



# ORZEL BIAŁY

# WHITE EAGLE

*Polka walcząca na Wschodzie*

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- POLAND IN PICTURES

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## A FEW WORDS ON POLISH ELEPHANT

by Wacław Skorupski

Do you all know the story of Poland and the Elephant? Men of four nationalities were asked to write essays on the Elephant. The Frenchman wrote on “Elephant et Lionnet”, the Russian wrote on “The Elephant — does it exist?”, the German wrote on “The Metaphysical Elephant” but the Pole wrote on “The Elephant and the Polish Question”.

Perhaps we Poles have in the past been too obsessed with our Elephant to show it properly to the world. I must try and tell you the true story of our Elephant to gain your sympathy and tolerance for this falling of ours.

You see we Poles, through over a thousand years of history, have time and again come face to face with our Problem — our Freedom. We are a nation not blessed by geography with natural frontiers; we lie in the great Central Plain of Europe on the crossroads between great nations, and between East and West. Time and again we have been invaded, our country has been occupied, but each time we have risen again, Phoenix-like, from the ashes. The torch of Liberty in Poland has never been completely extinguished.

Nor have we fought for ourselves alone. Our soldiers wear on their banners the legend “For our Freedom and Yours” — or as Victor Hugo put it “While my France was the missionary of civilization — Poland was its light”. Our struggle as a Western, Christian country has often been the struggle of Europe too.

Let me quote two incidents from the many in our long history.

When the Tartar hordes invaded Europe, Poland, the Eastern bulwark of Europe, stood in their path. On the field of Lignica, with the Czechs as their Allies, the Poles under Henry the Pious met the invaders and were slain to a man; but the Tartar wave receded and Europe was spared.

If you wish to remember the time when Europe was saved by the Poles listen to the Polish news broadcast each day. It is preceded by a bugle call that breaks off in the middle of a note. That is the call sounded by the trumpeter at Craow over 700 years ago at the approach of the Tartars, abruptly broken off when an arrow pierced his throat.

The second incident that illustrates my point, is the Battle of Vienna, when a Polish Army under our King John Sobieski routed the Turks and Europe was once again spared.

If you wish to remember the second time Poland saved Europe look at the badge in the caps of our army to-day. The wings you see are not the wings of an eagle but the feathers worn by the Polish Winged Hussars, that won that battle three hundred years ago.

Since then we have fought many wars in the cause of Liberty, and when we had no country ourselves, in the cause of the liberty of others — of the United States, of France, of Hungary. In fact in almost every war where Liberty was the prize, there Poles were to be found. The great names in our history are for the most part those of men who fought or worked for Polish freedom — Kosciuszko, Adam Czartoryski, Poniatowski, Pilsudski, to name only a few of the great leaders, the musicians Chopin and Paderewski, the writers Adam Mickiewicz and Sienkiewicz and many others besides.

And if you require a third and more recent incident to illustrate my point take note when we faced the German invader — for our Freedom and Yours!

So far I have spoken of our National Liberty. Now let me speak of our individual Liberty.

It will probably surprise many of you to hear that we in Poland feel that no nation in the world has known a greater degree of democracy than we. We have often been referred to as “a Nation of Individualists.” We have taken individual liberty to the point where it has brought disaster to the State.

I think we are unique in having a long preserved an elective monarchy

“*inim vici*” by which the vote of a single member of our Parliament could reject any motion. It proved, of course, impractical, but it reflected our desire to pay the respect to even the faintest shade of public opinion. Our famous constitution of 3d May 1791, which I wish I could quote to you, was almost as liberal as that of the French Revolution, and preceded that document by some weeks. It is still remembered by our people as a landmark in our struggle for Liberty.

When Poland was reconstituted after the World War the spirit of “*liberum veto*” was still in our bones. In our anxiety to reject every shade of public opinion we failed to achieve

First let us take the cradle of our race, Gólcza. Here it was, on the banks of the Warta, when white eagles nested on the hill, that the traditional founder of our country, Lech, settled down. The white eagle became our national emblem and is still worn by our soldiers in their caps to this day. The cathedral that was built in this peaceful little town over time centuries ago is a national shrine to which pilgrims come annually after the harvest.

Then there is our old capital, Craow, a medieval city with its palace, Cathedral and castle and the second oldest University in Central Europe. It was to Craow that Turks and Baybars came to seek the favour of our Court

earned for itself the motto “*Semper fidelis*” — “Ever faithful” — and its crest is a lion. Just as Malta was awarded the George Cross so Lwow was awarded our highest military decoration, the “*Virtuti Militari*”.

It is a town of many architectural styles for it was once Poland’s trading centre with the Near East. Here there still exists an Armenian community that sought refuge from religious strife.

Poznan, in the West, a beautiful and prosperous old city came under the Prussian heel for one hundred and twenty years. With their customary thoroughness and brutal stupidity the Prussians tried to tuncouse the whole district. Their efforts were futile; the people of Poznan remained what they had always been — Poles through and through.

In the North is our own Polish port of Gdynia. Where nineteen years ago there was a small fishing village, Polish industry and energy have constructed one of the largest, most modern and best equipped ports in the Baltic. The population before the war was 130,000, and the port was prospering with the expansion of Polish mining and agriculture.

I will not, for lack of space, describe our industrial centres at Katowice and Chorzow, the spinning centre of Lodz or the oil centre at Boryslaw. If one were to describe the changing face of Poland under the long delayed Industrial Revolution, one could enter into endless statistics.

One fact, however, is worthy of mention here. The new Poland, rebuilt since the last War, was a young, enterprising, virile land—a land that, with every conceivable economic handicap, held back industrially during its long servitude, with barely an outlet to the sea, yet thrived, increased its population at a high rate. It would have been, there is no doubt, industrially, agriculturally and economically sound. Its education had made rapid strides under a progressive Ministry of Educational Enlightenment, I believe, unique, in its character in Europe. The new young Poland gave every promise of becoming a prosperous, happy Commonwealth at peoples, bound closely by many links of history, tradition, religion and commerce. That promise, I am sure, will yet be fulfilled, for nothing can keep such a robust nation down for long. Poland has survived equally great disasters, and her desire for Freedom, her civilization, and her vitality has triumphed over them all.

I have tried to give a brief survey of what Poland is, and the mission it fulfils in Europe, and to bring our comparatively remote country a little closer to you. You will probably have found that our history and methods differ from yours — which is only to be expected. There is much in the past that could be condemned, mistakes that call for tolerance and understanding, but our aim, the principles we stand for, are, I am sure, the same as yours — to live in peace and friendship in a friendly community of nations, to develop the land on which our people live for the prosperity of all classes in the state, to worship and be governed according to our national traditions, and to contribute our culture and civilization to the common good.

With the help and friendship of other members of the World Family of Nations we shall achieve those aims.



Father and son in the Polish Army in the East.

almost every class in the state being eligible for the throne. Our first king was Piast the Wheelwright, a peasant. And he was not the only man of lowly grade ever to be elected. The only monarch we ever called “The Great” was Casimir the Great “King of the Peasants”, who not only watched over the wellbeing of his lowly subjects but invited the Jews to Poland and bade them dwell in the shadow of his palace that he might the better look after them.

Our nobility might be called a Peoples’ nobility — the Szlachta. Even peasants were ennobled. Since in Poland all sons inherit both title and estate the Szlachta multiplied rapidly and when we were a nation of five million there were almost a quarter of a million nobles, some of them so poor that they could not afford a scabbard for their sword.

Our tolerance too has always been universal. All religions have equal rights in Poland. Are we not the country with the most Jews in Europe? We alone in Central Europe did not participate in the Thirty Years War of religion. It is characteristic that when a Polish King was asked to suppress Protestantism he replied “I am not the King of their consciences”.

Our love of liberty has been perpetuated in our Constitutions. Our original Constitution included the “*liberum*

practical result. It was the Father of our nation, Pilsudski, who saw the danger of a weak and disunited nation in Poland’s geographical position. He foresaw the fate that ultimately overtook us and attempted to create a militarily strong and united Poland. Had he died in 1935 history would have told a very different tale. All he feared happened.

We have loved liberty too much and too long. History has taught us many lessons and most of them bitterly.

Now let us look at this land to which Freedom has been so dear and which has paid so dearly for Freedom.

Poland is not so much a country as a Commonwealth. By marriage, by the voluntary federation of vassal states long ago, Poland grew in the 15th century to be the largest country in Europe. Travelling across Poland from its narrow sandy outlet on the North Sea to the high Tatra Mountains in the South, from its highly developed land in Silesia to the marshes of Polesie and Volhynia, from the primeval forest of Bialowicza to the pleasure resorts of Krylowka, one encounters a variety of scenery, and peoples, traditional costumes and customs.

These differences are also reflected in the towns, a few of which I would like to describe.

And here our vassal Albert of Hohenzollern, Duke of Prussia, paid homage to the Polish King and received the Polish Eagle in black, as a crest.

Copernicus, the great Polish astronomer who “stopped the sun and set the Earth in motion” was a student of Craow University.

The new capital Warsaw reflects in its architecture many of the influences that have entered Poland from other countries. Before the German invasion it held many buildings and monuments that had survived centuries of struggle and strife, and reminded us of great landmarks in our history. Here such famous people as Chopin and Mme Curie, Paderewski and Zanenahof, the inventor of Esperanto, lived and worked.

Vilno, which passed to Poland with the marriage of the Polish Queen Jadwiga to the Lithuanian King Jagello in 1386, is the last Eastern outpost of Polish civilization. Here East meets West in architecture as well as religion. There is even a mosque for the surviving Tartars. From this region came many of Poland’s greatest men — among others, Pilsudski, whose heart is buried in Vilno, and Mickiewicz, our national poet.

Lwow — perhaps you know it better as Lemberg — was our Polish bastion in the South East. In the wars throughout the centuries it held fast and

# S U R S U M C O R D A

by W. F. Reddaway

At present, in the fifth year of the war, young Englishmen by tens of thousands are chafing because, although trained to the furthest limit, they have had no chance to fight. Yet of these almost all can keep in touch with their homes and families, at least by correspondence. None of them think it possible, moreover, that Britain should lose more territory to the enemy, or fail to regain what has passed into his occupation. The youth of Poland is both more elastic and less fortunately placed than they. Endowed with a fighting quality that is second to none and with incomparable patience in affliction, Poles are perhaps more mettlesome and less equable than some of their allies. Their moody hours, moreover, are now uncheered by intercourse with home, or even certainty that for themselves home has not lost its meaning.

At times when youth is depressed, we may perhaps have a useful word to say. The Pole of fighting years is now for the first time feeling that life — his own national life — is insecure. For centuries his race has lived between greater races which have graded it the right to independence. During the five generations before his own, this right was substantially abolished. Then, for some twenty years, Poland reappeared upon the map of Europe, only, since 1939, to meet an infinitely more brutal persecution than in any earlier age. "Is it certain," young Poles must now be asking, "that our free Fatherland will ever rise again?"

Their doubts must be the greater because, unlike their fathers, they were not bred up to Partition. Instead of belonging to empires which might summon them to fight each other, they were the free citizens of a swiftly advancing national state, with much remaining to be done, but with also a life-giving sense of progress. Those schools and universities fast rising, those well-ordered cities and communications of every kind, that lusty well-drilled army — all like the overflowing churches, halls and sports-grounds, proclaimed a vigorous and wholesome nation. The pain of a return to history must be sharpened by its unexpectedness and its injustice. Such a shock may well make young men lose their bearings.

Age, however, is less easily cast down. As one English leader declared, "I have known victory and defeat too often to be either unduly exalted by the one or unduly depressed by the other." Few men, it is probable, reach seventy without learning a rough and ready philosophy which at least attenuates a sudden shock. Cause, they have learned, in the long run continues to be followed by effect, while values are not what in youth they seemed to be. These well-worn truths are priceless for young Poland to-day.

It is more than five and forty years since I myself first stood on Polish soil. The name "Danzig" had allured me, and at its railway station I was rewarded by a contest between two Polish cabmen for my person. In England my acquaintances among their nation hardly exceeded three — an exiled 'nobelman' who had married a factory hand in Birmingham, a scholar

in Cambridge town who gained a livelihood by dressing hair; and a naturalised hospital doctor. All literary young men had read that Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell and that Sarmatia fell unwent without a crime. The musical revered Chopin and Paderewski; the literary, Conrad and Sienkiewicz. Few other Polish names, save perhaps Copernicus, were known.

Ignorance about the eastern Baltic, indeed, survived until a much later day. Not many years ago I asked two learned Cambridge friends what they knew of Lithuania. The first replied "Not a thing"; the second, "Where is it?" Still later, when I was known to be attempting a biography, a colleague en-

quired after "my Piludski", while an erudite lady billed me to speak on "Marshal Piludski". After the Armistice, the boundaries of Poland in part were drawn by statesmen who honestly believed — and said — that a watch might as well be given to a monkey as Silesia to the Poles.

My own first visit in 1898, the fatal year in which the seaside Germans first flocked to adore their tiny fleet, brought me the friendship of Herr Wockenfoth, Physical Superintendent, a Danziger of Dutch descent and an entirely honest man. To him every dweller about the Westplatte together with the coastal region as far as Hel was perfectly well known. "Is there

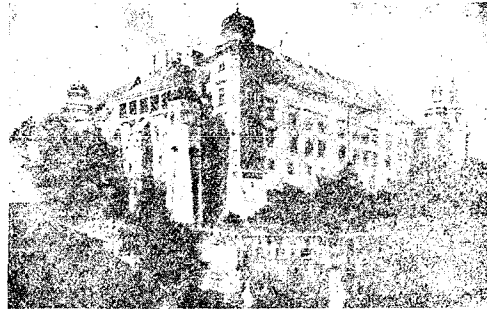
still" I asked him, "a Polish question?" "Hardly", was his reply, given after earnest thought. When we next met, in the still more ominous hours of 1933 he was declaiming vehemently against the monstrous "Gelingen", which he declared was doomed to fail but, none the less, to ruin Danzig. In July, 1939, though old and almost blind, he remained honest and valiant as of old but too courteous for political discussion. Britons, however, are no longer so invincibly ignorant as my German friend. Since 1939 it is safe to say their appreciation of both Poles and Germans has undergone a total revolution. Through the nineteenth century one debt to Luther, to Mozart, Beet-

hoven and Wagner, to Frederick and Blücher, to a thousand great scholars, scientists and men of letters—all this, with a certain cousinly affection and appreciation, created ties between the Germans and ourselves. These were loosened under Bismarck, reduced under William II, and under Hitler, replaced at first by suspicion and now by the deepest loathing. Meanwhile our ignorance and misconception of the Poles has vanished with the conditions which created it. For centuries their race had lived in remotest Europe, alien from ours in language, in calling, in religion, and in politics, and hardly accessible save by way of slanderous and scornful Germany. After failing to maintain their independence, they vainly strove to regain it by supporting Napoleon who after Hitler ranks as our most dangerous foe. Meanwhile, however, a better day has been slowly dawning. The long twilight of Partition enabled the Poles to dine with indomitable pride of the empires which had long oppressed them. In addition, they proved valiant in the first World War, and vigorously creative in rebuilding Poland. Then, when a storm upon us Europe had never imagined burst upon them, they proved themselves a nation of men, embracing all their noble virtues in resisting a partition. Both by sea and air they circled their own great cities as the land while Britain, America and France were being bombed, and the Axis of Evil bombing. But beside this compelling public record stand the qualities of a life and death struggle which have produced the fruit of peace between thousands of ordinary men. Masses of Poles and Germans shared the life of camps and cities and became fast friends. Thus was born a great new factor in the modern world.

