



PULASKI FOUNDATION

• BULLETIN •

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THE PULASKI FOUNDATION

AN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN FRIENDS OF POLAND

PURPOSES

☞ To recognize and to perpetuate the memory of Poland's contributions to the United States of America—these contributions being symbolized in the person of the hero whose name the Foundation bears, General Casimir Pulaski, who was killed in the Battle of Savannah in 1779.

☞ To interpret and transmit information concerning undefeatable and immortal Poland—which is the least we can do in discharge of our country's debt to a people who established the first constitutional government on the continent of Europe and aided immeasurably in the creation and maintenance of our own.

☞ To help Poland to survive and to re-establish a strong and healthy independence, not only for the sake of the Poles but also for the benefit of the world that is to follow—an independence which, until attained, shall be our most urgent and vital concern and that of all freedom-loving Americans.

The Bulletin is a monthly publication of the Pulaski Foundation.

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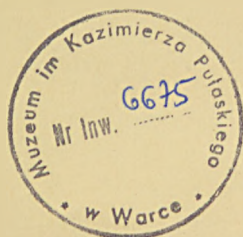
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PULASKI FOUNDATION BULLETIN

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Editorial

THREE great defenders of liberty were born in the month of February. They are George Washington, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, and Abraham Lincoln. Each year, this month, we celebrate their birthdays and contemplate anew their sacrifices. Their dauntless courage we have come to take for granted—it is the ideals that impelled them to these actions that continue to absorb us.

George Washington, of whom, nearly a century later, Abraham Lincoln had said: "Washington is the mightiest name on earth—long since the mightiest in the cause of liberty," maintained that: "interwoven is the love of liberty with every ligament of the heart"; and he fought for it with his heart, his brain, and his brawn. His beliefs were rooted in his heart and bound up with his character. He had said: "The propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained."

It has been repeatedly said of Washington that love of order and conscience caused him to succeed where men of lesser character would have failed. Conscience he called "that little spark of celestial fire" and counseled: "labor to keep it alive in your breast." His genius was called the genius of character. His love of liberty was a part of his character. And generosity was also a part of his character, for he desired to "impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind."

Thaddeus Kosciuszko was born on the twelfth of February, as was the immortal Lincoln. When Kosciuszko died, at the age of 71, Lincoln was just eight years old. He

had grown to young manhood at a tragic time in the history of Poland—both a glorious and a tragic time: the time of the Constitution of the Third of May and of the Partition of Poland. John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, in a biography, "The Life of General Kosciuszko," published in 1851, commenting on the General's quality, says, in part: "In no country is the character of Kosciuszko held in higher estimation than in the United States. . . . his elevation and firmness of spirit as a champion of *national independence* and freedom are duly appreciated by the American people. In the annals of our country the name of Kosciuszko will always remain among the most able, disinterested, and valiant of its defenders."

And again: "Among the eminent foreign generals who served in the cause of American independence . . . Lafayette and Kosciuszko are justly regarded as the most eminent. They are the heroes of two worlds, having laid claim to the lasting gratitude of their own compatriots, as well as of the American people, by services and sacrifices of the noblest kind. Both of these eminent men enjoyed the esteem of our immortal Washington in the highest degree, and both are considered by the American people as having earned their highest approbation and gratitude."

Regarding Kosciuszko's character, in his struggles for Poland, President Adams writes: ". . . no false glory dazzled him nor corrupt ambition could betray him. He nobly resisted the foreign potentates who had laid waste his country, not because they were kings and emperors, but because they were *invaders and oppressors*. He combated

with no rebellious sword for no ambiguous object. When Poland lost her independence, Kosciuszko lost his home: as she sunk he rose; but not upon her ruins. The Court of Russia would have allured this illustrious defender of the people whom she had subjugated, by temptations irresistible to vulgar minds; Bonaparte would have made him the flattered instrument of a spurious and hollow liberty to his countrymen, but Kosciuszko saw that their lot was irretrievable and his own he refused to change. As a soldier and as a patriot, in public life and in retirement, his principles were untainted and his name unsullied."

William Jackson Armstrong, in his "Heroes of Defeat," published in 1905, says of Kosciuszko: "Authentic annals furnish few characters so pure as Kosciuszko. . . he does not suffer by comparison with the greatest leaders of men, whether in the field of statesmanship or military art. His record is stainless. It is safe to affirm that it is without parallel in the annals of European military greatness. Not an act of cruelty or brutality, not a drop of gratuitous blood attaches to his history."

Washington and Kosciuszko, contemporaries, fought to bring freedom to their own nations; Kosciuszko to his and our nation. A century later, Abraham Lincoln rose up to fight his own people in order that he

might free an alien race enslaved by them. No greater devotion to the principle of freedom has been recorded by history!

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right . . ." And: "in giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve." And again: "I intend no modification of my oft expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free." These words of Lincoln's give the clue to his character and to his creed.

Henry Ward Beecher said of Lincoln: "Men will imitate and admire his unmoved firmness, his inflexible conscience for the right; and yet his gentleness, tender as a woman's, his moderation of spirit, which not all the heat of party could inflame, nor all the jars and disturbances of this country shake out of its place." And Bishop Newman: "The beauty of Lincoln's immortal character has thrown in the shade the splendors of his intellect. . . he was truly great."

The conclusion that we come to is that these great emancipators and defenders of our God-given liberties are all men of exceptionally noble character, firm yet gentle, brilliant but not brutal; and that they are ready to accord the same freedom which they covet for their own people to all mankind.

IN A DEBATE AT TOWN HALL on January 27, 1944, Dr. Oscar Halecki, referring to the so-called Kosciuszko Division and Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow, stated: "You all know our common Polish-American national hero, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. It was exactly 150 years ago he had to fight Russia in his famous insurrection. It was because a handful of traitors—or reactionaries in that time—asked the Russian Empress to protect Polish freedom. Now it seems to me an unusual misinterpretation of history to connect Kosciuszko's name with actions entirely opposed to everything he stood for."

RUSSIAN - POLISH RELATIONS

By WACLAW LEDNICKI, Ph. D.

*Professor at the Universities of Cracow and Brussels.
Visiting Lecturer at Harvard University.*

I SHOULD like to draw your attention to a paradox. The present war began in Poland and if not for Poland then at any rate because of Poland. We know now what a bloody affair the Polish campaign really was. We also know what, for instance, the Polish pilots did in the Battle of Britain. We know too that the Polish Army and Navy is fighting on every active front and that inside Poland a powerful underground organization, connected with the Polish government-in-exile, is effective and vigilant. All this we know and also this: that millions of Polish civilians have been killed and that, as Mr. Churchill and others remind us, Poland is now suffering most of all of the nations of Europe. This too we know: that in Poland from the very beginning of the war there have been no quislings, no Petains, no armistices and no collaborations—nothing but an unrelenting struggle against Germany.

