

Army

The Polish Review

VOL. II, No. 9

NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 2, 1942

PRICE TEN CENTS

POLISH ARMY IN RUSSIA GROWS



A POLISH BATTERY ON THE MARCH

A NEW and powerful Polish army is now being organized in Russia. 100,000 Polish soldiers, out of the 300,000 taken prisoners by Russians during the campaign of 1939 are already in uniforms and will form the cadres for many new divisions as fast as arms and equipment can be obtained from Great Britain and the United States.

As a result of the recent meetings between General Sikorski, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, and Stalin, six or seven Polish divisions will soon be fully equipped and organized. Thus, the fast-growing Polish Army will be increased by 100,000 trained veterans. An additional 25,000 Polish soldiers will be sent to the Near East, to join the already large Polish units concentrated there. Another group of 2,000 pilots and sailors from Russia has joined the Polish forces in Great Britain.

So large is the number of volunteers, anxious to

join the Polish Army in Russia, that a skeleton organization of new divisions is being set up, pending the arrival of the necessary equipment.

Following the Polish-Russian agreement of July 30th, all Polish prisoners of war in Russia were released. The news spread rapidly to the hundreds of Polish camps scattered throughout the vast Russian expanses in Europe and Asia. Immediately thousands of men set out westward, towards the Polish recruiting centers.

Two years of hardship under severe climatic conditions, privation and lack of proper medical attention had impaired the health of many of these men. Nonetheless, everybody who was physically able to do so started on the long and tedious journey to the Polish army camps situated on the Volga River.

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POLAND SPEAKS . . .

Broadcast by Count Edward Raczyński, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs



AS a member of the Polish Cabinet, may I express to my American radio audience the greetings of the President of the Polish Republic, and those of General Sikorski, Prime Minister of Poland.

You may be interested to know how we, your European friends, interpret the part which the great American Democracy is sure to play in the present conflict.

We realize that to your previous position of arsenal of the fighting Democracies, many new responsibilities have been recently added. The United States has been attacked and has been forced to active participation in the war. It has become not only one of the fighting Democracies, but it seems to have been spontaneously entrusted with the splendid and at the same time the most responsible task of leadership by the United Nations. It now shares this responsible position with Great Britain.

To us European nations, who have for so long been actively involved in this great conflict, and especially to us Poles, who are in this war the oldest European member of the family of freedom-loving nations who have risked their very existence in defense of the human right to independence, — it appears splendid and just that the American people, who symbolize the principles we are fighting for, should at this crucial moment take the helm to steer the world to victory and a peace based on justice.

It appears just and fair that, after having had to bear alone for over two years of unprecedented gravity the overpowering burden of the responsibility of leadership, — the British Commonwealth should now be able to share it with the United States.

About Poland's British Ally I feel I am entitled to speak on personal experience. For the last seven years I have represented my country as Ambassador in London. I was in England when the ragged but undaunted soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force of France and Flanders returned to their country from the flaming beaches of Dunkirk. I watched the few veteran squadrons of the Royal Air Force fighting their victorious duels in the Battle of Britain against mountainous formations of the Luftwaffe. I saw English crowds watching those fights and cheering when one after another enemy planes trailed to the ground in smoke. I was filled with admiration for the dogged British workingmen and women who responded to onslaught of enemy bombers by ever increasing production of war material.

I can honestly say that, in keeping with the traditions of their race, the grim determination of the British people steadily rose in proportion to the growth of danger.

I am proud that in that historic battle, so important in its bearing on the final outcome of the war, — the Polish sailors and airmen also did their duty.

Events of the last weeks show that the war has once more reached a crucial phase. New facts have arisen out of which a whole series of foreseeable but necessarily unfavorable consequences had to follow.

This is no time for despondency. Now is the time for immediate virile action.

The war we are fighting has no precedent in history. It is a novel conception of warfare. It is a most brutal total war. It is a war which excludes all compromise. It is a war which must be won if human decency and civilization are to be preserved.

Having so closely observed this conflict for nearly two years and a half in Europe, I venture to say that our victory requires the fullest, the most total coordinated effort of all individual men and women of all the United Nations. It requires the immediate readjustment of our mentality that has not entirely grasped the meaning of the grim reality of this war.

Speaking of Poland, may I say that in the course of these first thirty months of the war, she has repeatedly done her utmost to contribute her share to the common effort.

At the outset my countrymen fought valiantly in Poland against Germany's entire military power.

After the Polish campaign a Polish Army was reformed on French soil under General Sikorski, our Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, composed of all Poles who were able to reach France. Those troops fought in Norway and later in France. When that country surrendered, our greatly depleted units which could get out of France were once more reformed on the hospitable soil of Britain. A substantial part of our armed forces and our airforce, together with our navy and mercantile marine are at the side of the British.

On the basis of an agreement with Soviet Russia signed on July 30, 1941, we are at present forming a new unit composed of some 100,000 men on Soviet territory. This Polish force will be ready to cooperate with the Russian army in their stubborn and gallant fight in a not too distant future.

