. Matt. VII, 15. "A corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit." St. Matt. VII, 17.

"The people," the term so deceitfully used by the Russians and their puppets in such terms as "the people's courts," "the people's democracy," is a political fiction, a bare-faced lie. "The people" have no voice, no authority, no status. There is one will, one only, the one at the top. In all things that one will controls, blinds, and deceives the people; it plucks that goose, and then exploits the people as slave labor. When thoroughly plucked, the people are told how fortunate they are that their dear Uncle Joe has removed their feathers.

Edwin L. James has written a nice little piece of irony in "The New York Times." "Now it was not so long ago that it was not the right thing to be a 'democrat' in Russia. The Soviet system was the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' That was official and the word 'democracy' just did not appear on the Russian horizon. Then came the war. 'Dictatorship' apparently became a bad word in Russia and all at once the Russian system of government became a 'Democracy.'"

Tovarich Panurge, the Russki Ambassador in Washington (the name comes from the Greek PANOURGOS, "ready to do anything") has been caught in a lie. We are all familiar with the old British saw that an ambassador is a gentleman sent abroad to lie for his country, but Conrad Panurge cannot be squeezed into that definition. Anyhow, he is caught in a lie. In fact, worse, he is caught in gross stupidity. Periview, whose prophecies have proved 83 percent accurate, foresees Panurge's recall to Moscow "to report." His next assignment will be in the mining business in Siberia along with millions of other muzhiks.

FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

SOVIET FORTIFICATION OF THE BALTIC AREA

"Every report that reaches us from the Soviet-occupied Baltic countries," asserts a July issue of the Newsletter from behind the Iron Curtain (Stockholm), "tells of fortifications, depots, aerodromes, strategical railways and highways under construction in some part of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. "The fortification of Talinn, in Estonia, and its environs has been started anew this spring (1948)."

Soviet engineers are in command of this work, the labor supplied by German prisoners of war — this helps explain the Soviet reluctance in returning these men to Germany — and by members of the local population, including women up to the age of 55. The Russians appear anxious to complete the work as soon as possible, as they put factory and office employees at trench digging on Sundays and during their leisure hours.

Talinn is reported to be swarming with soldiers, infantry and tank regiments, all Red Army men, predominantly Mongols. The coast for a depth of from two to three miles has been cleared of civilian inhabitants. The only exceptions are a few fishing groups and these must remain in their own communities unless they have a special permit. It is asserted that the German prisoners of war have more freedom of movement than do the Estonian inhabitants.

In Latvia, large numbers of people have been employed in repairs on the great Leningrad-Warsaw highway, a route of immense importance from the military point of view.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN ESTONIA

What the Soviets mean by religious freedom is well illustrated by what is happening to churches and church attendance in Estonia. It is estimated that at least half of the clergy that had remained in Estonia during the German occupation fled the country at the approach of the "liberating" Red troops in 1944. They had no faith in the much-advertised change of Soviet official front toward religion during the war years; and they have been justified in their flight by what has been happening in their native land since the Soviets took over a second time.

Many churches have been closed or are being used for other purposes, as in the USSR. People who attend the rare church services know that the Comsomol members stationed at the doors for this purpose will note down their names. Young people are kept away from church by the very simple expedient of forcing them to do "volunteer" work for the community or state at the church hour. They can be employed at clearing away war debris, repairing public buildings, or any one of a dozen things. Men and women between the ages of 14 and 60 may be called upon for such service, and they are compelled to render it or suffer grave penalties; but the church hour is, it seems, especially reserved for youth. Yet the young people have been able to circumvent the authorities to such an extent that a decree has been issued forbidding persons under 18

years of age to attend church services, the local clergymen being held responsible for the observance of the order.

IN BOLSHEVIZED LATVIA

In the government of sovietized Latvia the "front" is composed of Latvians but back of each Latvian, report the few who escape from that bit of Soviet paradise, is a Russian who pulls the strings. As in all areas under Soviet control the political police are the real power. Latvia, says the latest issue of the Latvian Bulletin from Washington, is nothing but a deplorable copy of a Bolshevik Soviet state, with a Bolshevik constitution, Bolshevik criminal laws, and Bolshevik paper money, and — Bolshevik misery. The fact that the death penalty has been abolished matters little; it is even to be preferred to the living death of years at hard labor.

Almost all property has been nationalized. Latvian production is shipped to the USSR. Any attempt on the part of groups to unite in the hope of preserving their freedom of action is assailed by the press as capitallist in intention. Forests are being ruthlessly devastated to supply Russia with lumber and firewood. Food is scarce and the whole country is flooded with beggars from Russia — a story that is repeated by every person who escapes from any one of the Baltic states.

