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WHERE THE STORM BROKE

**W H E R E
T H E S T O R M
B R O K E**

Poland
From Yesterday To Tomorrow

STANISLAW STRZETELSKI

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I

GOERING GOES HUNTING

COULD Poland have avoided war with Germany in 1939?

Yes.

At what price?

The price of joining Germany in an attack on Soviet Russia.

The political courtship of Poland by Germany covered the years 1935 to 1938.

At a luncheon tendered the heads of the diplomatic corps on January 22, 1935, Chancellor Hitler engaged the Polish Ambassador in a private conversation.

"I would like to call your attention, Mr. Ambassador," he said, "to Russia's gigantic strides in the field of military preparedness, as reported to me by my Intelligence Service. The moment is perhaps not far distant when Germany and Poland will have to defend themselves against a threatened invasion from the East. In my judgment," he continued, "the policy of the previous German governments—a policy especially

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favored by the Reichswehr—of a Russo-German alliance against Poland was a political absurdity. I myself had a sharp brush of opinion with General von Schleicher, who advocated such an alliance to crush Poland. The supporters of this plan failed to see that such a policy, even if it did result in the conquest of some Polish territory, would be a risky business for Germany. I am fully alive to the menace of Bolshevism. My eyes were opened to it in Bavaria."

Ambassador Lipski reported Hitler's words to Warsaw.

But in Warsaw they shook their heads dubiously. "What is back of this?" they asked. "What is it all about?"

The answer was not long in coming.

A week after the diplomatic luncheon General Hermann Goering arrived in Poland for his annual winter visit. On these occasions it was the custom to arrange a lynx hunt for his entertainment in the forest of Bialowieza, an immense game preserve in northeastern Poland. Occasionally a few foreign diplomats were invited, but the majority of the guests were invariably important Polish military officers.

Bundled up in a heavy fur jacket, at his side an enormous bowie-knife which looked as if it had come straight down from the days of the Nibelungen, Goering would gorge himself with food and drink, meanwhile displaying keen interest in the decorations worn by the other guests. "This one I have. . . . Not this.

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. . . Ah! very interesting, that one. I don't think I have seen it before. . . ."

One day, catching sight of a company of firemen parading in full regalia, he turned to the Polish diplomat accompanying him and remarked facetiously:

"I wonder why they don't cry 'Cock-a-doodle-do' when they see me."

Then noticing his companion's astonishment, he added:

"Don't they know that it was I who set fire to the Reichstag building?"

Whenever Goering made one of his mid-winter visits to Poland, he always devoted one whole day to a discussion of the political situation.

On the 31st of January, 1935, he had a conference in Warsaw with Count Szembek, Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. After the preliminary beating-about-the-bush, he stated his case bluntly:

"Theoretically," he said, "one might imagine that a Russo-German collaboration could easily bring about a new partition of Poland. But, as a matter of fact, there are a number of grave obstacles to an execution of such a plan. In the first place, there is the military strength of the Polish State; secondly, a partition of Poland would give Germany a common boundary with Russia—and this would be very dangerous for Germany.

"The menace of Bolshevism is very real; Germany

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and Poland must set up a common defense against it. Hitler has scrapped the policies of Stresemann and Schleicher. In January, 1935, General von Schleicher tried to talk him into an alliance with Russia to conquer Poland. When Schleicher had left the room, the Fuehrer said to me:

“‘And I shall do just the opposite!’”

Shortly after this conversation Goering went to Bialowieza to hunt lynx. But the hunt didn't come off very well. The successful pursuit of this wary animal calls for the utmost precaution and stealth. Goering, ignoring this fact, made a practice of smoking and talking as soon as he had taken his stance. The cautious lynx declined to come near the Nazi general. On occasion subterfuges were employed to satisfy the vanity of the honored guest, who fancies himself to be a Nimrod. A wild boar would be substituted for the lynx.

On one particular occasion the feelings of the American Ambassador, Drexel Biddle, were sacrificed for the sake of the Polish-German rapprochement. Biddle had shot a splendid specimen of a wild boar, but at the end of the day received as his share of the prize only a boar cub. The big beast went to Goering.

During the supper which wound up the day's sport, Goering turning in an expansive mood to the Polish notables present said:

“Bolshevism is a menace to both Poland and Germany. In fact, it's a threat to the whole world. We must resolve to annihilate it. Only Germany and Po-

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land, both of them young, virile nations, not bogged down in senile degeneracy and decadence, can liquidate that poison once and for all by pooling their efforts.

"Take my word for it," he continued, "the war will be a short one. We have it from the most trustworthy sources that the power of the Bolshevik Army is only a bluff. But before starting this enterprise, we must put things to rights in Europe by creating a German-Franco-Polish entente as a basis for a new political order on the Continent."

