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THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND THE ITALIAN NATION

A MAN IN WHOM THE VERY sound of the word Rome does not awaken a feeling of humility and devotion cannot be a Catholic. Nor can he be a Catholic who does not revere or recognize the Vicar of Christ on Earth in the person of the bishop of Rome.

The primacy of the Pope and the dogma of his infallibility are literally the stone on which the Church stands. Without this stone it would collapse, it would collapse if it were built on the shifting sands of changing exegeses and commentaries.

The fact that this power was obtained by Peter, the fisherman, that weak man who thrice denied His Master, shows even more clearly the supernatural source of his authority. It shows that from the very beginning the guarantee of the papal authority lay in something infinitely more deep and sacred than human minds, always fallible, or human courage, always frail and always subject to temptation.

The Church, therefore, will always be Roman, in the sense that the Bishop of Rome and successor to St. Peter will remain its Head and the guardian of the infallible Catholic orthodoxy "for all days until the end of the world." Whoever sits on Peter's seat, his decisions concerning faith and morals, proclaimed in the form of a dogma, will be accepted as final by every Catholic: "Blessed art thou, Simon, son of John; indeed, flesh and blood have not revealed to thee but the Father who is in Heaven."

Being Roman, the Church is also universal. In other words, it is not linked with any race, any nation or any particular civilization, but it enlightens them all with its own truth and raises them all to a higher level of progress. Metaphorically, we may say that the Church is not a separate plant among other plants on earth, but that it is a ray of the sun which falls on all plants so that every one may grow fully and according to its own nature.

The mistake of Charles Maurras, condemned by Pius XI, consisted in its deepest essence in that he treated the Church only as the historical product and expression of one civilization—the Latin one. The Church comprises races belonging to every civilization, but it is not identified with any one, nor does it impose any; and who today can guess in what part of the globe, amidst what people and what traditions and culture Catholic religious life may blossom forth most lavishly and most beautifully in a couple of thousand years? The fact that in the historical order peoples of Latin and Mediterranean culture were first to come under the influence of the Church could at most only partly affect its character during a certain period of its history. But this fact could not and did not affect its universal character, which is the very essence of Catholicism, and which had been proclaimed and determined from the first by the injunction "to teach all nations."

The particular role which for several centuries the Italian nation has played in the life of the Church, a role consisting in the fact that the Popes, the majority of the College of Cardinals and almost all the members of the Vatican diplomacy are Italians, is only a de facto state, the result of historical conditions, and not a canon which cannot be altered. In the days of mediaeval universalism, the tiara often fell to the lot of non-Italians, in spite of all the communication difficulties, and in ancient times also the sons of Italy were not the only ones to be promoted to Peter's seat.

That in modern times the Italian nation achieved such enormous and exclusive influence and for some 400 years all the Popes have been Italians is to be attributed only to a coincidence of peculiar conditions.

Indeed, in its teaching activity the Catholic Church can never disappear from public life. It is and it was a

party in international law, it concludes concordats and other treaties, it takes various diplomatic steps and it affects the course of history as an international power. Today, when the co-operation of nations is a long story of cynicism and brute force, when all legal principles have been trampled upon, and the world is thrown into complete ethical anarchy, the Church's task of maintaining ethical standards of political life has not shrunk but rather grown. As in the course of long centuries, it is still playing the acknowledged role of a powerful international agent, whose moral authority is

to be felt continually both in the internal life of every state and in its foreign dealings.

Nay, there is a natural tendency to create for the operations of an international institution such a guarantee of independence as will best safeguard them against being used by one strong power against another. For this reason — *si magna parvis licet comparare* — the international organizations such as the Red Cross and so forth have their seat in neutral Switzerland, and the League of Nations too had its seat in Geneva. For this reason also Nobel's Peace Prize is

awarded by the Norwegians, because it was thought that this nation, which is not large, and has no active foreign policy, offered the best guarantees that these awards would not be made to suit its own purposes.

From the beginning of the modern era, the Italian nation had no foreign policy of its own. Italy was divided into endless miniature states and she was for several centuries "a geographic and not a political term," to use the words of Metternich. In Europe, disrupted by the competition of the great Powers, the Italians did not put forth any national

ambitions, and they looked for fame and for an outlet for their national genius in non-political fields.

