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Stigmatization by Maria Dunin, Modern Handcolored Woodcut.

“ . . . **I**f or The Polish Nation did not die: its body lies in the grave . . . but on the third day the soul shall return to the body, and the Nation shall arise and free all the peoples of Europe from slavery . . . ”

The prophecy of ADAM MICKIEWICZ, "The Books of the Polish Nation" (1832).

Poles Pay Tribute To Paul Super

THE LOSS suffered by the Polish nation through the passing of one of its greatest American friends, PAUL SUPER, can not be expressed in words. Paul Super was a rare type, in that having absorbed all elements of Polish culture he was able to interpret them to America, thus becoming a link between the two nations. Paul Super's activity marked a turning point, the beginning of a new phase in American Polish relations.

Together with his wife and sons Super went to Poland in 1922 as organizer and director of the Polish YMCA. That was a time when the Polish people had just risen from their enslavement of almost 150 years and with unparalleled enthusiasm were starting their new life. Paul Super built the Polish YMCA and together with the new organization participated in the building of the new Polish State. He built houses, schools, clubs, summer camps. He created a youth movement based on American ideas but adapted to Polish conditions and needs. As the Polish YMCA became such an integral part of Polish life, its director also became an integral part of the Polish Nation.

From 1922 until 1939 Paul Super and his wife took an extremely active part in the spiritual endeavors and in the physical efforts of the nation. He studied its history, examined its tradition and observed its present. The results of these pursuits are to be found in his four books on Poland. The last of these, *The Polish Tradition*, went through several editions and is a veritable key to the understanding of the Polish soul.

Thanks to his prominent position Super was able to reach all classes of the Polish people, from newsboys for whom he organized clubs, to the most eminent leaders in Polish life, including the President of the Republic. He was undoubtedly one of the most popular Americans in Poland, known both to the man in the street and to those in official circles.

Owing to this close tie Super did not sever his connections with Poland when the calamity of war befell her; on the contrary having personally shared that tragedy he strengthened those ties. As the Polish proverb says, a true friend is known in adversity, Super's activity in 1939, 1940 in Rumania, Hungary, and France when he organized help for Polish refugees, established clubs for Polish soldiers, organized assistance for prisoners of war, when he was doubling and trebling his efforts, is the best proof of what a great friend Poland had in him.

After his return to the United States in 1940 Super continued his work for Poland and directed the activity of the Polish YMCA reaching out to all places in the world where there were Poles, where there were Polish troops. Refugee camps in the Near East, Africa and Iran, work for the Polish army in Great Britain and Egypt, and after D-Day on the battle front itself when the YMCA was advancing with the Polish troops marking with their blood the road to Allied victory

which in Polish hopes meant independence of Poland.

The collapse of these Polish expectations of just recognition of unprecedented blood sacrifice, of tens of thousands of men killed on the battlefields of World War II, of the millions of people tortured to death, gassed in the German death factories, of the thousands lost in the forced labor camps of Siberia—all this was for Paul Super inexpressible tragedy.

During the last years of his life he became the Great Defender of the Polish cause. Despite grave illness which did not allow him freedom of movement, he fought day and night from his desk for Poland, fought with articles, fought with letters. It was the tragic struggle of one man against the combined evil forces of injustice and wrong that had fallen on the Polish people.

The Polish Review is proud that Paul Super waged this struggle in its columns. It was an inflexible, ceaseless struggle. Super's mind, extraordinarily active and

alert, worked without respite to find ever new arguments in defense of the Polish cause, new proofs of the wrongs done to Poland. Often at night Super would wake from sleep and get up to make a note of an idea which had suddenly occurred to him. In *The Polish Review* he published an incisive column headed "Observations" under the pseudonym of Periview. In short, concise sentences he castigated the hypocrisy and falsehood of Soviet propaganda, pointed out the mistakes committed by Western politicians who were unable to see clearly in the case of Poland and other countries handed over as prey to Russian imperialism.

When Super felt that injustice was being done to the good name of Poland, he valiantly rose to her defense. Memorable is his excellent open letter to Winston Churchill in which he de-

fended the reputation of the Polish people insulted in a passage of the British statesman's *Memoirs* published in the United States. Super's open letter to Churchill printed in *The Polish Review* reached Poles all over the world. From everywhere came responses from Polish soldiers, greatly hurt by the Churchill insults, since Poles had poured out their blood in the defense of Great Britain, and deeply grateful for Super's open letter. Scattered over the globe Polish exiles wrote to him literally from everywhere thanking him for his courage in telling one of the greatest living figures of Great Britain a few words of truth about Poland. It should be noted that Churchill recognized the justice of Super's arguments and deleted from the British edition of his work the passages most unjust to Poland.

One of Super's last undertakings was a series of articles concerning Poland's boundaries in which he clearly and factually presented the entire problem and defended Poland's rights to a Western frontier on the Oder and Neisse Rivers, as well as to an Eastern frontier which would return to her the provinces taken by the

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PAUL SUPER

"NOBODY CAN SILENCE US!"

