

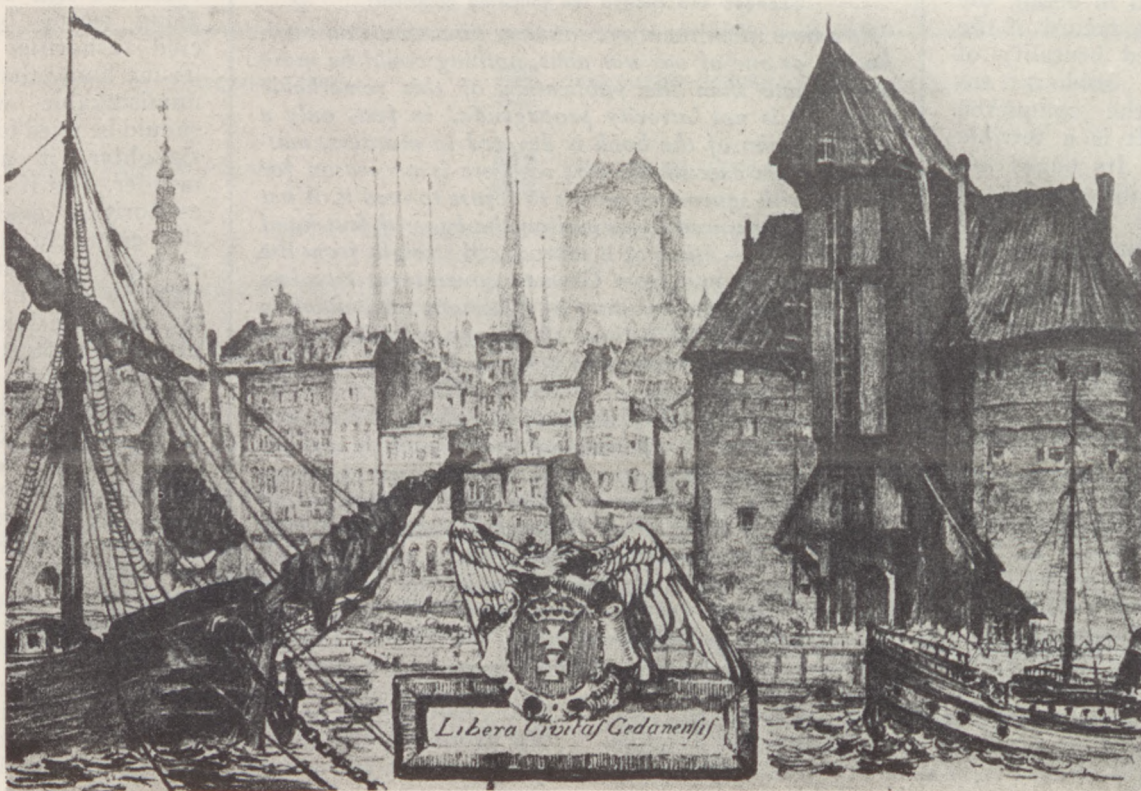
The Polish Review

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NO POLAND WITHOUT DANZIG



BEFORE the present war and even in its first few months German propaganda tried to make the Western states believe that Poland's stubborn defense of her position and her rights in Danzig were the chief reason for the outbreak of Polish-German hostilities. On the German side there was always the tendency to sneer at and ridicule Danzig's importance as a key point for Poland's industry, commerce and culture. Poland's negative attitude toward the Reich's aspirations on Danzig were regarded as "Polish Whims".

Too often the efforts of German propaganda relating to Danzig found a welcome

reception in the West. The problem of Danzig was too complicated to be understood by all, and the trumpets of the German propagandists were too loud. Many people believed that it is not worth while to "fight and die for Danzig".

The Polish outlook on the Danzig question was directed rather by intuition and sentiment than by reason. Unfortunately, the stress was put in the past, on the ethnographical and historical reasons rather than on the vital importance of Danzig for the future of the Polish Republic.

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SPEAKING OF POLAND . . .

The Bishop of Chelmsford Under the Caption "These Brutes Must Be Punished" Writes in The Sunday Chronicle:

A SITUATION without parallel confronts the civilized world today. Men and women, boys and girls, have been murdered, tortured, driven from their homes by Nazi hordes. Their cruelty and bestiality have swept whole countries, and the world of Christian people is horror-stricken. The Polish Ministry of Information has just published a volume entitled "German New Order in Poland" in which is set out, carefully and in detail, the appalling record of the calculated brutality of the German soldiers towards the conquered Poles. It is a terrible record. Its pages are filled with stories of heartless cruelty and sadistic fury against innocent people who were murdered, imprisoned, mutilated, driven from homes or carried away into virtual slavery, simply because they were Poles. In comparison to stories like these, the Armenian atrocities which aroused the conscience of this country to white heat, were but a mild exhibition of religious zeal. This book is entirely free of any emotional appeal. It is a plain collection of facts and the reader is left to draw his own conclusions. Terrible though this record is, it does not stand alone. The Russian Government recently published a document which rivals if it does not surpass in horror this shameful and disgusting record of merciless brutality which has disgraced the German name. And very much the same damning record has come from every country that has fallen into the clutches of the Nazis. To estimate the situation correctly, it must be further remembered that these are not excesses perpetrated in the heat of war, when the worst human passions are in control, when men are driven by berserk fury to deeds, for which afterwards they would blush. All these excesses have been done "according to plan," as a definite part of a total war programme worked out and developed calmly and deliberately before a shot was fired. Is it right that people who have done these dastardly things to inoffensive men, women and children should go unpunished? If so surely then the only logical thing to do is close all our law courts, throw open our prisons, release all the convicts, the cut-throats, the blackmailers, the white-slavers, and

never again attempt to bring a criminal to justice. For surely it is absurd to give a swindler ten years penal servitude and pass over the crimes of men whose fiendish cruelty has brought misery, death, rape and ruin to millions. There are those who say that this is contrary to the teachings of the Christian religion. I think those people are quite wrong. If I were myself to kill a Nazi who had injured a member of my family I should not only be doing wrong but the civil authorities would let me know that in an unmistakable way. I should be tried for manslaughter, if not for murder. But if the civil authorities deal with the crime in a proper legal form, it is an entirely different matter. They are doing their duty and protecting society which is put in their charge. When the State takes action of this kind, its sentence has several purposes in view. It is primarily corrective and deterrent and only in a subordinate sense punitive. Moral law must be vindicated and an object lesson must be given