The post-war Poles may therefore count upon three great advantages, which none of their predecessors in modern times enjoyed. The Poland on which Hitler made war had become a lawfully-constituted and virile State, a full and eminent member of the Family of Nations. The approaching triumph of law and order over aggression cannot fail to enable it to restoration need to suitable reforms. No congress could tolerate any less favourable decision. From the moral point of view, Poland is the victim of the second war and the victim of a still more heinous crime.

Secondly, the record of modern Poland has driven away many of the doubts with which some parties to the Armistice then reassured her. The organiser of a great nation-state and the creator of Gdynia cannot be deemed unfit to govern. Even before 1918, the critical student of Eastern Europe found in the Poles an "idea of greatness" which other ambitious peoples lacked. How much more our well-tried generation!

Thirdly, the Poles have now gained allies who are also friends. To vote for an award because law and justice dictate it is one thing; to uphold the rights of an injured comrade is another. To both soldiers and statesmen the cause of Poland has grown sacred, and her sons may with confidence fit up their hearts.



Warsaw — the Royal Palace in Cracow.

## THE DESTINY OF A GREAT NATION

by Alexander Smith

"Great Nations may fall — only infamous Nations perish" (Adam Mickiewicz).

The character of a nation is formed by the circumstances of its existence. The raw elements of a race are poured into the crucible of a country, and the hardened alloy is then hammered into shape on the anvil of its history. If it is soft the alloy will disintegrate. If it is hard it will become harder and harder beneath the blows. The men we know to-day as Englishmen, Dutchmen and Poles have been shaped by over a thousand years of recorded history.

Some nations have had a happy, prosperous and glorious history. Others have followed the road to Calvary and little has been spared to them. Poland has known both triumph and disaster, the heights and the depths. The Polish character has been hammered in the pitiless forge of experience and it has emerged more solid, stronger and the harder for it.

Physically this race has shown endurance. Spiritually it has endured above all on account of its religious faith. God guides this nation, Good will triumph over Evil and Right over Might. But, faith in Providence, and Idealism instead of materialism are a very long term policy.

This was brought home to the Poles most strongly in the eighteenth century. Poland had been the largest, most powerful country in Europe, stretching from the Black Sea to the Baltic. It had been renowned in the world of its day for its tolerance, enlightenment and progressiveness. In this century it was partitioned between its three great neighbours and ceased to exist.

Poland had advanced her ideals beyond those of her contemporaries. So that the monarch might be representative of his people, and merit not birth might crown their king, the Poles chose to have an elective monarchy, as our Republics choose their Presidents to-day. So that their free Parliament might truly represent the opinion of every individual in the State, the Constitution permitted the vote of one single member to veto a measure or dissolve a session. Individual freedom was respected to the point of licence, to the point where it endangered and finally destroyed the Commonwealth.

Here are good intentions aplenty. Here is the Utopian Citizen State in

forms of democracy and government. Only one voice sounds above the rhetoric, that of Piludski, founder of the new Polish State. His warning in effect is "Let us be united and strong, progressing towards our ideals step by step with the world of to-day". His warning had echoes elsewhere.

In London between the years 1920 and 1930, the years of moral and physical disarmament, pacifism, collective security, faith in the League, tolerance of even the most disruptive elements in the State, one or two voices — Churchill's above all — gave warning against too much idealism. England was embarking on the road that led to Sanctions, Munich, Dunkirk.

Churchill survived to lead Britain on to triumph. Piludski died in 1935. England's experiment finished at Dunkirk—but she had a second chance. Poland's experiment finished after five weeks of fighting—and there was no second chance. Britain's frontier defences are a mighty moat. Poland's frontiers are the hap hazard limits of a commonwealth in the great European Plain, that can only be maintained by force, or diplomacy or the goodwill of all nations.

For one big moment in history we both learnt the same lessons but Poland learnt it for the second time and paid more dearly.

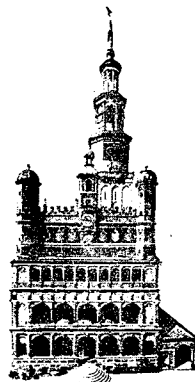
For the second time Poland has ceased to exist on the map of Europe. But the Poles still live and many fight on. Poland will rise again. She has been conquered before but never destroyed, has been oppressed but never yielded, has been disillusioned, but never became cynical or embittered. Adversity has only strengthened the Poles' faith in their religion, their country and themselves.

And here are the two great lessons Poland paid for with her liberty:

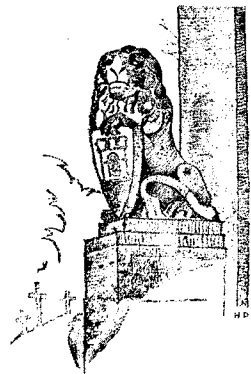
"Firstly, the existence of a regime based on peace and goodwill among nations is only practical when that regime is accepted by all nations".

"Secondly, individual liberty has its limits where it infringes on the liberty of others, and on the good of the community".

One hundred and twenty years later Poland is reborn, into a world made safe for democracy. Surely the time has now come to resume the old idealistic experiment! The old lessons are forgotten! Politicians wrangle anew over abstract



Poznan — The Town Hall.



The Crest of Luwów on the Cemetery of the Young Eagles.



Katowice (Upper Silesia).

# "READER, MEET THE POLISH ARMY IN THE EAST!"

by Andy Hardy

This article says in effect "Never pull a Pole's leg; he can't take it". To deprave at least this point we publish the article herewith.

I have never introduced an Army of Saxons men before. I only know this one, slightly, anyway. I can only hope that this introduction will not serve as a precedent in this line of mammoth presentation.

My own introduction to the Polish Army, or an insignificant fraction of it, was not very formal. I picked myself and my feet out of a ditch where a three tonner, with a formation sign like a pregnant prawn, had put it and indignantly asked the offending driver if perchance he owned the road. It came as no surprise to me to find that four years ago he had polod a punt on the Tripet Marshes and had never seen a

resemblance would be truly amazing. There is also an odd gap of some thousand miles as the Lancaster flies to account for.

I do not wish to found a school of thought on this subject. I have merely, given plenty of time and leisure since I hit upon this line of thought, to a study of the differences for my own edification. Here are my conclusions.

Firstly, when embarking on a study of Polish peculiarities it is essential to clear one's mind of prejudices. Most people have absorbed sufficient prejudices on this subject to make Dr. Goebbels, and one or two other ill-wishers who started them, dance with glee. Secondly, don't apply a yardstick made in Britain to the Poles. It is like measuring height with a thermometer. It also shows a certain stagginess and insularity.

Having cleared our minds of a certain amount of lumber, we can skip lightly over the age-residual differences in history, geography, heredity, culture, cookery and what have you in the knowledge that, interesting as this study would be, it is a life's work, and more eminent authorities than myself would have to be consulted.

So, we come to differences between the individual Pole and the individual Briton. The most striking difference is in matters of courtesy, Englishmen, particularly of the old school variety have a rather fish-like politeness. While neither as excitable nor as volatile as the Frenchman, the Pole does not miss many opportunities for showing a certain wariness. He rarely fails to shake hands on every possible occasion—as though afraid the opportunity will not occur again in the near future. He will never, under any circumstances, be induced to pass through a doorway ahead of you, even though a traffic jam may result, while politenesses are exchanged. Officially he will rarely give you a polite but firm "NO". He will merely pass you on to another Branch. After a lengthy detour you will return to him and guess, rightly, that the negative is nevertheless implied. I have never quite made out whether the Pole is polite out of habit, out of consideration for you, or out of consideration for his own feelings.

Do not infer from the above that he is insincere. On the contrary he has such a respect for the naked, indivisible truth that any form of compromise is almost an outrage to his nature. On average he is also palpably incapable of deceiving almost anybody (save possibly himself or another Pole). Which reminds me, never pull a Pole's leg. This is a sport only indulged in by the most intimate friends. One feels such a fool when people "are not amused".

Which brings me to the question of the Polish sense of humour. We both laugh; there the similarity ends. Your best wisecrack delivered in a Polish Mess will probably elicit a polite snigger that is worse than a reproach. But take an Englishman (or a Scotsman for that matter) to Polish Parade Revue and while the house comes down and the audience rolls in its seats he will light a cigarette. Here, however,

is a piece of comedians' patter we can both grin at "...when I was a star on the Warsaw stage I visited Lwow on tour. I was a great success. One section of the audience kept calling "Stay in Lwow, stay in Lwow". I only found out afterwards it was a party from Warsaw..." The Poles can be gay. Their costumes, their music, their dances have sparkle. In fact one who has

is that he is obstinate, contentious, prejudiced and shows, quite unnecessary warmth—while you remain cool, calm, collected, logical and compromising. The correct conclusion is that total lack of bias is only possible in a matter one does not consider concerns one intimately. The fact is that until 1939 the average Englishman considered international affairs as a popular game played by editors, diplomats, barbers and Nat Gubbins and the Sweep at the Local. The Pole, being inextricably mixed up in the free-for-all East of Calais took a more than academic interest. He is prejudiced in his own favour, what his head can't prove his heart accepts nevertheless. Perhaps he does get a little hot under the collar. Perhaps there is no Public School tie under the collar. But then Joe Stalin and Adolf Hitler have both done his so far without having been to Public Schools either.

In the matter of war aims you will find a total similarity in principle. To get back home—Peace for all time—progress to the "broader life". It is in the details that the difference lies. The Pole wants to get back to his home in Poland (not Russia or Germany)—he wants Polish soil, and nothing less than all of it—to ensure peace for all time he wants his future national and personal independence guaranteed, vis-à-vis his larger neighbours till we have reached the "broader life". If these war aims are not precisely your personal ones, he fervently hopes you will subscribe to them after you have met him. After all he fought for the U.K. in the Battle for Britain, and for the Empire at Tobruk to "show willing". Some of you may have seen the neat rows of Polish graves on your way up in the Benghazi Stakes last year. And these won't be the last.

The Pole has many, many virtues, but you will have to discover them for yourselves. We are both rather inarticulate on the subject of ourselves. But for entirely different reasons. We can't be bothered to explain our virtues. The Pole doesn't know how to. He doesn't study other nations very closely—he loves his own cabbage patch and is fully occupied keeping the vermin off it. When he is driven off it he will move heaven and earth to get back onto it again. When this particular Army was formed Poles came from the Arctic Circle, and Turkestan, from Siberia and right across Occupied Europe to fight their way back home. Most of them know that when they get home there won't be a wife and family to greet them on the doorstep. There may be a doorstep but no home, there probably won't be a wife and it there are any kids they'll be starved by undernourishment for life. But they'll build up again on Polish earth as they build before, quietly, and the world will never know how much they suffered and toiled because they just can't tell the world. So you'll just have to give them credit for all they can't say.

Imitation is the highest form of flattery. It would be flattering if we could say that the Poles, despite these differences and many more you will discover for yourselves, are imitating

us since we have made contact. Well, by necessity or intention, they are. The Tripet Punter now drives a Bedford truck, the General Highlander spins a nifty Bofors, the Wilno clerk tunes a No. 9 set—all well enough to pass every training test. Their former French military system has been abandoned for the British. Many more speak English than Englishmen speak Polish, and nearly all of them can say at worst "I don't understand" without accent. If you see them in battle dress in the field they might be Tommies for all you know or need care.

For the first time in history British and Polish Armies are fighting side by side in the same cause. Now that I know both sides I am sure we shall get to know each other, respect each other and finally like each other. After

Alfred Tennyson

## On the Result of the late Russian Invasion of Poland, 1863

How long, O God, shall men be ridden  
and trampled under by the last and least  
Of men? The heart of Poland hath  
not ceased  
To quiver, though her sacred blood  
doth draw  
The fields; and out of every  
smouldering town  
Cries to Thee, lest brute Power be  
increased.  
Till that over-grown Barbarian in  
the East  
Transgress his ample bound to some  
new crown:—  
Cries to Thee, "Lord, how long shall  
these things be?  
How long shall the key-hearted  
Muscovite  
Oppress the region?" Us, O Just  
and Good,  
Forgive, who smiled when she was  
born in three:  
Us, who stand now, when we should  
aid the right—  
A matter to be wept with tears of blood:

the War, from our Island grandstand, I am going to back Poland for all she is worth. She is my selection in the European League. And even if I have to go on the pitch or square the rest, I am determined to see her win. Ut the Polish—sorry mate!

Wladyslaw Broniewski

## SONG OF A POLISH SOLDIER

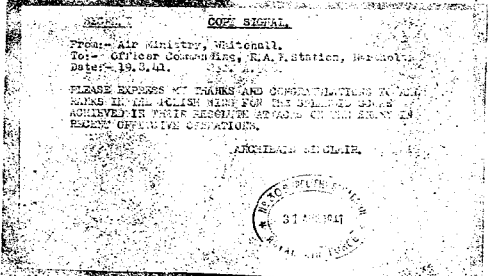
As long as I've a gun to handle, what  
matter where I go,  
Whether on Libya desert or across  
Siberian snow?  
What matter vagabondage? What matter  
thirst or cold?  
My bag with bread and cartridge and  
soldier's joy I load.  
I seek neither booty nor laurels; a stout  
pair of boots for me  
With the sole patched at Narek, and  
the nails worn at Tobruk;  
Boots that will leave the footprints of  
"Poland" on every land;  
That shall one day walk to Warsaw  
and awaken her silent strand.  
I have no petty cares. My song must  
challenge the hell  
That wrecked my house in September  
with seven Nazi shells.  
There was a garden about it where  
poppies and cabbages grew.  
I must dig those shells from the soil  
and plant it with seed anew.  
I need to kiss the soil of my own  
ancestral land,  
And sleep in its peace eternal beneath  
the Mazovian sand.  
For more I've no care comrade, Our  
squadrons ride the wind,  
We march across hemispheres; we  
sail the seven seas.  
We must prove to our brother nations  
that we're worth our fathers' land.  
If only the boat be sturdy, and the  
gun cling to the hand.