By Oscar Halecki

Dr. Oscar Halecki, a graduate of the University of Cracow, was during the whole period of Poland's independence Professor of Eastern European History in the University of Warsaw where he served twice as Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He was elected a fellow of the Polish Academy in Cracow, of the Society of Sciences and Letters in Warsaw, and of the Learned Society in Lwow. He is now Professor in the Graduate School of Fordham University and in the University of Montreal, and Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America.

IT SEEMS to me that too much attention and importance has been given to the recent Cultural and Scientific Congress for World Peace and to the presence of a few Communist intellectuals from the unhappy part of Europe which is controlled by Soviet Russia. They have hardly convinced anybody that their masters are the champions of peace, democracy, and freedom which are threatened by the United States.

As far as Poland is concerned, it was gratifying to see that not one of her leading scholars and writers has agreed to participate in a show which had little in common with culture and science, and merely obscured the issues of the vital problem of peace. Even the three men whom the Communist regime instructed to misrepresent Poland, fortunately played a rather insignificant part.

More than five years of Nazi persecution did not succeed in perverting the spirit of Poland. Four years of Communist pressure proved no more successful. Only a few weeks ago, a spokesman of the regime had to admit that these four years of "planning" have not yet destroyed the forces of "Reaction" and the "idealistic tendencies" of Polish culture and learning, especially in the field of the humanities.

There are indeed alarming threats that in the future less "liberal" methods will be used in order to impose on Polish culture an orthodox Marxist ideology, to turn it away from the West, particularly from the Anglo-Saxon countries, and to make it "benefit" from the experiences of Soviet scholarship—until it would be "Polish in form and Communist in content," according to the well known formula of Marxism-Leninism. But it is not so easy to distort a cultural tradition of a thousand years, and nobody can silence those who represent it in free countries, who warn all friends of the real Poland and all defenders of real peace against any misleading propaganda, and who recall that the tremendous majority of hard working scholars, writers, and educators inside Poland continue to share our ideas, although they are not permitted freely to express their opinions at international congresses.

THE POSITION OF THE CULTURE IN YUGOSLAVIA

By Bogdan Raditsa
Croatian Writer from Yugoslavia

Bogdan Raditsa is a Croatian writer and author from Yugoslavia. He has contributed to the American and European magazines, The Reader's Digest, The American Mercury, The New Leader, Plain Talk. He is the author of a book called "The Agony of Europe," and several other publications.

YUGOSLAVIA was one of the first countries in South-eastern Europe to become the victim of the most dreadful Sovietization.

One of the aspects of the Soviet invasion in our country—the land of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—was a complete destruction of all Western influences upon the national cultures. The century old contact with the West was immediately eliminated. The traditional and the more recent Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literatures were censored by the new Stalinist reactionary impositions. Books were burned and eliminated from the public libraries and bookshops. In the universities the teaching of English, French and Italian literatures and Western philosophy were cancelled.

A great number of prominent writers, critics, poets, painters and intellectuals were arrested, sent to the concentration camps and killed. Two prominent Croatian writers, one novelist Nikola Bartulović and poet Sibe Milicic, were killed, although they were not collaborators during the war but opposed Communism.

Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literary magazines were never allowed to reappear. Some of them had more than fifty years of existence.

The most opposed was the religious literature very popular in Catholic Croatia and Slovenia. There the real Stalinist line was brought to the complete rejection of any kind of spiritual creative work.

Joseph Vidmar, one of the leading Communist writers in Yugoslavia already in 1944, has explained the role of the Communist Party in the following words:

"The Communist Party . . . had not only an internal-political character but the foreign political character as well. The Slovene Communist Party has its own uniform program like the governing party in USSR. It is most natural that the Communist Party activity in our country rises an interest within the leading party in USSR and thereby in USSR State leadership as well. (That was of course before the famous break between Tito and Stalin.) However, the liberation front program went still further and declared its aims as to the connection of the Slav nations under the leadership of the great Soviet nation."

The application of such scheme may be seen in the verses today very popular with the Communist writers. Matija Bor sings:

"Stretch the gallows over the whole world . . .

Robbery, arson and murder are our gods"

Another Serbian writer writes:

"Do crucify me O Vladimir Ilich and destroy Europe, my pigeon, . . . Burst in dust with bombs the Michelangelo's Moyses and turn down the statues of the Catholic Christ. Wipe out from the face of earth the Roman Christianity! Only our Mother Russia the Orthodox Pan-Slavic Russia must remain on the earth! Inundate Volga! Overflow over the shores the waters of our holy river! Submerge the whole Europe, all her temples! Volga! Volga! Here is the Crucifix, Vladimir Ilich, I am ready to ascend upon him . . . Look how Volga is strangling Europe . . . Europe is sinking . . . in the deluge which pours out from Russia! (He, Dostoyevski is taking out the image of the Holy Virgin.) Neither are her tears helping Europe anymore. Volga! Volga! I am happy! Do chain me up with nails, Vladimir Ilich, and destroy Europe, my pigeon!"

And Lenin answers:

"Fjodor Mikhailovich, my pigeon, I love you, little brother of our genius! Russia will destroy Europe, she will . . . Fjodor Mikhailovich, my pigeon, my Russian pigeon . . ." (From the play "Volga, Volga").

