

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS BULLETIN

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EDITORIAL

After Potsdam

President Truman went to Potsdam to participate in a conference of the "Big Three," at which momentous decisions were reached after the total victory of our Armed Forces in Europe. At this conference the "Polish Problem" was as important as it was at Yalta, Teheran, Moscow and San Francisco. H. V. Kaltenborn, one of the most prominent American radio-commentators, discussing President Truman's victories at Potsdam, rightly declared, "There will be no freedom and peace in Europe without a free Poland." The ghost of Poland follows us wherever we go, wherever we speak of victory and democracy. Poland has become the voice of our conscience, a bothering, watchful, threatening, warning voice.

President Truman answers anxious questions with statements so ambiguous and deceiving, that one has the impression that the Polish question—the question of an old, brave, great nation—had been solved at secret meetings. But it is not so!

The Polish question still disturbs the conscience of the world, and will continue to haunt the conscience of America for a long time to come.

Let us put things straight.

The United States now decided to be **responsible** for Europe. That is the meaning of our accepting the San Francisco, that is, the United Nations' Charter. No more isolationism! Whatever happens in Europe is **OUR RESPONSIBILITY!** You will be told that Poland had to give up half of her territory to Russia. Poland **HAD** to—because Russia **TOOK** it. Neither America nor any of the Allied Nations was consulted or asked. Russia simply said, "I am taking half of Poland"—and our diplomacy **HAD** to agree, to appease, to acquiesce. **WHY?** Well—politics! Russia saved our life! Not justice, not **AMERICA'S FREE WILL** but duress, political exigency, pressure, Russia's threats, Russia's demands, politics! President Roosevelt was very unhappy to admit that he did not "fully agree." America had to admit that we played a role not entirely compatible with our honor or our ideals. It was a one-sided "compromise."

The fate of a sin is that it remains a sin—even after atonement
But we have not atoned!

We went further—at Potsdam!

We have recognized Russia's designs in Poland; we have hastily recognized the Lublin government; we have—at Potsdam—recognized

that Poland is an internal affair of Soviet Russia!

That is a historic **CRIME**.

The result of it is that **RUSSIA** has reached the Oder over a prostrated, helpless, subjugated, emasculated, dependent Poland.

Russia joined Germany at the Oder River—not Poland!

And—let us register this fact: it was done only because **WE** agreed to it.

The United States of America contributed enormously to the fact that **RUSSIA** joined **GERMANY** at the Oder River.

Not **POLAND** but **RUSSIA**.

That is what President Truman brought home from Potsdam. It will take many years before America realizes how tragic was her role in sacrificing Poland.

It was not Russia but **America** that broke Poland!

It was only after the Poles realized that they had been abandoned by the **United States** that they went on their knees to Moscow.

Poland was delivered to the Kremlin by our diplomacy and by our appeasement, by our submission to Stalin's demands.

We have decided to share the responsibility for Europe after accepting the United Nations Charter of San Francisco.

That responsibility embraces Poland in the first place.

The Polish American Congress will not tire in pointing out that responsibility.

We still refuse to accept defeat. We still hope that there is a way to save the face of America.

There are elections to be held in Poland, elections which may become the voice of Poland—if held **under the auspices** of the United Nations. Poland may still express herself freely—if given an opportunity and if told—that **POLAND**

NEED NOT FEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF TELLING HER WILL!

What use will free elections be, if conducted under duress of fear? How can one hope the Pole to vote as his heart and conscience dictates, if he knows that the result may cause retribution, cruel retribution from Russia **AND NO PROTECTION** from the Allies, from the United States?

How cynical is the application of the noble provisions for **FREE** elections, when those who righteously provide for such a clause—a priori wash their hands and become **isolationists regarding Poland?**

The Polish American Congress still maintains that America is responsible for the fate of Poland, because America has morally contributed most to the state of affairs in Poland as it is now, as it will be in the future.

RUSSIA'S juncture with Germany over Poland's prostrated body endangers everything we were fighting for. It endangers peace, it threatens America's victory. The Polish American Congress will therefore continue to call America's conscience and to demand justice for Poland as the prime condition of our winning the peace!

America On Trial

"America is on trial today. We stood idly by when Hitler ravaged Poland with fire and steel. We were unready ourselves and Poland was far away. But now shall we stand idly by and watch Poland overawed and overwhelmed by a power that we ourselves have helped to save and restore and to build to such strength that we ourselves seem to cower before it?"—From radio broadcast by **Rupert Hughes**, author, historian and well-known commentator.

Declaration of Polish American Congress, Inc. On Present Polish Situation

**Adopted At Plenary Meeting, June 28,
29, 1945 In Washington, D. C.**

The Polish American Congress held its regular quarterly meeting in Washington on June 28 and 29. President Rozmarek and other officers submitted reports on their activities since the last regular meeting held April 13, 1945.

Since its incorporation in Illinois on September 29, 1944, the Polish American Congress has organized twenty-eight divisions in the following states: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

The Polish American Congress noted also with deep satisfaction that its ties with the six million Americans of Polish descent which it represents, have been greatly strengthened through the wholehearted cooperation of all the big fraternal organizations (Polish National Alliance, Polish Roman Catholic Union, Polish Women's Alliance, and others), the 1,000 Polish parishes in America, all the nine daily Polish language newspapers and eighty-five Polish language publications.

Conscious of its responsibility to six million Americans of Polish descent whom it represents, the Polish American Congress expresses its views as follows:

1) The victorious end of the war in Europe and the unconditional surrender of Germany and her satellites, is a matter of deep satisfaction and pride for all Americans, conscious that the mighty effort of all the American people has made this victory possible. The elimination of the European theater of war, now allows the

American people to look forward to a speedy and complete victory over Japan.

2) In defense of its own safety the United States has been forced to take up arms and actively to participate in two world wars in the course of the last twenty-five years. This proves that in the present time of scientific development, the American people are no longer safe from aggression from the outside; and that, although our aims are peaceful, circumstances force us to become directly involved in any major conflict.

3) The problem of security of the United States has therefore become one of paramount importance to all American people. **The Polish American Congress adopts the watchword "American Security First" as its basic aim.**

Recent developments have established beyond any doubt that American security has now become dependent on world security. Hence, the United States can only remain secure in an united world, in which all nations, great and small, willingly contribute their part towards the essential goal of a just and durable peace in proportion to their means and possibilities.

4) It is the firm conviction of all Americans of Polish descent that such a peace, based on democratic principles of freedom and justice for all individuals and nations, can only be achieved under active American leadership.

5) The Americans of Polish descent are conscious of the enormous power for good which the United States has now acquired through the joint loyal effort of all the American people working together unremittingly throughout these hard years of war towards the achievement of victory of the forces of democratic decency over the evil forces of totalitarian

aggressive imperialism and militarism. This unprecedented power of the United States is constituted by its unlimited possibilities of production, its best trained and equipped army, navy and air force in the world, by the unlimited spirit of sacrifice of the American people at home to contribute labor and capital to the attainment of the common goal. All these elements of victory, but especially the splendid fighting spirit which inspires our boys to risk their young lives on foreign lands in order that American security and world peace could become realities, were born of **the impulse driving all Americans in their common effort in the name of the noble principles of freedom and justice, of the rule of law and order, and right over might.** These noble principles were solemnly declared at the outset of this war to be the fundamental aims of the American people and were embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the Declaration of the United Nations.

6) On the basis of careful observation, the Polish American Congress views with apprehension, the present trend of our American foreign policy. It notes with deep concern that **the high principles in defense of which this country entered the war, are being abandoned** in the great task of the establishment of a world system of security and peace. They are being abandoned at the time when their **fullest application is imperative if American security and world peace is to be effectively insured.**

7) The Polish American Congress has closely followed through its observers at the San Francisco Conference, the evolution of that Conference. It is compelled regretfully to admit that at this momentous gathering on a World Security Organization, it was apparent to all present that American leadership did not assert itself. Concepts of power politics were allowed to take the lead, while

the **principles for which America stands, were sacrificed to concepts of power** which alone cannot be the foundations of a sound peace, especially if they demand the abandonment of principles of human freedom and justice. The cynical slogan that **agreement among the Big Powers could not be sacrificed to ideals,** became the keynote of that Conference. It holds no promise for a durable peace. After the lengthy and depressing Conference at San Francisco, the Charter shows that practically all these **principles have been sacrificed to the pressure of one-non-democratic power,** supported by a handful of its satellites and glamorized by skillful propaganda.

8) The fact that the United States did not insist at San Francisco, that the legal Government of Poland be invited to participate in the Conference—although it has fully recognized it as the legal constitutional Government of Poland throughout all the years of its existence and common, bloody struggle—is a regrettable act which most unfortunately had been generally interpreted as a sign of readiness to **sacrifice democratic principles to totalitarian pressure.**

9) The strong position acquired by the United States as a result of this war, opens to it exceptional possibilities and places upon it vast responsibilities as a World Power for justice, peace and democracy. The advantages of the United States deriving from the political and moral assets which it now holds, are especially important in regard to the problems of American security and must not be wasted. The Polish American Congress notes with regret that the **power of the United States is not being made use of as a means of persuasion in international negotiations.**

10) No problem has been handled with such utter disregard for the rules of justice, legality, democracy and individual freedom as the prob-

lem of Poland. And yet, she was the first to fight, the only one among the countries overrun by Hitler which produced no Quisling, and her Allied loyalty throughout this war was unassailable, her war effort was out of all proportions to her means, and elicited from President Roosevelt the high comment that she is the "inspiration of nations." The six million Americans of Polish descent have followed the developments of the treatment of Poland very closely and have come to the conclusion that the cause of Poland has been dragged down from the heights of the principles declared in the Atlantic Charter, to the depths of unwarranted appeasement through continuous compromise on the part of her Allies,—at Teheran, later at Yalta, until the final and most complete appeasement made by our governmental envoy specially sent to Moscow, which after his return, contrary to the truth, was hailed as a "triumph of successful negotiations of the Polish problem." Contrary to these enthusiastic comments, the fact remains that the United States has remained indifferent to the sinister farce of the "show trial" of the sixteen Polish political leaders and allowed the greatest humiliation that can be inflicted on a valiant and faithful Ally to be meted out to the Polish people, no less attached to their freedom and human rights than our American people.

11) At Teheran, the partition of Poland was first contemplated. From all declarations and conversations with the highest American officials the Polish American Congress was led to believe after the Yalta meeting, where the seizure by Russia of almost half of Poland was agreed to by the United States, that this unfair and high price had to be paid to save Poland's real independence.

It was hoped that a new provisional body would be formed which would ultimately lead to a free expression of the

will of the Polish nation. However, the new body created in Moscow, has all the earmarks of a conspiracy to frustrate the decisions reached at Yalta and to present the United Nations with a new distorted, but accomplished fact made in Russia. Out of 21 members of the new government, 18 are communists or communist sponsored, definitely pledged to carry out a program of stifling the free will of the people and to force communism upon Poland. This is not what President Roosevelt had agreed to at Yalta, it does not fulfill any of our expectations nor can it be accepted by the American people as a happy beginning of a solution.

It is our unhappy lot today to oppose the new government in Poland as a communist controlled Moscow clique, which has accepted three individuals outside their organization, merely to create a too crude semblance of free decision. Mr. Mikolajczyk and Mr. Stanczyk have been chosen, because they have been in the United States where they were warmly greeted only because of what they then represented. Their inclusion and the assignment of insignificant positions to them is calculated to deceive and confuse Americans of Polish origin, as well as the American public opinion.

The inclusion of nine non-communist Poles into the so-called National Committee, is a further step in an effort to confuse and deceive American public opinion. As in Russia, where the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, composed of anonymous members, has been the governing body of Soviet Russia, so have Russian agents created a National Committee in Poland, composed of 300 members whose names are unknown, as are those of the Russians. To add nine names to 300 nameless agents is undoubtedly a Moscow trick calculated to divert the attention of the American people from the true situation.

12) As an American organization, the Polish American Congress has no intention of interfering in the inter-

nal affairs of Poland. However, it is not only attached to Poland, the country of its forefathers, but, above all, to the dignity of our United States, the land of true democracy, to which our ancestors came mainly to escape the dictatorial oppression of German and Russian imperialistic rule. **Americans of Polish descent cannot admit that the noble principles of President Woodrow Wilson, which helped in the re-establishment of Poland's independence after the last war, should, within twenty-six years, be disavowed by a series of backroom compromises, resulting in a renewed partition of Poland and enslavement of her people.**

13) The Polish American Congress asks its Government—why the countries liberated by British-American forces, like France, Belgium, Holland, and even the ex-enemy country of Italy, have immediately been turned over to governments of those countries without imposing puppet governments and are being helped in their rehabilitations, while **POLAND alone among the United Nations has been handed over with the sanction of Great Britain and the United States to its rapacious neighbor?** Why has **POLAND** been partitioned? Why is she being governed by a Soviet-appointed group of Comintern agents? Why is **POLAND** controlled and tortured by the Soviet political police? Why is the so-called Polish army now being formed there, partly manned and entirely commanded by Soviet Russian commanders? Why has the legal Polish Government not been allowed freely to exercise its administration in Poland although it has uninterruptedly led Poland's incomparable Underground Allied Army, recognized as a combatant Allied Force and through its official representatives in the Polish Underground State has succeeded in keeping that country in the unique position of never collaborating with the enemy

and of never faltering in its struggle against the Germans or in its Allied loyalty? Why have the Polish people never been consulted on matters concerning Poland? **Does our American Government sincerely consider that there is any possibility of holding in Poland "free and unfettered elections with the participation of all political parties,—in a country occupied by Soviet troops and controlled by Soviet political police and run by a Soviet controlled government?**

14) It is difficult to imagine that our United States would ever endorse such a situation as that in which the Polish Nation finds itself at present without vigorously protesting and insisting that it be redressed.

15) The Polish American Congress dedicated itself to the defense of the principles of the Atlantic Charter when in May, 1944, at Buffalo, N. Y., over 3,000 delegates pledged in the name of six million Americans of Polish descent to defend America and Poland. Since then in all its pronouncements and acts, and particularly in the Memorandum to Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, of May 30, 1944, in its resolution adopted in Chicago, Ill., (March 9, 1945), after the publication of the Yalta agreement, and in its Memorandum submitted at San Francisco to the Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, on May 11, 1945,—the Polish American Congress staunchly defended the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The Polish American Congress is firmly determined never to stop fighting for the survival of this, the most noble expression of American ideals. The Polish American Congress is firmly determined to defend the cause of Poland with all its might and all the legal means at its disposal in the true spirit of American democracy.

16) The Polish American Congress regards the acquiescence by the U.S. Government in any unjust solution of the Polish problem which wrongs the

Polish Nation, as an act of the gravest consequence and one fraught with considerable danger for the future peace and security of the United States. The Polish question has become the acid test case of American principles and the way in which it will be solved will create an important precedent, which may either enhance or diminish the moral prestige of the United States in the world.

17)) Representing six million Americans fervently attached to American principles of legality, the Polish American Congress continues to regard the present constitutional Polish Government in London as the only legal Polish Government. It could not regard as a Polish government the communist Soviet-sponsored "Lublin" group. It will adopt a similar attitude towards the "government" now set up in Moscow which is in fact a new version of that same "Lublin government," destined to function under continued Soviet communist control, pressure and terrorism. The only difference will be the addition of a few individuals driven by coercion into submission.

No window dressing and sugar coating can make the servile Soviet puppets more palatable to the democratic American public opinion.

When Italy went Fascist, there were millions of Italian born Americans who opposed Mussolini's Italy. The United States later on found out that these Italian-Americans were right. Their role in this war has shown that their opposition to their homeland under fascist rule became a great asset to the United States, which had at that time recognized Mussolini and his rule.

We had no German fifth column in America because many German-Americans were against Hitler's rule in their homeland. This opposition became an asset to the United States—although our

government recognized and dealt with Hitler-Germany.

A representative government can be set up in Poland only by the Polish people. This can only happen when the Soviet armies and Soviet political police are withdrawn from Poland; when Polish war refugees, exiles and military forces now abroad, are returned to Poland without fear of imprisonment or bloody reprisals; and when the Polish nation is allowed in fact to become master in its own house and freely to organize its own existence.

* * *

The Americans of Polish descent have always unstintingly given their blood, their labor and their earnings, especially in this world war, for the greatness and safety of the United States in the firm conviction that the principles declared by the President of our great Democracy as our war aims, were not empty slogans to be scrapped at the crucial time of the establishment of peace.

The Polish American Congress insistently asks for justice for Poland and other downtrodden European countries now overrun by Soviet imperialism and misrepresented as "liberated countries."

The Polish American Congress insistently urges its Government to withhold recognition of any illegally formed, imposed or puppet governments, such as the "provisional government" now manufactured in Moscow and imposed upon the Polish nation.

It would be contrary to American tradition, American principles and American sense of justice and to the pledges given by our Government on behalf of the United States to recognize or accept any territorial changes unilaterally carried out without consulting the nations involved, and imposition or changes of governments, constitutions, social or economic systems achieved by force or without the freely expressed will of the

nations truly liberated from foreign occupation and oppression.

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A TURNING POINT IN HISTORY

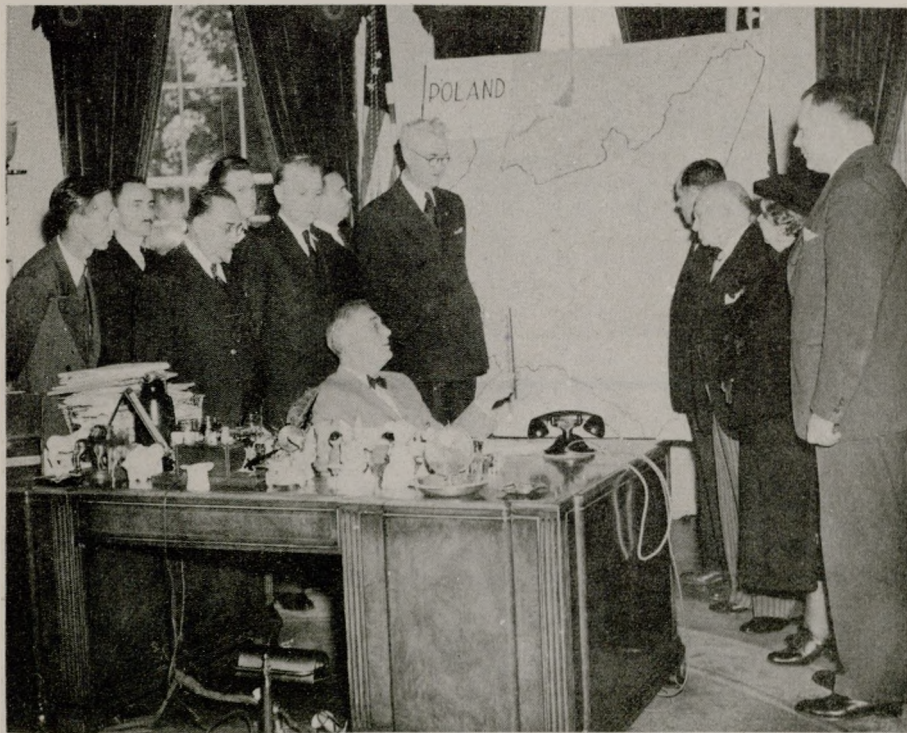
"The recognition by Great Britain and the United States of the 'Polish Provisional Government of National Unity' formed in Warsaw marks a turning point in the history of Europe as well as Poland. Some Poles regard it as a calamity. Bronislaw Helczynski, chairman of the World League of Poles Abroad, said in London it was a day 'on which the Polish nation may not have been sentenced to death, but at any rate to lifelong imprisonment.'" — **FREE EUROPE**, a fortnightly review of international affairs, London, July 13, 1945.