(Translated from the Polish by Helena Ogradowaska-Eristol).

not been to Poland gets the notion that Poland is like a travel poster and the people there lead mystical comedy lives.

But for the Poles war, military life, are dead earnest. In their offices they are serious, almost intense. One gets the impression of bringing in a spirit of Yuletide and unseasonably levity on entering. War for Poland means existence, not sport. Their country has been the "away" ground for every conqueror who chose to play in that part of the continent for quite a while now. This Army you are meeting is the latest in a long line of Legions formed from exiles overseas to reconquer their country. Perhaps you have never heard the names, and wouldn't dare try and pronounce them, of Kosciuszko, Dum-browski, Poniatowski, Pilsudski and Haller. They are all General Anders' predecessors, and his Army follows in their footsteps.

Sooner or later you will find yourself engaged in a political discussion with a Pole. This is inevitable as soon as he speaks twenty words of English. I am willing to bet your conclusion



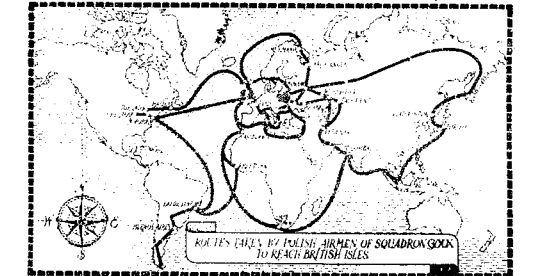
Sir Archibald Sinclair, Secretary of State for Air, congratulates Polish airmen on their achievements.

## John Keats TO KOŚCIUSZKO

Good Kosciuszko, thy great name alone  
Is a full harvest whence to reap high  
feelings:  
It comes upon us like the glorious  
poetings  
Of the wide spheres — an everlasting  
tone—  
And now it tells me, that in worlds  
unknown,  
The names of heroes, burst from  
clouds concealing,  
Are changed to harmonies, for ever  
stealing  
Through cloudless blue, and round each  
silver throne.  
It tells me too, that on a happy day,  
When some good spirit walks upon  
the earth,  
Thy name with Alfred's, and the great  
of yore  
Gently commingling, gives tremendous  
birth  
To a loud hymn, that sounds far,  
far away  
To where the great God lives for  
evermore.

car before that, it was at this moment that I became aware, however, of the differences between ourselves and the Poles.

Much time, paper and energy has been wasted on collecting similarities between ourselves and the Poles. I am of the opinion that such resemblances as exist—apart from our physical needs, which are remarkably similar — are purely coincidental. In view of the differences of race, geography, history, culture, cookery and what have you, any



The Routes of the Polish Soldier.

# "For Your Freedom and Ours"

by Jan Russewski

In the spring of 1939, when Europe was already trembling at its foundations, one of the members of the Chamberlain Government came to Warsaw and, addressing the journalists on the platform of the Railway station, said: "I have come to convince the Poles that Great Britain is not such an old horse as some may think". Shortly afterwards the Polish Foreign Minister, Col. Beck, one of the founders of the Polish Alliance with Britain, went to London. In the British capital he met not only with a sincere welcome but also with a full understanding of the Polish position.

This was the time when, after the Munich crisis, the double capitulation of Prague, the subversion of Lithuania to Germany in the Mersel affair and the bullying of Rumania and Central Europe by the Nazis, there arose on the Continent of Europe a complete prostration, a humiliating disappearance of will, a panicky fear of the Luftwaffe and of Hitler's Panzer Divisions.

Even France evinced little enthusiasm for opposing German aggression. Lacking an influential section of her public opinion, headed by the Foreign Minister Bonnet, was in favour of further compromises in Germany's favour. As for Russia she had the choice of coming to an agreement either with England and France, or else with Germany. In the end she chose Germany and signed with the latter a pact of Non-Aggression on the 23rd of August 1939.

The only world power that resolved not to allow any further aggression was Great Britain, who had the moral support of the United States. At that time Britain had no idea that there would be found on the European Continent a threatened state, determined in case of aggression to defend her frontiers and the entity of her territory without considering the consequences. However there was such a country: it was Poland. It was this joint stand in the face of danger that decided the *rapprochement* and understanding between the Poles and the British at a juncture most decisive for Europe and the world. There was a lot of determination behind this decision, but there was also deep understanding of the necessities connected with the development of the situation.

Despite, however, the terrific rush of events, both the countries that had linked themselves for life and death had half a year's breathing-space in which to consider the pros and cons of their decision, to look over their weak points and to realise the repercussions of any action that they might take. Nevertheless, they jointly reached the conclusion that in the case of Hitler attacking either of them they would have no option but to fight him together.

The understanding between Poland and Britain did not take place after the beginning of hostilities. The two countries did not become allies, like so many other countries, under the rain of bombs. Their destinies became linked before the war in the hope of either averting its outbreak by joint preventive political action or of actively opposing Hitler. England and Poland are thus no accidental allies, nor have they become allies from necessity when they were attacked by enemies, but of their own free will. Poland did not join England only after being bombarded by the Germans, like so many other allied nations. Their alliance has sprung from their conscientious decision and their realization of their responsibility to the world.

This mutual understanding is also based on other and deeper foundations. Despite differences of language and temperament, Britons and Poles have much in common, including their attachment to Christian civilization and democratic institutions. England's Magna Carta and Poland's "Habeas Corpus" of 1433 spring from the same ideological root. The Polish constitution of May 3rd 1791, the anniversary of the adoption of which is celebrated on this day as Poland's National Holiday, is more akin to the British structure than to the French and had many years ago many admirers in London.

It is not, therefore, by chance that when the foundations of Christian civ-

ilization, based on respect for human dignity, had been shaken, Poland found herself on the side of Britain and the United States, for in the crisis there fell on the Anglo-Saxon world, as on Papal Rome and France in the past, the main duty of defending the paramount Christian principles. In all such cases, Poland has invariably taken the side of liberty against tyranny, the side of Right against Might.

This characteristic of ours is well known in America. The memory of Kazimierz Pulaski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who fought for America's freedom, is cherished in the States to the present day.

One more important detail brings Poland and the Anglo-Saxon countries together: their view on the organization of international life. To this day the United States have remained a federation of states. The British Empire, again, is a commonwealth of free nations, and this characteristic of it is becoming more and more pronounced. But the idea of organizing free nations on similar principles, — although of course, on a much smaller scale, — within the framework of central Europe, existed also in Poland.

In the fifteenth century a union was effected between Poland and Lithuania. The two countries established a joint republic — a real commonwealth of nations. During this period Polish princes sat on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, to which they had been invited by local populations. King Wladyslaw III of Poland perished at Varna, defending the Balkan nations. The Baltic territories, Courland and the Latvia and Estonia of to-day, linked themselves with the Polish state and recognized its leadership just as did a Prussian prince who ruled over what is to-day known as East Prussia (which had for many years been a Vassal state of Poland). Similarly Moldavia and Wallachia — the Rumania of to-day — marched along the same road, although to a lesser degree.

The Polish idea of federation which came to full realization in the state's relationship with Lithuania spread to the neighbouring countries, offering the only possible means of safeguarding freedom in these regions. This expressed the desire to oppose the idea of conquest in that territory by the idea of collaboration between free and equal nations. To-day the conception has been revived in the light of most dramatic events. When Poland was invaded in 1939 there lost their freedom *de facto* or *de jure*, earlier or later: Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece, not to mention Bohemia and Slovakia. It was thus proved that the liberty of those nations is dependent upon the freedom of Poland, just as the sovereignty of Poland is linked with the sovereignty of all those nations, living in the Middle Zone (according to the name given to this part of Europe by F. A. Voigt, Editor of the "XIX Century and After").

That is why the idea of federation of the countries mentioned appears a logical consequence of the war, provided of course, we finally reject the German theory of *Lebensraum*, i. e. of the subjugation of the small nations and the provision of an opportunity for expansion by violence and brute force. This leads us to the more general question of the role of the smaller nations in the world organisation.

Professor Carr, the author of the famous book "Conditions of Peace" has become so convinced that the role of the smaller nations of the world in the face of the present stage of technical and economic development is finished, that he desires to squeeze them all into the framework of one of two powers, Russia or Germany. In his view the evolution of the world is proceeding in the direction of the concentration of forces and the creation of Giants. He does not, however, appear to have observed that the evolution of the British Empire is proceeding in quite the opposite direction, namely, in the direction of decentralisation, and that its members are obtaining increasingly greater freedom. Nor does he appreciate the strength of modern national feeling which does not make real the subjugation of a freedom-loving nation

to another more powerful nation. The national conscience of the peoples awakened by a wave of persecution in Europe would cause individual countries to regard their brutal incorporation into a stronger state, or even into spheres of influence, as a harm which nothing could justify.

The subversion to modern conceptions by which the superiority of offensive over defensive weapons and the fantastic development of communications has convinced many people that only large territories have a raison d'être is extremely dangerous. Periods of superiority of offensive arms over defensive ones are known to history but such periods were never long.

On the other hand large territories, if they do not come about through organic and gradual development, are unable to endure the trials that life may hold in store for them. Centralisation and totalisation of relations in one region has its limits. Even the most despotic authority cannot overcome decentralising tendencies, if they have their roots in deep national feeling.

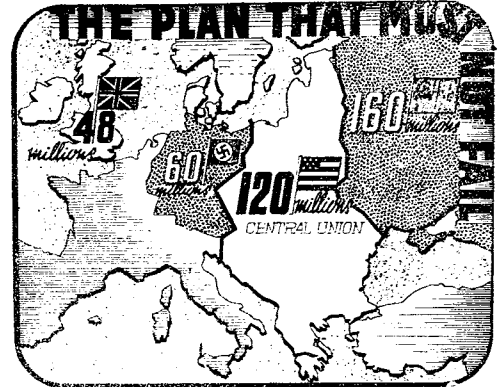
It is obvious that the position of small nations left to themselves, unless they are protected by nature as in the case of Switzerland, will become increasingly difficult. The way out of the situation ought to be sought, therefore, in the encouragement of the organic linking of free and sovereign nations, ready to do this of their own free will, not tearing one another, and united by a Common Culture.

The nations inhabiting that part of Europe lying between the Baltic and the Aegean Sea meet the case. They are all countries of Christian culture, of great dynamics of development, mainly of peasant stock, attached to the principle of individual property, and although speaking different languages, have a common view on many problems, for they are threatened by a same danger. They face the same situation as once faced the French, German and Italian cantons of the present Switzerland. They must get together to maintain their freedoms.

Their association threatens no one. On the contrary, it will create in Europe a zone of peace, a buffer against Germany, and will afford security to Russia who will need a long period of peace in order to repair war damage. On the other hand, any wrong done to these nations, the creation in their midst of one of other sphere of influence, would become a source of permanent dissatisfaction, unending intrigues, and would finally result in a fresh outbreak of war, turned against the offending power. Such a situation would undoubtedly be exploited by the Germans for the realisation of their plans of revenge.

Some maintain that the so-called small nations are always a source of trouble and the cause of wars. Only an obvious misunderstanding or subversive propaganda can be at the bottom of such assertions. Such statements remind us of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Can a small state really threaten a great one? Can anyone honestly deny that all wars have sprung from the intrigues and imperialistic desires of powers infatuated with the idea of greatness? Do not the small states constitute necessary elements in the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe and the upholding of world peace? Would not the world organisation of peace lose its democratic basis without them? Do not wars between colossal present greater dangers to humanity than the most annoying quarrels between small nations?

The present war already gives tragic responses to these questions. The war was provoked by the ambitious plans of Germany, who desired to conquer not only Poland but the whole of the territory lying between the Baltic and the Aegean Sea. The question was whether that territory was to be free or to become the sphere of influence of some great nation, whether the countries of which it is composed were to continue to be ruled by the governments of their choice, or whether they were to be subject to totalitarianism and alien social doctrines. It is not the great nations who were victims of aggression but the small peoples. In 1939 it was



The plan of the Middle Zone in Europe linking Poland, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece in a federation of free, equal and democratic states. (From the pamphlet "Central Union" issued by George Harrison and Peter Jordan in London.)

understood both in Warsaw and in London that the freedom of the smaller nations must be defended, particularly the freedom of the Middle Zone, for on the freedom of that region depended the freedom of Europe. It was realised that the Power that rules over that region rules over almost the whole continent.

It was for this reason that in 1939 neither Britain nor the United States offered to the nations of the Middle Zone the alternative of this or that master. These small nations were not given the choice of Germany or Russia. On the contrary, they were supported in their will to live in freedom and confirmed in their sovereign rights. It was in defence of these very rights and not for the purpose of creating in Central Europe a zone of influence of a foreign power, that Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece took up arms, paying with the lives of their young men for their adherence to liberty.

Particularly in England it was understood that the territory in Europe stretching from the Baltic States, Poland and the Danube to the Balkan States, together with Turkey form a lasting guarantee of the freedom of the Dardanelles and of the Eastern part of the Mediterranean Basin and of the security of the route to India and the Iraq oilfields. Only at the time of the world crisis was it realised in the West what an error it had been for Britain and America to finance the German military machine in the period between the two wars and to refrain from extending financial aid to the natural European allies of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Lack of interest in the Central European states was one of the causes of the material weakness of which these states are accused and which was exploited by the Germans. Is this error to be repeated?

Uttering in 1939 her old slogan: "For your freedom and ours" Poland took up arms in the cause of the freedom of the entire central European

region, so closely interlinked. Britain took a similar stand, realising that the nation that becomes master of Warsaw, — and for Warsaw's freedom the freedom of Danzig, Poznan, Silesia, Vlna and Lvov is necessary — will be also a master of Athens and Crete on the one hand, and Copenhagen on the other.

Such were and are the foundations of the Polish-British alliance. It has become the foundation stone of a coalition now embracing the greater part of the globe. Britain who through the mouth of Mr. Churchill declared that she does not desire to lose in this war what she holds, has linked herself to a state that decided to fight for the integrity of its frontiers. Britain went to war in the name of the liberty of all peoples, great and small, and has allied itself with the Polish people, who not only by words but also by deeds, have proved their readiness to fight for other peoples' freedom besides their own. Aiming at the maintenance of European political balance shaken by Hitler's conquest, Britain has discovered that for this balance a strong Poland is a prerequisite. As for the Poles, they saw in Britain a power standing guard over freedom, law, and decency in international relations, a country that is always opposed to the hegemony of one power on the continent and who has always protected the liberty of all the European nations great and small.

