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POLAND: A MODEL OF GERMANY'S "NEW ORDER"

THE GOVERNMENT GENERAL: A MODEL OF GERMAN RULE

Headline from a German paper, and article describing German persecution in Poland as an ideal system to be applied in other countries in Europe.



Arthur Greiser

Reichsleiter und Reichsstatthalter
im Reichsgau Wartheland

ROGUES' GALLERY. Front page of German newspaper showing pictures of Hitler's henchmen in Poland, with their arch-executioner, A. Greiser, Gauleiter of the Western Provinces of Poland, illegally "incorporated" in the Reich. This merciless attempt to exterminate the Poles and to introduce the "new order," by murdering thousands of innocent victims, and putting twelve-year-old children to forced labor, will long be remembered by the martyred people. Greiser, Frank, Forster, are high up on the list of German criminals who will atone with their lives for their bestial crimes.

POLAND was the first country to be conquered by Hitler in the war, with the consequence that the Germans were able to start their economic exploitation earlier there than anywhere else. In numerous statements leading members of the German political hierarchy have represented their administration in the General Gouvernement as a model of the future German New Order, not only for Eastern but also for Western Europe. This "model" administration is to be seen at work not only in the decapitated trunk of former Poland, which the Germans call the General Gouvernement, but in the Western Provinces also, though, in accordance with the German plans, the system varies from area to area.

The General Gouvernement originally consisted of 37,000 square miles, with some 11.4 million people. But after the German attack on the U.S.S.R. and the occupation of the Polish areas previously occupied by the Soviets it was enlarged by the incorporation of the Polish South-Eastern provinces of Lwow, Tarnopol, and Stanislawow, and it is now 61,000 square miles, with a population that can at present be estimated at some 21 millions. Politically this country is intended primarily as a homeland for Poles. But there is this difference that while, like a Protectorate of Czechoslovakia, it constitutes an area incorporated with the Reich, ". . . it is distinct" (Please turn to page 5)

SPEAKING TO POLAND . . .

Broadcast to Poland by Mrs. Ernesta Barlow



MEN and women of Poland! You have had many well-known Americans speak to you over this radio. Today you're hearing from someone who has been chosen because she was not well known. Because I am one among millions I claim the right to speak for millions.

What I feel for Poland is what those millions feel. We want to tell you that we love you for the fight you are making. We want to tell you that we honor you beyond the power of telling.

At the very outbreak of war Poland earned the right to speak for peace when peace shall come again. You earned that right the only way it can be earned, the way America is now earning it, by sacrifice and death. Outnumbered, outarmed, you were the first people in Europe, as the Chinese were the first in Asia, to show a smug self-righteous world what belief and human resolution can do against these barbarian invasions. Even though you fought a lost fight you carried the standards of victory. The eternal courage of the Poles raised a flag in 1939 which all this world must follow if we wish to save our country and our souls. While men live to record the doings of other men, Warsaw will not be forgotten. No closing of schools, no butchering of intellectuals, no Nazi inhumanity yet devised can dim the light you've carried far outside your borders.

It must have been bitter to you to see America, the great exponent of freedom, stand so long aloof from this war to regain and preserve freedom. Now we too have learned in blood and battle the inevitable lesson. From now on America offers you more substantial comfort than her sympathy, she offers you, until the end, her brotherhood in arms. I trust we shall be no less valiant than our Allies.

Impotence under cruelty and injustice must, of all human ills, be the hardest to bear. We hear with delight of your cunning and resourcefulness in hampering Nazi officials. All luck be with you who daily risk your lives just to cause a German some petty annoyance. For that you are forbidden to do, and yet do, we salute you.

You have never surrendered one inch in spirit or in will, but there are many among you whose bodies

are dying of cold, and hunger, and typhus, and all the dreadful ills this war has brought you. When your misery is so great you think you cannot live, live, I beseech you, a little longer. Live because the Nazis want you to die. Live in spite of them to see the monstrous world they would create defeated and your own land restored to you, for as surely as the sun rises we will not stop until Hitler's Germany is finished and enslaved peoples set free again.

No matter how alone you feel, no matter how deserted, remember, I beg of you, that you are not alone. Our strength is new and fresh, we shall not tire. Your conqueror has tried to lock you away from us, but I say to you, we know your wrongs, we know what you have suffered. We know into what brutality you have been thrust, your high things made low, your hills dust. I cry to you from the heart of America, that your cause has become a splendor and your wrongs an everlasting music. Don't weep, I pray you, for your sons and daughters because they lie in unmarked graves. Heroes have the whole world for their tomb, the stars themselves their headstones through eternity.

100 POLES MURDERED

One hundred Poles were shot in Warsaw last week for the death of a single Gestapo brigand. The announcement that one hundred had been murdered for one, also contained Governor Fischer's threat that if there were any further attempts on German lives, he would starve the million inhabitants of Warsaw by prohibiting all imports of food into that city. Not only these hundred Poles whose murder is openly announced, but a hundred thousand others have already been murdered by the Germans in Poland, in the streets of our towns, in massacres and above all, day after day, secretly done to death in prisons and camps, wiped out at the will of hangmen or slowly tortured to death.

The tremendous and terrible list of German crimes grows and extends, but like a crumbling mountain will overwhelm the German nation on the day of retribution. Then not one culprit will be able to hide under ground, not one of the enormous gangs of criminals, of those who give orders or those who execute them, will escape.

Apparently Germans must ensure their own security in Poland because it forms the rear to their struggle against Russia. All the German criminals in Poland from the degenerate Frank in our Polish Wawel to the degenerate overseers in Oswiecim camp, are responsible for the fact that to secure themselves in a land where their very presence is a crime, they murder a hundred for one. They will be held responsible for this.

