The Polish Review

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POLAND'S ACCESS TO SEA

ALBERT LUDWIG EWALD'S four volumes on "Die Eroberung Preussens durch die Deutschen" (The Conquest of Prussia by the Germans) was published some seventy years ago. Its preface contains the following statement: "In 789 already the great King of the Franks (Charlemagne) pushed forward to the shores of the Baltic, smiting with fire and sword all attempts at resistance. Thus at that time already the foundations were laid for German domination over the Baltic Wends." (Vol. I, pp. 7, 8). In the same book, next to a statement of the peaceful disposition of the Polish princes (Vol. I, p. 238), we find the following headings of chapters: Conquest

of the Culm Country — Conquest of Pomesania — The Teutonic Order's Scheme of Conquest — The Conquest of Pogesania — The Conquest of Varmia, etc.

Is there any other nation with such milestones in its history? Another German historian, Professor K. Hampe, in his work Der Zug nach dem Osten (The March to the East) first published in 1921, points out that in the course of ten centuries the Germans conquered from the Slavs about 200,000 square kilometers of land which is more than half the area of pre-war Poland. The Pomerellisches Urkundenbuch

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The Coordinator of Information has ordered the following text to be broadcast to Poland. It contains an important message from President Roosevelt to the suffering people of Poland



BRAVE people of Poland! Reports of the sufferings visited upon you by the Nazis are the cause of deep concern to the President of the United States.

The atrocities inflicted upon the innocent men, women and children of Poland form the blackest page in

the Nazi record. President Roosevelt has given his assurance that he will remember this. The United States pledges its utmost resources to destroy the invader and to restore to Poland the free government she once justly enjoyed. Only by an Allied triumph can the tyrannous German occupation be ended.

Poland has made invaluable contributions to the war against the Axis. The spirit of resistance of all loyal Poles continues to play an important part in winning the war. The dreadful sacrifices made by Poland command the sympathies and respect of the entire civilized world.

President Roosevelt has authorized the United States radio to say in his name that these sacrifices shall not be in vain. Before such time, however, there may very likely be a further call upon the fortitude of the Polish nation. But the end is inevitable. The Allied cause must surely triumph. Democracy must restore freedom to Poland.

In the United States are tremendous reserves of food, medicines, and, not least, sympathy. The day will come when these will be made available to the people of Poland. Meanwhile, it must be understood by all Poles, that the United States cannot give aid to Poland that would benefit its enemies. The responsibility for the present grave situation in Poland is entirely Hitler's. He must be overthrown, his armies defeated utterly, in order to get adequate relief of Poland's intolerable condition. The plight of Poland today must rest squarely upon the consciences of the Nazi invaders. At some not too distant tomorrow, the nations fighting for democracy will be able to take concrete steps toward remedy.

The President of the United States has learned of many of the crimes committed in Poland by the Germans. He shares the revulsion of enlightened people everywhere at this recital.

Poland's culture has been one of the most valuable contributions of that great nation to humanity. The love that the world holds for the late Ignace J.

Paderewski, for Marie Sklodowska-Curie, for Nicholas Copernicus and many others is a shining example. It seems apparent that the present aim of the Nazis is to prevent any further contributions such as that made by these geniuses.

The intellectual class is undoubtedly the most persecuted in Poland. The Germans made no exceptions for professional, material or social standings. Annihilation of this class appears a well defined Nazi aim. In itself, this attitude indicates the fear that dominates the invaders. They fear the arising of any leadership from this class that might threaten the security of their occupation.

The disgust in Warsaw at the falsehoods and cynicisms of German utterance designed to mislead the world as to the extent of the inhuman persecutions in Poland, is shared by President Roosevelt.

Only one-fourth of the intelligentsia have been able to find any kind of employment. The rest are without work and in danger of dying of hunger, if not at the bloody hands of the Nazi.

Poverty and unemployment have contributed to a dreadful increase in suicides. This has been particularly acute among the older people. The younger generation has been able to make some adjustments to the regime of terror. Many have been able to find work and earn a subsistence livelihood. Many others are active in underground conspiratory work. We know that in spite of terrible peril young girls distribute underground pamphlets, and newspapers, and act as couriers. When apprehended they are seldom heard from again.

We know of the rape of Poland, by incorporating vast and richest areas into the Reich, and the subsequent unloading of millions of refugees from these districts into other parts of Poland, led to heightened conditions of hunger and suffering among the Polish peasants, We know of thousands of you driven away and put to forced labor.

The confiscation of food and fuel for the benefit of the Reich has been the cause of acute suffering to millions of Poles. The seizure of clothing and shoes and all luxury items has disrupted any attempt at normal living within the country. Poland's standard of living has been immeasurably lowered.

Brutal treatment on the part of the Nazis to the minorities in Poland has contributed to the general condition of disease and misery. President Roosevelt has given his assurance that some orderly solution will be found for such complications.