Today in Yugoslavia the text books and the whole literature is composed of translated manuals from the Soviet official literature. The history text books are simple translations from the Soviet text books used in the Russian schools. The teaching of Dante, Ronsard, Hobbes is prohibited; professors are told to run away from "Western decaying formalist and cosmopolite infiltrations."

There are no more free publishing houses. All the publishing houses are state owned.

There is no cultural freedom since writers are not permitted to write what they want to write, but only what they are ordered to write. As in the Soviet Union Stalin, Tito is today considered the greatest writer, the greatest poet and the greatest intellectual. Everybody knows that his speeches and articles are written by ghost writers. Sculptors and painters are permitted to use only Communist leaders as models for their artistic expression, and all cultural workers are regimented and controlled. The greatest Croatian sculptor, Ivan Mestrovic, is an exile, teaching at the University of Syracuse, New York.

Culture is dead in Yugoslavia as in all other countries in Stalin's Empire. The Soviet invasion means the end not only of the political and national freedom of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, but the end of our creative genius, of our soul and mind.

Pax Americana

By Jan Lechon

Jan Lechon is one of the most eminent Polish poets, in addition a political publicist and literary and dramatic critic. For ten years, 1930-1940, he was a member of the Polish diplomatic service, occupying the post of counsellor of the Polish Embassy in Paris. Since 1941 he has been living in New York. Among his poetry volumes are: *THE CRIMSON POEM*, *SILVER AND BLACK*, *BEKWARD'S LYRE*, and *ARIA WITH CHIMES*. He is also the author of a volume of essays ON POLISH LITERATURE and is now completing a contemporary novel under the title "THE BALL AT THE SENATOR'S."

ONE OF the most terrifying achievements of Soviet Russia during its thirty years of existence is the complete annihilation of true Russian literature and the arts. Its tragi-comic symbol was the statement made by Shostakovich at the "Peace Congress" held recently in New York in which he referred to the Communist party as "the sole and supreme authority in matters of art."

The declaration of the composer who until recently seemed to hold the promise of really great achievements and who was forced by the NKVD to deny everything that in his music had been truly creative, free, individual—evoked before us here in New York a vision of all those unfortunate victims who in Moscow and in all countries subjected to its rule are driven to moral suicide, to defiling their past and giving thanks to their executioners.

The Soviets not only destroyed all Russian literature, today stupidly and contemptuously described as "detached from life," but also all contemporary liberal production in the field of art and letters which served the Russian people and was unwilling to be blindly subservient to the ignorant rabble dominating the Communist party.

The matter goes deeper. The two greatest poets of Communist Russia, Vladimir Mayakowski and Sergey Yesenin, resorted to suicide to protest against the slavery imposed on them, while the only genuinely great Soviet prose writer, Boris Pilniak vanished without trace, like many millions of nameless slaves of the red Genghis Khan. There exists a well founded supposition that the great but naive Maxim Gorky perished in the same manner as almost all participants of Lenin's struggle for a Communist Russia; and it is absolutely certain that, were he alive, this true friend of the people, but at the same time enemy of slavery would never be able to write any of his masterpieces in present day Russia.

The Soviets destroyed the once magnificent Russian theatre which through Gogol's gigantic grotesqueries was free to jeer at the follies and stupidity of tsardom, and which with Tolstoy's and Chekhov's sympathy shared human misfortune. The great film directors of the first period of the Bolshevik revolution either ceased

to work or submitted to the decrees which made of the Soviet film an instrument of propaganda glorifying the worst satraps of tsarist Russia.

Only people wholly unfamiliar with what is going on in Russia can imagine that Thomas Mann would be permitted to write there, that there would be room for Arthur Miller's revolutionary but at the same time humanitarian plays, that Aaron Copland would avoid the fate of Shostakovich, or that Leopold Bernstein would conduct there, as he does here in New York, masterpieces of "rotten, bourgeois" music.

One may freely venture to state that—in addition to religion—free research and free art are in the eyes of the leaders of present day Russia the greatest enemies of the world they want to build, a world that is to rise on the ruins of all freedom. Man's communion with God and communion with his conscience, disinterested concentration of thought, are regarded in Soviet Russia as acts threatening the system in power.

What, through their hirelings, the Soviets are doing today in Poland to Polish scholarship, art and culture, is a terrifyingly faithful copy of what they had achieved in Russia. The same thing goes on in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Hungary, and the same would befall any country over which the Iron Curtain would fall.

The United States is sufficiently strong to afford such a shocking spectacle as the recent "Peace Congress." If, however, it should one day agree to the system represented by that "Congress," it would by the same token have to abandon almost its entire present day literature and its splendidly developing human moving-theatre. American musicians who today take part, unhampered, in congresses insulting their country would be forced under the threat of starvation to write *Hymns to Wallace* or simply *Hymns to Beria*.

