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POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON SAN FRANCISCO

Only a few weeks separate us from the international conference to be held in San Francisco.

San Francisco is to be one of the milestones that mark the way of political events which are supposed to lead to the victory of democracy and to the establishment of an international order based on institutions to guarantee permanent peace.

We started out with four pillars—the four freedoms proclaimed by the President. Then came the Atlantic Charter, subsequently signed by representatives of all countries belonging to the family of United Nations.

This was the signal for a revival of hope. It uplifted the down-trodden and lighted the way of those engaged in mortal battle. The victors and the vanquished saw in the light of the Charter what moral aims, what noble hopes were the answer to the question, "What are we fighting for?" These were worth fighting for.

After that followed Casablanca and Cairo, Teheran and Moscow, Quebec and Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and San Francisco. So far each conference marks a gradual departure from idealism, a shifting towards "realism," towards retreat and **compromise**. This change of heart and mind is not volutary nor is it completed. It was forced upon us step by step. We became entangled in a mesh of cynical moves not recognizing their connection with the ulterior planning of Russia. We lost a war of nerves, overwhelmed by military events and accomplished facts, surprised and gradually succumbing to them. Such is the consequence of small sins and mistakes that they involve their victims ever deeper until helplessness. It is like the fate of a drinker who gradually loses control without realizing that it is not the last but the first drink that was his undoing.

Poland's case is not only a mirror of the past but also a barometer of the future.

Whoever reads Polish history from August 1939 to April 1945, will be able to follow the red line of cruel logic, of inescapable consequences following grave errors and sins.

The chain of links of appeasement from Manchukuo, Ethiopia, the Rhineland, Austria, Munich, etc., was finally broken when Poland refused to join it.

Poland's "NO," hurled into Hitler's face was a heroic act that saved the soul and destiny of our civilization. Poland at that time had a choice between compromise and tragic defeat. Poland could have been as realistic as was England and France at Munich. Yet Poland then refused to follow suit. Her stand changed the course of history.

One can hardly calculate what might have resulted had Poland at that time of complete moral and spiritual breakdown of the "power," accepted **compromise**. It would seem that the "powers" that were so powerless physically and morally, would never forget that contribution made by Poland. It was a clarion call to arms and sacrifice against decay and decline. Europe was at that time sufficiently contaminated with fascism to go Hitler's way. Europe was on the brink of disaster.

Poland, therefore, deserves the greatest honor and consideration, because it was her heroic, noble sacrifice that stemmed the tide of an impending moral debacle, of fascism and isolationism, of **compromise** and appeasement, of the ultimate triumph of reaction.

England will come to San Francisco with the pact signed at Munich—with a record of having **appeased Hitler** and sacrificed Czechoslovakia and democracy.

Russia will come to San Francisco with the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, signed in Moscow and in Berlin, with a record of having physically and morally **assisted Hitler**.

France will bring souvenirs of Vichy, a record of **cooperation with Hitler**, a passport bearing the facsimile of Munich and Moscow.

Czechoslovakia will hide her **Hacha**, the symbol of realism.

Even Uncle Sam will blush at the thought of having shipped oil and steel to Japan.

ONLY POLAND WILL BE ABSENT! Poland who has **REFUSED TO COMPROMISE!**

Her absence will bother the conscience of those who will speak of the future forgetting the past. It will torment the "realists" who have lost their souls.

It will write strange words on the walls of the hall of assembly—"Mane Thekel Upharsin."—

Ours is the voice of prophets who refuse to be carried away by the current of an evil time. We shall continue—perhaps against hope—to raise our voice of warning and despair.

You are wrong!

You have failed to be great! You have again sent millions of our sons to fight for an ideal—abandoning that ideal on your way.

We want to be on record in claiming that America has lost her way, that we have again missed, miscalculated, squandered and frustrated and deeply hurt the heart and soul of America.

The Polish American Congress is completely detached from the Polish government or governments, from political factions, puppets or politicians. It makes no difference to us whether Polish Charlie McCarthys will be brought to San Francisco, whether political groups and leaders will be forced to accept or join.

Even if a new state is created, a new government formed, new representatives recognized—we shall not yield.

We do not represent any government. We have no connection with any person or persons. We are Americans racially, culturally and historically linked with the Polish PEOPLE, and we look upon the Polish cause as an independent, democratic, deeply concerned and well informed group of idealists. A group who have in their hearts the ideals of America and of Poland—as did our national hero Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who fought for America and Poland, for American freedom and Polish democracy.

We shall not be browbeaten, we shall not yield, we shall not be silent. A crime is being perpetrated!

And we raise our voice in protest!

We warn:—Do not appease!

Do not betray Poland! Do not betray G. I. Joe!

Do not bow and compromise.

Do not sacrifice the blood of our sons in vain.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE NEWSPAPER- MEN OF AMERICA

At a conference of the United Polish Language Press in America held in Chicago, February 18, 1945, representatives of all Polish-American newspapermen's organizations resolved to address themselves to their colleagues in an open letter, to make their opposition to the Yalta decision regarding Poland—known to their fellow newspapermen.

We speak in the name of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers of Polish origin now serving in our Armed Forces, in the name of their families, their fallen comrades in arms and their children, and in the name of hundreds of thousands of farmers and laborers engaged in our war industry. Our newspapers are read by members of 800 parishes and their priests.

The Polish language Press, serving a large part of our nation, has a rich record of more than a half century of patriotic work in very civic field.

It has been our job to interpret America to millions of immigrants whom we have assisted in the complicated process of adjustment and Americanization. We are proud of the results knowing that we have given America a very large group of loyal citizens who became an integral part of our nation.

We are Americans whose distinction is our Polish origin, our knowledge of the history, culture, psychology, traditions, and language of the country of our parents. We descend from thousands of noble idealists who came to America to fight at the side of Washington whose birthday we celebrate on February 22nd. Kosciuszko, Pulaski, Krzyzanowski, Karge,—great soldiers and patriots have fought for the independence and freedom of this country, thousands of unknown Poles have joined them then in the supreme sacrifice on the altar of our Republic. This heritage of idealism and loyalty is now the common spiritual wealth of every one of those of Polish origin, whose names appear daily in the press among those killed, wounded or decorated for valor.

You may well ask why the Polish language press so ardently defends Poland, suggesting perhaps in this question a veiled insinuation that our attitude is in any way un-American or hyphenated American.

To this we have many answers. It is not only the Polish language press that defends Poland's rights. A large part of the English language press in this country takes the same attitude, the only attitude dictated by American tradition and spirit. Our affection for the country of our fathers does in no way interfere or conflict with our love and devotion towards the United States.

In defending Poland's cause we express the emotions and determination of millions of men and women whose close relatives are the victims abroad.

We know Russia from centuries of experience, very close contact, and from history. These are some of the reasons, yet the most important one is our deep conviction that the role now accepted by the United States regarding Europe is fraught with the danger of tragic consequences for America.

We have surrendered, we have appeased, we have engaged ourselves in a speculation of the future based on illusions and passing exigencies, we have sown the seeds of a third world war, we have abandoned principles and accepted formulas.

Not so very long ago our government stated its policy namely—that the United States will recognize no territorial changes in Europe—yet we approved and undersigned the fifth partition of Poland.

We have traditionally refused to recognize any grab of land made by force of arms—yet here, while Russia's invasion of Poland in 1939 and her subsequent incorporation of half of Poland is undoubtedly an abuse of force and an act of force—we departed from our noble tradition and recognized might as right.

Our State Department expressed the will of the United States that territorial disputes be settled by an international organization after the war—yet at Yalta we departed from that decision and from the will of the nation, settling now—as demanded by Russia, the fate and future of an ally in his absence, without hearing his case, without consulting or respecting other nations.

Before Yalta our State Department declared that it recognized the Polish government in London, on the basis that to that government belongs the credit for the five long years of Poland's resistance to Hitler, and for the gallant contribution made by the Polish Armies everywhere. If no other reasons were sufficiently convincing, this alone, the war record of the Polish state, nation and armed forces is sufficient ground why the Polish government in London should be recognized. Yet at Yalta we recognized the puppet government of Lublin and helped dress it up with a few new rags to hide the ugly truth.

We are partners in the fateful job of creating a new order in Europe solely because of Russia's military power and unyielding cynicism. That was not our aim nor does that justify the presence and sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of our boys on European soil.

The moral principles of the Atlantic Charter have been discarded, the idea of collective security has been pigeonholed, any attempt of co-operation, consultation or agreement of all the United Nations has been frustrated.

We have been forced into a position of humiliating subservience in matters vital to the future of the world. We see in this policy now openly endorsed a grave danger to the future of the world and to the noble aims to which we have dedicated ourselves.

Poland's fate is a clear and tragic proof of it.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in opposition to the provisions regarding Poland contained in the Yalta agreement.

We shall continue to fight within our rights and privileges under a democracy for justice to Poland.

We shall continue to recognize the Polish government in London as representing Poland as a state and the Polish nation as an ally.

We shall continue to appeal to our fellow Americans not to abandon Poland. You, our colleagues, are the first ones to whom we address ourselves in our anxiety that with the victory of our arms, democracy, justice, and American ideals should also win.

Poland's case is a criterion of international morality, of our aims and achievements in this war. We see in the decision reached at Yalta a grave warning to America that our aims are seriously jeopardized and our future role in Europe doomed to failure if we permit facts to be accomplished before the establishment of a world organization.

America has made decisions without giving guarantees. America has taken responsibilities which engage her morally in future protection of the victims of her decisions, should they be violated at any time by anybody. This clearly binds the United States not only legally but also historically, by an act which prejudices a prior position in an international body.

We plead with you, Dear Colleagues, to consider these facts and to appreciate Poland's case in the light of these and many other serious considerations. You will, we are sure, find that the Polish language Press in America judges those facts in anxious forebodings regarding the inevitable consequences that may affect both the United States and the future of the rest of the world.

We want to register with you our judgment that the fifth partition of Poland is a travesty of justice and will go down in history as did the other partitions. We should be grateful to you for an opportunity to discuss this matter with you personally.

UNITED POLISH PRESS OF AMERICA

For The Guild of Polish Newspapermen of America

Zygmunt Stefanowicz, Pres.

For The Association of Polish Publishers
and Journalists of America

Peter P. Yolles, Pres.

For The Alliance of Polish Newspapermen of America

Adolf Cepura, Pres.

Clare Luce Condemns Present Political Set-up in Poland

Says Its Not Kind of Poland America Expected

Representative Clare Boothe Luce is quoted in a Polish Telegraph Agency dispatch from Rome as declaring that the liberation of Poland from the Germans has not produced the kind of Poland that America expected.

Miss Luce, who is now making a tour of the Italian front, was interviewed by the Polish Telegraph Agency's correspondent.

Inferentially condemning the present political set-up in Poland Representative Luce, in response to the question whether she thought the freeing of Poland from the Nazis has brought the liberation of the country, told the Polish Agency:

"I am not in Poland now and I don't know what things are like there at present. But I am sure that it wasn't for a Poland of that kind that her soldiers fought and that they dream of, and it's not a Poland of that kind America expected. Not until Poland is governed by such Poles as she will herself choose can there be a question of real freedom."

Mrs. Luce also declared, referring to the fact that Poland has not been invited to the San Francisco Conference, that it would be better for Poland not to participate in the Conference than that "its interests should be represented by someone who isn't Poland's real representative—and not even a Polish citizen." Mrs. Luce was presumably referring to Boleslaw Bierut, head of the Lublin "Provisional Government," who has been charged by official Polish circles with having adopted Soviet citizenship.

THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS REACTS

Statement to the Press Following Announcement of Yalta Decisions on Poland.

On February 13, 1945, President Charles Rozmarek gave the following statement to all news agencies, which was featured in newspapers from coast to coast and commented on in radio broadcasts:

It is with sorrow, dismay and protest that we greet the decision of the Big Three to give all land east of the so-called Curzon Line to Russia in direct contradiction to all sacred pledges of the Atlantic Charter. This tragic revelation is a staggering blow to the cause of freedom.

The docile submission to Russia's demand for all the lands seized during the partitions of Poland as German's collaborator and even Lwow, which prior to the war, was never at any time under Russian rule even illegally, is a distortion of our war aims. It means re-affirmation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Line of 1939 which gave one half of Poland and all of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to Russia.

When the Germans were at the gates of Moscow and Stalin was making frantic pleas for help, Stalin renounced his claims to all the territories he had seized as German's partner. As soon as Russia, thanks to American lend-lease aid, began pushing the Germans back, Stalin re-affirmed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Boundary Line and abruptly broke off relations with the London Polish government which he had always recognized as the only legitimate government of Poland.

It is also shocking to learn that the members of the Stalin hand-picked Lublin government, composed of professional communists, who are working for the incorporation of Poland into the Soviet Union, are to continue in power in a newly-reorganized government, in violation of the constitution of Poland. The imposition of a government "without the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned" would mean the end of freedom and the beginning of serfdom for the people of Poland. America would never tolerate within its borders any government that would owe its allegiance to a foreign power.

America cannot align herself with forces seeking the destruction of democracies. By permitting the advocates of slavery to have their way in all things, we will reap the backwash of our spiritual and political weakness as the world did after the shame of Munich.

The spectacle of an avaricious ally, already devouring 10 of her neighbors in whole or in part and instigating civil strife in the countries not yet under the Russia sphere of influence, unless checked in time, will mean not only the downfall of Christianity, but of civilization itself.

President Rozmarek Answers President Roosevelt

Relative to the statement of President Roosevelt that Eastern Poland is mainly populated by Ukrainians and White Russians, and not Poles, Charles Rozmarek, President of the Polish American Congress, released the following to the Press on March 5, 1945:

All census statistics taken in Eastern Poland prior to 1939, definitely prove that the Poles constitute the largest numerical group and that the Russians constitute only one percent of the population in that area. **There are only 120,000 Russians in Eastern Poland out of a total population of 12,000,000.** Next to the Poles the Ukrainians and the Ruthenians comprise the largest nationalistic groups. While it is true that these people are non-Polish, it is also equally true that they are also non-Russian. The mere fact that there are Ukrainians, Ruthenians and White Russians in Eastern Poland does not give Russia any more right to confiscate the lands on which these non-Russian elements live, than it would give Russia a right to follow a similar procedure with reference to the Ukrainians, Ruthenians and White Ruthenians residing in the United States.

Moreover, no amount of words will ever be able to erase the historical truth that Eastern Poland had for countless centuries been Polish. With Germany's assistance, Russia robbed the Poles of their ancient territory during the latter part of the 18th century, as she had done with German's aid in 1939. **Another President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, defended Poland's lawful rights**

to Eastern Poland, when at the Versailles Peace Conference, he said: "A great territory east of the so-called Curzon Line, is rightfully Polish, and must be restored to Poland."

Unless President Roosevelt's assurance of free elections in Poland, are translated into an actual reality, there is every reason to believe that Poland and other soviet-occupied territories will have the same machine-gun style of voting which took place in the Baltic Countries and which resulted in their incorporation into the Soviet Union. Free and fair elections can only be attained under strict international supervision, backed by freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, without fear of reprisals. It is a strain on the credulity of any intelligent person to entertain belief that the Soviet Union which denies free elections to her own people, is going to champion free elections in other countries, and especially in view of all the arrests, executions and deportations, which are now being conducted on a wholesale scale in all the soviet zones of influence.

As to the Lublin "government," even though it is broadened to include democratic elements, it will still be dominated by Moscow and will continue to reflect Stalin's will rather than that of the people of Poland.