With pleasure we note that the resistance to German propaganda remains high in Poland. This encouraging symptom of an indomitable will is greatly appreciated in the outside world. All Poles within the country should be encouraged to learn that

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(Records of Pomerellia) published in 1882 by the Wetspreussischer Geschichtsverein (Historical Society of Western Prussia) says of these ancient records: "They are the basic documents for the history of a country which in the 13th Century still presented a thoroughly Slavic aspect. When emerging into the light of history this part of Prussia was an integral part of the Polish State." Such and similar historical proofs may be adduced by the hundred, many of them of undeniable German origin; they give a full record of the ruthless proceedings by which the Germans were systematically obliterating the Slavic and Polish character of the extensive country along the Baltic shore, proceedings that are continuing to the present day.

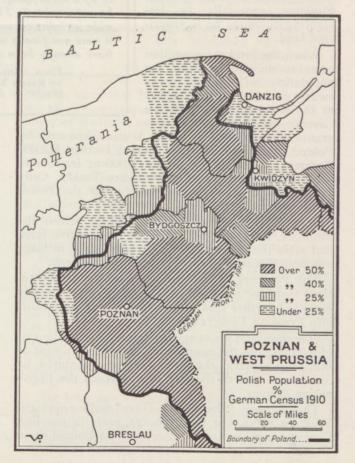
Up to the end of the 18th Century, it was generally acknowledged that Eastern Prussia was a kind of verandah or balcony attached to a neighbor's house, and built with the neighbor's materials. The appetite for Polish Pomerania was not even dressed up with phrases like those Hitler used just before his aggression against Poland "the bleeding frontier" of Prussia, or "a pale driven into the body of unhappy Germania." Frederick II's reasoning on the matter was blunter — "To control the foreign trade of Poland is a highly remunerative business. As Poland has allowed herself without demur to be exploited for centuries by a tiny Danzig, why should not that profitable port be taken over by a strong Prussia?"

In his testamentary directions for Prussia's policy in the future, Frederick II wrote: "After the death of each one of her kings, Poland becomes submerged in party struggles. This must be turned to profit by making Poland pay for our neutrality on one occasion by the cession of a city, on another by the cession of a province, until we have swallowed up all we want." (Frederick the Great, Letters and Writings — Vol. II, p. 170). The desired end was attained eventually by the partition of Poland. Prussia took for herself the Polish maritime provinces. Fourfifths of Poland was thus cut off from the sea, a considerable part of Polish trade formerly handled by Danzig passed to other German seaports.

In 1918 this wrong was partially remedied. American and European experts, after an exhaustive study of German official documents and maps, reached the conclusion that the Pomorze (Polish Maritime Province) had always had an indisputable Polish population. At the Peace Conference, therefore this territory was awarded to Poland as an access to the sea in accordance with President Wilson's Thirteenth Point. Unfortunately, East Prussia was left to Germany and this at once supplied an excuse for an extensive propaganda campaign against the so-called "Polish Corridor."

Let us for a moment consider this problem.

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"According to the present German

criminal code, a citizen of the United

States in his own home town commits

a crime if he joins an anti-Nazi organi-

zation, or if he criticizes destructively

the activity of a leader of the Foreign

section of the National Socialist Party

in the United States . . . Suppose the

respective foreign or German citizen

falls into the sphere of German sover-

eignty, for example by a forced air-

plane landing or as a prisoner of war,

or by a kidnapping, then the law would

be enforced . . . This claim of world-

wide jurisdiction would be laughable if

it were not fatally serious to those who

—From "HITLER'S CRIMINAL CODE," by Robert M. W. Kempner, "Free World" — January 1942.

have already been caught by it."

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Before the war the province of the Pomorze (The Polish Maritime Province), with its docks in Gdynia-Danzig, was the only outlet Poland had to the open sea. The Pomorze, therefore, was precious to Poland, and this all the more because it is ancient Polish land, inhabited by Poles.

The so-called Corridor had an area of 4,552 square miles and was more than half the size of Belgium. It was intimately connected with the central part of Poland. Its southern boundary ran for more than three hundred miles with that of the Warsaw and Poznan provinces. The Pomorze was, there-

fore, not a corridor at all, but a large province — part of the body of Poland. It was larger than Alsace-Lorraine. The latter is important to the French, the Pomorze is infinitely more important to Poland.

The German census of 1910 showed the preponderance of the native element in this ancient Polish province. This, in spite of the fact, that for more than a century Prussia had done her utmost to strengthen the German element in the Pomorze, especially by implanting colonists on expropriated land.

When the foreign occupation came to an end in 1920, the population of the Pomorze swiftly reverted to its exclusively Polish character. With the German garrison, 190,000 emi-

grants left the province before it was taken over by Poland. Between 1920 and 1931 a further 113,000 Germans emigrated, of whom 60,000 at least were optants under the terms of the Peace Treaty. Only 1,618 of these people were removed by the Polish Government.

In the 18th Century, when Prussia seized the Pomorze, the Poles did not leave their native land. But after the last war, the Germans left it in large numbers, because they were an alien element.