It was, therefore, natural that when the Catholic Powers were at variance and the Catholic dynasties — the Bourbon, Hapsburg, Jagiellon, etc., had various aims, all of them agreed that the Vatican would best be Italian, because in these conditions that was the best guarantee of impartiality. There were no objections to the growing Vatican diplomacy being recruited from Italians, because by the very nature of things the Italians were free from the temptation to use the Vatican for the ends of non-existent Italian policy. An Italian Vatican gave the Italians endless opportunities for the spreading of their cultural and spiritual influence, but these conquests did not touch upon politics, and, therefore, no political objections were raised. It may even be said that by abandoning every desire to play power-politics, the Italian nation succeeded in achieving a leadership in religious and artistic life and thus found a rich reward for its political moderation.

This position, however, began to change after the middle of the nineteenth century. It changed not only because the papal states disappeared after many centuries of existence, but mainly because the Italian nation at last united and began to entertain the ambitions of a great power. Since then, the long-endured Italian neutrality, which gave the Italians such an exceptional standing in the Church, came to an end and the age-long privilege of the Italian was no longer founded on anything tangible.

The conflict between the Vatican and the Quirinal during the period which followed the Risorgimento partly veiled the sharpness of the change which had occurred. This was more apparent than real; indeed, who could claim that all these Cardinals and Nuncios and the numerous personnel of the Nuncio's offices and of the Vatican administration could be completely impervious to the feeling of the nation to which they belonged?

The Lateran Pact of 1929 made the position clear. The ambitions of Fascism and its nervousness in aiming at the quickest possible successes and its ideology of force, which made it prompt to exert political pressure, have shown only more clearly the vastness of this change, and the present war has made it even clearer. It is a historical necessity to draw the proper conclusions from this complete change of conditions.

Of course, no one can or should desire to deprive the Italians of the share of influence in Church affairs which is due to them. The nation of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Anthony of Padua, St. Pius V and St. Charles Borromeo, the nation of Dante and Giotto, which is so pious, so large and so deeply and traditionally Catholic, must always have a great influence in the life of the universal Church. But a situation in which the Pope is always chosen from amongst Italians, in which, moreover, the Italians form the majority of the College of Cardinals and almost the whole Vatican diplomacy is Italian from top to bottom, is now an anachronism and cannot be maintained for long.

It will certainly be in harmony with the very structure of the Church (and this will not require any changes in the Church's legal structure), if its universality, which is its very essence, be also seen more clearly in the central authorities of the Church. And at the same time the Italian nation will be saved from temptation, a very dangerous temptation to its spiritual balance, a temptation which has often led nations on wayward paths, and forced the Holy See to a policy of unbending self-defence. The Italians will not be tempted to abuse the authority of the Church for their own political ends, nor to see in what is holy, eternal and universal, a weapon for earthly, temporary and local plans.

ADAM ŻÓŁTOWSKI

GLIMPSSES OF POLISH PHILOSOPHY

SOMEBODY COMPARED PHILOSOPHICAL systems with an elaborate cobweb, a true marvel of nature, which a spider spins with consummate art. It is resource-

tion and ended in the present world-wide catastrophe. Roughly again we can state that the protagonists of thought in this period were no other than the Germans, and it was their failure to find clear solutions of the problems which they proposed that is largely responsible for what we witness at the present time. There are two main symptoms of inefficiency on the part of thinkers. Of these one is pantheism and the other, consequent on the first, the obliteration of the human personality and soul. The one shows that in the struggle with his own thoughts man has lost sight of God, the other that in the maze of reality he has even lost himself.

It is always relatively easy to perceive the link between the cause and the effect, when the consequences of something are upon us. Many people at present deplore the trend that the development of the German mind has taken. But Poland can claim that a century ago, before anybody in Europe was aware of the potential dangers from that quarter her most outstanding representatives stood up against the destructive and nihilistic tendencies of German thought, at that time still in its heyday.

In 1842, exactly a century ago, the philosopher August Cieszkowski wrote a pamphlet in German entitled: *Gott und Palingenesie*, a true masterpiece of philosophical prose, in which he denounced the lip-service rendered by the Hegelian school to the concepts of God and of immortality. Sigismund Krasinski, one of the great triad of romantic poets never tired of attacking the pernicious deficiencies of German philosophy and of pointing out the brutal impulses slumbering under its surface and ready to be unleashed. But there is no evidence of the power of the national instinct in these matters more convincing than that contained in the celebrated lectures of Adam Mickiewicz on Slavonic literature held in the Collège de France in Paris, also exactly a century ago, between 1840 and 1844. Mickiewicz was a scholar and a poet of genius but he was not a schooled philosopher. In consequence it is not for the most correct solutions we must turn to him. But he knew and interpreted the spirit of his race more profoundly than anyone before him and that accounts for the worth of his utterances.