Regardless of the inhuman oppression to which it is subjected, the Polish nation persists in its resistance in Poland without faltering and through its indomitable spirit forces the enemy to maintain a large army of occupation on Polish soil. Poland is preparing for the moment when, together with other temporarily oppressed European nations, she will drive out the enemy. We expect to be joined then by our Czechoslovak neighbors with whom we have decided to live in confederate partnership when peace is restored.

The task which faces the United Nations is indeed exacting. Without the fullest active participation of the United States it would probably be an impossible one. Now that this participation is assured, it will certainly be fulfilled.

THUS SPAKE GERMANY

By W. W. COOLE and M. F. POTTER

THE Nazi revolution is only the fruit of age-old German ideals that find expression in varying forms in the works of Fichte, Hegel, Dietrich von Bülow, Arndt, Jahn, Friedrich List, Friedrich Ratzel, Karl Lamprecht, Prince Bismarck, Treitschke, Langbehn, Konstantin, Frantz, Ludwig Woltmann, Josef Ludwig Reimer, Albrecht Wirth, Friedrich Lange, Albert Ballin, Hugo von Stinnes, Kardorff, Thyssen, and hundreds of others. In their speeches and writings these men elaborated many conceptions which are today part of National Socialism, such as the racial theory, the lust for world hegemony, the *Herrenvolk* thesis, the fight against Anglo-Saxon influences, the desire to create an essentially German religion, the ethic of ruthlessness and cruelty, the right of the superior German race to *Lebensraum* "Living Space", the principle of exterminating the native populations of conquered territories and colonizing them with Germans. All this is nineteenth or early twentieth-century German ideology.

Thus, the contention that Nazism is the embodiment of a new "spirit of domination" is just as inaccurate as it would be to maintain that "Pangermanism" goes back only to Bismarck's time, and not to that of his predecessors.

German views on all these questions differed, of course, on points of detail from one period to another; in the nineteenth century Botticher yearned for the German frontiers to extend from the Argonne to the Black Sea, while Treitschke had other views as to German boundaries; Frantz and Bismarck were federalists, while Treitschke was an advocate of unity and centralization. Some were Francophobes first and foremost, while others hated most the British or the Russians. But one group of conceptions was to be found in the works of them all: the Teutonic tradition embodied in Prussian militarism, the nostalgia for the "Holy Empire on which the sun never sets," the memory of the Hanseatic League which originally gave birth to the German desire to rule the seas and to govern world trade.

"Our race with its culture is superior to all the other nations and races of the earth; for . . . our civilization has reached a height where it incomparably excels and dominates that of all the other nations and races of the earth."

Prof. Joseph Ludwig Reimer, 1905



And every one of these advocates of Pangermanic conceptions prayed for a man of superhuman will and strength to arise who would be able to give these dreams reality. In his work, "*Germanien und Europa*," the notorious Pangermanist Ernst Moritz Arndt wrote in 1802 that Germany then vacillating between Prussia and Austria, ought to be moulded into one whole, and that this could be achieved if a Deliverer were to be found, "a great tyrant and military genius who would conquer and exterminate nations" (*erobemd und verderbend*). Hitler is this Messiah, Arndt's dream given its practical fulfilment 140 years later.

Let us compare two texts — one of 1910 and the other of 1940. In spite of the difference of thirty years both of them come to the same conclusion, i.e., that behind the foreign policy of Germany there stood the whole German nation. In November 1910 Philip Kerr (late Lord Lothian) wrote in the *Round Table* as follows:

"The Emperor William, in spite of his indiscretions, is the idol of Germany, because he represents exactly the genius and beliefs of the great mass of the German people."

"It is only by realizing that to Germany the interests of the Fatherland far transcend all other claims that one can understand the German character, and so the German policy . . ."

"This central idea of national efficiency — the parallel in Germany of the idea of personal liberty

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in the British Empire — is the key to their international policy. It explains how an intelligent and advanced people can tolerate the inquisitorial tyranny of the police, the unmeasured powers of the bureaucracy, the sacrifice involved in a conscriptive system . . .

"It is simply an overwhelming sense that the welfare of the State must at all costs be made to prevail over the welfare of the individual."

"It was Bismarck — the incarnation of the Prussian spirit — the successor of Frederick the Great — who created the German Empire, and, as we shall see, it is Bismarck's policy which is still the foreign policy of Germany."

"This burning faith in themselves and the ideals of Germanism explains the aggressive foreign policy of Germany, and the anxiety with which she views the growth of other nations. It explains, too, why their triumph in Europe cannot satisfy them, and why they believe a Policy involving world domination to be essential to their future."

This which was written in 1910 by Lord Lothian, who based his opinions on his profound knowledge of international politics we find repeated in other words and other circumstances by one of the outstanding experts on contemporary European history, E. L. Woodward, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, who has very pertinently grasped the profound causes of the present war:

"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; that the views held and put into practice by Hitler, Goering, and their unpleasant company are views which do not reach back into the German past. It has also been suggested that Hitlerism is a special and peculiar reaction, of a virulent pathological kind, to the harsh treatment of Germany after the War of 1914-1918, and to the exceptional sufferings of Germans during the period of currency inflation and again during the economic crisis which began at the end of 1929 . . .