The Pomorze is, however, only a part of the ancient maritime province of Poland, which originally extended further into East Prussia, and westwards into Prussian Pomerania.

One thousand years ago, in common with the rest of what is now the coast of Germany, as far west as the Elbe estuary, the Pomorze was inhabited by Slav clans, akin to the stock from which the Polish nation derives.

The German "Drang nach Osten" submerged the Western Slavs, but the Pomorze, early in the 10th Century, came under the suzerainty of Poland, from which it received its Christian culture.

In the 13th Century the principality came directly under the Polish Crown, but in 1308 the Teutonic Order of the Cross seized it, after massacring the inhabitants of Danzig and other cities.

The Holy See, which then functioned somewhat like the League of Nations at Geneva, condemned this act and ordered restitution to Poland (in 1321 and again in 1339), but it was only in 1410 that the aggressive power of the Order was crushed at the famous battle of Grunwald. By 1454 the whole province (with Danzig) was free from foreign domination.

At the first Partition of Poland in 1772, Frederic the Great of Prussia seized part of the Pomorze.

Danzig and Torun were lost at the second Partition in 1793, but Danzig finally gave up her struggle against Prussia only in 1815, since when, until the liberation in 1920, the whole province was ruled by Berlin.

The Pomorze since pre-historic days has been inhabited by Slavs. First mentioned definitely in 960, it remained for 348 years under Poland until 1308, when the Teutonic Knights seized and held it for 102 years until 1410. Then, after a period of transition of 56 years, the whole province (with Danzig) returned to Poland for 306 years (1466-1772). The first Partition ushered in a transitional period of 43 years until 1815, when the resistance of Danzig was finally broken, and the province for 105 years was

ruled by Germany until its liberation by the Allies after the last war.

In a period of 960 years the Pomorze was Polish for 654 years, and entirely under a foreign domination for 207 years, that is less than Calais (in France) was under England. The first period of transition was in favor of Poland, and the second in that of Prussia. They cancel each other out, and it will be seen that the legitimate ownership lasted more than three times as long as foreign domination.

The Teutonic occupation was by unlawful conquest, as said in the Papal bulls of 1321 and 1339, and the Prussian one has been described by Lord Phillimore as the greatest crime in modern history.

The Germans themselves prefer to base their claim to the Polish Maritime Province upon political convenience, and not on historical rights, or on the will of the population.

At the peace of 1918 East Prussia was again, as of old, separated by Polish territory from the Reich. This was the chief reason of the demand for the return to Germany of the so-called Corridor. The Ger-

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THERE IS NO "OTHER" GERMANY

By ERNST G. PREUSS*

The Polish Review, in dealing with German problems, relies mainly on documents from German and neutral sources.

THE myth of St. George Schückelgruber, the man with no ambition beyond freeing the world from the dragon of bolshevism, took long to die, but it finally received its death blow on June 22 when

Russia entered the struggle on the side of the democracies. Unfortunately the myth of the "other" Germany, no less dangerous, still survives. According to this a great many, perhaps even the majority, of the German people will no longer be Nazis but desirable members of the community of nations once they are liberated from the monster Hitler. Not till Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands had been overrun did Winston Churchill take over the leadership in England and put an end to the nonsense of a war against the Nazis as distinct from a war against the "other" Germany. But this myth is not dead and may crop up again should Hitler start to blow the trumpets of peace.

"Converted" Nazis, who had some personal grievance in Hitler's Germany and therefore became "opponents of the system," or die-hard reactionaries for whom the Third Reich has grown too hot, are perhaps not the most knowledgable of critics on questions of democracy. Stout German democrats who proved political failures in their own country have now seized their pens to explain the mentality of the German people. And many English people who have found Germany "such a nice country" vouch for the existence of the "other" Germany. Their writings are read with agreement and approval because they simplify the ideological problems of the war and justify the pre-war attitude of trust in Germany. Most people now realize that the warnings of Mr. Churchill were well-founded. But Vansittart's Black Record and Roots of the Trouble have aroused violent opposition. The "Germans in the Plural" is undoubtedly the best if the most pitiless description of the German mentality that we have.

In The Canker of Germany I have attempted to show

* E. G. Preuss, who in 1923 was the Assistant Managing Director of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, and later head of

the general administration of this firm, has resided in England

since 1937. In May 1940 he published a book, "The Canker of Germany." He is the son of Hugo Preuss, who was German Minister of Internal Affairs in 1918 after the fall of the Imperial

Government and drafted the new German Constitution.

"In Politics everything is still proceeding, for the present, like clockwork in the military sense. Von Hintze comes to Spa, gets petrified, but composes himself. The Emperor is surprised, but also controls himself. Hertling resigns almost without a word, the Government is to be formed on the Parliamentary system. They are ordering a Democracy, which has no tradition in Germany. The formation of the Cabinet begins, the Ministers being provided by the Left, including Social Democrats . . . The new Government will request Pres-

ident Wilson to bring about an armistice and peace."