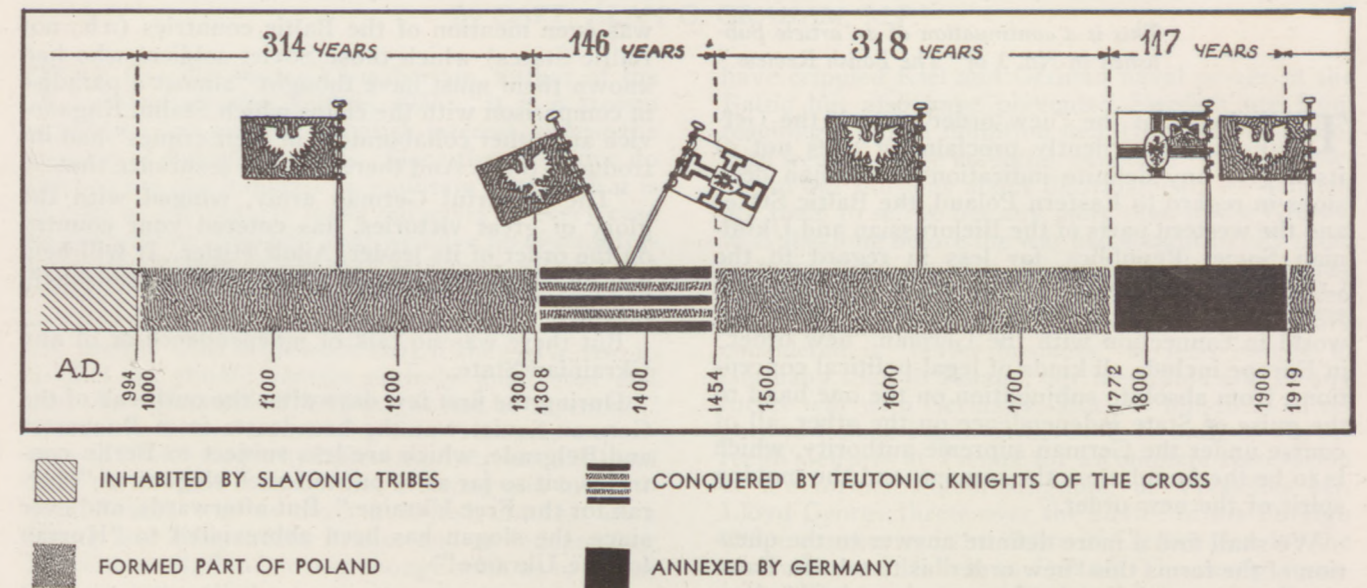
that crime cannot be perpetrated with impunity. But the primary purposes of judicial action against evil doing are of far greater importance morally and from the practical point of view. Man is to be given an object lesson that crime does not pay. The hanging of a murderer or the life sentence on a felon, is not mere vindictiveness. That element may be there in a subordinate degree, but the real intention of the State's action in such cases is to give evidence to the community that the breaking of its laws will not be permitted. That action must be taken to provide a deterrent and act as a corrective to anyone who may be like-minded with the criminal. It is indeed the duty of any State which claims to be a Christian State in any sense of the word, to defend the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and to hear the cry of outraged women and murdered children. If it cannot bring back that which has been lost, at least it must see that in its righteous indignation against wickedness and in its lawful punishment of the offender, the moral law is vindicated, and it must show the world that the way of the murder and the criminal is a road that cannot be taken with impunity.

The Polish Ministry of Information has just published a book on "German New Order in Poland," which has created a sensation in London and elicited the following comment:

"At a time when there are so many discussions on retribution, as one of our war aims, nothing could be more appropriate than the publication of this remarkable book. It is not 'atrocious propaganda,' in fact, only a small portion of the book is devoted to murders, massacres, mass executions, etc., so there is no reason for anyone with squeamish nerves to refuse to read it. What it tells in measured tones and on the basis of first hand information — much of it reproduced straight from the German press and from German government circulars — is the even grimmer story of systematic extermination of one of the great nations of Europe, a nation which holds a high and honorable place in European civilization. The programme of Poland's cultural extermination, through the mass killing of the educated class and the destruction of all national monuments is already fairly familiar, but on this as on other subjects this book is invaluable for references. The chapter on mass deportations of Poles from Western Poland is not only a story of fiendish cruelty, but is also a subject which will require close study when New Europe comes into being. Germany has here set up a principle which may prove to be a terrible boomerang." SUNDAY TIMES

that crime cannot be perpetrated with impunity. But the primary purposes of judicial action against evil doing are of far greater importance morally and from the practical point of view. Man is to be given an object lesson that crime does not pay. The hanging of a murderer or the life sentence on a felon, is not mere vindictiveness. That element may be there in a subordinate degree, but the real intention of the State's action in such cases is to give evidence to the community that the breaking of its laws will not be permitted. That action must be taken to provide a deterrent and act as a corrective to anyone who may be like-minded with the criminal. It is indeed the duty of any State which claims to be a Christian State in any sense of the word, to defend the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and to hear the cry of outraged women and murdered children. If it cannot bring back that which has been lost, at least it must see that in its righteous indignation against wickedness and in its lawful punishment of the offender, the moral law is vindicated, and it must show the world that the way of the murder and the criminal is a road that cannot be taken with impunity.

N O P O L A N D W I T H O U T D A N Z I G



HISTORY OF DANZIG AND POMORZE (Polish Maritime Provinces)

(Continued from page 1)

The problem of Danzig cannot be limited only to the question of annexation either by the Reich or by Poland of the territory situated at the mouth of the River Vistula with a population of 400,000 souls. The problem is much wider and its solution will have far reaching consequences. As a matter of fact it does not concern Poland and Germany alone, but, through these consequences, it concerns the whole of Central and Eastern Europe as well.

The unilateral solution of the Danzig problem in favor of the Reich, like the half-hearted solution of the Treaty of Versailles, creating a Free City, would always endanger Poland's political and economic independence and would create a strong basis for the German large scale expansion to the East of Europe.

Danzig is situated on the Baltic coast, at the mouth of the most important Polish river, the Vistula. It is also at the outer edge of the Polish ethnographical belt. Unfortunately, it is situated also on the cross-roads of the well known German "Drang nach Osten". As such it has been always the bone of contention between two divergent political tendencies.

It was always Poland's tendency to have an access to the sea to trade with foreign countries, and for that purpose she tried to get hold of the Baltic shore from the River Oder to the River Niemen, even the River Dvina. The German tendency, however, was to push Poland away from the Baltic Sea, to conquer that territory and thus to put it under the German power. Poland and the Baltic provinces

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"A State of thirty-three million people (Poland) will always need access to the Sea."