When Poland Was Not Invited To San Francisco

On March 6, 1945, President Rozmarek released the following brief statement to the Press, when Poland was not invited to the San Francisco Conference:

It is to be deplored that our gallant allies, the Poles—who spilled so much blood on the battleground of Poland, Norway, Africa, France, Italy, Belgium and Holland in defense of our common war aims—are to be denied the elementary right of representation at the San Francisco Conference, where the fate of Poland will also be discussed.

At San Francisco as at Yalta—the aggressor will again sit in judgment upon his own acts of aggression, while the victim, Poland—who opposed the Germans even when the Russians collaborated with them in the first 22 months of the war—will not be accorded the formality of a hearing granted even to the worst criminals in all courts of justice.

This is repugnant to our American sense of honesty, decency and fair play.

Supporting Stalin's dictatorial decisions is the perfect way of inviting disaster for the world.

A Letter to Selected Friends

Some of those who know of my long connection with Poland very likely expect something from me regarding the Yalta decisions so far as they affect Poland, and regarding Poland itself, where I lived for 18 years, and to which land and people I have devoted 23 years of hard work. I say nothing about politics in my Bulletin, as that publication is strictly non-political.

1. As to the Polish section of the Yalta decisions, never in a hundred years have the American people had an act committed in their name of which they have so much reason to be ashamed. As an American of long American ancestry, and proud of this country, I protest against the acceptance of this Polish arrangement by our Senate.

2. For those who know what is happening in Poland, and who love truth and justice and righteousness and humanity, these are very sad and heavy days indeed, days of pain and sorrow, of tragedy and alarm.

3. I have spent nearly half a century trying to serve the cause of Christ in the world. To me, the fate of Poland today marks the twilight of Christianity in eastern Europe. In all those lands its sun is setting; the night will be very dark; and who knows how far the darkness will extend?


4. An Old Testament prophet stated the situation accurately in Amos 5:19, "As though a man escaped from a lion, and a bear met him."

This is my comment as one who has spent many years in Christian work and who knows Europe from Liverpool to Stalingrad.

PAUL SUPER, private citizen.

A MEMORANDUM

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CRIMEA DECISIONS CONCERNING POLAND

 IN BEHALF of six million American citizens of Polish descent, represented in the Polish American Congress, we wish to protest against the wrong which has been done to Poland by the decisions of the Crimea Conference and to urge our government to press for remedial measures before it is too late. We speak as Americans, not as Poles. We ask nothing for Poland that we would not ask for any gallant ally in the United Nations cause.

A wrong has been done to Poland by the decisions of the Crimea Conference. But a wrong has also been done to America. American principles embodied in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter have been trampled under foot. American war aims, of which the first is surely the establishment of a just and lasting peace, with liberty and self-determination for all peoples who fought against Nazi tyranny, have been thwarted and frustrated.

Poland has been the victim of appalling cruelty and oppression, both under Nazi and under Soviet occupation. And in this country Poland has been the victim of a tremendous campaign of defamation, much of it stemming from Communist sources. The democratic Polish Government-in-Exile is composed of men who were among the very first to take up arms against Nazi Germany. Yet it is slandered as "fascist." It includes some of Poland's most eminent socialists, farmers, labor leaders and social workers. Yet it is grotesquely misrepresented as "reactionary."

We do not propose to fight lies with lies, but with the truth. We will gladly submit every statement in this declaration to the judgment of any honest, impartial, informed student of East European affairs.

We protest both against the decisions of the Crimea Conference in relation to Poland and against the method by which these decisions were reached. Let us consider first this question of method.

The so-called Big Three proceeded to carry out an arbitrary mutilation of Poland's historic territory and to outline a scheme for creating a Polish Government without consulting any representative of the Polish people. Poland, our ally, was not even accorded the criminal's traditional right to a word in his own defense.

This was not the American way, the way of justice and decency and fair play. It savored rather of the worst traditions of European power politics. It is a profound tragedy that one of the first positive decisions to which our President committed himself in the European settlement was to sanction a fifth partition of Poland and the imposition on the shrunken remainder of that country of a puppet "made-in-Moscow" regime.

Substitute Stalin for Hitler, Churchill for Chamberlain, Poland for Czechoslovakia,—and the parallel between Munich and Yalta is deadly and inescapable. And we know from all too recent experience that the Munich method, the method of unlimited appeasement of a dictator, can only lead to national humiliation and disaster.

There are two main issues in the Polish question. The first is the delimitation of Poland's eastern boundary. The second is Poland's right to exist as an independent nation.

The decision of the Crimea Conference was that "the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digression from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland." This is both arbitrary and incomplete. It is arbitrary because it clearly violates Clause 2 of the Atlantic Charter:

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The Crimea decision was taken without even a pretense of consulting the will of the millions of people who live between the pre-war Polish frontier and the so-called Curzon Line. Moreover, this Curzon Line did not extend to Eastern Galicia. But mass

deportations and expulsions of Poles from the latter area indicate that Stalin is determined to annex it to the Soviet Union.

An immense amount of nonsense has been circulated in America about this so-called Curzon Line. It has been represented as an ethnographic frontier of Poland, which it is not, as a binding decision of the Versailles Peace Conference, which it is not, as a natural border, which it is not. Actually the so-called Curzon Line was a temporary demarcation line proposed by the Supreme Allied Council in 1919. Everything west of the line was adjudged indisputably Polish, while Poland's rights to territory east of the line were expressly reserved. The Soviet Government itself, in a diplomatic communication in July, 1920, described the so-called Curzon line as "too unfavorable to Poland." Never during Poland's centuries of existence as an independent state did its eastern frontier run anywhere near this line.

Anti-Polish propaganda has tried to make capital out of allegations that Poland "took" the territory east of the Curzon line from Russia by war in 1920 and that the population of this territory is largely non-Polish. The first of these allegations is completely false. Eastern Poland embraces lands which for countless centuries had been Polish. Russia, in collaboration with Germany, dismembered Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795, exactly as Russia had done, with Hitler's aid, during the 1939 partition of Poland. The frontier which was established by the Treaty of Riga in March, 1921, was less favorable to Poland than the frontier which the Soviet Government offered before the Soviet-Polish war began in the spring of 1920. Soviet official publications always describe this war as a victory for the Soviet Union.

It is true that Eastern Poland, like many other regions of eastern and southeastern Europe, has a racially mixed population. According to the census of 1931 there were slightly more than twelve million people in Eastern Poland, of whom about 40 percent were Poles, 34.5% Ukrainians, while the others belonged to smaller racial groups. *Only one percent of the population in this area was composed of Russians.* The treaty of Riga, which established the eastern boundaries of pre-war Poland, left ten times as many Poles in Russia as Russians in Poland.

The Soviet Union is also a country inhabited by many nationalities. There is no reason to suppose that the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians who, after the Poles, formed the largest racial groups in Eastern Poland, would prefer to become subjects of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government, far from complaining about the terms of the Treaty of Riga, took the initiative in proposing to Poland a treaty of non-aggression and neutrality, based on respect for the existing frontier. Poland faithfully observed this treaty, refusing several offers from Hitler to co-operate with him in attacking Russia. But Stalin broke the treaty at the first convenient opportunity and carried out, in partnership with Hitler, an infamous fourth partition of Poland in the autumn of 1939.

There is absolutely no strategic or economic basis for the Soviet claim to Eastern Poland. Twice when Russia held this territory it was invaded by Germany. On the other hand, it lived in peace and security without this region so long as Germany was kept disarmed. If the question of security is raised, the experience of the last years certainly proves that Poland needs security against Russia, not Russia against Poland.

Eastern Poland would be of minor importance to the Soviet economy, since Russia possesses rich oil resources and vast stretches of farming land within its own frontiers. On the other hand, this area is indispensable to a healthy Polish economy, as it contains 84% of Poland's limited reserves of oil, almost three fifths of its forests, and a very high percentage of its agricultural output. The arbitrary annexation of almost one half of Poland's territory seems designed to make a healthy economy in the rest of the country impossible, and to pave the way for the annexation of the whole of Poland by the Soviet Union.

A brilliant and farsighted British publicist, F. A. Voight, went to the heart of the moral and political issues involved in the fate of Poland when he wrote, early in 1944:

The questions are not: Shall Poland's eastern border be shifted westward? Shall she lose her eastern territories or, losing them, acquire in their place western territories at the expense of Germany. The question is: Shall Poland exist?

"Beyond this there is another question: Shall Europe exist—the Europe we have known and hope to know again, the Europe for which the war is being fought, the Europe which alone gives the war any meaning, the Europe that is neither anarchy nor servitude, the Europe that is a balanced and integrated whole, the Europe that is so much more than a geographical expression, Europe the stronghold of the Greco-Roman and Christian heritage? That is THE question."

A deadly threat not only to Poland's eastern frontier, but to Poland's independent existence is implied in the decisions of the Crimea Conference, for the legitimate Polish Government in London is cast aside without a word of explanation. The Red Quisling regime, headed by Boleslaw Bierut, which could not exist for five minutes without the support of the Red Army is recognized as the de facto government. About the complete dependence of this regime on Moscow there is no dispute, except in those Communist and pro-Communist circles for whom the Kremlin can do no wrong.

Walter Lippmann speaks of "The unrepresentative and essentially puppet character" of the Bierut "government." The Manchester Guardian, well known English newspaper which certainly cannot be charged with anti-Soviet bias or with partiality for Poland, describes it as "clearly non-representative of the Polish people,—a minority government that could not exist without Russian arms." The New York Times, in an editorial of general approval of the Crimea Conference decisions, described the Bierut regime as "the present puppet government."

One need only look at the records of the leaders of this unsavory satellite "government." Bierut is a citizen of the Soviet Union. He was admitted to the Communist International in 1921 and has been one of its active agents ever since. Most of his adult life has been spent in Russia, apart from time which he devoted to subversive activities on behalf of the International in Vienna and Prague. The "War Minister" of the puppet regime, Rola-Zymierski, was dishonorably discharged from the army and sentenced to serve five years in jail for graft in pre-war Poland. How would Americans feel if Stalin appointed a Soviet citizen as their ruler, with a little assistance from Earl Browder or others of his ilk? That is how decent patriotic Poles feel about the puppet government.

We Americans of Polish extraction have followed developments in the country of our forefathers closely enough to be able to distinguish a traitor from a patriot. *In unanimous solidarity we repudiate the handful of Communist fanatics and dishonest adventurers whom Stalin has handpicked as the "government" of Poland. We demand that the heroic people of martyred and tormented Poland, within their legitimate frontiers should have the right to choose their own form of government, their own public officials, free from foreign pressure. Isn't this the plain meaning of the Atlantic Charter, to which the Crimea Conference declaration professes loyalty? Isn't this the ideal for which America has made tremendous sacrifices in the present war?*

It is true that there are some pleasant sounding phrases in the Crimea Conference statement. There is to be a "provisional government of national unity," to be composed of the members of the Soviet-sponsored regime "with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad." This government, to quote the declaration "shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates."

To persons who are completely unfamiliar with conditions in Soviet occupied Poland this might seem a fair proposition. But we cannot be and Americans should not be deaf to the groans of Polish patriots who have been shot by hundreds and thousands and arrested and deported in tens of thousands. A "provisional government of national unity" even if it includes a few democratic leaders, will still be a communist-dominated regime. It will still reflect Stalin's will rather than that of the Polish people. "Free and unfettered elections" cannot be held under a reign of terror, such as Stalin's henchmen in the puppet government, supported by Soviet military and police forces, have unloosed against all Polish patriots.

We quote herewith a very few of hundreds of examples of this reign of terror, based on reports which the Polish Underground has sent to the Polish Government in London:

July 13, 1944—In the Nowogrodek district the Russians 'pacified' seven villages where Polish units were quartered. Entire families were murdered, the men were deported, property destroyed.

July 30, 1944—It appears, from events up to this moment, that all leaders of the Underground Army, together with their organizations, are being arrested by the Soviet forces after revealing themselves. It should be expected that a similar fate awaits all agencies, civilians as well as military.

August 17, 1944—In Tarnopol (Eastern Galicia) all men between the ages of eighteen and fifty have been deported by the Soviet authorities.

October 2, 1944—In the eastern part of Cracow Province arrests of soldiers of the Underground Army are in full swing. Roundups of men in the streets are a daily occurrence.... Lublin Province—The 3rd, 9th and 27th Underground Army Divisions which had fought against the Germans along with the Red Army were interned and disarmed.... Till now about 21,000 Poles were arrested.

The truth of these reports recently received impressive and convincing outside confirmation. To quote a New York Times dispatch from London of February 20:

"The British Government 'attaches great importance to the freeing by the Soviet Union of all members of the former Polish Underground and Army who fought against the Germans and it is hoped the matter will be fully explored with the Soviet Government in the near future', according to a statement made in Parliament to-day by G. W. Hall, Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office."

More recently, for on March 7, 1945, a United Press dispatch from London disclosed these facts:

"Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden today warned the Soviet-backed Polish Lublin regime against persecuting Poles loyal to the London Polish Government. He also announced that Russia, at Britain's request, was releasing Mme. Arciszewska, wife of the Premier of the Exiled Government."

"A few hours later a spokesman for the London Poles announced the arrest and deportation by the Russians of Prince Janusz Radziwill, a leader of the Polish Conservative party. He said the same source "confirmed" that the Russians had arrested and deported Dr. Orzechowski, chief medical adviser to the Warsaw City Council."

"Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Eden, who has expressed strong dislike of the Polish regime at Lublin, told it bluntly to avoid persecutions if the present negotiations for a new Polish provisional government were to have British confidence."

The British Government is most anxious to remain on good terms with the Soviet Union. So it is obvious that no such statements would have been made by responsible officials without absolutely convincing evidence of their truth.

These statements point the way to action by the American Government. It should also take up very seriously with the Soviet Government the question of the release of arrested Polish patriots and the detention by force of approximately a million and a half Poles who were deported into Siberia when Russia invaded Eastern Poland in 1939 and those who are now continually being arrested and purposely shipped away, as confirmed by latest reliable news reports. And it should go farther. Our honor as a nation is deeply committed, since our highest official representative signed the Crimea Conference declaration, to seeing that future elections in Poland are truly "free and unfettered" and are not a merely totalitarian farce, where people are herded to the polls like sheep to vote for a single list of candidates, to which there is no possibility of expressing opposition.

The following conditions are indispensable if honest elections are to take place. If the Soviet Government refuses to accept and implement these conditions we should repudiate the Crimea Conference resolutions as a contract concluded in bad faith:

- 1) Immediate release of all political prisoners and return of all deportees to Poland.

- 2) Setting up in Poland of an interim administration free from Soviet military and police pressure and composed of political figures, trusted by the Polish people, who would give assurances against persecution for political views.

- 3) Permission for all Poles abroad, without distinction of political views, to return and take part freely in political life.

- 4) Complete freedom of press and of political organization and agitation in Poland.

5) A free hand for the UNRRA, working with representative Polish humanitarian organizations, to distribute relief in Poland without any element of political coercion or discrimination.

6) Free access to Poland for United Nations diplomats and correspondents and for representatives of Polish cultural and fraternal organizations abroad, with the right to talk freely with Poles of all political views and report their observations without censorship.

These are elementary demands of liberty and justice. We ask our Government to use all its influence to promote their realization. We ask this in the name of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. We ask this in the name of Poland's five million war dead, of the heroes who fell in Warsaw's unforgettable uprising, strangely abandoned by the powerful Soviet army on the other side of the Vistula, of the soldiers of the Polish Army in Italy and France who took their own lives in grief and despair when they learned of their country's betrayal at Yalta. We ask this, finally, in the name of our own sons, and of all the men in the United States armed forces, whose sacrifices should mean freedom for the whole world, not slavery for any part of it.