"The rise of Hitlerism was not due to the Treaty of Versailles, but to the military defeat of Germany. After the last war opinion in Great Britain and the United States, and, to a lesser extent, in France, assumed that the fall of the Imperial régime implied a complete change of heart among Germans, and that, henceforward, militarism was broken in Germany, and the Germans would never allow this militarism to be revived. The history of the Weimar

"The Nineteenth Century was not the German century . . . In the history of the world the Twentieth Century will be called the German century."

Koloniale Zeitschrift, Mar. 28, 1900

"World history has so far been more willing to forgive all crudity rather than a lack of the will to power. Not 'live and let live,' but 'live and decide the life of others,' that is strength . . . Talk of the rights of others is foolish, talk of justice which hinders us from doing to others that which ourselves do not wish to suffer, is foolish."

Carl Peters, President of the "Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft," 1915.

Republic shows that these hypotheses, were, unfortunately, wrong. From the outset there was no fundamental change of view among the people as a whole, and, above all, among the bureaucracy of the governing class, in a country inclined by habit of mind and long usage to follow the lead and accept the views dictated by authority.

"There was, in fact, no real revolution in Germany, in the sense that there had been a real revolution in France in the years following 1789, or in Russia after 1917. The republican leaders in the early days leaned upon the army to protect them from the small group of men who wanted real revolution. These leaders were Germans, trained to German ways of thought, brought up in a German tradition. In this tradition not war, but defeat in war, was 'evil.' The 'dictated' Treaty of Versailles was an outrage, not because the treaty was 'dictated' — no German was foolish enough to suppose that a victorious Germany would have argued about peace terms with a defeated Great Britain and France — but because the dictators were not Germans, and the dictation ended German rule over peoples who did not want this rule, and destroyed German dreams of continental, and, perhaps, world hegemony.

"Germans of all parties aimed at 'breaking the bonds of Versailles.' 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 the treaty. The former party advocated defiance, the latter a temporary submission, combined with an attempt to prove to the victors that many clauses in the treaty were unworkable, or pressed unfairly upon German economic life, or — a less reputable plea — offended German pride and made it impossible for Germany to assert her armed strength.

" . . . Those who resisted the methods of the extremists were never wholly out of sympathy, and often very much in sympathy with the extremists' aims. The argument was one about means rather than about ends . . .

" . . . The active or passive acquiescence of vast numbers of Germans in National Socialism, the easy submission of all save a small and brave minority, are facts of deep historical significance. An attempt to explain these facts by talk about the 'docility' of

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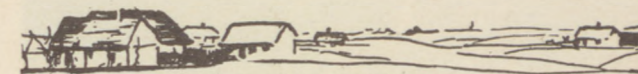
PEASANT PROBLEM IN POLAND

By GUSTAW GAZDA

POLAND is predominantly an agricultural country—49 per cent. of her area is arable land—Denmark and Hungary alone having a higher proportion of land under cultivation. In 1931, that is after more than ten years of industrial development, 60.9 per cent. of the population was still engaged in agriculture. This figure was exceeded only in Russia and Bulgaria. Thus agriculture has necessarily occupied a leading place in the programme of all Polish governments. This was particularly the case at the restoration of Poland, when the position of agriculture was far from normal.

In order to understand the structure of Polish agriculture, it must be realized that during the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, that is between 1800 and 1921, when a census was taken, the population had increased threefold, from 9.1 to 27.2 millions. This was not exceptional, as the population of other Eastern European countries had also increased at the same rate during that period. But while in other countries the growth of the population was accompanied by economic and industrial development, this was not the case in Poland. Forcibly incorporated in the economies of other countries, and ruled by foreign powers which often deliberately hampered their development, the Polish lands had developed no industry capable of providing employment for the surplus population. The countryside thus became considerably overpopulated and successive divisions of the inheritance among the children led to a large number of diminutive farms incapable of supporting the families living on them.

A number of other problems were created directly or indirectly by this fundamental defect of Polish agriculture. Lack of capital prevented the small farmer from introducing necessary improvements of



agricultural methods, among which the drainage of ground and the use of artificial fertilizers were the most urgent. The excessive breaking up of the land among the heirs of the farmer, for whom there was no outlet in the towns, also led to the scattering of the holdings of one farmer, which gave some districts of Poland the appearance of a checkerboard. For example, in the southern districts, where the process of scattering had reached disastrous proportions, it was not uncommon for one farmer to have his five acres split up into as many as 20 or even 30 separate parcels, separated from each other by plots of other proprietors, and at times distributed over a wide area.