ADOLF HITLER, Mass Meeting in Sports Palace, Berlin, June 26, 1938

"The Rights of Poland in Danzig would not be impaired."

ADOLF HITLER, Declaration made on November 5, 1937

"... Poland failed to recognize that her duty as a nation was above all to defend her maritime frontiers and to chase the Teutonic Knights from those frontiers."

"When in the eighteenth century Prussia . . . took complete possession of Poland's maritime sphere . . . it was impossible for Poland ever to become anything."

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT, 1803. "Germanien und Europa", pp. 329-30.

THE GERMANS' REAL INTENTIONS

This is a continuation of an article published in No. 3 of "The Polish Review."

THE slogan of the "new order" which the Germans are so ardently proclaiming does not of itself give any definite indication of German decisions in regard to Eastern Poland, the Baltic States and the western parts of the Bielorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics, far less in regard to the Crimea, and the native Russian areas. For the generalizations which are being spread all over the world in connection with the German "new order" in Europe include all kinds of legal-political conceptions, from absolute subjugation on the one hand to the guise of State independence on the other, all of course under the German supreme authority, which is to be the foundation, the cement, and the moving spirit of the new order.

We shall find a more definite answer to the question of the forms this "new order" is to take in Eastern Europe, according to German plans, in the decisions taken and in the German propaganda relating directly to these areas.

The fact that a province of Ostland has been organized from the Baltic States, the fact that South-Eastern Poland has been incorporated with the General Gouvernement, the fact that Dr. Koch, known for his violently anti-Polish national policy in Eastern Prussia, has been appointed the German satrap for the Soviet Ukraine, all this leaves the nations inhabiting these territories with no illusions whatever as to the actual trend of German decisions, or the real object of their taking over those territories.

However, anyone who closely followed German wireless propaganda immediately after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, including all the vast network of German stations in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia and elsewhere, would have been left in no doubt of the real aims of the German march eastward, not only from what that propaganda contained, but also what it scrupulously left out.

The Lithuanians set up a government for a Lithuanian Republic which was to regain its independence. But any Lithuanian closely following the German wireless had no doubt left in his mind that such designs were written in water, and that attempts to realize them would meet with a resolute German *Nein* (No). For it must be stated that German propaganda, obviously counting on its own armed forces in the struggle against the Soviet army of occupation in Lithuania, made no mention whatever of independence for the Baltic States, just as, for that matter, it has not uttered one word to date about independence for the Ukraine.

When on June 22nd all the German-controlled broadcasting stations read out a "Proclamation to the Red Army" in innumerable languages, there was talk of the Jewish Commune, of tyranny, of treachery, of the Soviets' aggressive designs, of Bolshevik exploitation and French and British capitalists, there

was even mention of the Baltic countries (*n.b.*, not Baltic States) which those Soviet soldiers who had known them must have thought "almost a paradise in comparison with the chaos which Stalin, Kaganovich and other collaborators in their crimes" had introduced there. And there was the assurance that:

"The powerful German army, winged with the glory of great victories, has entered your country on the order of its leader, Adolf Hitler. It will help you to break the fetters of the Jewish-Bolshevik slavery."

But there was no talk of independence or of any Ukrainian State.

During the first few days after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war the broadcasts from Bucharest and Belgrade, which are less subject to Berlin control, went so far as to put out such slogans as "Hurrah for the Free Ukraine." But afterwards, and ever since, the slogan has been abbreviated to "Hurrah for the Ukraine!"

The propaganda talks issued by the German and German controlled wireless in Ukrainian are invariably filled with hatred for Russia and Poland, but not once has the slogan of an independent Ukrainian State been mentioned in these talks.

We know, therefore, already that:

1. There is no longer any talk of State independence for the subjected nations.
2. The promised "freedom of popular cultural existence" is understood in a very peculiar way by the organizers of the "new order."

Instead of independence, there is to be German rule. Dr. Sperrl writes poetically about that in an article entitled *Raumüberwindende deutsche Kraft* (The Space Overcoming German Strength) in the *Krakauer Zeitung* of July 25. He said:

"Today the German might reaches far into the space surrounding the German living area. From the Atlantic to the heart of European Russia and from the North Cape to the bounds of Sahara extends its radius."

The writer goes on to say that comparisons may suggest themselves between the German rule and the conquest of enormous areas by Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire, Napoleon and the British Empire.

"The instrument of German might exists for no other purpose than to repel a direct attack on German vital interests."

In other words, after Germany has conquered all the countries of Europe, her armed forces will be a peace army, used only to suppress violations of her conquests and attacks on German domination!

This "new order" is being brought into existence by the application of German force which is brought into use under any pretext, but in reality because German interests are directly affected.

At the same time the Germans justify their claim

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DOES POLAND MATTER TO BRITAIN?

By CAPT. ALAN C. GRAHAM, M.P.*

THE late Sir Austen Chamberlain, author of the Locarno treaties, said in 1935: "It is a truism of politics that peace is a British interest, almost the greatest of British interests. Since that is so, we do right to use our influence to maintain it, though it is no part of our duty to make ourselves in every case its guarantors. It is true that we have no direct interest in the Polish "Corridor" or Upper Silesia, and certainly we are not called upon to assume any particular responsibility in regard to them. But who can predict with confidence that if they give rise to conflict we should remain entirely unaffected and that the experience of 1914 might not be repeated?" We are in fact now enduring that "repeated experience of 1914." And why? Because between 1919 and 1939 we had not realized that a strong and independent Poland was as direct a British interest as a strong and independent France and an independent Belgium or Holland strong enough with us to defeat German aggression.

In every century since that of Cardinal Wolsey, England's foreign policy has had in Europe one predominant aim and necessity, namely, that no one Power should be of such strength as to dominate and so mobilize the Continent of Europe against us. This remains our basic need, which is not diminished but only emphasized by the co-existence of Coalitions, Holy Alliances, or Leagues of Nations.

Since Napoleon I drained France of her manpower, the only state with both the desire and temporary ability to mobilize Europe against us has been Prussia-Germany. Against this Power, between 1918 and 1939, we thought that in the West we were secure behind the collision-mats of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. We never realized that unless we maintained a strong power on Germany's immediate eastern frontier as well, she could first devour her weak eastern neighbors and then securely turn, tear down our western collision-mats one by one and change them into spring-boards for an attack on us. And this attack not even Russian heroism has yet averted.