ST. STRONSKI,
Polish Minister of Information

POLAND'S CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENT

THOSE who have followed the trend of Poland's affairs since her independence was restored in 1918 know that it took the combined effort of all her people to restore order out of the chaos in which the last war left her. The story of her struggles and of the success that crowned her efforts to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles is an inspiring one.

To obtain a clear view of the progress achieved by Poland, in the short space of twenty years, when she was given a breathing space of peace, it is necessary to know the conditions in which the Polish government started reconstruction in 1918.

Nearly three-quarters of the country had been more or less laid waste by military operations. During the fifty-two months of the last war and the two years of the Polish-Russian conflict that followed, 1,864,000 buildings were destroyed as were also nearly all supplies of food-stuffs, installations, tools, workshops, factories, etc. War had obliterated two thousand postal and telegraph stations, and all their technical equipment.

40% of all highways and bridges had been rendered useless. Water ways fared no better, as all the four chief inland canals were badly damaged.

This material devastation represents only one aspect of the losses suffered by Poland at the threshold of her return to independence. No less important were the financial burdens assumed by the Polish Government, representing obligations taken over from the three alien governments which had held the country. Of these, civil and military pensions absorbed more than 10 per cent. of all State revenues. Equally serious was the lack of capital, as Poland's money resources had been entirely exhausted by the war and its aftermath. Reserves in the form of bank deposits, insurance company funds, and working capital of business enterprises, had all either been seized by the authorities of occupation or had melted away under the influence of currency inflation and depreciation.

When weighing the difficulties that Poland had to overcome before her economic reconstruction could be begun, it must be remembered that during the century when world industry was developing

along modern lines Polish territories were partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria.

So three different economic systems, three different currencies, to say nothing of three different sets of customs duties, taxes, social policies, etc., had to be welded into an harmonious whole.

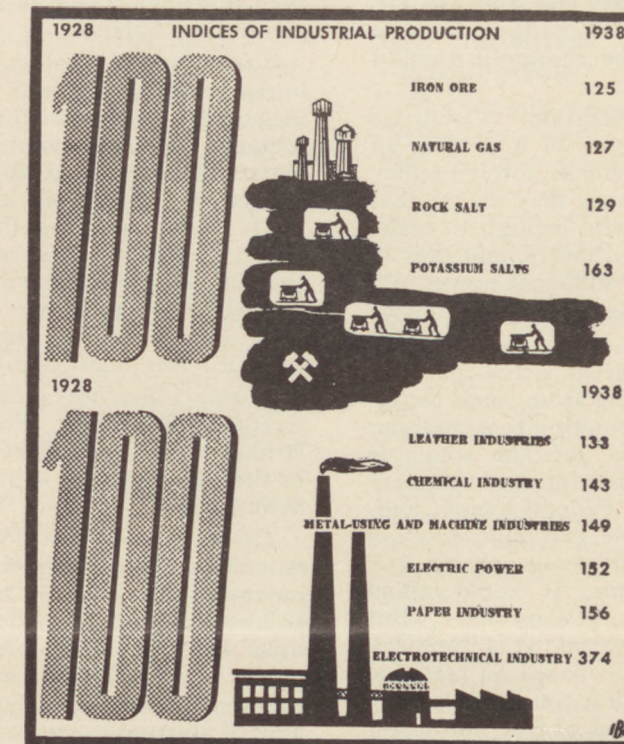
In some fields industry had been expanded far beyond the actual needs of the Polish nation, in others it showed serious gaps. In Polish districts that had been under Russian occupation since 1815, there were many enterprises specially adapted to the needs of the Russian market which in the absence of customs barriers became a natural outlet for the produce of Polish factories. The restoration of Poland closed the Russian market and made it necessary to transform and adapt Polish industry to the needs of the Polish market. Similar conditions existed in those parts of Poland formerly under German and Austrian rule.

So the position of Polish industry after the Great War was particularly difficult, the whole country had been devastated (the destruction of property was estimated by a competent commission at \$1,800,000,000) and it had not only to rebuild from the ground up, but to adapt itself to entirely new conditions, to supply the needs of the three reunited sectors of Poland, and to seek new foreign markets to replace those that were lost.

Polish industry adapted itself to these new conditions in a relatively short time. Ruined factories were rebuilt, a number of new industrial establishments were created, as well as new branches of industry — for example, the manufacture of aeroplanes, railroad rolling stock and locomotives, chemical and electro-technical works, and the national defense industry.

The reconstruction process of Poland's economic life was facilitated by the natural resources of the country, which included reserves of such mineral and raw materials as coal, iron, zinc and lead ores, rock salt, potassium deposits, pyrites, phosphorites, kaolin clays, crude oil, natural gas, and ozokerite. Then favored by Poland's climate there was an

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WINNING OR LOSING THE PEACE

By CECIL F. MELVILLE

THE agreement just entered into between the Yugoslav and Greek Governments in London for federation between their two countries after the war, and providing the basis for a wider Balkan Federation later on, is one of the more hopeful signs of the times. The Greco-Yugoslav agreement and the Polish-Czechoslovak agreement between them provide the veritable blue print for the reorganization of Europe after the Allied victory.

The recipe is "regional federation." Countries occupying the same region agree to a pooling of their interests in the realms of defense, foreign policy and economics. They do so because they realize that individually they are not powerful enough to resist aggression by predatory Great Powers, and that in partnership they can command sufficient power and resources to make a would-be aggressor think twice about attacking them.