It is on these similarities that the Polish-British Alliance is based and has withstood the whole war storm so far, with all its complications, not excluding the French defeat, when the Polish armies provided the only help given by the Continent to Britain at a time of mortal danger. It is to be hoped that this union, unshaken by anything, strengthened to-day by the collaboration of the United States whose friendly feeling for Poland is traditional, will be crowned with the victory of those ideals for the sake of which Great Britain and Poland were the first to take up arms.

## U. S. PAPER WANTS A STRONGER POLAND

Amidst disputes on the Polish border issue, the "Herald Tribune" (12th Jan.) devotes an editorial to the question suggesting that "there must be new delimitation of Polish territory in the west".

"Neither the Poles nor the world at large (the paper says) are likely to tolerate another such irrational patchwork as that which Versailles left in Western Poland. The cramped Corridor, the unworkable device of Danzig as a Free City, the preservation of the East Prussian enclave to serve as the heart of German militarism and as a spearhead of German conquests toward the East, the par-

ting of the mining and industrial unit of Upper Silesia — these were all dictated by the best motives, but they created an plague spot of political, economic and cultural instability which poisoned European life.

"The obvious solution is to eject German Junkers from that province and include East Prussia in the Polish State to which by many considerations of a geographic and economic nature, it so patently belongs. Most of the ills from which East Prussia in its isolation traditionally suffered could be cured through this operation and many ills which East Prussia visited upon the world might be averted in the same way".

# Poland "Persecutes" her Minorities

by Stanisław Strzetelski

In Western Europe, and in the United States, the opinion is generally held that Poland is a country that oppresses the national minorities inhabiting its territory. Some critics go so far as to charge Poland with pursuing a definite racial policy. Such an accusation is extremely painful to our national pride. Please therefore allow us to consider this matter a little more extensively.

The Jewish problem differs greatly from problems of other minorities and therefore merits separate examination.

Tons of printer's ink have been used to paint the Poles in the darkest colours as extreme Antisemites. I assure you that Poland is laid open to attack as a country of Antisemitism because we Poles were in our history the most philo-Semitic nation in the world, or at least one of the most liberal countries.

This is not a paradoxical statement. It is simply a statement of fact easy to prove. You have only to open the first history textbook within reach, in order to recall the details of the terrible and bloody days of European Jewry, during several centuries, from the Ninth to the Eighteenth century with some intervals. In all the countries of Europe the blood of Jews flowed in streams. In Spain, France, England, Germany, Switzerland, edicts were issued after the slaughter, expelling all the surviving Jews and prohibiting them from taking with them any of their belongings.

In that period, when throughout Europe Jews were being destroyed and persecuted like animals, Poland alone, known at that time as *Asylum Judaeorum*, fulfilled its duty of mercy and humanitarianism.

In the 12th century the Polish Prince Boleslaw in what is known as the Statute of Kalisz granted to Jews civic rights and privileges, later in many cases extended, and these rights retained their legal validity until the end of Poland's independence.

Poles did not demand then from the unfortunate victims of terror to produce passports and visas. They did not enquire into their financial means. They did not insist on quotas and contingents. They did not act as a result of diplomatic pressure but of their own accord threw their frontiers wide open and granted to the Jews unlimited asylum, guaranteed their rights and gave them opportunities of unhampered development. Small wonder, therefore, that in that situation masses of Jews from all over Europe sought Poland's

hospitality, coming from East and West, North and South.

When after centuries the persecutions died down, only small islands of Jewry remained in the western countries not exceeding one percent of the total population, whereas in Poland Jews became a strong minority group, making up about ten per cent. of the population in the country as a whole, and as much as thirty per cent. in the capital.

The further development of events went along the way of iron logic of laws of social development. The as yet imperfectly formed social and economic organism of Poland admitted a huge Jewish emigration, composed exclusively of merchants and middlemen. Too numerous to assimilate themselves and become absorbed in the Polish mass, the Jews in Poland became a separate group from the point of view of race, religion, customs and traditions. This was not the fault of the Jews, but was due to the conditions in the Diaspora which did not permit Jews to grove evenly into the anatomy and link up with the physiology of the Polish economic and social structure. They remained, in the main, an alien body.

The existence in a rather poor country in which possibilities of earning a livelihood were not plentiful, of a group amounting to almost ten per cent. of the country's population and differing from that population ethnically and religiously, coupled with the unwieldy economic structure of that group by reason of its almost exclusive devotion to trade, and to its holding a monopoly in some of its branches, must, in accordance with the law of cause and effect, inevitably have brought about a certain amount of friction.

Consider the meaning of the following figures: of the population of Poland as a whole 60% earned their livelihood from agriculture and only 30% from commerce, industry and the professions. In the case of the Jews the proportions were: agriculture: 9%, commerce, industry and the professions: over 70%. From data published by the World Jewish Congress it appears that in the years 1921-1931 among every 100 employees in Poland in commerce and insurance the proportion of Jews to non-Jews was 95.62 to 4.38. In this connection it is extremely interesting to read the figures and views of that prominent Jewish writer Jakob Leszczynski.

When one knows what such a high proportion of income gained from commerce means in a poor country, one

need not be an economist or sociologist to realise the opportunities that such disproportionate figures provide for friction in the economic and social spheres.

Such is the background of a phenomenon which is called Antisemitism in Poland, and such is the nature of an historical process which has made of Polish Philo-Semitism a source of attack on Poland.

I do not intend at all to deny the existence of Antisemitism in Poland. It has expressed itself as an economic and social phenomenon in the struggle for existence in a similar shape as Anti-Hinduism in Africa, Anti-Islamism in Tunisia, or even the Anti-Hellenism of the Jews of the ancient world when the Greeks mastered the trade and whatever professions there were in the then totally agricultural Jewish community. There was, it is true, no lack of regrettable reaction in Poland, but in the first place its percentage was not higher than elsewhere, and secondly it had the character of an economic and social struggle, and had little to do with race. And in this connection we should not forget that history had Poland not been boycotted by international capital and had not been cut off from foreign sources of credit.

Besides, despite all the outward phenomena of Antisemitism that were to be met with in Poland, I cannot for a moment imagine that such a form of "social discrimination" by entire towns a few miles from the capital as the exhibition of posters reading: "Restricted" (the article comes from U.S.A. — translator's note) would have been possible in Poland.

And who are those who to-day write and speak of Polish Antisemitism? Are they those who have fulfilled their elementary humanitarian duty towards European Jewry?

What country kept her gates as wide open to the Jewish masses persecuted by Hitler as Poland, who received the Jews during hundreds of years? Just think! If any country were to do today for the Jews what Poland did once, that country would have to agree to let in, in the course of the past ten years, several million European Jews. Do you see any signs of such readiness? And which country has agreed to let in, not millions, but even hundreds of thousands of these victims of Hitler, hunted like wild animals?

The reply to this question is provided by the tragic phantom-ships, filled to capacity with Jewish refugees from Germany, sent from one port to another, by the tens and hundreds of thousands of human beings waiting in vain for visas to any overseas country. It is not difficult to give asylum to a limited number of refugees with well-lined pockets. But thought ought to have been given to the poor among them, to the masses of hundreds of thousands of the disinherited, treated like animals. And are you aware, dear friends, that still today thousands of Jews, in indescribable misery and poverty, vainly await on various islands the granting of the dream-of visas that will enable them to enter civilised countries?

"Antisemitism" Poland only a few years before the war granted citizenship to some 500,000 Jews. Do you know any country of the Western World that would have been ready to do likewise?

No single nation could, can and will be able to solve this problem alone. The responsibility for solving the Jewish problem and the duty to do so rests on all the civilised nations. There exists, in fact, a real solution, and a sincere one, one not based on hypocritical half-measures. I refer of course to the Jewish National Home.

I was twice in Palestine and on both occasions I came back enchanted with the results of the wonderful regeneration which this undoubtedly highly capable nation has achieved in the course of only a few decades.

The organisation of not compulsory but voluntary emigration, the withdrawal of the poor and backward Jewish masses from their ghettos, the guarantee to them of opportunities for free development, the cure of the hopeless and unhealthy one-sidedness of their social structure — this is the main road

towards the solution of the Jewish problem. Besides, as far as Poland is concerned, the improvement in the situation of the Jews will depend primarily upon the improvement in the country's economic situation. In the face of the terrible tragedy of the Jews, caused by the inhuman cruelties of Hitler, the detailed problems are less important.

To-day it is necessary to remove, in the first place, the Jewish problem from under the deep layers of hypocrisy and lies with which it has been obscured and to present it courageously and clearly as a question of positive undertakings by all the civilised nations of the world. Even the loudest protests against Hitler's crimes are of no avail in solving the Jewish problem. Difficult political and social problems are not solved by charity, by expressions of sympathy or by hypocritical verbalism. Concrete acts and efforts by all parties are required.

The Polish nation, as a truly and deeply Christian people and one that understands the terrible tragedy of homeless Jewry better perhaps than other peoples, is prepared for the widest possible collaboration towards this end and to take upon its shoulders both its justly admonished share of the guilt and the future sacrifices involved.

But here again the sacrifices, energy and capital of one nation will not suffice. It will be necessary for all civilised nations to collaborate.

The problem of non-Jewish minorities is somewhat different. The minorities concerned are the Ukrainians, White Russians and Lithuanians, making in all more than 20% of Poland's population.

First of all, one essential question. How is it that Poland has such a relatively high percentage of minorities as compared with Germany, for instance? The answer is very simple.

Throughout her history Poland was tolerant and recognised the principle of equal rights for all nations at a time when nations in the present-day meaning of the term did not exist. The Germans have no minorities in the immediate vicinity of Berlin, for they had simply exterminated the Slav tribes that once inhabited those lands, and had thus in the simplest manner, by fire and sword, solved the problem of minorities.

In Poland the question of language, for instance, was solved in the Union between Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia on terms of full equality. In the year 1413 Poland linked with Lithuania on the basis of "attachment to the common faith as well as equality of rights and benefits" and 10 years later, in 1423, both nations admitted the Ruthenian "Schismatics" to that commonwealth.

The problem of minorities never existed in old Poland; it arose only in the 19th century as an expression of the policy of "divide et impera" followed on Polish soil by Russia and Austria.

After 1918, in Independent Poland, minorities were given all political and civic rights. They had their representation in Parliament and self-government organs, a separate school system and full liberty of cultural development. In

1939 there were in Poland 3000 Ukrainian or bi-lingual schools maintained by the State.

In 1937 on the occasion of the visit of a prominent Frenchman to Warsaw an interesting conversation took place, in which the participants were that Frenchman, a well-known Ukrainian journalist and some Poles. It was in the nature of an improvised political dispute. The Ukrainian presented a long list of complaints that his people had concerning the policy of the Polish Government towards minorities.

When the Ukrainian had finished his *exposé*, the Frenchman remarked: "The situation is indeed unpleasant. In Poland the Ukrainians and White Russians (there were only 80,000 Lithuanians in Poland — Author) constitute relatively small minority groups, and everywhere I hear so many complaints against Poland. In Russia the number of Ukrainians is ten times and the number of White Russians several times greater than in Poland and yet no complaints are made or grievances voiced. This comparison is most striking". And the Frenchman turned to the Poles present, as if requesting an explanation of this phenomenon.

The Poles did not reply. They only looked at the Ukrainian.

But the Ukrainian kept silent. This silence was well-founded. For in Poland the national minorities, having guaranteed freedom of development, both cultural and national, had the right and opportunity to voice their grievances and did so in no restrained tones. In Russia it was quite different. How much more of an expression of freedom there is in a loud protest than in sinister silence.

H. G. Wells wrote recently that up till now there has been no trouble in Soviet Russia with minorities, and added that when history will weigh on the scales the importance of Stalin, the solution of the minorities problem in Russia once and for all will be acclaimed as his greatest achievement.

Mr. Wells is well-known throughout the world for his liberal convictions. So what could have led him to write these words? The reply is obvious.

I do not wish to pretend that Polish-Ukrainian relations were admirable, just as no Englishman ever claimed that Anglo-Irish relations were idyllic. Obviously the Polish Government would like to see all citizens living peacefully and happily as one great family, just as the British Government would like to see the Irish question settled once and for all. But it should not be forgotten that as regards Polish-Ukrainian relations many regrettable events were caused by the machinations of a section of the Ukrainian leaders with Berlin and that further proofs of that close collaboration have appeared in striking shape in this war.

I have tried here to give an honest answer to the questions raised by some of our critics. Poland is not without guilt, but how much worse is the guilt of those who through ignorance or hypocrisy or because of an uneasy conscience are slinging mud at us accompanied by words of pathetic indignation.

## TWO CAMPAIGNS

**30 INF DIVISIONS**  
**TIME TO MOBILISE — 24 HOURS**  
**HELPED BY — NO ONE**  
**FOUGHT 35 DAYS, NO ARMISTICE SIGNED**

**100 FRENCH DIVISIONS**  
**TIME TO MOBILISE — 8 MONTHS**  
**HELPED BY — BRITAIN — 10 DIV**  
**BELGIUM — 20 DIV**  
**HOLLAND — 12 DIV**  
**HOLLAND & POLAND — 2 DIV**  
**ARMISTICE AFTER 37 DAYS FIGHTING**

**1939**  
**and**  
**1940**



Stamps of the Polish Mail abroad.



# POLAND'S FIGHT

The story of the Polish Underground Movement is written in the blood of its unknown heroes on the slopes of the Warsaw Citadel and on the walls of houses in countless towns and villages of the Polish countryside. The record of the glorious exploits of the Movement's anonymous warriors, when the time comes for it to be made public, will constitute a unique chapter in the history of Europe. To-day, however, little is known of the nature of this powerful organization. True, legends are continually being woven and circulated around the activities of the Movement, legends in which reality mingles with phantasy, concrete facts with flights of the imagination, the truth with the magic of the tales handed down from the days of the early struggles of the Polish people with their oppressors.

The legend of Polish heroism was carried to America by Washington's heroic companions-in-arms, Kosciuszko and Pulaski. When, weighed down by the superior numbers of the German and Russian forces, Poland was compelled to give up the struggle for her independence in the 18th century, Kosciuszko and Pulaski did not sheathe their swords but fled to America to help the colonists in their struggle for freedom thus remaining true to the Polish motto, "For Freedom — Ours and Yours Alike!"

The legend continued throughout the centuries. Thrice in the course of the nineteenth century did the Poles unsheathe the sword again: in 1831, again in 1848 and a third time in 1863. And in the twentieth century they again took up arms, to rebuild in 1910 "from the smoke and ashes and pools of blood" a state whose character and progressiveness gained for it the admiration of the whole world.