Too long had we lulled ourselves with the idea that Eastern Europe really concerned the French mostly and ourselves scarcely at all. We were still thinking about strategy (when indeed we thought of it at all) in terms of the stage-coach and not in those of the motor-vehicle and the airplane, with their relative annihilation of distance. If, as Napoleon said, "whoever holds Antwerp holds a pistol to the head of England," how much more of a restraining influence on modern Germany would have been a strong Polish Air Force on a frontier no farther from Berlin than Antwerp is from London. A strong force of Polish seaplanes and submarines could not only

*Captain Alan C. Graham, M.P. (Conservative, Wirral Division of Cheshire since 1935). Born 1896. Private Secretary to the Earl of Balfour 1925-29. Private Secretary to Viscount Hailsham as leader of the House of Lords 1932-35. One of the contributors of AFTER THE WAR, a symposium of Peace Aims edited by William Teeling. (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1940.)

have crippled Kiel and German naval power in the Baltic but also have prevented Swedish ore from reaching German munition factories. Why was Poland weak in these essential weapons? Because, owing to our illusions about disarmament, we had not got them to sell to her any more than to the Greeks, who also long before the war had sought to buy them from us. Why couldn't Poland build these airplanes for herself? She had not enough up-to-date factories. Why? Because finance in London and New York considered it "better business" to lend money to Germany than to Poland, our inevitable ally in any future war with Germany. But our blindness in regard to Poland began earlier still. In spite of Castle-reagh's efforts at Vienna for a complete restoration of the former Polish kingdom, at Versailles Mr. Lloyd George threw over the advice of his Foreign Office experts and the desire of Clemenceau for the restoration of Danzig to Poland. The newly resurrected State was therefore left with contested control and hostile influence at the mouth of its vital alimentary canal, the River Vistula, and with its hereditary and implacable foe entrenched not merely in Danzig but in East Prussia and Upper Silesia as well.

* * *

During the period of the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, nationality in Europe was God and ethnography the Ten Commandments. Consequently it was not hard for Mr. Lloyd George to throw up his Nonconformist hands in horror at the mere idea of placing even a small minority of German Protestants under Catholic Poland. He said that to do so "must lead sooner or later to a new war in Eastern Europe." Even he was apparently unable to understand what seven hundred years of history had shown, namely, that the vulpine character of the Prussians would make them, as soon as ever they felt strong enough, manufacture any pretext, ethnographical or otherwise, for crushing Poland and for "starting a new war in Eastern Europe," whenever it best suited them. He probably never knew that Bismarck had already in 1878 proclaimed his policy towards the Poles in the one pregnant word *ausrotten* (i.e. exterminate). Again, history, shouting, perhaps, as he was usually too busy to listen to her, should have told Mr. Lloyd George that the mere existence of the Polish State created a bond of interest between Prussia-Germany and Russia to destroy her, as during the partitions, and that it was no use just saying *Fiat Polonia!* without giving Poland the material means of being able to stand on her feet between her two jealous and aggressive neighbors. Her great strategical weakness has ever been her lack of a good natural frontier either in the West or in the East.

By the treaty of Riga with Soviet Russia in 1921, when both sides showed great moderation and common sense, Poland gained security on her eastern frontier by obtaining possession of a large part of

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JOSEPH CONRAD KORZENIOWSKI, POLISH MASTER OF ENGLISH LETTERS



THE MOTHER OF CONRAD SUCCUMBED TO THE RIGORS OF EXILE. SHE NEVER RETURNED TO HER NATIVE POLAND.

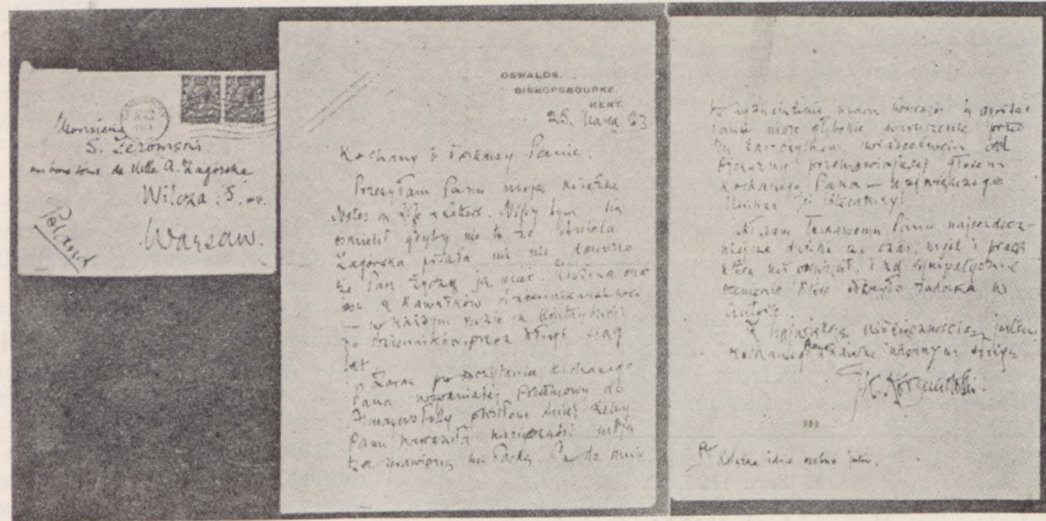
JOSEPH CONRAD is the most remarkable phenomenon in English literature. Pole by birth and descent, son of the patriot and scholar who translated Shakespeare into Polish, Teodor Jozef Korzeniowski, performed the miracle of becoming an Englishman and a front-rank English novelist without sacrificing his Polish patriotism. His father had inspired him with a love of freedom and literature. As the Poles were then under foreign dominance freedom was something which happened abroad, and as English literature and British ideals were common currency in the Conrad household, it was natural that Britain and freedom should become identical terms. But Joseph Conrad, child of a land without a seaport, added to his inherited love of English literature and British freedom a passionate love of ships and the sea. It was probably this passion which launched him into our seagirt consciousness. Like thousands of British boys, he wanted to go to sea,

and he was able to gratify his desire in his eighteenth year by joining an English ship at Marseilles as an ordinary seaman.

He spoke little or no English. Twenty years later Captain Conrad walked into a London publishing house with the manuscript of "Almayer's Folly" under his arm. He must have looked like Captain Kettle, but the resemblance ended there. Conrad had adventured on the high seas, but although he was a Master Mariner in the Merchant Service, he was primarily an adventurer in the realm of the imagination. Whilst at sea he trained simultaneously for his Master's "ticket" and the mastery of English. He taught himself to master a ship on the Eastern trade routes, where he stored his mind with impressions of the sea and seamen which were to fill the stockpot of his later career. He taught himself English in the spare time of his service on a coaster between the Tyne and Thames.