Regional federation has the great virtue that it is a natural thing; and that, starting from small beginnings, it is capable of organic growth into something bigger. It therefore avoids the mistake which is made by the theoreticians who put forward the more ambitious schemes of complete Federal Union. Federal Union for Europe as a whole, and imposed upon the peoples of Europe as a ready-made scheme, can at best be but a "paper" scheme. It would fail in practise just as the League of Nations failed. But regional federation is not theoretical. It is practical. It is not a "paper" scheme. It is based on realities. Being capable of organic growth it could, in time, by natural evolution, and the process of trial and error, evolve into a wider structure of European cooperation; and in that case it would have the lasting qualities which would be lacking in any grandiose ready-made plan of European union.

Taking the Greco-Yugoslav and the Polish-Czechoslovak schemes as starting points, one can visualize the creation of two regional federative blocs between the Baltic and the Ægean. In the course of time the friendly relations and practical co-operative urges between the two groupings might well develop eventually into a great Eastern Europe federation of states, which would provide a balance between Western Europe and Russia. Such a federation would find its place within the framework of an Anglo-Russian understanding.

This would mean the restoration of the "balance of power." But not in the bad sense in which that term was understood in the past. For it would not be a balance between heavily armed, imperialistic Great Powers which would fly at each other's throat the moment the opportunity was provided by any shifting in the balance. It would be a balance of power in which the will for peace, and the strength to support that will, would be greater than the will and means for aggression.

It is clear that all the countries situated in the various regional federative areas — both ex-ally and ex-enemy — would in the course of time have to be included. But it would be essential that the terms of admission for the ex-enemies would have to be such that they would not have the means for overturning the balance.

It is necessary to state here that two main contributions will be required from the victorious Allies: the smaller states, which would comprise the various regional federative combinations, will have to sink petty differences and abandon ambitions not commensurate with their natural circumstances, and really learn to pull together for their common good; and the more powerful states — and pre-eminently Britain — must take an active part both in the creation or fostering of the regional federative groupings, and in ensuring that the new machinery thus created really does its job.

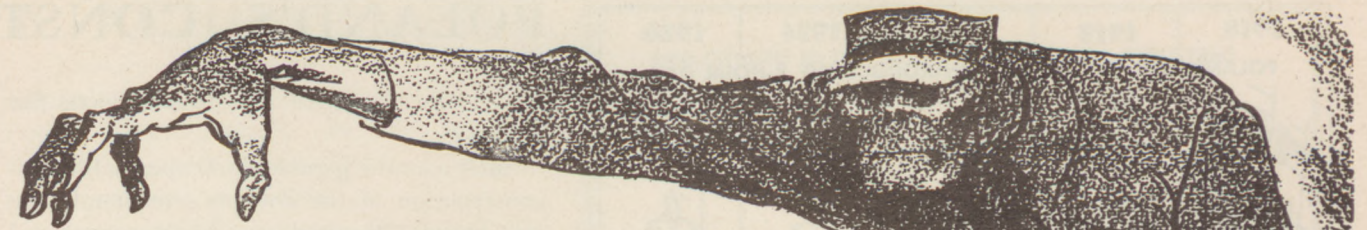
Britain must not again turn her back upon the European Continent. For this war has proved that Britain cannot, except at her own peril, take refuge in the idea that she is an oceanic and not a Continental power.

This is a problem which must be approached realistically and imaginatively; but on no account sentimentally. For it will be a necessary part of this new balance of power, in which the defenders of peace must be stronger than the would-be disturbers of peace, that the nations which were responsible for the present war should not only be rendered incapable of starting a new war, but must also, for some time at least, be made to make their contribution in the form of putting right the wrongs they have committed. This is not only the practical way. It also has the moral sanction that by these means the states which were the aggressors in this war, and more especially Germany, will be able to achieve "regeneration through service."

By some such methods as these we shall win the peace after we have won the war. If we neglect such methods we shall lose the peace and after a time be confronted with a third "Punic" war. We can and will win the present war. But a third one, launched by a Germany rapidly recovered from the present one, we should in all probability lose.

Our main problem, as regards Germany and her allies, will be, not the responsibility of the régimes which actually made the war, but how to prevent the peoples which supported those régimes from making yet another war.

The victory of the Allies in this war will present mankind — and especially European mankind — with a great chance. Perhaps a last chance. And it will be for Europe herself to make or mar this opportunity. Thus Britain must give the lead.



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guished very essentially from a Protectorate by the circumstance that the German administration in the General Gouvernement is not a supervisory administration over a non-German State administration, but is itself the State Administration, right down to the lowest unit." So Under-Secretary of State Ernst Kundt declared in the *Berliner Boersen Zeitung* of November 30th last.

As we have already said, the Germans have no large-scale plans for the General Gouvernement, the "home of the Polish nation." At the moment they are only concerned with ensuring that:

a. This agriculturally unprofitable country should manage to feed itself somehow or other, and not only that, but feed as many as possible of the German troops fighting in Russia.

b. The industry in the area should yield the maximum for the German war effort.

c. The very large population of the area, increased as it has been by the deportation from the Western provinces and by the flight of people from the East during 1939 and 1940, should provide as many workers as possible for the German Reich.

d. In addition to all this, the Germans living in the General Gouvernement should exploit the position to their own advantage to the utmost extent.

On the question of the great part to be played by the area as a bridge between the East (of course when it is conquered by the Germans) and the Reich, on the question of Vistula conservancy and development, the building of railway lines, etc., all these things are still only in the stage of talk.



Agricultural and Industrial Exploitation

The Germans themselves admit that nowhere else in the world, "with the exception perhaps of Yokohama province," is there such a dense agricultural population as in this area. In normal times the area now demarcated as the General Gouvernement imported some 40,000 tons of wheat and over 200,000 tons of rye every year from other parts of Poland, in times of a good harvest.

None the less this area is now not only being forced to feed itself, but in 1940 it fed the German troops quartered on it, as Secretary of State Backe stated in *Four-Year Plan* for January, 1941.