"Never will a pantheistic theory of any sort become rooted among the Slavonic peoples. The national instinct rejects it," Mickiewicz declared on April 4th, 1843. "Poland remained neutral or rather hostile to all the philosophical systems which developed around her," he added soon after (May 2nd). "Poland," he continued, "in her advance towards the future, has only scattered some opuscles, but you will see from how high these opuscles dominate the theoretical philosophy of the German schools." The

opuscles to which Mickiewicz here alluded were no other than the preliminary treatise published by Cieszkowski, which soon were to develop into that great man's memorable philosophy of history, conceived as a commentary on the Lord's Prayer and not remaining without reference to the lectures of Mickiewicz.

Meanwhile Mickiewicz undertook to pass in review the latest achievements of German philosophy. What struck him was the confessed inability of Kant's reason to attain either God or an immortal soul, Fichte's failure to transcend the limits of the conscious mind which he chose as the starting-point of his system. He pointed out the startling vagueness of Schelling's absolute, in which the knowing and the known were to become welded, and cried out against Hegel's idea of God, equivalent to the sense and content of reality, temporarily cast in finite forms but soon to vanish into infinity.

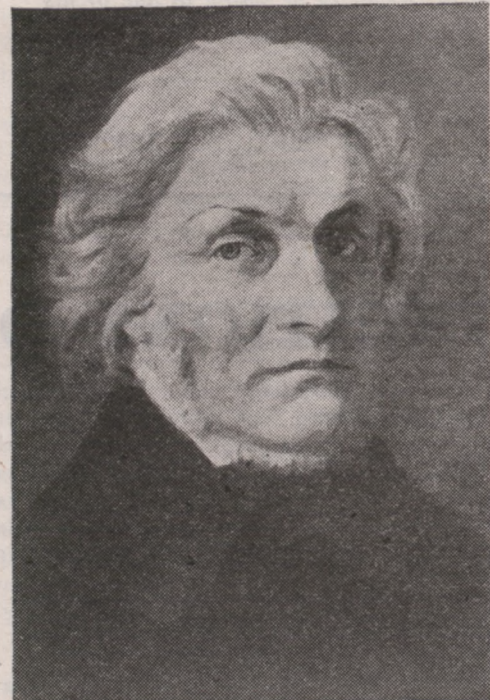
"The sun," said the poet, "if we supposed that heavenly body to be a living being, would never see his own countenance. But becoming reflected in the numberless drops of the Ocean he would perceive in each of these drops his own picture. The sun who does not see himself is the God of Hegel. The universe is nothing else than the endless mass of light projected by the sun; finally man is that drop in which God is reflected and sees himself" (May 2nd, 1843).

The human individual is the only component of reality which is endowed with self-consciousness and *thought* is his highest and most holy activity. Now thought in Hegel's conception is nothing more than the movement of the mind. This is to be the noblest manifestation of human nature.

"If the Slavonic countries have not accepted this system," concluded Mickiewicz, "if they were not interested in this discussion it was not because they did not understand it; it was because they did not discover in it anything analogous to the nature of their souls, because the divine thought which rests on that people urged it on in another direction."

For it is not in abstract thought and in well-being and in the mechanical progress of civilization, it is not even in intellectual culture, but in the living *soul* alone that the true value of human existence can be found.

"We Slavs," said Mickiewicz, on December 26th, 1943, "possess nothing but a fresher recollection of the country from which we come, of the country common to all men, which the soul inhabits. Being the last to appear on the stage of the world we still remember the landscapes of our old spiritual home; and if you recognize us as your brothers, we will help you to recognize our common Father, to recognize the house in which He dwells."