To-day, the legend, arising Phoenix-like from its ashes, is born anew. Poland has gone underground: she wages both a day-to-day struggle with the invader

and prepares for a general uprising. The nation who for a century and a half "went to bed with a gun to be ready for an attack in the morning" is familiar, as is no other people of Europe, with all the methods and means of underground warfare. In their daily struggle with their oppressors they are drawing on the fruits of their nation's long experience in fighting under the surface. The legend has lost none of its force: on the contrary it has gained new strength — the aid of the great democracies and a nationwide organization in continual contact with the General Staffs of the Allied Powers.

Consequently, in order to evaluate the results of the struggle which has been waged by the Movement during the past four years, one must first of all pierce the mist of the beautiful legends surrounding its name and reach the hard ground of reality. Let the facts speak for themselves; they are far more interesting and, indeed, far more tragic than any legend ever created.

## The Organisation of the Underground and its Courts of Justice

The isolated activities of the Underground, such as guerrilla warfare, acts of sabotage and attacks on individual Germans, which were uncoordinated in the first year of the Movement's existence for obvious reasons, began to be carried out in accordance with a uniform plan already in 1940. This advance came about as the result of the establishment of permanent contact between the heads of the Movement and between General Sikorski's Government and the Polish military authorities, at first in France, and later in London. The nation in its agony soon came to realise that unorganised activities could only lead to rapid liquidation on the part of resistance and to the discovery of the Movement's leaders. Accordingly, it was decided at a series of secret meetings

held that year on the formation of a Directorate of Civilian Resistance to direct the underground struggle throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Contact between the Movement and the Polish Government in London is maintained through the latter's delegate in Poland. Under this delegate's authority are all the secret cadres of Polish civil servants who are prepared to take over the reins of administration the moment the uprising commences. The administration of Justice, however, already functions. Polish Courts of Justice are to-day passing judgements on Germans convicted of particular cruelty to Poles, on those guilty of illegal executions, and those charged with taking illegal possession of property belonging to the Polish State or its citizens. Judgements passed by such courts are communicated to the accused by letter

following manner. At 10 o'clock on the night of the 2nd of May, Krueger, after inspecting the city, arrived in his car at the Cracow police headquarters. He was not surprised to find an augmented guard consisting of four Gestapo agents on the steps of the building, since he himself had ordered the alarm that night. It was the eve of the greatest Polish national holiday, the anniversary of the day on which in the year 1901 the Polish nation established the first democratic constitution in Europe. This national holiday, which was observed with such rejoicing in free Poland, has become since the German occupation a day of street fights and mass demonstrations, of massacres and repression.

Krueger's adjutant opened the door of the car, and the Gestapo chief alighted and mounted the steps of the building.



M. Raczkiewicz, President of the Polish Republic, decorates Polish airmen "somewhere in England".

a few days before their execution and are published in the Underground press which counts some 180 publications. Here is a characteristic proclamation which appeared in the issue of the secret Polish paper "Rzeczpospolita Polska" for April 18th 1943:

### PUBLIC NOTICE.

The following is an extract of a Judgment pronounced by the Polish Special Tribunal:

### IN THE NAME OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC!

On the 12th of February 1943 the Special Tribunal of Warsaw, after having examined the case of Hermann Gleist, head of the Warsaw Arbeitsamt, born in Berlin on July 2nd 1901 and charged in 1942 in Warsaw with the following crimes:

a) In his capacity of head of the Arbeitsamt, he was the main organizer of the street raids and one of the promoters of the movement for the deportation of the Polish population to Germany; he also showed cruelty in his relations with Poles in the execution of his functions;

b) Taking advantage of his position to line his own pockets, he intimidated various persons with the threat of deportation to Germans for forced labour.

HAS PASSED SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS: The aforesaid Hermann Gleist is found guilty of the crimes of which he is accused, and is therefore condemned to suffer the penalty of death.

Judgment was executed on the 8th of March 1943 by shooting.

One of the most daring of the exploits of the Polish Underground was the shooting of Wilhelm Krueger, known as the Hevdrich of Poland.

### The Death of Cracow Hangman

Krueger, Himmler's chief representative in the General-Gouvernement, a S.S. group-leader and chief of the Gestapo Security Section, was the highest Gestapo authority on Polish soil. Under his authority were all the German Police, Gestapo officials and S.S. formations in the territory. Krueger developed an incredibly bestial energy in exercising his functions, which manifested itself in thousands of executions and the incarceration of tens of thousands of Poles behind the barbed wire of concentration camps.

When the list of German Hangmen was prepared by the Tribunal of Vengeance, and Krueger's name appeared at its head, the Directorate of Civilian Resistance condemned him to death.

The sentence was carried out in the

following manner. At 10 o'clock on the night of the 2nd of May, Krueger, after inspecting the city, arrived in his car at the Cracow police headquarters. He was not surprised to find an augmented guard consisting of four Gestapo agents on the steps of the building, since he himself had ordered the alarm that night. It was the eve of the greatest Polish national holiday, the anniversary of the day on which in the year 1901 the Polish nation established the first democratic constitution in Europe. This national holiday, which was observed with such rejoicing in free Poland, has become since the German occupation a day of street fights and mass demonstrations, of massacres and repression.

Suddenly there is deep silence. The German transmission has been interrupted... In a very short time, however, the loud-speakers are heard again, but the music is different: the delighted crowds hear the majestic tones of the "Rota", the Polish *Marseillaise*, sung by an invisible choir. This is followed by a patriotic appeal by the delegate of the Polish Government, invoking the people to resistance and steadfastness. Then came the national anthem:

"Poland is not yet lost  
"As long as we live.  
"That which the alien power has taken from us  
"With might we shall regain..."

Before the German police could disconnect the loud-speakers the broadcast was over.

The crowds remained standing in silent admiration. Someone screamed; someone cried. Then renewed silence. Warsaw had celebrated in a dignified manner the 3rd of May.

Krueger, who had proclaimed that there would be no more 3rd of May celebrations lay dying in a Cracow hospital. He did not keep his promise. But the Directorate of Civilian Resistance kept the promise that it had given to the Polish nation: the judgement was executed. Krueger, doomed to death, was breathing his last in the capital of the General-Gouvernement, at the very moment when the 3rd of May was being celebrated in the capital of Poland by the singing of the Polish national anthem, broadcast by the official German street loud-speakers — for the main cable had been secretly tapped by technicians of the Polish underground radio station.

### The Polish Underground Creates a Regular Army

Immediately after contact had been es-

## General Kazimierz Sosnkowski

General Kazimierz Sosnkowski was born on the 10th November, 1885. A gold medalist of a classic school in Warsaw, he entered the High Technical College (Polytechnic) in Warsaw and afterwards that of Lwow.

From 1905 he was active in Polish patriotic organizations which he had helped to create. They aimed at regaining Poland's independence. In those early days he was associated with Pilsudski and became the head of a military organization which during the last war fought the Powers occupying Poland.

In October 1914, he became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Polish Legions and fought with distinction on various battlefronts.

Having refused an oath of allegiance to the German authorities in 1917 he was deported and imprisoned by the Germans at first in Danzig, later in Wessel an Spandau, and finally in Magdeburg (Prussia).

The collapse of Germany in November 1918 brought Lieut.-General Sosnkowski back to Poland where he became G. O. C. Warsaw district. In the spring of 1920, at a critical moment in Polish history, he became Under-Secretary of State for War and in August of the same year joined the Cabinet as Minister of War and member of the War Council on which all existing political parties were represented. (At that time General Sikorski commanded the 4th and subsequently the 5th Army).

When peace was restored General Sosnkowski was entrusted with the demobilisation and reorganisation of the Polish Forces. He also laid the foundations of the Polish Navy.

In 1921 he negotiated and signed the Franco-Polish Military Convention. In February 1924, he was chosen as head of the Polish delegation to the International Armaments Trade Conference in Geneva, at which 47 nations were represented. As chairman of the Conference he moved the resolution, adopted by the Conference, condemning inter-national warfare. In 1925 he was appointed G.O.C. Poznan Command. Since 1927 he has been Army Inspector. In 1936 General Sosnkowski attended the funeral of King George V as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Polish Government.

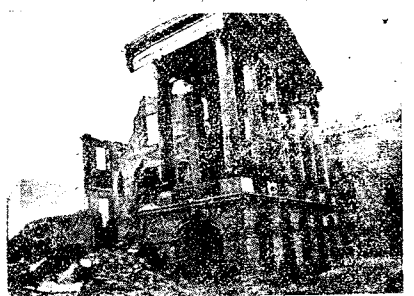
During the campaign of September, 1939, the General achieved considerable success in the initial stages of a counter-offensive in the Lwow-Przemysl sector, when for the first time in this war a whole German Panzer division was wiped out by the Poles.

In October, 1939, he crossed over into Hungary and then joined General Sikorski in France where he became a member of the latter's Government of National Unity.

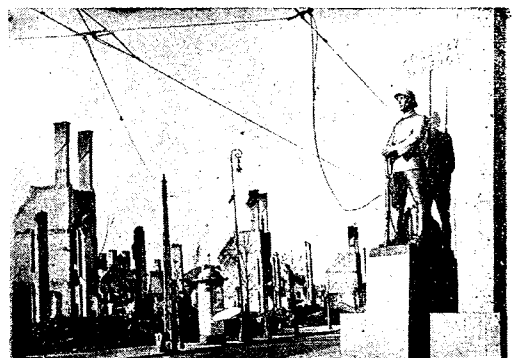
He has many high Polish military and civil decorations and a number of foreign decorations, including the K.B.E. which King George VI conferred upon him in 1940.



Gen. Sosnkowski with officers of the Polish Navy.



The Ministry of Finance, Warsaw.



Destruction of Warsaw by the Germans.

# NG UNDERGROUND

by Jerzy Tępa

established between the Polish Government and the Underground, organisation of the cadres of the Polish army — the so-called "National Army" was begun in accordance with instructions received from the military authorities in London. Composed of normal detachments, the National Army continues military training in preparation for an organised uprising at the moment which will be announced by the supreme command of the Allied Armed Forces.

Reasons of military secrecy do not, of course, permit the publication of the details of the contact between the commanders of the National Army and the authorities in London. That such a contact does, however, exist is proved by the unrelenting efforts made by the German Secret Police to break the perfectly organised lines of communication, maintained by countless silent heroes in the cause of freedom.

The National Army possesses special detachments — known by the initials "S. C.D." — trained in the sabotage of objects of military value. Communiqués from Poland give an indication of the extent of the activities of these formations, particularly in the Central and Eastern provinces. In March last year 424 Germans were killed or wounded, considerable damage and grave disorganisation caused to rail traffic and large quantities of goods destroyed. In Eastern Poland 17 trains were derailed in the course of one month alone — March 1943 — as a result of which 53 railway carriages and 9 locomotives were put out of action. At the same time 60 petroleum, 20 olive-oil and four wood-alcohol tank-cars were set on fire. Taps were removed from installations containing some 800 gallons of petroleum. Similar damage was done to installations containing petrol and gas. A whole train of tank-cars containing petroleum was completely destroyed, and a transport of 36 trucks met with a similar fate.

During the same period operations conducted by one of the formations brought about in the Central Provinces the derailment of trains and dislocation of traffic in 20 places, due to damage caused to the permanent way and telegraph lines. As a result of these operations, seven locomotives and 112 carriages were irretrievably damaged, 53 being burnt out, and considerable loss of life inflicted among the German railway personnel. Altogether in Central Poland, apart from the above-described operations, about a hundred locomotives and 18 military trains bound for the Eastern Front were stopped by explosions and 8 cars carrying military supplies were completely destroyed.

Sabotage has also put out of action for a considerable time seven oil wells and two large foundries.

The General Staff of the National Army makes known to the entire Polish population, through the medium of the press and the radio, the results of operations carried out by the formations under its command. The following is a typical announcement which was published in the issue for March 11th, 1943 of "Rzeczpospolita Polska":

**ORDER OF THE DAY ISSUED BY THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES IN POLAND**  
No. 84 of February 8th 1943.

In the course of direct action by our armed forces against the invader, a few daring operations have been carried out with the object of rescuing Polish soldiers from the hands of the Germans.

These attacks were executed in a variety of places and were mainly directed at prisons and convoys of prisoners. The

ly, it serves as proof of the splendid fighting qualities of our men and of their extraordinary gallantry.

I have pleasure in conferring the following distinctions upon men who took part in this operation:

Two of them are nominated 2nd Lieutenants;

Two are awarded the "Virtuti Militari", 5th Class;

A few who distinguished themselves by outstanding gallantry are awarded the "Cross of Valour";

The remainder are honourably mentioned.

The Commander of the National Army

**The Battles of Krasnobrod and the Warsaw Ghetto**

The following announcements of the

announcement, worded as follows:

1. The Battle of Krasnobrod began already on February 1st;

2. Units of the armed forces took part on the Polish side;

3. On the German side there took part some 2000 excellently equipped men, who used aeroplanes, tanks and anti-tank guns. German losses were about forty.

4. The horrible cruelty of the Germans manifested itself in a village near Luszczyca in which 60 innocent persons were massacred and in the district of Hameria where women were raped in the villages and children and women murdered.

The contents of both announcements afford clear evidence of the fact that the guerrilla fighting took the form of a pitched battle between the National Army

Germans, but 2000 Jews fell in the battle, and a further 3000 corpses were later found in the gutted houses of the Ghetto and among its ruins.

The Polish Underground Movement, well organised and in continual contact with the Polish Government in London, awaits the order for an uprising. It knows that this order will be given at the moment which will be found most suitable by the General Staff of the Allied Armies.

\* \* \*

"Above all it should be considered that the Poles have for their neighbours the most savage and powerful nations of the world and that they are compelled to arrest the pressure from the North (certainly meaning Moscow) which is exercising great pressure towards the centre of Europe.

These differences (between Poland and the German neighbour) apart from the religious and other questions — are purely national differences between Germany and the other nations who all, generally and particularly, especially the Hungarians, Poles, Frenchmen and Italians, hate the Germans and scorn them, considering them as traitors, at the same time, considering them mere stupid than themselves, they do not sufficiently appreciate their strength".

From the report of the English Ambassador to Poland Sir George Carew (1938).