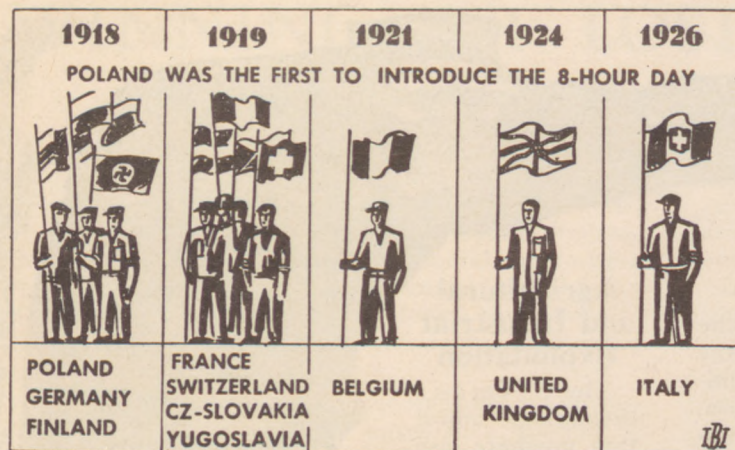
So far as the raw materials industry, and especially the armaments industry situated in the Central Industrial Area, south of Warsaw, is concerned, the Germans have done their utmost to exploit it to the full.

Starvation and Exploitation

Over 20 million people, the entire population of the General Gouvernement, are today living in indescribable conditions. Even the Germans have recently admitted that these people are allotted "meagre but sufficient" food. The people living on the larger husbandries and, to some extent, the workers in armaments industries, who receive special supplementary rations to maintain their physical strength, are the best off, by comparison with the others.

Yet everywhere the occupant authorities are exploiting the people ruthlessly. Firms from Hamburg and Bremen, who are unemployed owing to the British blockade, have opened forty branches in the General Gouvernement, and each of these branches has a

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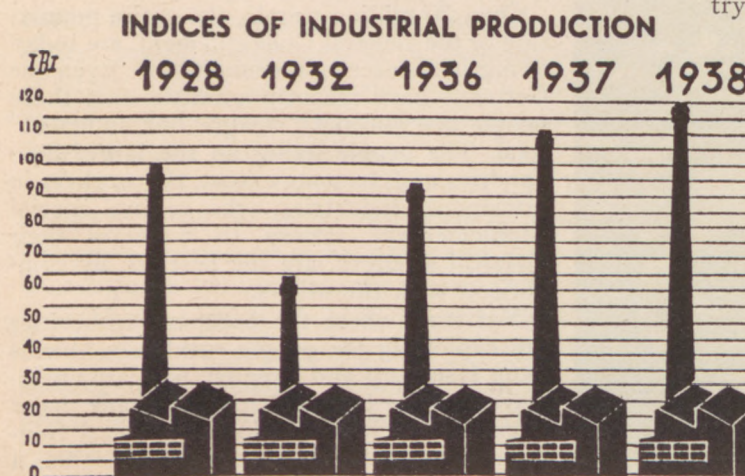


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abundance of cereals, potatoes, beets, flax, hemp, oil-bearing seeds, wood, etc. Finally, the country was admirably suited to stock raising, and raw products of animal origin were plentiful. Out of some two hundred industrial raw materials officially listed, Poland produced more than eighty.

The industrialization of the country was also favored by Poland's geographical position in the very centre of Europe. Her rich plains offered no barriers to communication, her splendid system of inland waterways suitable for navigation, her large reserves of waterpower, all combined to make possible a rapid recovery.

Finally, Polish labor was excellent and splendidly adapted to industrial production. The Polish workman is able, intelligent, hardy, good tempered and his output was very high. Poland had one of the highest birthrates in Europe and, but for the present war, her population would have grown to more than 40 millions in ten years' time. With the great improvements in agricultural methods, the soil could not afford employment to the whole natural increase of the rural areas. This was one of the reasons why the Polish government made great efforts to rebuild



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the ruined factories and industrialize the country.

Such was the groundwork upon which reconstruction of the country's economic life was based. Progress was further increased by the wise economic and financial policy of the government which always sought to maintain a constant balance between the State revenues and expenditures, promoted large-scale public works, kept a strict control of the money market, and encouraged private enterprise in every way.

During the ten pre-war years, only twice did disbursements exceed revenues: the deficits were, however, covered by reserves from surpluses obtained in previous and more favorable years. Well-balanced budgets made it possible to avoid draining the money market for government loans, and enabled what capital there was to be devoted to animating the country's economic life.

This policy of holding down the expenses of the State, and not borrowing in the open market to cover budgetary deficits made it possible to finance the production of durable and useful commodities and works. In the last four pre-war years a sum equal to the annual budget of the country was expended for these purposes.

The index of industrial production gives a good idea of the progress of industrialization in Poland during the 1919-1939 period. Compared with 1928, the index for 1922-1927 was 75.5. In 1932 the index declined to 64 per cent, but thereafter it rose steadily, and in 1938 was 119.5. According to official Polish statistics there were in Poland 222,000 industrial establishments in 1935. The majority of them were small undertakings, and less than 9,000 establishments employed more than 15 workmen. At the beginning of 1939 the larger undertakings employed approximately 800,000 workmen. Besides