-Field Marshal von Hindenburg, Nov. 1918

how Hitler's road to power lay athwart all moral considerations. The hundreds of thousands of S.S. and S.A. men, whose one ambition it is to carry out their brutal orders in a still more brutal fashion, are recruited from all classes of the nation. In the last months they have had a chance of demonstrating their moral standard in all the occupied lands beyond the German frontiers. And the moral standards they have revealed is that of the average German, the "Germans in the Plural."

Honest indignation or wholehearted repudiation of the Nazi mentality even in its crassest manifestations can be found only among a decreasing minority of the German people. The vast majority adopt the point of view publicly expressed by the Duke of Bedford that they are not "impressed by these tales of atrocities." The truth, however, is a record of violations of all penal codes and of all the laws of humanity far exceeding even the most violent reports: and this is known not only to the victims themselves but to all those foreign journalists whose reports for years were published by the great democratic newspapers only in part or in a modified form, since the press "did not share the

popular view that Hitler is completely evil and under all circumstances utterly untrustworthy," as the Duke of Bedford, according to the Evening Standard of October 22, 1941, puts it. Those of us who were compelled to witness the atrocities of Hitler's régime learnt that most Germans of all classes, even those with whom we had been intimate and who would have passed in England for "nice fellows," either flatly denied the truth of facts they knew quite well or excused them by saying that as the victims were communists, socialists, Jews and suchlike an action of this type was in the interest of the state.

Has that "other" Germany no representatives among the troops of occupation and the administrations of the occupied territories? Anyone who has been an officer or a soldier in time of war knows that, discipline or no discipline, the possibility of carrying out certain measures depends substantially on what the army, recruited from all classes of society, finds compatible with its sense of justice. The inference for Germany is clear — the non-existence of the "other" Germany.

Not long ago Professor P. F. Drucker published an article in the American periodical *The Nation*, in which he dealt with the German plan, by no means a purely paper concept, for reorganizing Europe.

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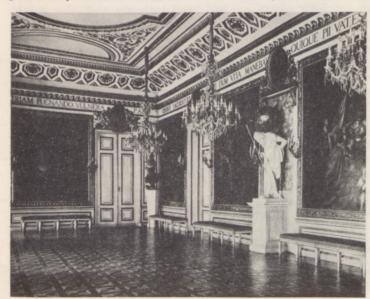
of WARSAW and Sigismund's

THE Royal Castle in Warsaw was a great historical monument. In medieval times, it was the seat of the Masovian princes, and since the 16th Century the residence of Polish kings. In the 18th Century, the Polish diet debated there and the famous Polish constitution of May 3rd, 1791, was adopted in its halls. The Royal Castle in Warsaw was a priceless possession of Poland, and an heir-loom of the Polish State.

It was not by accident that German fliers bombed the castle continually and that German artillery concentrated upon it during the siege of Warsaw. The Germans decided to destroy the castle because it was a symbol of Poland's life.

In spite of the damages done, the castle remained standing. Part of the roof was destroyed by fire, as were the two towers. A number of Polish architects carefully examined the castle, during the first days of October 1939, and found that the castle could be restored.

The work was begun immediately by Poles and paid for by them. Roofs were almost entirely rebuilt,



BY THEIR DEEDS SHALL THEY BE KNOWN THE FATE OF THE ROYAL CASTLE IN WARSAW

windows glazed. Most of the valuable murals, frescoes, and paintings were saved.

Suddenly, on October 18, 1939, the German Governor General, Dr. Hans Frank, came to Warsaw. He visited the castle and ordered all reconstruction work stopped immediately. While there, he himself tore off a part of the silk tapestry with silver embroidered eagles from the throne of the Polish kings and carried it off as a keepsake.

From that day systematic robbery began. In approximately two and a half months everything valuable in the castle was stolen: several hundred paintings, among them a famous set of twenty-five pictures of old Warsaw by Canaletto; tons of marble and bronze statues, among them a well-known set of twenty-two bronze busts dating from the 18th Century by Le Brun and Monaldi; a large number of valuable French tapestries from the Gobelins and Arras, a collection of rare pottery, from Italian Renaissance majolika to pottery of early 19th Century; several magnificent crystal and bronze chandeliers dating from the 18th Century; a large collection of old furniture, exceptionally rare French and Polish bronzes from the 18th and 19th Centuries.

Part of these were taken to Cracow to decorate Frank's apartment. Part was taken by a number of higher German officials in Warsaw and Cracow for their private use. Part was sent to Germany. The largest part, however, was simply stolen by various German officials. In the same way, the great art collections of the Polish Government stored in the castle were looted. Several thousand paintings of Polish and foreign artists, large collections of drawings, graphics, manuscripts, sculptures, rare books, and part of the collections from the Museum of Rappersville were plundered and destroyed in part. For many days, these valuable objects lay in piles on the floor of the storehouse.

