

The Polish Review

VOL. 1, No. 14

NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 1, 1941

PRICE TEN CENTS

WESTERN SLAV PROBLEM

By Z. ST.

We have already published two articles on The Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia, now under consideration by their Governments in London. Other contributions to this important discussion will be published from time to time, but these articles reflect only the private views of their authors.



Map of the Proposed Western Slav Federation, Comprising Poland and Czechoslovakia

CONSIDERATION of the millenary history of the Western Slavs originally settled between the Elbe and the Oder and gradually driven East by repeated German aggressions, points the way to the present and future relations of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

All the Western Slavs originally constituted a single geographical unit and history has shown that the destinies of Poland and Czechoslovakia are inseparable in good as in bad times.

The threat to Poles and Czechs began as soon as the Germans drove the Western Slavs from the Elbe, since when the Teutons have never ceased

their efforts to engulf the two nations and at the same time separate one from the other.

At no period in history have Poles and Czechs had any real differences, on the contrary their interests are common and of deep significance. Had the two nations been united, both would have reaped enormous advantages. The Western Slavs inhabit the largest political expanse in Europe. In this Central Western sphere there is and can be no place for small or weakly constituted national organisms. Either all Western Slavs will exist as a united and compact power or they will face periodic partition.

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SPEAKING TO POLAND . . .

From a recent broadcast to Poland by Jan Stanczyk, Polish Labor Minister

I speak to you from free America, where I have come to attend the Conference of the International Labor Organization as the representative of the Polish Government.

... The delegates to the Conference all recognized that the post-war world must not be a mere reconstruction of pre-war conditions, those conditions which gave rise to the present crisis, but felt that it must be reorganized on new economic, political and social foundations.

... These ideas formed the basis of the following resolution which I submitted to the Conference in the name of the Polish delegation:

"The experience of the period preceding the war shows that social progress in the form of labor legislation and social insurance is impossible without international coordination and stabilization of economic life. Technical progress, mechanization of production and rationalization deprive millions of workers and white-collar employees of their employment. This results in diminished consumption, in increased unemployment and in idleness of modernized plants and workshops.

"As a consequence the absurd situation arises that at a time when production of goods is made possible in quantities that would provide a decent standard of living for all, the lack of international coordination of output and employment, on one hand, with consumption, on the other, leads to general misery and economic chaos.

"If it is our purpose to secure for the people employment and well-being, we must first prepare a plan of international economic cooperation which would exclude savage competitive struggle for markets leading the national economies to disintegration and the people to misery.

"The economic plan must consider as a whole the problems of production and of distribution, of raw materials and of markets among nations as well as between economic systems. It has to guarantee to the people permanent employment and earnings that will secure to them a decent standard of living."

... Therefore, I submit the following proposition:

"In order to coordinate production, employment and consumption; in order to secure rational allocation of raw materials to all countries and rational distribution of markets; in order to organize the financing of reconstruction and expansion of production in the countries which are devastated by war or economically undeveloped, the Conference resolves that there should be created at the International Labor Office a committee composed of representatives of governments, employers and workers which will deal immediately with these problems."

... This resolution was received with general approval by the delegates.

The Polish delegation also participated in another important action. Together with the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Greece and Yugoslavia, it formulated a common declaration expressing the attitude of Central Europe and Balkan nations on the problems of post-war reconstruction.

This declaration assures our peoples that the struggle for their liberties, the struggle waged jointly with the world's great democracies, will be carried on until victory is achieved. This struggle requires the aid and full support of all free nations, and particularly of their organized workers.

... The millions of inhabitants of Central-Eastern Europe and of the Balkans have been exploited by German industry. In the future, and this is my deepest conviction,

they must establish a united economic block which will make possible both the development of their own industry and economy and their participation in the system of international exchange of goods and services. The improvement in the living standards of the masses of peasants and workers will provide a solid foundation for genuine democracy in this part of the world and forever abolish the economic hegemony and the consequent political domination of Germany which has been the constant source of disturbance and bloody wars.

"I know during these present troublesome and trying days you must at times feel discouraged. Your armies were defeated, your homes defiled, and you now live in poverty and degradation. But do not feel discouraged. Be not afraid. Millions of free men all over the world, including 130,000,000 Americans, are resolved that you shall have these shackles removed.

"I know you hear much of propaganda. You undoubtedly are told that the Nazis are victorious and America is disunited. I tell you as an uncontrolled American, I tell you as one undictated to and undirected by any one, that those reports are untrue.

"The American and British Navies are rapidly taking possession of the Atlantic and destroying the last remnants of the German and Italian Navies. American airplane factories and British airplane factories are now outproducing the airplane factories of Germany and all of the airplane factories in the control of Germany.

"In a year from now the combined production of the British and American factories will be three times that of the Nazi factories. So we may rest assured that within a relatively brief period the democracies of the world will command both the oceans and the air.

"And when America becomes resolved and all the strength of American production goes into action all the boasted strength of Nazi gangsters cannot stand up against it. On this independence day, which may seem a strange independence day because of the conditions under which you are living, be of good cheer. Freedom is coming and it's coming quickly."

From a recent broadcast to Poland by Wendell L. Willkie, the former Republican Presidential candidate.