Conrad's genius was recognized at once by his peers and the critics, but he had to wait for another twenty years before he became popular. That need not cause surprise. It is only necessary to recall his appreciative accounts of stiff-necked skippers to realize that Skipper Conrad would prove to be a more than usually stiff-necked man of letters. He no more yielded to the popular clamor than he would have yielded to the clamor of the lower deck.

Thus gradually and grandly he came into port leading a flotilla of masterpieces: "The Nigger of the Narcissus", "Typhoon", "Lord Jim", "Nostromo", "Heart of Darkness", "The Secret Agent", "The Mirror of the Sea", and many more now filling 23 volumes in the collected edition of his works. These books have entranced alike the cultured and the common reader, and may be expected to do so long as the mounting tyrannies of mechanization and mental decay permit us to read what is worth reading.



A beautifully worded letter written in excellent Polish by Conrad to Stefan Zeromski, one of Poland's best writers.

But the strange story of Poland's gift to Britain does not end there. Conrad is not only a teller of tales, and there are no greater tales in English than his, nor is he only the admiral of a fleet of masterpieces. This Polish-Englishman is the Homer of the Seven Seas. Joseph Conrad, born of a nation of landlubbers, has written the epic of the sea for the first of the maritime peoples. No native writer of sea stories can equal him, either for knowledge of ships or for insight into the character of the officers and men of the merchant service.

Joseph Conrad was a man of extreme sensibility and reserve. This *pudeur d'ame* was such that only by a great effort could he bring himself to write about the things that lay nearest his heart. In his works he mentions Poland but seldom, and in writing of his family it is rather of more distant relations that he tells us than of his parents. When speaking of matters that touch him intimately and painfully, there is evident the fear that he may be suspected by the reader of an appeal for sympathy, or worse still, for pity.

Details concerning the family of Joseph Conrad are scattered through three of his works: "Tales of Hear-say", "Notes on Life and Letters" and "A Personal Record," and in all three are very meagre. From them the attentive reader may learn that the family of the great writer was settled in Ukraine where it possessed an estate, and that after Poland's dismemberment it took a distinguished part in the struggle for freedom, fighting obstinately and perseveringly with pen and sword and exposing itself to persecution at the hands of the Russian Government.

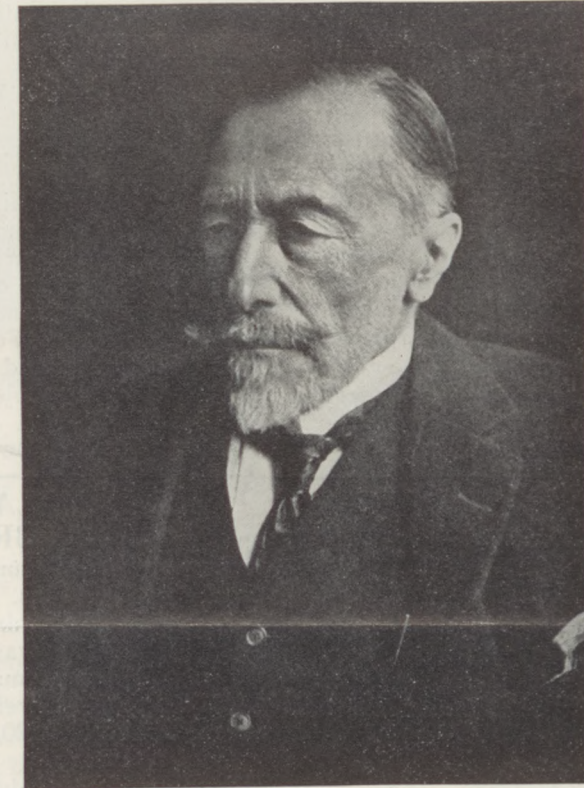
In his reminiscences Conrad mentions now and again his grandfather, a soldier of Napoleon and an officer in the Insurrection of 1830. More at length and with delicate humor, with which he endeavors to mask his own emotion, he describes his maternal granduncle Bobrowski, who was also a soldier of the time of Napoleon's expedition to Moscow, giving a marvelous portrait of the valiant warrior whom hunger had driven to eat roast dog, and who, disap-

pointed in all his hopes, took refuge in silence and solitude.

Of his parents he says but little. In speaking of his father, who left Ukraine and went to Warsaw to take part in the preparations for the Polish insurrection, Conrad protests against the epithet "revolutionist" as applied to a man who did not prepare social a political revolutions, but "risings which were purely revolts against foreign domination." He calls his father "a man with a strong sense of responsibility in the region of ideas and action, indifferent to the prompting of personal ambition . . . He was simply a patriot in the sense of a man who, believing in the spirituality of a national existence, could not bear to see that spirit enslaved." Of his father's activities at that period Conrad tells us: "I learned the fact that the first inception of the Secret National Committee intended primarily to organize moral resistance arose on my father's initiative, and that its first meetings were held in our Warsaw house." In his memories of this Warsaw house, Conrad gives us this touching picture of his mother: "I remember my mother, a more familiar figure than the others, dressed in the black of the national mourning worn in defiance of ferocious police regulations. I have also preserved from that particular time the awe of her mysterious gravity, which, indeed, was by no means smileless. For I remember her smiles, too. Perhaps for me she could always find a smile. She was young then, certainly not thirty yet. She died four years later in exile."

About his life in exile with his parents in Vologda, all he tells us is that it was there he made his first acquaintance with Shakespeare and Victor Hugo, reading the translations on which his father was then working.

In 1868, Apollo Korzeniowski was liberated from his exile in Russia and came with his son to Cracow. According to Conrad, his residence with his father in Cracow lasted eighteen months, and after his father's death he spent four years in a high school of Cracow. (Please turn to page 8)



Konrad Korzeniowski
(Joseph Conrad)

Joseph Conrad, from an autographed photograph, signed twice — revealing the original Polish spelling and the simplified version or pseudonym by which he became famous.

THE GERMANS' REAL INTENTIONS

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to govern foreign countries in this fashion because of their alleged German culture or the racial kinship of the subjected people with the German nation.

The German Press uses such phrases as "German Riga" or "the old, German-founded city of Lemberg" of almost every town in Eastern Europe.

"The German element in the general European space — whether it be of a popular, cultural or economic nature — is so enormous, that in this gigantic campaign which is being waged from the farthest north to the farthest south, from the farthest west to the farthest east the German soldier everywhere comes upon testimonies to the creative work of his forebears. Now, too, in the far-flung space of the east, in many remote towns, in many provinces still unknown to him and of which he hardly knows the names, he has discovered memorials of ancient German culture, and again he will learn that once the scope of Germanism stretched farther than we Germans ourselves realized some years ago." (*Krakauer Zeitung* No. 174, July 28, 1941.)