"The deepest crisis of the many that Biddle was called upon to deal with last summer concerned the reorganization of the Polish Cabinet after the death of General Sikorski and the Polish break with Russia. Biddle's treatment of this was characteristic. Statements of the exile and of the leftist London press assailed the new Polish commander in chief, Sosnkowski, as being an extreme rightist identified with the archconservative Polish landowning caste. Biddle, whose acquaintance with the matter was based on long familiarity, took a different view which he set forth in a long and brilliant memorandum. This took up the Polish landowners generally, the past history of Sosnkowski, and his relations with them in particular, and wound up by conclusively proving Biddle's point that the new commander in chief was definitely middle-road rather than antidemocratic in his views. Biddle gets out three or four such documents a week. If he lost his present clients, he could easily round up a syndicate of newspapers to replace them."

U.S. Ambassador to Poland Biddle ("Life" October 4, 1943).



Their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth in the company of the late Gen. Sikorski, on a visit to the Polish Army "Somewhere in Britain".

latest of these operations calls for special mention.

From the interior of the country there set out recently a detachment of soldiers and volunteers. This detachment, overcoming tremendous obstacles, stormed the prison in a gallant assault, killing several Germans, rescuing our soldiers and liberating a number of political prisoners. Our fighters suffered no losses whatever, whether in men or arms. The success of the engagement was due to it having been carefully planned beforehand down to the last detail, and also to the marked courage and exemplary coolness during the attack and after it of those who took part.

The exploit described above is only one of innumerable operations conducted by the National Army as part of its fight against the enemy. Together with other operations successfully completed previous-

Directorate of Civilian Resistance appeared in the issues for March 4th and March 11th 1943 of the "Biuletyn Informacyjny", an underground periodical:

**FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT**

At the beginning of February the Germans organised in the district of Krasnobrod a man-hunt for inhabitants who had gone into hiding to avoid deportation and for Polish guerrilla fighters who concealed themselves in the forests. Fighting between the searchers and these in hiding began on February 12th and lasted until February 12th. The Poles received assistance from an intervention detachment of the National Army, which striking outwards, broke the German cordon and thus opened up a way of escape for the surrounded formations. According to information received, our casualties amounted to more than twenty men.

**SECOND ANNOUNCEMENT**

On the 6th of March the Directorate of Civilian Resistance issued a supplement

and detachments of the German Wehrmacht.

A further example of such fighting is afforded by the famous battle of the Warsaw Ghetto.

In this battle, which lasted from April 18th to the end of May, 6,000 Germans were engaged, supported by tanks and artillery. The Jewish Fighting Organisation, which was assisted by the Polish Underground, afflicted severe losses on the

## General Władysław Anders

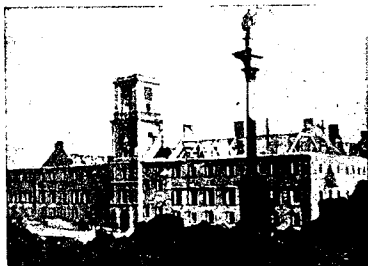
Born 1892. A graduate of Higher Military Academy, Russia; Military Academy, Warsaw; Military Academy, Paris.

Saw service in the first World War. During the fighting for the liberation of Wielkopolska was Chief-of-Staff to Gen. Dowbór-Musnicki. From February 1919 held rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Distinguished himself in the Polish-Russian

War. In the 1939 campaign fought until the end of September, when he was wounded three times. Was taken prisoner by the Russians and released on 4th August 1941 on the signing of the Polish-Soviet Treaty. Was entrusted with the command of the Polish army which was then reorganised in Russia.

On his arrival in Iran was appointed C-in-C. Polish Army in the East.



The Royal Castle — Warsaw — destroyed by the Germans.



A German poster in destroyed Warsaw reads: "England — this is your work!"

## THE BAKER OF BRISTOL

A few years ago, when Kosciuszko came to Bristol on his way to America, great marks of honour were shown him, and many presents made him, both by the municipality and by individuals. Among others, an honest gingerbread-baker thought, as he was going to sea, nothing could be more acceptable to him than a noble plum-cake for the voyage; he made him the very best which could be made, and a valiant one it was. It was as big as he could carry; and on the top, which was as usual covered with a crust of sugar, was written in coloured sugar-plums — "To the gallant Kosciuszko".

With this burden the good man proceeded to the house of the American consul, where Kosciuszko was lodged,

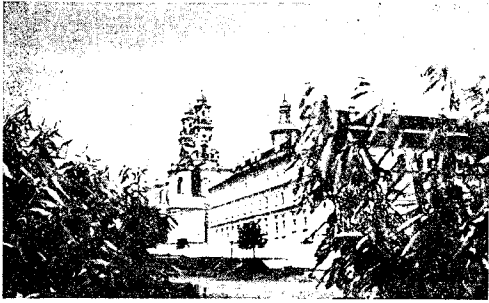
and inquired for the general. He was told that he was lying on the sofa (for his wounds were not at that time healed), and was too much fatigued and too unwell to see anyone. "Oh", said the ginger-bread baker, "he won't be angry at seeing me, I warrant, so show me the way up"; and pushing the servant forward, he followed him up the stairs into the room. When, however, he saw the great man whom he was come to honour lying on a couch with his countenance pale, painful and emaciated, yet full of benevolence, the sight overpowered him; he put down his cake, burst into tears like a child, and ran out of the room without speaking a single word.

Robert Southey, 1802.

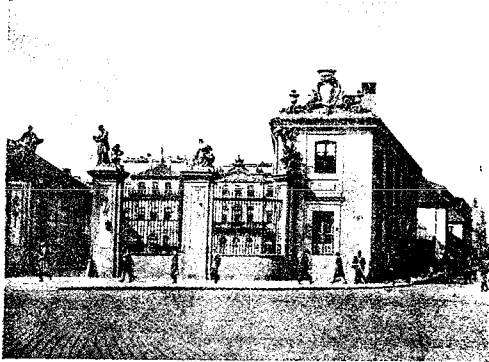


Gen. Anders in conversation with G.O.C. British 9th Army.

# POLAND IN



*A Monastery in Eastern Poland.*



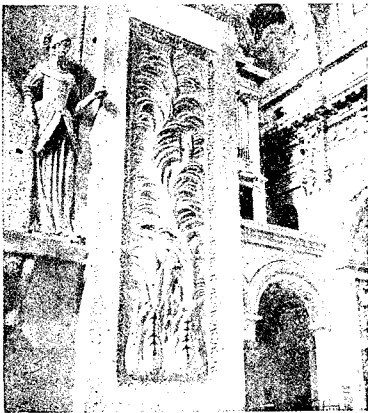
*The Foreign Office in Warsaw.*



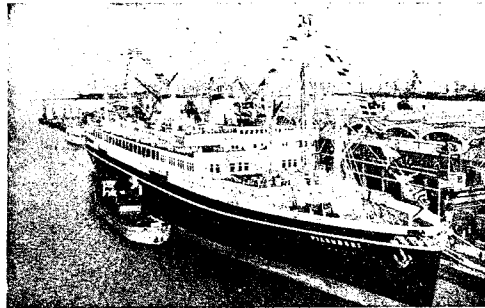
*The Cracow Gate, Lublin.*



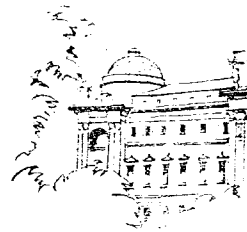
*A fine Specimen of Polish Baroque Architecture.*



*The Interior of the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Wilno.*



*M/S "PILESUDSKI" sunk in a fight with German U-boats in the Atlantic.*



*The King Jan Kazimierz.*



*Blast furnaces in Upper Silesia.*

## WE ARE FIGHTING...

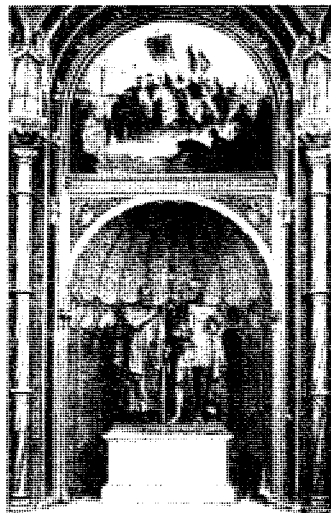




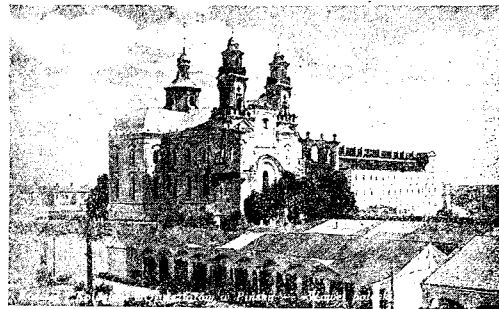
# N PICTURES



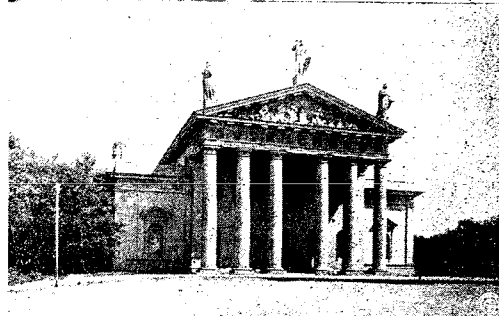
Baroque Architecture — Lawra Poczajowska (Eastern Poland).



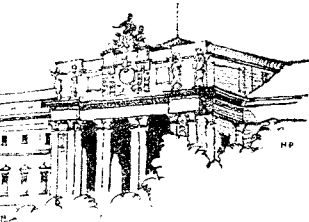
Statues of the first Kings of Poland: Mieszko I and Boleslaw the Great in the Golden Chapel of the Cathedral, Poznan.



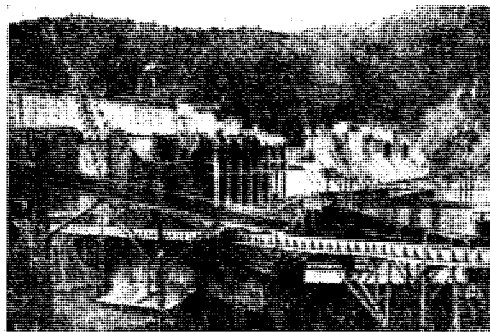
The Jesuit College, Pinsk (Eastern Poland).



The Roman Catholic Cathedral, Wilno.



Kazimierz University, Lwow.



Dam under construction on the River Dunajec at Roznów (Southern Poland).



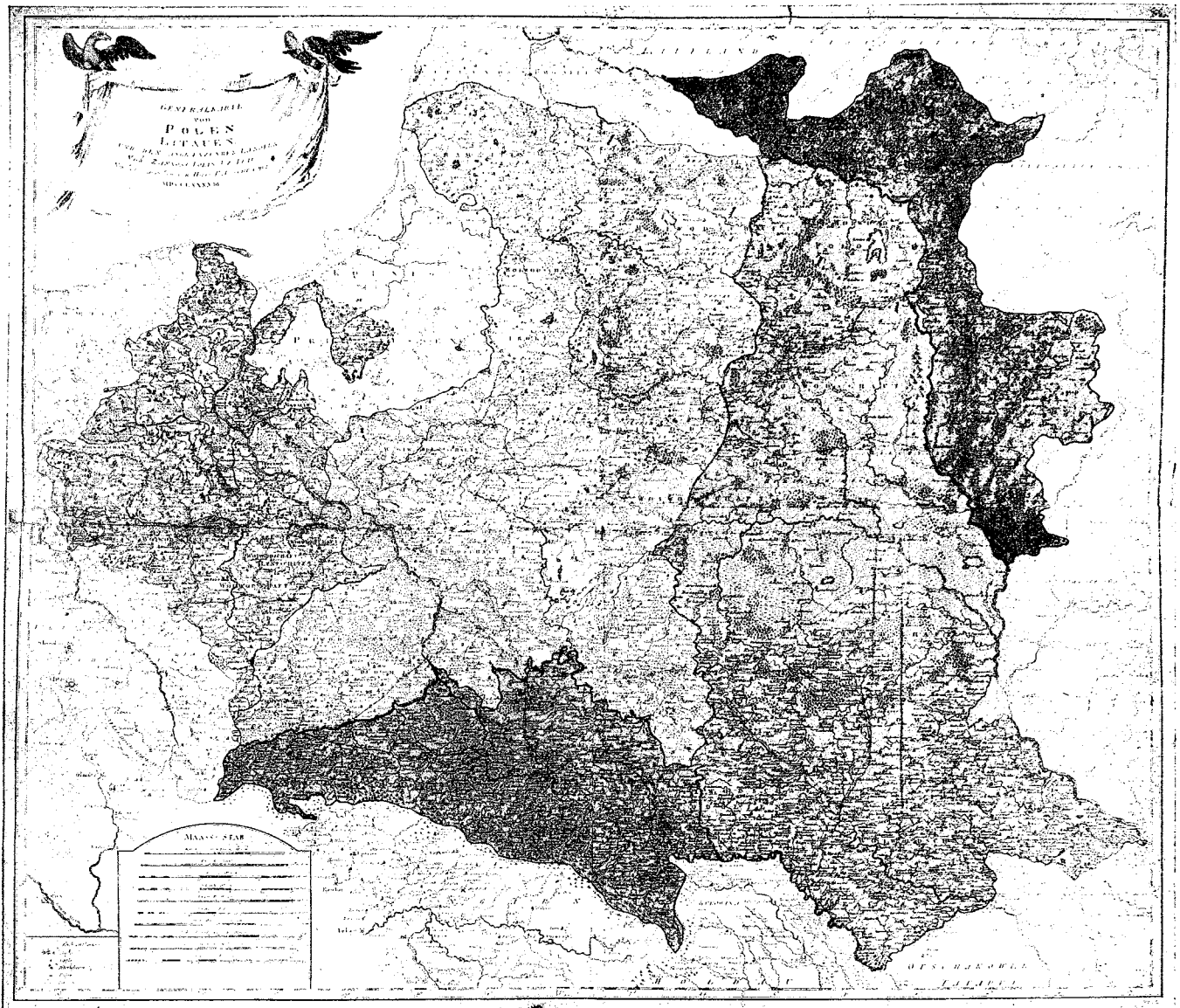
The Polish Eagle in Gdansk (Danzig).



...WE SHALL WIN



Courtyard of the Royal Palace, Cracow.



## MAP AND FRONTIERS

The map given above is a photographic reproduction of an old German map published in 1793. It shows the area of the Republic of Poland at that time or, more accurately, one of the oldest federations of the Polish Crown, together with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The map is entitled: *General-Karte von Polen, Litauen und angrenzenden Ländern nach Zamoni, Folio. Uz. P. J. 1793 & Neuherausgegeben von Herrn F. A. Schraembel. XDCCCLXXXIII.*

Schraembel's map, which is 91x105 cm. in size, was engraved on the scale of about 1:125,000. The original component parts of the Republic are hand-painted in various colours. The old Eastern frontier of the Republic, dating back to 1492, is not marked; anyhow it extended so far eastwards that it could not possibly have come into the framework of the map. The towns of Smolensk, Toropiec, Wielkie Łuki, Czernichow, Hadiacz, Poltava, and others, recently mentioned in war communiques, belonged then to the Republic.