The Poles did try to save the walls, murals, sculptures, and at least the castle itself. However, since that fateful day of October 18, even those hopes perished. The Germans announced officially that the castle was to be destroyed. A delegation of prominent Poles then submitted a petition to Frank, stating that there were no technical reasons which could justify such destruction, and that Poles would take the responsibility for bringing the castle back to a state of usefulness.

The occupation authorities answered, with disarming frankness, that their decision was not based upon technical reasons but purely upon political ones. The Royal Castle in Warsaw must be destroyed as it was a symbol of the Polish State. Much later, German newspapers in occupied Poland tried to explain that the decision was caused by the bad condition of the castle walls, and because of the new plans for

THE KNIGHTS' HALL AT THE WARSAW CASTLE

Warsaw. The real cause, was to strike deep into the heart of the Polish nation.

The Germans started the destruction of the castle with systematic thoroughness.

Large holes were drilled in the castle walls and dynamite charges were put in them. The holes, six to ten feet deep, were made at the bottom of the walls and in the pillars which supported the arches. However, the winter, which was unusually severe, caused a delay in the work of demolition, except in the interior.

Hundreds of Jewish workers were mobilized and assigned to a German contractor named Rudolf. Beautiful marble fireplaces were taken to pieces, panelled walls, hand-carved wooden staircases, marble statues were destroyed; old, valuable, wooden floors were smashed with axes. Invaluable mural paintings in the so-called "Canalette room," in the throne hall, and in the Knights' hall, were entirely destroyed. All these, so carefully preserved by the Poles, were thrown in the yard where they were exposed to rain and frost. Afterwards, they were broken to pieces and taken away on trucks. Even door and window casements were taken away, and only the bare brick walls remained.

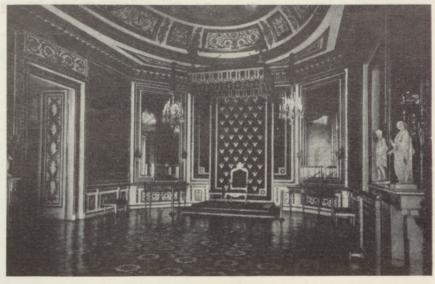
Not satisfied with their barbaric achievements, the occupants started to cut out the wooden beams in the ceilings and floors. They were mostly very old large lorchen beams. Because of this, the magnificent painting of Bacciarelli on the ceiling of the great hall was destroyed. The copper roof of the castle was removed, leaving bare, roofless, plaster-less walls. In the meantime, the decision to blow out the walls was withdrawn. Perhaps the results already achieved satisfied the Germans, or perhaps they wanted to keep the tragic remains as a reminder to the population.

Warsaw castle survived many wars only to be finally destroyed by the systematic hands of modern barbarians. The castle, in its present state, cannot be rebuilt. It will always remain as a proof of German culture.

Here are a few excerpts from an official guide of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, descriptive of the past glories of that Polish national monument:

"As you walk along the magnificent rooms and halls of the castle, you feel yourself slipping back a century and a half to the brilliant court of the last Polish king. The beamed ceilings, some of them painted in the old Polish fashion; the furniture done

RUINS OF THE WARSAW CASTLE



INTERIOR OF THE ROYAL CASTLE - THRONE ROOM

in Cordova leather; the rich Flemish tapestries; and the beauty of the floors. The parquet is inlaid work done by Italians.

"On the stair landing a silk Persian carpet, part of the booty perhaps that Sobieski brought back from Vienna. In the long corridor the two large tapestries belong to the famous set of 156 Jagellionian tapestries ordered in Brussels by Sigismund August for his wedding. They were twelve years in the making; a man was given a square meter to do in a year's time.

"The largest room in the castle is the two-story ballroom (hall of columns). The rich decoration of this room was planned as a setting for court fetes. The beautiful ceiling fresco on which the court painter Bacciarelli worked for four years.

"The Knight's hall where the Polish President receives ambassadors, has decorations in relief, with military emblems. The portraits of ten famous Poles and the large paintings showing important scenes in Polish history, were planned by the King and executed by Bacciarelli.

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This plan, which was put into operation in the occupied territories when the key industries were taken over and the machinery from the factories seized, did not originate either in principle or detail in the brains of a select Nazi few but was already a popular project in the Germany of the Kaiser. Mr. Douglas Miller, Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy in Berlin from 1924 to 1939 and perhaps best informed of all foreigners on German affairs, has published a book, You Can't Do Business with Hitler, in which he shows with unequalled clarity and impartiality, to what depths private business morality has also sunk in Germany. As far as foreigners are concerned, fraud and breach of contract are considered as normal and profitable methods, just as corruption in government offices is the rule and not the exception.