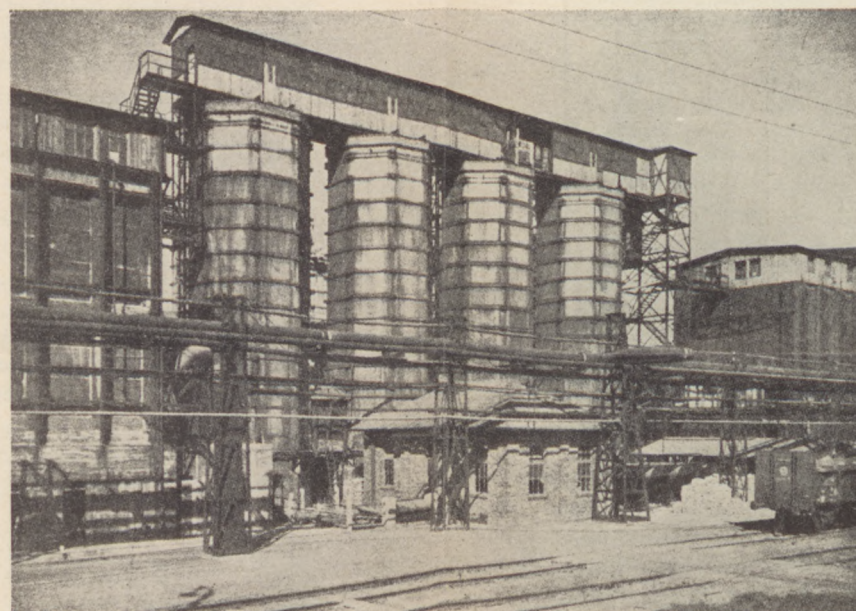
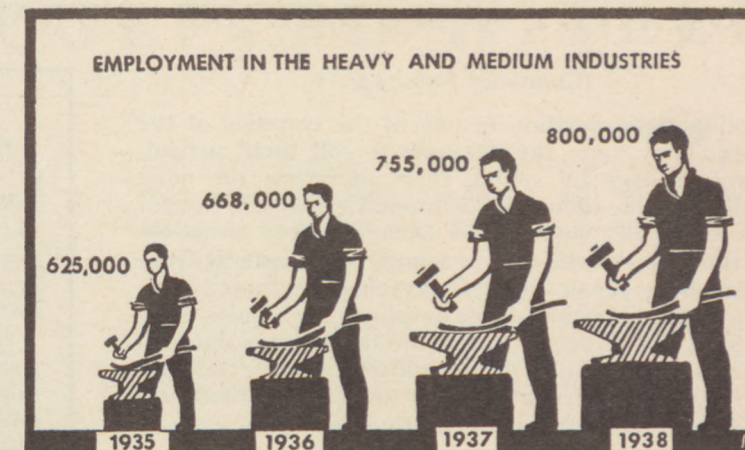
industrial establishments there existed in Poland approximately 360,000 artisans' workshops, which played quite an important role in national production.

Let us take a few figures at random. In 1918 Poland had about 1,750 locomotives, 3,043 passenger cars, and 30,000 railroad trucks. In 1937 she had well over 5,500 locomotives, 11,350 passenger cars, and 164,000 railroad trucks. 1,250 miles of new railroad had been built. The number of passengers carried in 1937 was 266 millions. In 1918 Poland had not a single merchant vessel. In 1937 she had 490, with a cargo capacity of 145,300 tons. Similar progress could be shown for almost every branch of economic activity.

This enormous reconstruction was all accomplished within twenty years. The devastation of war had been completely healed. Farms, villages, towns had been rebuilt. Numerous industries had been put into operation. The greatest port on the Baltic — Gdynia — had been built, and the Central Industrial District, ranking among the marvels of the modern technical achievements, had been created.

This tremendous technical and economic progress was accomplished almost without financial assistance from abroad because foreign lenders preferred to pour money into the coffers of the Reich. So Poland's foreign loans were very small and her foreign indebtedness per capita was the lowest in Europe.

With regard to the various branches of industrial output, a record level was attained by the electrotechnical industry, which increased its production nearly fourfold. In other branches, the index much exceeds the levels noted in 1928. The chemical industry increased its output greatly and was able to export many of its products. Of the commodities comprising the wide range of Po-

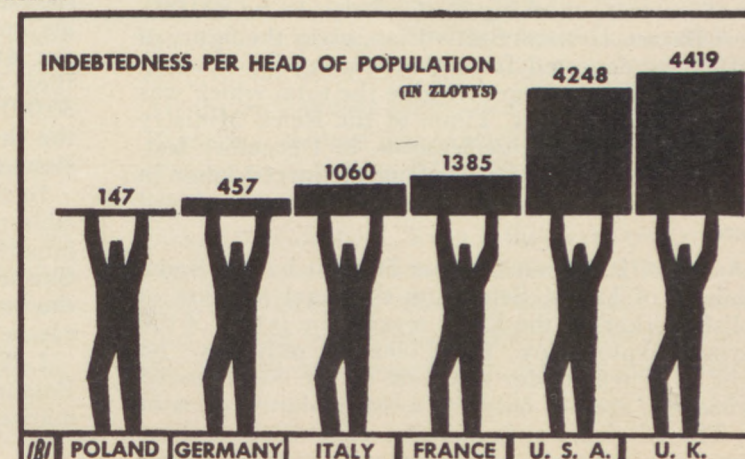


ONE OF MANY NEW INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS PUT UP IN POLAND
Column Ovens at the Chemical Plant at Chorzow.

land's chemical production, the following can be cited: the output of soda rose by 145 per cent. since 1922; the production of calcium cyanamide doubled, whilst that of artificial silk increased fivefold.

The metal manufacturing industries made great progress; for instance, the Polish market has not only become self-sufficient in the field of rolling stock but has even succeeded in exporting railway locomotives and wagons to other countries. The paper industry's output was four times greater than before the last war, whilst that of the cellulose mills has increased sixfold. The textile industry was completely devastated by alien armies fighting on the soil of Poland during the war. In spite of this, the industry has been so rebuilt that the number of spindles in the cotton mills was 50 per cent. higher than before the war.