The sizes of the holdings, too, varied greatly, in spite of the view often held even today in Western Europe, particularly in Britain, that Poland is a typical country of large landowners. There were also great differences in the various parts of Poland. Thus, in the western districts of the country, the economically sound and self-sufficient holdings of more than 250 acres represented 52 per cent of the area. There were also many holding of between 50 and 250 acres, but then the small farms were few. The percentage of agricultural laborers, however, who lived in the village but owned no land was high. In the central districts farms were more uniform; those between 12 and 50 acres made up 45 per cent. of all holdings. In the eastern districts there were more large properties and fewer holdings of below 12 acres. But in these parts, owing to general economic conditions, only the large properties were self-supporting. In the south, despite the fertile soil, conditions were worse owing to the scattered-strip system. For instance, a large proportion of holdings of even less than 5 acres were composed of scattered strips.

Taking the country as a whole, in 1921, of the 3,400,000 holdings, more than 30 per cent. were under 5 acres, approximately 32 per cent. between 5 and 12 acres, more than 34 per cent. between 12 and 50 acres, and only 2 per cent. between 50 and 125 acres, and one per cent. over 125 acres. Thus, the agrarian structure of Poland is characterized by the scarcity of large peasant properties, which are

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THE THEATRE IN POLAND



SCENE FROM "FOREFATHERS", Decorations by A. Pronaszko.

WHEN Poland regained her independence in 1918, the hitherto inhibited development of the country was at length given free play, and the reaction was the stronger for having been pent up for so long. Quite naturally, the theatre shared in this renaissance. The National Theatre was the direct descendant of the old theatres, famed for the high level of their dramatic attainments. National Theatre in Warsaw took over the dramatic personnel of the old Rozmaitości Theatre and with its help produced play after play in which these remarkable artists gave of their best in unforgettable performances, full of individual, creative effort. For some years, the theatre was managed by Ludwik Solski, one of the best and certainly the oldest actor on the Polish stage. Admired and respected by the whole public, Solski acted with his usual talent, enthusiasm and youthful fire although he was then over eighty years of age. Every performance of his was an artistic treat and the younger generation of the acting fraternity flocked to learn the style of his dramatic art. He was ably seconded by such fine actresses as Wysocka and Ćwiklińska, and by Węgrzyn, Zelwerowicz, Brydziński, Stanisławski and Leszczyński among the men. The National



SCENE FROM BEAUMARCHAIS'S "FIGARO'S WEDDING," Decorations by S. Sliwinski.

Theatre could be compared to the famous Comédie Française of Paris in many respects: it had passed through many transformations depending on the general trends of modern art, but it also revived plays from the classical repertory every season, specializing in the comedies of Fredo and Bałucki — the best writers of *genre* comedies during the nineteenth century. The National Theater was conducted by Alexander Zelwerowicz, the famous actor-manager, who secured invaluable help from Wilam Horzyca. The latter was an eminent expert in dramatic science and lore; he favored a modern repertory and it was his merit that Chesterton's "The Man who was Thursday" and other modern plays have been produced in such original and modernistic fashion as in Warsaw. Horzyca had a profound knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture, augmented by studies of the American theatre during his stay in the United States.

The next leading center of dramatic art in Warsaw was the well-known Polish Theatre. It was established in 1913 and was considered by specialists to have technical installations which are rivalled by very few theatres in Europe: it had a revolving stage, excellent machinery and a very well planned and most acoustic auditorium. The high artistic level of this theatre was directly due to the remarkable energy and to the great executive and artistic talents of Dr. Arnold Szyfman, who was instrumental in establishing this important center.

The repertory of the Polish Theatre at once embraced the principal plays of world interest but without neglecting the works of Polish playwrights. During the twenty-five years of its career, the Theatre has produced an aggregate number of 347 plays, of which 204 by foreign authors. Of the Polish plays produced, Mickiewicz's patriotic and mystical work "Dziady" (Forefathers) had the longest run with 117 performances; this success is all the more remarkable as the drama had been considered exceedingly difficult if not even impossible of realization on the stage. American readers will be interested to learn that sixty-one plays by English-speaking writers were produced of which Shakespeare's plays were given 652 performances and various plays by George Bernard Shaw — 569. These are in fact the highest figures for plays written by non-Polish playwrights. Three of Shaw's work were produced in Poland as world first-nights, before they were put on the English or American stage. His "Pygmalion" attained 179 performances, a Polish record for any one play.

The Polish Theatre laid much stress on stage-management and applied all the latest achievements of stage technique. Famous stage-managers at this theatre have been: Zelwerowicz, Arnold Szyfman and Karol Borowski; these producers found means of reconciling the individuality of the acting personnel with the scenic framework of the plays. The leading producers of the schools of stage-management have been Leon Szyller and Julius Osterwa. Leon Szyller was one of the creators of the monu-

mental stage-setting and of mass-technique in the Polish theatre. One of his most interesting productions at the Polski Theatre was Mickiewicz's "Dziady" staged against the background of Pronaszko's synthetically designed and well-painted settings; in this work he united in striking manner the poet's poetical visions with the realistic decor of the stage.

The leading stage-manager of the younger generation was Alexander Węgieńko, who presented a most interesting version of "Pickwick Club," Kennedy's "Tessa" and Wyspiański's "November Night."