From Ann Su Cardwell's Letter

Ann Su Cardwell, an American not of Polish extraction, long resident in Poland (1922—1939) speaks and writes Polish and has traveled all over that country. She also knows first-hand all of Poland's neighbors. In recent years she has contributed frequently to American newspapers and magazines on European questions, and is the author of "Poland and Russia: The Last Quarter Century".

The following excerpts are from her most recent release, which is regularly issued every two weeks as a private, independent, non-subsidized letter:

A Polish soldier's letter that appeared in *Dziennik Polski* published in London, states the position of an overwhelming majority of the members of the Polish Army. "Who of us does not want to return to the Homeland? Each of us, wherever he may be, longs and dreams of return. And when that time comes nothing will hold us. We shall return. We shall return to the land that gave us birth and nourished us... where we can breathe true freedom and where none will remind us that they are being kind and benevolent toward us. We shall return to our families, to bring them joy, or to weep over murdered brothers. We shall return, for every



When the Polish American Congress delegation sat in conference with the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a year ago on October 11, 1944, he held and expressed high hopes for a satisfactory to the Poles, solution of the Polish problem. What happened to Poland in less than twelve months from the time the above picture was taken at the White House, is now a sad page in the history of America's diplomacy in World War II.

wayside willow, every graceful poplar, the ravaged forests, the shell-ploughed fields, the ruins and the rubble call us. We shall return... to the great task of rebuilding a new and truly free and happy Poland.

"Yes, we shall return. But when? We face a fresh struggle, a spiritual struggle. True Poles know the road they must travel. But sometimes on this terrible road strength seems to fail. For while others, thanks to our toil and sacrifice of blood, rejoice in real freedom and take counsel about world security, we are rewarded with the fourth partition of our country and a still worse slavery than before, while our best sons are sentenced as enemies.

"During the serious hours of the war the Poles did not desert their allies, but fought alongside them till the last. Then

the Allies solemnly assured them that this would never be forgotten. Today, no one recognizes us, we are asked nothing while a government is set up for us of men unknown to us, or foreign to our way of thinking, and called in irony a government of national unity. Perhaps the name is appropriate — but the unity is not ours, but of those foreign powers that held a funeral feast on our grave... The world has never known such a spiritual tragedy as this rewarding of a whole nation that has made such sacrifices for the welfare of humankind with the loss of its liberty and its lands, and then in the end told, the oath of loyalty you took to your legal government was not an oath, you are to serve another. History has never before recorded such an instance...

"The oath of loyalty to our govern-



Garbed in colorful Polish costumes and beaming with smiles, American girls of Polish descent greeting newspapermen enroute at the Northwestern Station in Chicago to the San Francisco Conference. Several hundred American newsmen received envelopes containing literature about Poland, published by the Polish American Congress.

ment we will not break. Our former friends and allies may do what they please with us, but the oath and honor of a Pole is dearer to us than anything else in the world".

What is going on in Poland? Here is a brief summary of some aspects of life in that martyred land. It is based on many reports, from various areas and sources, but the news they give is in each case the same. Machinery, food, livestock, grain, stocks of every kind, furniture, office equipment, factory equipment, everything that can be of industrial use, has been shipped out of

Poland to the USSR. That includes coal. In one area the Poles were comforted with the information, that "only the complicated machinery was being taken — plows and harrows would be left". A British soldier, who had been kept as a prisoner of war by the Germans in Poland, reports seeing plowing being done with people hitched to the plow.

Robbery, pillage and common theft are part of daily life. You have doubtless read accounts of American and British soldiers having been relieved of watches, fountain pens and such articles by Soviet soldiers. Since that hap-



POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS DELEGATION CALLING ON SENATOR TOM CONNALLY IN WASHINGTON

Left to right: John Olejniczak, President, Polish Roman Catholic Union; Penn'a State Senator Walter S. Pytko, Director, Polish American Congress; Dr. Teofil Starzynski, President, Polish Falcons of America; Charles Rozmarek, President, Polish National Alliance, and President, Polish American Congress; Senator Tom Connally, Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate; Judge Thaddeus V. Adesko, Ass't Judge of Probate Court of Cook County, Illinois; Stanislaw Gutowski, Sec., Polish American Congress; John Mikuta, Treasurer, Polish National Union of America; F. W. Dziob, Secretary to Mr. Rozmarek.

pens to the members of armies acknowledged by the Soviets to be their allies, it is not difficult to imagine the position of the unprotected Poles. Fear, I have been told by men who are not Poles, is evident in the faces and conduct of the Polish People. The lack of discipline in the Red Army, the marked pleasure the Russian private takes in the use of firearms, the frightful amount of raping — these features of life alone under Red Army and NKVD rule make life in Poland a nightmare. (And if you have been reading the reports of the New York Times correspondent from Vienna and Budapest, you will find the same situation exists throughout Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia).

Poverty, epidemics, diseases resulting from malnutrition and hardships are being dealt with as best local committees for self-help can. But what these devoted people can do is "only a drop in the sea". They implore help from the outside. Latest reports say that the UNRRA committee for Poland is on the way to Warsaw to consult with the Warsaw "government". It should be remembered that the head of that commission for Poland is a Soviet citizen, not a Pole even in nationality, who was at one time head of the colossal timber trust of the USSR, which exists thanks to forced labor, of which Poles deported to the USSR in 1940 formed a part. What element of the Polish population can he be expected to help? No Pole is a member of that commission, though UNRRA regulations specify that a national must be a member of the commission for the country with which it works.

Mass arrests and deportations continue. Members of the Home Army, the former underground government and anybody who had anything to do with either. Likewise persons not in sympathy with the Soviet Union. Compulsory recruiting for Zymierski's "Polish" Army has been carried on throughout all Poland supposedly under the control of the "Polish Provisional Government", in reality controlled by the NKVD. In

the areas incorporated into the USSR Polish youth and men of army age have been forced into the Red Army, as they are declared to be Soviet citizens. That is, those of these classes who were not among the tens of thousands deported to the USSR on the re-entry of the Red Armies into eastern Poland early in the year.

However, deportation to Russia is not confined to persons of the eastern districts. Thousand have been sent from west of the so-called Curzon Line. Altogether more than 50,000 Home Army men, including officers up to the rank of major, had been deported from Poland by the end of April. Hundreds of officers of the higher ranks had been executed, as those who offered resistance to enlistment in Zymierski's army were given no mercy. Families of men who refused, were either killed or deported. This procedure continues. The same is true of the families of men and youths who hide to escape conscription.

Here are facts concerning one of these man-hunts. Early in May NKVD detachments appeared in various communities in the Bialystok district, taking up quarters in schools and the larger buildings, and preparing cellars as prisons. On the 14th, systematic large-scale man-hunts began, before daylight. Anyone attempting to escape, was shot. Previous to this — on the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, a large number of Soviet bombers and pursuit planes, American type, had dropped bombs and machine-gunned the many forests of that area. Artillery was also used. Such incidents, which resulted in the complete destruction of certain villages and terrorized the entire area, testify to the very considerable number of Polish groups that have managed to escape induction into the Zymierski army or deportation, or have deserted from Zymierski's army.

Concentration camps exist for Poles returning from Germany. These are under the direction of the puppet governments, whose employees are again under the control of the NKVD. The re-

turning Poles undergo strict examination regarding their political affiliations, their attitude toward the new "government", etc. In the areas incorporated into the USSR, repatriated Polish prisoners of war and Poles returning from forced labor in Germany have been deported to the USSR, to such places as the Don Basin and Archangel. One report says that 10,000 were sent from Lwow alone.

East of the "Curzon Line" the liquidation of the Roman and Greek Catholic (Uniat) churches proceeds rapidly. The Polish Catholic press reports that there

is no longer any church organization in the Vilno district, from which the venerable Roman Catholic archbishop was forcibly taken away, traveling from Vilno to Bialystok in a freight car, and from there to Warsaw. Most of the surviving priests were deported to the USSR, the older ones placed in factory work. The same holds true of the Lwow area.

I cannot give more space to this subject so I will close this brief summary with a quotation: "Five months of "Soviet occupation" has been worse for Poland than the five and a half years under the Germans, bad as that was".

An Appeal To President Truman To Save Peace And Democracy

POLISH CASE DEFENDED BY REPRESENTATIVE AMERICANS OF DIFFERENT BACKGROUND

On July 11 the following memorial was presented at the White House for transmission to President Truman at Potsdam:

Dear Mr. President:

Before the opening of the great Conference where you will speak for the American people, we send you our best wishes and hopes for your success. We trust that the momentous questions facing the Conference will be decided according to the principles of justice which you have eloquently expressed. In particular we refer to Poland.

POLISH CASE NOT CLOSED!

Now that a new Polish Government has been organized in Moscow, it will be easy for the diplomats to say the issue is closed. We cannot take that view. In our opinion unless you exact concrete guarantees of truly free elections, the new Government will be no more independent than the Lublin regime, which was recognized as a puppet throughout the free world. The new Government contains seventeen holdovers from that Lublin regime, with

only three who belong to the London group, none of them being a member of the Polish Government which was our ally throughout the war.

By no stretch of the imagination can this be called an honest fulfillment even of the Yalta agreement which was itself described by President Roosevelt as in some respects a disappointing compromise on the Polish question.

If Russia succeeds in imposing her will to this extent, despite the Yalta agreement, she will be encouraged to apply the same imperialistic methods to all Central Europe and the Far East, with ultimate disaster to us all.

OPPOSED TO WAR WITH RUSSIA

We are opposed to war with Russia. We have a profound respect for the Russian people and the military achievement of its army. We desperately hope that the San Francisco Charter will prove a success. But its objectives cannot be achieved if America closes its eyes to the destruction of the independence of a country which for five years fiercely resisted Nazi aggression. If we condone on the part of Russia what we condemned in Nazi Germany and Japan at the price of a million American ca-

sualties, the whole purpose of this war will have been lost.

Though Russia is a totalitarian state, there will be no war provided the leading democracies of the world are firm, united and just, in deeds as well as in words. But if they continue a foreign policy of weakness, hesitation and immoral compromise, despite our overwhelming power and prestige, then we fear for the future peace of the world and for democracy at home.

PROTEST AGAINST MOSCOW TRIAL

At the outset we wish to register a solemn protest against the so-called public trial of the sixteen Polish patriots at Moscow. In our opinion the case of the sixteen Poles involves a flagrant violation of human rights. As you said in San Francisco June 26th: "The Charter is dedicated to the observance of fundamental human rights and freedom. Unless we can obtain those objectives for all men everywhere — without regard to race, language and religion — we cannot have permanent peace and security in the world". If the American Government remains silent when these rights are violated, we fear that the San Francisco charter will become a hollow mockery.

Unlike the Lublin Poles, who were mination, and who now oppose Russian occupation of Poland, these sixteen Poles were leaders of the heroic Polish Underground, which fought German domination, and which now opposes Russian domination.

IN DEFENSE OF TRUTH

The identity of these Polish patriots, which the Gestapo had never been able to discover, was with their consent revealed by the Polish Government in London. Its purpose was the transmission of these names to the Soviet Government so that in conformity with the pledges made in Yalta the Russians could confer with the bona fide leaders of the Underground Polish political parties.

No better proof could have been offered of the desire of the democratic Poles, both inside and outside Poland to negotiate an honest compromise than this voluntary disclosure of the Underground leadership at a time when the Soviet Government and its Lublin puppets were ruling Poland through terror and deporting patriots to Siberia. Charges of such deportations and executions have repeatedly been made, not only by the Polish Underground but also by American and British prisoners of war returning from Nazi prison camps in Poland. In a fully documented article, the moderate London Economist of May 12 stated: "At the present time Poland is undergoing a process of virtual sovietization".

SOVIET DUPLICITY

In inviting these sixteen Polish leaders to confer with a representative of the Soviet High Command, Colonel Pimenov of the NKVD explicitly guaranteed their safe conduct. We quote from this letter:

As an officer of the Red Army who has been entrusted with such a highly important mission, I guarantee to you, on my word as an officer, that from that moment your fate will be in my hands, and that after your arrival at our quarters you will be absolutely safe".

(The original of this letter is in the possession of the Polish Government in London).

What followed is history. The mission disappeared. The Soviet Government refused all information about their fate.

Not until May 3rd, five weeks after their disappearance, did Mr. Molotov in response to urgent queries by Messrs. Stettinius and Eden in San Francisco admit, that they had been arrested for "diversionary activities against the Red Army".

As Foreign Minister Eden said at San Francisco: "Most of these men were just the type who should, in our view, have been consulted about the new National Government in Poland, if such a

Polish American Congress Delegation Placing Wreath at General Pulaski Monument in Washington.



Left to right: Senator Walter S. Pytko, Director, Polish American Congress F. W. Dziób, Secretary to Mr. Rozmarek; John Mikuta, Treasurer, P. N. Union of Am.; Charles Rozmarek, President, Polish National Alliance and President, Polish American Congress; John Olejniczak, President, Polish Roman Catholic Union; Dr. Teofil Starzynski, President, Polish Falcons of America; Judge Thaddeus V. Adesko, Ass't Judge of Probate Court of Cook County, Illinois; Stanislaw Gutowski, Secretary, Polish American Congress.

Government were to be truly representative of Polish democratic political life, in accordance with the Crimea decision".

"PROCESSED" INTO "CONFESSION"

These men were inaccessible to the Soviet authorities because of the wonderful organization of the Polish Underground which, for five years, had defied the best efforts of the Gestapo to stamp it out. Hence it was necessary to lure them to a meeting.

We believe there is no reasonable doubt that these arrests and trials represent another in the long series of Soviet maneuvers to subjugate the Polish people by discrediting their leaders if they cannot be deported or executed.

Whether these men were "processed" into confessing — as in the case of those who confessed at the Moscow trial of 1937 and 1938, we do not know. But we do know that after being held incommunicado for 2½ months, these Polish envoys were tried in the same courtroom — before the same judge and with the same legal procedure which were used in the same famous purge trials. There was no jury and the defendants were not even allowed to call witnesses.

Another motive behind this trial is evidenced by its timing to coincide with a conference a few blocks away on "broadening the Lublin Government," as required by the Yalta agreement. Obviously, the mere staging of this show trial made Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk, the London Poles who had come to negotiate, fear that unless they accepted the Russian terms in these negotiations, the sixteen Polish compatriots would be shot.

THE WORKINGS OF THE BLACKMAIL

How well this blackmail worked is indicated by the following facts: The ratio of the new Polish cabinet, which emerged from these negotiations, is two members of the London group, plus one

adherent in Poland just released from a Russian jail to seventeen Lublinities. Mr. Thugutt, a leader of the Peasant Party in London, was appointed but refused to join the new Government. Moreover Mr. Stanczyk has been dismissed from the Socialist Party and Mr. Mikolajczyk is only Second Vice-Premier, not even a member of the Presidential Council. The only non-Lublin members of this Council—Witos and Grabski, both in the high seventies, were too old and too ill even to participate in recent negotiations.

The new "unity" Cabinet, therefore, represents only part of the Peasant Party plus Communist Party, whose pre-war strength in Poland was less than 2% of the vote. Hence this new Government is bound to be just as much the prisoner of the Kremlin as are the imprisoned envoys, who should have been among its ministers — the more so because the civil servants are holdovers from the Lublin puppet regime and because the Russian army still occupies Poland with the help of the Russian officered Lublin Army.

AN IMPOSSIBLE HOPE

Under these circumstances what confidence can we have that the Yalta promise of "free, unfettered elections" in which "Democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part"... will be fulfilled? Almost anyone, in whatever country, who criticizes Russia's demands is branded as a fascist by the Soviet press. So it is easy to believe, that any such person would be disqualified from participation in the forthcoming election.

Moreover, to carry out the Yalta promise of free elections in Poland (or other liberated countries) without obtaining the return of the vast numbers who have been forcibly removed, would make these elections a tragic farce even if the elections when finally held, were really free — an impossible hope unless there is a joint Allied supervision in all of Poland.

TOO LATE TO RESTORE THE DEAD

If we fail to secure the right of political prisoners, deportees and soldiers of the Polish Army to return, if they wish with point guarantees of personal safety, then this Polish "solution" will have put a premium on murder and terror. It will be an election won not by ballots, but by bullets, hostages and concentration camps.

It is too late now to restore the dead. But it is not too late to use every ounce and every penny of our diplomatic and economic power to save the lives and liberties of those in Poland, we are pledged to protect, not only by the Atlantic Charter, but at Yalta.

Consequently we respectfully urge the adoption of the following measures at the forthcoming conference, for only such measures will inspire confidence in either the justice or the permanence of the Polish solution:

THE FIVE POINTS

1. The release of the 12 Poles convicted in the recent trials.

2. Big Three agreement as to the terms of a fair election law, which would insure the members of all democratic parties the right to vote (including those deported or exiled from their country) which would guarantee freedom of speech and the press, to the opposition parties, and which would provide for the international supervision of the next elections.

3. The withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland before the election. If Russia is unwilling to do so, then the joint occupation of Poland by Russian, American and British troops during the electoral period. This is in accordance with the Moscow declaration of November 1, 1943, which declared that the Big Three "after the termination of hostilities will not employ their military forces within the territory of other states except for their purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation".

4. The right of correspondents, and representatives of the American Red Cross and other charitable organizations,

freely to circulate in Poland and other Soviet occupied territories upon the same terms as we allow Soviet journalists and other agents to circulate in countries under our control.

5. The application of such "concert" principles accepted in the Yalta declaration not only to Poland but to all other countries, such as Greece where a single great power is in dominant control as a result of recent military operations.

AGAINST IMMORAL COMPROMISE

We respectfully submit, Mr. President, that the friendship of the Soviet Union that we are all seeking in the interest of lasting peace, cannot be obtained as long as getting along with Russia means concessions on trivial issues by Soviet Russia and concessions on basic issues by the United States. We believe in Big Three unity, but we are convinced that it can survive only on the basis of commonly accepted moral principles. They are the only principles which will remove the suspicion and fear of Russian policy which disturbs not only the peoples of Eastern Europe but the people of America.

With full appreciation of the heavy burden you bear, we nevertheless feel obliged to state our profound conviction, borne out by the tragic history of the past ten years, that a policy of one-sided appeasement of totalitarianism can lead only to disillusionment, frustration and grave peril to the American people.