JOINT DECLARATION BY THE GOVERNMENT, WORKERS' AND EMPLOYERS' DELEGATIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GREECE, POLAND AND YUGOSLAVIA TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The Government, Employers' and Workers' Delegations of the Central European and Balkan countries represented at the International Labor Conference, having met and jointly reviewed the situation, have unanimously adopted the following declaration:

1. With feelings of indescribable sadness, we pay a tribute to our tormented peoples, to their unconquerable spirit, their courage, and the magnitude of their sacrifices. We proclaim the solidarity of our countries in the common struggle for freedom.
2. We protest before the civilized world against the innumerable and unprecedented atrocities that are being daily committed by the invaders and their satellites. For the sole crime of remaining loyal to their country, thousands of men, women and children are subjected to the tortures of the concentration camps or are executed. The invader respects neither the laws of God nor the rights of man. We do particularly protest against the barbarous practice of taking hostages and executing them.
We send a fraternal greeting to the other oppressed nations of Europe. We encourage the spirit of resistance of the working masses through adopting unity among all the enslaved peoples. We pay tribute to the great and valiant peoples of the British Empire, of the Soviet Union, and to the great American nation. Our most sympathetic thoughts go also to the people of China.
3. We solemnly assure our peoples that the struggle for their liberation, carried on jointly with the world's greatest democracies, shall be continued untiringly until the day of victory.
4. In pursuing this struggle we count on the help and wholehearted support of all the free nations, and above all of their organized working people. The duration of the war depends very largely on the extent to which these nations and especially their workers show the spirit of sacrifice.
5. The countries of Central Europe and the Balkans reaffirm their profound devotion to the democratic principle, and express their solidarity with the great democracies.
6. We express the firm conviction that the peace that will follow victory will bring to our peoples, as well as to all peoples throughout the world, enjoyment of the four freedoms defined in the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration.

We hope that the end of this war, which was forced upon us, will save a hundred million inhabitants of Central Europe and of the Balkans from their present state of wretchedness by assuring them the possibility of stable employment, guaranteed by reconstruction and by the development of their industries, agriculture and merchant marine, and that those peoples will be included within the sphere of international exchanges of goods and services. Special attention goes to the masses of the peasant population and to their social and economic standards, because it is on those elements that peace and security in that region depend. It is in this spirit that our present joint declaration has been conceived, and it is in this same spirit of frank and friendly collaboration that we conceive the part to be played by our countries in the reconstruction of a new Europe, enjoying a stable peace with freedom and prosperity.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN DELEGATION

Government Delegate:
JAN MASARYK, Minister of Foreign Affairs
JAROMIR NECAS, Minister for Reconstruction and of Public Works
Employers' Delegate:
RICHARD NORAWETZ
Workers' Delegate:
JOSEF KOSINA

GREEK DELEGATION

Government Delegate:
ARISTIDE DIMITRATOS, Minister of Labor, Agriculture and Co-operatives
Employers' Delegate:
GEORGE LOGOTHETIS
Workers' Delegate:
DEMETRIES PAPTAS, Executive of the National Federation of the Workers of Greece

POLISH DELEGATION

Government Delegate:
JAN STANCZYK, Minister of Labor and Social Welfare
Employers' Delegate:
ALFRED FALTER
Workers' Delegate:
FELIKS GROSS (Authorized by ALOJZY ADAMCZYK to sign for the Workers' Delegation)

YUGOSLAV DELEGATION

Government Delegate:
SAVA N. KOSANOVICH, Minister of State
Employers' Delegate:
BOZO BANATS
Workers' Delegate:
CEZAR MILOS

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No permanent release can come from the danger of German aggression, no permanent protection is possible for the Western Slavs nor can their development proceed unhindered, unless there is a lasting Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

As the name implies, Confederation is a much stronger bond than a mere union of federal States having common interests and following common policies but retaining full sovereignty except in those matters reserved by common consent to the Federal Government.

The advantages of a Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia would be

1. Joint action under one governing body would greatly facilitate if not completely ensure respect of the boundaries the Confederation would claim. This is especially important in regard to the Western frontiers of the proposed Confederation. As the map on the front page clearly shows, the old frontiers between Poland and Czechoslovakia on one side, and Germany on the other were impossible of defense. A great salient — Silesia — was a permanent menace to the very existence of both nations, already rendered precarious by the narrow outlet to the sea, utterly inadequate to the needs of expansion.

2. It would afford the greatest potentiality for the reconstruction of the economic life and power of two peoples whose lands have been devastated by war and German occupation.

In urging the creation of a Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia we must endeavor to avoid over-centralization. The creative effort of national organisms depends principally on the intensive development of its particular cells; and this intensive development is in turn dependent upon freedom and a due regard for the rights of the individual.

The Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia would defeat its own purpose if it led to complete synchronization and the effacement of the characteristic traits of the two branches of the Western Slavs. On the contrary, it is essential that the full richness of national life and tradition be fostered within the realm of the Confederation, so that each people and each region retain its individual aspect

and introduce its own original contribution to a collective culture.