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

March, 1945

**MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FOR POLISH GOVERNMENT ADDRESSED
 TO PRESIDENT WLADYSLAW RACZKIEWICZ BY 60 JEWISH
 RABBIS FROM POLAND NOW LIVING IN PALESTINE**

"The undersigned Rabbis living in Palestine during these difficult moments for the Polish nation and Polish State beg the Polish President to accept the expression of their solidarity with the dignified stand of the Polish Government in defending the most sacred rights of the Polish nation as well as the ideals for which the democratic world is fighting with Germany.

"They pray that the forces of good will conquer evil and that God may preserve full independence for Poland. They deeply believe that in a democratic Poland, free from foreign oppression, those Jewish people whom fate enabled to escape the German hangmen, will find all conditions to create for themselves a new life in peace and dignity."

Among the signers of the wire, which also contained blessings for the Polish President, were Chief Rabbi Schorr of Komarno, Rabbis Szulen Safrin, Jozef Kornfeld, Naftali Golib, Chaim Goldstein, Haskiel Margulies and Jechiel Baruch Halevi.

—Jerusalem, Palestine, March 3, 1945.

"NEW PLEDGE TO POLAND"

From an article in *THE TABLET*, London, March 10, 1945

"The Government is being chosen for Poland by three men, of whom none is Polish and of whom one declared his intention, little more than five years ago, to eradicate the name of Poland forever.

"On the third day of the debate, Eden said: "We have no intention of recognizing the Lublin Committee. We do not regard it as representative of Poland at all. When Churchill and I met the representatives of this Committee in Moscow, I must say they did not make a favorable impression upon us."

"This plain spoken judgment may be compared with ROOSEVELT'S interjection about territorial settlement—'I DID NOT AGREE WITH ALL OF IT BY ANY MEANS.' It may be that the future generations will be puzzled to know why western statesmen should, in a two to one majority, have compromised in a way so plainly distasteful to them.

"No frontiers could benefit the Poles if there were not freedom within them. What really matters is the maintenance of an authentic Polish liberty. What we have given in 1945, is something much more valuable than we gave in 1939. Then we guaranteed the frontiers of Poland against one potential violator, but now we will maintain the freedom of Poland against any potential violator. We have supported the pledge with a most solemn public commitment of British honor.

"It is idle to pretend that those who take a black view have no justification for it. But the western Allies have taken their stand and challenged the Soviet Union. Halt has been called and once again the test is Poland. We have given our guarantee of real freedom to Poland. The blunt fact is that Churchill was arguing a case in which even he, himself, cannot wholly have believed. Here and there he betrayed it by a phrase. Why, indeed, should it be necessary to extend to the Poles a wholesale offer of British citizenship after the war if the Prime Minister has, indeed, such complete confidence that Stalin's benevolent words are to be taken at their face value?

But to the Polish mind it was not encouraging to hear Churchill insisting in a manner at the bottom determinist on 'this sense of continuity which I personally feel.' So Poland, it seems, is now to be shifted bodily westward, treated like a pawn on a chess-board, losing territory on one side that is historically Polish and acquiring what other men call compensation territory, on the other side, that is not Polish at all. It shows singularly little understanding of the Poles if they are expected to be content to lose Lwow because they are promised instead some Prussian town from which all Prussians will be moved away.

"The decision on Poland, plainly distasteful to the majority of the House, was accepted not only as a matter of discipline and responsibility, but with a kind of helplessness. The final tests have not come yet, but they will not be long in coming. Then we shall have either Polish gratitude after all, or the greatest humiliation and shame."

Crimea Decision Will Not Deter Polish Government Forces From Fighting Nazis To End, Commander Says

Polish forces fighting beside the Allies on the western front "will fight this war to the end," notwithstanding the political disputes in which Poland is involved, Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, who commands the Polish forces under the Polish Government, has told his troops in Italy, the Polish Telegraph Agency reports in a Rome dispatch.

Speaking to members of the Kresowa and Carpathian Divisions, which helped wrest Cassino from the Germans, Gen. Anders, indirectly referring to a question resulting from the Crimea decision on Poland, asserted that: "We fight on in accordance with our honor and our soldier's oath." Poland was the first to defy the Germans, he reminded his men.

The Polish Commander declared that: "In spite of these very difficult times, I'm still looking full of confidence to the future, because the whole world is beginning to understand that when the world will not be governed by those high ideals for which we are fighting—that honor and decency shall reign and might not go before right—there will not be any peace in Europe—or in the world."

Appeal by Premier Tomasz Arciszewski to President Roosevelt Before the End of the Crimea Conference

“Mr. President:

“At this time the fate of many nations rests in your hands and in the hands of Prime Minister Churchill. The whole world expects that these important discussions in which you and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are taking part will result in the creation of foundations for a future peace which should bring to the nations freedom from fear and want. I trust that these essential freedoms will also be granted to our nation, which has been fighting unflinchingly for their realization at the side of the great American and British democracies.

“In particular, I trust you will not permit any decisions to be taken which might jeopardize the legitimate rights of Poland or her independence and that you will not recognize any faits accomplis with regard to Poland. If peace in Europe is to be durable it must be based on principles of justice and on respect for law, on good neighborly relations as well as honesty in international life.

“While I am writing these words the lives of many thousands of Poland's best sons are in danger. The so-called Provisional Government of Lublin has openly declared its intention of trying as traitors all soldiers of the Polish Home Army and members of the Polish underground movement. Mass arrests and deportations have already taken place. You are well aware that they have fought the Germans gallantly and regardless of sacrifice throughout the five years of occupation. You assisted them yourself with your aid, and in the memorable days of the Warsaw rising the American and British Governments recognized the Home Army as part of the regular Polish forces fighting alongside the United Nations.

“Today the lives of these soldiers are in danger because they recognize the independent, legal Polish Government and because they firmly insist on their rights as men and citizens. Therefore I beg of you to urge upon the Soviet Government, whose armies are at present in occupation of the territory of Poland, to give proof that they genuinely desire an understanding with Poland and to prevent the execution of the criminal plans of the Lublin men.

‘Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration.’”

Statement of the Polish Lawyers Association of Chicago As to the Legality and Constitutionality of the Polish Government in London

Upon the report of the Committee on Public Relations of the Polish Lawyers Association, the Association adopts the following statement of facts and principles:

WHEREAS, the Association, being an organization of members of the Bar of the State of Illinois engaged in the practice and administration of the law, is deeply interested in the legality and constitutionality of the Polish government in London, because of the sons, brothers and friends serving overseas in the cause of democracy;

WHEREAS, the Association is also vitally interested in the rights of a people to govern themselves, in the preservation of the principles of democracy wherever peoples are oppressed or enslaved, whether such enslavement results from conquest or from the brutal application of “power politics”;

WHEREAS, the Association believes that deliberate falsehoods, misrepresentations, vicious half-truths and uninformed misunderstandings have been permitted to confuse and cloud the true status of the Polish government in London;

AND, WHEREAS, the Association desires to call attention to certain fundamental truths which hitherto have been overlooked concerning the true status of the Polish government in London:

NOW, THEREFORE, the Association, through its Committee on Public Relations, makes the following statement:

Article 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, promulgated in 1935, provides that:

“(1) In time of war the term of the President’s office shall be prolonged to three months after the conclusion of peace; the President of the Republic shall then by a special act, promulgated in the Official Journal of Laws, appoint his successor, in case the office falls vacant before the conclusion of peace.”

President Moscicki appointed Mr. Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, the Speaker of the Senate, as his successor on September 17, 1939, and then resigned on September 30, 1939. President Raczkiewicz is still President of the Polish State. Thus, the present President of Poland and head of the Polish Government in London was so named under the direct authority of the Polish Constitution adopted by the Polish people.

Article 12 of the Constitution of 1935 provides that:

“The President of the Republic: (a) appoints at his own discretion the Prime Minister and on his recommendation nominates the other Ministers.”

Thus, the entire Polish Cabinet of the Polish government in London is, equally with the President, a body constitutionally established in accordance with the Constitution adopted by the Polish people.

Charges have been made that the government of Poland, as it is defined by its Constitution of 1935, represents only an autocratic segment of the Polish population, without any rights being given to the masses of the Polish people. It should, therefore, be noted here that the Constitution of 1935, though not without fault, contains guarantees of personal freedom comparable to the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution.

Labor is specifically recognized as “the basis for the development and power of the Republic.”

Liberty of conscience, speech and assembly are guaranteed.

It is also provided that no rights of any citizen shall be restricted by reason of “origin, religion, sex or nationality.”

Thus, in fact and in spirit, the Polish Constitution of 1935 created a liberal, forward-looking humanitarian government, of which the Polish government in London is the true, legal representative. So truly does the Polish government in London represent the people of Poland that the Soviet Republics recognized it and negotiated with it until April 25, 1943, and did not question its legality even at that time.

Inasmuch as it must be admitted that the Polish government in London is the legal government of Poland, then, too, it must be admitted that it is a universal rule that the duly constituted government of a nation shall function until its successor government is established in accordance with the freely and democratically expressed will of the people. In case of Poland, however, no successor government has been chosen. In the confusion and chaos of a terrible war, it is utterly impossible for any people, situated as are the Polish people, to make any choice as to a government.

We believe, therefore, that the Polish government in London, being the true legal government of Poland, should continue to be and must be recognized and strongly supported as such until the millions of Poles are free to make other choice. If this is not done, if the legally constituted and continuing government of Poland is allowed to go down, the whole Polish question will no longer have any semblance of law and order. Poland will become a battleground of lawlessness and disorder. If the Polish government in London is permitted to be assassinated, then there can be no result but the chaos and brutality which historically always follows in the wake of a violent assassination of a legal government.

THE POLISH LAWYERS ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO,

By: Thaddeus V. Adesko, President.

President Rozmarek Sounds Warning Against Communitic Russia

On March 6, 1945, fifteen American newspapers published the following article by Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress. The newspapers which featured the article on their editorial pages were:

ALBANY TIMES-UNION, BALTIMORE NEWS-POST, BOSTON AMERICAN, CHICAGO HERALD-AMERICAN, DETROIT TIMES, LOS ANGELES EXAMINER, LOS ANGELES HERALD AND EXPRESS, MILWAUKEE SENTINEL, NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN, OAKLAND POST-INQUIRER, PITTSBURGH SUN-TELEGRAPH, SAN ANTONIO LIGHT, SAN FRANCISCO CALL-BULLETIN, SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER.

OUR WEAK YIELDING ENCOURAGES RUSSIA TO DESTROY LIBERTY

Our inability to anticipate the war with Germany was due primarily to our reliance for guidance upon foreign-sponsored propaganda rather than upon correct information based upon the conclusive evidence of careful observers.

We failed to see what was going on in Germany and dozed off quietly to sleep, for hadn't Hitler repeatedly assured us, just as Stalin is doing today, that his intentions were strictly honorable and he was merely interested in "friendly" governments?

Had a correct diagnosis of the fatal disease of Nazism been made in time, this bloody conflict could have been averted.

Instead, we followed the line of least resistance by washing our hands of the issues only to plunge into them later up to our armpits.

The debacle of Pearl Harbor was another study in cunning and treachery which caught us entirely unprepared.

That China was in a death struggle with the Japanese didn't concern us too much. It didn't seem to be a sufficient reason for distrusting the Japanese who were so polite, so gentle and so refined in their external behavior toward us.

And so we shipped all the scrap iron that Japan wanted, never suspecting that it might be converted into war weapons against our own American boys.

America is now confronted with another danger, which if not checked in time, will have even more tragic consequences for all mankind. **AMERICAN LEND-LEASE IS THE CLUB EMPLOYED BY RUSSIA FOR CRUSHING THE DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE.**

The appalling misjudgment of German's and Japan's motives should teach us by now a lesson in vigilance.

The sacrifices of this war, with such heavy toll of American lives, will all come to naught if enlightened American opinion is not awakened in time to the danger of a world dominated by a new international master—Stalin.

There are no benefits to be attained by concealing certain self-evident truths. The greed of the Soviets, who own more than one-sixth of the world, for additional lands to which they have no valid claim and the imposition of pre-determined puppet governments even upon nations that have been our devoted allies, are ominous clues to Russia's post-war policies.

In Poland, the Red regime of the Moscow-directed Lublin government, whose "president" is a full-fledged citizen of the Soviet Union, **IS CHARACTERIZED BY A REIGN OF TERROR**—by the shooting and hanging of members of the Polish underground, who had been fighting the Germans even at the time when the most cordial of relations existed between Stalin and Hitler.

Poland, the senior member of the United Nations in length of service to the common cause, is being renailed to the cross of suffering by an ally turned aggressor! But Poland is not alone! **THE SAME BLOODY PATTERN IS BEING CARRIED OUT IN ALL THE COUNTRIES WHERE STALIN'S PUPPET GOVERNMENTS RULE.**

Have our American mothers and fathers sent their boys across the seas to die for this kind of a world?

It is senseless for any one who has reached the age of reason to be deluded into believing that all Russia wants is friendly neighbors. Russia is not interested in friendly neighbors. The most cordial and the most friendly of relations with all her neighbors is within Russia's grasp just for the asking.

Notwithstanding malicious propaganda and intrigue unworthy of a great power, the Polish government in London went out of its way so as not to offend Russia. To please the Soviets it even went so far as to dismiss Gen. Sosnkowski, the commander-in-chief of the Polish armies, whom the Soviets made the target of violent verbal abuse.

But when the Polish government selected his successor, Gen. Bor, who at the time was leading the Warsaw uprising, in response to Russian appeals, and which ended in the tragic betrayal of the Poles, the denunciation against Gen. Bor were even more violent than against his predecessor.

It would be difficult for us Americans to imagine Gen. MacArthur or Gen. Eisenhower being dismissed just to please Stalin.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were also for friendly collaboration with the Soviet Union but that didn't save them from being erased from the map of Europe as free nations. The government of Czechoslovakia, which had been lavish in its praise of the Soviets, was recently forced to cede some of its prewar territory to Russia.

Words may deny it but deeds fully confirm the fact that even the "friendliest" of governments are not safe from Russian imperialism.

The tragic situation resulting from the failure to exact pledges of good behavior from the Soviets in return for lend-lease as well as the lack of foresight in establishing inter-allied commissions to immediately function in all the liberated areas in order to insure democratic processes, only emphasize the need for a more realistic policy.

A continuation of a policy of appeasement and of meek submission to all facts of aggression on the part of an ally, is suicide. The future of our country is closely interwoven with the future of Europe. Thus far, Stalin has refused to give America, who saved the Soviet Union from German slavery, any voice in the unilateral decisions affecting the boundaries and the governments of Europe.

THE ONLY TIME AMERICA IS CONSULTED IS WHEN STALIN WANTS AMERICAN LEND-LEASE OR CREDITS.

Russia would quickly assume a common-sense attitude if American lend-lease and American credits would be withheld until Russia lives up to all her pledges of the Atlantic Charter, of which she was a signatory.

When the Soviet government violates every principle of the Atlantic Charter and all the laws of God and man, to remain voiceless is a crime.

For the good of America, if for no other reason, our watchword should be: Vigilance. There is wisdom in the words of Patrick Henry:

"For my part whatever of anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth—to know the worst and provide for it."

Worry is only another name for foresight.

Polish Government Seeks Representation At San Francisco Conference

(Below is the full text of the Polish Government note dealing with the fact that Poland has not been invited to participate in the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. The note was delivered March 12 to the American, British and Chinese Governments and communicated to all United Nations as well as neutral Governments.)