PROFESSOR WACLAW LEDNICKI was born of Polish parents in Moscow, Russia, in 1891. He studied Polish language and literature at the University of Cracow in 1910-11, was graduated from Moscow University in 1915, and took his doctor's degree from the University of Cracow in 1922. In 1918 he served as Secretary of the Polish Mission to Moscow and was a member of the Polish Foreign Office from 1919-21. Dr. Lednicki is a widely recognized authority on the history of Russian literature, and his chief interest has been the problem of Russo-Polish cultural relations. He has lectured on these subjects at practically all of the foremost European universities as ordinary and extraordinary professor and as visiting lecturer, and in the United States at Columbia, Vassar College, Boston University, and, at present, Harvard. He is the author of numerous articles, monographs, and books, and his erudition has been recognized by Russian scholars.

And yet at this very time this heroic and martyred nation is being made the object of unwarranted criticism and accusation by some sections of the press and on some public forums of this country, as if it had never stood up to the foe and suffered and bled "for our freedom and yours."

Poland is threatened with dismemberment and her attitude towards this problem, which concerns her eastern borderlands, has been called "unrealistic," "uncompromising," and even "imperialistic."

Let us examine the facts. First of all, the historical background. The eastern borderlands in question have belonged to Poland, to the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth, from the end of the 14th century to the year 1795, or to the infamous partition of Poland. These lands were under Russian rule only during the time of the Partition, that is for about one hundred and twenty-five years, and some of them were never ruled by Russia, as for example, Eastern Galicia. From 1921 to 1939 these lands were an integral part of the Polish state by authority of the Treaty of Riga. This treaty was recognized by all of the powers, and in Article III of that document you will find the following provision: "Russia and the Ukraine abandon all rights and claims to the west of the frontier." The Conference of Ambassadors representing the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and the United States met on March 15th, 1923 and recognized the frontiers of the Treaty of Riga.

More recently, or on July 25, 1932, Po-

land and Russia signed a pact of non-aggression and agreed to respect each other's boundaries. On July 3, 1933 a similar agreement was signed at London by representatives of Russia, Poland, Roumania, Esthonia, Latvia, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan and contained a definition of the term "aggressor." On February 14, 1934, Mr. Litvinoff, speaking at a reception at the Polish Foreign Office, underscored the excellent relations existing between Russia and Poland, and on May 5, 1934 the Polish-Russian pact of non-aggression of 1932 was renewed to December 1, 1945. On August 23, 1939 Russia and Germany signed a non-aggression pact. On September 1, 1939 Germany attacked Poland. On September 17, 1939 Russia announced that the Polish State had ceased to exist and proceeded to invade Poland.

BUT on June 22, 1941 Germany scrapped her non-aggression pact with Russia, even as she had previously disregarded her non-aggression pact with Poland, and attacked Russia. Despite Russia's culpability in connection with her treacherous invasion of Poland in September of 1939, the Polish Prime Minister, General Sikorski, sensing the import of the present situation, at once offered Polish cooperation to Russia, and on July 30, 1941 signed an agreement on behalf of his government with the Russian Ambassador at London, Mr. Maiski. This agreement provides that "the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity." And in the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Russia which was signed on May 26, 1942, we find: "Article V: They will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states." By this latter, Russia reaffirmed her renunciation of her former claim to Eastern Poland.

Now that we have reviewed the pertinent historical background, let us consider the matter from the ethnographical point of view. These Polish eastern borderlands have a mixed population, and mixed populations are the rule rather than the exception in Central and Eastern Europe, which is something we must bear in mind when discussing populations from a racial standpoint. The population of eastern Poland is mainly Polish, Ukrainian, White Russian and Jewish. There are here, in round figures, about five million Poles, about four and a half million Ukrainians and Ruthenians, one million one hundred thousand White Ruthenians and about one million one hundred thousand Jews. Besides these major groups, there are some one hundred and fifty thousand Russians here, eighty-nine thousand Germans, eighty-four thousand Lithuanians, thirty-five thousand Czechs, some Armenians, Karaites and Tartars.

Since the populations of Russia are no more homogenous than the populations of Poland, less so in fact, it is difficult to understand why the application of the ethnographic principle should be stressed for Poland only. As regards the desires of some of the borderland people of Poland, suffice to say that neither the Ukrainians nor the White Ruthenians had aspired to come under the Soviet rule. There was a powerful Ukrainian group, the UNDO, the Ukrainian National Democratic Union, which indeed desired separation from Poland, but not union with Russia. Their hopes were based on war between Germany and Russia and subsequent dismemberment of Russia and Poland as a result.

CULTURALLY, these territories which belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth for several centuries by reason of a free union and not through conquest, are Polish. The culture of Poland was Western European and these people who united with Poland as a state, adopted that culture. The cities of Wilno and Lwow

soon became centers of Polish culture and were for centuries the outposts of Western European civilization nourishing the European East with the spiritual food of the European West. From these eastern borderlands of Poland came a large number of the great men of Poland, as for instance the great mystic poet Mickiewicz, the world-famed novelist Sienkiewicz, the two world-renowned knight errant generals, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, who fought "for our freedom and yours" on two continents (fighting Russia for Polish freedom), the immortal Paderewski—to mention but a few.

As I have pointed out before, these territories had been federated with Poland for centuries before the ill-fated Partition of 1795 brought a portion of this land under Russian, and another portion under Austrian rule. From 1795 then to the liberating World War I, these lands were exposed to a most intensive russification program in spite of which they remained essentially Polish. So much so, that this centuries-old culture of the eastern Polish borderlands even today is much nearer to that of central Poland than to that of Russia's westernmost cities.

From an economic point of view these lands are not particularly important. They are poor in natural resources with the exception of Eastern Galicia which never belonged to Russia, not even during the Partition. This section has oil fields and some raw materials of use to the chemical industries. Poland is not rich in raw materials. She has only two sources of supply, Silesia and Eastern Galicia. This lack creates an acute problem for Poland in connection with the proletarianization of the peasant, and if

Poland should lose one of her two sources of raw materials the situation could become dangerous, not only for Poland but also for Central and Eastern Europe. To Russia, on the other hand, Eastern Galicia can have no economic importance. As compared to her own rich and numerous oil fields, the oil fields of Galicia which are extremely difficult and expensive to exploit, must be as nothing.

What does Poland want? Her own territory and resources that would not cripple her natural progress. She wants to live on good-neighbor terms with Russia. She does not want to be within the "sphere of influence" of Russia any more than she wanted to be within the "sphere of influence" of Germany. She did not accept a German protectorate, over which issue she went to war—and she will not submit to a Russian protectorate. Neither the domestic nor foreign policy of Poland can be dictated from Moscow. Poland must emerge from this war a free and independent state. That is what she is fighting for. That is what her most noble sons are dying for.