The décors of the pre-war settings in Poland occupied such a leading place that reviewers when writing of some successful performance often gave pride of place to the scene-painter and designer. Colorfulness and great swing were features of the work produced by Vincent Drabik, the painter, who died a few years ago. His décors were marked by remarkable boldness and originality, while they radically broke with convention and struck out along new and striking lines. Another scenic painter of world-wide fame was Karol Frycz. The Polish Theatre has brought up several generations of the acting fraternity and it can be written up to its credit that the management have often made bold experiments by entrusting important parts to relatively young and inexperienced actors. The principal players were Marie Przybyłko-Potocka, Casimir Junosza-Stępowski, Marie Modzelewska, Janina Romanówna, Marius Maszyński, Bogusław Samborski and many others.

In 1919 — 1924 one of the most interesting theatrical troupes began its career in the Reduta Theatre. It was really a kind of order of fanatical enthusiasts of the drama rather than a group of ordinary actors. They lived together, worked in common, prepared their roles together and collaborated in the closest manner in order to produce their plays in as worthy a way as possible. They were headed by Julius Osterwa and Professor Limanowski. No prompter was ever used at the Reduta: the stage was on the same level as the auditorium, while the power of the artistic expression was so suggestive that the performances are to this day remembered as models of settings based on the profound sinking of the actors' personalities into the characters of the roles played (in line with the principles of authenticity). The Reduta Theatre did not give the names of the players upon its bills and programs — all were equal and anonymous in the face of the Art to which they had dedicated themselves.

Apart from the theatres mentioned above, note must be made of the Letni Theatre (light comedy and farce) and of a few private theatrical undertakings like "Teatr Mały", "Teatr Nowy", "Malickiej", "Bogusławskiego" etc. The most interesting of them was the Atheneum Theatre conducted by Stefan Jaracz, one of the greatest actors in Poland; he created the chief roles in the plays produced and appeared to find most satisfaction in depicting ordinary men in the street, weak and defeated by life.



STATE OPERA HOUSE IN WARSAW

Mention must also be made of the Warsaw Opera when dealing with the theatrical life of Warsaw. It was located in one of the most impressive theatrical buildings in Europe (destroyed by Germans). For a century past it has been uninterruptedly pre-eminent in the musical life of the capital. Since the last war, its most successful period was when it remained under the management of Emil Młynarski, known in the United States as the talented director of the Curtiss Institute of Art in Philadelphia and as a great philharmonic conductor in Great Britain. Apart from the classical repertory, the Warsaw Opera often performed the works of Polish operatic composers. It was at the Warsaw Opera that many world-famous singers first appeared before the public, such as Jan Kiepura, Jadwiga Lachowska, Adam Didur, Ada Sari, Eva Bandrowska-Turska, and others. One of the conductors of the Opera, Arthur Rodziński, made a name for himself in the United States where for many years he was conductor of the Philadelphia Philharmonic Orchestra.

The Warsaw Ballet provided a natural supplement to the Opera at the capital. For some hundred years or more ballet dancing has brought fame and distinction to Polish Art. The Warsaw Ballet School was considered to be one of the best in Europe; it produced large numbers of male and female dancers who later gained renown and recognition in the whole world. The best graduates of the School were eagerly taken up by the Marinsky Theatre of St. Petersburg, after which they became stars in the Imperial Ballet. Wacław Niżyński (more commonly known to the public as Nijinsky) was a Pole born in Warsaw, and it is of interest to note that this most famous male dancer of all time was the son of one of the leading ballet stars in Warsaw. After the World War, Polish dancers from the Warsaw Ballet occupied leading places in Diaghileff's troupe.

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the German people is at best only half an explanation, and at worst tautology. The Germans acquiesced in National Socialism because they could understand it. They could understand it because its appeal was typically and thoroughly German. They could understand it the more because it was expressed to them in crude and violent language, and embodied in a group of crude and violent men who represented, in an extravagant way, qualities of temper and a mental outlook firmly rooted in the German nation. This point has not been readily understood in Great Britain and the United States.

Among the English-speaking nations Hitler and Goering have been recognized easily as pathological types, displaying their abnormality in every act, word and gesture of their lives. To Germans Hitler is a heaven-born hero, and Goering an admirable and 'jolly' kind of man.

"National Socialism has nothing original about it, unless a semi-lunatic exaggeration and pedantry can be taken as marks of originality. There is no single item in *Mein Kampf*, or in the glosses upon *Mein Kampf*, which has not a long history in Germany. Anti-Semitism (well described as 'socialism for fools') was a feature of German politics long before anyone had heard of Adolf Hitler. The programme of National Socialism, taken as a whole had advocates in Germany and German Austria long before Adolf Hitler. Even the fact that this programme has undergone many fluctuations does not give it novelty. The plain and sinister fact about National Socialism is indeed its lack of originality. Hitler's appeal to the German masses would have been far less attractive if this appeal had been new and original.