Respectfully yours,

Authorized Signatures:

William Agar, Ex. Vice-Pres. Freedom House; Luigi Antonini, Int. Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Elliott V. Bell, New York State Superintendent of Banking; Robert R. Bradford, Lt. Gov. of Massachusetts; Harvey W. Brown, Pres. International Ass'n of Machinists; Raymond Leslie Buell, former Chairman, Foreign Policy Ass'n; John Chamberlain, Author; George Creel, Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman of Negro Labor Committee; John Dewey; Christopher Emmet, Commentator; Mil-

ton J. Ferguson, Librarian, Brooklyn Library; Mrs. George Fitch, Writer; The Rev. George B. Ford, Catholic Chaplain, Columbia University; Varian Fry, Editor of "Common Sense"; The Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S. J., President of Fordham University; Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College; Emily Hahn, Author; Ross Hoffman, Prof. of History, Fordham University; The Honorable Herbert Hoover; Katherine Gauss-Jackson, Assn. Editor of "Harper's"; The Rev. John LaFarge, Editor of "America"; Suzanne La Follette, Author and Editor; Alfred M. Landon, Former Governor of Kansas; Isaac Don Levine, Author; Sol Levitas, the "New Leader"; Prof. Robert MacIver, Columbia University; Former Justice Jeremiah T. Mahoney; Martin J. Quigley, Publisher; O. Philipp Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Burton Rascoe, Drama Critic, New York World Telegram; The Rev. Sturgis Lee Riddle, The Churchman Associates; Justice Francis E. Rivers; Benjamin Stelberg, Author; Oswald Garrison Villard; Louis Waldman, Attorney; Michael Williams, Special Editor of "The Commonwealth"; Matthew Woll, Vice-Pres. of American Federation of Labor; W. E. Woodward, Author of "Tom Paine."

STATEMENT OF CHARLES ROZMAREK AFTER PRES. TRUMAN'S REPORT TO THE NATION ON POTSDAM CONFERENCE

Immediately after President Truman's radio report to the nation upon his return from the Potsdam Conference, Charles Rozmarek, president of Polish American Congress, gave the following statement to the American press:

"The Potsdam decrees pertaining to Poland confirm the partition of an allied nation, the destruction of her legal government and the condemnation of millions of unwilling people into the sphere

of the Russian orbit with its abhorrent red fascism and its sub-standard living conditions. That even reparations due Poland are to be controlled exclusively by Russia is further proof of the bitter truth that Poland is not free.

Pres. Truman's reference to the free elections, as promised by the communist-controlled government forced upon the Polish people, can be of no value unless these elections are held under allied supervision and the Russian armies and secret police are withdrawn from Poland. It is ominous that no mention of any such guarantees was made by President Truman. Furthermore, the Polish soldiers who fought consistently by our side as well as the millions of displaced Poles in Germany and elsewhere who fear returning to a communistic homeland, should be permitted to vote in absentia.

In theory Poland is to get lands on the west as compensation for what Russia seized from her on the east as Hitler's ally. In actual reality, unless Poland is rehabilitated to a free democratic life of her own, as in the case of all countries liberated by American and British soldiers, it will mean merely an extension of Russia's frontiers.

We are bewildered by the display of timidity and weakness on the part of the "most powerful nation in the world" in dealing with Russia's unending claims. Building a peace structure on the recognition of aggression and the enslavement of free nations is a dangerous business which we will live to regret. With two thirds of Europe already under soviet domination, the future security of America is in grave peril. In the interests of American safety, a brake should be put on Russian expansionism.

Instead of being scared into submission to all of Russia's demands, it is time we impressed upon Russia that honesty is the best policy. When her mission in Europe like America's becomes one of liberation instead of conquest, then all distrust of Russia will immediately vanish."

General Casimir Pulaski Memorial Day October 11th



Death of Pulaski at Savannah, from the painting by S. Batowski.

By special proclamation of President Harry S. Truman, October 11, 1945, will be General Casimir Pulaski Memorial Day in America.

On that day, America will salute the soldier and patriot, the dauntless defender of liberty and martyr to the cause of freedom, who came from Poland to fight at Washington's side in our Revolutionary War.

General Casimir Pulaski died from mortal wounds received on the field of battle at Savannah, Georgia, October 11, 1779.

It is appropriate to reprint here words of tribute to the memory of Pulaski, written in the New York Journal-American, October 11, 1943, by Harry S. Schlacht:

"He was a crusader for the dignity of man; a son of liberty whose zeal for American freedom will forever abide in the hearts of our countrymen.

He was, in essence, a character of commanding force and genius.

The loftiness of his ideals, the manliness of his heroic deeds are firmly anchored in the bedrock of humanity.

Not self, but service to our country was his life's creed.

He gave his life at the age of 31 at the siege of Savannah.

He died as he had lived . . . a hero, but an arch enemy to tyranny."

A Pole Who Died For America

By **PROFESSOR WACLAW LEDNICKI, University of California**
(Reprinted from The Polish Review, August 23, 1945)



Flight Lieutenant Wladyslaw Sokolowski, killed over Panay, the Philippine Islands, March 24, 1945.

It was my duty recently to write a short article about a young Polish soldier in the American Airborne Service, who was killed at the very end of the war in Germany (The Polish Review, Vol. V, No. 24). In that note I gave a translation of the marvellous letter written by him just before his death. The letter was an expression of his inspiring Jewish-Polish idealism and of his faith in the final triumph in this present struggle, of justice and freedom.

I feel it is now my right to pay tribute to another Polish boy of similar high character and promise, whose story is equally significant and touching. Wladyslaw Sokolowski, the son of the Polish Consul in San Francisco, volunteered in the United States Army Air Corps in 1942. At the end of his

training period, Lt. Sokolowski was sent to the Pacific front. Throughout his year of active service, in all of his hundreds of combat hours and combat missions, Lt. Sokolowski showed the same courage, brilliance and skill that are characteristic of Polish flyers. He was killed on a strafing mission over Panay last March 24.

Major Hill, Commander of thirty-sixth Fighter Squadron, to which Lt. Sokolowski was attached, paid this tribute to the Polish hero: "Soko's work was very important. He skillfully and courageously participated in strafing, dive bombing, patrol and escort missions that has protected our shipping and safeguarded our bases. 'Soko' was always ready for any mission and always did a wonderful job. He performed his duties ably and you may well be proud of the courage and skill he displayed. But more than just being an excellent pilot, he had a personality that made him one of the most popular and well liked men in the squadron; his loss is keenly felt by each of us."

Another of the numerous messages to Lt. Sokolowski's bereaved father was from Lt. Gen. Ira Eaker, Deputy Commander of the U. S. Army Air Forces, who wrote: "Lieutenant Sokolowski's ability to accomplish aviation problems and his painstaking efforts were apparent in his commendable record of cadet training, which was called to my attention. After he graduated with the rating of pilot at Williams Field, his outstanding courage and the fine spirit he manifested in cooperating with fellow officer were recognized by all who knew him well. The passing of Lt. Sokolowski is a real loss to his organization."

In the very time when the father was desperately fighting in the Consular field for his imperiled country, the son fought and gave his life for the cause of America. The Japanese war

CONGRESSMAN GORDON SHOCKED BY CONDITIONS IN POLAND

Congressman Thomas S. Gordon, from Illinois, upon his return from Europe with the Special House Delegation of the Foreign Affairs Committee, expressed how shocked he was on seeing the actual conditions prevailing in war-torn Poland.

A full report of this committee has not yet been made public, but unofficially, Congressman Gordon said that the political and economic state of affairs in Poland is unbelievably worse than the American public has been led to believe from the mere trickle of information permitted to get out of that suffering land. He observed that the Soviet army not only lives from what Poland is able to produce, but robs and ships out everything the soldiery does not consume. Nor do the people of Poland get any UNRRA help, because shipments are being robbed in the port of Constanza, Rumania, then what is left goes on to Russia for further picking and finally when anything reaches Poland, it is peddled on the "black market" by Russians. Politically, Poland is ruled by the Soviets. The lot of the Poles is really pitiful, said Mr. Gordon.



CONGRESSMAN O'KONSKI CRUSADER FOR POLISH CAUSE

Congressman Alvin E. O'Konski, of Wisconsin, is popularly called the crusader for Poland's rights. This year, he has spoken before more audiences in more cities than any of his colleagues from Washington. Everywhere, he has presented the Polish case from an American's point of view, always strongly appealing to America's sense of fair-play on behalf of the Polish cause.

In one of his speeches, O'Konski said: "Every American knows in his heart—Franklin D. Roosevelt knew it and Churchill knows in his heart—that the decision of the Crimea Conference regarding Poland was not in keeping with a just and honorable peace" . . . If full justice is done, the United States and Great Britain will insist on a free election in all Poland, as its boundaries stood before the Stalin-Hitler partition of 1939" . . . Let no one deceive you, what ultimately happens to Poland will be the key to the future of all Central Europe and the Balkans."

O'Konski has been a bitter critic of the Yalta agreement on Poland, so much so, that he rated an attack by the official Russian newspaper, "Pravda."

was not closer to Poland than the war in Poland was to America. There is added tragedy in this symbolic death; and can there be any American conscience that fails, or refuses, to admit its moral significance? I do not know what the motives were that induced young Wladyslaw Sokolowski, the son of a Polish Consul, to enter the American Army. But I think it very likely that a strong consideration was his profound confidence in the community of causes of all people of good will. Who is to know that it was not perhaps an idealistic emphasis of the

sacrifice he was making for his own country?

I do not want to introduce into this very special reflection any political digressions. I am reluctant to do so, but there is one observation that must be made. The Polish Government in London, represented by Lt. Sokolowski's father, declared war on Japan immediately after Pearl Harbor. The so-called "Lublin Government" never did. The reasons for both decisions are clear enough; they do not require any explanations but do they not require judgment?

President Rozmarek Now Makes Public Important Declarations

Two More Documents In Fight For Poland's Cause

Following are two declarations in the form of memorials on the Polish issue which heretofore have not appeared in print, because of the explicit request of former Secretary of State Stettinius.

The first of these was handed to Stettinius by Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress, on January 17, 1945, at conclusion of a conference held at the State Department. The second, was presented to the Secretary of State on April 17th of this year, during a conference attended by Congressman John Lesinski of Michigan, President Charles Rozmarek and Rev. Martin L. Lipinski, director of the Polish American Congress.

We print both these memoranda now as documentary evidence of the alertness of the Polish American Congress in taking advantage of every occasion to present Poland's case to the United States Government.

To the
Honorable Edward R. Stettinius
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

1) The Americans of Polish descent were greatly impressed by the Presi-

dent's report on the state of the Union in which he so clearly re-emphasized the principles of the Atlantic Charter as the basic aim of American policy. We can assure him that his speech was both listened to and read with the greatest admiration and gratitude. Our people saw in his message the re-affirmation of our attachment to the American aim of creating a world-wide security system as opposed to a system of spheres of influence which at best could serve only the selfish interests of some Powers without effectively preventing future wars between great Powers.

2 Recently, events have taken a startling turn for the worse. Soviet Russia has unilaterally created several accomplished facts in complete disregard of our American principles and war aims. This is especially flagrant in the case of Poland where Soviet Russia has imposed and recognized a distinctly communist "puppet government," without consulting the will of the Polish people.

3) This Soviet-sponsored "government" imposed upon Poland lacks all characteristics of a truly Polish Government. Apart from this, the recognition of the Lublin set-up by the Soviets, unfortunately makes it increasingly difficult to convince the Polish people of the

sincerity of Stalin's declarations that he desires that Poland should be really independent and strong. Moreover, it makes the task of the constitutional Polish Government, which has so often proved its sincere desire to reach an understanding with Soviet Russia, increasingly difficult.

4) The existence of so-called "friendly governments" in States neighboring on Russia has been repeatedly stressed by Stalin as his only aim. The Czechoslovak Government, presided by Dr. Edward Benes, has been accepted by Stalin as the most friendly government which he has not only recognized, but with whom in 1943 he concluded a Treaty of Mutual Alliance guaranteeing to Czechoslovakia her pre-war territorial status. At present, however, the Soviets are reaching out not only for Carpatho-Ruthenia—an integral part of Czechoslovakia—but also for a large part of Slovakia, up to the High Tatras. This shows that no country, however "friendly" its government, can count on being safe from Russian territorial expansionism.

5) The acquisition by Soviet Russia of Czechoslovak territory—apart from being a proof of the Soviets' utter disregard of the will of peoples and of their most "friendly governments"—directly concerned—constitutes a new danger to Poland's independence because on the map it clearly shows the Soviet tendency to encircle Poland: namely, in the north, Russia intends to extend her holdings to include Koenigsberg, and in the south, to include the Czechoslovak resort of Strbske Pleso which lies due south of Krakow.

6) Although the puppet governments imposed by the Soviets in an increasing number of countries call themselves for the most part "provisional governments"—their legislation, as reported daily in the American press, shows clearly the aim of disrupting the economic and social structure of the countries concerned in a definitely communistic direction. It is becoming ever more evident that the

Soviets continue to proceed along the line of "social engineering," which consists from within of a communistic way of life and economy, thus making them dependent on Russia.

7) Recently our people have been deeply impressed by the numerous articles in the press drawing attention to the fact that the number of Soviet-controlled "governments" in Europe is steadily growing which indicates that the Soviets tend to create an array of satellite States in order to use them to defeat our democratic conception of international relations.

8) I have considered it my duty to convey to you these apprehensions which are causing grave concern to the millions of Americans of Polish descent. I fervently hope that during the President's forthcoming momentous conference with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin, he will make full use of the great power at his disposal—mentioned by him in his message to the Congress of the United States—to save Poland from enslavement, to insure the return of her independence, which she so greatly deserves, and to make it clear that America will not stand for any international system which would make the future peace only a temporary armed truce between wars.

Sincerely yours,

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

Charles Rozmarek, President.

Washington, D. C.

January 17, 1945.

Honorable John Lesinski, M.C.
16th District, Michigan

Charles Rozmarek, Pres.,
Polish American Congress, Inc.
Reverend Martin J. Lipinski,
Trenton, N. J.

A MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The following is respectfully submitted:

1) We express our profound regret and sorrow on the death of the late President of the United States, Honor-

able Franklin Delano Roosevelt, for whom the Americans of Polish descent always entertained the highest respect and because of the friendship they had for him, they always supported him.

2) We felicitate President Truman and wish for him a very successful and constructive Administration.

3) The Americans of Polish descent are very much satisfied with the contents of his speech before the Joint Session of the Congress on April sixteenth, and assure him that the Americans of Polish descent will give him every assistance and cooperation. The speech of President Truman reaffirmed the basic principles of America and moral leadership in her endeavors to build a permanent peace upon the American ideals and principles of justice and democracy, to which all Americans of Polish descent unequivocally subscribe.

4) Americans of Polish descent have confidence that under President Truman's leadership, the enslaved nations, among whom is Poland, will have a defender of their just rights to real independence and territorial integrity.

5) Americans of Polish descent are confident that the foreign policy mentioned by President Truman will enable the formation of a security system under which peace will be concluded under American leadership, based on principles of freedom for all freedom-loving peoples, and Poland in particular.

6) The American people of Polish descent owe their allegiance to the United States, and not to Moscow or any other country. They have frequently repudiated the small handful of Communists who vociferously shout that they speak for them. The six million Americans of Polish descent are banded together in the Polish American Congress, which is their authentic voice.

7) We firmly believe that the American policy of excluding the Warsaw Lublin-made Polish Government from the San Francisco Conference should be upheld. The Soviets insist upon seating of this delegation, but the seating of

that delegation at the San Francisco Conference would be an insult to a very loyal segment of American citizenry.

8) In view of the fact that the people of Poland have not had sufficient time to hold a free election predicated upon the agreements reached at Yalta and, therefore, are unable to send representatives to the San Francisco Conference, we are of the opinion that the only fair and honest solution to the problem would be to seat the representatives of the legitimate Polish Government in Exile at the San Francisco Conference.

9) The Americans of Polish descent respectfully request that our Government continue, whenever possible, to assist the legitimate Polish Government and the Polish people in their struggle for justice and freedom as stated in the joint Four-Nation Declaration and the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter. We respectfully request that our Government reassure the Polish people that Poland will again take its rightful place among the nations of the earth and that a strong and independent Poland will again be set up within its legal boundaries. Our Government should have no hesitancy in doing this in view of President Truman's statement in his speech before the Congress yesterday when he said: "The responsibility of the great is to serve and not dominate the peoples of the world."

Polish Forces Abroad

The Polish Forces Press Bureau stated on July 1 that it has been authorized by Polish Military Headquarters in London to make public the following declaration concerning the present status of the Polish forces in Italy, Germany, the British Isles and elsewhere:

A number of misguided and erroneous statements have been made in recent days concerning the status of Polish forces, including army, navy, air force, and auxiliary services

The facts are that the status of the Polish forces, which total roughly a

quarter of a million men and women. remains unchanged, despite the apparent changing character of the political situation in Poland. The morale and discipline of the Polish forces remains high. The officer corps are in full control of the situation. There is no question of troops not getting their pay. There is no fear of mass desertion, as has been maliciously suggested in certain quarters.

The 2nd Polish Corps in Italy remains an integral part of the Eighth Army, under the Supreme Command of Field-Marshal Alexander, and continues to take orders from him. The 1st Polish Armored Division and the Parachute Brigade in Germany continue to accept responsibility under the Supreme Command of Field-Marshal Montgomery. Polish troops quartered in the British Isles continue to perform their required duties under the supreme command of British military authorities. The Polish Air Force and Navy are still operating under the direct command of the R. A. F. and British Admiralty respectively.

While the Polish forces, individually and collectively, have not yet achieved the aim for which they have fought since September 1, 1939, they feel that they have performed their share of the allied victory in Europe and that they have not fought, bled, and died in vain. They remain loyal to the President of the Polish Republic, Mr. Władysław Raczkiewicz, the constitutional head of the Polish nation and of the Polish forces.

Polish Air Force Record

Wings, the periodical of the Polish Air Force in Britain, has now published final figures of the work of the Polish Air Force operating from Britain from "the Battle of Britain" (August, 1940), until "V.E.-Day" (May 8, 1945).

Ten Fighter Squadrons shot down a total of 754¾ enemy aircraft, besides 178 probables, 254¼ damaged; they brought down 190 "V.1" flying bombs,

dropped about 4,000,000 lbs. of bombs, destroyed or damaged 2,660 tanks, vehicles, rail engines and wagons, and damaged 2 U-boats.

Four Bomber Squadrons have taken part in 1,468 operations of various kinds in which a total of 11,681 sorties were made. They dropped more than 32,082, 000 bombs and mines, delivered 355,674 lbs. of food for Holland, and in encounters with the enemy shot down 12 enemy aircraft, with 9 probables and 5 damaged. Light bombers destroyed 653 and damaged some 1,200 rail engines and wagons, destroyed the German sabotage school of Chateau Mulny, and four big petrol dumps of three million gallons each. Aircraft of Coastal Command have to their credit 9 enemy U-boats sunk, 4 probably damaged and 22 others attacked without the results being observed.

Polish Fighter squadrons were originally equipped with Spitfires and Hurricanes, later one wing was flying American Mustangs. The Bomber Squadrons originally flew Fairey Battles and Wellingtons, but since 1943 they have been flying American Mitchells and British Mosquitoes, and one squadron four-engined Lancasters.

The following fighter pilots are the top-scorers in the Polish Air Force:—

Major Stanisław Skalski, 19¾ shot down for certain; Lt.-Col. Witold Urbanawicz, 19; S/Lt. Josef Frantisek (killed), 17; Capt. Eugeniusz Horbaczewski, 16½; Capt. Bolesław Gładych, 14; Major Jan Zumbach, 12½; Senior Sgt. Marjan Pisarek, 12½.