The Russian annexation of Poland of 1939 no longer exists, not even on paper. This gift from Hitler to Stalin was renounced by Russia when the Germans attacked her. Stalin may enter Poland and occupy her, but he will never obtain any voluntary Polish acceptance of such a unilateral settlement of the boundary between Poland and Russia. And such an act on the part of Russia, one of the Allied Nations, would hardly be a good starting point for world reorganization on the basis of the democratic principles expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

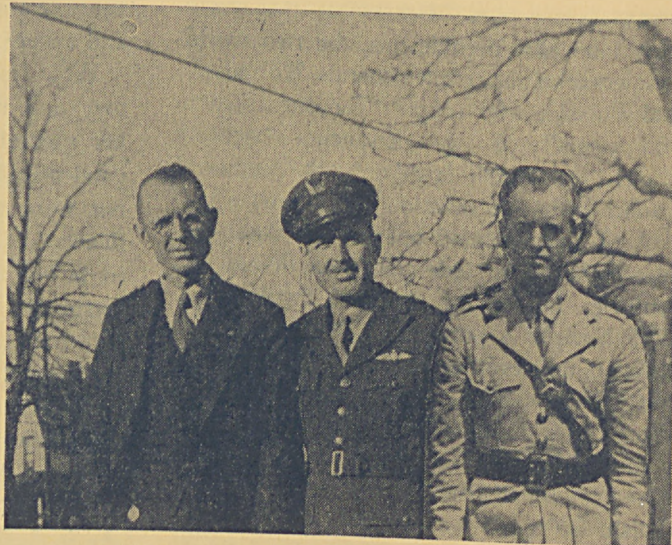
Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains or slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, *give me liberty or give me death.*

PATRICK HENRY

Poland Shall Live Again!

By PROFESSOR J. EARLE THOMSON

PROFESSOR THOMSON is a well-known world traveler, writer, and lecturer. He lives in Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey, and has two sons in overseas service. The Associated Press this week officially reported Capt. Wallace Bruce Thomson as having shot down four Jap Zero planes in combat.



Professor Thomson with his two sons, Capt. John Earle Thomson, of the U. S. Army Air Transport Command, and Capt. Wallace Bruce Thomson, U. S. Marine Corps.

TIME and again I have stood with bared head before the grated doors of the tomb of Martha and George Washington overlooking the placid Potomac at Mount Vernon. What has impressed me on all these occasions is the line above their windowless palace of rest—immortal words from the New Testament: "I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE. HE THAT BELIEVETH IN ME, THOUGH HE WERE DEAD, YET SHALL HE LIVE." That Poland will rise from the dead is believed by all the good people of the earth.

Poland, the Land of the Plains, once the second largest country in Europe, was settled countless centuries ago by the Poles, a branch of the Slavic people. Beginning in 1772, this great pastoral country, where lived

God-fearing, God-loving people, sank gradually into oblivion and by 1795 completely disappeared from our maps. But it remained for Woodrow Wilson, our war president, historian, and humanitarian, to re-discover this picturesque land; and thus Mr. Wilson became the emancipator of forty million Poles.

Obviously it is better for a nation to lose its body than its soul. If the soul dies, it cannot be restored; but if it endures, a new body will be created for it in time. During the so-called partitioning period Poland lost her body but not her soul. A black page, covered with shame and disgrace, contains the story of the partitioning of Poland by her neighbors: Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Tragic it must have been to watch Poland pass into oblivion and become a nation with-

out a country! The partitioning of Poland stirred the sympathies of all mankind in all the civilized world.

The Polish people fought for their independence, but failed in all their unequal attempts. Polish peasants, armed with scythes, flails, and a few guns, and commanded by the famous Kosciuszko, who with Pulaski admirably served George Washington, fought gallantly and went down to defeat. Life for the Poles was an impossibility, due to the suppression of the Polish language, the submerging of their traditions, and the loss of their freedom. In spite of misery, hardships, and wretchedness, the Polish spirit continued to grow and give off light. This Polish spirit could not be suffocated. Each Polish poem, piece of literature, painting, musical composition, sermon, sculpture was a source of inspiration to this subjected people. Each thought, expressed by the creators of music, art, and literature, aroused and stimulated the heart pulsating in the Polish breast, stirred even dormant Polish souls, and encouraged the hopes and aspirations of the nation. Many are the artists, dramatists, sculptors, poets, composers of music who fanned the flame of Polish freedom!

The Polish poets often alluded to Poland as the Christ nation of the world, which was crucified, died, and was buried. The treatment accorded our Saviour was not unlike that administered to Poland in 1772 and AGAIN in 1939. Jesus Christ was tried, convicted, crucified, buried, and on the third day He arose from the dead; Poland was not tried, but convicted, crucified, and some 125 years later she arose from the dead. And as Poland once rose from the dead, so will she rise again—for her soul marches on.

I like to think of that glorious occasion on the Fourth of July, 1931, our Independence Day, when at Poznan the Poles unveiled a beautiful statue of the likeness of Woodrow Wilson. It was designed by Gutzon Borglum and was the thoughtful gift of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the first Premier of Poland.

As President Moscicki released the cord holding the Polish and American flags that draped the statue, the vast throng sang Polish and American national airs, and a flock of carrier pigeons rose like magic to carry messages of PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN. Unfortunately one of the first wanton acts of the Germans was to destroy the statue of Woodrow Wilson, a shrine for both Poles and Americans. At the proper time there will come forward another emancipator who will give freedom to the Poles as did the immortal Woodrow Wilson.

I should like to chronicle herewith five thoughts so that one can get an accurate picture of the character of the Polish people:

1. Defeated the Teutonic Knights in 1410.
2. Defeated the Turks at Vienna in 1683.
3. Defeated the Bolsheviki in 1920.

As a result of each of these decisive battles the Polish people saved Christianity for the world.

To this list of three notable achievements I should like to add two more for the thoughtful student of current affairs:

1. Hitler attacked Poland on September 1, 1939. Poland, outnumbered 100 to 1, and facing a modern mechanized army, knew definitely that her chances were nil, yet her character, patriotism, and integrity caused her to fight in the face of these hopeless odds.

2. Norway and all the other occupied countries have had their quislings and double-crossers, yet Poland has lived on the square with her people and her friends in sympathy and arms. Hitler has been unable to find a Polish quisling to administer his affairs or a puppet government to represent his interests.

What the future of Poland is today, no one knows. Our Russian allies talk of absorbing all the lands up to the "Curzon Line," thus partitioning all of Poland east of this line. The "Curzon Line" is one that is vague, indefinite, suggested by Lloyd George and his friend Lord Curzon after

World War I. This imaginary line is supposed to extend from somewhere in the Baltic to Grodno and thence in the vicinity of Lwow and into the Carpathians. Historians admit that Lloyd George and Lord Curzon knew little about Geography and less about History when this vague line was suggested as the boundary line between Poland and Russia.