To ensure full freedom and progress, each of the Confederated States should possess its own:

- a) Government and Administration
- b) Legislature for Internal Affairs
- c) Judiciary, with a Confederate Supreme Court

d) Militia and Police Force

e) Culture and Education

These basic elements of political life would ensure real freedom of development for each of the Confederated peoples, which while ceasing to be independent nations would retain their national traits and customs. The Confederation of the Western Slavs implies concessions in their sovereign rights by both Poland and Czechoslovakia, not only for the material welfare of a common State but that both may enjoy the right to live in Peace.

The Confederation itself should have

- a) President and central administration
- b) Confederate Congress to legislate on matters not reserved to the States.
- c) Common monetary system and customs union.
- d) Common army, navy and air-force.
- e) Control over transportation by rail, road, water and air, as well as of shipping.
- f) Common Supreme Court and Department of Justice with a view to the gradual unification of laws in both countries.
- g) Joint Commissions with a view to economic planning, scientific research, and the gradual unification of public education.

The Confederation of the Western Slavs would make possible the organization of the whole of Central and Western Europe numbering more than a hundred million people. By limiting the scope of their own ambitions, by joining in a common policy they will achieve what Germany has attempted in vain through a thousand years of war and aggression, of bloodshed and oppression.

UNION MAKES FOR STRENGTH

By FELIKS GROSS

THE declaration of Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia at the International Labor Conference in New York, (November 1941), may be as Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister said — a turning point in the politics of Eastern Europe. In any case it proves that the nations of Eastern Europe are now seeking a permanent solution of their century-old problem.

As Anne McCormick wrote in the New York Times under the heading 'First Outlines of a New Great Power!' "In Central Europe, especially in the lands between Germany and Russia, live some of the toughest people on this planet. They are a compost of all the strains of the human race. They have suffered everything and fought everybody. They are the fittest who have survived and they have the bounce of rubber and the tenacity of the hookworm."

The history of all these peoples is a history of invasions. The long struggle against invaders was not always strengthened by agreement and collaboration of these small nations. And they had always to withstand the enormous pressure of Germany's "Drang nach Osten."

In seeking a solution of the Central and Eastern Europe problem the London TIMES recently suggested that this region was a sphere of Russian influence. This article was of course intended to strengthen the forces that oppose Germany. But the Declaration of the Four Powers provides a new and better solution: a policy of the closest cooperation between all these nations, a cooperation which leads, as Anne McCormick wrote, to a forming of a "New Great Power."

The declaration is only one of many symptoms of the great vitality of all those nations that have "the bounce of rubber and tenacity of a hookworm, suffered everything and fought everybody."

This vitality is abundantly shown by the gallant struggle of the Yugoslav guerrillas, by the fine network of Polish underground activities, by the heroic Czechoslovak sabotage, by Greek resistance that is reminiscent of the Thermopylian tradition of their ancestors.

Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland and Yugoslavia have shown on the battlefield that they have something to defend and that they will fight for their freedom. That means that the future of these peoples, after the victory, will be decided by themselves in cooperation with their neighbors on terms of closest friendship and of strict equality.

Cultural patrimony of these peoples is perhaps not so widely known here, but they have produced a rich and deep cultural life, they have contributed largely to the world's civilization and culture. Their territory is rich, their inhabitants are intelligent and laborious. Only continuous invasions have hindered their full development. Therefore the so-

lution of their common problem is cooperation, it is friendship! Cooperation in all spheres of endeavor to prevent invasion, to strengthen their forces to the utmost. Friendship dictated not only by sympathy but by common sense and the hard facts of their territorial boundaries. But such friendship cannot be imposed by a third State. It must be the result of a natural development of neighborhood policy. It must spring from vital forces, the will to live and endure, the will to fight against invasion. All these things are there and that is why the declaration made at the International Labor Conference in New York is of such importance. It proves that the solidarity of Eastern Europe is a fact, that our four nations prefer cooperation to invasion, democracy to dictation!

WRITTEN FOR THE POLISH REVIEW BY
JAN MASARYK
CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTER OF STATE
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The joint declaration of the Greek, Yugoslav, Polish, and Czechoslovak delegations at the I. L. O. Conference in New York is an important step towards preparing and securing a fair deal for the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe. The fact that our Governments, Employers, and Workmen saw clearly and acted promptly has made an excellent impression all over the world. By fair deal I mean a constructive policy of give and take. But if European civilization is to be saved our countries who have contributed much to it, must be safeguarded against a repetition of the nonsensical horror from which they are so innocently suffering today. The absolute lack of prophylactic measures made possible the spreading of the Fascist Plague.