During the whole period, the Polish Air Force lost 1,968 officers, N.C.O.'s and men; in addition 57 British airmen attached to the Polish air force were killed.

In a message sent on May 19, 1945, to Air-Vice-Marshal Iżycki, A.O.C. of the P.A.F., Air-Marshal Sir Arthur Harris said:—

"The courage and determination of the Polish crews have always been of

the highest order, ably sustained by the tireless and skillful work of the ground staff. Our cause was one and the same

and our resolution to fight until the enemy was defeated was never shaken. May this comradeship always survive."

Two Editorials On Present Polish Situation — and Reply to One

By way of comparison how the press of America views the supposed solution of the Polish problem, we reprint below two recent editorials, and an excellent open-letter editorial in reply to one of them:

From **The Times-Leader**, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., August 3, 1945:

FRAMEWORK FOR "PEACE"

"The communique, issued by the Big Three at the conclusion of the deliberations in Potsdam, contained no surprises, but left many questions unanswered, although it was far more revealing than many had anticipated.

"While nobody expected perfection, there must be considerable disappointment among those who had been looking forward to a just and lasting peace for the world. With the Soviet Union dominating the continent, the outcome must be regarded as another triumph for Premier Stalin, whose views obviously prevailed on the major issues.

"The status of Poland remains unchanged as a Soviet puppet. How completely it is under Communist domination is demonstrated by the flat announcement Poland's reparations will be settled by the Soviet Union. So long as Poland remains under the control of Soviet Russia, the extension of its western boundaries means only the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence.

"There is no reference to the Baltic States in the discussions, so it must be presumed Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, incorporated into the Soviet Union by force, are to re-

main prisoners of the Kremlin.

"On the whole, the world knows now what to expect at the peace conference, for the decisions at Potsdam will prevail. This is the broad framework."

IN POLAND'S INTEREST

"Poland forced to lean upon the great powers in peace as in war, can well accept as beneficial to her long-term interests the Big Three's decision respecting the division of German territory between Poland and Russia, and the protection of Poland's political and economic interests during Europe's reconstruction. The arrangements constitute one of the major accomplishments of the Potsdam conference and appear to be a further earnest of Russia's good faith in seeking a lasting peace in Europe.

"To be sure, the settlement of Poland's western boundaries—the eastern boundaries were fixed at Yalta—is conditional, pending a 'final determination' by the peace conference of the United Nations, but it is not likely to be upset. By the settlement Poland is given the free city of Danzig, all of Germany east of the Oder and Neisse rivers and all of East Prussia except the area north of Braunsberg, including the City of Koenigsberg, which goes to Russia. Thus there is added to present Poland, overwhelmingly agricultural, industrialized Silesia.

"With that acquisition of territory, the reparations agreement, under which Poland is to be compensated by Russia from what she recovers from Germany, should be a lesser

concern to the Poles. The Polish provisional government interests are to be the special concern of the British and United States governments. Further, 'all proper facilities' will be afforded 'for the exercise of the ordinary legal remedies for the recovery of any property belonging to the Polish state which may have been wrongfully alienated.'

"That what was done about Poland was done with her knowledge and, perhaps consent, is indicated by the Big Three's statement that the President of the National Council of Poland and members of the Polish Provisional Government had been received at the conference. They were given full opportunity to present their views. Poland is assured of a free and unfettered election as soon as possible 'in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.' Moreover, representatives of the Allied press will have full freedom to report the elections. Here again is another earnest of Russia's intentions.

"Poland may regard this as not only a just, but even generous, regard for her future against the background of the course she entered upon in 1934 when she began to play ball with Hitler and when again in March, 1939, she refused, as attested by Sumner Welles, Russia's offer of military assistance. Had she accepted, the German invasion might have been prevented."—Newark Evening News.

TO POLAND'S DETRIMENT

The Polish Weekly **KRONIKA** answered the above with the following forthright and objective open-letter:

"The foregoing editorial article typifies a common foible of a large segment of the American press. It spews from an awe of Russia, which subverts reportorial objectivism and the power of unbaised analysis so

vital and precious to good journalism. The vice lies in the implication that it is factual and in the pretension that its conclusions are studied.

"The article dwells on only the one aspect of the Polish debacle, and its omission to advert to the case and arguments against the Potsdam settlement insinuates into it a contention that none exists. Whether mistaken or dishonest, the article marks a disservice to the American tradition of courageous journalism.

"Expediency is no substitute for international justice. Not the slightest suggestion appears that the invasion of prostrate Poland by Soviet Russia on September 17, 1939, was morally improper. Forgotten is the gloomy disapproval of the American people, registered even in the pages of the Newark Evening News following that aggression. The philosophy of realism expounded in the Newark Evening News makes for a quaint and all too-flexible standard of right and wrong. But even flexibility of moral standards beyond a certain point becomes plain hypocrisy.

"Thus there is added to present Poland, overwhelmingly agricultural, industrialized Silesia," and so are the scales of justice balanced! But the solution is not so simple as the statement is glib. Industrial Silesia harbors a substantial German population, demonstrating intractability and resistance to Polonization. How are they to be dealt with? Expropriation, as Bismarck did with the Poles? Extermination, as Russia has practiced to solve the problem of recalcitrant racial or political groups? How many years—or generations—will be required to train and install Poles as the masters of the Silesian industrial machine? These are but a few of the problems and burdens brought to the surface by shallow probing alone. Yet the above quoted excerpt leaves the impression that the gift of Silesia is an unmixed blessing to Poland.



ROZMAREK GAVE EARLY WARNING ABOUT SOVIET DESIGNS

Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress, in his keynote address delivered before several thousand delegates and guests at this organization's convention at Buffalo, N. Y. on May 28, 1944 — uttered this warning against Soviet Russia, long before the Crimea Conference: ---

"Now in order to justify Russia's claims to Eastern Poland, some Americans keep continuously repeating that the Soviet Union must have friendly neighbors. The record of historical facts is clear. Russia does not have to fear Poland because she was always a friendly neighbor. She never tried to dismember Russia. On the other hand, history proves that Russia, in cooperation with Germany, dismembered Poland four times. Poland does not want any part of Russia. Is it Russia who wants to destroy Poland under the pretext of protecting her people from an undemocratic government. Hitler also said that he was motivated only by the desire to protect Austria from an unfriendly government before he moved in to absorb her."

"The reference to the reception of the President and members of the Polish provisional government and their opportunity to present their views on the theory that these men represented Poland and voiced the sentiments of the Polish people strains credulity. Yet, while such language is published, Ambassador Lane waits impatiently for a month in London for a visa from this same provisional government, only recently recognized by the United States. Even the most gullible, with any semblance of knowledge of the background of Polish-American diplomatic relations since World War I, cannot but begin to suspect that Moscow lurks somewhere in the background,

and that ultimate Polish political and diplomatic decisions achieve finality in Moscow and not in Warsaw and, "here, again, is another earnest of Russia's intentions!"

"As for the generosity accorded Poland by virtue of the Potsdam Conference let us not overlook the glaring fact that Poland in reality is nothing more than a Ward of Russia. For the sufferings she endured and the losses she sustained during almost six years of German and Russian occupation she is promised only such reparations from Germany as Russia may see fit to allow from her share. In plain language, Russia will be the alms-giver and Moscow-bred generosity is often puzzling. Perhaps

the author of the News article refers to the generosity of Russia by taking only half of the pre-war Polish territory and permitting the Poles to retain the Western half, so long as it is governed by a group of Stalin's puppets saturated with communistic ideology. Even the late President Roosevelt in his report to Congress on the Yalta Conference on March 1, 1945, frankly admitted that the Polish agreement was "quite a compromise" and that he "did not agree with all of it by any means." This is a clear indication that the partition of Poland at Yalta, confirmed at Potsdam, was dictated by Russia as a MUST.

"Furthermore, the libel that Poland entered upon a course of playing ball with Hitler in 1934 is a half-truth and distortion. It is a matter of record that there was existence a pact of non-aggression between Russia and Poland since July 25, 1932, and this pact continued in force until the Soviet aggression on September 17, 1939. As early as May, 1933, Pilsudski foresaw the Hitler menace, but was rebuffed by France on a proposal for joint military action to scotch it. Playing ball consisted merely of a declaration of a policy of non-aggression to be observed between the Reich and Poland—it was not even of the dignity of a pact. It called for neither close political collaboration nor military alliance. The text called for a solution of disputes by "direct negotiations" or by "other peaceful means," and the use of force was interdicted. It was not a demonstration of hostility to Russia, because Mt. Litvinov as well as France and Rumania were given preliminary notice of negotiations leading to the declaration. Poland was flanked on both sides by powerful and, at times, unscrupulous neighbors; what other course was open but to maintain friendly relations with both? Examination and analysis of the background of Polish-German relations

from 1934 to the outbreak of the war will leave no doubt that the characterization of playing ball with Hitler is, in the minds of fair-minded men, sinister and unwarranted.

"Lastly, insinuating that Poland precipitated the attack made upon her by Hitler on September 1, 1939, by "refusing to accept Russia's assistance" is a deliberate insult to one's intelligence. Has the author forgotten the Russo-German mutual assistance pact of August 20, 1939? Was not that pact made in order to give Hitler the green light to attack Poland? Did he not attack only 10 days after signing of the pact? To say that "the German invasion might have been prevented" is in effect accusing Poland of actually inviting the attack. Hitler defied all Europe as well as the United States and yet the author blandly conjectures that Poland might have prevented the attack!"

Poland Prisoner of USSR — Says Editorial

The **TIMES-LEADER**, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., does plain "spade-calling" in the following editorial, it printed on August 18th:

TRIUMPH FOR POWER POLITICS

Moscow announces blandly that Russia and Poland have signed a treaty, establishing the Curzon line as the boundary between the two countries.

That's a good trick if it can be done—a sort of ventriloquist act on the stage of international politics. The Soviet has the starring role with Poland playing the puppet very convincingly.

It could not be otherwise in view of the set-up. Moscow installed the present provisional government in the Polish capital and pulls all the strings. So, in effect, Soviet Russia has negotiated a pact with itself, fix-



OLEJNICZAK CALLS POLAND'S CAUSE OUR CAUSE

John J. Olejniczak, treasurer of the Polish American Congress and three times president of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, is a noted leader among Polish Americans in Chicago. His untiring efforts on behalf of Poland's righteous cause have gained recognition for him far and wide. Here is a typical utterance of John J. Olejniczak:

"We are citizens of the powerful United States. Our ancestors have given their lives and contributed their sinews and toil for the freedom and development of this magnificent country. We have become an integral part of America through our life and labors — the America to which Europe now looks for aid. We fought as soldiers of the United States on all the battlefronts; as workers in the factories and essential industries, we shared the task in the war production; and as full citizens, we hold all kinds of positions in the civic, social, political and cultural fields of American life. That is why we best understand the present fate of our kin and kith in the old country. — Their cause is our cause!"

ing the boundary line according to its own dictates.

To pretend that Poland is a party to this act deceives—nobody. The world, of course, is fully aware of what has happened and how it happened.

The so-called provisional government in Warsaw has no more legitimate reason for acting for Poland than for the United States or Australia. It is a fraud, perpetrated on Poland and the United Nations. As a usurper, its actions cannot be binding, anymore than a kidnapper or gunman can give his orders the force of law.

The truth is that Poland is a pri-

soner of the Soviet Union and completely under its domination, as though it were one of the Soviet "republics." It has about as much choice as the bridegroom in a shotgun wedding.

The treaty is another triumph for power politics.

Pres. Rozmarek's Statement Gets Editorial Comment

Here is added proof that an important section of the American press shares the opinion of the Polish American Congress regarding the supposed solution of the

Polish problem and the present situation in that much maligned country.

The **TIMES-LEADER**, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., sees the truth and wise counsel in President Charles Rozmarek's recent statement to the press and quotes from it in its leading editorial of August 21st. The editorial follows in full:

"DANGEROUS BUSINESS"

Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish National Alliance and of the Polish American Congress, representing 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent, voiced the sentiments of other millions of his fellow countrymen when he declared that "building a peace structure on the recognition of aggression and the enslavement of free nations is a dangerous business which we will live to regret."

Mr. Rozmarek was alluding primarily to Soviet domination of Poland, although his reference fits other European countries as well. The Polish American Congress has no illusions about the "independence" Poland enjoys now under the Communist regime, installed by Moscow in Warsaw. Nor does it labor under any misapprehension about the future of Poland under such a set-up. Poland is merely an appendage of the Soviet Union, as subjugated as Austria under Hitler when Nazi Germany held sway over the continent.

What makes this situation so fraught with danger is that the world is launching what is supposed to be an era of peace in an atmosphere of appeasement. The democracies attempted to appease the Nazi dictatorship with disastrous results and there is no reason to believe they will be any more successful in placating the boss of the Kremlin.

No dictator, of course, ever admits conquest in his aim. He always advances another excuse to cover his crimes. Even Hitler pretended he was opposed to aggression at the very moment he was on the march. In fact, he made non-aggression pacts with his intended victims as part of his war strategy.

Now we are told Soviet Russia, the most powerful country in Europe or Asia, is acting in self-defense when it enslaves neighbors by bringing them within its "sphere of influence." There isn't a country in Europe today or any combination of them, able to challenge Russia on the field of battle, so Russia's attempt to justify its expansion is no more convincing than Nazi Germany's was.

Mr. Rozmarek sums up the situation effectively when he says:

"When her mission in Europe, like America's, becomes one of liberation instead of conquest, then all distrust of Russia will immediately vanish."

Poland, a "Projection of Soviet Power"

Excerpts from an address delivered at Birmingham, July 24, 1945, by the Most Rev. Bernard Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster.

"Four and a half months ago, at the beginning of March, when in response to many requests I made a statement on the Anglo-Polish relations, I said: 'The honor of the political leaders of Great Britain and the honor of the whole British people depend upon (1) setting

up of a genuinely representative Polish government and (2) holding of genuinely free elections in Poland . . .'

"I now judge it necessary to say, that so far what has just been done by the British and American governments cannot be considered to fulfill those solemn undertakings. This has been formally recognized by Mr. Joseph C. Grew, Under-Secretary of State in Washington, in answer to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who has been voicing in the United



SENATOR JAMES H. MEAD STAUNCH FRIEND OF POLAND

Senator James H. Mead of New York has on many occasions championed the Polish cause. Here is what he said to the delegates at the convention of the Polish American Congress at Buffalo, N. Y. May 28, 1944:

"America and Poland have been traditional friends for over a century and a half. That friendship will never die! Under Woodrow Wilson that friendship manifested itself in 1919. In 1919 and 1920, Franklin D. Roosevelt fought courageously for President Wilson's Foreign Policy. His "four freedoms" mean much to Poland today. She has tasted of those freedoms and now feels their loss. As members of the United Nations, the United States and the Republic of Poland have pledged mutual assistances to the end that these freedoms become the heritage of the peoples of the earth. With the restoration of these freedoms and the reassertion of the traditional friendship of America will come when the war is ended, the Peace that Poland knew before September 1, 1939. In the light of these spiritual ideals we repeat, with M. Paderewski, the prayer he uttered in 1939 when Poland lay again prostrate, "Poland is immortal — we shall deliver her from captivity".

States the same acute uneasiness that so many of us feel in Great Britain..

"Mr. Grew has explicitly recognized that the United States has a continuing obligation towards the Poles to see that they have a genuinely representative government which they have not yet, and genuinely free elections. He says, it has not yet been decided whether they shall be supervised by the Allies.

"The obligation of our own country is more direct, obvious and inescapable than that of the United States, for we gave a guarantee and made a treaty of alliance in 1939, and through a period of nearly two years, when Germany and Russia were in alliance and the Poles

were fighting at our side here, we did not falter even though we could not see clearly how we should be able to restore an independent Poland against Germany and Russia. . . .

"I regard it as essential to any hope of establishment of free and independent Poland that there should be immediately (a) freedom for the Poles and the Allies to pass to and from Poland; (b) removal of secret police from Poland and the abolition of dictatorship of press and radio; (c) a guarantee of elections under joint allied supervisions.

"I do not believe that our statesmen can be happy in conscience unless they take steps to guarantee genuinely free

elections. If to oppose Communism is to court imprisonment and death, the Polish elections will go down in history as a mockery and the United Nations, who have striven so hard to redeem their record of appeasement of the Nazis, will have yielded to the temptation of an appeasement of a no less anti-democratic philosophy, and their last state will be worse than the first. . . .

"I do not say that it is impossible to live at peace with a totalitarian regime. We ask nothing of Soviet Russia except respect for the essential rights of other peoples. What I am saying is that we shall have lost the peace if we allow our first ally, Poland, to be turned into what the Prime Minister described as a 'mere projection of the Soviet State.' I cannot believe that it is beyond the power of wise statesmanship to insist on the re-

establishment of free Poland, since the West has so much to offer the Soviet in supplies and security. I am deeply conscious of the fact that the overwhelming majority of Polish people are living in Poland. They are ordinary men and women who desire, above all things, the freedom of their homes, and to work in security. To sentence them to live under a government chosen by Soviet Russia is to make a mockery of their gallant struggle throughout the war years. . . .

"The question of Poland is part of the larger question of the fate of all Europe. There are many signs that Central Europe may become, in fact if not in name, a western extension of Soviet power. If such a policy is permitted by the United Nations, Europe will be divided into two blocs with disastrous consequences for future world order."

Statement of Polish Ambassador In Washington

Mr. Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador in Washington, delivered on July 6, a similar Note to Mr. James F. Byrnes, U. S. State Secretary. The following day, at a Press Conference in the Polish Embassy, Mr. Ciechanowski made the following statement:

As a consequence of the withdrawal of recognition by the U. S. Government of all activities carried on in the United States by the legal Polish Government, my diplomatic legal duties in the United States on behalf of my Government have been interrupted. On the other hand, I must refuse to perform any functions or duties which even by implication might be considered as being performed by me on behalf of the Government of MM. Bierut and Osóbka-Morawski, the legality of which is not recognized by the only legal Polish Government, which I have the honor to represent. As a result of the withdrawal of recognition of the Constitutional Polish Government by the U. S. Government, I am compelled to leave my post. I do so with deep personal regret. Before leaving, how-

ever, I feel it is my duty to stress the tragic situation in which the Polish nation now finds itself as a result of the world conflict which brought victory to Poland's Allies, while to Poland, who was the first to fight and who contributed so much to the common victory, it brought defeat and loss of independence. The fate of Poland will be better understood when it is realized that even defeated Nazi Germany loses less through this war than Allied Poland has been forced to give up as a result of victory. Moreover, Poland has been left under the uncontrolled occupation of a foreign Power which is imposing upon her a Government and a political, social and economic system alien to her.