"The matter can be summed up in a few words. For a long period of time, extending over many centuries, Western thought has been developing on lines which, without attaching to them today any special party or denominational significance, can be described as both liberal and Christian. This development of thought has been humanitarian and optimistic. Humanitarian in the sense that the starting point of Western thinkers, in Great Britain, in the United States, and in France, has been the absolute value of the individual, and hence the equal rights of all individuals. The high problem of law and government and economics have thus become centered upon giving to the individual full opportunities for the development of his personality. For more than a hundred years, and in some respects

for a much longer time, certain dominant tendencies of German intellectual life have been hostile to this liberal and Christian way of thought. Long before Hitler, popular writers in Germany had derided Western humanitarianism, denied the very conditions under which Western thinkers regarded improvement as possible, and described as mere foolishness the moral ideals which the majority of English, French and American writers had taken for granted. The worship of power, a contempt for mercy and gentleness, the sacrifice of the individual to the State, a belief in war as the highest and most ennobling form of human activity, these were the

lessons taught to the younger generation in Germany, not merely by the Hitler Youth Movement, but by school teachers in the years before the last war. Moreover, this reversion to an earlier barbarism was accompanied by a strong belief that the Germans were a race with a mission to enforce their view of life upon other peoples. It followed that, in order to further the increase of German power, every German must subordinate his existence to the German institutions of State, and that, in

order to increase the power of this State, all means were justified. These beliefs have been set out and repeated by some of the most honored names in Germany; they have been adopted with enthusiasm by an active minority, embodied in the German educational system, until several generations in turn have been infected by them and, in our time, the youth of a whole nation holds these and no other beliefs.

"Hitler is thus the creature, not the creator, of a German nationalism which justifies every bestiality, every act of bad faith practiced in the interests of the increase of the power of the German State. Hitler, Goering, and their like have been admired and followed because they spell out in staring letters a theme which less forceful and less vociferous Germans had adopted for themselves.

"... The grim fact remains that the majority of the German people, and the majority of their leaders have accepted a philosophy which, to us, is a philosophy of darkness.

"... We are fighting against a nation of many millions, strongly compact, brave, crafty, and bound in Dervish-like submission to an opposite way of life. As long as they accept this submission, our good is their evil, and our evil is their good."

"Every nation desires to enlarge its possessions to the utmost, and as far as possible to incorporate the entire human family into itself. That is a tendency which it has received from God . . . In relations with other nations there are no laws or rights other than the right of the strongest."

JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE,
German Philosopher; First Rector of
Berlin University (1762-1814)



POLISH LANCERS IN RUSSIAN DRESS

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Many of them travelled hundreds of miles on foot. Others, more fortunate, went by road in all sorts of conveyances or by train. Everywhere they met sympathetic help from the Russian authorities and people who gave them food and even money to continue their journey. These thousands of men, undernourished and clothed in rags suddenly regained life and strength. The thought, that they were again free men, and soldiers able to fight for the liberation of their beloved country, imbued them with determination to overcome all difficulties.

The ranks of the Polish Army in Russia grew rapidly. General Wladyslaw Anders, an experienced commander, was put in charge of this newly-organized force. Enlistments were not limited to Polish veterans. Many young civilians, deported to Russia, swelled its ranks.

An auxiliary corps was formed by Polish women, who are rendering valuable sanitary, medical, canteen and other services.

Enthusiasm among the Poles in Russia and their eagerness to fight, is most impres-

sive. Young and old are anxious to join the army. This fighting spirit that animates all Polish soldiers everywhere is a powerful military factor that may well be decisive in the battles for which these men are now in training.

This splendid spirit found eloquent expression during the first military review, when Polish soldiers marched in ragged uniforms and worn boots. A strange sight indeed: they looked like tramps but marched like guards — that was the opinion of the Russian officers present at the review. Now, most of them have new and warm uniforms and fine footwear.

In the course of his last visit to Russia, General Sikorski visited the Polish Army in its training centers. Pictures published in this issue of *The Polish Review* show various units of the newly-organized Polish Army during General Sikorski's inspection. They were brought to London by members of the staff and were at once sent on to New York. They are the best proof of the fine bearing of the Polish soldiers in Russia.

Here also is a translation of a letter received from Russia. It was written by a Polish soldier and describes details of life in Polish Army camps:

"I saw a small chapel where Chaplain Tyczkowski says mass for the soldiers who made all the liturgical vessels and vestments themselves. There are crucifixes, delicately carved in wood and bone; chasubles made from silk blouses and chalices beaten by hand from silver tableware. Many here have turned to the religious practices of the early Christians.

"Soldiers of all ranks and degrees had been deprived of all their possessions, and had to make many essentials for themselves. I have seen beauti-

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GENERAL SIKORSKI WITH HIS MEN

PEASANT PROBLEM IN POLAND

(Continued from page 5)

to be found, for instance, in Czechoslovakia, and by a vast number of dwarf holdings incapable of providing subsistence for their owners.