Polish arts and letters are today, like the whole of Poland, under the heel of invasion in an ever more oppressive slavery. A Polish writer who wishes to avoid deportation to Siberia and does not want to vanish without trace, has only two ways open to him: either to submit to disgrace and glorify enslavement, or to remain silent, and to so preserve that silence that nobody will

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COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHY ENSLAVEMENT OF THE WORKER

By Representative Jacob K. Javits*

COMMUNISM is reaction—and forced labor camps (called "corrective labor camps" or "labor colonies" in the Soviet Union) holding a minimum of 8 million human beings and perhaps as many as 20 million, are the best proof of it.

The free worker organized in labor unions is especially menaced by this reaction which is Communism. The fact that Communists, like the action squads in Czechoslovakia, first seize control of labor unions and abolish the democratic rights of the rank and file, is only a manifestation of a deeper issue. It shows that the basis of the whole Communist philosophy is the enslavement of the worker in the interests of the monolithic state. The base of this action is the captive trade union—its apex is the concentration camp for forced labor. As we recognize the world to be one world, by force of its interdependence economically and due to modern speed of communication, we also are beginning to find that it is one world socially and politically.

When slavery was an accepted institution in our own country, the free worker in the North recognized that the existence of a slave worker in the South would ultimately subvert his own freedom. So today, the free worker in the democratic world must recognize that the continued existence of the slave, or forced worker in the Communist world will ultimately subvert his freedom, too. A world divided against itself can no more stand than a nation divided against itself.

Liberals and trade unionists should not permit themselves to be diverted by the hypocritical assault of Communists and their apologists on racial discrimination in our own country, the existence of slavery in some parts of Asia and Africa and of peonage in Latin America and even in some parts of the United States.

The concentration camps for forced labor in the Soviet Union made a mockery of the protestations of the Soviet Union's spokesmen and their apologists, who seek to mislead liberals and independents by the argument that the Soviet Union affords economic democracy even if it denies political democracy.

The civilized world had a right to feel that slave labor, forced labor, and peonage were dying out or in the process of elimination until the Soviet Union re-

vived the whole ghastly institution and made it a high government policy almost two decades ago. Surviving manifestations of slavery in the democratic world represent outlaw activities which the face of the whole democratic world has been turned against and which are the fungus growths of a dead system pushed into dark recesses of the world. But the Soviet concentration forced labor camps are increasing and expanding in size and importance. They are the definitive policy of the second greatest state on earth, and they are at the root of a dynamic expansion of the Communist influence in Eastern Europe and Asia. The struggle against them must be alive and vigorous and unremitting.

The function of the democratic world is to expose—expose—and expose—for even though Communism may be firmly entrenched in the Soviet Union, it hangs precariously in the satellite countries and is on trial in Asia. A striking demonstration to the world that it is founded upon the enslavement of human beings and that it manifests itself in the deeds of forced labor rather than in the words of ultimate economic justice, can do much to cause it to be repelled in China, Indo-China, Burma, Indonesia and India, and to fail in Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary.

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WHAT HAPPENED TO THE TRADE UNIONS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN: POLAND

By Adam Walecki

AT FIRST glance, the Polish trade union outlook would indeed seem to be very encouraging. The split along political lines and between manual and white-collar workers, which had plagued the Polish trade unions since their inception, no longer exists. The whole Polish labor movement, without difference of political complexion, is now organized around the Central Commission of Trade Unions. The membership of this organization was approximately 2,500,000 at the beginning of 1947—a figure greater than any pre-war aggregate at any time.

Likewise, the factory councils which, before the war, existed only in the western provinces—Silesia, Poznan and Pomerania—were introduced by the decree of February 6, 1945, into the entire territory of Poland and were given the right to participate in management. The revised version of this decree adopted in January 1947 links the unions intimately with the factory councils. The participation of union representatives at the higher levels of economic administration is also fully secured.

All these developments provide a springboard for self-congratulation in the official press. Some particularly zealous spokesmen, in talking of the factory councils, for instance, even refer to the "withering away of the state." Actually, if anything is withering away, it is the Polish trade union movement.

The impressive membership figures are easily explained by the fact that belonging to a union is compulsory. No worker employed has any choice but to join a union. Nor is the fear of losing his job the only danger. The unions are represented in the commission which allots the desperately short dwelling space and are in charge of the factory kitchens and food supplies which are an indispensable supplement to the diet of Polish workers. These powers provide more subtle means for coercion than the outright threat of dismissal from jobs.

There is no anti-strike law in Poland today. But neither is there the slightest need for one. The trade unions, which are the sole representatives of the working class, have "voluntarily" renounced the right to strike. According to their constitution, negotiations and delegations to the government are the only methods to be pursued by unions in case of dispute. The official explanation gives two reasons for this attitude. First, the Polish state is a "people's democracy" in which big industry is nationalized and therefore constitutes public property which must not be damaged by strikes. The second reason is that under present economic circumstances, a round of strikes, with ensuing increases in money wages, would intensify the persistent inflationary

pressures. This argument, of course, contains a large element of truth, but, again, it is being conveniently brushed aside in the Western European countries where strikes have Communist backing.