Are all the Germans participating in this system Nazis? That is hardly likely. But this system could not operate without the cooperation, more or less active, of millions of the population and the passive cooperation of the majority; so the theory of the "other" Germany can be based only on a very small minority. There is no doubt that there are millions of Germans who fervently disapprove of the Hitler system and who would rejoice to see it collapse, together with recrudescent Prussian militarism, in

"The world, and particularly the English-speaking world, has been too ready to assume that National Socialism is a freakish thing, an accident of personalities, a sudden new turn in German history... The history of the Weimar Republic shows that these hypotheses were, unfortunately, wrong. From the outset there was no fundamental change of view among the people as a whole... The dividing-line came between those who looked to direct military action and a war of revenge, and those who hoped for the recovery of the old dominant position of Germany through a policy of 'fulfilment' of treaty."

—E. L. WOODWARD, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Outstanding expert on contemporary European history. "It is the policy of force which finally will always triumph."

-Gustav Stresemann, speech made on Nov. 29, 1924 at Berlin.

order to be replaced by a reasonable form of democracy. Such Germans are to be found in all classes and all professions, above all among the workers. But they do not form "another" Germany; they do not represent a unit or a potential power or an opposition capable of taking over the government.

These millions could be of service in the liberation of the world not only from Hitlerism but also from Prussianism only in the event of a decisive defeat of Prusso-Nazism which no propaganda could ever gloss over. It would have to be a defeat that left the man in the street dead certain that there could never be a victory of the powers of Nazism and Prussianism and that the democracies could as little compromise with Nazism as with Prussianism in any guise.

The millions in Germany who are in favor of a fundamental change from the Prussian tradition could be of the utmost service under leadership from abroad. No section of the German population is by itself in a position to build a state that could homogeneously take its place in the comity of nations. This was clearly proved by developments after 1919. A fresh attempt at present would inevitably lead to the same result.

Something else should be learnt from the past development. Economically, larger and not smaller units are proving themselves necessary in the course of time. The economic balkanization of a continent after victory would spell unavoidable tension leading sooner or later to political complications. This does not mean the limitation of the national independence of the smaller states, whose maintenance or restoration is pledged in the Atlantic Charter. It implies just as little the promotion of a German Grosswirtschaftsraum such as the Germans have always striven for. There is nothing to be said economically for the industrial and consequent economic domina-

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"Then the throne room. In glass cases are the sword, scepter and chain of Stanislas August. The mosaic tables were a gift to him from the Pope. The great chair, rich with red and gold, has the Polish arms and in the center the arms of the Poniatowski family. The frames of doors and windows and mirrors are hand carved and very beautiful."

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man argument was that harm was caused by the physical separation of East Prussia from the Reich, because (1) the existence of the Polish Pomorze caused economic distress in East Prussia, and (2) the position of that Eastern colony, surrounded by the rising tide of Polish nationalism, has been the source of intense irritation to the German nation.

The Germans said that the so-called Polish Corridor prevented intercourse between East Prussia

and the Reich. But the German-Polish Convention of 1921, which had worked smoothly, gave transit rights to passenger and goods traffic, which were described by the Prussian administration itself as putting an end to the isolated position of East Prussia. The pre-war statistics showed that two-thirds of the traffic between East Prussia and the Reich, used Polish railway lines situated outside the province of Pomorze.

It is true that the population of East Prussia was not increasing, but this phenomenon began years before the First World War. It was the consequence of the attraction exercised by the high wages in industrial areas in Western Germany — the

Ruhr and the Rhineland — upon the low-salaried workers in the agricultural East. This was the case in the whole of Germany, eastwards from the Elbe.

SEA

East Prussia is not the cradle of German culture or of the German race. It is the stronghold of Junker landlords and of Prussian militarism.

East Prussia is the remnant of the large state carved out for themselves by the Teutonic Knights, who had enslaved the native tribes of the Baltic

> coast. The territorial link with Germany was sporadic. Historically, East Prussia is linked to Poland. Its population consists mostly of "Mazuren" - the same people who live in Poland and who speak Polish. Economically, East Prussia is closely bound up with its Polish hinterland. All German arguments about East Prussia were mostly intended to flatter the nationalistic sentiments of the German people, but they have no historic, ethnographic or economic



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tion of the Continent by Germany, and very much against it politically. If Germany is not to be economically strangled, still less so are the other countries to be hindered in their economic and industrial development.

The disarmament of Germany is an obvious condition of peace. The building of a "black" army, the first step in Germany's more or less secret rearmament soon after the end of the last war, must be prevented in future by a little more watchfulness and a little less self-deception. But the mentality of

the German people will not be changed; they will always try to put might in the place of right. This attitude of the majority of them can only be changed by careful supervision of the internal administration and by a wise and energetic direction of internal German affairs into channels leading to political maturity. Such measures, wisely introduced into a system of political and economic reorganization for Europe, would cause little resentment among that section of the German people who might collaborate in the work of reconstruction since their economic status would not be affected. Only thus could that "other" Germany, today non-existent, be created.

POLAND ... FIRST IN 1939 ... STILL FIGHTS ON

By K. PRUSZYNSKI

SOME of Poland's contributions to this world war are well known, some are little known, and a few are hardly known at all.