Adam Mickiewicz

On the back page:
August Cieszkowski

ful and unbelievably clever, it overcomes obstacles, reaches distant objects, adapts its design to all circumstances and surmounts the greatest difficulties. After that the comparison ceases to be true. The spider never forgets why it has spun his cobweb, it lies in wait for insects to be caught in its snares and travels along the threads it has suspended with wonderful rapidity and ease. Philosophers on the other hand often present a somewhat piteous spectacle, unknown to nature, of spiders caught in their own webs, helpless and unable to disentangle themselves from the nooses which they have tied with their own hands. For all that we must not judge philosophers too severely. It is certainly easier to run along cobwebs on six long legs than to master the inexhaustible series of ideas, concepts, perceptions, intuitions which often overwhelm the mind when it sets out to develop a sequence of equivalents by which to render the content and sense of experience.

And yet this must be the aim of all philosophy. And, to become explicit, never was that task more urgent than in the period which we can roughly assume to have begun with the French revolu-

JÓZEF WINIEWICZ

A GREAT CHANCE FOR BRITAIN

IN 1929 AN EXHIBITION WAS HELD in Poznan, the purpose of which was to give as full as possible a picture of the ten years of achievement of Versailles Poland: how Poland managed to unify administratively and culturally her three parts, how she developed economically the territories which had been systematically exploited by the three partitioning powers for their own benefit and which had been ceaselessly devastated by the shifting fronts of war from 1914 until the end of 1920. The organizers of this exhibition hoped that many Englishmen would come to see it. They expected that Britain would thus have a chance to see how lively an organization Poland was, what the Polish people could achieve and the progress of the Polish economic system. They hoped that thus a breach would be made in Britain's lack of interest in the countries lying to the east of Germany, a lack of interest which was so obvious at the time of the Locarno Treaty. But the British did not come to Poznan.

In September 1939 the people of Poland, decimated by German bombs falling on peaceful villages and towns, and machine-gunned by German bombers on every road in the Republic, still turned their eyes hopefully to the sky. It was hoped that at any moment British squadrons would appear to turn the invaders away. British planes did not arrive. In September 1939 the author of this article was one of those who broadcast appeals for help and for relief for the capital of Poland through the only remaining Polish transmitting station, Warsaw 2. From far away, on the waves of ether, we heard the voices of various English speakers,

CHANGES IN MEXICO

(From our Correspondent)

Mexico City, in November.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE CATHOLIC Church in Mexico, the bloody persecution of the Catholics there and the godless propaganda of the Mexican free-thinkers achieved a sad fame throughout the whole world in the last decade before this war. I think, therefore, that the Polish and Catholic public may be interested to hear that at the present moment a most desirable evolution is now taking place even in this country of militant atheists.

Of course, caution in passing judgment is always necessary and one should avoid singing premature hymns of triumph. Nevertheless, one should not close one's eyes to significant symptoms which may be the harbingers of the coming spring.

Such a harbinger was the unveiling of a monument to Father Juan de San Miguel, the founder of the town of San Miguel de Alende, in this very town.

For the first time for dozens of years, church and civil authorities participated jointly in this ceremony. And both sides were demonstratively friendly on this occasion.

The monument was unveiled by Archbishop Luis M. Martinez, the head of the Catholic Church in Mexico, in the presence of the Minister for Agriculture, Señor Marte R. Gomez, representing the President. The authorities of the State of Guanajuato, headed by the Governor of this State and many members of the Senate and House of Representatives also attended the ceremony.

After his return to the capital, Archbishop Martinez received the Press and made the following statement:

"The Mexican Government may rely on the support of the Church and of the Catholics. The Church can help the Government in social work, in taking care of children and in popular hygiene. This co-operation will be useful to the country. We have demonstrated our willingness to co-operate in organizing the civil defence and in the campaign to increase agricultural production. We have taken part in these activities through the Catholic Action. Co-operation between Church and State is based on the principle of full independence on both sides."

From another point of view the latter part of the Archbishop's statement, in which he denounces Nazi doctrines as contrary to Christian principles, is particularly important.

"We have denounced the doctrine as anti-Christian," he said. "It has also been denounced by the Pope and Christian mercy forces us to bring relief to the victims of Nazism."

The Press has heralded widely both the unveiling ceremony and the statement of the head of the Catholic Church in Mexico, and commented upon these events as a promise of the beginning of a new era in the relations between Church and State.

We should not exaggerate the importance of these symptoms but we should not neglect them. Catholic hearts must be filled with joy when they see that once again, as so often in history, the period of storm is passing and the masonic emblems are withdrawing before the majesty of the Cross. K. Cz.

such as the Lord Mayor of London and the representatives of the British political parties. They called:

"Endure, help will come."