However, this does not tell the whole story. The inflationary pressures in Polish economy are the result not only of war devastation but also of the over-ambitious industrialization program begun by the government on the basis of the Three-Year Plan. The goals set by this plan call for an increased output of capital goods at the end of 1949 or 250 per cent in comparison with 1938, while the output of consumer goods is to increase by 25 per cent.

Such a pattern of expansion, whose source of inspiration and political motivation are obvious, contains inherent dangers, and these have not failed to materialize. It is true that Poland's industrial output has risen considerably since 1945, but this was due chiefly to the increased utilization of newly acquired German plant. However, the high rate of investment outlay raised the level of total spending far above the increased supply, while an adjustment by drastic taxation could not—at the extremely low level of consumable income and administrative efficiency—be attempted.

Furthermore, the Polish economy has to bear the pressure of the Soviet Union, which, in its commercial relations with Poland, has adopted methods of outright exploitation, as exemplified by the fact that Russia is paying less than cost price for Polish coal.

A serious problem for the Communist leadership arises from the resistance of the workers themselves—a resistance that is unorganized and scattered but stubborn. In most cases, the workers react to their wretched conditions and their lack of union protection by simply working less. Even the official press cannot omit mention of the vicious circle of poor living conditions and low productivity of labor, nor can it avoid comments on the mass absenteeism which persists despite prison penalties. However, one thing that is strictly taboo for publication is any reference to the wildcat strikes that break out despite all restraints.

In the first few months after the war wildcat strikes were often a popular demonstration against large-scale removal of industrial equipment to the Soviet Union. The end of such removals and the improvement in the general situation during 1946 mitigated the unrest. In recent months, however, the increasing economic tension has brought a new wave of strikes, motivated either by rising costs or by revolt against the "Stakhanovite" speed-up of working methods. Indirect evidence of this is to be found in the fact that the Central Commission, at its last session, took special steps to re-emphasize its disapproval of strikes—without referring to any concrete instances.

Adam Walecki is the pseudonym of a close student of the Polish labor and political situation. This article originally appeared in the Nov. 1947, issue of the "International Free Trade Union News" and is given in abridged form.

SIENKIEWICZ AS I SAW HIM THEN AND NOW

By Prof. Waclaw Lednicki*

ONCE in my life I met Henryk Sienkiewicz. It probably happened in 1913 in Cracow during one of those marvelous carnivals for which Cracow was famous. It was indeed a wonderful performance. The whole dismembered Poland was there—Poles from Russia, Prussia, Austria, and from abroad. It was a market of girls to be married. But it was also a market of Polish thought, art, and political hopes. In beautiful century-old palaces belonging to historic families, that whole crowd was gathered—girls, young boys, professors, statesmen, painters, writers, poets, actors, were all together. The skipping rhythms of a waltz enchanted the young crowd. In the surrounding rooms old ladies, the mothers, the aunts, and grandmothers of the girls who were dancing, were nodding to sleep or indulging in waking dreams.

It happened that between two waltzes I went to the buffet, and began to chat with an old gentleman who was busy with partridges and champagne. Suddenly he asked me:

"Do you know that Sienkiewicz is here?"

Being then imbued with Baudelaire, Verlaine, Maeterlinck, Oscar Wilde, Schnitzler, Hauptmann, D'Annunzio, Przybyszewski, and even Andreev, I had turned away from Sienkiewicz—he was no longer the writer of my generation. However, I could not resist the temptation to look at the great man, the author of the *Trilogy* and *Quo Vadis?*, the winner of the Nobel Prize, the greatest Pole of that time. I went to the room where he was. There were not many people there—lamps were burning only on the tables; thus there was a kind of discrete twilight. I saw the well-known face of Sienkiewicz. His hair was grey, his features were handsome—the face of a perfect gentleman. I recognized his beard and his well-shaven cheeks, his pince-nez and the melancholy, sorrowful expression of his eyes. I was introduced to him. He did not pay much attention to a young boy like me, but he shook hands with me courteously enough and said some kind words about my father whom he knew. He was perfectly dressed and full of distinction in his voice and in every word and gesture.

When I now recall these memories, I think that the same elegance characterizes his writings and that this is his Achilles' heel. Especially in the face of our horrible present life, the perspicacity which appears in *Without Dogma*, the tenderness of some scenes in *The Polaniecki Family*, the merciful ingenuousness of *The Teutonic Knights*, the "almatademism," if I may create such an epithet, of *Quo Vadis?*, have become inefficient in today's great world battle. It is as if one should try to put some Yardley lavender water on the head of Stalin—it would not calm him. In *Without Dogma* Sienkiewicz speaks

about some national Polish traits to which he gave his famous term *improductivité* slave. He said that "there is something in us, — an incapacity to give forth all that is in us. One might say, God has given us bow and arrow, but refused us the power to string the bow and send the arrow straight to its aim.