The latter problem has been investigated by a number of students who have obtained fairly uniform results. Oberlaender, for example, in his work on Poland's over-population, is of the opinion that a 7½ acre farm is capable of supporting an average farmer's family in the western districts, while 11 acres are needed in the central and southern districts and 13½ acres in the eastern districts. On the strength of this he estimates the surplus population at 42 per cent. of the total. Another authority, Poniatowski, considers that half of the rural population in the southern provinces and one-third in the rest of the country cannot find employment in the village, from which they are ready to migrate.

In the years preceding the last war the situation was somewhat eased by the migration of Polish peasants overseas, in particular to the United States. This provided an annual outlet for some 200,000 people. In the post-war period America imposed restriction on foreign immigration, and the problem became again acute. The ravages of war added to the difficulties; during the last war, for instance, over 1,000,000 agricultural buildings were destroyed in Polish territory.

The Government of independent Poland was at once faced with the task of reconstructing a branch of economy which from oldest times constituted and still constitutes the foundation of her national existence. Far-reaching reforms affecting the agrarian structure had to be introduced, the main evil being dwarf holdings incapable of supporting the farmer and his family. A whole series of laws, known as the Land Reform Acts, were passed during the years 1919-1925. Their main object was to create economically sound farms. It was therefore decided to break up the large estates in order to increase the size of the dwarf holdings and create new farms. Scattered plots had to be joined into compact units, common land and a number of cumbersome easements had to be abolished and technical improvements introduced. The large landowners were allowed to retain from 150 to 750 acres, according to the standard of industrialization of the property, methods of cultivation employed and the situation of their land. From this surplus and the land owned by public corpora-



tions a fund of land was obtained to carry through the land reform. A Ministry for Land Reform was called into being with offices all over the country, and the necessary administrative laws were passed.

The Polish Land Reform differed substantially from those adopted by a number of other countries after the last war. The essential feature of the Polish reform was that it was carried out gradually. Although the Government was empowered by law to enforce expropriation, the policy was to bring this about by voluntary means. Apart from the technical difficulties involved in a venture of such magnitude, the Government was faced with two main difficulties: one was financial, the other sprang from the general economic policy of the country. The Polish State accepted the principle of private property, and therefore the law provided compensation for the expropriated owner, though not to the full value of the land with which he parted. Even so, the sums involved proved a heavy strain on the public purse of Poland, faced at the time with the task of reconstruction in almost every department of national economy. The subsidies to the new owners necessitated even greater and immediate capital outlay than compensation to the expropriated owners. New settlers, most of whom were penniless, had to be provided with farm buildings, livestock and even credits for purchases during the first year. All this considerably added to the cost of the reform. Another factor which to a certain extent slowed down the pace of the reform was the desire to maintain corn prices at their present level, both at home and on the foreign market. Experience has shown that parcellation reduces agricultural production at least during the period of transition, if not permanently, because large estates sell a larger proportion of their produce than the small holdings where more is consumed by the owner.

In spite of all these impeding factors, much had been done by the outbreak of this war. Up to 1939 6,558,000 acres of large estates had been parcelled out. Of this 3,538,500 acres were used to create 153,000 new farms. The balance was used to increase the size of 502,000 dwarf farms, bringing the size up to normal. The average size of the new farms was 23.5 acres. As a rule 5 acres were added to each farm falling below the self-supporting standard. In this way over 600,000 peasants received new land. At the same time about half the existing scattered strip holdings had been abolished by joining the holdings of various owners. A number of easements were abolished and the holders compensated. Work was also started on dividing up the communal pasture lands and grounds, which were usually neglected and badly administered. Much had been done in the way of intensifying production, and there was a tendency, too, to change over to a higher grade production. These purely economic problems were closely linked with the question of raising the educational standard of the peasant, to which much attention was given.

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POLISH ARMY IN RUSSIA GROWS



POLISH INFANTRY IN RUSSIA

(Continued from page 9)

ful penknives made by hand from old car springs, engraved and encrusted with national symbols, cigarette cases, wallets, and statuettes. General X showed me a hand-made valise, while a carved marble chess set that I saw was indeed an unique rarity of its kind. There were many articles made of horse hair, bone, old buttons, anything that came to hand."

Exile had served as an outlet to the artistic genius of the people. In spite of cold and hunger, misery and deprivation, the soldiers, who form the rank and file of the Polish Army are very happy.

Poland of the past appears to each and everyone of them a lost paradise. Here, the Polish eagle on the buttons of their uniform is a symbol of their motherland. The formation of regiments was comparatively easy. Brigades and divisions followed and as soon as the necessary tanks, dive bombers and guns arrive — some are already here — the new Polish armies will take the field with their keen fighting spirit of old.

Unmindful of his past lot but sure of tomorrow, the Polish soldier is full of enthu-

"The spirit of the Polish Army in Russia is magnificent. In the best sense of the word it is a national army. In spite of all his sufferings the Polish soldier in Russia has one dream and one dream only, that is to fight the Germans, free Poland and return to his motherland with arms in his hands. The Polish Army in Russia lives like one big family. Relations between commanders and soldiers are excellent, indeed most cordial, but discipline is complete."