A BIOGRAPHY OF STALIN

A new biography of Stalin has recently been published by the Soviet state publishing house. It appears in 54 languages simultaneously, in 7,680,000 copies. For the first time, it is announced, a biography of the Bolshevik leader is available to the peoples of the Asiatic Republics of the USSR in their own tongue. Of course the languages in which this appears are not all to be found in the Soviet Union, since these include English, French, Italian, Polish, German, Serb, Slovene, Turkish, Czech, Croatian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Persian, and Chinese. No Soviet publication has ever been on any such scale, either in volume or in the number of languages. Lenin is left far behind, so it is said.

THE KOMSOMOLS AND RELIGION IN THE USSR

Despite the subservience of the Moscow patriarchate to the Kremlin, the attitude of the latter toward religion has not changed, as many well-wishers in the West would like to believe, but remains just what it was in the years preceding the war. The Central Komsomol Committee, writes *Przegląd Polski* (London), has approved a resolution calling for increased activity against religion. While the exact text of the resolution is not yet available, its contents are made known in two of the Komsomol papers, the *Komsomol Star* and *The Young Bolshevik*. Here is the quote:

"With the triumph of Socialism in our country the social sources of religion were eliminated, but religious faith

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MOSCOW'S "FEDERAL MANOEUVRES"*

STALIN AND HIS agents have an even lesser claim to being called federalists than Hitler and his quislings and *gauleiters* had to being described as the fathers of the idea of a united Europe. Yet Soviet experiments in federalism can claim an even longer history than can Soviet machinations with the idea of democracy.

In the years of the revolution and the subsequent period of struggle with outside interference, the reign of terror then instituted went under the name of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." It was not until the vast state apparatus was fully erected that the Soviet rulers began toying with "democracy" as a useful political slogan. At this time the Bolshevik Party played up national sentiments in order to break up the Tsarist state. Once Russia had been split into separate states, the Bolsheviks reversed their policy and began pressing for union. Terror became the chief weapon, the federal idea served propaganda.

"During the first years after the revolution the Soviet Union was a real federation. The individual republics... had their own separate constitutions which often differed greatly in context." (Richard Wraga, "The Soviet System"). When the tactical necessity of employing the federal idea was past, the Soviet state evolved from federalism to a form of over-centralized totalitarianism. Abolition of some of the rights of the theoretically independent republics of the federation has cost the Soviet state much effort, especially in the Caucasus, the Ukraine, and White Russia.

The experiment in federation, raising nationalist aspirations, taught the Bolsheviks that only after a nation has been internally regimented and faithful tools have been found within that nation, is it possible for them to use the terms "federation" and "democracy" without running into danger.

Russia's own "federal" experiences have undoubtedly had a bearing upon her tactics in Russian-controlled Central and Eastern Europe. While hostilities lasted, the lauding of nationalism was the order of the day. The war's end made nationalist slogans pernicious to the regime, for Eastern and Central Europe was not a unified structure as Tsarist Russia had been; it already consisted of individual units.

In Yugoslavia the federal experiment was again tried. It would help deprive the Serbs of their hegemony and air the many mistakes of the monarchy. The Yugoslav Federation, numbering six states, was brought into existence by the Soviet tools, Tito and his followers, who had been helped to power by English and American policy.

The situation in each of the other nine Soviet-dominated countries is different. The degree of sovietization varies. The complex network of alliances between each of these and the USSR and between each other follows the Soviet pattern and strengthens the structure. But the creation of a single federal unit in Central and Eastern Europe might prove troublesome for Moscow. The emergence of a 90,000,000 federalized Balkan state, as proposed by Dimi-

trov of Bulgaria, would create a unit second in size to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. A move likely to undermine the clear numerical supremacy of the eldest member of the "family" of Soviet nations could hardly be in line with Moscow's policy, always aimed at strengthening Moscow as a center of control.

The structural framework of the Soviet empire rests upon the principle that all its parts are tied directly to Moscow. Any departure from this rule would result in a weakening of Moscow's dominant position. The establishment of an intermediary as a link between a part of the empire and Moscow would only be considered if it were tactically necessary, and no such intermediary would be permitted to come into existence unless Moscow knew that its obedience could be counted upon.

At present any Federation or Confederation would, from the Soviet viewpoint, be "problematic and artificial," it could become "genuine and spontaneous" only after complete sovietization. "Pravda" argues that it is essential that Central and Eastern European nations undertake a thorough "mobilization and organization of domestic popular democratic forces, as has been correctly stated in the declaration of the nine communist parties."