It is Hitler who has opened the eyes of the Germans to this, the writer of this article, Herr Stoeppler, goes on to say.

JOSEPH CONRAD, POLISH MASTER OF ENGLISH LETTERS

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Of that period with his father in the ancient city he writes: "It was within those historical walls that I began to understand things, form affections, lay up a store of memories and a fund of sensations with which I was to break violently by throwing myself into an unrelated existence. It was like the experience of another world."

It may be that Conrad was thinking of his father and the inscription on his tombstone when in "Tales of Hearsay" he writes of Poland: "That country which demands to be loved as no other country has ever been loved, with the mournful affection one bears to the unforgotten dead and with the unextinguishable fire of a hopeless passion which only a living, breathing, warm ideal can kindle in our breast for our pride, for our weariness, for our exultation, for our undoing."

Dr. Roman Dyboski, Professor of English Literature at the Cracow University, met and talked with Conrad about two months before his death, at a luncheon-party in the Polish Legation in London. In this conversation, Professor Dyboski relates, Conrad revealed a vivid interest in Polish affairs.

The conversation was partly carried on in Polish, which language, despite the long years of absence from Poland, Conrad spoke with the ease and fluency of a native who had never left the country. As there were persons present who did not understand Polish, Conrad had recourse to the French language (which he spoke admirably) or to English, which—strange to say — this master of English style spoke with a foreign accent.

How Germans conceive of the new order can be judged not only from their unprecedented suppression of all signs of cultural creation among these nations, but their simple physical destruction of the nations' cultural leaders (shootings, imprisonments, tortures in concentration camps) or of their heritage (the removal or burning of public and private libraries, museums, archives, etc.). That this conception is peculiarly German is evident from the fact that, by their own declarations, the subjected peoples are to be incorporated in the life of national socialism.

Today that life is dying amid ruins, rubble and innumerable graves. But the Germans promise these areas a "new order," which is only a new name for the old German attempt at domination by force over the conquered territories.

The real aim of this German campaign will grow steadily more obvious in the eyes of the world.

That aim was clearly and emphatically defined by Hitler in his speech on October 3rd:

"An administration is being built up to restore and reorganize the vast extent of conquered territory, which will be turned to Germany's advantage . . . We have put a whole continent into the service of our State."

And this is the "new order in Europe."

DOES POLAND MATTER TO BRITAIN?

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the Pripet Marshes. In the West, however, with Germans in Silesia and on the eastern bank of the River Oder, she was extremely vulnerable. Still more, with the Germans sitting on her shoulder in East Prussia, as well as able to throttle Danzig whenever, as in 1920, they might choose, Poland's natural defensive line of the Vistula in any war with Germany was already turned, to the latter's advantage, before the war had even begun.

These disadvantages, which have again so nearly proved fatal to Poland's existence, resulted from two causes during the pre-Versailles Treaty preparations: (1) excessive regard for ethnography; (2) the unwillingness of the Supreme Council, primarily owing to Mr. Lloyd George's prejudices, to recognize that a strong Poland would be a safeguard against a future German war, and that a strong Poland must entail a weaker Germany.

The interests of the Christian faith, European civilization and of peace-loving people throughout the whole world demand that at the end of this war these mistakes shall not be made a second time. They can only be avoided if European, and primarily British statesmen, are bold and clear-sighted enough to recognize facts as they are and to act accordingly. The main fact is that no matter what Government a united Prussia-Germany exists, its neighbors cannot dwell without fear of attack, and that consequently as long as a united Prussia-Germany exists Europe can have neither disarmament nor peace. United Germany is an unnatural creation. It did not grow together like other nations. It was the product of force and chicanery practiced by Prussia against its

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NO POLAND WITHOUT DANZIG

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would then become an eastern gateway for German expansion.

This centuries-old conflict of Polish and German political aspirations has not been thought of clearly until quite recently, but it is a fact which has existed ever since the Poles fought the

We Poles are waiting with eagerness for the moment when the white eagled-banner will be flown again from the spire of St. Mary's Church in Danzig. We are waiting for the moment to take our places in the glorious pilgrimage to Westerplatte where Polish heroes lie buried.

Danzig and Gdynia will be for future Poland sources of strength to the whole national life and spirit of Poland. It will also be a show window for Polish spirit and culture to the Eastern and Northern Europe. Only then will it be possible to remedy the wrongs of the past.

In a series of further articles to be published in "The Polish Review," we shall present economic, historical and political data proving that Danzig is inseparable from Poland, to which it belongs by right and should never have been taken.



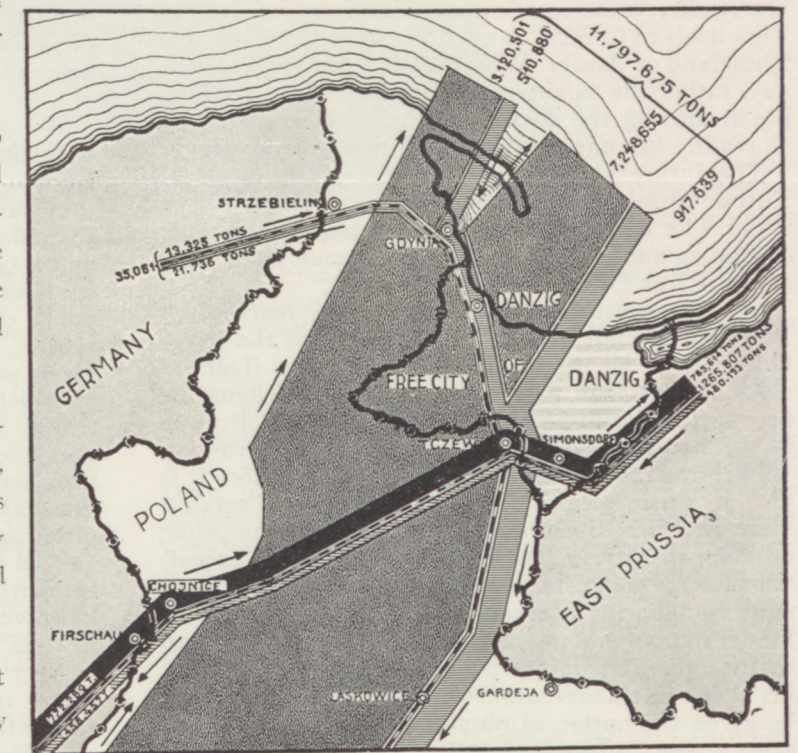
City Gate at the Fish Market in Danzig.

first battle with the Germanic element on the territories situated on the River Oder and the Baltic Sea.