"On March 5, 1945, the Polish Government learned from a radio broadcast and from the press, that the Government of the United States had sent, on their behalf and on that of Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union, an invitation to 39 states to take part in a United Nations Conference to be held on April 25, 1945, at San Francisco, to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Polish Govern-

ment notes that it has not received an invitation to take part in this conference, despite the fact that Poland was one of the original signers of the United Nations Declaration January 1, 1942 in Washington.

"Considering that the Polish nation took up arms in the defense of freedom, security and right on September 1, 1939 and was the first nation to make a stand against German aggression, and that from that time on, relentlessly and regardless of the sacrifice, it has been fighting at home and abroad, on land, on sea and in the air; considering also, that the Polish Nation has fought the longest in the defense of these ideals, it has sustained in relation to its potentialities heavier losses in human life and property than any other nation in the world; furthermore, considering that the war, begun in the defense of Poland, has created a spirit of unity among free nations of the world which led to promulgation and realization of the ideals of the United Nations; and finally, considering that at the San Francisco Conference the United Nations are to create a permanent world peace organization for the prevention of future aggression which is to be based on the respect of law and the sovereign equality of all peace loving nations—the Polish Government as the sole legal and independent representative of the Polish state, emphatically insists on its indisputable right to take part in the world security conference and solemnly protests against its omission from invitations to the San Francisco Conference.

"The Polish Government wishes to state that not inviting to the San Francisco Conference Poland, whose constitutional President and Government are generally recognized by all the United Nations with the exception of only one of the powers and also by neutral states, is the first disquieting case of the application of the right to veto by a greater power, which has been made even before the United Nations have approved or accepted proposals concerning an international security organization.

"The Polish Government has already submitted certain preliminary suggestions on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and intended participating to the fullest in the work of setting up an international security organization. In these circumstances, the Polish Government declares that it has been deprived of the possibility of presenting to the conference their considered comments on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, also on the suggestions regarding the voting procedure in the security council worked out at the Crimea Conference."

An Appeal to the Barristers of the World

Jerusalem, March 22 (PAT)—Appeal of Polish lawyers in Palestine to the barristers of the entire world:

"Precipitated by the violence of German imperialism into the greatest chaos of war and lawlessness known to history, blood-stained in a deadly fight for her own freedom and that of other peoples, Poland awaited the moment when the dawn of peace and harmony, based on liberty and democracy would shine forth.

"Instead of fulfilling these hopes, the Polish nation—which by its act of war first protested against force, shielded the East, at the same time shielding the West, and, subsequently, when the destinies of the war were being weighed, by its participation in a decisive battle, turned the scales—on the basis of the Big Three Conference at Yalta is to renounce one-half of its territory, the boundaries of which were guaranteed by international treaties, and the legal Government of the Republic of Poland, the sole representative of Polish national sovereignty, is to be replaced by a group of individuals designated by three powers.

"Poland was not present when these decisions were made. Indeed, they could only have been made without her participation. The resolves of the Atlantic Charter were invoked: This did not, however, prevent one of the participants in the Conference to publicly declare that the Atlantic Charter contains only indications, not rules. If the rules by which the Crimean Conference was governed, permitted a nation taking part in the war, to be deprived of its sovereignty and granted another nation the right to annex foreign territory, this indicates that the rules which were applied by the Conference not only denied the indications of the Atlantic Charter, but denied its very existence.

"Thus sanction was given to force and it was intended to perpetrate a crime on the living organism of the Polish nation, which, alone, first entered the war with Germany. Beneath the structure of a future peace for all peoples and legal norms which are to restore a reign of law, a foundation of wrong, injustice and

lawlessness, has been laid. Age-old principles, which must bind us for all times if the world is not to fall into an abyss of barbarism, have been trampled upon. Before the world and in face of history, we, Polish lawyers in Palestine, declare that the decisions of the Crimean conference, in the event they are carried out, will disregard the purposes of the war.

“Our pleas are directed to men in whose consciences there has not yet died a sense of decency and righteousness, a longing for freedom and democracy, to men who value peace based on lasting foundations, a peace which must be attained in this war, for we have paid the highest price for it—the price of the lives of the best sons of our generation.

“Our pleas are directed, above all, to you, barristers of the entire world. You recall, certainly, who it was who said that international agreements are ‘scraps of paper’ and acted accordingly.”

The above appeal was signed by: Association of Judges and Prosecutors of the Republic of Poland in Jerusalem, Association of Polish Refugee Attorneys in Tel Aviv, as well as by the Society of Polish Attorneys in Jerusalem.

A FEW RESOLUTIONS

Following, we print several resolutions giving a cross section of opinions expressed by Americans of Polish descent, regarding the Yalta decisions concerning Poland.

Here, you will find the true voice of Americans of all walks of life; the voice of the Polish American Congress, the Polish clergy, educators, labor, the Polish women, the Polish language Press, the Polish business and professional men and the average citizens of Polish background.

Read them, compare them, and see how they ring in the true spirit of American fair—play.

RESOLUTION FROM NEW JERSEY

At the annual meeting of the Polish American Citizens' League of Hudson County, New Jersey, the oldest political organization in the County and State, held in Jersey City, New Jersey on March 26, 1945, the following was unanimously resolved:

WHEREAS we all either born in Poland or descended from those born there, including Eastern Poland, and;

WHEREAS we are here due to the cruel and economic exploitation of Poland by the powers who have subjugated and partitioned Poland in the past;

1. We condemn Russia's rapacity and its brutality toward Poland and the Polish people.

2. We condemn all those who for the sake of expediency countenance Russia in its present violation of the most elementary human rights in Poland.

3. Therefore, we appeal to those American members to the San Francisco Conference, who desire to live up to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to support the cause of Poland.

Poland must not be partitioned again.

Poland should not be governed by the cruel stooges of Russia.

Poland must be an independent and democratic country.

Our sons and brothers are fighting for that and not to overthrow one tyrant in order to elevate another.

MARTIN J. FABER, President
STEPHEN ARENDT, Secretary.

RESOLUTION

of the

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

Adopted on March 9, 1945, AT MEETING of the Executive Board held at Polish Women's Alliance Building, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt named the decisions made at the Yalta Conference "a compromise," an admission in itself that they were unsatisfactory to him—

WHEREAS, they are CONTRARY TO THE AIMS OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, since they accede to might and not law and justice, giving away half of Poland to Russia without agreement or consultation, without knowledge and without consent of the legal Polish Government, and also without hearing the will of those most concerned, the people themselves—

WHEREAS, the decisions made at the Yalta Conference are CONTRARY TO INTERNATIONAL LAW, especially in the case of the United States adhesion by virtue of signature to declarations of the Hague Convention, which do not foresee the affront to moral righteousness in permitting one ally to dispose of the lands of another ally—

WHEREAS, the decisions made at the Yalta Conference VIOLATE THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY in international relations, namely, the principle of equality among nations in regard to rights, as recognized by Secretary Hull on March 21, 1944, in the name of the United States Government as an indispensable stipulation for a better organized world in the following declaration:

"Each sovereign nation, large or small is in law and under law the equal of every other nation; the principle of sovereign equality of all peace loving states, irrespective of size and strength . . . will be the foundation-stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed; . . . all nations, large and small, which respect the rights of others are entitled to freedom from outside interference in their internal affairs."

WHEREAS, the Yalta Conference decisions DEPRIVED POLAND OF EQUAL RIGHTS by deciding her boundaries without her knowledge and agreement, at the same time accepting the principle of "interference in the internal affairs" of Poland as a privilege of the Big Three, a privilege which in actuality serves the Soviet Russian Government—

WHEREAS, thus it was resolved, with the absence of legal or moral basis, to submit sovereign rights of the Polish Nation and People to establish its own government into the hands of the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Molotov, who is to be aided in this usurpation and misuse of the sovereign rights of the Polish Nation by the English and American ambassadors to Russia, through this act POLAND'S INDEPENDENCE, expressed time and again by our Government as the necessary fundamental of justice, ACTUALLY WAS DESTROYED—

WHEREAS, through signing such resolutions the United States Government burdened itself and the American People with joint responsibility for the legalization at the Yalta Conference of Russian aggressive acts

in regard to the Baltic States and especially in regard to our heroic ally, Poland—

WHEREAS, by the legalization of the Yalta Conference resolves and Russian acts of force and aggression, the United States would take joint responsibility with the American People for all the violent acts, murders, and brutality the Soviet officials perpetrated, are perpetrating, and will continue perpetrating in regard to our comrades-in-arms, the soldiers of the Polish Underground Army, who through their superhuman sacrifices rendered Soviet Russia and us priceless military aid and who were solemnly acknowledged to possess the right of a combatant ally by the governments of the United States and Great Britain—

WHEREAS, all decisions of this type **STRIKE AT THE GOOD NAME AND HONOR OF THE UNITED STATES**, depriving it of the friendship of the free nations of Europe, depriving it of influence and respect, and lead to an isolation that is a menace to our future—

WHEREAS, as a result of the decisions made at the Yalta Conference Soviet hegemony in the greater part of Europe and Asia shall be solidified, a fact which will threaten our security—

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS HEREBY RESOLVES:

To ask that the United States Senate **REFUSE TO CONFIRM THE DECISIONS** made at the Yalta Conference, since they represent the acceptance of might over right, the legalization of aggression, a denial of democratic principles and equality in international relations, and, generally speaking, the recognition of Soviet Russia's hegemony in the whole world—

SIMULTANEOUSLY THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS CONFIRMS THAT:

1. Only the constitutional Polish Government in London today represents the Polish Nation and People, and only the constitutional Government of Poland can and should take part in the Conference at San Francisco.

2. Any "Government" brought into being by a foreign power will not be representative of the will and rights of the Polish Nation, and as such cannot be recognized by the United States without violation of the elementary principles of law and justice.

3. Any elections held on Polish soil under Soviet occupation are in the nature of things a distortion and falsification of the will of the Polish Nation, a violation of a free conscience and as such are lawless and illegal.

4. Any governing bodies created by a marionette "Government" imposed on the Polish Nation through a foreign power cannot be recognized as Polish governing bodies but should be recognized as Soviet agents.

5. Any disposals of the estates and properties of the State, its citizens and Polish institutions, without agreement and more, contrary to the will of the legal Polish Government and Polish Parliament—will be constituted illegal acts of plunder.

The Executive Board of the Polish American Congress resolves that the above resolution be sent to the President and all members of the United States Government, to all Senators and Congressmen, and to all Governors and State Legislators.

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, Inc.
CHARLES ROZMAREK, President

The Declaration of the Supreme Board of The Polish Women's Alliance of America Relative to the Crimean Conference

After a careful study of the policies agreed upon at the conference at Yalta, we women of Polish extraction approaching this subject from an American point of view cannot understand how a country as liberty loving as the United States of America could agree to the overwhelming demands of Russia for Polish territory, and through this directly aiding and abetting her in extending her influence throughout Europe and the world.

If we study the map of Europe after taking into consideration a defeated Germany and the occupation of the Reich by the American, English and Soviet armies, we can see from a geographic position a Poland firmly in the clutches of Russia. This position is as dangerous as was her German neighbor, and starts her off to slow extermination.

We are profoundly disturbed by this gross injustice to the people of Poland not because we share a common heritage of blood, but because like the average American woman we demand a better solution to this problem which we believe as it stands now will plunge the world into another war. We ask, is this the reward that awaits the Polish soldier for his daring on all the fighting fronts?

Is this the reward that awaits the Polish mothers for sending their men to battle in defense of the rights of others?

We ask again, is this the reward awaiting the Polish nation for defending her lands and other lands at all times when freedom was at stake?

The Polish people fought their German aggressor; can it be that the world now condones the invasion from the east, and at the same time condemns the invader from the west?

Our position is very clear. We shall never acknowledge the aggression and the outrages committed upon the land of our forefathers, nor upon any other lands. In anticipation of any changes favorable to the Polish nation, we are at the same time prepared for even a greater disenchantment—to which we shall react—not with fears and supplications for mercy—but shall expend our energies in building a resistance with such strength of character that even the mightiest enemy cannot tear down.

We admit today, we are weak, and are no match for brutal force; but we solemnly promise the American nation though they deal us even a deadlier blow than this that we shall not waver in our obligations as pledged in the allegiance to her flag, under whose stars and stripes millions first saw the light of day, and under whose stars and stripes countless numbers of our members and their loved ones are fighting all over the globe.

We implore our women in this time of sorrow and national mourning to persevere in dignity. Teach the children to love the United States of America as the land of liberty, and spread this gospel of love until it permeates the hearts of all Americans who believe in the principles of Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear, Freedom of Speech, and Freedom from superior forces in Religious, Political, and Moral Life.

Tell the children that these ideals must serve as a beacon light to this nation, or else she will become a tool for hidden crimes and a bargainer for evil.

Tell them "to err is human" and that the nation eventually will follow in the footpaths of her founders and makers of the Constitution, and that in Love, Great Love beyond measure, there is also Strength.

Teach the little ones to love TRUTH, FREEDOM and BEAUTY though there be none around them.

Teach them to sacrifice their blood and fortunes for their country. Tell them of our flag—that the lights in the stars have not gone out—that they are dimmed—and that Great Love and Devotion will make them more brilliant again.

Teach the children thrift; tell them to save their pennies and dollars for Bonds to Win the War, and when they ask innocently if these bonds will purchase bullets to strike at the hearts of our loved ones across the ocean, assure them that he who breaks faith with our American ideals shall be judged by history and future generations for this treacherous act.

Preserve dignity and honor to the end, and let not malice enter your hearts. The destiny of this world is in the hands of God, and not in the hands of the dictators.

POLISH WOMEN'S ALLIANCE OF AMERICA.

RESOLUTION OF THE POLISH AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

Adopted on March 29, 1945, at Meeting held at Dom Ludowy, Detroit, Michigan

We, the representatives of organized Labor of Polish origin, express our deepest sorrow at the compromise settlement of the Polish problem in Yalta. We believe that the principles of democracy, freedom and justice bear no compromise. To decide Poland's future without making previously certain whether this decision is consistent with the will of the nation and without the consent of the Polish Government in London, which is recognized by the United Nations, is to violate these principles. Self determination of peoples is one of the main principles for which the United Nations are waging the war.

We have grounds to fear seriously that, in spite of all promises, without the decisive and active help of the United States and Great Britain the Polish people will have no opportunity to freely express their own real will. changed boundaries.

Therefore we appeal to all the democratic forces in the world not to allow Poland to be further wronged. We look upon President Roosevelt's word that Poland will be free, independent, strong and prosperous as an obligation which cannot be refuted under any circumstances. We warmly appeal to all those who believe in true democracy not to let any foreign power rule Poland. The Polish nation must be allowed to organize freely without pressure from without and repair themselves the huge damages the war has done to it. This will be the best guarantee of peace for the future.

To achieve these aims the following measures must be applied:—

- 1) A genuinely independent Polish government in Poland consisting of true representatives, recognized by the nation, of those political parties which were active in the war against Germany. It is these parties that make up the only legal Polish government in London. The "Lublin Government" set up by the Soviets represents only the Communist Party which never had any importance in Poland.
- 2) Free universal elections to be carried out as soon as possible, and not under any pressure. For this purpose the return of all the deportees must be expedited. There are now in Poland and in the territory of the Soviets many concentration camps where hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens have been sent without trials. Many thousands are there only because they had belonged to the Underground Army which fought against the Germans. We demand that these camps be discontinued immediately.

All citizens must enjoy full freedom of speech and assembly as well as all other political civic rights. The troops of the Republic of Poland, fighting outside of her boundaries, must have the right to take part in universal voting, in the same manner in which those rights are guaranteed to the soldiers of the American army.