Everybody knows that Poland was the first country to take up arms against German aggression and that she held out single-handed against tremendous odds. This alone would have been no mean achieve-

ment and no small sacrifice. Both before and since, countries more favored than Poland as regards industrial resources, geographical position and allied assistance either failed to resist or abandoned the fight too soon.

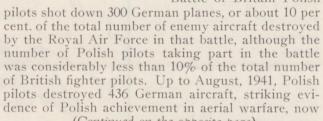
In less than half a year. Poland rebuilt her army in France. She kept her Navy afloat and maintained her Air Force. Polish soldiers helped to take Narvik; two Polish

divisions covered the French retreat; Polish airmen participated in the defense of France, shooting down 69 German planes, although they were not given sufficient aircraft; Polish destroyers, after taking part in the Norwegian campaign, helped the British Navy in its heroic evacuation of Dunkirk. Then all Polish soldiers and airmen who could get to Great Britain from France, did so, taking fantastic risks and using incredible routes. Finally, a new Polish

Army was reformed on British soil, in Scotland, while the Polish Air Force had the first real opportunity of proving its worth in the present war in the Battle of Britain.

Polish fighter and bomber squadrons serving with the Royal Air Force as well as the numerous Polish airmen in British squadrons, have won high praise

> from the British authorities, the Press and the public. In the most lively month of the Battle of Britain one of the Polish fighter squadrons held the record for the number of German aircraft brought down; in the first month of the Spring bombing offensive one of the Polish bomber squadrons held the record for the largest weight of bombs dropped on Germany. During the Battle of Britain Polish



(Continued on the opposite page)



POLISH TANK UNIT

AMERICA SPEAKS TO POLAND...

(Continued from page 2)

every day Poland's strength increases in all of the democratic nations. The Polish army is being increasingly reconstituted at such a rate that its active services are a large factor in prosecuting the war against the Axis. Patriotic Poles in many countries work untiringly toward the end of freeing captive Poland from her chains.

There is great admiration in the outside world for the attitude maintained in Poland, especially in Warsaw. Behind the mask of indifference and civility there still burns fierce hatred of the invader. The longing to strike back gains intensity from day to day. When that time arrives, let the Germans beware!

The Nazis are unable to quench the smoldering spirit of revolt in the heart of all Polish patriots. The frantic, insane measures adopted by the German gives continual proof of the fear he has of the day of retribution. His weapons of death, torture, destruction and reprisal, are blunted against the granite of the Polish will to be free.

Now that the United States has joined the powerful company of nations resolved to crush the enemies of civilization, the final outcome of the struggle is assured.

Poland was the first country to resist. The United States the most recent. Poland is still waging war, in many ways that assist in the defeat of the Nazis. The United States has just begun to wage that same war.

Side by side, Poland and the United States, will fight with the total resources they are capable of mustering. Those resources are so tremendous that the outcome of the struggle can be in no doubt.

Poland made her sacrifices early. The United States is ready now to make whatever sacrifices may be demanded of her to make conclusively certain that Poland shall not have suffered in vain. Our objectives are the same. The might of all people who love democracy is aligned against the common foe of freedom.

Remember, Poles, we shall emerge from the war as President Roosevelt has said: "with liberty under God," and the opportunity to live a decent, sane and prosperous life!

recognized to be decisive in modern war.

Polish bomber squadrons, two of which were formed in the autumn of 1940, have also done their share of the work. Up to August, 1941, they had carried out about 184 night raids and dropped a million pounds of bombs on enemy targets. Others are now trying to catch up with them.

The Polish Navy and Merchant Marine are helping the Royal Navy and British Merchant Service in the Battle of the Atlantic and in patrol, convoy and transport work. Lost ships are replaced by new ones, manned by Polish crews and flying Polish colors. This is the kind of thing that appeals to a nation of sailors.

The Polish Army, guarding a section of the Scottish coast, is training for future campaigns, while a Polish brigade attached to the British Army of the Near East is doing good work and greatly distin-

guished itself at the siege of Tobruk, the capture of Gazala and in other engagements. In Russia a new and powerful army, 300,000 strong, veterans of the 1939 campaign, is being now organized. In Poland itself, which was conquered but not subdued, resistance by no means passive is fraught with danger to the invader.

What else can be said?

Poland is but one of many countries whose governments were compelled to seek refuge

in England. Each of these governments in exile tries to help the British war effort in every possible way. Sacrifice cannot be measured nor courage expressed in terms of figures. But there is no doubt that the Polish Army is the largest of the Allied forces in Britain. Poland holds also the first place in the Air Force, the importance of which in the

POLISH SOLDIERS IN LIBYA

present war cannot be overestimated. As regards

present war cannot be overestimated. As regards to the Navy, Poland may not have made the largest contribution, but she did give every ship and every man she had. Poles are anxious to be an asset and

not a liability to the great cause championed by the United States and Great Britain, the cause for which two years ago Poland was the first to take the field.