Indeed there seem to be certain limitations in him. They appear, for instance, even in his excellent political and literary articles. They are simply too short, and each time when I read them I feel sorry that he did not continue. One has the impression that the writer was lazy or impatient, that he took for granted some things which were clear to him. It is perhaps a trait characteristic of Poles in general—a trait which one would like to call superficiality, but one would be perhaps wrong. Is it so with the Poles because history did not afford them time enough for reflection? — or because of the Polish temperament, of their passionate, sensual approach to life I do not think so. They appear able to see and to understand many essential things in human existence, and they nevertheless seldom give an adequate expression of their intuition and knowledge; they seldom appear able to impose their conceptions on others. (Copernicus is perhaps the single exception.) I have often been astonished to see that the modest Pole has a correct sense of values independently of their appearance. And this happens not only in judging of good or bad brandy. Oscar Wilde said once that in order to know whether the wine is good or bad, one has not to drink a whole barrel—one drop suffices. The same test might be applied to human relations. This applies an element of strength and taste, but very often it brings a lack of desire to expound one's knowledge. This is followed by a feeling of superiority which very often creates obstacles between Poles and the rest of the world. Certainly this feeling of independence is a result not only of the Polish historical tradition but also of a tradition of suffering. We know that when they suffer animals are silent, and that some of them when they feel the approach of death, go away. Suffering creates dignity and forms exclusiveness because there is an element of pride and selfishness in suffering. This is what I see now and understand when I recall the sorrowful and melancholy expression of Sienkiewicz's eyes, contrasting with the white tie and brilliant evening dress in which I saw him. He certainly was a lord even when he drew the curtain behind which he showed real human misery. But now this distinguished lord has entirely lost his prestige. One would say that Tolstoy was also a lord, but there was in Tolstoy a brutal ferocity which was strange to Sienkiewicz but which impresses the modern man. There was besides in Sienkiewicz a kind of optimism which is also no longer convincing today. In *Pan Michael*, the third part of his *Trilogy*, there is a charming short story encrusted as a separate

jewel in that bracelet. And the story is extremely characteristic of Sienkiewicz and of the Polish poetical tradition that he represented. One may remember perhaps the role of scandal in Dostoevsky's novels: scandal is an instrument of revelation, and with the help of it the essence of human souls is discovered. The soul appears naked. Once conventions are destroyed, the real truth appears, and that truth is generally horrible. From a certain point of view Tolstoy acts in the same way. When he deals with war, death, and danger, we see that in face of mortal danger people are reduced to absolute selfishness. One remembers perhaps Mikhailov in the *Sebastopol Sketches*, lying close to his friend Praskukhin and facing the burning bomb at the distance of several steps from him. In a few seconds the explosion will kill either both of them or one of them. Mikhailov's hope is that the bomb will kill Praskukhin. He even has time enough to think how later on he will tell the story of how Praskukhin had been killed next to him by that terrible bomb.

Sienkiewicz puts not friends but enemies together in the frames of common suffering. Two mortal enemies had been seized by Turks and put in a galley. They are in chains. Their labor is hard. Heat and storms are destroying their bodies. There is no hope for escape or for salvation. They do not speak to each other because their rancours are too deep and strong. However, gradually suffering melts their hearts, and suddenly they discover that mutual pardon is their single salvation.

A Russian friend who discussed with me that comparison said: "Tolstoy told the truth. Sienkiewicz lied entertainingly."* But another "Russian friend"—a great one—Pushkin, said: "Т^я *my nizkikh istin mne dorozhe nas vozvysheyushchiy obman.*" ("An illusion that exalts us is dearer to me than the dark mass of low truths.")

And now when I think about my meeting with Sienkiewicz, when I still see the light of those lamps in the Cracow drawing room, the noble, melancholy face of that perfect gentleman who tried to warn the world against complacency to brutal force, I suddenly recall a phrase which I read in a recent Polish book: "When menacing cracks appeared on the vaults of the world, Chamberlain tried to support them with an open umbrella." Sienkiewicz tried to bring as a support, a conception formed by the Polish romantic poetry—that it is goodness that is the prime matter of the human soul. I feel fascinated by that vision of old times, and I suddenly realize that when I look at Sienkiewicz through the horrible years which separate me from him, I witness a kind of transfiguration. I suddenly discover

*"Love," says Sienkiewicz, "with perhaps more force than clearness, should be the foundation of all literature." Cf. W. L. Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

in that Victorian figure the dearest traits of Mickiewicz, Krasiński, and Słowacki. I have before my eyes the last episode of *Quo Vadis?*—the figure of Saint Peter, who after his meeting with Christ abandoned his weakness and accepted suffering. Through the suffering of an innocent victim the greatest revolutions and transformations take place in the world. One who is conscious of his human dignity, who believes in the significance of greatness cannot escape suffering. It will sooner or later reach him and make him great.

The tragedy is still the same—the King Hamlet was killed by his brother and the murderer became a king. The mother of Prince Hamlet led by animal instincts betrayed her great husband, and married the vile murderer.

"The time is out of joint; o cursèd spite
That ever I was born to set it right."

PAX AMERICANA

Continued from page 5

understand why.

The men who came from Poland to attend the recent "Peace Congress" are representatives of the conditions in which Polish creativeness—known for its magnificent humanity, its defense of freedom, its unceasing struggle against oppression—has found itself as a result of the tyranny engulfing the whole of Central and Eastern Europe.