Poland's record as a fighting member of the United Nations during this war is unassailable. Her armed resistance to German aggression in Poland in September 1939 gave to France and Great Britain the time necessary to prepare their defenses. Later, her army, navy and air force fought in Norway, France, in the Battle of Britain, in Africa, Italy,



CONGRESSMAN DINGELL CALLED POLAND KEY TO PEACE IN EUROPE

John D. Dingell, U. S. Representative from Michigan, has on numerous occasions called Poland the key to peace in Europe. Below is an excerpt from one of his speeches:

"The consequences of imposing upon Poland a boundary that will expose her to her enemies and the reduction of her domain to a point where it will impair her growth and virility, or the gerrymandering of her frontiers so as to deprive her of essential raw materials, such as timber, oil, peat and certain valuable minerals, which will reduce her to dependency and weakness instead of making her independent and strong will prove disastrous and a threat to future peace. Poland as the key to peace in Europe must at this late date be so recognized."

Normandy, Belgium, Holland and Germany, while her underground Home Army performed miracles of sabotage, and engaged in guerilla warfare and open fighting against the Germans, substantially aiding the Russian armies in their advance through Poland. While the war lasted, Poland's war effort was appreciated by her Allies and declarations of admiration and encouragement were lavished upon the Polish nation. Poland was called the "inspiration of nations" and was repeatedly promised independence and support after the war. These words of encouragement were accepted at their face value by the Polish people. They firmly believed in the sincerity of the words spoken to them on behalf of America, whom they had al-

ways trusted and admired.

How can one explain to the indomitable fighters for freedom and democracy that after the victory of the United Nations the principles in defense of which they fought would not be applied to them? How can one explain to the Polish nation that their country is but a home on wheels to be pushed eastwards or westwards as may suit the imperialist aims of either of its mighty neighbors, in defiance of the principle of self-determination of peoples for which they fought? Some day answers to these questions will have to be found if justice is to survive.

Public opinion is still unaware of the details of Russia's activities in Poland and of her treatment of the Poles dur-

ing the war both in Poland and in Russia. The fact that the Soviet Government consistently refused to admit any Allied or neutral observers inside Poland is in itself ominous. As long as the war lasted, the Polish Government itself, for the sake of Allied unity, so essential to the common victory, contributed to this regrettable black-out of the facts of Polish-Soviet relations. Moreover, it hoped that by avoiding friction it might more easily reach an understanding with Russia, which it sincerely desired.

Public opinion too easily forgets all the attempts made by the Polish Government and people to come to an understanding with Soviet Russia within the framework of international law. These efforts were invariably rejected by Russia. At any time during this war problems requiring settlement between Poland and Russia could probably have been solved if Russia had allowed representatives of the legal Polish Government and of the Underground to sit down with her representatives and to tackle these problems in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill. But Russia preferred to present these problems not as Soviet-Polish controversies, but as quarrels of opposing factions of Poles.

Poland represented by her legal Government was never allowed to partici-

pate in the discussions of Polish-Soviet relations. The Conferences at Teheran and Yalta are examples in point. The decisions concerning Poland must therefore be regarded by the Polish nation as verdicts **in absentia**. No nation, no Government truly representative of its people, could ever accept decisions about their territory or system of Government that were taken without its participation. The Polish people are deeply attached to their traditions of individual and national freedom. They will never cease to fight for these ideals.

On June 29, Mr. Racziewicz, the constitutional President of the Polish Republic, issued in London a message to the Polish nation in the last paragraph of which he said: "I remain at my post in accordance with the provisions of the constitution now in force, and also, I think, with the will of the immense majority of the Polish people." As the Ambassador of Poland, and personal envoy of the President of Poland, after leaving my post as Ambassador to the United States, my conduct will be guided entirely by the directives given by the constitutional head of the Polish State to all the Polish people. Such is also the attitude of all my colleagues in this Embassy and in all the Polish Consulates in the United States.

Polish Government Appeals to the Polish Nation

On June 26th the Polish Government issued the following appeal to the Polish Nation:

"Poles—Against all expectations not principles of justice and pledges resulting from international treaties have won the day in settling the Polish problem but accomplished facts imposed from outside. A self appointed political body composed of communists and foreign agents is to become "the Government". A few Poles have been found who have considered it as possible for them to take a hand in this. They have done so at the moment when all political and

military leaders of five years heroic Polish struggle against Germany have been charged before Moscow tribunal and been tried in accordance with the well known Soviet pattern.

Allied Governments of Great Britain and United States are to recognize this "Provisional Government" which calls itself as if to add insult to injury "Government of National Unity" and are to withdraw their recognition from the lawful government of the Polish Republic, their faithful ally during five years of war for freedom of Nations. In this moment it is our duty to

MONKIEWICZ FIERY DEFENDER OF POLAND

While serving in the House of Representatives as M. C. from Connecticut, Boleslaus J. Monkiewicz proved himself a fiery champion of the Polish cause. His pointed utterances were often quoted in the leading newspapers of the East and his home state. Here is what he said at Buffalo at the convention of the Polish American Congress:

"Poland's cause should be America's cause. I have said this before and I say it again. "Generations of Poles who fought for liberty, and especially the millions of victims of Nazi and Soviet aggression on Poland in this war, challenge our conscience demanding that justice be given to their homeland. Underwriting a fifth partition of Poland, which Soviet Russia is demanding today, or watching silently as it is being prepared by our allies for it, bears the same responsibility. In action at a time when essential principles of democracy and justice are challenged, is co-responsibility. Pontius Pilate only washed his hands at the sight of Christ's murderers. Do we want to earn by posterity in the same way as Christ's murderers. Do we want to earn a similar reputation for ourselves among free nations after this war?"



review once more the path which we have followed so far and the road which we must follow in the future.

During the whole present war the Polish Nation has fought exceptionally actively and has not shrunk from any sacrifices. Its attitude was consciously and voluntarily chosen and it had one purpose in view. This purpose was to restore full independence to Poland in her pre-war frontiers. For Poles the life in freedom is the highest goal on earth. We have consistently worked to smash tyranny which threatened us and the whole world.

For the decisions which it had reached of its own free will the Polish Nation

has paid the highest possible price. No other member of the United Nations has borne such heavy sacrifices or contributed so much to the common cause, in relation to its resources and possibilities.

It is one of the principles of our civilization that the government is the expression and the servant of a nation's will. It ceases to be a government when it finds itself off National life. Thus every Polish government must be at variance with its own people if it fails to defend Poland's independence, territory which forms an ultimate guarantee of that independence and moral and civilizing principles which have formed the Nation

and maintain its spirit alive. There is in this respect a certain minimum which no Polish government can afford to ignore or repudiate. We were often told that ever greater concessions were needed; we were charged with the lack of political acumen and unintelligent stubbornness. No one could expect however that the Polish Nation should commit suicide in the name of alleged reasonableness and on the top of that should besmear its good name. The present Polish government was constituted on 29 November 1944 at the moment when the Polish policy had reached the limit of its concessions and when every further step in that direction threatened to throw our country into abyss. Leading Cabinet offices in that Government were assumed by prominent leaders of the Polish Underground Movement who were the best spokesmen of the will and the aims of people fighting in our home country. This government also enjoyed confidence and support of the Polish Armed Forces which have written with their blood such fine page in the history of the present war. This government knows that it can speak on their behalf no less than on behalf of many Poles now scattered throughout the world.

The present Polish Government has been often called in sarcasm—government of stubborn resistance. This appellation is accepted by it with pride. Indeed it is a government of resistance, of resistance against all attempts to destroy the independence of Poland.

The Polish government could not agree to annexation of half of the territory of the Polish Nation including the towns so dear to the whole Polish Nation, such as Lwow and Wilno.

The Polish Government could not agree to the imposition on Poland of social regime alien to her fundamental concepts of freedom, lawful order and moral traditions.

The Polish Government could not agree to grant any rights to the self-appointed committee composed of members of a numerically weak communist

party and subordinated to foreign power.

The Polish government could not agree to the destruction of legal order on which the existence of the Polish State was based.

The Polish Government could not agree to severing to thousand years old links between Poland and the world of western culture and civilization.

These decisions were taken by the Polish Government fully conscious of responsibility it bore. It could not have acted differently if it had known at the time when it took these decisions the present course of events. The Polish Government was not appointed by the President of the Polish Republic to take hand in the liquidation of the independence of Poland.

Poland was first to fight with the arms in hand the German bid for world domination. She always desired friendly co-existence with Russia and rejected all German suggestions of a joint attack upon the Soviet Union. She fought at a time when other powers were still practicing with Hitler. She never had any misgivings in her faithfulness to her Allies and in the crucial days of 1940 she stood by the side of Great Britain in her lonely fight. In the great air battle of Britain which decided the issue of the war the Polish airmen contributed their bit to the Allied Victory. The Poles have not abused the friendly hospitality and friendship which was shown to them by the people of Britain. During the long and arduous years of war the Polish Nation endured, fought and believed.

Today over the charred remains of the Polish Republic an entirely new body is to be constituted, without frontiers which are due to Poland, without legal and constitutional continuity, deprived of traditions in which Poland lived and thrived for a thousand years.

Lawful authorities of the Polish Republic cannot recognize such an imposed solution. The President and the Government of the Polish Republic are mandatories of the national will up to

the moment when free and honest elections are held in Poland. It seems that the leading statesmen of the West are basing their hope on the Yalta promise of "free and unfettered elections" in Poland. It is clear, however, that no such elections are possible as long as Soviet forces and Soviet political police remain in Poland, as long as there is no freedom of political life, of press, of meeting and association and as long as the iron screen separating Poland from the world is not lifted.

Even when recognition will be withdrawn from it, the Polish Government will not cease to be the lawful government of Poland. It is the lawful government not because it is recognized by other powers but because it expressed the will of the Polish people and because it has been constituted in accordance with the laws of the Polish Republic.

While announcing this we cannot promise you much for the nearest future. We should like to recall the words of Churchill uttered in the days when his country was in deadly peril. We cannot promise you anything today and tomorrow, except "toil, sweat and tears." Our

efforts however will not be in vain. Moral issues of our civilization now trodden upon will undergo a rebirth and finally win. With all our strength we must work for this rebirth and speed it up. In this period every Pole will have to face a particular task. It will be their first duty to keep up the dignity of our people by their discipline and self-control, by their solidarity and by their unblemished record in their public and private lives. At every post and in every field they must give example of relentless toil and of creative effort.

We are fully aware that our words are reaching men and women who have suffered heavily and are greatly exhausted. The future fate of Poles will not be alike everywhere. While most will suffer in Poland cruel realities of Police regime, others will remain in a free world to be spokesmen of those who must remain mute.

Our future path is a hard one but at the journey's end we shall see the Poland for which we are all striving from the bottom of our hearts; Poland free and independent, Poland of liberty and justice, Poland in which the love of God and man shall prevail."

What Every American Should Know

Here are some pointed excerpts from a speech in the House of Representatives made on May 3, 1945, by Hon. Alvin E. O'Konski of Wisconsin. It was printed in full in the Congressional Record under the title of, "What Every American Should Know."

"Well, it has come to a point already where nobody can say anything against Russia. The Russians can call the United States of America anything it feels like at the moment. But my, my, we must never say anything against the Russians because we might hurt their poor little feelings.

So the chief receiver from America's international do-gooders today is Communist Russia. We already gave Russia \$10,000,000,000 of lend-

lease. Russia is the only ally that didn't give us even one penny of reserve lend-lease. Russia gave us nothing except to call us names. But here is what we gave Russia:

Eight hundred thousand American casualties to save Russia from Hitler.

Fourteen thousand airplanes, America's best.

Four hundred and six thousand motor vehicles, America's best.

Seven thousand tanks, America's best.

Two thousand self-propelled guns, America's best.

One hundred and thirty-five thousand submachine guns, America's best.

Fifty thousand other big guns, America's best.

Thirteen thousand locomotives and cars, and so forth, America's best.

Notice, we gave Russia 14,000 airplanes. Yet, whoever heard of Russia bombing anything except Finland. American airplanes and flyers had to do the job in the rest of Europe, Africa, and Asia. We gave Russia four times more than we gave General MacArthur and our own boys up to January 1, 1945. Our own boys had to wait until Stalin's appetite was satisfied. In return for lend-lease, it should be pointed out that every country we helped gave us something in return—except Russia. We cannot even get one little base from her to help us fight the Japs.

Are we through giving things to Russia? We have not even begun. The war with Hitler is finished. Russia is not at war with Japan. Yet we are going to give Russia in the future even more than we gave her in the past.

Our international do-gooders now have the following plans to help Russia:

Lend-lease \$22,000,000,000; three billion a year to Russia.

UNRRA, \$2,000,000,000; half of it to Russia or satellites.

Bretton Woods, \$8,000,000,000; three billions to Russia.

Commodity Credit, \$2,000,000,000; one-half to Russia.

Export-Import Bank, \$2,000,000,000; one-half to Russia.

Besides this, the international do-gooders are planning a \$10,000,000,000 loan to Russia. And besides that, the same givers want to wipe out the three billion Russia owes us from the last war. The combined total that these schemers want to give Russia in the next 5 years is about \$20,000,000,000 of hard-earned American money.

One would think that with these gifts Stalin would fall in love with

us for sure. But read Russia's papers and see how much they love us. Stalin will not even go outside Europe to talk to our President. Always our President must go to court Stalin and promise him more billions.

Ask any child what country in the world is the only country which could wage war on America. Any child will tell you there is only one country in all the world that could wage a war against us—that country is Russia. So the international do-gooders are doing to Russia today what we did to Japan from 1932 to 1941, and to Germany from 1923 to 1938. The United States of America is building up another potential enemy.

The arguments used by the international do-gooders are the same today as in the past. From 1932 to 1941 they said we must say nothing against Japan or they might get mad at us. During these years we were told that we must help the poor Japs. We must give them money and materials so that they will fall in love with us. So we were blackmailed until Japan, with our money and materials, got strong enough to attack us.

From 1933 to 1938 we were told that we must say nothing against Hitler because he might get mad at us. We were told that we must help Hitler to build stadiums and factories and give him money so that he will love us. We did all this until we made Hitler strong enough to start another war.

During all these years 13,000,000 Americans were on relief. During these years America's national debt and taxes were increasing. America meant nothing. The welfare of American people meant nothing. They were meant only to deprive themselves and build Japan and Hitler.

So today it is still the same. Now we are told we must say nothing against Russia. We should deprive ourselves and give—give—and give

Douglas MacArthur In Poland



General Douglas McArthur, famous conqueror of the Japs, was in Poland in 1932, where he received that country's highest order of "POLONIA RESTITUTA".

some more to Russia. So plans are to give Russia \$20,000,000,000 in the next 5 years. No bonus for our soldiers—no increase in old-age pensions for our aged—just billions for Russia. So dig, Mr. Taxpayer, dig and dig some more. The international do-gooders are now giving Russia billions trying to buy Stalin's love. Russia must prosper. But

America must wait and give until there is nothing left.

The U. S. A. built Hitler's war machine with U. S. A. money. The U. S. A. built Japan's war machine with U. S. A. money. The U. S. A. is now building Russia's war machine with U. S. A. money. The U. S. A. makes its own wars—bigger and better as the years flee by.

Polish Note to Mr. Eden

Count Edward Raczyński, Polish Ambassador in London, sent on July 6, the following Note to Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

In view of the recognition on July 6, 1945, by the British Government of the so-called Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, I have the honour to declare that I was accredited as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James's by the constitutional President and Government of the Polish Republic, to whom I owe allegiance and that, consequently, I am not in a position to delegate my functions, powers and office to anyone, with appropriate instructions from the President and Government of the Polish Republic, who continue to be the sole constitutional and independent representatives of Poland.

Acting on the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to bring to your knowledge that:

I.—The authority of the President and Government of Poland, to whom I owe allegiance, derives from the constitutional laws of the Polish Republic enacted by the nation through a freely elected Parliament which remain of unimpaired legal validity and which could not be changed in conditions of duress under which the nation exists to-day. Under this authority, the President and Government of Poland maintained normal diplomatic relations with the British Government and concluded with that Government a number of agreements, including the Agreement of Mutual

Assistance of August 25, 1939, which I had the honour to sign in London on behalf of the Polish Government, as well as agreements between Poland and other Powers, including all the bilateral undertakings entered into during the war and concerning military, naval, aviation, financial, economic and shipping matters, of which I would mention specifically:

- (a) The Polish-French Protocol, signed at Paris on September 4, 1939, concerning the execution of the Polish-French Alliance.
- (b) The Agreement between Poland and the U.S.S.R. signed at London on July 30, 1941.
- (c) The Agreement concluded at Washington between the Polish Government and the Government of the United States on July 1, 1942, concerning Lease and Lend.

Furthermore, multilateral agreements to which the Polish Government is a party, include:

- (1) Declaration of the United Nations, signed at Washington on January 1, 1942, called the "Atlantic Charter."
- (2) Inter-Allied Declaration against acts of dispossession committed in territories under enemy occupation or control, signed at London on January 5, 1943.
- (3) The final Act of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Conference, signed at Hot Springs on June 3, 1943.
- (4) Agreement to set up a United

Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, signed at Washington on November 9, 1943.

- (5) Final Act of the Monetary and Financial Conference of the United Nations, signed at Bretton Woods on July 22, 1944.
- (6) Agreement on Principles having reference to the Continuance of Co-ordinate Control of Merchant Shipping, signed at London on August 5, 1944.
- (7) International Sanitary Conventions, signed at Washington on January 5, 1945.
- (8) The International Agreement and the Final Act of the International Civil Aviation Conference, signed at Chicago on December 7, 1944.

When all the said agreements were being concluded not one constitutional state questioned the validity of the Polish Constitution or of the powers of the Polish President and the Governments appointed by him. Neither was any doubt ever raised by such States as to the right of the Polish President and Government to lead the Polish nation in the struggle against the German aggressor and to exercise supreme command over the Polish Armed Forces fighting at the side of the Allied Nations.

Throughout the war the Polish nation made immense sacrifices for the common cause of the United Nations. The Resistance Movement in the Homeland, as well as the Polish Armed Forces on all fronts—on land, on sea and in the air—never ceased, until the day of victory, to struggle against the enemy, under the leadership of the constitutional President and Government of the Republic, which they recognize as the sole constitutional authority of the Polish State.

II.—The territories of the Polish Republic remain under a foreign military occupation and under the ruthless control of foreign military and police forces. The accomplished facts which have taken place in Poland since the outbreak of war are not the result of the will of

the Polish people expressed either by constitutional or revolutionary means. The war which began in defense of the integrity and independence of Poland ended in depriving her of that independence and in placing the country under the control of an alien Power.

III.—In these circumstances, neither I myself nor my Government are in a position to recognize the accomplished facts unilaterally enacted in Poland. The persecutions, which thousands of Poles are enduring in Poland today and which afflict with particular severity all those citizens of the Republic who have actively demonstrated their devotion to the cause of freedom and independence by their implacable struggle against the German invader, prove beyond any doubt that the so-called Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in no way represents the will of the nation, but constitutes a subservient body imposed on Poland by force from without.

IV.—The first attribution of the independence of a state is its freedom to choose a government. In the present circumstances, the source of the authority of the Government headed by M. Osóbka-Morawski is a decision made not by the Polish nation, but by three foreign Powers, one of which controls **de facto** the whole administration of Poland through its army and police forces. The legal basis of the authority of that Government can be compared with the legal basis of the authority of the so-called governments set up in occupied countries during the war by Germany. In both cases they are based on the will of a foreign Power.