On October 1st the Germans entered the Polish capital. The record with the Polish national anthem was broken in the studio of Warsaw 2.

In Poland everyone today knows that Britain received the remnants of the Polish forces with exceptional kindness, everyone knows that Britain has done a lot for the rebuilding of the Polish armed forces, and everyone is glad that so many Polish soldiers are fighting at the side of the British armies, fleet and air force. But in Poland today everyone expects that these demonstrations of friendship will be followed by a deep and true interest from Britain in the political organization of this part of Europe in which the Poles have lived for a thousand years.

The editorial of the November issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After" is a proof that these hopes are not entirely groundless. This article, entitled "British Foreign Policy," calls for a definite foreign policy on the part of Britain in this part of Europe which is contained between Germany and Russia, the Baltic and the Mediterranean. It urges Britain to take an interest in the nations inhabiting this region, whose contribution

... to the civilized life of Europe is immense; some of them are the best-governed communities in the world. Europe would not be Europe without them. . . . It is not only essential that the minor powers be integrated in a balanced European order but also that they be firmly established in their own independence of character and outlook."

These nations should not be subjected to the leadership of any of their great neighbours. They should govern themselves. There is little to be added to the very fair conclusions of this article. The only addition worth while may be to remind the public of the historical truth that the nations inhabiting this belt were largely politically mature bodies at a time when Germany was divided into thousands of petty principalities and Russia was still looking for the shape of her national development. It is, indeed, significant that, when the heart of Europe was in ruins after the Thirty Years War, Poland planned the creation of some sort of united commonwealth of all the nations between the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

The editor of the "Nineteenth Century" says that it is necessary to create three groups of states in this region. One of them, the Northern, should have Poland as its principal power, the second one, the Central, should crystallize around Czechoslovakia, while the third, the Balkan, should be headed by Yugoslavia. It seems to me that the danger of this plan is that this region would be parcelled out too much. I would think it preferable that one international organization of the nations of Central-Eastern Europe should embrace all the area from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Should this be impossible for reasons upon which I shall not dwell now, this region should be divided into two blocks. For the time being these blocks are outlined in the Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation and in the close co-operation between Yugoslavia and Greece. The "Nineteenth Century" does not include Greece in this belt at all, and calls her a purely Mediterranean state.

Reservations may also be called for by the proposal of the editor of this monthly that Austria should be included in this new organization. In the days of Maria Theresa and Josef II, Austria carried out a denationalization policy as ruthless as that of Frederick II or Bismarck. Not much was altered in this policy during the so-called period of tolerance which followed the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867. The objection to any plan which would lead to the inclusion of Austria in any block of states between the Baltic and the Balkans will be best illustrated by the following example:

Field-Marshal Loehr, who today commands the armies of the Third Reich on the South-Eastern front, was commander of the Austrian Force until 1938. He used to come to London and became acquainted with the aircraft production of Great Britain. The Austrian pilots were trained on British machines. In 1939 Loehr was one of those responsible for the bombing of Poland. Even in Schuschnigg's Austria he was an informer of Berlin. Should Austria continue to show, after this war, the same Anschluss tendencies which have been so noticeable in Austrian public opinion since the day of the famous unanimous Anschluss resolution of the Austrian Constituent Assembly in March 12th, 1919, it would be dangerous to give some new Loehr an opportunity for co-operating with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and so on.

The editor of the "Nineteenth Century" has also failed to stress another important problem. He devotes much attention, and very rightly so, to the paramount importance of the Mediterranean for Britain. But co-operation between Britain and Central-Eastern Europe being no less of a necessity after this war, one should devote just as much attention to the problem of the Baltic. The Baltic must cease to be a German sea ruled by the Reich, since it controls the western outlets of this sea—the two Sunds and the Kiel Canal.

The author says that if there is no clear-cut British foreign policy

"the longer the war lasts, the more deeply will the continental nations be divided between those who look towards Russia and those who look towards Germany. . . ."

I prefer not to share this pessimistic view. Everything seems to prove that Poland and other nations between the Baltic and the Mediterranean can still live on their faith in a Pax Britannica, that they trust the help of Great Britain and they consider her as the citadel of individual rights, as a country which has respect for the culture of other nations, and as the representative of Western culture at its best. This gives Britain a splendid opportunity for drawing political conclusions from these facts. Of course, a Polish writer has no right to take part in a discussion as to whether, when and how Britain will do it. But it would be sad if this opportunity were to end by the distribution by Prof. Carr of all these countries, so desirous of co-operating closely and sincerely with Britain, to various alien leaderships. No wonder every Pole feels very relieved when he reads the views of the "Nineteenth Century."