After the Andruszew Treaty in 1667, which was so unfavourable to Poland, Russia (then Moscow) occupied the entire territory of the

Ukraine beyond the Dnieper, which had up to then been Polish, as well as several towns in the North, including Smolensk. Kiev, ceded to Moscow by Poland for a period of two years only, was never restored to her. Poland however, retained Cisdneprian Ukraine, (otherwise known as Right-banked Ukraine) but without Kiev and the Mohilev and Vitbsk regions extending more northwards.

During the period 1667—1772 Poland still held all those territories marked by Schraembel on his map in colours.

In 1772 on the basis of a conspiracy entered into by her with Austria and Prussia, Russia occupied Southern Inflanty with Duenaburg as far as the Dvina River, together with part of White Ruthenia with Vitbsk, Mohilev, Rohaczow, Mscislaw, and other Polish cities — altogether some 110,000 square kilometres. The new frontier for the most part followed the courses of the Dvina and Dnieper rivers. The Russian occupation zone is marked on the map in yellow; in the reproduction it appears as the darkest shade.

Austria occupied the whole of Southern Poland, viz. the regions to the South of the Upper Vistula as far as Sandomierz, south-

wards from the line Sandomierz—Horodlo—Zbaraz and to the east of the Zbrucz river. She thus came into possession of the following important Polish cities: Lvov, Zamosc, Halicz, Tarnopol, Przemysl, Stanislawow, Tarnow. Cracow still remained in Polish possession. Altogether, Austria occupied some eighty thousand square kilometres. This zone, too, is coloured yellow in the map and likewise appears in the reproduction as the darkest shade.

Prussia tore off from Poland part of the Kujawy and Pomerania (also known as Royal or Polish Prussia). In all, the Prussians seized some thirty-five thousand square kilometres. On the map the Prussian-annexed provinces are coloured dark-blue. In the reproduction they come out a lighter shade than the provinces annexed by Austria and Russia.

Polish Dansig ("Gdansk" in Polish — translator's note) and Torun still remained in Polish possession. In the year 1793 a second partition of Polish territory took place. This time Austria did not take part. Russia seized a huge slice of territory, comprising the entire Polish Ukraine to the West of the

Dnieper, almost the whole of Podolia (a part had already been taken by Austria), half of Volhynia, practically all Polish Polesie (including the Pripet Marshes — translator's note) from the Dnieper to Pinsk, and finally a considerable part of White Ruthenia. Of the more important towns the Russians took Druja, Minsk, Borysow, Nieswiez, Sluck, Ostrog, Kamieniec, Zhitomir, Braclaw — in all some two hundred and fifty thousand square kilometres. All these regions are marked in Schraembel's map in green. In the reproduction they appear as medium-grey.

Germany (Prussia) robbed Poland of her western regions such as: Greater Poland (Wielkopolska proper), the remnants of Kujawy and part of Mazowsze (central region incorporating Warsaw — translator's note) with the following larger cities: Poznan, Kalisz, Sieradz, Leczyca, Plock, Rawa, Wloclawek. She also occupied Torun and Dansig (the latter city put up a desperate resistance to the occupying troops) Prussia thus seized in all some sixty thousand square kilometres. These areas are coloured on the map a light-blue shade, and in the reproduction come out slightly lighter than the shade of the first Prussian partition.

A part of Poland covering some two hundred and fifty square kilometres escaped annexation at that time, but it was no longer a wholly sovereign state, for in the capital, Warsaw, a Russian garrison was stationed.

In 1795 the final (third) and this time complete partition of the Polish Republic took place. Its neighbours divided among themselves the remaining territory coloured pink in Schraembel's map, and appearing in the photographic reproduction as a very light-grey shade. Russia annexed about 112,000 square kilometres, Austria about 46,000 and Prussia about 55,000 square kilometres.

The Poland that was rebuilt within the frontiers laid down by the Treaties of Versailles and Riga covered an area comprising less than half of her territory before the partitions. In particular her Eastern frontier was fixed almost exactly along the line of the second Russian annexation of 1793. This far-reaching compromise after a victorious war had as its aim the creation of foundations for lasting good-neighbourly relations between Poland and her Eastern neighbour.

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# FROM THE BORING WORLD OF FIGURES

by Michał Ciołek

Although, after one hundred and twenty-three years of enslavement, the Polish state was re-established on only half the territory which it held before the partitions. The area of the Republic to-day is some 389,700 square kilometres. Poland is thus one of the largest countries of Europe, ranking in size only after Russia, Germany, France, Spain and Sweden.

Poland's population was on the 1st of January 1939 35 millions. Consequently in number of inhabitants she also held the sixth place among the European states. Thanks to her high birthrate, which — despite a decrease in recent years — added 400,000 to her citizens annually, the population of Poland was rapidly approaching the level of France, Italy and Great Britain.

We thus see that neither from the point of view of size of territory nor of population can there be any justification for the classification of Poland as a "small" country with "limited interests". We may add that the role taken by her in history and the part that she is so obviously bound to play in the future both put her outside the group of "small nations".

As regards the density of her population, Poland with 90 persons per square kilometre is well above the European average of 47. Compare this figure with 193 in Great Britain, 135 in Germany and 76 in France, and it will be seen that Poland's density is typical of industrial rather than of agricultural countries.

Thanks to a higher proportion of births and more difficult living conditions, the population of Poland is on the average younger than those of the countries of Western Europe. Children up to the age of 14 years form in our country one third of the population, while in the U. K., France, Germany and Belgium the proportion is under a quarter. On the other hand the census of 1931 showed only 14.8% persons above the age of fifty, while in Great Britain the figure for that category at that time was 22.6%, in Belgium 22.8%, Germany 21.8% and France 25.4% (this notwithstanding the fact that the French mortality rate of 15.4 per 1000 inhabitants was slightly higher than the Polish rate of 13.8 per 1000 inhabitants). Poland has thus to bear greater expenses in connection with the upbringing of children than the countries of Western Europe; but, on the other hand, if it had not been for the War, her future would have been better secured.

Following is the classification of the population according to language: 68.9% spoke Polish as their mother tongue, 13.9% Ukrainian (Ruthenian), 3.1% White Ruthenian, 2.3% German, 8.6% Yiddish or Hebrew, 0.4% Russian, and 2.8% a variety of other languages. By religion 64.8% were Roman Catholics, 10.4% Uniate Catholics, 11.8% Greek Orthodox, 9.8% Jewish, 2.6% Protestants and 0.5% members of other Christian sects.

## AGRICULTURE

Almost half of Poland's area (49%) is arable land. In the whole world only Denmark and Hungary have a higher proportion of arable land. Pastures and meadows account for 17% of the area, orchards and market gardens 1.5%. Forests account for 22%. The afforestation of the country is thus only moderate, and in the event of intense industrialisation in the future there will be no surplus of timber, particularly in view of the destruction that has been wrought by the occupying power.

The total number of individual agricultural holdings is some 3.2 millions.

The typical Polish farmer is not a tenant but a peasant owning his farm and closely attached to the soil. It is true that a large number of these holdings, possibly more than half, are far too small and that many are indeed so small that they barely support the farmer and his family — the obvious effect of the rural over-population. In a few districts only this situation can be ascribed to the fact that the larger estates have still been left in the hands of the big landed proprietors. By 1939 the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Act of 1925 had been put into effect in three quarters of these estates, and during the short period of independence 2,654,800 hectares were thus divided up among the peasantry.

Of the area sown with field crops in recent years, 63% was under cereals. Half of this quantity was rye, of which Poland was the third largest grower in the world (the first being the U.S.S.R. and the second Germany). Rye bread, in fact, predominated over wheat bread not only in the country districts but also in the towns. Of the other cereals wheat, oats and barley were of considerable importance. Rye and barley — both the malting and stock-feeding varieties of the latter — were permanent items in Polish exports.

Of non-cereal crops, potatoes accounted for the largest area, with fodder crops and sugar-beet coming next. The yield of potatoes during the years 1931—1938 averaged 35 millions tons, i. e. about 17% of the total world production making Poland, as in the case of rye, the world's third largest producer of this important crop. Put differently, the production of potatoes was 1000 kilograms per head of population, a figure that constitutes, it would seem, a world record.

Of special crops, worthy of mention are flax (the fibre of which, especially that of the flax grown in the Wilno region, was an important article of export), clover-seeds, peas and beans. The local production of tobacco meets practically the entire home requirements.

Stock-breeding was of considerable and growing importance. The number of horses in the country (3.9 millions in 1938) was the largest in Europe, after Russia. Horned cattle increased from 9.4 million head in 1930 to 10.6 million in 1938, giving Poland fourth place in Europe, after the U.S.S.R., Germany and France, but before Great Britain. The number of swine increased during the same period from 6 million to 7½ millions, putting Poland third among European countries, with a tendency to increase still further. Live swine were until 1930 an important item of export to Czechoslovakia and Austria, and when as a result of the economic depression that set in in that year these markets became closed to the Polish exporter, the export of bacon to the British market was begun. The change is illustrated by the following figures: the number of live swine in the country, which was 1379 thousand in 1928, fell in 1932 to 103 thousand, while in the same period the export of bacon rose from one thousand tons to 54 thousand. When in this sphere too import restrictions were introduced, the production was partly shifted over to tinned hams which found a market in the United States. Other important articles of export were eggs and butter.

## MINING

Poland's greatest mineral wealth is coal. The main coalfields are in Silesia and the Dabrowa Basin. In the first half of 1939 the monthly average of coal production exceeded 4 million tons,

a figure which gave grounds for a estimated production of some 50 million tons for the whole year. Compared with the production of other European countries Poland's coal output was thus equal to the French production and only less than that of Britain, Germany and U.S.S.R. The average daily output per miner rose from 0.69 tons in 1924 to 1.82 tons in 1936-38, on the basis of an average working week of 46 hours. The number of working hours was reduced once more in 1938, without any adverse effect on output.

The Carpathian oilfields are among the first to have been discovered. The yield of crude oil reached the figure of 2 million tons in 1928 but has fallen considerably since owing to the exhaustion of the main field at Boryslaw. In the years immediately preceding the War the annual yield became stabilised at a level of slightly over half a million tons, which very soon ceased to meet even the home demand, greatly increased in recent years.

Poland possesses no rich iron ores and is consequently obliged to mix her low-grade ores with richer ones imported from abroad. Iron smelting is carried on principally in the vicinity of the coalfields in the south-west. The total iron production in 1938 was 879 thousand tons of steel. In 1939, owing to the addition of a huge modern foundry at Trzyniec and the construction of steel works at Stalowa Wola, the entire production of the previous year was almost reached in the course of the first eight months. Iron goods formed part of the country's exports.

## INDUSTRY

Compared with the countries of Western Europe, Poland is not highly industrialised, and the figures of our output of manufactured goods are rather modest. The reason for this lies not in the absence of raw materials, nor in the lack of labour or enterprise, but in the deliberate neglect of the country's potentialities by its former rulers (Russia, Prussia and Austria) coupled with the acute shortage of capital from which the country suffered, due to the paucity of local resources and the insignificant influx from abroad. This latter fact need cause us no surprise, for American, French, British and Dutch bankers preferred to do business with old-established German concerns rather than to finance new and little-known enterprises in a country of doubtful political stability and exposed frontiers.

If, however, taking these difficulties into consideration, we examine the results achieved, we see that we have nothing to be ashamed of. For, despite the aforementioned lack of capital and the burden of armaments, the rate of our industrial development, if we except the years of the world crisis (1930—35) was eminently satisfactory. The percentage of the country's population gaining their livelihood from non-agricultural pursuits rose from 36.1 per cent. in 1921 to 39.1 per cent. in 1931 and undoubtedly reached over 40 per cent. in 1939. These figures can be viewed in their proper perspective only when the high birthrate in the country districts and the almost total absence of emigration are taken into consideration.

The most important of the country's industries is the metallurgical industry. In its larger and medium establishments alone the industry employed in 1938 161,000 hands. Next in order of importance are the textile industry with 154,000 hands, mining with 68,000, industries preparing articles of food — 62,000, wood-working — 53,000 and chemicals 48,000. It should be noted that these figures do not include workers engaged in small-size enterprises, and those employed in workshops and home industries.

The production of local industry was not, of course, able to meet the entire local demand and for this reason the import of manufactured goods was more than twice the volume of exports of this class of goods.

## TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS

In 1931 3.1 million persons gained their livelihood from trade and transport, i. e. 9.7% of the entire population

at that time. Foreign trade developed not without difficulties due to a century's stoppage of external trade. An acute lack of knowledge of markets was felt; there were few, if any, connections in existence, no trained agents, technical installations or capital. In addition, Russia — the market best known to our merchants — cut itself off with a wall of isolationism, while Germany attempted in the first years to make Poland wholly dependent on her economically. Failing in this, she launched a customs war which lasted 10 years (1924—1934), a war that was intended to break us. It was indeed a difficult test for the new state. But its results were favourable: during that customs war Poland established trade relations with many countries, developed others already in existence, gained access to the outside world by building the port of Gdynia, and as the result of all this became dependent on Germany to a far less extent than, for example, the Balkan states. It goes without saying that such a change-over did not come about all at once. Germany's share together with Austria in Polish exports fell from 41.6 per cent. in 1929 to 20.0 per cent. in 1936, and her share in our imports from 33.2 per cent. to 18.7 per cent. It is true however that in 1938 it rose again a little to reach the figures of 24.1 per cent. for exports and 24.3 per cent. for imports; but it remained at a level which no longer threatened the economic independence of the country. On the other hand Britain's share in Polish imports between 1929 and 1938 rose from 8.5 per cent. to 11.4 per cent. and her share in our exports from 10.2 to 18.1 per cent. The share of the United States in the same period decreased slightly insofar as imports to Poland were concerned: from 12.3 to 12.2 per cent., but on the other hand exports rose from 1.1 per cent. to 5.3 per cent. The share of the Scandinavian countries, Argentina, Italy (exports), Turkey and Egypt showed marked increases.