V.—In such circumstances and acting on instructions from my Government, I most solemnly protest against the recognition by the British Government of a Government imposed on Poland by force of an alien Power, which amounts to the recognition of the suppression of Poland's independence. Once more in history, the Polish nation is being deprived of its independence, though this time not as a result of events which took

place in Eastern Europe alone, but after a war which the United Nations waged in defense of law and justice. Notwithstanding the recognition by other Powers of its present subjection, the Polish nation will never give up its right to independent existence and will never cease to struggle for it.

VI.—As a protest against acts of violence inflicted on the Polish Nation, I am obliged to refuse to delegate my functions, without the approval of the constitutional Government of Poland, and to regard as an imposter any person pretending to be authorized to claim my office.

Message of the President of Polish Republic to the Polish People

The President of the Polish Republic, M. Władysław Raczkiewicz, issued the following message to the Polish people on June 29.

On assuming the office of President of the Polish Republic I took the following solemn oath:

"I shall defend the sovereign rights of the Polish State, guard its dignity, respect its Constitution, apply the same justice to all its citizens, protect it from evil and dangers and devote all my energies to its welfare as my first and foremost duty."

During this long war, the most terrible in the annals of history, in which Poland fought the German invaders with unparalleled heroism, I have devoted all my strength to fulfilling the duties to which I am pledged by my oath of office.

The indomitable fight which the Poles have put up is a sufficient proof that they cherish freedom above everything else. This love of freedom is the age-old tradition of our people, and it is always a living torch which is passed on from one generation to another.

It was this love of freedom which animated us during the desperate September campaign and which, after its conclusion, led so many Poles to serve in the Polish armed forces abroad or to swell the ranks of the heroic Home Army and the underground organization under the cruel German yoke.

Polish blood has flowed freely in

defense of freedom on every front in this war, on land, at sea and in the air. It was for freedom that we sacrificed our dearest treasures and that we have the greatest sacrifices in blood and property ever to be recorded in our history.

Freedom is the every essence of Polish ideals and the national will, to defend it and safeguard it was the main goal of the policy of the Polish nation and the main object of its struggle in this war.

Today, when the war of the United Nations against German aggression has been victoriously concluded our country has not, alas, recovered true freedom yet. The Polish nation and State are still in danger. The great task of reconstruction and of peace in freedom for which we fought have not yet been achieved as far as Poland is concerned. To reach our goal further sacrifices and further efforts are needed.

The Constitution of the Polish Republic imposes on me the duty of transferring the office of President of the Polish Republic after the conclusion of the war into the hands of my successor, chosen by the nation in democratic elections, free from violence and threats of any kind. I shall do it immediately our nation is in a position to hold such an election.

For the time being I remain at my post in accordance with both the provisions of the Constitution now in

force and also, I think, with the will of the immense majority of the Polish people.

I am confident that this decision will be understood throughout the world by all those who hold freedom, justice and law in higher esteem and regard than brute force or temporary victory of violence.

It will be the duty of the citizens of the Polish Republic, so grievously suffering under so many blows, to see to it that the great traditions of our national culture should not be lost, that our links with our past should not be severed, that our ideals

of freedom are not betrayed; it will be their duty to maintain their allegiance to the lawful authorities of the Polish Republic and not to weaken in their strivings for the restoration to the Polish Republic of its rights and for the place due to it among the free nations of the world.

We are living through a period of great dangers and difficulties for our nation and our State, but I firmly believe that Almighty God will bless our efforts and will cause Poland to emerge from this new ordeal victorious, secure and with her rights undiminished.

TALK Given by Marya Werten at a Meeting of "Friends of Poland" in Los Angeles, Cal.

Marya Werten, author of the following is well known as an artist in both Europe and America. She graduated from the Warsaw Academy of Art and then studied in Paris at the Ecole de la Grand Chanmiere and the Ecals des Beaux Arts.

She took a vivid role in the great Art movement which developed in the free Poland—by her creative activity as painter, designer and illustrator—and as an art educator—by writing, speaking on the radio and collaborating with the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, State Institute for Teachers of Handicrafts Free University of Warsaw, and the Society for Promoting the Industry.

In America she is known since 1932 as an Artist Designer. Author of articles about Art, Lecturers, and from her educational activities in training Art Teachers and Designers under the auspices of the International School of Art, which brought her to the U. S. A., and is now with the Chouinard Art Institute in Los Angeles.

Art is not an ivory tower of escape for Marya Werten. Like her great countryman, Paderewski, she takes up the task of winning and maintaining that

freedom which is the condition of creative living.

CALLING AMERICA

This is a message to you—citizens of a great democracy! However indifferent you may be to the tragedies and crisis affecting the security or happiness of individuals and nations, there are two situations in which those same happenings should arrest your attention and compel you to bend every effort toward ascertaining the facts or causes which have produced them.

The first is any situation in which you are directly involved—in which the outcome may spell disaster for you, your family, or your home.

The second does not involve you directly, but it places a grave responsibility upon you as a citizen.

When you are serving as a member of a jury in one of our courts, you are, or should be, aware of the fact that the life or liberty of the accused will hang upon your decision, and that of your colleagues. You realize, or should realize, that it is your solemn duty and obligation to inform yourself of all the facts in the case and get at the truth insofar as is humanly possible.

The judicial system in this country gives the members of the jury every opportunity to form an unbiased opinion. Defense and prosecution alike must present all the facts and produce all the evidence. It is only after you have heard all the arguments in the case that you are asked to give your verdict.

But has it ever occurred to you that, as a world citizen, you are today confronted with a situation in which it is equally your duty and obligation to learn the truth and to take action that will insure a just and lasting peace?

We have reached the end of the European war. Most of us have learned during the past five years that this war, which has taken millions of lives and destroyed the cultural and economic life of many nations, was brought about largely by misinformation or lack of information, supplemented by indifference to crimes and injustices which we mistakenly thought were no concern of ours. We learned that this attitude has proved a boomerang which has recoiled upon us, killing our sons and husbands.

In the near future we shall be facing momentous decisions which will shape the world for many years to come. Do not think that only others will make those decisions—that only others will be responsible for them. You will have a part in making those decisions, because public opinion in the democratic countries is the highest authority; you will be a member of the public opinion of the world jury, because you are a citizen of a free country—of the most powerful and influential country in the world today. Nothing can be done without your approval; no agreements can be reached over your protest. As a member of the jury you have the responsibility before giving your verdict to hear and sift all the evidence for and against the pacts and agreements which will implement the Peace, to ascertain the truth of the claims and counter-claims and demands made by various nations in future peace conferences. All those decisions concern you and the future of your children.

Let us imagine that you live on the

edge of a vast forest. Somewhere in that forest a fire is raging. You know perfectly well that, although the fire may not be near your own home, although it may be threatening only the security of others, sooner or later unless it is checked it will menace your home too. So you take every step to prevent the spread of the flames, assuring safety to others because thereby you are ensuring you own safety as well.

Today there are certain questions involving the future peace of the world which, if not solved fairly and justly, may bring again a war. Remember that this war started by selling Czechoslovakia in Munich.

It is your business to understand the situation, to hear both sides of each and every controversy between nations, great and small, and to express your opinion based on an impartial study of the facts. If you fail to do this, you have failed in your highest duty to your children, to yourself, to your country, and to humanity at large.

The present controversy over the future of Poland is a test of international justice demanding your earnest attention. It is vitally important because it involves certain basic principles affecting the rights of the smaller nations to independent existence, and the problem of freedom or tyranny for all. As the late President Roosevelt reminded us, the world cannot be half free and half slave. Like any member of a jury, you should know all the facts in the case before you express your opinion. Are you ready to express it?

Did you think about the fundamental problems upon which that case depends?

Did you ask yourself the most important question?

Did you ask yourself: Do I really understand what it means to be a citizen of a totalitarian country? What kind of a life do people in a country lead governed by a single party, with a government controlled press; with the constant fear of being liquidated if expressing any independent opinion?

Can I find any difference between Hitler's annexation of small, helpless countries and the similar acts of Stalin? Why do we speak of the former as a crime, and of the latter as an act of justice?

When Russia and Germany divided Poland between them in 1939, we called it a crime; why do many people now call the same annexation of Polish territory by Russia an act of Justice? What difference is there between the imposition of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line on the people of Poland, and the imposition of the Curzon Line?

How can we believe that the half of Poland, as much as the Baltic States under Soviets' bayonets voted freely in the plebiscite which made them members of the Soviet Union?

We, in this country, cannot forget Pearl Harbor. Why do we expect the Poles to forget how Russia stabbed them in the back when they were fighting desperately against the Nazis after having refused to join them in an attack on the Soviet Union? To forget two million people deported to Siberia, of whom hundreds of thousands died in misery?

To forget the refusal of help during the Warsaw fight? The refusal of airfields for those Polish, English and American fliers who could and did give the help to the heroic abandoned fighters? To forget that the lack of help made Warsaw lose one-fourth of her population and be re-taken by Hitler?

Why do we hear so many people say that Poland should adopt a more friendly attitude toward Russia, after all the Russian crimes against her, when they never ask themselves why Russia should not show more friendliness for Poland?

Why was the Polish government in London, legally constituted under the Polish Constitution and recognized by the Allied Nations as such, refused the right to return to "liberated" Poland, and refused its place at the San Francisco Conference?

Why do so many American papers

echo Stalin's assertion that the London governments represented a clique of aristocrats and landowners, when everybody who is interested in the labor movement in Europe knows that it is made up from the Socialist Party, the peasant and all working classes?

That it has maintained the closest relation with the underground fight against Hitler in Poland; that it was directing that underground fight to help United Nations, and in the first place **to help Soviet Union?**

Why was the Lublin puppet government, created precisely on the pattern of similar governments established by the Nazis, so often represented as a truly democratic regime by people who would never dare to apply such a description to the government of a Quisling or a Hacha?

What change the Moscow Agreement did in that Lublin puppet not Polish Government, keeping a Social citizen—a well known internationally active Soviet agent as Polish President, and introducing only a few other figures on the insignificant posts in the helpless conditions?

Who other than the free voting in Poland—not in Soviets', in the American and Polish meaning of that word—has a right to change the Polish Constitution and the legal London Polish Government into another equally legal?

What it means, in the language of the free democratic countries, that "only the anti-Nazis element in Poland, will be permitted to vote." Who can speak about the pro-Nazi element in Poland, where there did not exist any trace of collaboration with the Nazis, and where the blood of millions of martyrs and the hell of the fight of Warsaw proved such an unshakable attitude?

Why does Stalin brand as traitors the Polish patriots who fought so valiantly against Hitler when Stalin was still his friend and why is General Bor, the greatest hero of them all, included among their number?

Why is Stalin, who has always ex-

pressed his hate for democracy, now considered the super-judge of the democratic spirit of other people?

Why are people in this country who venture to express any criticism of Russia, as they do freely about everybody else, accused of being Fascists, collaborationists, or of trying to undermine the unity of the United Nations?

Why does Stalin, who has been so prone to suspect others of collaboration with the Nazis, expect the world to forget that his cooperation with Hitler enabled the Germans to start the war?

Why has the mystery of the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers in Katyn, which has been the subject of countercharges between the Russians and the Germans, never been cleared up through the impartial investigations of an international commission?

Why, if Poland is to be free and independent as Mr. Churchill said, did he also add that Polish soldiers who found it inadvisable to return to their native land would be offered British citizenship?

Why is Mr. Molotov, who in 1939 together with Hitler decided that Poland never again must become a free country, trusted to play an important role in the decision about the future of Poland?

Do you know the answers to these questions?

Rumors about the alarming situation in Liberated Poland are reaching this country daily. We are told on reliable authority that there have been mass arrests of persons opposed to the Lublin government, executions and deportations under the most fantastic accusations, especially of members of the Socialist and Peasant Parties, and of all members of the Polish Underground, which helped the Red Army and actually, through continual sabotage, destroyed one-third of the German war supplies sent to the Eastern Front.

We hear that the concentration camps established during the German occupation are once more filled with Polish

patriots, only now the guards are Russian instead of German!

We hear of long trains, loaded with deportees as in 1939, headed for Siberia.

We hear that visas have been refused to the American representatives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, who were assigned the task of bringing food and clothing to the starving and destitute in Poland without using it as a political weapon.

That many were killed only because they protested against the one party voting list in the community voting as the violation of the most fundamental democratic principles.

That the advertised triumph of justice in the trial of the 16 heroic democratic leaders of the Polish Underground, who trusted the word of honor of a Soviet General—was the most revolting parody of justice, violating every international and human law.

That General Okulicki's statement which is the only one that any patriot in any country can give; that he is ready to defend the freedom of Poland against anyone—Soviets included if they want to take it—was considered as a treason!

Are these rumors true? Is the truth hidden from public opinion, making the great democracies become partners to those crimes by accepting them without protest?

Is that the kind of Peace which the new Charter is going to keep, to defend, to spread all over the world?

If these rumors are without foundation, why does not the Soviet Government open the doors of Poland, of all countries liberated by the Red Army, of Russia itself.

Why they do not break that "cordon sanitaire" which nobody but themselves built around the Soviets.

Why they do not let Allied Representatives who speak language enter all those countries to go around to see what is going on there, and to cry out the truth? Words are worthless if not backed by the openly demonstrated facts—now

only the facts must speak for themselves.

It is your duty to ascertain the truth or falsity of all these rumors, to check and recheck all the facts presented to you, because you are a member of the world jury responsible for seeing that

justice is done in the court of world opinion. Upon you rests the task of securing for all peoples and your own children the promises embodied in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter!

The world is waiting for your verdict.

How The Polish American Congress Started



The Organizers of the Polish American Congress gathered at the Polish Women's Alliance Hall, Chicago, Ill., March 22, 1944.

On March 22, 1944 at a meeting of the leaders of American Polish fraternal organizations, representatives of the Polish clergy and the Polish language press of America, also of the civic, social, cultural, business, industrial and professional associations, it was unanimously decided in accordance with the expressed wishes of six million Americans of Polish descent, to call a convention of the Polish American Congress at Buffalo, N. Y. on May 28, 29 and 30th, 1944.

The 3,274 delegates attending the Buffalo convention duly founded the permanent Polish American Congress, adopting the following purposes and objects, for the organization:

(a) To increase efforts toward the realization of an early and complete victory of the United States and Poland.

(b) To give complete support to the Government of the United States in its efforts to win a just peace in accord with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

(c) Unification of action of Americans of Polish descent within the lawful limitations of their rights and duties as citizens of this country.

(d) Establishment of a special fund for the purpose of carrying out the aims and objects defined by the Congress.

(e) Impartial information to the American public on Poland's historical role, her aims and her needs.

(f) Activities in the direction of closer and deeper cooperation of American democracy with the democracy of Poland, in the fields of civic, ideological, cultural and social-economic life.

(g) Drafting and applying a con-

structive program of activities for the welfare of Americans of Polish descent, with the view of raising their material well-being through increasing the ranks of their fraternal, professional, ideolo-

gical and other associations, through supporting and protecting the Polish press, schools and parishes, and through general support of Polish industry and trade in America.

The "New" Polish Government

By LISTON M. OAK

(Reprint from the NEW EUROPE, July-August Edition)

One of the ironies of this war is that throughout the Nazi occupation of Poland, continuous communication was maintained between the Polish Underground and the outside world. Through couriers, secret radios and other means, the Underground leaders kept in constant touch with the Polish Government-in-Exile in London, and with the Poles fighting in Italy and at other fronts. But with "liberation" by the Red Army, communications between Poland and the democratic world stopped almost immediately and completely.

With the jailing of the sixteen leaders of the Underground, one of whose "crimes" was informing London by secret radio of the NKVD terror, and with the execution or deportation of many others, almost the only source of information today is from escaped Poles, and from British and American war prisoners returning from Polish territory. Otherwise the ubiquitous NKVD has succeeded in isolating Poland as the Gestapo never did.

But from such informants as British and American prisoners-of-war released from Poland sufficient facts emerge to confirm the charge that as soon as the Red Army entered Polish territory, the NKVD began organizing branches of the Polish Workers Party (Communist); arrested leaders of all anti-Nazi parties who had fought against the Germans but also opposed Communist totalitarianism; conducted a hunt for officers of the Polish Home Army, shot most of those above the rank of major, deported others; and looted Polish homes. Local Communist-dominated governments

were speedily appointed, utilizing quiescent Poles when available. Any resistance was branded "Fascist sabotage," as with the sixteen leaders lured from hiding on the promise of safety during negotiations.

The Ministers of Industry and of Agriculture in the Lublin regime reported, on May 3, catastrophic economic conditions in Poland — currency chaos, mass unemployment, reduction of labor productivity. Blame for this was placed upon "saboteurs," and a "purge of anti-democratic elements" was demanded as a cure. No plans for improvement were offered, except vengeance.

Hilary Minc, Minister of Industry, reported that output in the coal and textile industries had reached an unprecedented low, declining 75 and 84 per cent respectively.

The report of the Minister of Agriculture Bertold, (now replaced by Mikolajczyk) made it clear that agrarian reform is not increasing food production. The "Fascist" peasants are resisting the wholesale confiscation of staple crops for the Red Army, an army that lives on the country where it finds itself, as other reports from Bulgaria and Germany show. It seems that not only the large estates of landlords are being confiscated, but the small farms of recalcitrant peasants—who like the Russian kulaks of 1930-1932 did not take kindly to the seizure of their crops and land. Significant is the statement by Bertold: "From the regulation of rural life we shall in due time pass to planned economy." In other words, the present distribution of land, in such small

allotments that a peasant cannot make a living, is prelude to collectivization.

H. W. Cook, an English businessman, who recently came from Poland, after thirty years in eastern Europe and five and one-half in Poland under the Nazi occupation, wrote in the organ of the Church of England that "Where the Germans left off the Lublin authorities took over. The easiest soil for the reception of totalitarian ideas is a people living in conditions of extreme poverty and utter spiritual hopelessness and disillusionment. The Germans began the process of material proletarianization, but did not destroy the spirit of Poles. It took the unavailing and long-drawn-out death struggle of Warsaw, and mass arrests of the Home Army leaders, to do that. As to material poverty, it was extreme enough during the five years of the occupation, but it is worse now."

The long delay between the Yalta Conference in February and the final agreement reached as to the "interpre-

tation" of the formula for the new government in June worked to the advantage of the Russians. The "dispute" over the meaning of the formula was a pretext to postpone settlement, and a trick to force acceptance of terms more favorable to Moscow. It gave the Communists time to consolidate their position in Poland, to obtain recognition from Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and, as C. L. Sulzberger commented, "to stamp out inimical elements." And most importantly, this long delay in carrying out the Yalta decision was part of Stalin's "war of nerves."

The Yalta agreement was itself appeasement of Stalin, for the sake, apparently, of maintaining the unity of the Big Three. Without consulting the recognized representatives of Poland, and without a plebiscite, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to hand over nearly one-half of Poland to Russia; and to form a new government, in violation of the Polish Constitution, by a Big Three



Famous American fighter ace of Polish descent Colonel F. Gabreski with Polish fighter pilots: F/L B. Gładych, S/L T. Sawicz, S L. K. Rutkowski, F/L T. Andersz and F/L W. Lanowski.