Apart from recent incidents there is plenty of evidence by which to judge Moscow's real attitude toward any sincere attempts at federation of Eastern and Central Europe. Even when Russia was in great danger, in 1941 and 1942, Moscow did everything possible to prevent federation in that part of Europe. Under Moscow's pressure, Churchill and other English and American statesmen withdrew their support from federation projects which they had previously professed to view with much favour.

In recent political trials in the satellite countries, approval of the federation idea for Central and Eastern Europe is tied with "subversive, reactionary plotting." In 1946 a Tito tribunal sentenced the leader of the largest Slovene party to 14 years penal servitude, one of the charges being that he "continued to collaborate as chairman of the 'Central European Federal Club' with Cyril Zebot and the Pole, Juliusz Poniatowski; that he retained contracts with the treacherous and pro-fascist emigrants from the other Central European and Balkan countries with a view to regaining... for a *Free Intermarium* the power that had at least passed to the people."

During a December 1947 trial in Poland a defendant was made to say: "The *Intermarium* (Between the Seas) is an organization active throughout the whole of Southern and Eastern Europe... as well as a few of the Soviet Republics. The former minister Poniatowski was the founder of *Intermarium*. The organization aims at creating a federation of states with a view to fighting Russia. The organization is also active throughout Poland."

In Slovakia, the arrest of some 700 persons was explained by saying that "all of the above-mentioned subver-

* Condensed from an article by Jaroslaw Nagorski in "R.C.S." (London).

The Potential Military Strength of Poland

THE MILITARY POTENTIAL of a country does not hinge entirely upon the size of its population and its economic strength, but in considerable measure upon psychological and moral factors as well. The army of a free nation under attack from an enemy will be quite different in its fighting quality from the army of a nation under a government imposed upon it by a powerful neighbor. Even the number of men in those armies depends upon whether the government has the confidence of the people or whether it owes its authority to chicanery or force. The internal situation of a country is of particular importance in time of war; for all those elements that in days of peace were kept under control come to the fore in the war's chaos and confusion.

It was not to military successes alone that the Germans owed their swift reduction and complete exploitation of Soviet territories. The Bolsheviks do not publish the fact that the Germans were welcomed as saviours in White Russia, in the Ukraine, in the Crimea, and in the central areas of European Russia, and that it was Hitler's foolish and fatal policy alone that after several months of German occupation of these lands made these people turn saboteurs. The millions of Soviet soldiers in German prisoner of war camps were not members of a defeated army but deserters who had not wish to die fighting for the Soviet form of government.

To estimate correctly, then, the military potential of Poland today political problems must be taken into consideration. We must remember that that potential will be considerably greater if directed against a German attack than if the Polish nation were compelled to fight the West in the interests of the Soviet Union.

What kind of an army could Poland today produce? Look first at its composition. It does not appear that even under the most favorable conditions more than 10-12% of its men would be in the 18-45 year age group. For the losses in those ages have been exceedingly high in recent years; losses in the war with the Germans in 1939, in the underground movements, in Russia, and in all the fighting areas everywhere up to the end of hostilities in 1945. Add to these the large number of Poles of that age who have refused to return to Poland, and the estimated number left to be drawn into the army in Poland would be not over, it seems, 100,000.

The present Polish regime has not confidence in reservists from the army of prewar Poland or in the soldiers who fought in the West and have returned to Poland. Therefore they do not prepare these for leadership but give all their attention to younger men entering the service. Soviet authorities, in their turn, have no confidence in the Polish people as a whole, and for that reason the Polish peacetime army does not possess any such officer class as do the armies of the Soviet Union, Rumania, Bulgaria, or Yugoslavia. Moreover, since cadres are rather poorly trained and there is a lack of good leadership, under present conditions a general mobilization of Polish armed strength

would probably not reach 1,000,000.

Polish industry could be made to supply all Polish needs but at present there is no move in that direction. Military equipment has been standardized with that of the Soviet Union and that country is of course in a position to meet all possible future Polish requirements. Practically that means that the Polish army is included by Moscow in its strategical planning.

Economic dependence goes a long with army dependence upon Russia. Polish industrial planing does not consider Polish needs but the whole Soviet design. Thus great emphasis is put upon coal production increase, for coal is the chief export article, in return for which there is not only foreign currency but industrial equipment. Soviet industrial goods deliveries are purely symbolic. Polish textile products are sent to Russia. Foundries, metallurgical and electrical works are slowly bettering production, but without money and foreign loans this will be a long process. Polish investment plans are based chiefly upon reconstruction of destroyed capital investments.