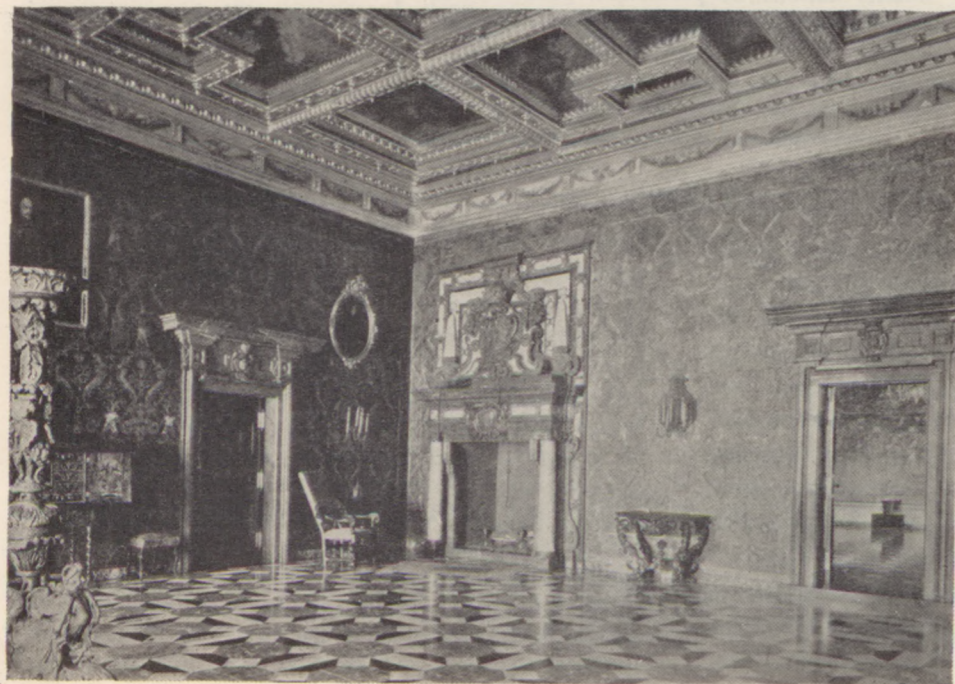
The Great Powers have learned that there is no possibility of negotiating with Hitler, they must also realize that without a joint, constructive, fair policy in regards to the smaller nations, no permanent peace can be established. We spoke at the I. L. O. Conference on behalf of 100 million people.

We are ready, we are eager to cooperate to the best of our ability. We should be given a chance to do so — it is in the interest of all concerned.



The Church of Our Lady, the Most Beautiful Medieval Polish Church, Founded in 1226. From the Higher Tower the Tender Bugle Call is Sounded Every Hour Uninterruptedly from the XIV Century.

The Hall "Under the Birds" in Wawel Castle from the Time of Sigismund III Wasa, with a Golden Ceiling, Marble Door Frames, a Fireplace of 1603 and Cordovan Wall Hangings.



THE CITY OF

"... It was in that old royal and academical city that I ceased to be a child, became a boy, had known the friendships, the admirations, the thoughts and the indignations of that age ..."

JOSEPH CONRAD

By Dr. J. D.

LIKE silver gossamer great memories are spun over the ancient streets of Cracow, over the royal castle on Wawel Hill, over the innumerable churches, palaces and buildings of the city . . . The Genius of history took up his abode in it and ceaselessly wanders about the streets and speaks sonorously at each step in stanzas of a thousand-year-old rhapsody to all who are willing to listen to his "great tale extending over centuries."

This unusual city extends in the Southern part of the Polish provinces on the meandering ribbon of the Vistula, the mother of Polish rivers, amid picturesque wooded hills, in the foreland of the graceful Beskids and the granite Tatra, which proudly raise their snow-clad crests to the skies.

Unusual above all by the fact that its monuments created — in a manner not met with anywhere else — a full picture of the political and spiritual life of the entire Polish nation. For, as is generally known, each of the nations living in the wide world possesses places particularly rich in historic reminiscences, each of them boasts of important centers of ancient culture and art; nevertheless, it is certain that none of those places has reflected so accurately or shared

so faithfully the history of a given people as ancient royal Cracow has shared the history of the Polish nation. This is true in an equal measure of the joyful as of the sorrowful moments in the course of the development of historic events. And therefore owing to this particular identification of the history of Cracow with the history of the whole nation this city has been not only a precious treasury of monuments of art, a collection of "living stones," but at the same time a synthesis of Poland's history and her eloquent symbol. And

LIVING STONES

what deserves special attention is that everything best and noblest which was called to life by the Polish spirit, was born or found shelter. Hence Cracow has been for the Poles a wise teacher awakening in the souls the strings of most sublime emotions, while for foreigners, owing to the unexpected multitude and beauty of its ancient memorials it has always been an object of genuine interest and admiration.

* * * *

Long ago, before many thousands of years, the country round Cracow, which was free from crust of glaciers holding in their fetters almost the entire surface of the future Poland, following the mammoth and cave bear, was entered by the first hunters, at the same time the first inhabitants of this part of Europe. They found shelter amid the loess hills and in the gloomy jurassic caves where numerous vestiges of these first settlers of Poland are extant. Later this land was traversed by numerous tribes and peoples, nameless, unknown on their progress from East to West. And still later, when on the Mediterranean already the Roman Empire extended, it was here, through the Ptolemaic Carrodunum, that numerous caravans of traders were passing northward on their way to the Baltic in search of precious amber.

The Chronicles did not record what the beginnings and earliest history of Cracow were like, they are, however, known to immemorial legend. It says that long ago in a large cave hollowed in the rocky bank of Wawel Hill, a dreadful dragon nestled, the cause of severe distress and anguish of the peaceful population. This monster was overcome by valiant Prince Krak who liberated the people from the raging dragon and founded a city which assumed his name. After Krak's death the grateful people erected over his grave a huge earthen mound, visible from afar, up till now the most valuable and striking prehistoric monument of Poland, strangely reminiscent of the mounds erected once by the Norman Vikings in Sweden.