A review of the progress made in other branches of production is no less striking. This would, however, require too much space, and we shall therefore restrict ourselves to the production of electricity, which grew from 2,618 million kWh in 1928 to 3,628 million kWh in 1938, whilst the installed power in the various plants rose from 1,020 thous. kWh to 1,620 thous. kWh over the same period.



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monopolistic position in one of the counties of the area. They force the peasants to sell their agricultural produce by selling them in return the most indispensable industrial commodities, which, but for the blockade, would have been exported overseas. Although, as "the Polish home," the General Gouvernement is not to be Germanized, enforced German administrations have developed to a quite large extent, as can be seen from the fact that in one district alone of the five into which the General Gouvernement is divided, namely in Radom, there are 712 enterprises under such administration.

South-Eastern Poland, which was incorporated with the General Gouvernement after its conquest from the Soviets, occupies a special position. Although it has gradually been incorporated economically with the rest of the area, in this district, as for that matter throughout the Eastern districts, the Germans have left the property relations unchanged from those of Soviet days. This means that all economic life in these districts is nationalized, the sole difference being that now the direction is in German hands. We may cite as an instance of the ruthlessness of German exploitation the fact that during the first month after the German occupation of Lwow they extracted \$60,000 in taxes from the already ruined population, and did so on the basis of Soviet law.

Forced Labor

It is obvious that in the general hopeless conditions of the General Gouvernement today there is no possibility of employment in the area for all who are capable of work. But that is just what the Germans want. For although in principle they are against the permanent employment of foreigners in the Reich, on the one hand they have an insatiable need for such workers, and on the other, even in their post-war plans, they are increasingly admitting the possibility of exceptions. This is one of the most tragic factors in the German economic exploitation of the Poles. In the review *Four-Year Plan* for April 1941 Governor-General Frank stated the number of civilian workers from the General Gouvernement (exclusive of prisoners of war) working in the Reich to be 800,000. Herr Batzer, German Statistician, gives the figure of 250,000 as deported from the *Warthegau* for work. These two figures together give the total which was recently given by Dr. Timm of the Reich Ministry of Labor in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, in December last, of over a million Poles working on forced labor in the Reich, out of the 2.1 million foreigners employed there.

A decree issued on October 5th last by the Reich Minister of Labor, Seldte, on the legal position of Polish workers in the Reich reveals the extent of the German exploitation. The Poles not only have no right to benefit under any part of the Reich social legislation, are not only the most exploited class in the Third Reich, but in addition are burdened, apart from the usual taxes on wages, with special "equal-

"CRIMINOLOGY"

History has no parallel for the situation existing in Germany wherein the friends, advisers, and followers of Hitler and the highest dignitaries in the Third Reich today are so many of them persons whose deviation from moral rectitude would in other circumstances banish them from the society of their fellowmen.

Here are a few examples: Kaufmann, the Reichsstatthalter and Gauleiter of Hamburg, is an ex-thief; Terboven, Gauleiter of Norway, is a libertine, who seduced the school-girl daughter of a friend of his; Heydrich has been guilty of corruption in office; Roehm, Heines, and many others were sexual perverts. The Governor of Poland, Frank, and the ill-famed Dr. Wendler were knavish lawyers, whose practices frequently attracted the unfavorable notice of the Law Society. Frank was employed by his father, who was finally expelled from the Bar for embezzling trust funds. Alvensleben, now a highly placed official in Poland, the decadent scion of a Prussian army family, had an evil reputation in Munich for counterfeiting; Wilhelm Kube had to resign his post of Oberpraesident of Brandenburg for embezzlement; Heinrich Lohse, one of the new gauleiters in the so-called "Ostland," has committed fraud . . . Nor must we forget that Horst Wessel, who gave his name to Nazi Germany's national anthem, was a pander.

— W. T.

ization" taxes, the *Sozialausgleichabgabe*, amounting to 15 per cent. of the gross wage. The chief purpose of this tax, as one can see from *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* of November last, is to render it impossible for Poles to earn as much as even the most exploited and least paid German. Even before this Herr Seldte had recommended that Polish lads and girls from 14 to 18 years of age (who are also enrolled for forced labor) were to work as long as adults, despite the German law on protection for youth.

Since the conquest of South-Eastern Poland and the Eastern Polish areas generally from the Soviets the Germans have been carrying off the local workers on an even more intensive scale. According to the latest German statements, between July, when these areas were conquered, and the end of October, 30,000 people have been carried off to Germany from the three provinces of Lwow, Tarnopol and Stanislavow alone.

In this comparatively short survey it is not possible to do more than bring out some of the most important features of Poland's economic exploitation and spoliation by the German occupants, but on the basis of the foregoing the following deductions can be drawn:

1. The exploitation and economic spoliation of Poland has been proceeding longer and more systematically than anywhere else, and it perfectly re-

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GERMANS ACCEPTED HITLER

By JOZEF WINIEWICZ



ON December 18, 1918, only a few weeks after the collapse of the Second Reich, the German *Volkspartei* solemnly demanded the rebuilding of the German Army. In a manifesto issued on December 27, 1918, another German party, also bearing the adjective "popular" in its name, the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei*, declared that the German Army was leaving the field of battle undefeated by the Allied Powers, and that the German nation must strive for a united Germany with Austria incorporated in it. The Social-Democrat Deputy Löbe several times used the

term *Grossdeutschland* in his speech to the National Assembly at Weimar on June 22, 1919. He also emphasized the need to unite all the German speaking peoples in one State. At the same meeting Kahl, of the *Volkspartei*, cried: "If we had a sword, we would give a reply to the demands of the Allies, as every honor-loving German knows." The 1930 programme of the Communist Party of Germany contained the passage: "We shall destroy the predatory Treaty of Versailles, we shall destroy the Young plan." In 1918-19, long before the National Socialist Party entered the political arena, Germany was flooded with leaflets blaming the Jews for the collapse of the Empire.