Elections must be supervised by an International Commission which would guarantee their freedom.

- 3) Diplomatic representations of the United Nations in Poland must be immediately brought back to pre-war status.

Representatives of the foreign press must be absolutely free to enter Poland and to send out unrestricted and unhampered news reports.

Representatives of the foreign institutions, above all the Red Cross, UNRRA, International Labor Bureau, Labor Unions and Associations of Americans of Polish descent, must be allowed to visit Poland and move there unrestrictedly in order to obtain first hand information on conditions in Poland.

- 4) Soviet armies must be withdrawn immediately after the German defeat, in pursuance of Lenin's statement that no true selfdetermination of a nation and no true plebiscite are possible as long as a foreign army is on its soil.

We are convinced that we best serve the cause of our country and of mankind by fighting for the realization of the magnificent ideals and justice and for their application to all the nations and individuals and by combatting all evidences of totalitarianism, and power politics.

The Polish problem is a test which will show whether the world is to be ruled by force or by freedom and justice.

The workmen we represent will fight for the principles of freedom and justice and promise to support all those who take part in this struggle.

POLISH AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

Frank Ostrowski, President
Anthony Wojowski, Secretary

POLISH PRESS RESOLUTION

Upon report of the unjust Yalta decision relative to Poland, we, the editors and journalists, representing 41 Polish newspapers in the United States with a total weekly circulation of 1,200,000, gathered at a Conference in Chicago, Ill., on February 18, 1945, declare as follows:

Our conference is being held on the eve of our national holiday—the birthday of George Washington, at whose side Polish soldiers and Polish generals fought for freedom and independence of America, and who bequeathed to us the love of liberty and justice.

Mindful of the fact that in defending Poland's cause we are defending at the same time the moral principles for which the United States is now waging war;

Realizing that the partition of Poland will result in tragic consequences to America and the whole world, foreboding disaster to a peace based upon the principles of injustice;

We Resolve that:

The decisions of the Yalta Conference concerning Poland are incompatible with the spirit of Christian civilization, because they violate its moral foundations;

They are incompatible with the principles of free nations, because they violate the rights of such nations;

They are incompatible with international law, because they were made without the participation of Poland and are to be imposed on Her by force;

They are incompatible with the traditions of the United States which has always stood in defense of wronged nations;

They are incompatible with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, because all the United Nations have accepted these principles as a symbol in their fight against the use of force;

They are incompatible with the commitments of the United Nations, who officially recognize the Polish Government in London.

Poland, during five and half years of fighting gave proof of unexampled sacrifices, heroism and faithful loyalty toward Her Allies and She has a right to rely upon the unalterable loyalty on their part.

The Yalta decisions deprive Poland of a part of her ancient lands which integrally belong to Her and are essential to the welfare of the Polish Nation.

The Yalta decisions cancel not only the volutary treaty of Riga, but also all commitments subscribed to by the Allies with Poland.

The Yalta decisions nullify the agreement of General Sikorski with Russia entered into with the approval of England.

The Yalta decisions are in reality a fifth partition of Poland.

Poland was deprived of the power and right to self determination.

The Polish lands in the west, as Opeln Silesia, Pomerania, which includes Each Prussia, rightfully belong to Poland and cannot be considered as compensation for lands seized in the east and the establishment of Her eastern borders should be made dependent on the establishment of Her western borders.

As a tragic evidence of what Poland will be met with, are the mass arrests, exile and execution of former members of the Home Army in disregard of their fullest sacrifices and heroism in their fight against the Germans. We fear that the same fate awaits all Polish soldiers, who have fought and are fighting on all battle fronts of the world for democracy's victory.

As Americans dedicated to the freedom of nations, we feel duty bound, in the name of justice, to take a stand in defense of the full rights of our ally—Poland.

In the belief, that the Yalta decisions are not final, we appeal to the Government of the United States, the Congress and to the public opinion of the free and great American nation and to the whole world, that the unjust decisions of the Yalta Conference, concerning Poland, be revised in a spirit of equity and good conscience.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE:

ZYGMUNT STEFANOWICZ

PETER YOLLES

ADOLF CEPURA

ADAM OLSZEWSKI

JADWIGA KARLOWICZOWA.

RESOLUTION FROM NEBRASKA

A Resolution Adopted in Consequence of the Yalta Conference in Crimea

WHEREAS, the decision of the "Big Three" at Yalta, with respect to Poland, is in violation of international law, contravenes the principles of the Atlantic Charter, especially the principles of no territorial aggrandizement and no interference in the internal affairs of other nations, large or small; and

WHEREAS, Poland was not represented at this momentous conference of the "Big Three," when her destiny was being decided, although she is one of our allies, the first to fight and to suffer from Nazi military fury and tyranny, and she has been a staunch, true and loyal ally, and has been fighting on all fronts for the freedom of all peoples and has rendered more than her reasonable share to the defeat of the forces of tyranny and aggression; and

WHEREAS, by this arbitrary decision of the "Big Three," half of Poland's territory is being appropriated by Russia on the basis of the Ribbentrop-Molotov line, which was agreed upon at a time when Russia was collaborating with Germany, in 1939, and made a joint attack on Poland; and more than 13,000,000 of her people, belonging to western culture and civilization are being expatriated and placed under semi-Asiatic culture of Russia, with no assurances as to their individual rights, and Poland is being deprived of indispensable resources to carry on and become a free, strong and independent nation; and,

WHEREAS, the Polish Government in exile in London, the only legitimate and constitutional government of Poland, that really represents the Polish people and all of its parties, that has been recognized by the Poles the world over, that has been directing the destinies of the Polish nation, the underground forces in Poland and the Polish fighting forces in the air, on the land and on the sea as the sixth largest allied military power, for the last five and one-half years, and has been recognized by all nations, save Russia, which also recognized its legality, but severed relations with it to carry on her own nefarious design on Polish integrity and sovereignty—has been repudiated by the decision of the "Big Three" and it is proposed to let the puppet Lublin government established by Russia for Russia's use and benefit, consisting of Soviet hirelings, control the rest of Poland, thus destroying Poland's sovereignty, independence and imposing upon her a spurious government of Polish renegade and Soviet agitators, some of whom are not even Polish citizens, notwithstanding the promise of an addition of some "democratic representatives" from Poland at large, when the Communists in Poland constitute less than 1 per cent of the population; and

WHEREAS, the United States of America has always stood for high ideals and principles and is universally known for its policy of dealing justly and fairly with other nations, and has repeatedly assured Poland in this war that her supreme sacrifices shall not have been made in vain; and

WHEREAS, a just and enduring peace cannot be based on moral wrong-doing and a violation of international law and such injustice to one of our allies as a reward for her large measure of devotion to the allied cause; and

WHEREAS, the decision of the "Big Three" must meet the test of public opinion in this country and be ratified by the Senate of the United States before it becomes valid and binding:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Polish Home, Inc., at its annual meeting of stockholders and members, on this 18th day of February, 1945, at Omaha, Nebraska, respectfully protests against this exparte, arbitrary and unjust decision of the "Big Three," made at Yalta, in Crimea, concerning Poland, and denounces it as a violation of sound morality, international law, a repudiation of the Atlantic Charter, the violation of sacred honor pledged to Poland by the Democracies and a betrayal of the legitimate Polish Government in exile and a recognition of power politics.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to United States Senate, with reference to Poland, that it be repudiated and disavowed and that Poland be accorded all the consideration that she is justly entitled to in keeping with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, her contribution to the success of the war and the traditional American policy of fair play.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of State, and the Senators and Congressmen from Nebraska.

POLISH HOME, INC.,

STANLEY KARNISH, President

WALTER OBAL, Secretary

A. ZALESKI, Proponent of Resolution.

Resolution of the Council of American Priests of Polish Descent of the Archdiocese of Detroit

We, the American Clergy of Polish extraction of the Archdiocese of Detroit, and 300,000 souls entrusted to our spiritual care and guidance, view with misgivings and alarm, the decisions of the "Big Three" Conference. We feel, that the unfair, unjust and the ungrateful treatment of Poland and other small nations, as Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, by the Crimean Conference, violating not only the principles of the Atlantic Charter but ethical principles, for the sake of power politics and political expediency, was a betrayal of our hopes and expectations so confidently placed in the hands of our leaders.

Time and again, glowing tributes we hoped to have been sincere, were paid our loyal ally Poland, by the President, when he said: "that Poland was the inspiration of nations"; by Winston Churchill, when he said: "that in the fateful days of 1940 when in no uncertain terms Poland contributed immeasurably to save Great Britain". Now by the decisions of the Crimean Conference we learn that the men who were the inspiration of nations and saviours; the heroes of Narvik, of the African Campaign, of the Mediterranean, and of Western Front, of the victorious battles of Monte Cassino, and of Western Europe are to be compensated for their deeds of valour and untold sacrifices — by dismemberment, loss of their land and 12 million of their compatriots, and by the interference in the internal affairs of their government. It is inconceivable to punish an ally for its contributions to victory. History never recorded such a case.

We most vehemently protest the further appeasement of our Russian ally, and the condoning of criminal outrage perpetrated by the "Big Three". These would only serve the purposes of a new aggression and the sowing of seeds of a new war. May we urge you, not to be a partner in this crime. May we solicit your aid, to uphold the American traditions and to live up to the American traditions, by keeping untarnished the historical records of a nation that was never a party to injustices committed to weaker nations.

May the protest of Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson in similar circumstances reach again. We place the fate of Poland in your able hands and reasoned judgment.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Albert Żadała, President
Rev. Vincent B. Borkowicz, Vice-President
Rev. Francis J. Zdrodowski, Secretary.

Resolution From Indiana

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Polish Professional Men's Association of Lake County, Indiana respectfully petition

HONORABLE CHARLES A. EATON

REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE FIFTH DISTRICT OF NEW JERSEY

as delegate to the new United Nations Conference to be held in San Francisco in April, 1945 for the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and happiness enjoyed by the people under the government established by the Constitution of the United States; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That principles of justice and humanity be propounded to all Nations, big and small; that the proposed organization to be so formed should first purge itself of fanatical internationalists; and that our former traditional American policy to uphold the ideals of basic principles of justice be the aim in all relations with other Nations; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the formation of the organization for World Security be conditioned upon correcting the injustice perpetrated upon Poland by the Big Three and thus demonstrate to the World that the purpose of the San Francisco Conference is intended for World Peace and Security; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we beseech you to make expression to the delegates of all Nations there assembled that Russia is not justly entitled to hold Eastern Poland; that a slice of Germany can not be accepted as just compensation for the appropriation made by Russia in a joint enterprise with Hitler against Poland in 1939; that the Roosevelt assertion, that Yalta conference decided to create a Poland so strong that it will not serve again as a corridor through which Germany can march through to Russia, is a subterfuge to pave

the way for the subjugation and enslavement of the Polish people under Soviet Russian domination; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we have confidence in your wisdom and integrity in representing the interests of all people in laying a proper foundation for international peace and security in the World by requiring the United Nations to recognize the sacrifices of the Polish people in the present war against the Axis; that all peace-loving Nations will readily acknowledge the contributions and sacrifices made by the Polish soldiers and sailors on all battlefronts, that entitle the Poles to their just claim in the maintenance of a Republic, as a sovereign and independent Nation, regardless of how strong or weak, big or little, or rich or poor it may be, but it should remain free to enjoy liberty in its own way without any outside interference, especially from Russia.

WE HOPE FOR A FREE AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF POLAND!

The foregoing Resolution was unanimously adopted by the members of the Polish Professional Men's Association of Lake County, Indiana at a regular meeting held at Indiana Harbor this 14th day of March, 1945.

Thad Menzie, President

Julius Prusiecki, Vice-President

W. Wm. Malczewski, Secretary-Treasurer

Resolution Regarding the Yalta Decisions Concerning Poland

The Polish Peoples University Extension Forum, of Chicago, an educational and cultural organization, which has functioned for the last thirty-seven years, voted on Sunday, February 18, and on Sunday, February 25, 1945, approved the following resolution regarding the Yalta decisions concerning Poland:—

The Yalta decisions regarding Poland constrain us to record not only a keen disappointment in them, but also a serious apprehension as to any hopes of a durable peace. We are unquestionably winning the war, but by all appearances of things we are definitely losing the peace, as we did at the close of the first World War.

The Yalta decisions regarding Poland are, in our judgment, first of all, most unfair and wholly unjust to Poland. Not only do they surrender to Russia more than forty per cent of Polish 1939 territory—a territory to which Russia, strictly speaking, has absolutely no legitimate claim on any grounds whatsoever, either historical or ethnic, and which she does not need for any reasons that she may advance, least of all any security reasons. The territorial compensations proposed north and west are, in a strict sense, no compensations, for historically they, too, constitute Poland's rightful possessions taken away from her by force by the first three partitions. These so-called compensations, then, would, in any event, be only a rectification of the northern and western frontiers drawn by the Paris Conference of 1919.

Also, these decisions are a repudiation of the London Polish Government, legitimate and so recognized not only by Great Britain and the United States, but also by Russia until the time when Russia violated her own agreements with Poland, and began to lay claims to Polish territory, to which the London Polish Government naturally could not yield, and an acceptance and recognition of Russia's puppet government set up by her for Poland. If Hitler's puppet governments set up in Norway, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and the Vichy collaborationist government in France were discountenanced by the United Nations, Russia included, why and how can the Russian puppet government set up for Poland be more acceptable to Great Britain and to the United States? And why can it or should it be more acceptable to the Poles, at home or abroad? Can such a government possibly express the will of the Polish nation, and can it really represent and defend Poland's interests?

Moreover, the Yalta decisions practically surrender the whole of Poland under the domination of Russia—much as they may talk of independence, democracy, and free elections. People and nations are known by their deeds. Russia's centuries-old absolutism together with her centuries-old policy of aggressions against the Eastern European nations speak more eloquently and more

convincingly than any professions of democracy or promises of freedom, independence, and free elections in any country over which she is allowed to dominate.

In the second place, the Yalta decisions regarding Poland are a clear repudiation of at least some of the provisions of the Atlantic Charter, signed by the President of the United States and the Premier of Great Britain, and accepted by Russia after Hitler's attack upon her and her consequent alliance with us. Points one and two of this Charter state clearly and explicitly: "Their countries"—and this includes Russia—"seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other"; and "they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned".

In the third place, these decisions are a violation of and a departure from the principles, policy, and the traditions of the United States. The United States, the historic symbol of freedom, the exponent of democracy, the champion of justice and fair play, the hope and refuge of the world's enslaved and oppressed, has by the Yalta stand regarding Poland become a partner to Russian aggression, a partner to a fifth partition of Poland and to her impending enslavement by Russia.

These decisions betray, in the fourth place, clear and distinct appeasement, which is a mark of weakness on the part of the appeaser or appeasers, and which has no end, as experience has already clearly and sufficiently demonstrated. The sacrifice of Manchuria and all our shipments of oil and scrap-iron did not appease Japan; the sacrifice of Ethiopia did not appease Fascist Italy; the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia did not appease Nazi Germany. Will the sacrifice of Poland and Eastern Europe appease the Russian bear? Doubtfully, very doubtfully. Sooner or later he will turn against his appeasers, who by their very appeasements have built up his strength and power, demonstrating at the same time their moral, if not material, weakness.

Consequently, in the fifth place, these Yalta decisions and agreements are, we fear, no foundation on which a durable postwar peace structure can be erected. Rather do they already contain sufficient elements for new postwar tensions, frictions, and a third World War. The only foundation of real peace and of real durable peace, whether in the home, a community, a nation, or among nations in the world, is justice and fair play. The Yalta decisions and agreements, however, are rooted and grounded in injustice, to begin with, and consequently constitute no safe foundation on which any hope of a durable postwar peace may be based.