In olden times both nations were not so clearly conscious of this rivalry compared with modern times. But whereas the German side tried by all means to exterminate the Poles, the Polish side for some time believed in the possibility of a compromised solution.

The political events immediately preceding the outbreak of the present catastrophe, the course of our tragic campaign and its disastrous effects for Poland have now opened the eyes to most peaceful-minded Poles.

Every Pole today understands now that Poland can live and prosper in peace only provided that Poland will get a strong foothold in Danzig, at the mouth of the mother of all Polish rivers, the Vistula. Polish frontier stones must be driven in firmly far West and East from Danzig to defend from Teutonic greed Poland's rights of access to the Baltic Sea.



ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF DANZIG AND POMORZE TO POLAND AND TO GERMANY IN 1939
Volume of Polish Imports and Exports by Sea compared with the Transit Traffic between Germany and East Prussia across Pomorze.

DOES POLAND MATTER TO BRITAIN?

(Continued from page 8)

more civilized, but less ruthlessly practical, German and non-German neighbors. Prussian strength originated and grew by feeding on the body of Poland, especially by the linking up of Brandenburg with the formerly quite separate East Prussian province at the third partition of Poland in 1795. This latter wrong was only partially righted in 1919, and even then the effort was largely nullified by leaving Germany still strong in Danzig and East Prussia.

* * *

Poland has now so nearly suffered extinction that she cannot risk similar mistakes being made again in her despite and in favor of Germany. She dare not stake her national existence again even on the probably happier functioning of an improved League of Nations. To be sure of her continued existence she must be strong. The future of Europe demands that she should be strong, and strong at the expense of the triply-proven criminal of Europe — Prussia-Germany.

How can this be effected? Luckily Hitler has shown us the way, which Germans accept for the convenience of Germany, for the correction of these awkward problems of a mixed racial population. He readily transfers Germans from as far east as Riga itself to Central or even Western Germany, the Rhineland or Alsace. Why then for the convenience, nay, rather the salvation, of Europe should we boggle at moving the docile and thrifty Germans, who so readily become prosperous in new surroundings?

The future security of Poland and the peace of Europe absolutely demand:

(1) The transference of the German inhabitants of Danzig and of East Prussia to German lands west of the River Oder;

(2) The control by Poland, for thirty years, of all Pomeranian and Silesian territory east of the River Oder and of all the bridgeheads over that river.

As regards the first of these two indispensable necessities, it will be remembered that East Prussia is the home and breeding-ground of the Prussian Junker and the kernel of that philosophy of life. It is also in great measure a country of large estates. Here with but little hardship to any but the prime authors of Europe's troubles can be found *Lebensraum* for the congested and ever-growing Polish agricultural laboring classes. Why should we not be kinder to poor and peace-loving Polish peasants than to the incurably militaristic Prussian landlord and his sheep-like adherents? German Danzigers might be given the option of obtaining Polish citizenship, after a short probationary period, and remaining in the city or of retaining their German citizenship and returning to Germany west of the Oder.

In regard to the second necessity, we have to guide us the similarly wise provision of Marshal Foch about the Rhine. If such a territorial guarantee of French security had not been thrown over at Versailles in exchange for the Anglo-American paper guarantee of a defensive alliance against Germany, which was subsequently rejected by the U.S.A. and Mr. Lloyd George, Nazism could never have carried Germany into the Rhineland, certainly not victori-

ously over it, and would probably in consequence never even have conquered Germany itself. Poland has now suffered so terribly from the territorial disadvantages left her by the Peace Treaty of 1919 that she cannot a second time be left to risk extermination in order to appease ideologues sitting snugly with an ocean or a sea as well as buffer-States between them and the German frontier.

On her eastern frontiers with Russia and Rumania, Poland seeks no alteration. The treaty of Riga with the Soviet Union was concluded in a spirit of the greatest goodwill and accommodation on both sides, as was admitted by M. Joffe, head of the Soviet Delegation, and M. St. Grabski for the Poles. The common sufferings of both Russians and Poles, and indeed all other genuine Slavs at the hands of the Germans, will make for a far better future understanding between these two great Slav peoples, and Britain, the ally of both of them, must work to foster and maintain this understanding. The confederation already in process of being formed between the Poles and Czechoslovaks will secure the Polish southern frontier and both restore and strengthen the Czech bastion in Central Europe. German policy has ever been to divide in order to destroy the Slavs. We must therefore see to it that German hopes of such divisions and weaknesses for the future will have no basis in any treaty-making mistakes of ours.

* * *

We ourselves, too, cannot afford in future to be without a sure and strong ally on the Continent of Europe. Both by their nature and by the blood that they have shed, it would be an utter impossibility for Poland ever to copy our former ally France in falling under German influence. No Polish Darlan does or could exist. Poland is an utterly united and a young, not a cynical, nation, possessed of great spiritual power. In the twenty years since 1919 she has also given proof of her practical constructive capacity, of which the port of Gdynia is perhaps the best example. Further, all her history has proved that, like ourselves, she is capable of the greatest military prowess while remaining essentially peace-loving. She has always remained faithful to her alliances, often to her own cost, as in the case of Napoleon. Let us not fall into Napoleon's mistake in underestimating the importance of Poland, which was, in his own words, "the keystone of the structure of Europe," since, as he admitted at St. Helena, this neglect was the prime cause of his downfall. That Hitler realizes this Napoleonic truth is seen by his concentrated efforts to destroy above all other nations Poland, so that the structure of Europe may be entirely German.

The Poles, the most westerly of the Slav peoples, who for a thousand years have been Europe's living wall against invading Tartars and Turks and other scourges from out of Asia, must be made secure. A weak Poland inevitably means no peace for Europe. Are we, her allies, to condemn her once again to be Europe's bleeding martyr? She has suffered too much already and suffered for our mistakes and our unreadiness. Let us redress the wrongs done to her now and for all time.

POLAND FIGHTS BACK IN THE DESERT

ANOTHER background for Polish pilgrims to freedom. It's quite new and different from other marching routes and battle-grounds. It's very different from the rich golden fields of Poland at harvest time, from the elegant and severe Brittany, from romantic Scotland, from green England and from barren, grim Norway. It's colder at night than among the snows of Norway. During the day there, the heat is unknown to Europe. There is no sea, no fields, no forests and no rivers. There are only scarce clumps of vivid green and lush vegetation, surrounded by a boundless empty dry place.