Commission sitting in Moscow. The only gesture — an empty one — toward the sovereignty and independence of Poland was a pledge that the new regime was to be a "new" government "of national unity," combining Lublin-Poles, London-Poles and Poles who had led the Underground resistance movement, representatives of the four main democratic parties; and a pledge of "free and unfettered elections" as soon as possible.

The regime that has now been recognized is neither new nor a government of national unity. It consists of a revised Lublin Committee — sixteen Communists and crypto-Communists who are masquerading under fake party labels stolen from the old Polish democratic parties, plus five new Poles who no longer represent the parties they claim to lead.

The obvious political purpose of this latest of Moscow demonstration trials was to discredit the Polish Government-in Exile, to decapitate the opposition to Soviet totalitarian domination, to intimidate the remaining Poles who oppose NKVD terror, and to demonstrate to all democratic movements and organizations throughout Central and Eastern Europe that opposition to the Communists is futile, that they cannot rely for aid upon the western democracies, their allies in the fight against Germany.

There is no precedent in international law for the trial in Moscow of the sixteen Poles, lured by a ruse out of hiding in the Underground into NKVD captivity. They were tried and sentenced on Russian soil for acts allegedly committed on Polish soil, in defense of their own country.

The Vice-Premier of the Polish Government, three of its ministers, the chairman of the Underground Council, (all appointed by Mikolajczyk) the Commander-in-Chief of the Home Army, and other Underground leaders, were urged, with the knowledge and approval of the British and American Governments, to meet with Soviet authorities on March 27

for negotiations, allegedly for the purpose of re-establishing normal relations between the Polish and Soviet Governments. Under solemn guarantees of personal safety, they met the Soviet authorities — and disappeared for forty days.

Certainly if they had been guilty of plotting against the Soviet they would have been idiots to surrender themselves. They were motivated by the desire to find a way out of the impasse and to establish friendly relations between Warsaw and Moscow. They believed the assurances of Colonel Pimenov of the Red Army, who promised them a plane to go to London to consult with their Government.

The most fantastic of the charges against the sixteen was that they had connived with the Nazis against the Red Army. This is truly monstrous. They had all been leaders in a bitter five-year fight against the Nazis, including rear-guard action the retreating Germans to aid the Red Army.

The parley in Moscow preceeding the "compromise" — which was in fact abject capitulation — was not held in accordance with the much-heralded "spirit of Teheran and Yalta." The spirit which Roosevelt evidently tried to build, of friendly cooperation, of mutual compromise of national interest, of trust and joint action, of seeking a modus vivendi, notably lacking. The long delay in carrying out the Yalta agreement, the war of nerves, the acrimony aroused by the arrest and trial of the sixteen Polish leaders, the terror exercised by the NKVD, Stalin's adamant refusal to budge an inch, the conflicts which took place at the San Francisco Conference, the hairpin turn executed by the American Communists at the behest of Moscow via Jacques Duclos, the attempt of Truman and Churchill to "get tough," all contributed to destroy "the spirit of Yalta."

Nor did most of the Poles nominated by Churchill to participate in the negotiations receive an invitation. Those who did are not truly representative of

the Polish people: Mikolajczyk is disowned by a large section of the Peasant Party and Stanczyk by the Polish Socialists. Neither the Democratic Party, nor any of the conservative parties, participated.

Perhaps the most disheartening aspect of the tragic picture is that defeat is generally hailed as victory, not only by diplomats, but by the press of the democratic countries. When the people are told that black is white, that totalitarianism is democracy, that an unprincipled double-cross is a triumph of principle, that capitulation is compromise, the continued success of Stalinism seems assured.

It is significant that there were two contradictory reports of the agreement reached in Moscow. The first and false report was a TASS story issued on the day the agreement was signed; a second followed two days later. According to the first report President Bierut was to be replaced by a Presidential Council consisting of Bierut, the peasant leader Wincenty Witos, and the chairman of the National Council in London, Professor Stanislaw Grabski. Mikolajczyk was to become Vice-Premier. The Ministry of the Interior was to be headed by Dr. Wladislaw Kiernik, of the Peasant Party, who, it was stressed, would have charge of the police force.

But the TASS report was deliberately misleading. In the factual report issued two days later the real content of the agreement was revealed. The second report received much less space in the newspapers, and the effect of the editorials, favorable to Moscow, remained in the minds of most people. Thus Moscow avoided the shock which the immediate release of the facts would have caused. For there was no "compromise." Stalin won 99.9 per cent of his original demands.

Bierut is still President; Witos and Grabski are on the President Council, together with four representatives of the Lublin group, previously in the Council. Mikolajczyk is not the Vice-Premier—

he is only one of two, and Gomolka, secretary of the Polish Workers Party, has precedence as the first Vice-Premier. Kiernik does not have control of the police; that function of his ministry is given to a more "reliable" chief, a special Minister of Security, Stanislaw Radkiewicz.

It is still uncertain if Witos can or will serve; he is very old and ill. But the Communists are anxious to exploit his reputation as the honored leader of the Peasant Party.

Three of the new members of the government are Communists—Jedrychowski, Kowalski and Sztachelski. With the Moscow-trained Communists, Gomolka, Bierut, and Radkiewicz, they are the strongest personalities in this puppet regime, holding the key political posts. The army remains in control of the self-appointed Marshal, Rola Zymierski, who denounced the heroic Warsaw uprising.

The non-Communists in this set-up are prisoners of the Kremlin. Kiernik, of the Peasant Party, was only recently released from a Russian prison, and his dilemma illustrates that of many others—accept Communist dictation, go to jail, or at best, be exiled. They are in any event helpless to block any important action that Moscow demands. If this is largely true today, it will be completely true tomorrow. The very life and liberty of non-Communists will be unsafe in Poland.

Bierut is a Soviet citizen. For twenty years he served the Comintern in various lands. How can this man, or the Premier, or the Foreign Minister, or the other Communist ministers and officers of the High Command and of the Security Police, serve the interests of a "free, democratic, independent Poland." Their primary if not only loyalty is to a foreign power, and it would be a miracle unparalleled in history if the national interests of the two nations did not conflict. Disowned by their own Peasant and Socialist Parties, and led astray by personal ambition or hypnotized by the

illusion that they will have a modicum of influence, Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk and their colleagues can only lend a thin veneer of pseudo-democracy to this regime.

Estimates of the number of Poles throughout the world who will refuse to return range as high as 3,000,000. Whatever the number, their lot is not an enviable one.

Bierut has said that elections in Poland will not be held until the Poles return from abroad; if he meant that literally, no elections, free or Soviet-style, will ever be held. In any event,

they are to be postponed for one year—which will give the NKVD plenty of time to obliterate any remaining effective opposition.

The Polish problem has not been solved. The storm clouds cast over the international scene by this issue have not been dispelled. An alien army and an alien secret police force are in control of Poland, and the puppet government rests on that basis only. This is no enduring solution. Once again appeasement of a dictator has led only to the threat of further trouble, further aggression.

Poland remains the test.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA

**Compiled and prepared by the
Polish American Congress.**

OUR HASTY RECOGNITION

The government of the United States hastily extended its recognition of the Polish (Provisional) Government created at Moscow. American public opinion feels that we were too hasty. Instead of an accredited ambassador we should have appointed an official observer, reserving recognition and withholding it until a government is created that would represent the will of the Polish nation. To recognize this committee, made in Russia, as a de jure government, with an ambassador, consuls and other officials here, at this time, prejudices the course of events and gives authority to a body that has, as yet, no legal or democratic authority.

It is much more difficult to withdraw recognition than to accord it. The withdrawal of official recognition is a more serious step. The voice of America goes to say that it was a serious mistake to recognize the new Moscow-made committee before elections are held and a government is created free of physical, moral and diplomatic pressure from without. In other words, the voice of America asks: — Why the haste? Why ambassadors? Why not wait until FREE

elections are held? Why this premature acknowledgment of a temporary committee as a "government" de jure?

Here are some of the many opinions of our American newspapers:

Alabama Birmingham Post (July 5)

Regardless of diplomatic recognition, we doubt that anything less will win for Warsaw either international confidence or the allegiance of millions of exiled Poles—including the heroic Polish army.

Brooklyn (N. Y.) Tablet (July 14)

Our readers over the past months do not need to be told that the United States and Great Britain, in recognizing the Soviet-controlled regime set up for Poland and in breaking off relations with the legal, constitutional Polish Government, have been motivated by pressure that repudiates any code of moral and ethical principles. That is the simple, obvious fact.

Montana—Butte Post

It could be, of course, that the new provisional government represents the majority of the Polish people. Also that the developments in Poland are sanctioned by the larger number of those affected. But we won't believe it until it is affirmed by unprejudiced

and trustworthy observers making a free report of their findings.

Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union (July 9)

Recognition by the United States and Britain of the new "broadened" government of Poland sets the seal of the great powers on the Russian pattern for expansion set 25 years ago and followed ever since.

Its most successful use was the Lublin Polish provisional government. This government, with a little face-lifting for allied face-saving purposes, is the one which Britain and the United States have recognized, both expressing the hope that free and unfettered elections will soon be held.

Oregon (Portland) Oregonian:

Put the best interpretation possible on the Polish settlement, then smile somewhat grimly and wait.

It is patent that the Polish government-in-exile, which the allies dealt with throughout the European war and which still has a sizeable army under its control, has fallen a direct victim of the westward movement of communist Russia. The now-recognized successor to control in Poland was agreed upon in Moscow under the paternalism of the Kremlin, and assertions of spokesmen of the government-in-exile that it is three fourths communistic are probably true.

It probably is true also that with a sympathetic government in charge of Poland, the Kremlin will favor the greatest possible extension of Poland into Germany. Frankly, we think the settlement humiliating.

Humiliating not only for Poland but for America.

Washington (Sequim) Press:

There are a few glaring flaws which protrude like an international sore thumb, some of these being "rule by might" of the larger powers; "winner take all" attitude; of the "Big Five." If those five powers were un-

selfish, all might be well, but already signs indicate otherwise. For example; Russia's attitude toward Poland and all other small nations in her "sphere of influence."

Syracuse (N. Y.) Post-Standard:

The truth is that the earlier Lublin government named by Russia is in full control of Poland, with a few other members added to satisfy the demands of Britain and America for a government representing all groups in the liberated nation.

Baltimore (Md.) Morning Sun:

No one should be surprised if the holding of a "free and unfettered election" raises new difficulties. And such are the passions by which Poland is driven that, even when the free and unfettered election is concluded, there is no clear assurance that Poland, politically, will be whole again.

San Francisco (Cal.) News:

Unless the terror and political persecution gives way at once to civil liberties, the condition for free elections, cannot exist. And unless the Warsaw regime represents Poland instead of Russia on disputed territorial and related issues, it will be a coverup for betrayal.

Memphis (Tenn.) Press-Scimitar:

Already Russia has taken over the Baltic. She took strategic Finnish bases. She annexed Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. She acquired part of East Prussia and reached west thru her Polish sphere.

Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman Review:

There can be little doubt that the recognition of the new provisional government at Warsaw by the United States and Britain was a recognition of convenience, and that the Warsaw regime owes its existence to the support of Moscow.

Rochester (N. Y.) Times Union:

This is the tragedy of Poland to the Poles. Yet there is another tragedy of Poland to the Poles. Yet there is an-

other tragedy of Poland to America, played out before our very eyes.

It is the decay in America of adherence to simple principles like liberty and the worth of the individual man.

Nowadays it isn't smart to plead such causes. Our wise men drown all simple verities in their flood of empire-tinkering and world-politics. Any protest is smothered and branded as "furtive sniping of Russia."

St. Louis (Mo.) Star-Times:

While the Polish settlement is a Russian victory, it does represent about the first instance in which we at least slowed down the onrush of our concessions to Moscow. It demonstrates that we do not have to resort to completely slavish appeasement of the Soviet Union in order to find the grounds for agreement.

Houston (Tex.) Post:

The world cannot yet dismiss the Polish question as settled.

Butte (Mont.) Standard:

During the past 150 years Poland has been a free and independent nation only 20 years, and the yearning for freedom and independence transcends all other hopes and ambitions of the average Pole. This circumstance alone is going to make Poland a trouble spot in the world until Poland achieves its place in the sun.

ABOUT THE WARSAW "GOVERNMENT"

American Public Opinion reacted soberly to the new Moscow creation called the "Warsaw Provisional Government of National Unity". (One could have hardly found a better title in the Kremlin).

Americans swallowed a lot but refused to take in the hook and sinker. They did not fall for the suggested and propagandized enthusiasm, nor are they willing to accept the new regime as representative of the will of the Polish people.

The camouflage preformed in Moscow did not completely deceive us. The commanded admiration and acceptance of everything made in Russia failed to obliterate the truth.

The following are excerpts from editorials in American newspapers commenting on the new regime in Warsaw:

World-Telegram (N. Y.) ("Warsaw on Trial")

Mere reorganization of the Soviet-sponsored Warsaw regime, recently accomplished in Moscow, is not enough. That reorganization was much less sweeping than the initial Moscow announcements indicated. The Communist minority still controls the regime and still holds more important posts than leaders of the Democratic majority parties, who were taken into the reorganized cabinet.

Though Washington and London had to accept this strained Moscow interpretation of Yalta, in order to get any democratic representation whatever in the provisional government, certainly they did not thereby sign any blank checks.

We are afraid they did.

Traveler (Boston, Mass.) ("The New Poland")

Until the election is held, this country and Britain should hold their hand. We can compromise on protocol but not on principle.

We were too hasty in exchanging ambassadors, thus giving full diplomatic recognition to a committee that has no authority or approval of the people. The United States always demands proof that governments applying for recognition are "by the people and for the people."

Catholic News (N. Y.) ("The Road to Peace")

This latest brazen action of the Russian Soviet Government is the greatest existing menace to world peace. There is not a more liberty-loving people in all the world than the Poles; their heroic resistance of

the forces of the Czars and of the Nazis constitutes one of the most moving chapters in the history of the struggle for freedom. It is as futile to expect the Polish people to submit to Russian Domination as it would be to believe that Americans would be passive under such circumstances.

Times-Star (Cincinnati, Ohio) ("The Future of Poland")

No one denies that Russia is entitled to a friendly government in Warsaw. But if that government were to be a mere creature of the Soviet Union, the same type of despotism against which the war was fought would be enshrined in the first country to resist the Nazis.

Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio) ("Arrangement on Poland")

There are many thousands of Poles outside the country—those inside for the moment are likely to be silent for good reason—who will not be satisfied with this arrangement. They are today men without a country, yet, it is one of history's tragedies that they are the men who carried on the fight against Germany in the darkest days of the war. They are the men, too, who stood by the Allied cause then represented mainly by Britain alone.

News Leader (Richmond, Va.) ("Welcome Accord on Poland")

Formation of the new Polish government on the basis of the Lublin pro-Russian element will be regarded uncritically as a new victory for Soviet diplomacy. It is, more correctly speaking, the fruit of the Russian military sacrifice in Poland.

Of course it is a victory of Russia. Where there are victors there are vanquished. It was a victory of Russian ruthlessness over American weakness.

State Journal (Columbus, Ohio) ("Will the Charter Work?")

We are going to repudiate our recognition of the Polish government-in-exile, headquarters London, and

recognize the sham that Stalin has dictated for Poland. Presumably, if we go on doing such things we can get along with Russia.

Europe acted under the same illusion that appeasing Hitler would bring him around. It failed.

Star-Ledger (Newark, N. J.) (A New Polish Regime)

The exile government should not be expected to participate in the new regime unless the British and American governments can extend satisfying assurance that the promised elections will be fairly conducted and that the exile government partisans will be secure in their civil rights if they choose to return to Poland for the purpose of contesting the elections.

If the British and American governments cannot give such assurances and implement them, they should not hold the Polish exile government blameworthy for rejecting the new regime.

No such assurances are, would or can be given since Russia considers Poland her own affair.

Express (San Antonio, Texas) ("Peace and Democracy")

It is a trifle early yet to venture positive judgment on what will turn out to be the nature of the freshly formed "Polish Government for National Unity". Too much remains to be seen.

From the standpoint of personnel alone, that regime appears to be weighted somewhat in the Soviet Union's favor. It cannot be positively asserted that the new government represents too much concession by the Western Allies.

Too much—is sometimes too much.

News (Chicago, Ill.) ("The New Regime in Poland")

In entering a new period of collaboration in international affairs, the United States cannot expect its views to prevail fully everywhere. In this case they did not. Undoubtedly President

Roosevelt and President Truman would have preferred to see a larger non-Communist representation in the new Polish government.

THE FATE OF POLAND

The fate of Poland has become a by-word denoting injustice. China is about to become "another Poland." Korea fears a "Lublin government" as a gift from Russia. The Duluth "News Tribune", in an article "To Honor or Condemn," speaking about Petain says: "by doing what he did—prevented France—being made "another Poland."

The fate of Poland is on the world's conscience. It seems, however, that the Polish problem is not yet solved. Now that the atmosphere is cleared by victory, and Russia is busy reaping the harvest of her two days of glorious participation in our victory over Japan—Poland still can be partly saved from complete foreign domination—if free elections were guaranteed by the United Nations. There can be no free elections and no free Poland as long as the shadow of fear hangs over Poland, as long as the Poles will be tortured by the knowledge that the Allies have washed their hands and have no protection to offer, should the outcome of the elections displease Russia. Thus we see under what moral duress elections will be held.

The **Boston (Mass.) Herald** notes that "apparently this country does not expect to INTERFERE unless it is absolutely necessary." Too lofty, indeed. We shall stand by—with our hands, maybe with our fists—in our pockets. Let the biggest man win. Before putting them into our pockets we have washed our hands. That seems to be the idea of the Herald.

The "**N. Y. Times**" classifies President Truman's Polish package as "predictions" that Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland (also Austria) could be opened to unhampered reporting by the world press.

"Predictions." . . .

The "**Milwaukee Journal**" reveals that:

It is no secret that the United States government has been trying for months to convince the Russians, and the Polish provisional authorities, that Poland should be opened to the world press. This is vital, indeed, if suspicion is to be swept away.

The "**Tablet**" (Brooklyn, N. Y.) explains "Why Poles Are Silent" quoting Captain Novak, who took part in the Warsaw uprising:

"The Polish people are denied every means of freely expressing their opinion and will. The Polish citizen is prodded on at the point of a gun—refusal to comply means death. In order to preserve themselves and the Polish nation, Poles must suffer in silence. They would consider it a great tragedy if the world interpreted this silence as an approbation of the slavery in which they live."

The (Brooklyn) "**Citizen**" wonders: "How much of Poland would Russia take."

How silly to ask questions when Russia is being given a free hand to take as much as she pleases. She pleased to take almost half of Poland—and no question asked Mr. U. S. "Citizen."

The "**Detroit News**" got a false alarm and unduly "rejoiced" in an editorial "Bright Future for Poland":

All of Detroit, and all the world, for that matter, joins local citizens of Polish descent in their rejoicing over American and British recognition of the new Polish Government of National Unity.

There is no "rejoicing." The News jumped on the wrong band-wagon.

The "**Milwaukee Journal**" has large tears in its eyes. It seems that there are fascists around:

The London group displays an attitude that can lead to nothing constructive and it is highly unfortunate that so many Americans of Polish ancestry have allowed themselves to become so emotionally overwrought

by the London group and by such unconstructive leaders as Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress.