The Treaty of Versailles deprived Poland of the mouths of all rivers flowing through her territory, as a result of which the access to the sea given her in the form of a narrow strip of coast was highly unsatisfactory. Although we were granted the right to use the port of Gdansk (Danzig), the regime established there under the auspices of the League of Nations was the cause of constant friction and did not ensure to us real freedom of action. This situation forced us to build a port of our own, which accordingly sprang up near the fishing village of Gdynia. In 1928 Gdynia attained its million of net registered tons. In 1938 the tonnage entering the port rose to 6.5 millions giving it the first place in the Baltic. Where there was once an insignificant fishing village, had now sprung up a modern city of 130,000 inhabitants. At the same time Danzig not only did not collapse but, based as it was on the Polish hinterland, increased its tonnage from 0.9 millions at the end of 1913 to 4.8 millions in 1938. In the same year 77.7 per cent. of the volume of Poland's foreign trade in weight and 62.2 per cent. in value, were carried by sea.

The Polish Merchant Marine, like the Polish Fleet, was then still in its infancy. Nevertheless the achievements of the Polish Merchant Marine and the Polish Fleet in the present war testify to the soundness of the foundations laid.

## EDUCATION

Poland inherited from her former occupying powers grave neglect in the

sphere of education. This was particularly marked in the territory formerly under Russian rule. The census in 1921 revealed as many as 64.7 per cent. illiterates among inhabitants over the age of ten. The need to improve this lamentable state of affairs was one of the greatest concerns of all Polish Governments. In addition, with considerable efforts made by the local self-governments, some 15 per cent. of the budgetary expenditures was devoted to educational purposes, as against less than 7 per cent. in Great Britain and France, less than 8 per cent. in Italy and under 10 per cent. in Belgium. The average number of illiterates over the age of 10 decreased from 33.1 per cent. in 1921 to 23.1 per cent. in 1931 and in the subsequent years declined still further. In 1938/39 there were 28,881 elementary schools with 4,953,000 pupils and 2372 colleges, professional and trade schools and special schools with 457,000 pupils; 28 institutions of higher education including 6 universities and 2 polytechnics with a total of 50,000 students, 461 elementary schools, 24 colleges and 21 secondary schools used Ukrainian as the language of tuition, 394 elementary schools, 15 colleges and 13 secondary schools used German and 3064 elementary schools, 1 college and 2 secondary schools were bi-lingual using both Polish and Ukrainian. 65,200 pupils attended Ukrainian language schools in 1937/38 and 474,600 pupils attended the Polish-Ukrainian elementary and secondary schools. Education was based principally on state and local-government schools, with private schools playing only a complementary part. Attendance at elementary schools was compulsory and free.

## SOCIAL POLICY

Polish social legislation was among the most advanced in the world. Although wages were not so high, owing to the huge labour supply and low cost of living, as in the countries of Western Europe or America, real wages rose consistently even during the crisis and in the larger industries gave the workers, on the whole, a decent standard of living. The average weekly wage for 46 working hours was 35.88 zlotys. (about £1.80d) but in the Silesian heavy industries the average was higher, namely £2.100d and skilled workers earned even more. All employees were entitled to paid annual leave. The membership of Trade Unions was nearly one million in 7383 branches. The Unions took an active part in controlling the conditions of work; these were laid down in collective agreements which also defined the rights of the Unions. In addition inspection of labour was general throughout the country and state labour exchanges were in existence.

Social insurance covered in 1938:

insurance against illness	2,254,000 persons,
ditto against accidents at work	2,273,000 persons,
provident insurance of	
manual workers	2,064,000 persons,
ditto of clerical workers	340,000 persons,
insurance against unemployment of	
manual workers	1,191,000 persons,
ditto of clerical workers	340,000 persons.

At the end of 1937 252,000 persons were in receipt of old-age pensions, 88,000 received disablement allowances as the result of accidents at work and 79,000 unemployment relief.

Insurance against sickness and accidents at work embraced not only industrial, commercial, transport and other workers, but also farm labourers.



Polish Manchester — Łódź.



The biggest Baltic port — Gdynia, built by the Poles.

# P O L E S A P A R T

by Patrick Sinclair

"Pass the chutney" said the English brigadier. I watched him eat his curry with a spoon. A spooner, I thought. Poona, I bet, I was right. The conversation ran on the usual lines. I liked it. Although in a far corner of the Middle East I was home again, travelling in the comfortable first-class compartment of Army conversation from Sandhurst to Woolwich, from Pirbright to—Poona.

"So you've come to visit the Poles," said the Brigadier at length. "Tell me, what are they like? I always thought, when I did think of Poles, of Polish Jews with large noses and long beards. I suppose they are just like the Russians." He helped himself to a regulation portion of spotted dog. The temperature was something over the century. "That," remarked an R.A.M.C. colonel, eyeing the duff, "will keep your feet on the floor."

Undeterred by the innuendo the Brigadier gallantly took off again into the rarified atmosphere of non-military conversation.

"Although those on the Western front are, I imagine, more like the Germans." He concentrated on a particularly glutinous portion of duff for a moment and then passed the ball to me. "Tell me," he said, "have the Poles any national characteristics of their own." I munched ruminatively at an imaginary piece of pudding to give myself time to think. Was it any more use trying to explain the Poles to the Brigadier than it would be trying to explain the Brigadier to the Poles?

Where they regard soldiering as a serious, almost a religio-patriotic vocation, he regarded it as an opportunity for sport, training for battles and wars being merely unpleasant interruptions in the sporting calendar. Would they understand that his prowess at games was the secret of his leadership and that on two occasions he had earned decorations of the "hunting horn" variety with, to coin a phrase, utter disregard for his own safety, and a considerable effect on the course of battle?

And I remembered the time, not so long ago, when I too thought of Poles as having hook noses and long beards. I admitted this, thereby putting myself on his side, and explained how even in a small area like Great Britain not only were national characteristics jealously preserved, despite the absence for hundreds of years of wars or deliberate attempts at absorption, but how within the confines of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England we find divergent speech, thought and ideas.

"How right you are," said the Brigadier, "I remember in Wales being astonished at a Breton *omion* seller making himself understood in his own language while I had no idea what the locals were talking about, and on an

other occasion acting as interpreter in a conversation between a Kerryman and a Yorkshire tyke.

"Poland is the same," I told him. "In a pre-war area about the size of Great Britain one saw varying types, but just as the Usterman and the Coraishman, although different, are more British than anything else, so are the inhabitants of Poznan and the Pripet marshes distinctly Polish."

We agreed that, as in the case of most of Britain's Allies, history for the Poles means recent history. Where we, the British, have not really been affected by wars, other than in gradual social changes for hundreds of years, European wars have left recent scars on the minds of the inhabitants. Territories have changed hands, whole areas have been laid waste, towns razed to the ground and near relatives killed, raped or starved.

"All the difference" said the Brigadier, "between going out on safari and having a tiger walk into your bedroom" I thanked him for the apt illustration and added quickly: "I always remember when talking to a P... that I am talking to a man who has had a tiger walk into his bedroom."

"Yes" said the Brigadier, with a far-away look in his eyes, "I saw a woman mauled once trying to save her children."

We turned to lighter things. The prowess of the Polish cavalry, a memorable game of water polo at Cracow University, the hundred-year old wines at Fukier's famous restaurant in Warsaw.

"Have a Kummel" said the Brigadier, taking the hint. I told him of the great estates in Poland, of hunting the wild boar, of duck-shooting, of the gay parties in Warsaw, the poverty and simplicity of the peasants.

Over our second liqueur we discoursed on the art and literature of Poland, of Matejko, of Szymanowski, of religion.

We were joined by an officer who had done liaison duties with the Poles in the Western Desert and who told us of their gallant actions at Tobruk and Gazala. And, surprisingly, how much we had learned from the Poles about tank and armoured-car tactics and street fighting.

I chipped in with a story of a great friend of mine, a Polish diplomat, tall, handsome and dashing, who, although he had earned a *Virtuti Militari* during the last war at the age of eighteen, felt that he couldn't take his place with the Poles in the M.E. until he had gone into battle again. "You're a fool!" I told him, "to go, to neglect your important work in Cairo. Anyone can go and get shot in the bottom." Undeterred, he did go. And was shot in the bottom. He is now doing liaison duty with a parachute unit despite his limp.

We were left alone, the Brigadier and I. The others had gone to play tennis or sleep. He walked across to the piano in the corner of the Mess and to my astonishment played the well-known Polonaise, "Odd," he said, "I never realised Chopin had anything to do with Poland!"

Extraordinary people, we British!

Warsaw



Scene in the Old City — prior to the capital's destruction.

## The Poles in Libya and the Mediterranean

by Jan Bielatowicz

We Poles derive considerable satisfaction from British and American soldiers' knowledge of the battle exploits of our Navy, Great Britain and the United States—the greatest naval powers in the world—were pleased to welcome to the family of sea-faring nations the small but powerful Polish fleet. Souvenirs of the Polish submarine *O.R.P. "Orzel"* ("Eagle") have been deposited in the British Museum, and one seldom comes across an Allied soldier who has not seen men-o'-war flying the white-and-red ensign.

In the Mediterranean basin, too, our fleet has given a good account of itself in several actions. Recently *O.R.P. (Ship of the Polish Republic) "Piorun"* ("Thunder") together with H.M.S. destroyers *"Havardholt"*, *"Tryan"* and *"Grewille"* bombarded the rear of Rommel's position in the Bay of Gaeta, and it is at present taking an active part in operations off the shores of Italy. It was this *"Thunder"* of ours which first sighted in the Atlantic the fleeing *"Bismarck"*.

There are also two Polish submarines, the *O.R.P. "Sokol"* ("Falcon") and *O.R.P. "Dzik"* ("Boar"). The latter has sunk a total of 42,000 tons of enemy shipping in the North Sea and the Mediterranean. She protected the invasion armada at the time of the Sicilian landing, and during the evacuation of Corsica sent to the bottom two German ships laden with troops and equipment. *O.R.P. "Sokol"* was responsible for the sinking of 32,000 tons of enemy shipping, including four German E-boats.

The activity of Polish vessels in the Mediterranean does not date back only to the Allied invasion of the "Fortress of Europe".

Our destroyer *O.R.P. "Kujawsk"* was sunk in the defence of Malta, having previously shot down seven enemy dive-bombers. Polish men-o'-war and transports took part in the gigantic invasion of North Africa. *O.R.P. "Orkan"* ("Hurricane") has taken part in many a battle and the honour she had of being one of the two ships to escort H.M. King George VI during his visit to Africa and Malta

is a token of the esteem in which she is held by our Ally.

During the Libyan campaigns, *O.R.P. "Garland"*, handed over to us by the Royal Navy, was assigned the task of escorting convoys. The same ship later fought a magnificent battle in the defence of a Muriansk-bound convoy. Allied troops and supplies for the beleaguered garrison of Tobruk were carried by the Polish ship *O.R.P. "Warszawa"* until she was torpedoed off the African coast, and went down with part of her crew.

The *O.R.P. "Warszawa"* and the *"Garland"* transported to the Middle East the men who after the bloody Polish-German campaign trekked across Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey to form the Polish army. Prior to the Polish-Russian treaty and the subsequent formation of a considerable Polish Army in the East under the command of *Gen. Wladyslaw Anders*, who was, incidentally, wounded three times during the fighting in Poland) the Carpathian Brigade was in the Middle East and took part in the fighting there. Its soldiers are veterans of the British 8th Army and have long shared the good and bad times of this, the best army in the world. Many of you will surely remember the Polish soldiers, with eagles on their caps, whom you saw in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. We emptied many a beer-bottle together in Alexandria, but together we also dug through half Libya, and breathed the second half into our lungs.

The Carpathian Brigade was formed in Syria, but after the capitulation of that country, the Brigade's Commanding Officer, *Gen. Stanislaw Kopanski* (today Chief of Staff of the entire Polish Army) threatened the Vichysais with force, and after taking a considerable quantity of equipment and arms, crossed into Palestine with his unit.

This had been the Poles' greatest dream: to fight alongside the British. The British-Polish brotherhood-in-arms is our constant pride and an important historical link. The soldiers of a nation which during a century and a half were under the yoke of the three greatest continental powers have learned a lot from the British. When you look

at us, remember that in many ways we are younger than you, and that for hundreds of years we suffered a cruel fate. This accounts for our excitability.

We were particularly happy when the Carpathian Brigade in Egypt came under the command of General (now Field Marshal) *Sir Archibald Wavell*, for that gallant soldier is tremendously popular with Poles. At the time, we had various duties to perform in Egypt. We met Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans in numberless camps — and, of course, at the NAAFI, — in the vicinity of Cairo, Alexandria, Sidi Bishr, Anriya, Burg el Arab, El Daba, Sidi Haneish, Sidi Hamza, Mersa Matruh, Charing Cross, Sollum, Capuzzo and Bardia. Those were good times as far as friendship was concerned, but difficult from the point of view of the war situation. Together, with a smile we overcame our bad luck. During the Greek campaign our units embarked for Greece, but did not reach that country.

The Carpathian Brigade turned up in the beleaguered fortress of Tobruk in August 1941 and remained on the Libyan front until March 1942. While in Tobruk it held for three months the worst sector, known as the *Medunar* salient. Our patrols captured prisoners and fought many skirmishes. Tobruk cemetery is the resting-place of some 200 Polish dead. Tobruk gave us an opportunity to test our knowledge and fighting qualities. Close friendship linked the Polish Brigade with the *Australian Division*. We still exchange greetings with the Australians, now engaged in the New Guinea fighting Formations of the *Royal Horse Artillery*,

which fought Polish units at Leipzig when the latter formed a rearguard protecting Napoleon's withdrawal, were for some time in Tobruk under Polish command. Our artillery provided the barrage and support for the South Africans in their assault on Bardia.

Our anti-tank artillery fought at *Sidi Rezek*, destroying several German tanks and suffering itself casualties in men. It was a source of great satisfaction for the Poles to fire *"Barys"* anti-tank guns, which Great Britain used to buy at one time from Polish factories. In the Libyan desert we also came across *"Starachol"* anti-aircraft guns—also of Polish production.

The greatest success of the Poles in the Libyan campaign was the attack at Gazala, when in a two-day battle the Carpathian Brigade broke through the Axis front, taking prisoner several thousand Germans and Italians. Thereafter the Brigade occupied Cyrenaica, fought rearguard actions protecting the Eighth Army during its retreat from *Mechili*, and with other units held the *Gazala* line. When, eventually, Polish forces began streaming in from Russia, the Carpathian Brigade was withdrawn to Palestine, and from there to Iraq, where the great Polish Army has sprung up.

It is with joy that we are awaiting the day when we shall again be at your side. We are proud of the fact that many of us are veterans of the Eighth Army. We know your fighting qualities and we believe that God will bless our joint march to victory. One day perhaps your feet will stand on Polish soil. We are certain that you will not regret it.



Wilno: The "Sharp Gate" Church.