And again the fleet centuries passed, till in the Xth Century historic Cracow emerges from the nebulae of legend. The darkness of paganism is brightened by the light of Christian faith. On the sacred hills and in the groves of pagan deities churches, modest at first and small, were built of wood or stone. In the second half of the century Cracow with Wawel Castle dominating it and together with a

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From the Charming City Gardens of Cracow



The Stone Gate and Wall Beneath the Tower of the "Silver Bells," Wawel Castle

A PLAN FOR CENTRAL EUROPE

By Dr. LADISLAV FEIERABEND, Czechoslovak Minister of State

CENTRAL Europe is such a complex of problems that Western statesmen, almost up to the outbreak of this war preferred easy ignorance to the exacting study this region demands. Czechoslovakia, for instance, was described as "a far-off country of which we know nothing." The same might have been said of Poland. And "Balkan" was the formula with which the southeastern regions were summarily dismissed. Oddly enough, it was Hungary—that country of medieval feudalism—which, though it pursued an equivocal policy with a bias toward Rome and Berlin, received the greatest attention.

In this article I shall use the term Central Europe to denote the area extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, bounded by Russia, Germany and Italy. It includes Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece, with a combined population of some 110,000,000. The language frontiers in this area are not clearly defined. Nations of closely related speech frequently overlap, producing mongrel dialects in the frontier districts. It is impossible to say where one nation begins and another ends. Further scattered linguistic enclaves are to be found. We find, moreover, German groups of varying sizes which, while existing for a long time in the midst of other nations, have not lost their links with the Reich.

This vast area is predominantly agricultural; approximately two-thirds of its population is peasant, whereas the proportion in Western Europe does not exceed one-third. Czechoslovakia and Austria are the only exceptions. Then, too, the agricultural population per acre is far in excess of that of the Western countries, although the average total density is smaller. The reason for this is twofold: the rapid increase of population and the undeveloped state of industry. The population there increases at about twice the rate of Western Europe, and it will probably continue at this rate in the immediate future. It is true that the number of births is declining, but the death-rate is falling in the same proportion. Insufficient industrial development, the second reason, is due to lack of capital. The surplus agricultural population, instead of being absorbed by industry, remains on the land, which is already overcrowded. This is the vicious circle of Central Europe. The peasant is unable to save up sufficient capital to start an industry which would absorb the surplus agricultural population, for he has to support more people than are needed to work on his farm. His land is divided into increasingly small units in the family,

The Polish-Czechoslovak Coordination Committee composed of representatives of the two governments held a meeting to continue the coordination of the work aimed at the establishment of a Polish-Czechoslovakian Confederation after the war. The meeting reviewed the work accomplished during the twelve months which elapsed since the declaration of the two governments of November 11, 1940 envisaging the formation of such a confederation. The work consisted in the preliminary examination of the principles of the confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia and of a close current collaboration of which the joint declaration of the Polish and Czechoslovakian Governments such as were made during the inter-allied conference of September 24, 1941 was an outward manifestation. On the basis of the results achieved up till now the Committee decided to proceed with a detailed elaboration of the principles of the confederation. In conformity with the agreed opinion of the two Governments The Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation is to be a nucleus of a political and economic organization of that European region in the security and development of which both Poland and Czechoslovakia are interested, and therefore the Confederation is to constitute one of the indispensable elements of a new democratic order in Europe.

and as a result his economic position goes from bad to worse.

Even at the price of progressive under-nourishment the peasant is compelled to sell more products so as to be able to buy the most elementary necessities not provided by the land. Hence the need of a market for agricultural products. The home market, however, is undeveloped and the problem could be solved only in the export market when there is any keen competition. But world prices offer no profit for the Central European peasant in view of his backward methods of production and primitive conditions. The agricultural question of this region is social rather than economic.

The Western Powers never took an active interest in this part of Europe. France, it is true, concluded treaties of alliance with many of these States, but she did very little for their economic advancement. Great Britain showed no interest in this region, which thus remained within the sphere of German and Italian influence. This was the central fact on which the Nazis based their policy. They were quick to see their opportunities and offered to help these countries to overcome all difficulties by buying their total agricultural surplus at a good price. And they carried out their plan, not because they wished to help these States, but because they lacked their products at home and could not buy elsewhere as they were using their foreign currency for armaments. The Central European States, having no other

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large stretch of land on the upper course of the Vistula becomes forever and with indissoluble bonds connected with the Polish body politic which was then being organized by Mieszko I and his son Boleslas the Great. And from then on the importance of Cracow, of its population and wealth, increases steadily. The fortified Wawel Castle with the "palatium" of princes and kings, the cathedral with the tomb of the patron-saint of the nation, St. Stanislas, becomes the favorite place of abode of the rulers of the state, and soon their permanent residence. For several centuries Cracow had been the capital of Poland, the seat of dynasties of the Piasts, the Angevins, the Jagellons . . . And though in 1609 King Sigismund III Vasa transferred his residence to Cracow's young sister-city Warsaw, Cracow still remained the coronation city of the kings and their last resting-place.