Since I have spent much time in Poland, especially in the parts east of the "Curzon Line," I believe I can speak intelligently in terms of the Polish characteristics of the region. In the first place, for a thousand years, or prior to the First Partition of Poland in 1772, this section was Polish territory. I visited many Polish cemeteries here and found that all the epitaphs are writ-

ten in Polish about the Polish dead. In fact, everything about this section is decidedly Polish: customs, traditions, language. What a colossal blunder it would be to partition this section of Poland!

That Poland will be restored, there is no question, for America and her Allies are definitely going to win the war. Every friend of Poland, however, can make a priceless contribution to an intelligent settlement of any controversy, provided he is versed in the historical and ethnic facts. It is said that public opinion half leads and half follows law. By creating an intelligent public opinion, every friend of Poland may have a part in the rise of Poland, the Land of Resurrection.

The Black Zavishas of Poland

"THE Zavishas fight again!" is being whispered today in Poland.

After each act of sabotage in Poland it is known that the Zavishas have struck again.

When an officer of the Gestapo meets his doom, the Poles whisper: "Again the Zavishas did not fail today."

The unseen divisions of Black Zavishas increase daily in Poland. The forests are their headquarters; a couch of leaves, their bed.

Poland has no mountains where her fighters can hide, like the patriots of Yugoslavia and Greece. It is difficult to carry on guerilla warfare on the plains of Poland, and consequently both the risk and the sacrifice of the daring Black Zavishas are greater.

Donations are received daily for the "War Fund" and for the underground press in Poland. The names of the donors are—the "Black Zavishas."

How did this name originate?

It is the name of a fearless Polish knight whose deeds of valor won him undying fame. Zavisha, the Black, of Garbovo, king's envoy to the Teutonic Knights of the Cross, participant in the battle of Grunwald in 1410 (where the German forces were crushed by Poland) fought the Germans to the end and became famous for his courage and daring. Today his name serves as a symbol to all the Poles who are facing the same enemy.

The Black Zavishas fight again!

The Polish Bomber Force

THE Polish Bomber Force, which has been reorganized in Great Britain, first started operations in September, 1940. Since then, Polish bomber squadrons have taken part in innumerable raids, including one of the most difficult expeditions organized from Great Britain. Together with British squadrons, they have bombed targets as difficult and distant as Berlin and Turin. In many of the great raids Polish bomber crews have provided more than 10 per cent. of the total number of machines engaged.

Down to October 1st, 1943, the Polish bomber force had made 617 raids, an aggregate number of 5,940 machines being engaged. They had dropped 13,800,000 pounds of bombs on Germany and German targets in occupied countries, this being about 10 per cent. of the total tonnage dropped by the R.A.F. on Germany.

The Polish bomber machines in service with Coastal Command are in action against

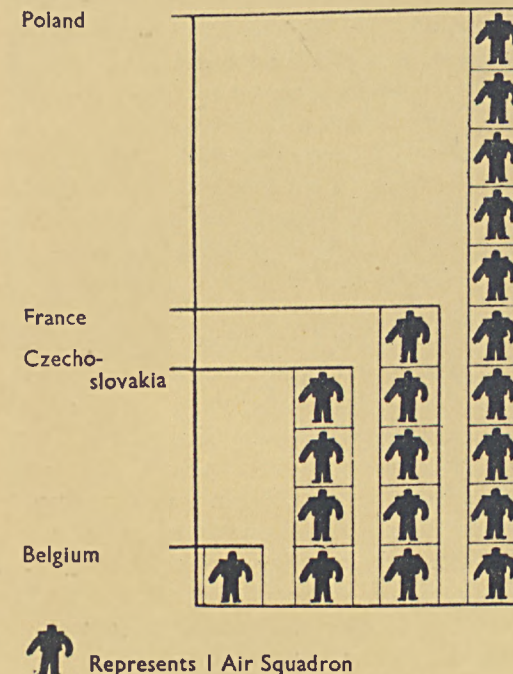
the enemy's surface craft and U-boats, and can boast of equally good results. From May 1st, 1942, to August 31st, 1943, they had made 217 operational flights, and had destroyed at least 6 U-boats, apart from many damaged.

The British authorities have shown their appreciation of the work of the Polish Air Force in numerous expressions of praise and orders of the day, couched in very warm terms. Many Polish pilots have been decorated with British official distinctions, as well as decorations by the heads of other Allied States, exclusive of many Polish decorations.

MANY Polish pilots, especially of the older generation, and three Polish airwomen, including Miss Pilsudski, the daughter of Marshal Pilsudski, have served in the British Ferry Command, flying aeroplanes from the factories to airfields, from America to Great Britain and the Gold Coast, from Britain to the Middle East and to India, and wherever war is being waged. At present some 60 highly experienced Polish pilots formerly in the Polish Civil Airlines, are serving in the British overseas air transport. Altogether they have some 2,800 hours' flying time each to their credit.

The common allied war effort has been served not only by those who fly, for many Polish constructional engineers and scientists are working in research departments in Great Britain and America, achieving equal, though less spectacular, successes among the "back-room boys."

In this war, which perhaps is more a life and death struggle for Poland than for any other nation, the part played by the Polish air force could not be merely symbolic. When the facts and figures are considered, it has to be regarded rather as the tiny weight which, in the days when every pilot and every machine was of inestimable value, turned the scales of victory.



Represents 1 Air Squadron
Comparative Strength of the Belgian, Czech, French and Polish Air Forces.

THE "CURZON LINE"

By ADAM PRAGIER, LL.D., D.Sc., Ec.

THE so-called "Curzon Line" of July 11, 1920, was never meant to be a Polish-Russian frontier but merely a demarcation line between the Polish and Russian forces at the time of the armistice, when it was planned. This line corresponded to an earlier decision of the Supreme Allied Council of December 8, 1919, by which Poland was authorized to establish a normal administration in her eastern provinces, within the limits of a temporary demarcation line. Anxious to avoid any misunderstanding, the Supreme Council of the Allies, at that same time, specifically reserved Poland's right to claim territories east of that line.

Lord Curzon's proposal did not meet with a favorable reception in Russia. The Council of People's Commissars rejected it on July 11—that is, on the very day on which Lord Curzon presented his proposal. In view of the recent British military intervention in Russia, the Soviet Government refused to accept British mediation but declared itself willing to give Poland a permanent frontier further east than the suggested demarcation line of Curzon. The Soviet Government informed the Foreign Office that it ascribed its action to the Russian anti-revolutionary influence in Downing Street. Soon afterwards Commissar Kamenev informed Mr. Lloyd George that "the Soviet Government maintains its desire to give to the Polish State a more favorable frontier than Lord Curzon's Line."