Poland terribly devastated, having of her own free will undertaken the struggle against German totalitarianism, having lost 7 million people, among them several hundred of the most outstanding figures in all fields of learning and of the arts, has more than any other country in the world the right to demand peace; and more than any other country in the world she deserves peace.

But whatever her false envoys would say about it, she rejects unhesitatingly this lethal peace which would reduce the entire world to misery and bondage, the terrible peace which would prevail if the "Peace Congress" should achieve its aims.

All Poland, silent but tense with suppressed and injured feelings, awaits a "Pax Americana" ever confident that this would at last be a just peace which would correct the crimes of the invaders and the terrible mistakes of appeasers who try to come to terms with crime.

And such a peace is also awaited as liberation by mortally endangered Polish scholarship, literature and art.

* From: HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ (1846-1946) by WACLAW LEDNICKI, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America Series, New York, N. Y.

BEGIN BY REPUDIATING YALTA

By Prof. Frank Nowak

TWICE in a single generation the people of America have been called upon to wage a World War for the cause of humanity. Their generous response and great sacrifice on each occasion brought overwhelming victory; yet in each case we lost the peace and failed to gain the objectives sought.

We, who were inspired to wage a just war for the peace and security of all mankind as solemnly outlined in the Atlantic Charter, were in the course of the war troubled and perplexed by our leaders who on the eve of victory dared to betray our war aims and to play fast and loose with the conscience and honor of the nation.

In the first World War we lost the peace when our leaders failed to use the League of Nations for the purpose intended.

In the second World War the record was even worse. Hardly had the principles of the Atlantic Charter been proclaimed in 1941 and accepted by twenty-two nations including the Soviet Union, when they were flagrantly violated by Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt in the very first test case of Poland. The people of this gallant country, who were the first to fight Adolf Hitler and who suffered heavier losses in men and material than any other country in proportion to population, were secretly and then openly betrayed by their allies.

The fate of Poland became the touchstone of the validity of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and at the same time demonstrated to the world that Stalin like his former colleague in arms, Adolf Hitler, signed treaties for the purpose of deceiving friend and foe alike. By insisting that he wanted a "strong and independent Poland" Stalin convinced his gullible allies at Teheran and Yalta that the best way of maintaining a strong and independent Poland was to cut the country in two along the Ribbentrop-Molotov line of 1939. What is more, he induced Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt to subscribe to this shameful deal with Hitler in defiance of our professed war aims.

No doubt the democratic leaders imagined that for a price they had converted Stalin to their point of view. Even at Yalta they did not realize that they were being taken into the Russian camp. Wishful thinking had brought us to another Munich. The greatest military and naval power in the world betrayed an ally to appease Stalin. Poland at Yalta, like Czechoslovakia at Munich, became a tragic symbol of the failure of American diplomacy to achieve peace in our time. But the rape of Poland was but the beginning. Other countries, including China, were soon to suffer the same fate. Yalta was indeed, a colossal blunder that lost for us the peace.

The attempt to whitewash our leaders by adducing military necessity as the cause of our blundering policy is plausible but not convincing. The labored argument

is weak and apologetic. It will not convince any man of sense and it will not conceal from the American people the total failure of our diplomacy to achieve a lasting peace.

Robert Sherwood in his book "Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History," reveals the close collaboration of these two men in directing American policy. There is abundant evidence to show that Harry Hopkins was largely responsible for President Roosevelt's complete misapprehension of the character of Joseph Stalin and the trend of Russian policy.

The President never tired of repeating that "Harry got along with Stalin like a house-afire" and he trusted Harry's judgment. The stature of Harry Hopkins as a statesman is revealed by his own estimate of the achievements attained at Yalta. Said he,

"We really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of a new day we had all been praying for and talking about for so many years. We were absolutely certain that we had won the first great victory of peace . . . The Russians proved that they could be reasonable and far seeing, and there wasn't any doubt in the minds of the President or any of us that we could live with them and get along with them peacefully for as far into the future as any of us could imagine . . . We felt sure that we could count on him (Stalin) to be reasonable and sensible and understanding."

When a well-informed American ambassador to Moscow, William Bullitt, in 1941 tried to warn President Roosevelt regarding the true character of Joseph Stalin and insisted on written agreements regarding lend-lease to Russia, the President replied,

"Bill, I don't dispute your facts. They are accurate. I don't dispute the logic of your reasoning. I just have a hunch that Stalin is not that kind of man. Harry says he's not and that he does not want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything I possibly can and ask for nothing in return, noblesse oblige, he won't try to annex anything and will work for a world of democracy and peace."

The gullibility of Harry Hopkins and a hunch of President Roosevelt that Stalin could be honest and decent if overwhelmed with favors brought us on the road to Teheran, Yalta, and ruin. When it seemed reasonable that Stalin should take half of Poland and all of Manchuria, Soviet aggression and expansion had been given the green light and was not to stop until it encompassed one fifth of the earth's surface, extending from Berlin, Germany; to the Yangtse River in China. Nor is the end yet in sight.