At the foot of Wawel, in a spacious valley on the Vistula the city developed, growing more and more populous and wealthy, carrying trade with distant lands, encompassed by a ring of strong fortifications. Its existence was not undermined by the various disasters, conflagrations, or the Tartar invasion in the XIIIth Century. The three subsequent centuries are a period of efflorescence and prosperity both for Cracow and the whole of Poland. There comes the blessed rule of the two last Piasts, Ladislas Lokietek (the Short) and his son, Casimir the Great, of the saintly Jadwiga, daughter of the noble house of the Angevins and her consort, Ladislas Jagiello, the unifier of Poland and Lithuania, the father of a dynasty which was to rule Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. Attracted by the prosperity of Cracow, Italian townsmen flocked hither in great numbers. In the XIVth and in the following Cen-

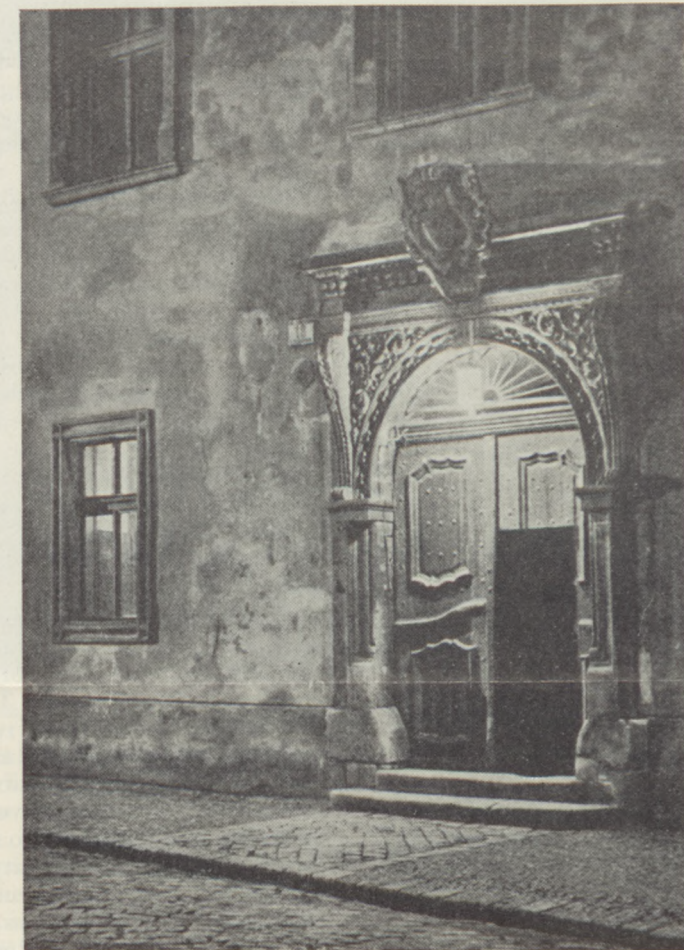
turies magnificent churches were built, shooting up to the sky over streets and houses. Their many relics and holy memorials become the object of pious pilgrimages, and gained for the city the title of "Polish Rome." In the spacious market-places in the XIVth Century were erected the Gothic buildings

of the townhall, after which only a powerful tower remained, and of the Clothiers' Hall, till the present day an eloquent witness of the ancient trade. In the market-place also was built Poland's most beautiful place of worship, the Gothic Church of Our Lady, a living chronicle of the importance and greatness of the city, hiding in its interior a priceless jewel, the high-altar carved by the ingenious wood sculptor, Wit Stwosz, within the years 1477-89, the most beautiful of the Gothic altars of Europe, an enchanting document of the loftiest inspirations of the human spirit in the period of the oncoming twilight of the Middle Ages.

Already then propitious fates made Cracow not only to become the capital of kings, the seat of wealthy citizens and an important center of religious life, but also the

cradle of Polish learning and culture. In 1364 Casimir the Great founded the university, subsequently famous not only all over Poland, but also in many neighboring countries. The venerable Alma Mater for many centuries attracted whole crowds of young men eager for learning both from Poland and abroad. The tale of them is still told by the ancient Gothic walls of "Collegium Maius," musing, as it were, of bygone ages, and particularly recalling to our mind's eyes the figure of the ingenious Nicholas Copernicus who registered as an undergraduate of Cracow University in 1491. Even before that time the noble printing art was born in Cracow, in the dusk of the Cracow workshops the mystery of the printed word began, bringing to Poland the gift of literature and knowledge.

(From "Old Cracow" published in Cracow before the war)



On the Threshold of an Old House. There is still in Cracow Many Houses Bearing Witness of the Culture and Love of Beauty of Past Generations. Here is a Late Renaissance Gate in Kanoniczna Street.

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outlet for their agricultural products, had to sell them to Germany against industrial deliveries which ousted other goods. As she was willing to pay higher prices for agricultural produce than those prevailing in the world market, the number of her barter treaties increased each year. Soon the bulk of the foreign trade of the Central European States was in German hands.