THERE is therefore no reason at all to regard the Curzon Line as a magic formula for the Polish-Soviet problem. It would,

PROFESSOR ADAM PRAGIER is a prominent member of the Polish Socialist Party and the author of many articles and books. He was Professor of Economics at Warsaw University before the war and is at present in London.

further, be misleading to assume that this formula was only temporarily rejected by the Poles because of their aversion to it, and that it later—by its subsequent perfection—imposed itself on Russia and Germany. when on the 28th of September, 1939, those two countries attempted to sanction their friendship pact by creating the so-called Ribbentrop Line.

There is no truth in the suggestion that the Curzon Line corresponds to the ethnographic boundary between Polish and Ukrainian populations. Neither is it true that it is "virtually identical" with the Ribbentrop Line which formed the German-Russian frontier in 1939-1940. The territory between the Curzon Line and the Polish-Russian frontier established by the Treaty of Riga was inhabited by about 6,000,000 people, including 2,000,000 Poles, 1,500,000 Ukrainians, 900,000 White Ruthenians, 550,000 Jews, and 100,000 Russians.

The territories occupied by Soviet Russia in Eastern Poland as a result of the Soviet aggression of September 17th, 1939, have a much larger population: about 13,900,000—including 5,281,000 Poles, 4,513,000 Ukrainians, 1,100,000 White Ruthenians, 1,115,000 Jews, and 135,000 Russians.

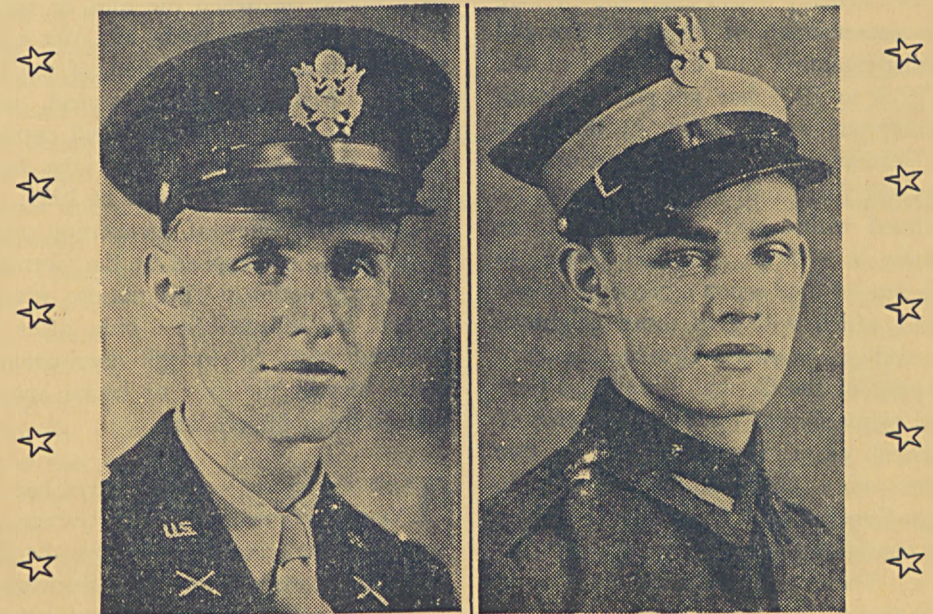
ACTUALLY, the Polish-Russian frontier is morally and legally unassailable. It was traced by the Treaty of Riga, of March 18, 1921, which was a typical compromise. The southern section of the frontier, between Eastern Galicia and Russia, was recognized by the Council of Ambassadors on March 15, 1923. In concluding the Treaty of Riga, the contracting parties sought a compromise which would give satisfaction to both Poland and Russia, thus ending their ancient feud.

It is to be recalled, in this connection,

that on September 9, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars specifically denounced all treaties concerning the Partition of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795, as well as all the subsequent treaties dealing with the Partition, up to 1833. It meant that Poland was free to claim the return to her frontiers of 1772. Nevertheless, at the Treaty of Riga, Poland resigned—in favor of Russia

—her rights to a territory with an area of about 120,000 square miles. Russia and the Ukraine, on the other hand, resigned their claims to any territories west of the new frontier. Both of the contracting parties made solemn declarations of friendship. And in the years that followed, the Polish-Russian frontier was never questioned either by Russia or by any other Power.

Under Two Flags for a Common Cause



Leon Kratkiewicz

Artur Kratkiewicz

THESE TWO BROTHERS, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Boleslaw Kratkiewicz, of Detroit, Michigan, are serving one in the Army of the U. S. A. and the other in the Army of the Republic of Poland in England. Leon, the elder, now 21 years of age, enlisted with Uncle Sam's forces in 1940 as a private, advanced to staff sergeant, was sent to an officers' training school, attained the rank of second lieutenant, and underwent instruction at the Levison Pilot School at Pittsburg, Kansas. Artur, the younger, now 19 years of age, enlisted with the Polish Army in England, where he has been serving since May of 1942 and where he is now attending an officers' training school. Their father served as an enlisted man in the Army of the U. S. A. in World War I and became a corporal.

The Polish-German Frontier

by DR. MARIAN SEYDA

THE aim of rendering it physically impossible for the Reich to commit new acts of aggression or to apply political terror against other states excludes all attempts to build up a system of security based on faith in German promises and pacifist declarations and on pacts signed by Germany. It is necessary to avoid any delusion that after the overthrow of Hitlerism the establishment of a "democratic" and "liberal" regime in Germany would imply the German nation's renunciation of its aggressive and imperialistic aims. The experience of the years 1918 to 1939 has adequately shown how dangerous were illusions of this kind.

The German nation takes account only of realities—of force only. It must therefore be confined within such state frontiers as will make it difficult for this people to commit acts of aggression against its neighbors and which will give those neighbors sound strategic frontiers. Because the spirit of conquest of the German people has been directed primarily eastward for upwards of a thousand years, the needs of the two countries more immediately exposed to Prussian-German rapacity should be given special consideration in the new system of security. These two countries are Poland and Czechoslovakia. For centuries the German *Drang nach Osten* has attacked the very biological bases as well as the territories of these two nations, and by violence has led to German domination of considerable areas inhabited by Polish, Czech, Slovak, and kindred populations.

DR. MARIAN SEYDA, Polish editor and writer, member of the Polish delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles and a former member of the Polish Senate. Dr. Seyda has written extensively on scientific and political subjects. Before the war he was editor of the important Poznan daily, the *Kuryer Poznanski*.

The Prussians were the initiators and the chief executors of the Partition of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795. Subsequently, for upwards of one hundred years, the Prussian rulers did their utmost to prevent Poland from recovering her independence and also incited Russia to do everything in her power to stifle Polish national movements. For over one hundred and fifty years German statesmen, scientists, and publicists have openly preached the idea of the confiscation of Polish lands and the enslavement, even the extermination, of the Polish nation. Plans toward this end, already realized in part, found their full expression in the methods applied after the German Army's invasion of Poland in 1939.

A similar policy of annexation and extermination was applied by the Germans to the Czech nation. This nation, which regained its independence only after three hundred years of foreign domination, has again become the prey of brutal and ruthless German imperialism.