Because of these considerations and for the reasons here advanced, we, therefore, record our disapproval of the Yalta Agreement. As citizens of the United States we recoil from seeing our country made a partner to any such agreement as the one in question, an agreement so manifestly unfair and unjust, which bows and submits to an unscrupulous aggressor, which threatens the peace we fight and long and hope for, and which, as a matter of fact, is in reality a clear betrayal of a friend and ally; and not only that, but also of ourselves, of the United States of America, the country of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, of her best and real self, of the very principles and ideals of freedom, of justice, of unselfishness and fair play, for which she has ever stood and which have been both her strength and her glory.

**POLISH PEOPLES UNIVERSITY EXTENSION FORUM,
1838 West Division Street, Chicago 22.**

PAUL FOX, President
3221 West Diversey Avenue, Chicago 47.

V. M. SPUNAR, Vice-President
4055 West Melrose Street, Chicago 41.

PAUL MICZKO, Secretary-Treasurer
1642 West Division Street, Chicago 22.



THE VOICE OF AMERICA

WARSAW

A sympathetic, warm, friendly, firm but often confused voice of America was heard when the news of the fall of Warsaw reached these shores. We are quoting some of the more interesting comments — not without surprise that in not one of the many thousands of newspapers was it suggested that Americans will help rebuild Warsaw. A new Warsaw will never replace the old city — but may become and should become a symbol of unity between Poland, the United States and the world. America is linked with Poland by an old and noble friendship through history written in sweat and blood.

OMINOUS SYMBOL

The **Columbus** (Ohio) **Dispatch** (Jan. 18) perhaps involuntarily gives the following warning:

Thus Warsaw is a dual symbol. Always its capture has marked the forthcoming downfall of its occupant. It 10 or 20 or 50 or 100 years from now news dispatch tell of another fall of Warsaw, the implicit and fateful fact behind the headlines will be that the peacemakers have failed again.

Even our worst forebodings cannot conjure such a picture.

UNHAPPY WARSAW

Heart warming and noble are the sentiments expressed by the **Springfield** (Mass.) **News** on the fall of Warsaw:

But unhappy Warsaw will rise again from its ruins. The Polish race has survived other conquerors and centuries of oppression, virile and courageous. Enslaved, slaughtered and tortured under Hitler and his to die and did die in one of the blackest chapters of human history. And in supermen, the Poles never ceased to resist. For freedom they were prepared their day of victory, the Russians will do well to respect this love of freedom. The people of Poland have paid a cruel price to be free. Thus it is that while the fall of Warsaw means a shortening of the course of the war, that fact is overshadowed by the picture of a new Poland springing from the ashes of her cities and her blood-soaked soil to live again, a nation of free men with a manifest destiny in the world of the future.

Thank you!

LIBERATION OF WARSAW

The **Cincinnati** (Ohio) **Times-Star** gets the full political meaning of the fall of Warsaw and explains it in the following paragraph:

In a military sense, the recapture of Warsaw is, of course an Allied victory of first-rate importance. Although three-fourths of the city has been destroyed in battle, it remains the biggest communication center in Poland and the control point of the Vistula River line. In a political sense, however, one can speak of its "liberation" only in quotation marks.

PITY WARSAW!

Such is the headline of an editorial published in the **El Paso** (Texas) **Times** after the fall of Warsaw:

Residents of Warsaw held out in the face of overwhelming odds. As a result, Hitler decided to use Warsaw as an example.

The world cannot shrug its shoulders and say such things are inevitable in war. The Nazis are responsible for more suffering, for more brutality, than any group in history. The men of ancient Rome were gentlemen and scholars compared to the Nazis.

LUBLINITES AT WORK

The **Buffalo** (N. Y.) **Courier Express**, commenting on the liberation of Warsaw strongly and justly condemns the Lublinites for their attack on Gen. Bor.

That was the tragic climax of Warsaw's five years of heroic resistance to an invader who never succeeded in subjugating the patriotic citizens of the Polish capital. In 63 days, last summer and fall, while German soldiers and the Gestapo butchered 250,000 Polish men, women and children, a Russian Army remained immobile not many miles away. The Lublin committee, now recognized by the Russians as the "Polish government" shocked and dismayed the world by echoing the Germans in denouncing Gen. Bor and his brave comrades of the underground insur-

rection as "criminals," because they were loyal to the Polish government-in-exile which had led resistance to the Germans since 1939.

WARSAW 1939-1945

The Akron (Ohio) Beacon-Journal in reviewing the tragedy of Poland's capital reminds its readers that:

The 64 months that have elapsed since Warsaw capitulated have been hell on earth for every man, woman and child in the city. Every atrocity, every cruelty that the warped Nazi mind could devise has been visited upon the Poles. The full story of Warsaw's torture and of Warsaw's resistance will only now begin to be told.

THE SPIRIT OF STARZYNSKI

The San Antonio (Texas) Express pays tribute to the spirit of Warsaw's mayor, Starzynski and concludes as follows:

Through more than five terrible years that spirit has survived. It burned in the underground, which until the day of deliverance never ceased its resistance. That spirit — the spirit of free and unconquerable Poland — will be perpetuated in the greater Warsaw which surely will rise upon the ruins.

CLOUDS OVER WARSAW

The Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch, devotes its leading article to reviewing the glorious though tragic history of Warsaw but cannot refrain from noticing clouds of uncertainty over the future of the famous old city:

It may be presumed that the famous old city of Warsaw will again become the capital of Poland, but the precise nature of the Polish government which is to use it as a capital has not been determined. In addition, it will take many years to rebuild the shattered city, whose latest ordeal has been by far the worst it has endured in all its tempestuous history.

WARSAW IS A SYMBOL

This starts a laconic editorial in the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, but it fails to elucidate. Yet there is so much to say on this subject. The Press has only so much to say:

Warsaw is a symbol. As the first foreign capital captured by the Germans, it was the warning of the conquest of Europe to come. Nowhere has Nazi savagery been worse. Now at long last the world can rejoice that the invader has been driven out by Russian and Polish troops, and the ruins at least of a once great city reclaimed.

BUT POLAND LIVES

The Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer devoted a leading article to the fall of Warsaw, headlined it "But Poland lives" and drew the following conclusion:

Warsaw has been conquered many times. Poland has been partitioned and repartitioned. Poland has suffered from violence and it has suffered from intrigue. But Poland lived on. And Warsaw always found the will and the strength to rebuild. It may be the same this time. It will be if the democracies of the world who are fighting for human freedom stick to their ideals and refuse to succumb to expediency.

WARSAW — EUROPE'S BROKEN HEART

The Atlanta (Ga.) Journal briefly but not without sympathy refers to Warsaw in these words:

Warsaw, an ancient and bitter European battleground, often referred to as Europe's "broken heart" has been under siege since the Russian summer offensive bogged down last July.

WARSAW'S SACRIFICE

Warsaw's doom could have been averted says the Charleston (S. C.) Post:

Warsaw, in its hideous half decade, suffered all the horror that war can bring upon a city, all the woe that barbarity can inflict. Today its remains stand as deadly testimony against the German warlords who set out to conquer Europe and dominate the world. One need look no further for evidence of crimes for which the perpetrators must be called to stern account. And yet Warsaw represents but a fraction of the evil wrought under the swastika.

Ruined Warsaw stands today as a costly sacrifice on the altar of freedom. Had the Poles accepted the slavery that Germany demanded of them, Warsaw's physical doom would have been averted.

The Poles never thought of accepting slavery and never will—preferring death to slavery.

RUINS BUT NOT SURRENDER

The Miami (Fla.) Herald recognizes the supreme sacrifice of Poland and Warsaw—in these words:

The ancient Polish seat of government was the first to suffer the savage fury of Hitler's Luftwaffe and Wehrmacht. Its valiant defense was of no avail. Yet in that heroic story the free world was given a gauge of valor by which other nations might be judged. The Poles preferred that their land be laid in ruins to preserving the outer forms in return for surrender.

"WHAT PRICE GLORY?"

The Detroit (Mich) Free Press, touches upon the most essential question after the fall of Warsaw:

Thus the circle of war has come full turn. The rubble of a great city has been freed. And now another phase begins: the assurance that what the Poles have purchased with such great heart and unconquerable spirit shall not be denied them.

POLAND IS NOT DEAD

The Spokane (Wash.) Chronicle dwells, with many Americans and Poles in the spirit about Poland, in an editorial from which we quote the last paragraph:

Not much is left of Warsaw. The buildings are rubble and the ghosts of the numberless dead stalk the streets. But there is a spirit about the place that says that Poland is not dead. There is a symbol there that hints of Nazi doom. Warsaw and Krakow lie athwart the highways to Berlin. The story that started with tragedy for Poland will have a different ending.

AFTER THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE

American newspapers accepted with varying degrees of enthusiasm the general decisions reached at the conference of the "Big Three" in Yalta. Many admitted that the decisions represent a compromise in regard to the Polish issue which will have to be accepted as best that can be obtained under present circumstances. However, quite a few of editorial writers find cause for criticism and view the Crimea resolves as to Poland with much misgivings.

THE "CRIME CONFERENCE"

Calling the recent Yalta meeting "the crime conference", Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen told Knights of Columbus in Bayonne, N. J., Sunday, February 18, '45, that "seeds of World War III had been sown".

Said the monsignor:

I told you last winter that what happens to Poland will happen to the world. Well it has happened.

The Crimea Conference has been held. The "Crime Conferense" — and I wonder whether that's what it is?

Poland goes to Russia and it is the beginning of a sad day for the world. The Hudson Dispatch — Union City, N. J. featured the above on its editorial page, Feb. 2, 1945, and closed with the following comment:

The people haven't been told in detail about what the big three did at the Crimea Conference, but sufficient for the thinking people to realize that Russia grabbed what she wanted, including the dismemberment of to die and did die in one of the blackest chapters of human history. And in Poland and the privilege of establishing a communistic government there. The "eye-wash" about "free elections" doesn't even fool the office boy. There cannot be any elections at the point of the bayonet of the invader!

THE VOICE OF THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS RECOGNIZED

The voice of the Polish American Congress was heard and recognized by the Post (Butte, Mont.) where in an editorial "Britain and Russia Agree on Poland's Dismemberment", we read the following:

The action doesn't leave much of the Atlantic Charter in effect. On the contrary, it establishes more firmly the premise that might is right and weak states must bow to the will of the stronger ones.

Also it lays the groundwork for continued strife. That is apparent from the message of the Polish American Congress, condemning the Russian

course and asserting "it would be to the best interests of England to persuade Russia to adopt a hands-off policy with reference to her peaceful neighbors". It added that the fate of the democracies is tied up with the fate of Poland.

That expression from an organization claiming to represent six million Americans of Polish descent, undoubtedly is echoed by the unhappy Poles who see with bitterness their approaching absorption by Russia. It also voices the views of many others outside their racial interest. It emphasizes that the next war is already in the making.

We appreciate what the Post has to say and wish to emphasize that the sentiments of six million Americans of Polish descent are indeed "echoed by the unhappy Poles" everywhere.

NOTHING IS PERMANENT

The Chicago Tribune discovered a new (it is as old as the world) theory that nothing is permanent in this world, even Russia's policies. Thus muses the Tribune:—

When the Russian dictator, having joined Hitler in the partition of Poland attacked Finland even Mr. Roosevelt felt it necessary to use strong language in denouncing the act. Russia was again an enemy of mankind. The fourth phase came when Hitler, the quicker of the two men in dealing the expected stab, attacked his collaborator. Russia came again within the pale of civilization as the Nazi marched deep into the country of his late friend and old enemy.

Who then can predict what will take place after the Yalta "Charter"? Will Russia of Europe come again "within the pale of civilization"? Yet it seems to be the basis of our surrender at Yalta, that red will turn white, dictatorship will be democracy and — might become right.

LET SAN FRANCISCO REVIEW YALTA!

The N. Y. World-Telegram, a banner publication in the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers sees Poland as a perpetual Russian puppet.

The Big Three agreement at Yalta was an attempted postwar settlement, a compromise in which Stalin dictated most of the terms and the Atlantic Charter pledges—other than German disarmament—came off a bad second. This Big Three political agreement, including the secret provisions, should be examined by the full United Nations meeting at San Francisco in April.

The Polish settlement was the payoff. Roosevelt agreed to Russia taking eastern Poland up to a slightly modified Curzon line; whether to include additional southern Polish cities and oil fields, as previously agreed to by Churchill, was not stated. Poland is to get "substantial" territory in the north and west—the original Stalin plan to load her with large slices of Germany, making Poland a perpetual Russian puppet for defense of a larger "Alsace-Lorraine."

Besides San Francisco—there is another important controlling factor in our democracy, namely the people! Public opinion will not accept the partition of Poland without a loud protest that must go down into history with the Yalta "Charter".

HOW 'NAIVE' ARE WE?

The World-Telegram added an exclamation mark to the headline over its leading article to emphasize the importance of the issue raised. The Birmingham (Ala.) News puts a question mark not only to the headline but to our policy. It quotes the Manchester Guardian with this preface:

The Guardian, liberal as it is, often a defender of the Soviet Union, declares that "Russia is calmly preparing to change the map of Europe, to move millions of people from their homes, to cut down the growth of centuries with no principle in view except that of security.

"This week M. Bidault, the French foreign minister, has revealed that Poland is to be given the German provinces of Pomerania and Silesia (not to mention East Prussia), not because of racial or historic claims, not even for compensation, but because this act of injustice will ensure that in any future war Poland will be on the side of Russia against Germany. What cynicism is this? Can we really forget the Atlantic Charter so easily? And will Russia, in fact, feel safer when Poland has earned the hatred of 60 Million Germans?"

The question and the question mark are in the right place. How 'naive' are we?

THE BEAR BEHIND THE WOLF'S SKIN

The Cleveland (Ohio) News sees the wolf under the skin of the now "democratic" bear's skin, and predicts that Russia will introduce Communism to Germany following the pattern applied in Poland. Says the "News":

A part of the "Free Poland Committee" organized similarly in Moscow in 1942 took over in Lublin and now is part of the Stalin-backed Polish government there. There are many reasons for guessing that the Poland technique will be employed as soon as the Russians can occupy a recognizable Reich capital.

If a pseudo-Communist regime is to take over at Berlin after the impending crash, it would be a continuation of this policy for the remaining Junkers to partner or deal with it. Von Seydlitz already is a committee brother of Communists. It may be that the new regime is actually in existence and merely waits the official summons to Berlin.

We fear the same.

If that should happen—the Yalta "Charter" would become an appendix to the Munich "Charter".

A LESSON TO THE "MIRROR"

The New York Mirror, commenting on the Yalta—"Charter" writes on Feb. 16 in an editorial 'After the Shouting:

Stalin has put his name to a reaffirmation of the Atlantic Charter.

But he put his name to the Atlantic Charter once before, on January 1, 1942, and put it there again on the joint four-nation declaration issued in Moscow on November 1, 1943.

Nevertheless, Stalin has PERSISTENTLY VIOLATED the provisions of that Charter, in the cases of his unilateral actions in Poland, the Baltic and the Balkan states.

When a man indorses a 'rubber check' three times, does that make it good?

Is it not a fact that in this war Stalin cooperates only on paper?

Please look at the other side of the check. There you will find the following humorous indorsement. Says Mr. Churchill:

'I also feel that no government stands more to its obligations than the Russian Soviet Government.'