As Poland cannot now obtain foreign credits these investment plans are financed with Polish money; and this places a great burden upon the people, who must make gigantic efforts to meet these demands. This is not a factor that helps the military potential.

In no respect is Poland today as strong as its normal possibilities would insure. If war should not come within the next few years and the present rate of economic reconstruction is maintained, then Polish economic resources will be able to play a significant role in the economic-strategic system of the Soviet block. The size of the army will grow, though it will remain disproportionately small in relation to Polish economic strength and role. Even so it is difficult to believe that the attitude of the Polish people toward Russia would undergo such changes that they would become a willing tool fighting for imperialist Russian ends.

The situation being what it is, the relatively small and scattered Polish groups outside Poland become very important to the Polish cause, and for that reason the Polish puppet regime is making a determined effort to liquidate these groups. It knows that the voice of these émigrés can be drowned out and rendered helpless as long as there is peace. But in time of war it cannot be stilled; it will grow more and more insistent and clear. If our tradition is maintained, armed forces will rise to fight for Polish freedom and independence and though they cannot be large, their quality and character and the effect they will have on Poland itself will be of immense significance. The ranks of the janissaries will crumble as they did in the last war, when Poles in German uniforms faced Polish or Allied troops.

The Russians are well aware of all this and that is very likely the reason why so little has been done to develop a Polish army. In Soviet calculations no place of importance is given it.

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out of the murk of conspiracy the Polish conception of political reforms and social-economic reconstruction. The joint proclamation of the Delegate of the Government (Polish Government in London), the Commander of the Home Army, and the Chairman of the Council of National Unity stressed the fact that the country was not only fighting for freedom but for "a Democratic Poland, a Poland of Social Justice of working people." In fighting Warsaw, every day, every hour, in every situation collective solidarity, a conscious will to fight were manifest. This came from the heart; it was not the result of an order. Everybody was on the battle front because everybody wanted to be there. Some with arms, others supplying those doing the fighting, struggling to put out fires, giving first aid, or engaging in one of the many welfare and auxiliary activities. The soldier at the barricade, every citizen of Warsaw showed heroism. But heroism is altogether too weak and commonplace a word to use in the description of the valorous living and acting of the boys and girls, the old and the young, on the streets of Warsaw in those never-to-be-forgotten weeks.

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY HAS OUTRAGED
ACADEMIC FREEDOM"**

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Slavic in other universities, encouraged by General Eisenhower's apparent approval of the system I have described, will approach Professors Jakobson, Simmons, Kridl, and others with access to Cominform gold, and ask them if they cannot get subsidies for their work. Heads of Slavic Departments all over the United States may be victimized by their colleagues. Although innocent themselves, they may find the ground cut from under their feet by this insidious system of Cominform solicitation.

The AMERICAN PEOPLE have got to decide who is to finance their Slavic Departments. If THEY do not, the day when the black limousine of a totalitarian power will drive up to an American school on an errand of "rescue" is sure to be not far distant.

JOHN S. WINIALSKI

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sive elements worked for the realization of a plan known as 'The Intermarium.'

The terror tactics of the satellite regimes and the evidence from the political trials reflect the real attitude of the Soviet regime towards a federal union of free nations in Central and Eastern Europe. Propaganda slogans of national sovereignty are merely a part of a tactical move. Totalitarianism is being introduced into every sphere of life in the satellite states — and that policy is wholly alien to both democracy and federalism.

Moscow will not prepare the ground for federation. Her domination will, however, result in a community of suffering which may bring future solidarity in Central and Eastern Europe, reducing to proper perspective the quarrels that have divided these peoples.

As sovietization advances, Moscow may, through "voluntary accession," take several of these states into the "federal" USSR. The Central European Federal Movement recognizes the real significance of Moscow's "federal" and "democratic" manoeuvres as well as the meaning of the present struggle — the systematic destruction, as part of the policy of sovietization, of the spiritual values upon which depends the future of a free federal union of Central and Eastern European nations.

A word about the Central European Federal Movement known as *Intermarium*. In size, popularity, and field of interests it has grown during the years marked by new Soviet conquests. With awareness of the fact that without freedom at Kiev there can be no lasting freedom in Warsaw, and without a free Warsaw there can be no free Belgrade has made for solidarity among the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. Sovietization has not hindered understanding among these peoples. The Movement desires the inclusion of the Baltic countries in a central European federal commonwealth. It is ready to offer a helping hand to the long-suffering Ukrainian and White Russian peoples. In return, it would expect these peoples to assist in thwarting Muscovite imperialism.