THE Polish nation has always had a defensive rampart against German eastward pressure in the oldest of the Polish lands in the west: Pomerania, Poznania, and Silesia, with their highly predominant Polish populations. In 1931 the Polish population in Pomerania was 89.9 per cent of the whole, in Poznania 90.5, and in Silesia 92.3. Through their political energy and by their creative efforts, both economic and cultural, these lands became experienced in effectively resisting German rapacity. Unfortunately, in de-limiting the Polish-German frontier the Treaty of Versailles adopted the prejudicial standpoint of a too rigidly conceived ethnographic principle, which made no allowance to Poland for the

violent process of Germanization which had been pursued for centuries in East Prussia and in the Pomeranian and Silesian lands. Moreover, the peace-makers of Versailles took very little account of Poland's economic needs and completely ignored the question of her military security.

Poland would be able to fulfill her historic mission in that great expanse to the east of Germany only if the status of Gdansk (Danzig), an ostensibly free city but in reality an agent of the Reich and of German intrigue, were abolished; and also if East Prussia would cease to be a province of the Reich, constituting a *place d'armes* and a sallyport to Poland and the lands east of Germany generally. If

Gdansk (Danzig) and East Prussia were incorporated with Poland, the Polish-German frontier would be shortened from 1,263 miles to 785 miles. It is worth pointing out, for purposes of comparison, that the German-French frontier is barely 210 miles long and that more than half of it consists of the deep and broad natural barriers of the Rhine.

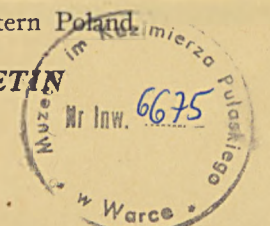
In the southwest, all considerations speak in favor of incorporating Poland with the other half of Upper Silesia, *i.e.*, Opole Silesia, which has a preponderantly Polish population but which after the 1921 plebiscite, carried out in conditions adverse to Poland, was left to Germany.

The unification of these two parts of a highly industrialized province which constitutes an organic whole with the neighboring Polish coal fields, is a prime condition of the necessary territorial consolidation of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The close cooperation of these two countries in all spheres would act as a brake on German

expansion and thus materially contribute to a lasting peace in Central and Southeastern Europe as a whole. Opole Silesia constitutes a menacing strategic wedge thrust between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

A further shortening of the Polish-German frontier, in the interest of Poland's security and especially that of her ports, can be accomplished by straightening the frontier line and moving it up as far as possible.

It should be noted here as well that aggregations of Poland's populations are also to be found in other German provinces bordering on Western Poland, namely in the far western Silesian territory and in the eastern part of Brandenburg as well as of Prussian Pomerania. These territories, during various periods of their history, either belonged to Poland or were under Polish cultural and political influence. Their Germanization is of recent date and their populations have customs and a culture similar to that of Western Poland.





MAXIMILIAN JACKOWSKI
*Father of the Polish Co-operative
 Movement*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS of Polish Co-operatives

A PERIOD of one hundred and twenty-three years—from 1795, when Poland was finally carved up by the three annexationist powers: Germany, Austria, and Russia, to 1918, when she regained her independence—had a profound effect on the country's cultural and economic development.

The varying political and economic conditions prevailing in the three annexed areas tended to shape life differently in each; but the occupying powers had one feature in common, that of doing their utmost to restrain economic as well as cultural expansion.

The first attempts at establishing economic enterprises on the co-operative principle in Poland date back to the beginning of the 18th century. But these early manifestations were rather of a philanthropic nature and

had been organized by Polish public-spirited men.

The loss of Poland's political independence, the Partition, and the political and national persecution which followed attracted the best minds and energies of the Polish people to the struggle for liberty. But after the failure of the insurrection of 1831, the people began to think more in terms of economic emancipation, and economic co-operation took on increasing importance as one of the ways of perpetuating and developing Polish life.

The Polish co-operative movement at first covered the most numerous class, that of the small peasant farmer, then the consumers, and finally the crafts workers and the middle classes (credit co-operatives).

It is not hard to understand why the Poles are paying special honor this year to the memory of Maximilian Jackowski of Poznan (1816-1905), the father of the Polish co-operative movement. He started to organize and promote the first such group in 1844, or just one hundred years ago, in a most practical and business-like way, and subsequently dedicated his whole life to this noble cause. He did the ground-work, against great odds, and those who followed, especially those who saw the day of national independence come once more to oppressed Poland, appreciate and admire the wisdom and the fruit of his tireless labors.

Upon recovery of Poland's independence in 1918, the co-operatives at once proceeded to reorganize through a central body and through co-operative unions and to function on a normal peace-time basis. A conference of the leaders of Polish co-operation was held at Lublin in 1918, which discussed and laid plans for the consolidation of the movement and formulated the principles on which co-operative legislation was to be based.

The second President of Poland, Stanislaw Wojciechowski, was one of the founders of the post-war co-operative movement in Poland and as a result of his efforts on its behalf attained great popularity and prominence. Which only goes to show how important a place the co-operatives had come to fill in Poland.

In 1920 the Polish Sejm (Diet) passed laws regulating co-operatives, which were

uniform for all of Poland and which, with minor changes, had remained in force down to the outbreak of war in 1939. By this time the co-operative movement in Poland had reached the following proportions:

Types of co-operatives	Number of co-operatives	Number of members
Consumers co-operatives (urban and rural) -----	4,800	720,000
Credit co-operatives (farm and general) -----	5,500	1,500,000
Agricultural co-operatives (farm, trading, dairy, and egg) -----	1,800	700,000
Other types (housing, labor, and manufacturing) -----	800	100,000
	12,900	3,020,000

To these figures must be added some one thousand co-operatives outside of the Co-operative's Union, with a membership of about 120,000, which would bring the figures up to about 14,000 co-operative societies and over 3,140,000 members. And by adding each member's family to the total, we find about 40% of Poland actively engaged in co-operation.

Today, great world changes are being effected in the economic organization of the whole world. The task confronting the Polish co-operative movement after the war will be taxing. But it has survived many tests and has come through with flying colors, and will undoubtedly be ready to again take up the task of rebuilding the very foundations of social economy in the new Poland of the days to come.

THE DOUBLE "SKI"

The Hon. Chester Skibinski, Chairman of the Massachusetts State Labor Board and a former State Senator, was invited to serve on the Board of Directors of the International Institute of Boston and in connection with this new office attended a banquet arranged by the organization. Called on to address the assembled guests, he began his talk with the following well-pointed remark:

"Some believe that a name ending in 'ski' hampers them in their careers. It did not hinder Paderewski, and it does not hinder Stokowski. And in order that it might help me, I have one at the beginning and one at the end of my name."

*"Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
nor set down aught in malice."*

SHAKESPEARE

Our Watch Tower . . .