GENERAL W. SIKORSKI

siasm and hope. Military training is being pushed forward as fast as possible. Every one is anxious to join the Polish forces, even many who are physically unfit: "the lame, the halt and the blind." These are sent to labor camps or 'kolchozy' on the basis of the special agreements concluded.

In order to withstand the severe winter, barracks have to be built, often of wood and clay. Tools of all sorts have to be made. There is no lack of work.

There is already a soldiers' paper. For the time being scarcity of newsprint limits the scope of its activities.

Here are some titles of military songs and vaudeville acts in the Polish training camps in Russia:

"We are returning to our Country", "Long Live Our Army", "The March of the Poles", "We the Legion", etc.

Soldiers' recreation halls exist in all the camps. The services of the Polish women auxiliary corps are invaluable. They are at present in Russian uniforms. They do much of clerical and all of the welfare work.

All these thousands of men and women have joined to work for a common cause: the restoration of Poland. The road is long and hard. But everywhere one believes that the end will be reached eventually: a free and independent Poland!



POLISH WOMEN'S AUXILIARY FORCE

POLISH PUBLICATIONS IN WARTIME U. S. S. R.

POLISH soldiers who crossed swords with their German enemy two years ago are now training on the broad Volga plains side by side with raw recruits who have not yet tasted the smoke of battle. But despite their difference in age, social origin and experience, all these men are fired with a single desire, a single purpose to fight for a free and independent Poland.

These thoughts and emotions find their reflection in two printed publications now appearing regularly in the Soviet Union, one in Kuibyshev and the other at the headquarters of the Polish Army Command.

"Poland Fights in the East" is the slogan under the masthead of "White Eagle," the four-page weekly organ of the Polish Army. Hand set by Polish soldiers in a field print shop, the paper caters primarily to the men in uniform. Stories about camp life alternate with news from the outside world. A report on the visits of General Sikorski, Polish Premier and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, to the Kremlin and to the Polish soldiers in the training camps is featured prominently. Lyrical verse written by a young Polish girl, Halina Terlecka, is carried alongside an article about the bravery displayed by Polish soldiers fighting in foreign lands — in Narvik where a brigade of Polish riflemen fought under General Szysko-Bohusz; in the waters near Iceland, where the Polish destroyer, "Thunder," helped sink the battleship Bismarck.

"A Chronicle of Polish Suffering," an article by K. Pruszyński, published in the second issue of "Polska," a weekly put out by the Polish Embassy in the U.S.S.R., is written in a calm, dignified vein, in spite of its harrowing contents. Listing the crimes

of the Nazis in his native land, the author exclaims: "One thing is certain: Of all the countries occupied by Hitler, none, with the possible exception of Yugoslavia, is so cruelly persecuted as Poland . . . Nowhere have so many people been murdered, tortured to death, robbed, banished and arrested as in Poland.

"Unable to find any Hachas, Petains, Quislings or Nediches in Poland to offer their services to him, Hitler had to place his own German butchers in charge. That's why Hitler is venting all the fury of his wrath on Poland."

Pruszyński described the valiant struggle being waged by the Polish people whose spirit will never be broken even by the most terrible

oppression mankind has ever known.

"My compatriots over there in Poland may not hear the tramp of our soldiers' feet in the east," he writes. "They may not hear the orders of the Polish Command and the echo of Polish shots. But they believe that the army that has come into being in the east will bring them liberation. They believe it, they know it, and they are waiting."

The paper also featured poems written by emigre Poles. Anton Slonimsky, in London, writes about the destruction in Warsaw. "The Road," by Vladislav Broniewski is about the roads over which Polish soldiers all over the world are striving to liberate their country.

Capably written and edited, well illustrated with photos and engravings, this weekly unites Poles scattered over the face of the globe. It will undoubtedly serve to strengthen mutual sympathies between future neighbors — Free Poland and the Soviet Union.



HEADING OF POLISH ARMY PAPER IN RUSSIA

P E A S A N T P R O B L E M I N P O L A N D

(Continued from page 10)

At the outbreak of the present war the land reform provided for by the existing legislation had been almost completed and the supply of land which the Government had in hand as a result of partial expropriation was nearing exhaustion. This does not, however, mean that the reform of the agrarian structure of Poland was nearing completion. It may yet prove necessary in future to introduce fresh legislation restricting the right of dividing the land inherited in order to maintain the farms at their present size. Otherwise it may happen in a few generations that the agricultural property will be broken up into small holdings once again, the only difference being that there would be no large estates left to be used

for building up the holdings a second time.

It is not, however, enough to carry out the land reform along the lines of parcellation in order to set things right in the Polish countryside, to remove over-population and to remedy unemployment there. It is now generally recognized, though it has never been a secret to the authors of the Land Reform Acts, that with all the expropriation of the large estates there is not enough land to provide a livelihood for the rapidly increasing rural population of Poland. A radical solution must therefore combine the industrialization of the country and new colonizing outlets for a population which by its industry, resourcefulness and endurance has earned the right to a better existence.