Say we:

Not even the English government!

THEORY AND REALITY

The Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal published an editorial under the above headline, and expressed the opinion that regardless of what the Poles, the Polish-Americans, the Polish government in London say, regardless of what the governments of the United States and England declare or desire—a new "reality" will face Poland, a new Poland will emerge.

Thus, a new Poland is beingformed. It is becoming more of a reality every day. This is the fact, whether the million persons of Polish birth in the United States like it or not, whether the London Polish government likes it or not, whether the American and British governments like it or not.

In a few months, the world will no longer be confronted with theories about Poland, but with an accomplished fact. There is no use pretending.

Can there be a reality that cannot survive? Can there be a reality for a nation against the will of the people? Was there a "reality" for France or Nerway? Was the German occupation a reality? Why not? The simple answer is—because the people rejected it, in spite of terror or "legality" by force. Such is the "reality" of the present situation in Poland.

The attitude of the Polish-Americans, as expressed by the Polish American Congress ought to indicate to the Editor of the Journal how the Polish people abroad feel and what their determination is.

The Voice of America, tender with sympathy and strong with the strength of noble understanding speaks from a heart that knows how to appreciate sacrifice. Millions of Americans often ask "what are we fighting for". The question is not a complaint but a reminder. The Poles ask the same question—anxiously paving their way, through tragedy and disappointment, towards their comrades in arms, to find a common road, a common ideal and common victory.

THE CATHOLIC VIEW

There are about 24,000,000 Catholics of the United States, Americans, whose philosophy and political attitude is based on the teachings of Jesus Christ. They above all others, have a right to speak up for Poland, knowing too well that millions of Polish Catholics will be driven into atheistic, Communist Russia against their will, and that freedom of conscience and worship will expose them to cruelty. No wonder then, that the *Catholic News* (N.Y.) says (Feb. 17):

There are nine million Catholics in the territory this agreement would give to the Soviet Republic. Does anyone believe in the light of the history of the Communists, that they would be accorded religious liberty by Moscow? Does anyone believe that, if they were not, the liberty loving Poles would submit, any more than the Americans would under similar circumstances?

And the *Tablet* (Brooklyn, N.Y.) says:

As was universally deplored, but expected, Poland was effectively carved up and Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt gave—what the Polish people themselves preferred to die before giving—a generous portion to Mr. Stalin. The remaining portion plus a slice of Germany, will, by order of the Big Three, be governed by a regime selected after American, British and Russian representatives "consult" with the truly legitimate Government of Poland and the puppet Lublin Committee set up by Moscow. Whether Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt officially handed Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia over to Mr. Stalin for his New Russia, is not known.

The widely read Catholic weekly paper *Our Sunday Visitor*, edited by Bishop John Francis Noll, of Fort Wayne, Ind., said in an editorial on February 25th:

This was the saddest day of the War. Our hearts are heavy. We have committed ourselves to a program, which goes against principle and integrity.

The whole War started, remember, because Poland refused to hand over territory to Hitler. England and France jumped to Poland's defense. Russia didn't. She was helping Hitler from behind. And after Hitler had conquered Poland, he and Stalin split it between them. Mr. Roosevelt has just ratified this grab, except that the part formerly claimed by Hitler reverts to Poland.

Russia has outplayed us. That's clear. Our bond money has helped to provide her with military equipment and funds for propagandizing in non-Communist areas. The Russian armies lay outside Warsaw and let the Nazis destroy the city. Invited to this tripartite conference, Stalin first kept his armies idle so that Germany would have plenty of troops to exhaust our forces in the west. Then, having saved his armies and allowed us to be played out, he organized his offensive and smashed through, almost to Berlin—thus being able to arrive at the conference in the strongest possible position.

Don't feel reassured either, about the promise of a free election in Poland. With Molotov holding a veto over the setup, all returns are bound to be favorable—to Russia.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA

Heard in Congress, the House of Representatives
and the Senate of the U. S.

(Excerpts and quotations from the Congressional Record)

REPRESENTATIVE LAWRENCE H. SMITH (Wisconsin).

Yalta—A Moral Retreat

The determination by the conferees to settle the boundary lines of Poland before the question was submitted to the people of Poland constitutes a retreat from the high moral ground that we have steadily maintained throughout the war. To say now that free elections are to be held and that Poland will receive a long shore line carved out of Germany, is to rob Peter to pay Paul and is a feeble effort to fool the people.

From the information presently available, I believe that we have acquiesced in every demand made by Russia; we have agreed to the establishment of the Curzon line as the easternmost boundary line of Poland, which is contrary to an agreement made between Poland and Russia subsequent to the last war and violates the rights of millions of Polish people to self-determination. By this agreement we now know that Russia is to continue to dominate and control the small Baltic Nations of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and we are thereby supporting Russia in its unlawful grab of those countries in 1940. Now we are parties to that unholy crime, notwithstanding the noble pronouncements of our State Department in 1940. So I repeat, that it is obvious that Britain and the United States have acquiesced fully in the demands of Stalin for his self-selected sphere of influence, not only in Poland and the Baltic area, but in the south of Europe also. That, Madam Speaker, constitutes a retreat from the high moral ground we have been resting upon in this war; it can but lead to another war, more deadly, more devastating, more cruel and more costly than this one. (C. R. 40, March 2).

HON. MARY T. NORTON (New Jersey) inserted a letter of Felix Hryniewicz published in the Jersey Journal under the headline "Poland's Plight."

HON. LUTHER A. JOHNSON (Texas) delivered a lengthy address from the floor of the House of Representatives:

One of the most intricate problems with which the United Nations have been faced was that of the reestablishment of a truly independent Poland. There can be no doubt about the sentiment of the United States on this question. We believe in the rights of the Polish people to recreate a free and independent nation with a government of their own choice, and we have long insisted upon these rights.

Now, I think that the solution regarding Poland worked out at Yalta, is a fair and honest solution to a very hard problem. I do not think anybody put anything over on anybody else. It is evident that the three leaders at Yalta were able to thrash out this matter in a spirit of real cooperation, and that the thing that motivated them was the desire to provide for a free and independent Poland to be governed by men freely chosen by the brave and courageous Polish people, who have suffered longer than any other United Nation the cruelties of the Nazi oppressors.

Congressman Johnson devotes most of his remarks in explaining and justifying the Curzon Line. (C.R. 29, Feb. 15).

Mr. Rozmarek's letter to Congressman Johnson:—

"I want to assure you at the very outset of this letter that we are far from insinuating ill will or ulterior motives on your part, when you expressed yourself with such finality in the House.

In your endeavor to justify the fifth partition of Poland, accomplished at Yalta, you base your arguments on the Curzon Line, its origin, legality and wisdom. But you fail to go a little further to establish how this land became a part of Russia before 1920. It was taken as spoils after the partitions of Poland. The Poles never recognized this seizure. Rape and robbery never become legal—even after years of tenure by force. The Poles for 150 years fought, suffered and resisted Russia thus voiding any claim to title by the Soviets.

You yourself admit that the Curzon Line was merely an armistice line pending settlement of the dispute. The Supreme Allied Council accepted the boundaries drawn at Riga (1921). You were fair enough to stress many points of argument in favor of Poland, except the most important one, that Russia never questioned, never objected to and never raised the question of her boundaries with Poland. Russia does not need more territory or more people, and never made any demands on Poland. A majority of the soldiers now serving in the Polish Army in Italy, Germany and England in the air force and in the navy hail from that region. That part of Poland now grabbed by Russia was an integral part of the Republic of Poland which was the first of the United Nations to reject appeasement of a compromise with Hitler. It was a part of Poland when that country, having a choice to follow Munich, chose to fight and to be destroyed rather than yield.

You seem to be under the impression that the non-Polish population in the section is Russian. It is not so. Out of 12,012,000 inhabitants in Eastern Poland only 120,000 were Russians. Neither Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Czechs

nor Byelo-Ruthenians want to belong to Russia—even though they may have some grievances against Poland. A transfer of millions of people against their will cannot be considered a just solution.

There are more serious elements than these ethnographic considerations. Hitler was the first to hide his rapacious designs behind the claim that Germans in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Alsace, etc., want to “return” to Germany. He then went out to “liberate” them—as Stalin is now doing, changing his reasons off and on, from strategic necessity to ethnographic considerations, from historical to ideological ones. There is no ethnographically uniform country in Europe. England has the Irish and Scots, France has a variety of national and racial groups, so have the Belgians, Dutch, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Poles,—every European nation has its minority groups. Therefore, its consideration cannot be a criterion, but if it is applied to the case in point it would remain an injustice of transferring millions of Poles, Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, etc. to Russia, since they differ from the Russians in many ways more than from the Poles.

At Yalta Russia was the accuser and the judge at the same time while Poland was not represented. Do we not base our hopes on a world organization that would settle such disputes fairly and with greater authority? Why then prejudice the future of such a court by settling disputes before its conception? The United States have stated that we desire all such disputes to be settled after the war—not now—that we recognize no territorial changes effected by force since 1939.

The United States have persistently and for valid reasons recognized the London government, because to that government goes the credit for Poland's resistance, for the unyielding attitude and the heroic self-sacrifice of the Polish soldiers who fought for our cause over London, in Libya, at Tobruk, in Norway, in Belgium, Holland, Italy and Germany, in the air and on the sea.

Why the surrender at Yalta?

I must take issue with your contention that the Atlantic Charter has not been violated. It has been violated, because one ally is determined to take away one third of the land of another ally, because this is being done by force and against the will or at least without the consent of the people.

Principles are being violated—principles for which we are fighting.

Stalin has promised Poland free elections, and you Mr. Congressman, applaud this as a great concession? Has Stalin promised Mr. Roosevelt free elections in the United States? He might as well have done it—he has the same right to interfere in our elections as he has in Poland. Have you heard of free elections in Russia? Since when does the wolf get the role of a shepherd? How ridiculous and tragic is the mandate given to Russia to watch over democracy in Poland and the rest of Eastern and Central Europe?

You have shown much interest in this problem and I hope that you will continue to study it remaining open-minded until after hearing all sides and all facts you reach a just conclusion.

I can only plead with you to look upon this very important question from the American and Polish point of view—not only through the magnifying glasses of a passing political exigency. More than boundaries are involved.”

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI (Wisconsin) inserted extensive information on the Polish Government in Lublin (C.R. 29, Feb. 15)).

HON. D. LANE POWERS (New Jersey) inserted the fact of a sermon delivered by the Right Reverend Monsignor James H. Griffith, at a Polish ceremony and Pontifical Mass in St. Hedwig's Church, Trenton, N. J. From this sermon we quote:

Poland has time and again been called the bastion of western civilization. Today she is something infinitely more—she is the litmus test of our war aims. If she must of necessity turn red regardless of the wishes of her people, if she must sacrifice her national sovereignty, her national aspirations, her national honor and independence to gratify and satisfy and appease the imperialistic greed; the nationalistic security policy of a bordering nation, then has our preaching been in vain, and all the blood and sweat and tears shed not only at Warsaw, but at Dunkerque, at El-Alamein, at Guadalcanal will have been expended in vain—and Poland and western civilization will stand exactly where they were on September 1, 1939. If this should ever happen the Atlantic Charter must go down in history as a pact made not merely geographically but ideologically as well—at sea!

HON. HOMER A. RAMEY (Ohio) inserted a resolution of St. Anthony's Parish in Toledo (C.R. 34, Feb. 22).

HON. THAD. F. WASIELEWSKI (Wisconsin) inserted an article from the Milwaukee Journal of February 27 headlined: "Army backs London Poles—Shocked by Yalta Pact"

also:

an article by Constantine Brown from the Washington Star, February 22 "This Changing World."

also:

an article from the Christian Science Monitor, February 16 "Ground for optimism about Poland".

HON. B. W. (Pat) KEARNY (New York) inserted an editorial which appeared in the Schenectady Gazette, Feb. 19 "The Polish Situation" (C.R. 36, Feb. 26).

HON. PHILIP A. TRAINOR (Delaware) inserted an editorial published by the Morning News (Wilmington) Feb. 19 under the headline "Poland Betrayed". (C.R. 32, Feb. 10).

HON. ROBERT A. GRANT (Indiana) inserted an article written by Dr. Ferdinand A. Hermens of the Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame and published in the Sunday's Visitor "Thoughts for Peace Planners." From this article we quote:

Perhaps there is a limit to what we can do to defend her true integrity and independence. But we should not call right what in fact is nothing but a decision based upon sheer military might. Besides, there is no need to have such things as the present dishonorable press campaign, which portrays the Lublin committee as a true emanation of democracy. (C.R. 28, Feb. 14)

HON. CHARLES W. TOBEY (New Hampshire) inserted the text of an address made by J. W. Kaszubowski at a Lincoln Day Dinner in Washington (C.R. 29, Feb. 15))

HON. DANIEL A. REED (New York) inserted the text of a radio address made by Lothrop Stoddard Feb. 19. From this address we quote:

Now what Stalin is aiming at, and what Churchill and Roosevelt tacitly agreed to at Yalta is not merely the redrawing of the Russo-Polish boundary or even the setting up of a regime at Warsaw subservient to Moscow, but in the last analysis, a renunciation by the Poles themselves of the very principles on which the continued existence of their national life depends. As already indicated, the ultimate sanction for a nation without natural frontiers is the inviolability of its soil. If the Poles first consent to lopping off of nearly half their territory and cynically indemnify themselves by taking other territory to which they have no moral right, they logically reduce themselves to status of a nomad folk which can be shoved hither and yon at the arbitrary desires of more powerful neighbors. As Mr. Mikolajczyk, himself, recently protested: "Poland is not a nation that can be trundled westward in a wheelbarrow."

Bearing all this in mind, we can understand why the leaders of the Polish-Government-in-exile at London have refused to bow to the decision of the Yalta Conference. No matter how hopeless the present situation may be, and how grievous the personal consequences for themselves and their supporters; they are upholding the principle which has historically preserved their national life. (C.R. 32, Feb. 20).

HON. JOHN LESINSKI (Michigan) inserted an article from the Arizona Daily Star (Feb. 14) "The Crimean Agreement" from which we quote:

If the American people recognize that act, they recognize territorial seizure by force of arms. The very heart of American foreign policy has been its unrelenting opposition to seizure of territory by force of arms. We could have avoided war, for awhile at least, in both the Atlantic and the Pacific by giving up that policy. Instead, we chose to stand by it and fight a great global war. Now on the verge of victory we wince on it.

Worst of all, we do it in the case of the first country that dared to resist aggression from Hitler. And then to compound a felony, we agree to the mutilation of this country along a general line close to that set forth by Hitler in his agreement with Stalin in 1939. (C.R. 33, Feb. 21).

HON. JOSEPH C. RYTER (Connecticut) inserted an article about the heroic Polish Boy Scouts (C.R. 24, Feb. 8),

also

resolution of Polish American Congress.

SENATORS OF OPPOSITE PARTIES, SALTONSTALL AND WALSH OF MASSACHUSETTS, JOINTLY PRESENT PETITION ON BEHALF OF POLAND AND SMALL NATIONS

The following is a reprint from the Congressional Record of March 21, 1945, of a petition jointly presented to the Senate of the United States by Republican Senator, Leverett Saltonstall and Democratic Senator, David I. Walsh, both of Massachusetts:

Resolution Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Take Official Cognizance of the Inherent Right of the People of Poland, as Well as the People of Other Small Nations, To Determine the Form and Kind of Their Own Government.

Petition Presented by

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL (of Massachusetts)

For Himself and

HON. DAVID I. WALSH (of Massachusetts)

To the Senate of the United States, March 21, 1945

Resolutions of the General Court of the State of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

‘Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to take official cognizance of the inherent right of the people of Poland, as well as the people of other small nations, to determine the form and kind of their own government.