This alluring military horoscope failed to inspire any marked enthusiasm in the Poles, who remained politely non-committal.

Goering continued, however, in the same vein:

"The war once over, there won't be any trouble in arranging the details of settlement. We shall take over the Baltic States and whatever we need in the North, while you will get the Ukraine."

In a subsequent talk Goering expanded his ideas further:

"As far as the strategy of the campaign is concerned," he stated, "we would be willing, for the good of the cause, to put the German Army under the command of Pilsudski. He knows the terrain of the war better than anyone else."

Because of his official position, Count Joseph Potocki, chief of the political department in the Foreign Office, had frequent opportunities to talk with Goering. At one of the hunts at Bialowieza the party was speaking about game breeding. Potocki, who sat next to

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Goering, proved to be familiar with the details of the art.

"How do you happen to be such an expert on game breeding?" asked Goering.

"My father once owned a large game preserve," the Count replied.

"Where was it situated?"

"Near Zytomierz."

"Zytomierz . . . Zytomierz," repeated Goering. "I have heard the name of that place. . . . It seems to me the town is in Russian hands. . . ."

A map was brought. Goering threw it a passing glance, then said:

"Of course, of course . . . I knew it. We shall take it back from the Bolsheviks. . . . And the game preserve, too. . . ."

At the time of his first visit to Poland, Goering had set himself to win over Pilsudski to his point of view.

In this he failed signally.

The two men met in the Belvedere Palace on February 10, 1935. Goering at once laid before the Marshal his plan for a joint move on Russia and tried to convince him of the benefits and advantages that would accrue to Poland with reference to the Ukraine. But Pilsudski, as Goering himself reported later to Count Szembek, indicated to the Nazi seducer that it was out of the question for Poland to stand guard constantly on her long Soviet frontier with bayonet in hand, that the only practical policy for her was to come

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to some mutual understanding with her Eastern neighbor.

This patient and not-to-be-discouraged wooing of Poland, was continued with every visit Goering made to Warsaw. And he was not alone. He played the part of a band-master, but all German guests, "*minorum gentium*," who visited the Polish capital, and all the employees of the German Embassy never missed an opportunity to try to convince the Poles of the lavish rewards to be won by a joint German-Polish march against Moscow.

In 1934 the German Government invited eight Polish journalists to make an airplane trip over Germany.

I happened to be one of them and I had, at that time, ample opportunity to convince myself that the German officials who accompanied us on the flight, as well as the Hitler politicians whom we met at the receptions tendered us, were genuinely interested in Poland as a future ally in the coming war with Russia. I also became aware of the efficiency of the German Intelligence Service and the thoroughness of its organizations. The Germans had detailed information about each of the eight visiting journalists and spared no effort to turn whatever subject which might be under discussion to the individual political affiliation and attitude of each of us.

Imagine my astonishment when one of the officials accompanying us turned to me and remarked casually:

"You, as a native of Southeastern Poland, must surely

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realize that the Ukrainian problem can be settled only by Poland and Germany working hand in hand."

The German Governor of East Prussia, Gauleiter Koch, also paid a visit to Warsaw to promote a German-Polish alliance against Russia. And in 1935 Frank, the present head of the General Government in Cracow, declared before a large assembly of political dignitaries:

"One thing is sure; Poland, France and Germany must stand together in order to create a solid front against the Comintern."

It was the opinion of Hitler's supporters that prerequisite to such a tripartite coalition was the taking over of the government in France, by the nationalistic right.

In 1937, while the Popular Front was at the helm in that country, General Gamelin, the French commander-in-chief, visited Poland. Count Szembek, who at the time was in Berlin, relates that apropos of this visit Goering said to him:

"It won't interfere in the least with our plans to have Poland draw nearer to the French Nationalists and collaborate with the French General Staff. Our only enemies are Bolshevism and the Popular Front."

Goering paid his last visit to Poland in 1938. This time he bagged three lynx. But on the Russian question he had little to say—and this without much enthusiasm. Five years of sounding out Poland had brought him no appreciable results.

Minister Beck and his entourage remained suavely

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evasive, giving no definite commitments, not answering with a categorical "No."

"Yes, of course, the Polish people to the last man despise and loathe Communism. . . . But the time is not yet ripe to come to any concrete decision. . . ."

There was a good deal of speculation in Warsaw as to Hitler's actual purpose. Was the proposed common attack on Russia his real objective, or was he only playing a game of strategy? The Bismarck idea of a Russo-German coalition against Poland, revived later in the Soviet-German treaty of Rapallo, had become something of a political dogma in Germany. On the other hand, to the mind of every German politician the obvious line of economic expansion led to the southeast, the mouth of the Danube, Turkey, and Iran. The triumph of Hitlerism had brought in its wake the ascendancy of the ideas of List and Naumann. So what lay back of this abrupt *volte face*?