The Polish war effort abroad has no parallel in history. Cut off from her territory, unable to recruit men there, Poland has rebuilt an army which is being continually improved and enlarged. Czechoslovakia, Norway, Holland, Free France, and Free Belgium are following Poland's lead in organizing their

own armed forces on British soil.

- O. N. A.

In the 19th Century, Poland proved that a nation deprived of independence can survive and even achieve progress. In the 20th Century she is proving that a country can fight back even when it has lost the whole of its national territory.

Poland was the first country in Europe to take up Hitler's challenge and fight back, heedless of the risk

of annihilation. Poland had no Quislings of any kind. That is probably why the Nazi persecution is more ruthless and cruel in Poland than anywhere else. But of all the countries attacked and occupied by Hitler, Poland is the one in which national resistance and sabotage are most active.

May the bonds forged by common hardship and common sacrifice survive the war and help to rebuild a new world, free from war, conquest and tyranny.



POLISH INFANTRY, IN 1939

"Nineteen-forty-one saw the fighting

strength of the Allied forces outside of

the Occupied Countries raised to a

total of 300,000 soldiers, sailors, and

airmen, according to a survey made by

the Exiled Governments. Poland's

175,000 men in Britain, Russia, and the

Near East constituted the largest force.

The Free French are second with

75,000 men.

INCORRUPTIBLE GERMANS: "PURE ARYAN" for \$225

ALONG with indiscriminate terrorism, general pillage and attempts to exterminate Poland, corruption grew and grew. In return for a good bribe, Nazi commanders and officials did not scruple to issue false documents, freeing individuals from restrictions. Whoever could pay need have no fear.

He could escape prison and even death, provided he had time to get into touch with the right people.

Officials of the administration considered the issuing of various 'private' certificates an extremely profitable occupation. It must be added that most of these certificates are completely worthless and could be disclaimed by any later authority, if it felt so disposed. And this provided a fertile ground for further extortion.

Bribery is so general in German-occu-

pied Poland that after a time it was almost sanctioned by the highest authorities of the occupation and special fees were established for each particular 'favor'.

Thus, a Jew had to pay 125 zloty (about \$25) for a certificate exempting him from compulsory labor. To be freed from wearing the distinctive racial armlet with all the attendant humiliation he had to pay a higher price of 500 zloty, or roughly \$100.

The Governor of Warsaw discovered, to his feigned amazement, that many Jews did not wear armlets. His reaction was significant. He announced that whoever paid 600 zloty could have an 'official' certificate of exemption issued under his own — the Governor's — authority.

The extreme cynicism of the Nazis towards their own ideology went so far as to issue 'certificates of pure Aryan descent' to well-known Jews and "crossed Jews" at the relatively low price of 1,200 zloty — or about \$225...

At the beginning of January, 1940, the notorious Danzig Nazi and the scourge of Lodz, Herr Greiser, accepted a bribe of \$2,000 to free the local Jewish Commune from the obligation to destroy a Catholic church, which they had been ordered to do by the Gestapo.

Indeed, the Gestapo, wielding the most deadly powers, were in a position to make simply fabulous fortunes.

In many cases it was possible to obtain release from imprisonment on payment of anything from 10,000 zloty upwards, depending on the private means of the prisoner and other circumstances. In order to get a prominent Warsaw doctor out of prison, his family had to give the Chief of the Ges-

tapo a staggering bribe of \$10,000. The doctor is now in London.

The Gestapo agents would arrest Jews in the streets, bring them to their private quarters, where they were deprived of their passports and given foreign currency, whose possession was an offense punished by death, and ordered to go to the Warsaw 'Black Exchange' and change it. When they returned and handed the money, thus illegally obtained, to the Gesta-

were returned and they were set free. On some occasions the procedure was reversed, and it was foreign currency that the Gestapists wanted for their Reichmarks or zlotys.

Leaving Poland before Italy's entry into the war was a relatively simple affair. Herr Wegener, Head of the Passport Department of the Protectorate in Cracow, showed great efficiency in issuing passports, complete with permits to leave the country, Italian and such transit visas as the occasion required, for anything between \$200 and \$1000. The bribe demanded depended on the applicant's material circumstances and importance. Wegener found it even possible to convert Aryans into non-Aryans, or the other way round, as the situation might demand. This was very useful, as all male Aryans below 40 were forbidden to leave the country.

A famous rabbi, 'The Miracle-maker of Kalwaria,' sought to leave Poland. Accordingly Herr Wegener, by arrangement with the Gestapo, provided him and his suite with a special railway carriage under a special Gestapo escort, which was safely passed right through Germany to the Italian frontier. All this was done for a modest 'remuneration' of 150,000 zloty or \$30,000. For 10,000 lire, the Italians on the frontier gave the whole party a safe conduct to Trieste, and thus the Rabbi and his suite were able to escape from the clutches of the Germans.



A certificate of Aryan descent issued to a Jewish family by the German Command of the Warsaw City for a bribe of \$225. The serial number, date, faces, names and signatures of the bearers have been obliterated to make recognition impossible and thus to shelter other members of the same family still in Poland from persecution.