For similar reasons the article "Temporary and Military?" in the "Economist," of November 21st, is also interesting. This article deals with the political side of the Allied action in North Africa. The author emphasises the need for a unity of ideas in the political conduct of the war:

"North Africa is the first stepping-stone for Allied political warfare. . . . The victories which Allied fighting men may win in Africa during the next weeks can be wasted if the Allied governments fail to agree upon the banners under which they . . . can march together."

It is an appeal for a common political programme of all the Allies. This appeal shows that there are people in Britain who understand well how much is now in the scales.

ANDRZEJ MOYKOWSKI

THE FIRST CONDITIONS OF SECURITY

The author of these few lines knows Hitler's Germany very well, having lived there for many years before the war. We publish his views as a matter for discussion.

EVERY DISCUSSION ABOUT THE future of peace is unthinkable without first settling the problem of the future of the German nation.

Pursuing her usual aims of robbery and conquest Germany has criminally attacked all her neighbours, who were either weaker or, with the exception of Soviet Russia, unprepared for war. No one in Germany raised a protest against the criminal action which began on September 1st, 1939. The behaviour of the German nation cannot be explained away by the mere fear of the Gestapo. The German nation is not a passive onlooker at the crimes which are committed daily against other nations; it takes a constant and active part in these crimes, except for the very old Germans.

After three years of war we hardly hear of any resistance by the German nation to the Nazi tyranny, and only a few more courageous statements by Church dignitaries are the exception to the rule. Numerous German emigres in England and more numerous still in the United States attempt to persuade public opinion in both these countries that this is not so, but the experience of the last two years clearly shows that their allegations are unfounded. The Poles, Yugoslavs, Norwegians, Greeks, Frenchmen, Dutch, Belgians and Czechs fight on. But in Germany, Hitler can quietly prepare for every new thrust; today he may be anxious as to their effectiveness, but he can still be confident that his internal front will not fail him, and that his nation will carry out every order to the bitter end. It is not Hitler and some clique of his described as the Nazi gang, but the whole German nation, which is responsible for the crimes committed in this war.

But it is not vengeance nor even just punishment for these crimes which should

Remarks

The Airmen

THE READERS OF "THE COMMON Cause" will certainly remember the article entitled "Meeting" in No. 5 of our paper of March 27th, 1942. This article was written by Flying Officer George Gorecki, about his impressions of his first meeting with some of the Polish airmen who had then arrived from Russia.

Actually, it is difficult to call that little item an article—it was just a handful of impressions, an excerpt from a letter from him, but perhaps because of this, his remarks seemed even more authentic and more direct. The author described these newcomers returning from a true hell of persecution, he described "their friendliness and modesty, their kindness, quiet demeanour and courtesy." . . . In describing them, he, Gorecki, a bomber-pilot who has taken part in many raids on Germany, felt almost *gué* at the comforts and prosperity of our emigre life here. He anxiously asked himself "Isn't it more difficult to unite the spiritual forces necessary for the present struggle which we call a crusade of good against evil? Isn't it easier to squander these forces amidst material comforts and security? In our longing for perfection, which we should like to oppose to the raging forces of evil, is it possible to recognize anything but the suffering endured as a factor of perfection?"

On the 5th of last month, on the same morning when the Allied world joyously re-echoed with the news of victory anticipated for so long, I read in the postscript of a letter from another friend of mine, also an officer in a bomber squadron, the following brief sentence:

"Flying Officer George Gorecki did not return from operations on October 31st. He was probably killed, because, as a rule one does not return from a raid of this kind. However, his death is not yet confirmed."

I clearly remember him, just as I saw him on his last leave: a slender, blonde young man with clear blue eyes shining with enthusiasm. He always planned something not for himself personally, because he did not devote much time to his own affairs, but for the future of our country. Recently he wrote in one of his letters: "I dream of a noble Commonwealth which will be open to all those who feel a natural, spiritual link with us. The future of Poland is what interests me most . . ." He added that he would like "to talk about many things concerning

our nation, its character and the system of a Polish national education."