“Whereas the circumstances surrounding the disposition and placement of the territorial boundary lines of the Republic of Poland, and of other small European nations, as well as the manner in which the people of these small nations shall be permitted to determine the kind and form of their own government, give rise to serious concern as to whether the inherent rights of these peoples shall be safeguarded; and

“Whereas all peoples throughout the entire world are fundamentally entitled to self-determination of the manner in which they shall be governed; and

“Whereas the cardinal principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter do in fact guarantee these rights to all peoples: Now, therefore, be it

“RESOLVED, That the General Court of Massachusetts looks with concern upon conditions in Europe which presently are determining the location of the territorial boundary lines of the Republic of Poland, as well as those of other small nations, and, therefore, respectfully urges and petitions the Congress of the United States to take official cognizance of the fact that the matter of territorial boundary lines is of universal concern and a proper subject for determination as a result of conferences between the United Nations as a whole rather than as the result of the decision of a single member thereof and further, that the matter of the form and kind of government to be enjoyed by any group of people is a matter for self-determination rather than by arbitrary decision of another government; and be it further

“RESOLVED, That the General Court of Massachusetts respectfully urges and petitions the Congress of the United States to take whatever action it shall deem necessary in its deliberations to insure unto the people of all small nations all of the rights and privileges enunciated in the Atlantic Charter; and be it further

“RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.”

HON. THAD. F. WASIELEWSKI (Wisconsin) inserted an editorial from the Washington Star (Feb. 20)—(C.R. 33, Feb. 21).

“Attack on Mikolajczyk”

also

a syndicated article writenn by David Lawrence

“About-Face on Polish Border”.

also

a letter written by the editor of the Kuryer Polski, J. A. Kapmarski to the Milwaukee Journal.

SENATOR BRIEN McMAHON (Connecticut) read in the Senate a resolution adopted by the Polish American Congress, District of Connecticut (C.R. 24, Feb. 8).

SENATOR HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD (S. Dakota):

"Poland is betrayed and the Balkans are under the sphere of Russian influence. . . . Our talk of free elections by free people for all countries has just been made by the Yalta conference, a living lie. . . . America has once more been outsmated and out-traded by men smarter and more able than those

HON. PAUL W. SHAFER (Michigan)

The Crimean agreements indicate that all Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill had to do at the conference was to agree with Mr. Stalin. This is well indicated by the fact that they made a right-about-face when they agreed to recognize the Lublin government of Poland after having recognized the Polish Government in exile only a few short weeks ago. (In the House of Representatives, Feb. 16—C.R. 30, Feb. 16).

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON (Illinois) inserted a statement issued by P.A.T. and "A Voice of Protest Against Decision to give Russia Half of Poland"—a statement of Charles Rozmarek, President of the Polish American Congress (C.R. 30, Feb. 16).

HON. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE (Connecticut) inserted David Lawrence's column "American idealism defeated at parley" from which we quote:

The mind of Josef Stalin, who gives no democracy or freedom of worship to his own people, can realistically enough throw a crumb to Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt by promising to assist in free elections in the liberated areas and by lip service to the Atlantic Charter, but any one familiar with continental elections in disputed areas knows what happens to such so-called elections when military controls are present.

Only a government submissive to the dictates of Moscow can live hereafter in Poland, Yugoslavia, or the other satellite States. Russia now has her sphere of influence, and America and Britain find themselves compelled to recognize it. (C.R. 30, Feb. 16).

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI (Wisconsin) delivered a stirring address paying homage to Kosciuszko on February 12, the birthday of the hero of "two continents".

On February 13, Congressman O'Konski delivered from the floor of the House a most eloquent defense of Poland in which he took up all the points of criticism and the historical background of the decisions at Yalta, which he calls a great historical crime. (C.R. 27, Feb. 13).

SENATOR WHERRY APPEALS FOR POLAND

The Polish question came to the front again in the press of America, following the release by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, of his letter to Secretary of State Stettinius, regarding Poland.

Following is the full text of this very forthright letter:

The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, The Secretary of State,
State Department, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am deeply disturbed lest the forthcoming United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco becomes a medium for the projection of the present wartime mentality of the victor nations into the peace. Personally, I find little reassurance in the invitations to this Conference that were issued on March 5th, to thirty-nine nations, invitations which were based on a condition that no nations are to be permitted participation in these momentous decisions until they have proved themselves "Peace-loving" by issuing a declaration of war against the Axis. To me it is an ill omen that such truly peace-loving nations as Eire, Iceland, Sweden and Switzerland are deliberately excluded from this Conference.

But, Mr. Secretary, even were I to grant the necessity for such arbitrary action on the part of the great victor powers towards small neutral nations, I would still find it impossible to be reconciled to Poland's exclusion. What of Poland, Mr. Secretary? Why is Poland not invited? May I hasten to assure you that in my humble opinion the only answer to this question which will serve to quiet the rising fears in the minds of my constituents must be an answer entirely free of evasion. A continued refusal on the part of our government to be frank with the

American people on this matter will be one of the surest ways of sabotaging America's participation in any future international organization.

It is becoming perfectly obvious to every reasonable person that the question of Poland is no longer a matter of boundaries. The Curzon line was nothing but a temporary makeshift to facilitate armistice discussions following the last war and it has been completely ignored ever since the Treaty of Riga in 1920 between Poland and Russia, to which Russia gave her full and unqualified assent. The Polish question is not alone "territorial." For hundreds of years the Polish nation has undergone territorial expansion and contraction imposed on her by her more powerful neighbors.

The Polish question is not only a matter of satisfying minorities, for no greater absurdity could exist than that Russia should be the only multi-national state permitted to exist, and such matters could only be honorably and justly adjusted through free plebiscites held under the auspices of an international commission.

The question of Poland is not a question of security for Russia. The "Big Three" have already agreed upon the permanent demobilization and disarmament of Germany, and the other nations of Europe are to have their security guaranteed through the new international organization which is to be formed at San Francisco. The question of Poland is not a question of compensation, for two wrongs have never yet made a right. Is not talk about compensating Poland in the west for her losses in the east nothing but a blind to cover the doubly outrageous fact that such a compensation would force Poland to bite off a territory and population which she could not possibly digest and leave her even more vulnerable to the violent intervention of self-appointed "protectors"?

Certainly the Polish question is not a question of constitutional versus emigre governments for as of today the Polish government-In-Exile is the only legal Polish Government in existence. This is the government which Russia herself recognized on July 30, 1941, when she declared the German Soviet treaty of 1939 null and void. It is significant that Russia did not withdraw this recognition until the tide of battle had turned in her favor, and that today Russia is the only nation that does not recognize the Polish Government-In-Exile as the legitimate Polish government.

It seems melancholy indeed, that after more than five years of fighting this tragic war which originated in fulfillment of pledges given to Poland on March 31st, April 6th, and August 5th, 1939, by England, we should find ourselves debating the issue of whether Poland is to be an independent state at all. It becomes increasingly clear to me and to a rapidly growing number of the American people that this has become a crucial issue in this war.

As such Mr. Secretary, Poland herself has become a symbol—a symbol of the fate that seems to be in store for many of the small nations of the earth—a symbol of the kind of peace that is to issue from this war. If Poland is excluded from the San Francisco Conference, upon what moral principle can the Big Three possibly lay the foundations of any future international organization? What of Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Austria, Turkey, Iraq?

The recent news of the obstructionist tactics of the Lublin Committee which has vetoed about every name on the list of 50 or 60 persons of importance in Poland which the Yalta Commission now sitting in Moscow has suggested as possible candidates for a new Polish Provisional Government, has only intensified my concern for the future of the Polish State. Is it not true, Mr. Secretary, that this Moscow-spawned Lublin Committee includes nine Communists? Is it not also true that the continued conflict between the terroristic Lublin Regime and the underground which takes its orders from London is breeding a violent civil war in Poland at this very moment?

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, Mr. Secretary, is it not time to be told the truth and the whole truth about the Polish situation? Have not the American people this right? Is this not your plain duty? Is it not time the American people were warned of the deadly nature of the compromises which are now being urged upon them by pointing out that in the case of Poland, what the mightiest armies of all time have been unable to effect, the destruction of the Polish state, now threatens to be accomplished through compromise?

Mr. Secretary, the American people, their representatives in Congress, and I, as an individual, anxiously await answers to the following questions because

we want to assure you we are all united in a desire to support America's participation in the genuinely democratic international organization founded upon the principles of justice:

1. Why must we refuse an invitation to Poland to the San Francisco Conference?
2. Is Russia truly intent on rebuilding a peaceful world? If so, why does she stand in the path of Poland's participation in the San Francisco Conference?
3. Will not such an act pave the way for the dissolution of a Polish state?
4. Taking Poland as a symbol, what will happen to Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries?
5. Asking for myself, do you expect me as a Senator or as an individual to support any international organization that excludes Poland as an independent state?

If we are to perfect and participate in an international organization which we hope will be based upon the principles of Christianity and Justice, it is of great importance and it is imperative that we have your answers to these questions now. Millions of Americans are asking these same questions that are herein set forth and because of that fact I am making this letter public. The same Americans who are interested in these questions will be interested in your replies, and for that reason I beg of you to likewise publicize your answers.

Sincerely

Kenneth S. Wherry.

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI (Michigan) inserted in the Congressional Record on March 22nd and 23rd articles by Ann Su Cardwell, which appeared in the Detroit News, on March 21st and 22nd—"Poland, 1922 to 1939; a Nation is Built Up" and "How Poland Rallied To Fight Nazis Alone".

SENATOR HUGH BUTLER (Nebraska)

POLAND—OUR ALLY

Those of us who have criticized that portion of the Yalta Agreement relating to Poland already have been labeled as Fascists by the official Russian publications and have been labeled everything from die-hards to obstructionists by certain newspapers in this country.

I will not comment on this further than to remind you that when Great Britain, with the warm approval of the entire free world, entered this war against Germany, it was for the declared purpose of adhering to a pledge to protect the territorial integrity of Poland. It is a pathetic fact which I must remind you of, that the Polish Nation is not our enemy but our ally. (From an address delivered over Station WAC in Washington, March 2, and inserted in the Congressional Record).

HON. THOMAS J. LANE (Massachusetts)

CONSTITUENTS PAY

Russia is taking over what she wants in Europe as she conquers it, and will do so in Asia at the appropriate time. She is doing this regardless of what this country, or the rest of the world thinks. She will enter the conferences of the United Nations with a fait accompli as regards all of the countries of eastern Europe which she desires as satellites in her orbit. We have had to sell out Poland and forget the Atlantic Charter just to have Russia go along in what is hoped will be a united effort to prevent future wars. (From a letter written by F. E. Lawrence to Rep. Lane C. R. A1156).

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON (Illinois) inserted a resolution of the United Polish Press in America adopted in Chicago.

HON. THAD. F. WASIELEWSKI (Wisconsin) extended his remarks to include an article "Poland after Yalta" by Andre Vission, March 11, 1945.

HON. JOSEPH F. RYTER (Connecticut)

ABOUT THE YALTA CONFERENCE

A gratifying and encouraging aspect is the provision that after the creation of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been formed, there is secured the pledge of "holding free unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot." This is indeed at least a recognition of the fundamental right of a free people and one is forced to wonder why similar provision was not made to determine the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory east of the Curzon Line and in the Galician area, which was not embraced within the Curzon Line and was never under Russian rule prior to the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact.

The disappointments of the conference are bitter and can be offset only by the guaranty that the new Poland will be a great nation and that in the future the United States as well as Great Britain and Russia will join in defending the new borders. For more than 5 years this great nation has expended all its treasure and manhood in resisting the Nazis hordes. It was the first nation to have called a halt to Hitler's demands and to stand its ground and give battle to a vastly superior enemy. For this the freedom-loving nations must be eternally grateful. Once more this great nation has been called upon to make an equally great sacrifice in order to contribute of herself to the peace of the world. We must not fail her again for if we do the future peace of the world, now already precariously in the balance, will be a mocking failure. (In the House of Representatives, March 7, 1945.)

HON. THOMAS D'ALLESSANDRO (Maryland)

THE POLISH CAUSE

Out of the peace to come there must also be a better understanding of the problems of the Polish people. We in this country are going to help Poland economically and in every other way we can. We want her to become a strong, independent, prosperous nation under a government selected by the Polish people, the nation Poland was before the Nazi invasion. We want to see a readjustment of the boundaries by agreement arrived at through the council of nations to be set up under the Dumbarton Oaks agreement. Once and for all Poland must become and remain a nation of Polish people not under any alien government.

I know the results of the Yalta conference are a great disappointment to you, and I for one share in the hope that the agreement is not final and will be amended in the future.

I am confident that America will do everything in its power to aid Poland and that the conference at San Francisco in April will go forth to advance the Polish cause. (From an address delivered on "Poland Day" in Boston.)

HON. JOHN DINGELL (Michigan)

THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

Mr. Speaker, our newspapers of late have been pouring out a veritable torrent of misrepresentation and abuse about Poland, her past and present history, as well as her government. The great bulk of this detraction and venom has been published by high-priced and supposedly well-informed columnists, although many editorials, too, have been written which are as unfounded and unfair as those which are written by prompted and sadly deficient column scribblers. That those articles are in error could be proved here in countless instances but rarely, if ever, do you see published an admission of error of a correction. (From the floor of the House, March 6.)

After the above introduction Rep. Dingell read a statement issued by the ambassador of Poland, Hon. Jan Ciechanowski.

SENATOR BURTON WHEELER (Montana)

THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE

We do not need to wait for any more crumbs of information to fall from another diplomatic love feast for us to see clearly what these Yalta decisions and reactions mean to us as a people. In the case of Poland it means that for the first time we are a party to a betrayal of one of our allies, and yet Mr. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, has recently remarked that, "for the immediate future, the decision on the Polish question was a great achievement," yet this decision is almost identical with the treacherous Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of 1939 which both England and America so bitterly denounced and over which Britain eventually went to war. (From an address delivered Feb. 27 over the Columbia Broadcasting Co., reprinted in C. R., March 1.)

POLAND'S NATIONAL HOLIDAY

ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE THIRD OF MAY

The Third of May is Poland's national holiday. It commemorates the signature on May 3rd, 1791, of the Polish Constitution, one of the world's great documents of Freedom, like the Magna Carta, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Declaration of Independence.

For the last 154 years, Poland's national holiday falls on the anniversary of the promulgation of the glorious Constitution, which had introduced many advanced social and political reforms, effecting an astounding spiritual regeneration of a nation, not recorded in any other national history as without bloodshed or disorder.

But this great reformation of her public life came to Poland twenty years too late and did not forestall her third partition in 1795, which left the Poles in the bondage of Russia, Germany and Austria until 1918.

The Constitution of the Third of May began the long struggle of the Polish nation for freedom. This struggle was waged, not on Polish soil alone. The part the Poles played in the struggle for freedom in both the old world and the new, in America, Spain, France, Italy, Hungary and Greece are well known. The proud words: "For our Freedom and for Yours!" emblazoned on old Polish standards, to this day remain their watchword.

This passion for freedom was born in the Third of May Constitution, which regenerated the Polish people and infused in them a new faith in a better world based on freedom and justice. This same passion is today carrying on the Polish fighters for freedom on all the battlefronts of Europe. By its suffering and toil and ceaseless struggle, the Polish nation has earned the right to be master in its own house and to true freedom in it. It is the wish of all fair-minded men of the world that when Poland celebrates her next National Holiday, she will be truly free and independent.

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