In following this line of thought there was a lack of astuteness on the part of the Poles. As a matter of fact, Hitler's plan of a joint Polish-German expedition against Russia was not really in conflict either with Bismarck's policies or with the underlying motives of the Rapallo treaty. It was Hitler's dream that a German head should sit on the gigantic body of Slavonic Russia.

If this plan could be put into effect and if within a short time Germany could take over control of the vast realm comprising Greater Germany and Greater Russia, there would no longer be any *raison d'être* for smaller, weaker nations. What imaginable power would then

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be able to oppose the Fuehrer of Eurasia, to defy his whims, to thwart his will!

At one of the official receptions in 1934 I put the question fair and square to one of the outstanding German economic writers present who had been imbibing a little too freely.

"Does Hitler really look upon himself as Charles XII, and do you Germans actually propose the conquest of Russia?"

"Oh no," he replied, "nothing like that. We don't want to conquer Russia. We only want to reorganize her. You see, there are in the world today two forces which are shaping modern history. One of these is Anglo-American capitalism, the other Soviet Communism—already dominating one-sixth of the globe.

"German creative genius and the tremendous dynamism of the German people which have been unleashed by Hitler have no room for expansion. We are confined, as it were, in a corked bottle. The road to the southeast is blocked by Mussolini, who refuses to agree to the 'Anschluss.' We are forced, therefore, to turn eastward. We shall suffocate if we don't. The tremendous momentum of energy which has been generated, accumulated and organized by National Socialism cannot possibly find room enough even within our available 'lebensraum.' It's like setting the total power supply of the gigantic Dnieprostroy to work to supply the needs of a little village!

"Russia has everything—raw materials, a reservoir of docile workers, and tremendous unoccupied areas for

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colonization. All these potentialities are latent but crying out for development. When once we have re-organized Russia, then let England and America try, without us, to set up a world-wide economic policy! Let them try to dictate prices and juggle with standards of demand and supply!"

Then, noticing my amazement, he modified his tone, and added confidentially:

"Of course we couldn't do all this without your assistance. And you won't lose anything by coming in with us on this affair. What do the problems of Danzig and the Corridor amount to, compared with issues of such magnitude!"

It is clear that Hitler was not considering at that time any territorial acquisition in Russia. His plan was to crush Bolshevism, overthrow the Kremlin régime, and busy himself with the reorganization and exploitation of the country. It is also clear that to carry out this purpose would have inevitably resulted in a partition of Poland between Germany and a German-dominated Russia.

Small wonder that the scheme won the enthusiastic support of the dreamer, Alfred Rosenberg, as well as that of the Rapallo crowd and, in the end, of Goering, Krupp and Thyssen!

Hitler's Russian policy fired the imagination of all Germans. There was little doubt in their minds that it could be successfully carried out. The prospect for Russia in the Far East was far from bright. Deterding's oil propaganda had been most successful, and the

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Western Powers made no secret of their lack of interest. Western diplomacy was doing its best to divert Hitler's attention from the West and the South of Europe and to focus it on the East.

Hitler felt safe. The only thing he had to do was to win Poland over to his scheme.

But in Warsaw they refused to play ball. They wouldn't say "Yes." There was nothing else for the chameleon to do but to change the color of his skin.

That is exactly what he did.

WHICH HITLER IS THE REAL HITLER?

FOR many years, the journalistic world has been racking its brains to decide which Hitler is the true and authentic Hitler.

Is it Hitler-Robespierre of the years 1919-1920, a grotesque figure in his role of creator of a new nationalistic religion and a new social-economic doctrine, representative of the anti-bourgeois vanguard, author of the twenty-five points of the National Socialistic program, the implacable destroyer of "slavery to percentages," the enemy of compromises, the romantic revolutionary, the bosom friend of Gregor Strasser and Gottfried Koehler?

Is it Hitler-Talleyrand, master of perfidious art of back-stage manoeuvres and compromise, concluding pacts with capitalistic sharks like Thyssen and Krupp, with Junkers and Catholics, pledging his friendship to-day only to betray it tomorrow?

Or is it Hitler-Chamberlain of 1938, ardent advocate

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of collaboration with Great Britain, of a Nordic Germany's domination of Europe and, in agreement with Anglo-Saxon America, of the whole world?

Perhaps the real Hitler is the Hitler-Napoleon of 1939, on whose banner was inscribed the slogan: "Great Britain and her Empire must be destroyed!"

Or Hitler-Charlemagne, the revitalizer of the Holy German Empire, the classic imperialist and anti-revolutionary, the Pied Piper of order, harmony and the sanctity of family life?