Thus the platform adopted by Hitler and his followers was not new to the German people, though the National Socialists proclaimed their programme with a good deal more demagoguery and greater brutality than their predecessors had used. But this appealed to the ordinary German, to Herren Müller, Schmidt and Hoffmann. In the elections of 1924 and

1928 the National Socialists together with the *Deutschvolkische* Party obtained only two million votes. In 1930, however, the figure rose to 6,406,397 and they secured 107 seats in the Reich Parliament, out of a total of 577. Two years later their followers in Germany numbered 13,779,111, and the Nazis had 230 deputies. In the elections on March 5, 1933, which decided Germany's future, 17,277,328 votes were cast for the National Socialist Party. 288 Nazi deputies, ready for any adventure, then entered parliament.

There were no concentration camps in those days. The police was still formally the servant of the government groups. The Communists and the Socialists had their own shock troops. The elections were undoubtedly free. Yet in the 1932 plebiscite electing the Reich President, Hindenburg obtained 19,359,983 votes, Hitler 13,418,547, and Thälmann, the Communist candidate, only 3,706,759. It is worth recalling that the progress of Hitlerism in the autonomous provinces of the Reich was similar. In 1923 Thuringia was governed by the Communists and Socialists. In 1929 the National Socialist Party obtained six seats in the Landtag and Dr. Frick became Minister of the Interior of Thuringia; he was the first Nazi to hold office. At Anhalt the number of Hitler deputies to the Landtag had risen from one to fifteen by 1932. Dr. Freyberg became Prime Minister of the Anhalt Government. He was the first Nazi Prime Minister; the second Nazi provincial Prime Minister was Carl Röver, who took office in Oldenburg. In the Prussian diet the number of the Nazi deputies rose from six to 162 in 1932.

After Hitler's accession to power in the Reich a number of elections and plebiscites were held. The *coup d'état* of August 1, 1934, by which Hitler the Chancellor also became head of the State, was approved in a plebiscite by 38,394,848 votes. 89.9 per cent. of the electorate then voted for dictatorship. All the subsequent plebiscites and elections to the Reichstag showed an overwhelming majority for Hitler, varying from 92 to 99 per cent. The world was inclined to assume that these results had been cooked by Goebbels. Even if this were true to some extent the essential facts remained that Hitler gained power in Germany through democratic elections, that millions of Germans supported him and that of the 66 million Germans, men, women and children, one-fourth had voted for him in March 1933. There

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is no question of mass suggestion produced by floods of Nazi oratory. In the Reich parliament of 1932 the Nazis were not in the majority, yet Göring was elected President by all parties except the left-wing ones. Not even in 1933 did the Nazis have an absolute majority in the Reichstag, although they had 288 deputies. The Act giving exceptional powers to Hitler, tantamount to the suspension of the constitution, was passed because it was supported by the other parliamentary groups also. The Communists were in prison and were therefore unable to vote; thus only the Socialist voted against it. In fact, they are the only German political party which refused to have any truck with Hitler.

Names already familiar in pre-Nazi days are to be found among the host of men who have played a part of some importance in Hitler's career. Schacht and von Papen are perhaps the most notorious instances; an example of the less widely known personalities is Dr. Max Winckler, the present head of the *Haupttreuhandstelle-Ost* in Berlin. He is responsible for the wholesale expropriation of the Poles, and also supervises the expropriation of Frenchmen, Belgians and Dutch. In the past he was the right-hand man of Hindenburg and Stresemann and was at one time democratic deputy to the Reichstag. He paid subsidies to the German minorities in Europe and America, and 21 successive German Governments received his faithful services. The present German Minister to Rumania, Manfred von Killinger, is, like the democrat Winckler, a personal friend of Himmler. At one time it was his task to consolidate German influence in Slovakia; later he was transferred to Bucharest, where he sped Rumania's sell-out to Germany. His methods in both countries have been marked by utter ruthlessness; the sending of General Modreanu, the Mayor of Bucharest, to a concentration camp is as illuminating an instance as any. Manfred von Killinger was an officer in the Imperial German Navy, and in 1919-22 occupied a high position in the "C" organization, one of the secret military terrorist groups. He was implicated in the assassination of Erzberger; he also forged the passports of the assassins and helped them to escape. We have given only two names, one connected with the establishment of the "new order," the other with political terrorism. Both men had gained high positions in pre-Hitler days, but hundreds of other such men could be mentioned.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NAZI PARTY

BEFORE ACCESSION TO POWER January 1920 — December 1931 —	1,527,014
AFTER ACCESSION TO POWER February 1934 — April 1939 —	3,288,851

Although the ideas and tactics, the birth and growth, of National Socialism are closely connected with the post-war history of the German people, National Socialism would never have gained so many followers in 1933 had it not had the support of the *Reichswehr* (later the *Wehrmacht*). Leading generals, such as Fieldmarshal Fedor von Bock, became members of Hitler's Reichstag. Röhm was shot because he wanted to subordinate the army to the party. The generals soon showed their gratitude. When Hindenburg died it became known that the army had been taking the oath of allegiance to Hitler, which was contrary to the constitution. November 1918 saw the overthrow of the German monarchy and a change in the constitutional structure of the Reich, yet the policy towards the army remained essentially unaffected. The November revolution in Germany was possible only with the acquiescence of the army. The army, which remained outside the State hierarchy, carried on the traditions of German militarism and imperialism. Hitler, too, relied on it.