THE CASE OF THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRES

THE American Press Service reports (January 27, 1944) that "a special Soviet commission investigating the mysterious slaying of 11,000 Polish war prisoners in Katyn Forest announced its conclusion yesterday that the victims were slain as a 'provocation' by the Germans in August and September of 1941, and not by the Russians in March and April of 1940 as charged by Berlin."

It goes on to say that "the commission took American and British correspondents to the ghastly graves on Goat Hill in the forest ten miles from Smolensk and produced evidence which it called indisputable proof of German guilt in the crime, one of the major mysteries of the war and an important international political issue. It was because the Polish government in London took up Berlin's charge, and asked the International Red Cross to investigate it, that the Soviet government severed relations with the Poles in April, 1943."

The report further states that "with the American and British correspondents taken to the Katyn graves were Kathleen Harriman, daughter of U. S. Ambassador to Moscow, W. Averell Harriman, and John Melby, of Bloomington, Ill., third secretary of the American Embassy who came along at the Ambassador's request."

Needless to stress that the Russian government which severed diplomatic relations with Poland in April of 1943 because that country's government, in the course of its

duties, asked an impartial investigation of the blood-curdling crime perpetrated by an enemy on its helpless citizens, can hardly hope to clear itself of the accusation from Berlin by a self-investigation, no matter how innocent the Russians might be of the crime of which they stand accused. Even a grade school child must know that "there is something wrong with this picture." One just does not investigate oneself, announce his own findings to the world and expect the world to be satisfied with it. It isn't logical and it is basically contrary to all lawful procedure, no matter how crude.

WHAT would you think of a situation in which a man accused of a crime announced the severing of all relations with the injured party because that party sought a trial by court, proceeded to investigate himself and upon completion of such investigation announced his own innocence? The arrogance of such action is so apparent on the face of it that no person or body of persons not guilty of a crime should want to pursue it. One can only be cleared by a committee of his peers. The desire to be vindicated by an impartial body of our equals is inherent in our very nature and expressed in our laws and procedures—democratic laws and procedures.

The demand therefore of the Polish government for an impartial investigation had been a most proper one and the Russian government should have at once

recognized this and collaborated. If in their opinion, the International Red Cross suggested by the Poles as an impartial investigating commission was not the proper body to conduct this inquiry, they were free to counter-suggest. Instead they called the Poles a few quite inept names, thumbed their nose at the rest of the world and at their own convenience proceeded to make themselves a private examination and report, which is of course arrogant and absurd if nothing more. But there is more—an utter disdain of recognized democratic procedure and of international cooperation, which Russia demonstrated by taking matters into her own hands and announcing her own innocence based on her own findings.

TAKING British and American journalists and two members of the American diplomatic family to the scene of the crime at the conclusion of the self-investigation to point out proofs in support of Russian innocence is but a gesture and serves no purpose. Read the carefully worded accounts of the correspondents and see if you can find anything there to convince you that the Russians have proven their case "beyond a reasonable doubt." Friendly to Russia (else they would not be there) but steeped in the democratic tradition, they lacked an "umpire" and could not write otherwise.

No one wants to believe the Russians guilty of this gruesome butchery of innocent people. In fact we would all prefer to believe that no such mass massacre occurred and that the vast common grave in Katyn Forest holds only the natural casualties of war. It would ease our minds and hearts to be able to believe this. But the Russians who find themselves innocent of the crime accuse the Germans and advise us that they have proof positive of their culpability.

Then how regrettable that the Russian government should have obstructed an

impartial investigation into this reportedly unbelievably demoniacal war crime! Russia's stand is not self-explanatory; and no satisfactory reason for her refusal to permit impartial participation in an investigation of the contents of the mass grave in Katyn Forest has been forthcoming. She stands accused by Germany, her former confidant and ally, with whom she was banded together against Poland in the earlier phases of this world war, and she in turn accuses Germany of the crime.

In Moscow, the Soviet government newspaper, *Izvestia*, commenting on the findings of the all-Russian investigation commission, instead of throwing some light on why at least one or two outside experts, from the United States or Great Britain, for instance, had not been asked to be present at the initial opening of the mass grave, characteristically indulges in an absurd and vicious tirade against the Polish government, calculated to confuse the issues. We quote:

"In the light of undeniable facts the role of the Polish government becomes more apparent. With its active participation in a campaign of slander, it concealed the slaughter of the Polish people." And again: "*To please Hitler* it directed a perfidious blow upon the Soviet Union, whose people are summoning all efforts to defeat the common enemy of the Russian and Polish people and all freedom-loving people. *Acting together with Hitler* this Polish government has done great harm to Poland."

And all because the Polish government, upon disclosure of the crime by Germany, requested an impartial examination of the evidences of crime concealed in the ghoulish grave at Katyn Forest!

We conclude by underscoring that the case of the Katyn Forest massacres is officially unresolved, and so we are each and every one of us left to our own deductions. Which is truly regrettable.

Repudiation of Dr. Oscar Lange's Views by Polish Scholars

We are pleased to bring to your attention, for your better information, the exception taken to the activities of one Dr. Oscar Lange, erstwhile short-term professor at the University of Cracow, by seventeen accredited professors and lecturers of the universities of Poland, now domiciled in the United States and Canada:

THE American press recently reported the organization of a new Polish society in Detroit, which calls itself the Kosciuszko League and whose aim is to inculcate the Polish mind with the idea of an acquiescent attitude toward Soviet Russia. One of their two principal speakers at the initial mass meeting was Dr. Oscar Lange, professor of political economy at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Oscar Lange emerged as an ardent supporter of the Russian claims to Eastern Poland on April 29, 1943 (a few days after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Poland by the Soviets) by publishing a provocative letter in the New York Herald-Tribune, in which he called Poland's determination to maintain the integrity of her territory a "national hysteria." His remarks were identical with those issuing from the Russian Foreign Office.

Dr. Lange's opinion is being given the widest publicity as that of a Polish scholar and former member of the faculty of Cracow University, thereby creating the false impression that he reflects the opinion of Polish scholars.

Therefore we, the undersigned accredited professors and lecturers of the universities of Poland, find it incumbent upon us to take the most vigorous public exception to both his views and his tactics.

It is easy, but hardly convincing, to call people holding other views than himself, fascists and reactionaries. In fact, we thought we had reason to expect a more scholarly and impartial approach to the matter on the part of Dr. Lange, who had had

the good fortune of being associated for a brief period with Cracow University. This Polish university throughout its long and world-famed history has always represented the highest spiritual values of Poland. (In the present war nearly all of its faculty members were deported to Nazi concentration camps where many died in consequence of inhuman treatment.) Also, we believe that we could have expected Professor Lange to act more fairly toward the government of a country of which he himself had been a citizen until recently, and which is now to him an Allied Nation.