Such a Movement is an answer to Moscow's federal manoeuvres.

FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

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exists still in the form of relics of the past, in the minds of backward people and those not yet attaining sufficiently high educational and cultural levels. These relics are disappearing, yet they will not disappear of themselves; for the clergy are attempting to get a hold on the backward elements of society and particularly on politically immature youth, taking advantage of the weak point in the educational work of the Komsomol and other educational and social organizations. The march of our nation to Communism demands a ceaseless strengthening of the social consciousness of the Soviet nation, demands an intensified battle against the remains of bourgeois ideology and morality."

RE-ELECT

RUDOLPH G. TENEROWICZ

U. S. Representative in Congress

1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT — MICHIGAN

REPUBLICAN TICKET

- * Physician and Surgeon — 34 Years
- * World War I Veteran

- * Four Years Your Congressman
- * Hamtramcks' Four-Term Mayor

PRIMARY ELECTION, TUESDAY, SEPT. 14, 1948

THE AMERICAN TRADITION

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(not very operative recently), of an improving status of woman and her enlarging opportunities, recognition of the value and dignity of man as man, of a united nation of people of many origins and types living together in mutual respect and harmony; and here, and in all spheres, reason and intelligence are the roads to decisions.

The characteristic political ideas in the American Tradition are equally distinct. A democratic republic; a centralized federal government, but certain state and local rights reserved; majority rule, and toleration of minorities which have full right to talk back and work to spread their ideas; the rights of man as in the Bill of Rights, with emphasis on freedom of speech, the press, and assembly; the basic sovereignty of the people; freedom of political action balanced by responsibility for results; no entangling foreign alliances; the Monroe Doctrine.

The central ideas in the religious tradition of America are that we are basically a Christian nation but tolerant of all faiths which work no harm to one's neighbor; we regard the teachings of the Bible highly; we believe in full religious liberty, to believe or not to believe, with no benefits or penalties attached; separation of Church and State; the social welfare role of religious groups, and their abstinence from corporate political action; religious confession as carrying obligations for moral living, which means religion as experience, not merely confession.

On scientific concepts I need not dwell here, as this is primarily a social and political discussion.

THE AMERICAN TRADITION TODAY

TIME WORKS CHANGES in all things, and in a tradition these changes are first of emphasis and of modification, then by addition. That preface opens a very large subject; I select only a few points. Here are some of the dominant ideas we emphasize today in our best moments.

Cosmopolitanism. From many lands, of many faiths, differing in color and in degree of benefits experienced, we all live and work together. We are not a melting-pot, all characteristics lost; we are a social cosmos, a cultural and racial pluralism in a national unity. In this cosmopolitanism we do not recognize the idea of first and second class citizens.

Regionalism. We recognize and willingly accept regional differences. We advocate no national goose-step.

Religious pluralism. We accept diversity of faith and prac-

tice.

Democracy as an instrument and process. By it we adjust and compromise our differences and conflicts and abide by the decisions.

Intelligence. In discovering values and appraising and deciding upon ends and means.

Balanced materialism and idealism. A union of the practical and spiritual. We earn grandly and give liberally. Aggressiveness. We are still, at 170, a young nation, full of the aggressive spirit of youth.

Individualism. We desire to be ourselves and express ourselves.

Cooperativeness. Recent history shows that we can cooperate mightily.

In all this I have not written of the evil in us and among us. For I am writing about the American Tradition, America at its best. Traditions, however, are not just words. They are and must be "located in experience." The American Tradition has to be lived out in life. Its message to us is, in the closing words of Prof. Johnson's "Wellsprings of the American Spirit," which has inspired this article, "This is the way; walk ye in it."

POLAND IN WORLD HISTORY

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same policy of appeasement which brought the Reds into control in Warsaw.

Today in 1948, with Moscow in control of Warsaw, of Prague, and of Budapest and reaching out for Berlin, Vienna, Rome and Athens, it is time to call a halt. It is time to abandon the grotesque argument that the peace of the world can be saved by the abandonment of the Poles to the tender mercies of the Russian Bolshevik Communist dictatorship, that the voice of Poland can be uttered in the United Nations by a servant of Moscow. It is time to realize that if democracy is to be saved, the Communists must be forced back to their capital for the final struggle and that the disintegration of the Russian Empire which brought about the freedom of Poland must be repeated in the destruction of the Soviet Union, so that the peoples of Eastern Europe may share in those democratic liberties which Western thought has ever demanded. That involves the restoration of liberty to Poland to the end that the first country to take up arms in its own defense may once again be able to play its part in the Western world, in the councils of the United Nations, and for the welfare of humanity.