The formula of the oath of allegiance taken by the soldiers in 1919, and beginning with the words, "I swear that I shall remain loyal to the constitution . . .", was changed in 1933 by the omission of the word "constitution." In the following year a new formula was substituted: "I hereby swear to God that I shall unconditionally obey Adolf Hitler, the leader of the German Reich and nation, and supreme commander of the armed forces, and that, as a brave soldier, I am ready at any time to give my life for this."

We must bear these facts in mind when considering who is responsible for the present state of Germany and indeed of Europe. The National Socialist Party has now four million active members, men who have committed themselves to Hitler's cause from conviction. This figure does not include members of the Labor Front or similar organizations, where there is often moral compulsion to join. This

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flects the system of the German new order in Europe. In Poland the Germans have robbed practically all they could lay their hands on.

2. Poland, a financially weak country, could not be, in financial regards, ruined as France, Holland and Belgium have been (by occupation charges, orders placed through clearing agreements without being covered by equivalent German exports, etc.), but has been ruined directly in her human element.

3. So far as means of production are concerned, the destruction is, with small exceptions, relatively less; but, obviously, even the undestroyed establishments must be in a hopeless condition in production regards owing to their unrestricted exploitation.

4. The economic chaos, caused both by the German occupants' utter ruthlessness, for the sake of their war economy, and by the Germanizing plans applied in the annexed lands, is greater than in many other countries; the liquidation and spoliation of enterprises, the annulment of past obligations on the confiscated enterprises, the expropriation of rural husbandries, the settlement of hundreds of thousands of German colonists, the maintenance, in the interests of more efficient military administration, of the Soviet nationalization practices in the Eastern areas, all lead to the conclusion that the confusion left after German interventionism will be greater and more difficult to overcome than anywhere else.

5. Yet above all, the monstrous exploitation of labor power, and especially of the million people who have been sent to enforced labor in Germany, is the fundamental feature of the German exploitation of those who cannot be robbed of money.

And while it is true that, as the German Press announces, France's internal debt has risen to 780

UNDER GERMAN RULE

The "Koelnische Zeitung," No. 584, in an article entitled "Neues Leben im Osten," describes the life of Polish children of the female sex who have been transported to the interior of the Reich from the districts of Lodz (Litzmanstadt), Kalisz and Sieradz, in order to undergo "a course in domestic management."

These children, aged from 12 to 14 years, have been taken away from their families and transported to Germany not only to learn the German language, but above all — as the German journal declares . . . "so that the German spirit should be inculcated in them and the little girls should become model German women."

It may be added that according to other sources in the possession of the Polish Government, thousands of Polish children aged between 7 and 14 years have been taken away from their families in the districts of Lodz, Kalisz, Ozorkow, and Sieradz and sent to Germany. In the town and district of Bielsko children aged from two to three years have been separated from their mothers in this way.

GERMAN
POSTER
ANNOUNC-
ING THE
BURNING
DOWN OF
A POLISH
MILL AS A
REPRISAL.

BEKANNTMACHUNG

Der Müller Niedzinski hat sich gegen die Bestimmungen zur Sicherung der Ernährung des Generalgouvernements vergangen. Seine Mühle in Kuklowka bei Radziejowice ist daher niedergebrannt worden.

Sochaczew, den 30. 9. 1940.

Der Kreishauptmann
des Kreises Sochaczew
gez. P

thousand million francs as the result of German exploitation, as compared with a national capital valued at 1,600 thousand millions, if we compare this with the millions of Poles who are being personally exploited for the benefit of the Germans, we see at a glance how outstandingly different and varied are the methods of exploitation to which the Germans are resorting in a vain attempt to win the war, and to establish firmly the, for them highly promising, New Order on the European continent.

GERMANS ACCEPTED HITLER

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four million élite must bear direct and full responsibility and share the guilt with Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and the generals who have allowed the German army to be made the tool of their criminal schemes. Responsibility also rests on those Germans who by their attitude in the days of free elections helped Hitler to gain power step by step, either by their acquiescence or by their votes freely given. From the very beginning, particularly since October 14, 1922, when Hitler's 800 shock troopers made their first public appearance at Coburg, bludgeoning passers-by and shedding the blood of their political opponents, it was clear who these men were and what they stood for. Yet the German nation elected these men to lead it. All the sufferings of Europe have resulted from this, and all Europe must remember this when the day of expiation comes.

LATEST PICTURES OF POLISH ARMY IN RUSSIA

THESE latest pictures from Russia illustrate how Polish forces are being organized there. The bottom picture shows a group of Polish soldiers released from a prison camp. They travel hundreds of miles through vast expanses of Asiatic and European territory towards the Polish mili-



presenting arms at a review. Ilja Ehrenburg, a well-known Russian novelist recently wrote: "I have spoken with several hundred Polish soldiers and read the thoughts of thousands. The extraordinary Polish Army that has sprung up on Russian soil, has no intention of letting the enemy take



tary camps, somewhere near the Volga. Their eagerness to fight for their motherland and natural stubbornness, help them to overcome all the many difficulties imposed by climate and lack of resources.

The top picture shows the headquarters of the Polish Army in Buzuluk. Here all military and administrative activities are centered. The picture at the right shows a Polish military camp near the Volga. The tents probably offer only inadequate shelter and protection against the severe Russian winter. The picture at the left shows Polish soldiers in their new caps and boots,



prisoners. Not all of these men will return to their homeland, many will be killed on the way, but no one will give up. It is a hard life, training out there in the winter, but none grumble or complain. They are all filled with the same thought: To fight for Poland as soon as they can! The new

Polish Army has succeeded in overcoming all national differences, both the Ukrainians and Jews will fight side by side with the Poles for the motherland."

"For Your Freedom and for Ours"