I simply cannot believe that Flying Officer Gorecki is no longer alive. That after twenty-six raids on Germany from which he returned safely his thin face with its pale complexion has paled to the pallor of death. Perhaps God will permit that he lives somewhere, that he is only wounded and a patient in a German hospital, and that he will still return some day to a happy Poland, where he may be able to carry out his plans . . .

The number of German planes shot down by Poles over Great Britain is on the point of reaching 500. This is how the "Skrzydła" ("Wings,") the paper of the Polish Air Force, proposes to celebrate this 500th triumph which is shortly due:

"It has been suggested by our airmen themselves that this jubilee of Polish fighters should be celebrated by giving the happy pilot who shoots down the 500th German machine a steel plaque bearing the image of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Queen of the Polish Crown and patron of airmen, in accordance with immemorial Polish custom."

A nation is truly something immutable, unique and permanent throughout the centuries. The wings of the hussars have been turned into aircraft wings, fodder into petrol, fleet horses have been replaced by air-screws, which are a thousand times faster. But the winged knights still bear the same sign, the same steel plaque of Our Lady of Czestochowa, just as their fathers used to do centuries ago in their "pious wars," at Kluszyn and Kircholm, Chocim and Vienna.

One of my friends, a pilot officer, who has already taken part in a dozen raids on Germany, has started to write the official diary for his squadron. We both raked our memories to find a suitable motto for the first page. Finally my friend decided that an excerpt from the "Tragedy of Epaminondas," by Konarski, was best suited to the squadron. Here it is:

"You have no merits. What we call merits are merely debts repaid to our Fatherland. Our country owes us nothing. She is our lady, we are only her servants and her captives, we only are indebted to her."

J. R.

be our true purpose. Our purpose should be to create such conditions that similar crimes should never be repeated.

In case of victory Germany would have no scruples. One of the means which they would apply in building their New Order, would be their policy of resettlement, which they have already applied on a vast scale to the Poles during the present war. In the spring of this year, when a new vigour arose in them after a very hard winter, the "Frankfurter Zeitung," of April 3rd, 1942, wrote:

"There are many empty spaces which could be perfectly exploited, with the present state of technique, for settling great human masses. On the other hand, there are over-populated territories in Europe which could spare men as colonists. . . ."

It would appear from this article that Europe is to be reserved for the Herrenvolk. Whoever is found obnoxious by the latter will be resettled to these empty spaces, which have not yet been brought under civilization.

Clemenceau, who knew Germany well, is supposed to have said that there are 20 million Germans too many in Europe. It may be that when he said these words, he was thinking of their resettlement. But then he did not dare to utter these words. Indeed, he would not have been understood in the United States, and even less so in England.

Today, the principle of resettlement has been sufficiently popularized by Germany herself. Without waiting for the outcome of the war she has expelled the conquered nations from their homes and brought in hundreds of thousands of Germans in their place. Six million foreign workers have already been sent to work in Germany. During these last three years of war, Germany has been moving here and there millions of people, both Germans and foreigners. Owing to this, the prin-

ciple of resettlement has been admitted into the Allied literature, not excepting the English one. There are even forecasts that at the Peace Conference which is to build a new order this principle will be recognized as one of the new elements in the post-war world structure.

If Clemenceau's words were to become a reality, this would greatly help the solution of the difficult German problem. At least 25,000,000 Germans — we mean just "bad" Germans — could leave Europe.

This figure could be divided into two categories; the first one could comprise over 10,000,000 Germans, who before the war lived in a dozen European states as so-called national minorities. The war has shown that these minorities constituted a Fifth Column directed from Berlin in all these countries. The second category of Germans to be resettled are the militant Nazis in the Reich.

The countries which dispose of vast uninhabited territories (to which the "Frankfurter Zeitung" refers), could prepare a plan for the speedy settlement of these 25,000,000. The Germans are well-suited for the part of the colonists. They have experience of centuries in this field. Once they are taken away from our continent they will easily forget their dreams of world domination. Only recently, on September 6th, 1942, Goebbels wrote in "Das Reich":

"Should the German nation be deprived for a number of years of leaders conscious of their aims it would quickly become again a conglomeration of various individuals. There is nothing more significant for our national character than the fact that many American-Germans retain their social feelings for a long time in skittles clubs and singing and patriotic associations, but they quickly lose their national consciousness."