Nor has much of the Polish language press in this country contributed toward working out the re-establishment of a Polish nation.

It also seems that the "Milwaukee Journal" knows better than the 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent or Mr. Rozmarek, the head of the Polish American Congress.

The "N. Y. Sun" hits the nail on the head saying:

The language about freedom of the press in Poland is somewhat cryptic. It says that "representatives of the Allied press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Poland before and during the election" to be held in that country. What about after the election—in case results should be displeasing to somebody? The point may not seem worth caviling over, but the American press has learned by bitter experience that points which somebody considers not worth caviling over may in time be discovered to be exceedingly important after all.

That, indeed, is the question the Polish American Congress is asking. We shall continue to remind America that the Polish problem is an American problem, a question challenging our victory, a point that will forever remind us whether we have achieved what we were fighting for.

The Polish American Congress represents not only 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent now living in the United States, but it also represents their sons—including those who now rest in peace near the battlefields soaked with their blood.

THE FORGOTTEN MEN

The **Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette** has a kind word and justified admonition regarding Polish soldiers, who are now classified as "Russian subjects" by

the Soviet authorities:

As the **Post-Gazette** has repeatedly said, it is the Poles who fought for Poland who should receive the first consideration in their liberated homeland. They were the first to resist the aggressor when Hitler plunged the world into war. Many of them fought on after their own country had been overrun. It would be tragic if, after all the fighting, they should be forgotten when victory is won.

WE STILL FEAR

The **Columbus (Ohio) Citizen** accepts in good American faith Under-Secretary Grew's reply to Senator Vandenberg, and expresses its optimism as follows:

America's determination that Allied pledges for a free Poland shall be kept was registered yesterday by citizens groups and the State Department. The official and unofficial accent was on fair elections and uncensored American press correspondents. Among eminent citizens signing such a petition to President Truman were Herbert Hoover, Alf Landon, Hugh Gibson and William Green.

We cannot share the Citizen's optimism, painfully convinced that the United States has "washed its hands of the entire matter." We hope we are wrong!

MELANCHOLY POLES

The Poles are guilty of—the crime of nationalism. An American who loves his country and is ready to die for it, for its freedom and independence, for its remaining AMERICAN—is a patriot. A Pole who does the same is a despicable "nationalist." The **Raleigh (N. C.) Times** pays tribute to the "melancholy" Pole:

Throughout their history, the embattled Poles have had extremely rough sledding, being pushed around and swallowed up by Prussians on one side and Russians on the other. But somehow they have retained an intense spirit of nationalism.

LOGICAL BUT NOT PRACTICAL

The Worcester (Mass.) Telegram comes out defending the London Poles (and the Polish Poles) for their refusal to recognize the authority of the Moscow made rulers:

Members of the Polish regime in London seem determined to play out their hand. No longer recognized by the British and American governments, which have accepted the new provisional government of national unity at Warsaw, they refuse to surrender their authority until a new government is formed in free elections "on free Polish soil."

That is a logical course, if not a very practical method of procedure. They never accepted the Yalta agreement. And the conditions they attach to any future acceptance of the results of that arrangement make it possible for them to refuse to recognize any Polish government.

The Buffalo (N. Y.) Courier-Express writes about the "Tragic Plight of Poles" and points out that American public opinion has become the victim of a "tremendous propaganda:"

As for our own none too clear and consistent policy in respect to Poland: American public opinion unquestionably has been somewhat muddled by a tremendous propaganda designed to brand the organized Polish resistance, at home and abroad, to German aggression as "Fascist" and "reactionary". Whether or not the propagandists succeeded in muddling our State Department, we do not know. We do know that our own and British policy toward Poland gradually has been pushed into reverse—with tragic consequences for the Poles.

LEND-LOSS

The N. Y. Catholic News coins a new and very true phrase, "Lend-loss" instead of "lend-lease" in an editorial "Moscow Again Appeased."

There will be no peace in Europe or in the world while any nation

tries to deprive 40,000,000 liberty loving Poles of freedom and independence. Russia is seeking colossal loans in this country—Washington authorities place the amount at six billions of dollars. If you lend without promise, you turn lease into loss. Stalin should be told that he will not get one thin dime unless he respects his agreements to permit the countries in what he chooses to consider his "sphere of influence" to enjoy the rights guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter.

WHAT NEXT IN POLAND?

The Detroit Free Press submits a pertinent question to which we have a ready answer. The question:

What next in Poland? Basic is that all-important "peoples' level."

Will the new Provisional Government of National Unity be accepted by all Polish factions. Will the two or three million Poles in exile who worked valiantly for Allied victory feel safe in returning to the homeland? Will the Polish and Russian bitter-enders put aside their hates and work together for common interests? What of the transfer of nationals in conformity with the new Polish borders when they are finally drawn?

The answer is:

Polish soldiers and civilians, now trekking "home" from Germany are registered at the point of entry with Poland as "Russian citizens."

Why?

Ah . . . the plebiscite of 1939, when Stalin was Hitler's ally, declares that Poles coming from that part which was "incorporated" are Russian subjects.

That is final?

A LOGICAL FORECAST

The Miami (Fla.) Herald tries to forecast the outcome of elections in Poland:

The President of Poland is still Boleslav Bierut, a Moscow agent. The Premier, one of the two Vice-

Premiers, and the all-powerful Minister of Security, who commands the secret police, are all Communist party members. What sort of "free and unfettered elections" this government will hold remains to be seen.

Our prediction:

The elections will produce "friends of Russia."

LET THEM JOIN US

The **Chicago News** recommends that the U. S. sign up Polish soldiers as volunteer units to fight Japan, and has this to say:

The fighting Poles of Poland's orphan armies have proved themselves to be valiant soldiers. Their compatriots already dwelling among us have proved themselves to be good citizens. So we need no more evidence to convince ourselves that the addition of these good men to our nation would enhance the total of American assets in peace and war.

We regret to inform the "News," that

Polish seamen who have volunteered to serve on American ships in the war against Japan have been deported to England by an "ukaz" of the War Shipping Administration because—the new Polish Government is not at war—with Japan. There you are!

ROMANTIC AMERICANS

The **Newark (N. J.) Star-Ledger** published a very . . . how shall we call it?—romantic editorial "Only a Step" in which such heretic opinions are expressed:

A free election requires not only universal suffrage and an honest count of ballots, but free campaigning as well. In the case of Poland, it should be preceded by guarantees to all Polish factions, including anti-Soviet groups, of their right to carry on campaigning free from all danger of reprisal. Another requisite condition is the granting of free suffrage to all Poles living abroad as exiles. What are you talking about?

Poland—The Yardstick of the Future World

Address of Congressman Charles A. Halleck (R.) Ind., Before the Polish American Congress for the District of Connecticut at Bushnell Memorial Hall at Hartford, Conn., September 9th, 1945.

Fellow Americans:

Six years ago the world was astounded at the fury and savagery of a relentless attack by the Nazi war machine upon Poland and her people. There stood a nation which in the short span of twenty years had evolved for itself a status never equalled in a like period by any people in history. Poland's schools and universities had flowered under the generous watchfulness of a people determined to exalt their culture and to extend the arts and sciences throughout the land. Restoration of Poland's cities after the devastation of the first World War had gone on apace. Her industry and business were expanded. She had taken her place on the seas. A sturdy, home-loving, God fearing people, through great effort, despite many pri-

vations, were building upon solid foundation a great Poland which had established herself among the nations of the world.

Her sons abroad, no less than at home, took just pride in Poland's accomplishment. Men and women of her sinews and of her blood had become loyal American citizens. Here in this, our America, they were making the most of the opportunity which is ours. Their contributions to American life, to business, to the farm, to the professions, were unsurpassed. Indeed it was my privilege to serve in the Congress of the United States with many men of Polish extraction, not the least of whom are my friends, the men of Polish descent who have had an opportunity to serve this State in Congress. Here, too, in this

great land of ours you formed your associations, your Polish National Alliance, your many other fraternal and beneficial organizations, designed to aid their members in so many fruitful ways. Americans first, your loyalty to our nation never wavered, yet it was but natural that you look fondly upon the efforts of the people of Polish blood abroad to establish for themselves a new and richer destiny.

Then the blow came. Then, six years ago, the devastation and ravage of war once more struck. Then, the bursting shells, the raging tanks, the bombs descended upon Poland. The gallant defense of Warsaw thrilled the entire world even as free people everywhere wept with you, even as our hearts went out to those who suffered so. I know how you felt. Two of the counties in my Congressional District in Indiana are named Kosciuszko and Pulaski; indeed, the county seat is called Warsaw!

The sons and daughters of Poland and their descendants are to be found in my State, too, as here.

Those who suffered most

So it is fitting that we meet here today. You can realize the more why it is on this occasion, I find it such an honor and a pleasure to speak to a group of American citizens of Polish descent. But to speak to you is a privilege which any American would approach in a spirit of humility, because you, American citizens of Polish blood, are the relatives and friends of that people in Europe who have suffered in the most frightful degree from aggression and bloody oppression. The Polish people have borne their miseries with a fortitude that defies all parallel. Now, at a moment when other states of the United Nations look to the future with confidence and with renewed hopes, the Poles must call again upon their fortitude to bear their present uncertainties and apprehensions. You, Americans of Polish descent, have shared in this misery, have been

animated by the same fortitude, and today are troubled by the same apprehensions. I salute you as the relatives of such a people. I speak to you in tones of respect and admiration.

The Polish people have learned their fortitude and endurances in the hardest of schools; for two centuries they have been torn apart again and again under alien rule. Always their lot has been bitter, but they have had at least the satisfaction of knowing that the lot of their conqueror has been bitter as well. They have refused to become assimilated, every effort has failed to tear from them their character as Poles, and they have learned by the hardest of teachings to protest their existence and national culture by that most desperate of all forms of resistance, the underground. Have you read—I am sure you have—Karski's book "The Secret State?" It is a brilliant description of the maintenance of a civilization in complete secrecy. It shows how the Poles kept up their government, their courts, their assembly, their schools; and at the same time they held an army in being, harrying the enemy and giving him no peace. All this under a control, a Gestapo control, at the same time ruthless and efficient. Many paid with their lives, and by death through torture. In Poland alone of the occupied nations, no man or woman could be found to do the Nazi dirty work. There were no collaborationists, there were no Quislings.

Mankind stands humble before such courage!

Courage and gallantry

I want to tell you of a scene, recounted to me by a friend. In a house in London last winter, a stodgy middle-class house in Bryanston Square, a score of young Poles were being trained for intelligence purposes by Polish officers under American auspices. Their course was completed, plans were to drop them in various parts of Posen on the following night. They held a graduation ceremony,

and my friend was invited. After a simple talk on Polish patriotism by the Commanding Officer a priest drew back a curtain showing an altar with flowers and candles flickering before a picture of the Crucifixion. The boys knelt, heard Mass and received the Sacrament. Then, still kneeling, these stalwart young men began to sing their national anthem. Softly at first, then rising out in pride and fervor. My friend told me that this reverence and vigor on the eve of such desperate adventure filled him with an admiration for these Polish youths that will endure through his life-time.

The Poles have a gallantry in adversity that is genuinely touching. There is something glamorous and picturesque about them throughout history, something that wins our affection as well as our admiration. I am constrained to tell you another experience of an American official abroad, assigned to Switzerland—it happened in the last war, not in this. Through the long months of the war a Polish gentleman, representing the Polish Regency Council, had been handing the American each month, information of the most minute character and of meticulous accuracy, military, economic and political. Our representative burned with curiosity to learn how such details were being transmitted from Warsaw to Berne, but it was only at the end of the war that he finally put the question. The Polish gentleman answered, "Yes, I will tell you now. I could not have told anyone before. You know that the Rockefeller Foundation has arranged with the Germans to permit the transit every month from Poland to Switzerland of about a hundred hungry Polish children. In this bountiful land they are fed and returned to Poland. My friends in Warsaw select each month one of the children, usually a little girl, as they are more intelligent than the boys, have her memorize the information it has been my privilege to hand you. The little girl is told that she will find a tall blond gentleman wearing a red carnation on the station plat-

form when the train pulls in to Zurich. That will be myself. She is told to take him by the hand and tell what she has learned. And, added the gentleman, not once did any child fail us, not once did she divulge what she knew to anyone else than myself. The child had been told that what she was doing was for Poland, and that was enough."

Such was the spirit of Pulaski and Kosciuszko who in our own Revolution taught us much and fought valiantly with us. Americans know and love that spirit.

Anxiety about Poland

The anxiety we all share as to the fate of our kinsmen in Poland has been heightened by the news blackout from that area. For long months authentic information of what is happening has been lacking. As a result wild speculation has been rife and each man's apprehension has been increased. Now I rejoice to read that representatives of the great news agencies of the United States have received authorization to proceed to Poland. This is the first step, and a good one. Now it remains to be seen if these men will be free to send to this country their genuine impressions of what is happening. If so, I am firmly convinced that we are on the eve of a better era, because such freedom of reporting is the soundest base for the establishment of understanding and the dissipation of anxiety. If not, the mere presence of news representatives who are gaged and stifled will irritate the situation. The experience of the next few weeks is all important.

Now let me explore with you some of the fears that abide with us in regard to Poland. The very form of the new State makes every sober thinking man reflect on the future with concern. The Polish Government, no matter what its complexion, will be faced with grave problems. Millions of Poles with roots east of the Curzon line, will dream of their old homes, will be concerned at the fate of their relatives who

will remain there. Certainly among a group of them a desire for the regaining of their political consciousness. It would be but natural that each would strive for a return to the previous status.

On the reverse, there may well be in the former German areas a powerful and bitter minority. If all Germans are evacuated, the Government will have to contend with a German State, whatever its character, where millions of Germans long for revenge, for the restitution of their property, and for the regaining of a territory so rich in German historical tradition.

The Poland that emerges from World War II, will have need of a Government and people full of restraint and wisdom. Indeed, few people of the world will have a more difficult political road to follow. Poland's future guidance will call for the highest of statesmanship.

What price glory? . . .

But what troubles you and me more immediately is whether the Polish people are to have now a government of their choice. You are troubled about the government of their choice. You are troubled about the government that has been recognized by the Great Powers, including the United States. You feel that this government lacks in all respects the elements of a choice of the Polish people, that it is dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that it is of a social tendency that may make Poland into a land totally incompatible with the ideas of yourselves and other American citizens. Surely these anxieties are justified.

The Great Powers have declared for a free election in Poland and for a government of the Polish people. Will these things be realized? Rest assured that there are millions of Americans with no roots in Poland who nevertheless regard this Polish question as the yardstick for the future world. These Americans are determined to see to it, so far as in them lies, that the Govern-

ment of the United States exerts to the full its enormous influence to bring about the realization of these promises. Rest assured that my friends and I in the Congress will be ceaselessly vigilant on these questions. If this test of the future organization of the world's peoples fails, then indeed we face a future of disorder and continuing war. If it succeeds, the forces of government by the people can be reassured by the solution of the most thorny and difficult problem that confronts them. We want no more secret meetings on a personal basis of any "Big Three." We Americans are entitled to know what political commitments are being made in our name and to have a voice in them through our Congress.

There are factors in the world today that give us comfort in the situation. For the first time in modern history, the great forces of the world are united in their determination, not only to preserve the peace, but to preserve the peace along the lines of the principles agreed upon at San Francisco. In this unity of purpose, for the first time machinery has been set up for the continuous discussion of the problems affecting peace and security. The Great Powers give increasing evidence daily that they are determined to maintain in peace as in war, their unity of purpose. To this end, concessions will be necessary, moderation will be necessary. But most essential, understanding of each other's problems, and faith in the other's determination to act justly must be present. To my mind, recent acts show and justify a growth of such faith and understanding. May it prevail in the discussion on Poland; may our American concepts and those of the Soviet as to what constitutes a free choice be found to be in harmony. May this Polish people, after the intensity of their suffering, emerge into freedom and into the genuine exercise of their own choice of their own destiny.

Let us now resolve that "Poland shall never die while we are here."

Declaration of Illinois Division Polish American Congress

JUSTICE FOR POLAND

Six years ago, on September 17, 1939, while Poland was fighting with all her strength against the military might of Nazi Germany, whom she chose to defy rather than appease, Communist Russia, then a partner of Hitler struck Poland from the east. Together the two aggressors divided Poland between them. Communist Russia, now a member of the United Nations (of which Poland has been a member from the beginning) has incorporated into the U.S.S.R. the Polish territory she seized as partner of Nazi Germany, and has imposed upon what remains of Poland a puppet government in whose selection the Poles had no choice.

At Teheran and Yalta Poland was sacrificed for the sake of appeasement of Russia—an appeasement in which our government played an important part, contrary to its traditional role of champion of democratic principles. Today, other liberated countries like France, Belgium, Holland and even Italy, which fought against us, are ruled by governments of their own choice and are being assisted in their rehabilitation. The people of Poland have not been allowed to choose their own government. Even Poland's share in reparations is included in that of Russia and consequently controlled by her. U.N.R.R.A. funds are administered in Poland by a Russian.

A Congressional Committee after a recent visit to Poland found, that UNRRA. funds, intended for the relief of the unfortunate people of Poland and other European countries are being used by Russia to further its Communistic doctrines. Thousands of Poles have been driven out of Poland into Russia and their whereabouts are unknown. Some were convicted of the crime of being Polish patriots. Hundreds of thousands of Polish soldiers and refugees dispersed all over the world

are afraid to return to Poland because they do not trust the present communistic regime in Poland controlled by the Russian army and police.

As an American organization, the Polish American Congress has no right or desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland. However as Americans we have the right to oppose and protest the unfair and unjust treatment of Poland and its heroic people. We call the attention of our fellow Americans to the plight of Poland.

We ask our government to use its political, economic and moral influence to give Poland as well as all of the unfortunate countries of the world ravaged by totalitarian aggression, an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves under governments freely and democratically chosen by their own people. We ask that relief be immediately given those countries under the supervision of impartial agencies We ask that the Russian army and police be immediately withdrawn from Poland We ask that the unfortunate refugees throughout the world be given the protection and aid of the United States until they can return to their native lands and resume their lives as free men and women.

THE POLES MAKE THE WORST OF SLAVES

"The Polish issue conceals far more than the fate of Poland itself. Embedded in it is the fate of Western civilization, of which Polish nationality is an organic part. Any decision which, whatever the appearance, makes Poland a satellite nation in actual fact spells doom for Europe. The Poles make the worst slaves. The history of Europe, the nature of the Polish people, and, above all, the super historic character of nationality, make it certain that a Poland denied her independence will be a source of infection of all the world."—**FREE EUROPE**, London, July 13, 1945.

THESE BOOKLETS ON THE POLISH QUESTION

ARE YOURS FOR THE ASKING
If Requested on Your Letterhead:

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EASTERN POLAND

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RUSSIAN-POLISH RELATIONS

Their Historical, Cultural and Political Background

THE BOUNDARIES OF POLAND

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

A Memorandum of the Polish-American Congress
To Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

THE POLISH CONSTITUTION

of the
THIRD OF MAY

WRITE TO:

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.
1520 W. DIVISION ST., CHICAGO 22, ILL.