We are all in favor of cooperation between an independent and democratic Poland and the Soviet Union, and we believe that Poland has given ample proof of her desire to achieve such a cooperation. But in order to make this possible the territorial claims on Poland by Soviet Russia must be withdrawn. The Polish-Russian frontier of 1921 was the result of a compromise and as such it had never been questioned by the Russians. The Poles are the most numerous component part of this territory, now in question, which except for the brief time of the Partition, belonged to Poland for many centuries not only historically but culturally. The two largest cities of this territory, Lwow (which had never been under Russia) and Wilno, are inhabited by an overwhelming majority of pure Poles and are strong centers of Polish culture. Many of Poland's great men, statesmen as well as poets, hailed from this eastern section of Poland.

Inasmuch as Poland was the first to give opposition to Nazi domination and has

continued the struggle ever since, both on the home front and abroad, with appalling sacrifices, whereas Russia joined the United Nations only after she herself was attacked by Germany, and that after twenty-two months of collaboration with the Nazis—it

would be grossly unjust and in disaccord with international morality to deprive her of any part of her territory in favor of Russia. Political, historical and cultural reasons speak against this as strongly as the moral principles for which we are waging this war.

(Signed)

HENRYK ARCTOWSKI, Ph.D. Lwów University Observatory of the Smithsonian Institute	MICHAŁ LASKOWSKI, Ph.D. Warsaw Agricultural College University of Arkansas	STANISŁAW SNIESZKO, D.Sc. Cracow University University of Maine
GUSTAW BYCHOWSKI, Ph.D. Warsaw University	GUSTAW A. MOKRZYCKI, D.Sc. Warsaw Institute of Technology University of Montreal	WOJCIECH SWIETOSLAWSKI, D.Sc. Warsaw Institute of Technology Mellon Institute for Industrial Research
WŁADYSŁAW GORCZYŃSKI, D.Sc. Director, Central Meteorological Institute, Warsaw	STANISŁAW MROZOWSKI, Ph.D. Warsaw University Chicago University	JOZEF SULKOWSKI, Ph.D. Poznan University
OSCAR HALECKI, Ph.D. Warsaw University	JOZEF PAWLIKOWSKI, D.Sc. Warsaw Institute of Technology Ecole Polytechnique de Montreal	BOLESŁAW SZCZENIOWSKI, D.Sc. Warsaw Institute of Technology Ecole Polytechnique de Montreal
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	JAN H. ROSEN, D.Sc. Lwów Institute of Technology Catholic University of America	FLORIAN ZNANIECKI, Ph.D. Poznan University University of Illinois

Statement of the Polish Labor Group on Polish-Soviet Relations

POLISH-SOVIET relations are widely discussed in the United States, but their most important element is being ignored. In this connection, therefore, we consider it our duty to call attention to the following:

The establishment and continuation of friendly relations between Poland and U.S.S.R. is not only prerequisite to security for both nations, but is basic for the peace of Europe as well. The Polish workers and peasants, who constitute a large majority and the very backbone of the Polish nation, were among the first to recognize this fact.

In order to attain these aims, however, relations between the two countries should be established on a basis of *real freedom and full equality*. Such a relationship would act as a foundation for full coordination of the heroic struggle of the Red Army with the equally heroic struggle of the Polish Underground, many of them veterans of the Polish Army—the first, and for a time, the only army to resist the Nazi foe.

For the sake of truth and for the sake of realization of a Polish-Soviet alliance, an alliance indispensable for the peaceful future of Europe, we have to emphasize that *it is not Poland that is putting obstacles in the way of its successful conclusion*.

After the break, made by the Soviet Government, in diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in April, 1943, various agencies of the Soviet Government have directly, or indirectly, indicated that they do not recognize the Polish Government's right to represent the Polish nation. It has been hinted, moreover, that a selection—under the auspices of the Soviet Union—will be undertaken to determine who may hold office in the Polish Government and even who may live in Poland.

Here is the essential problem. *No Pole sanctions or will ever sanction such an interpretation of friendly collaboration which is based on denial of freedom and equality*. Polish-Soviet friendship can and should be

achieved by means of an understanding between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government which is the only genuine representative of the Polish people.

The Polish Government is a coalition government in which all major Polish political parties are represented. Representatives of the workers and peasants (who constitute over 80% of the Polish population) hold a majority in that Government, which is in close and regular contact with Poland and which speaks for the people of our country.

THERE is no obstacle to a lasting alliance between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, based on mutual good will, *respect for treaties* and mutual commitments of both countries resulting from those treaties, and the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

The Soviet Union—if it acknowledges the right of the Polish people to freedom—should explicitly state that it does not intend to interfere, in any way whatsoever, in Polish internal affairs, and that it will secure the repatriation of all Polish citizens deported to the Soviet Union from Eastern Poland.

Confidence should be placed in the nation which preferred an unequal struggle to the death, to Hitler's proposed cooperation in the crusade against the Soviet Union. The only European nation which—under the most appalling Nazi rule—did not put forth or set up a puppet government to cooperate with the German invader—should be trusted.

The Polish Government's statement of January 14th, 1944, once more gave evidence of the Polish people's desire for full cooperation between Poland and the U.S.S.R., a cooperation based on the principles of *justice and freedom*. Unfortunately, the Soviet Governments' declaration of January 16th, 1944, again postponed Polish-Soviet understanding. No pronouncement or vicious interpretation by avowed or unavowed Soviet agents can alter this fact.

POLISH LABOR GROUP
55 WEST 42ND STREET
*American Representative
of the Polish Underground
Labor Movement*
(Polish Socialist Party and
Trade Union Congress)

New York, N. Y.
January 17, 1944.

THOSE "INCORRIGIBLE" POLES

"Events which happened seventy years ago are perhaps rather too far off to be dragged aptly into a mere conversation. Of course the year 1831 is for us an historical date, one of those fatal years when in the presence of the world's passive indignation and eloquent sympathies we had once more to murmur "Vae Victis" and count the cost in sorrow. Not that we were ever very good at calculating, either in prosperity or in adversity. That's a lesson we could never learn, to the great exasperation of our enemies, who have bestowed on us the epithet of Incorrigible... The speaker was of Polish nationality, that nationality not so much alive as surviving, which persists in thinking, breathing, speaking, hoping and suffering in its grave, railed in by a million of bayonets and triple-sealed with the seals of three great empires."

From "Prince Roman" in *Tales of Hearsay*
by JOSEPH CONRAD

Membership in the Pulaski Foundation

The Pulaski Foundation is a membership organization established wholly on a non-political and non-profit basis.

Its membership is composed of individuals, largely of Polish ancestry, and of Polish fraternal and cultural societies, as regular or sustaining members.

Any American, regardless of ancestry or creed, who is dedicated to the proposition that governments should "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" and is interested in our purposes, may join us.

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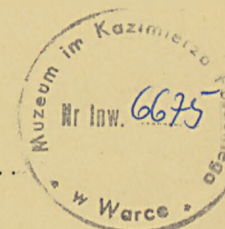
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