Increasing economic dependence on Germany was accompanied by a like political process. Today, when all Central Europe is in Nazi power, it is clear that exploitation was the keynote of their designs. Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Western Poland (the industrial parts) have been incorporated in the Reich and the remaining agricultural areas have been split up into a number of small States which will be tolerated so far as they lend themselves to German plans, which condemn them to remain purveyors of agricultural products, industrial raw materials and cheap labor for the benefit of the Reich. These plans are intended to secure for Germany a monopoly of the heavy industries of Europe and thus to guarantee her military domination. Industrial Germany would be a country with a high standard of living while her vassals, with a lower standard, would live in political and economic dependence on her. The world never felt disturbed by the low standard of living of well nigh 110 million Central European agrarian workers. But the temporary fall in the German standard after the Great War, though even then much higher than the Central European one, evoked a flood of sympathy and produced much help to "poor Germany." The Germans bank on this treatment being repeated after this war, and they are not much mistaken. There are again a number of schemes afoot assigning Central Europe to Germany, both politically and economically, on condition that she is democratic and does not oppress the nations living there. If such plans materialized, the overland route to the Near East, Iraq and Suez, and thence to world domination, would be permanently open to Germany.

This is the essence of the German "new order." It is, however, not enough to condemn this order on moral, economic or political grounds. It must be opposed by a solution which would prevent Central Europe from being used as a jumping-off ground for world domination.

Today the importance of Central Europe is clear even to those who only recently believed that "Atlantic solidarity" was sufficient to uphold the peace of Europe, the British Empire and the United States. This plan implied a number of alternative political and perhaps military unions among the European countries of the Atlantic seaboard and their closer association with the British Empire. The supporters of the idea of "Atlantic solidarity" failed to grasp that all Germans will always, like Hitler and the Emperor William II, attack through Central Europe, and not directly across the North Sea, where they would at once clash with British sea power. They failed to realize that the first step to world power could thus be made without control of the seas. This truth was overlooked when Hitler occupied Austria, and at Munich when the West surrendered the key

position of Czechoslovakia, heedless of Bismarck's words that the master of Bohemia is the master of all Europe. Another example of this lack of policy of the Western countries was their attitude to Hungary. No wonder, therefore, that the more recent endeavors of the British Government to unite the Balkan States in a single front against Hitler proved unavailing. The idea was sound, but it came too late and was applied only to the southern section of Central Europe at a time when the northern section—Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland—had already been over-run, and Hungary and Rumania had allowed themselves to be occupied. (The transport of Nazi troops through Hungary is tantamount to voluntary occupation.)

Any new plan must be based on the organization of the whole of Central Europe as a unit. Politically, I think, it is both possible and necessary to accept the stipulations of the Peace of Versailles as a basis for the reorganization of Central Europe. Versailles simplified the tangle of nationalities by creating Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. It certainly did not err in admitting that each nationality had a right to its own State. The existence of independent national States in Central Europe was not the cause of unrest; the cause was the intervention of the neighboring Great Powers, Germany and Italy, who played off the various national States against each other, using them as instruments for their own revisionist plans.

If I accept Versailles as a starting-point, I do not deny the necessity of certain frontier corrections, nor do I support the idea of full sovereignty for the various national States. This must be restricted in the future for the simple reason that Central Europe will have to be organized as one great economic area, this being the only possible way of overcoming its difficulties. To banish poverty and raise the standard of living it is necessary to industrialize this territory so as to reduce the density of the population living on the soil by giving them employment in industry. This process will result in increased home consumption of agricultural products and a lowering of the unprofitable export surpluses.

At first sight it might seem inadvisable to recommend the building up by the Central European agricultural countries of industries competing with the countries in other parts of Europe which buy their agricultural surpluses. It might, indeed, seem that this would only increase the difficulties of an already complicated situation. It must be borne in mind, however, that after the war German industry will be considerably damaged, if not destroyed, and it would be inadvisable to reconstruct it all lest it should again be used to menace Europe. It would be better, therefore, to build up industries in Central Europe, in places where the natural conditions now exist. This area has large coal deposits and many rivers which could be converted into power; it has also many raw materials. But this does not imply the transformation of agricultural Central Europe into an industrial area.

As the planning will have to be done for the whole

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'PASHKO'S' LAST SHOT

By PILOT OFFICER W. U. of FIGHTER SQUADRON NO. 303



Members of the Crack Polish Fighter Squadron which Accounted for 126 German Aircraft in the Battle for Britain, Autumn 1940

THE fighter pilots were standing by, fully dressed for battle, and ready to take off at a moment's notice. The day was warm and sunny, and the crews and ground staffs of the squadron were lounging in front of the hut; some resting in deck-chairs, others stretched out on the grass.

We were all in high spirits. Only Flying-Officer "Pashko" seemed to be out of sorts, perhaps because during his previous flight there had been "nothing doing."

We were chatting about air attacks, about single fighters and mass attacks, and exchanging experiences, when someone casually observed that it would be interesting to know the individual preferences of each of us. I turned to "Pashko" and asked him what was his greatest desire.

"All I want is that my last shot should not be wasted. Apart from that . . ."

The telephone bell cut him short. The operator on duty lifted the headphones and shouted the order "Take off!"