The supreme irony of our position today is that while we scrupulously continue to respect the terms of the

agreements reached at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, Stalin has broken every one of the agreements. Surely the time has come to put the record straight and return to first principles. These agreements are but a snare and a delusion. They are a dishonorable betrayal of democratic tradition and have lost for us the confidence of the freedom loving nations of the world.

If the denunciation of these agreements, already broken by Stalin, is termed Utopianism and Idealism, what, may we ask, is the meaning of the word REALISM? If we can not convert Stalin who believes might is right and that power confers authority without responsibility, is it realism to deny our democratic birthright and accept the philosophy and frame of reference of a totalitarian dictator? That was the tragic mistake made at Munich, Teheran, and Yalta. That is the road to further appeasement, dishonor, and disaster. Such a policy is not realistic and it can never insure peace.

By returning to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and insisting upon a policy of firmness, we may yet convince Stalin of the futility of aggression and war. If he is still unconvinced, the challenge will be met. It is a calculated risk based on realism of a high order. By repudiating the errors made at Teheran and Yalta, America can once more regain her position of moral leadership among the nations of the world. In time of crisis, there will be no hypocrisy in our appeal for friends and allies. Our appeal will have a sound moral basis and will take into account those indefinable imponderables which inspire men inside and outside the iron curtain to continue the fight for a permanent peace based on the "rights of man" and respect for law.

Who will deny that at the present time the influence

and power of the United Nations Organization is also primarily based on moral leadership? It will deserve the homage of mankind only so long as it stands firm on questions of principle outlined in the preamble of the Statute of Organization. The United Nations is the hope and symbol of world organization based on respect for law; a public forum where all states, great and small, can obtain a hearing. But here also, Stalin has sought to impose his view that power confers authority without responsibility. His twenty-nine vetoes in the Security Council have prevented effective action by the United Nations Organization although the Soviet Government has failed in its attempt to choke off honest criticism and expression of opinion. Debate in the public forum, however acrimonious, has clarified the issues in the ideological and political struggle between the East and West. World opinion is being crystallized, even when the United Nations lacks the power to enforce its decisions.

The world is becoming convinced that Soviet aggression can be stopped only by a show of superior power. Most men agree that if America is strong, the risk of war will be lessened, the United Nations will be immeasurably strengthened, and the nations behind the iron curtain can hope for survival. Once more the greatest military and naval power in the world, the United States, is in a position to correct the mistakes made at Teheran and Yalta by uniting the liberty loving nations of the world in a concerted effort to achieve a permanent and a just peace.

"JUSTICE FOR POLAND" Radio Program—sponsored by the Western Massachusetts Branch of the Polish American Congress.

POLES PAY TRIBUTE TO PAUL SUPER

Continued from page 2

Russians as a result of the Yalta accord.

His activities were shared by his wife, Margaret, who conducted in *The Polish Review* a valuable permanent feature entitled "Ann Su Cardwell's Letter" in which she reviewed the most essential happenings behind the Iron Curtain.

Inexorable death has taken Paul Super from us at a time when he was planning new activities and new books in defense of Poland. Even on his sickbed he collected clippings on Poland from the American press and sent them to the editorial offices of *The Polish Review*. Until the very last he kept up his struggle

for Poland.

Implacable death has silenced his ardent heart. Rarely does a Polish heart beat for Poland so strongly as did his. He was deeply devoted to his ideals, and to them he remained unflinchingly loyal throughout his life. As Poles we are proud that he had such great love for our country.

His memory will live forever in the hearts of the Polish people, who will always remember that at the time when the greatest calamities in her history descended upon Poland, Paul Super became her greatest friend and protector and advocate of her cause.

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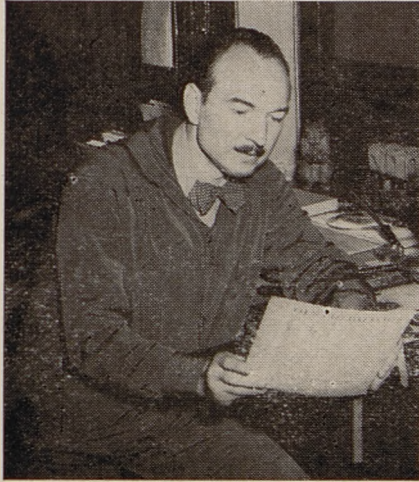
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May the feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord—the commemoration of the victory of good over evil, of light over darkness, of life over death, strengthen our faith. We strongly believe that freedom shall everywhere prevail over slavery, democracy over dictatorship, the will of the people over the will of the tyrants, the right to live over arbitrary rule.

We cherish the hope that in recognition of her boundless sacrifice and martyrdom, Poland, the country of our fathers, shall again be free, great and powerful and like before a faithful ally of the greatest and best republic in the world—the United States.

With faith in a better future, and trust in Divine power and justice let us all unite our voices in the ancient hymn: "Christ is risen".

On the occasion of Easter the Polish National Alliance extends cordial greetings to all its Members, to the Reverend Clergy, Polish American organizations, Press, Businessmen and all Polish Americans, as well as to those of our blood scattered all over the world.

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