As before, forts and blockhouses have appeared on the edge of the desert. This time they are manned by white men, men from distant countries, Australia, New Zealand, England, South Africa — and Poland . . .

The rustling Polish words sound more exotic and mysterious in that country than they did among the rocks of Narvik, on the North Sea or on the tarmac of Kent fighting stations.

The uniforms are the same as those of the others. They wear the same colonial helmets and khaki shorts. The Polish eagles are their only distinctive mark. Their faces are as bronzed as those of the men of Melbourne or Auckland. But the Polish features, shorter, less angular, have kept a certain Slav softness under their suntan. The pale blue eyes of those sons of the north look cool in the tropical heat. They are tough men or they would not be there. But they always look somehow softer, more sensitive than the others.

But they had to be tough to be there and form a full Polish Brigade which is larger than a British formation of the same name. The Carpathian Brigade is formed largely of those who crossed the Carpathians to Rumania or Hungary and found the way to the West hermetically sealed.

They were eagerly anxious to fight and they joined the army of the Near East.

They soon established a Brigade of their own, stationed in Syria. Polish battalions were quartered in Eastern towns with names recalling Torquato Tasso and the Crusades. Some headquarters used castles built by the companions of Godfrey de Bouillon and left by them as an eternal memorial to the glory of the times of Richard *Coeur de Lion*.

For the first time in many centuries they were again the home of a Christian army. The Polish exiles had something in common with the Crusaders.

Misfortune revived religious feeling in a very genuine and somewhat primitive form. The cult of the Holy Virgin, so general in Poland found a suitable setting in the castles of the Crusaders. At Easter, 1940, one of these castles saw again the ancient abandoned religious rite of transference of fire. A long file of soldiers with candles in their hands went along the arched galleries and kindled a fire in the castle chapel, reviving a custom which the mediaeval lords of the fortress would have known well.

Everything seemed to be getting on splendidly!

But the situation of France, Syria, and the Carpathian Brigade was soon very radically changed. Soon after the French capitulation the Syrian army received orders to disband its several hundred thousand men, who were to be first disarmed.

"And what about us?" asked the Polish Commanders.

The Frenchmen, always proficient in diplomacy, did not reply. But their attitude towards the Poles underwent a considerable change. Finally, acting under orders from Vi-

chy, the French asked for a demobilization of the Polish Brigade.

"We shall do nothing of the kind," replied the Poles.

"Then give us back your arms. They are our property," argued the French.

"Soldiers don't part with their arms," said the Poles. It was perhaps not a very satisfactory reply from the point of view of common law, but it was undoubtedly a soldierly report. It is rumored that negotiations were carried out in language recalling that used by General Cambronne on a different occasion.

The Poles courteously informed the French that they were to pass into British Palestine territory.

"We have orders to stop you," said the French very severely.

"We shall then have to shoot our way through, though we would hate to do it," observed the Carpathian Brigade. And the whole Brigade, consisting of several thousand men, carried out a carefully covered strategic withdrawal to the south. No one really believed the French would use force to stop them. It was argued that soldiers who did not care to shoot Germans would probably not be any more anxious for a scrap with the Poles. The Brigade collected on its way as much armament and equipment as possible, and there was quite a lot of it.

(Please turn to page 12)



POLISH TROOPS ENTERING PALESTINIAN TOWN

POLAND FIGHTS BACK IN THE DESERT

(Continued from page 11)

"If it's going to be wasted or perhaps handed over to the Huns, we'd better take it ourselves," thought the men.

The column went along an old war path, as so many war caravans had before. It followed the valley of the narrow calm, holy River Jordan. The waters of Lake Gennesaret were as quiet as on the day when fisherman Simon sailed at His Master's order to cast his nets . . .

"We are in the Holy Land," whispered the devout Polish soldiers, and crossed themselves with bowed heads, as their peasant fathers had done.

One of the units wandered off to some small village, crumbling in the scorching heat. They were staggered when they saw its proud name: Jericho.

The city, with whose capture by Israel everyone was so familiar, was not very impressive.



POLISH ANTI-TANK UNIT IN LIBYA

"One platoon, or less, would be quite enough to take this," grumbled a sergeant, "and no wonder the walls went down when the Israelites started their row."

They went on in the sultry heat of July, marching below sea level. The Arabs looked with amazement at Poles who were not Jews. They had been accustomed to regard as Poles the Zionist Jews who came to Palestine from Poland as settlers. The horses of the Brigade met with the approval of the sheikhs. The sheikhs themselves seemed to the Poles to be very much like Jews.

"Why do they always quarrel?" wondered the soldiers, "after all, they are quite alike."

Finally the Polish pilgrims reached Jerusalem. The British authorities welcomed them with friendly and generous hospitality. Polish camps were established in towns with names that meant a great deal to the soldiers, in Bethlehem, Hebron, and Nazareth. Polish chaplains read Mass at the Tomb of Jesus. But when powerful voices of Polish peasants sang the hymns they had sung on the Warta, the Vistula and the Bug, when they thundered "Holy Lord" and

then stood up after Mass to sing, "Boze cos Polskę" (Thou Who hath kept Poland in Thy care), the Church of the Holy Sepulchre became a Polish country church.



POLISH SOLDIERS ATTENDING MASS IN EMMAUS

The Polish Jews, of whom several hundred thousand are living in Palestine, soon forgot their old feuds with the Poles. Besides, they were soldiers fighting against Hitler.

Military training was continued incessantly. It took some time to turn farmers from the north into colonial troops.

Then they received orders to depart. Everyone in Palestine was sorry to see them leaving.

"We are losing soldiers who recalled the Crusaders by their religious devotion," said the Catholic missions in Jerusalem.

"We are losing the Poles, they were good soldiers," sighed the Jews, who preferred the company of their former Gentile hosts to a tete-a-tete with the Arabs.

Only the Poles themselves were pleased. "Perhaps it means business," they thought.

* * * *

In September the Carpathian Brigade was transferred to Tobruk. In December it fought in the first lines of the British offensive launched against the Axis troops. For their gallantry and valor they have distinguished themselves in Tobruk, Gazala and other places. German prisoners captured in the desert wondered again at being taken by Poles in the country of palms and pyramids, as the German sailor wondered a year before at Narvik.

The wreckage of Warsaw and hundreds of Polish towns, the graves of hundreds of thousands of victims call for revenge. The call has been heard everywhere, and the sparks of burning Warsaw have lit up a fire that is embracing the world.

Polish soldiers are fighting today, together with their British comrades, for Egypt and Suez, for Palestine and Iraq, knowing that they fight for Poland and freedom . . .