In two minutes the squadron was up in formation, one flight behind the other, heading for the South-east of London. "Pashko's" flight followed Flight No. 1. The squadron climbed to 25,000 feet before reaching the Thames estuary. Visibility was good; only tiny white cloudlets were brushing past our wing-tips. Presently we could see the shining surface of the Channel, and beyond it the shadowy blue outline of the French coast.

On our left we had as neighbors two British fighter squadrons, which climbed as fast as we did. From the moment of taking-off we were directed by wireless, but soon our radio began to register the sharp, rapid sound of Morse signals which often warned us that the enemy was near.

Our squadron received the order: "Course 110 degrees!" but soon afterward we heard: "Change course to 120 degrees. Enemy bombers approaching you from the southeast. Height, 25,000 feet."

The squadron gently wheeled to the right, and immediately in front of us we saw a group of enemy bombers flying in the direction of London. At a glance I estimated their number at about sixty. Above them glittered the yellow-nosed Messerschmitt 109 chasers, of which there were a great many. They certainly outnumbered us.

The squadron hovered lightly, while our formation loosened into flights of threes, and changing into battle order turned in the direction of the barrage thrown out by our anti-aircraft batteries. I released the catch of my machine guns.

The enemy's bombers were flying in flights of threes in a tight formation, which is difficult to disperse, and the protecting Messerschmitts that were circling above the bombers were grouped in twos or fours.

Our squadron gained the necessary superiority in height to give it a convenient position for attack,

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territory as one unit, federation seems the most practical solution. The various national States would join together in one federation, to which they would transfer part of their sovereignty, especially in the economic sphere. This would entail a common trade, foreign and military policy. The suggestion that the Central European States should associate along the lines of the British Commonwealth does not meet the situation. The British Commonwealth, comprising territories linked by a common historical development, is too loose an association and relies too much on the loyalty of the individual members to be applicable to Central Europe. On the other hand, the conception of a unified State in that area ignores the right of each nation to its own State, and would



On Friday, October 17th, in Edinburgh, Scotland, the Paderewski Hospital, an American memorial to the beloved musician, was dedicated. The Paderewski Hospital is being equipped by the Paderewski Testimonial Fund, Inc., 37 East 36th St., which has, to date sent through Refugees of England, Inc., \$33,000 for equipment.

be too radical for the present political States of that part of Europe.

To sum up, I would suggest the economic and political structure for Central Europe:—

Independent national States associated in a single federation to which they transfer part of their sovereignty, especially economic, resulting in a common foreign, economic and military policy. An international industrialization scheme reducing the density of the agricultural population, thus raising the general standard of living and absorbing the surplus population. Such an organization would be the best guarantee

that Central Europe remained politically independent and did not provide a jumping-off ground for world domination.

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which is most effectively launched frontally from above at an angle of about 120 degrees.

The first machine of our squadron rolled over on its right wing, followed by the second and third machine, and then by the second flight, and the third, making straight for the German bombers. Our machine guns, housed in the wings, belched forth streams of bullets. Our squadron cut through the enemy formation, followed by the two British squadrons. The German formation was broken. I could see several of the Heinkels dropping out, leaving a trail of heavy black smoke. Single enemy bombers attacked by individual fighters attempted to escape by zigzagging sharply, but they were too clumsy for our agile fighters. We just sat on their tails until a burst or two sent them down.

Some of the German machines attempted to break off and turn back, but they could not escape. In the general *mélée* of dog-fights the sparkling tracks of the machine-gun bullets cut across the white smoke streaks issuing from the exhausts, and soon one more enemy bombing expedition against London was broken up.

At this very moment, however, the yellow-nosed Messerschmitts poured down and attacked us. The air became one great quivering confusion of planes, flying in threes or singly: Hurricanes, Messerschmitts, Spitfires, and Heinkels. The black crosses flashed menacingly before our eyes, followed by the red and white circles, the markings of our own Kosciuskos and of the British fighters. Three of four burning machines left a parabolic trail of black

smoke in the sky as they tumbled helplessly to earth. I could see a number of poor devils who had baled out. The white cupolas of the parachutes were clearly visible against the green background of the earth.

One flight of three German bombers, taking advantage of the general confusion, turned sideways, and I could see them making in the direction of a chimney stack close to the river. I was going all out, and decided to cross their path. I was getting my sights on them, when suddenly, like a flash one of our Kosciuskos, with the letter M painted on its frame, overtook me, diving from above and going straight into the three bombers.

I could not observe the exact sequence of the events which followed. At one moment I noticed a torn mass of the frame and a few yards away a fragment of the wing of a Heinkel 111, but the next moment I could see a Hurricane spinning down and leaving a dense streak of smoke behind it. It was the Kosciuszko Hurricane bearing the letter M.

By this time the other two German bombers were already far away, making for home. It was time to return. Our machines were flying singly at different levels, but in a northerly direction. I received by wireless the order:

"Return. Land."

All my ammunition was spent by then, and automatically I secured the catch of the guns. One more wide circle, and I was off for home.

On landing I learned that the Hurricane "M" was Pashko's. Though he was killed, not on the Vistula but on the Thames, he knew that his last shot was not wasted.