Is it Hitler-Charles XII, incorrigible dreamer, poet of wide-open spaces, demon of lightning action, prophet of the "dangerous life"?

Is it Hitler-Caesar, creator of "Gross-raum," according to the blue-prints of Reichenau-Schmidt?

Or Hitler-Genghis Khan, the greedy conqueror and destroyer, founder of a new world empire?

Which of these impersonations is the real and authentic Hitler?

All of them and none of them.

Hitler himself is not a clearly defined psychological entity but, so to speak, a medium, a composite of forces without focus or direction.

Agreed. . . . But it is argued that National Socialism has, if not a program and a doctrine, at least (to use Sorel's terminology) a myth of its own, a myth of race, of social revolution, of struggle against communism. This fact, this argument continues, determined in advance the course of National Socialism's future evolution.

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There are many who still believe that Hitler's policies are the logical and factual realization of the plans outlined in "Mein Kampf."

Hitlerism however is not a rigid dogma emanating from a fount of ideological doctrine. It is a morbid phenomenon conceived in the orgiastic lust of a nation for unbridled license, a nation bewitched by the black magic of its "Fuehrer."

It is not a myth of race, of blood, of social revolution; it is a myth of power—the will-to-power. The shape of events, as they unfold, determines the path along which this will-to-power, this lust for power and destruction, will seek its satisfaction and appeasement.

There probably does exist a very thin thread of doctrinal logic running straight through the evolution of National Socialism, from the "Sturm und Drang" period of Strasser and Feder up to the theory of Juenger. But Hitler and those associated with him in shaping the policies of the Third Reich, have never concerned themselves with such things. Exponents of the pure ideology of National Socialism, once they have fulfilled their mission in the party, have been eased out from positions of importance or have wound up in prison.

Hitler (and the nation which he has transformed into a "super-being," panting for power) might just as easily have found the realization of his aims in some form of national bolshevist imperialism as in a reactionary despotic hegemony over Europe.

The only thing that really matters is that the German nation become master of the world, and that within

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the nation there exist a ruling caste, a Hitlerian élite, a cross between Spengler's ideal of the "beast-of-prey" and Nietzsche's "Superman."

It would be a naïve illusion to imagine that Hitler could be deterred from the pursuit of his fantastic schemes by doctrinal consideration. Dr. Karl Haushofer is a general purveyor of arguments for Hitler's political schemes. This general of the German army is at the same time professor, and inventor of an exceedingly striking theory called the "Lebensraum." This theory has little in common with real science, but is rather like a piece of chewing gum, thanks to its flexibility. It might be applied to any political scheme.

Until 1933 the German nation needed badly to be convinced of the genius of the rising star, called Hitler, and in that epoch Professor Haushofer's "geopolitic" helped him to construct a "scientific" argument for the new Hitlerian creed, which is based on a blind faith in self-sufficiency of Germany. Professor Haushofer tried to prove that even the boycotting of Hitler, promoted by Western plutocracies, would not be prejudicial to Germany, because Germany is a self-sufficient country and is able to exist and progress without anybody's help.

When the Hitlerian régime was already settled there arose a new task of preparing German general opinion, as well as the wide world, to accept Hitler's audacious plans, and then Professor Haushofer worked out a new theory: "Volk ohne Raum," the contention that Germany lacked vital space.

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But what kind of space would be necessary to Germany, in order to give German people an opportunity of a normal development . . .

Professor Haushofer finds always the right answer, which depends upon the newest plans of Hitler.

In 1935-6 Haushofer endeavored to convince the world that Germany would be self-sufficient only on condition that the Reich got the Donau-Raum, meaning the former Austrian territories. This answer was given before the Anschluss, the incorporating of Austria by Germany.

As Hitler's greediness grew gradually also the theory became altered and modified, and Professor Haushofer succeeded again in modifying all his doctrines. . . .

Before the incorporation of Czechoslovakia and of the Sudeten the German "scientist" invented a new theory of the Middle-European-Economic-Space, but Hitler marched further, so about a year later Haushofer set about to forge the Eurafrica theory.

The "Lebensraum" is expanding at a devilish speed.

One could draw the conclusion that the elastic German theory of Lebensraum will be still modified and that it will, in one of its metamorphoses, produce the rebirth of the old Eurasian doctrine. Its transformations depend only on the speed of the triumphal march of Hitler.

What are the reactions of the German public opinion to the rapid metamorphoses of the "scientific" concepts of Professor Haushofer?

Years ago the German writer Hebbel, found a clever

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formula of the average German. He said that "A German is a typical 'infinitive-mood'; he can be altered. '—Der Deutsche ist der geborene Infinitiv. Er lässt sich declinieren.'"

The journalistic world has often asked itself in the past how public opinion in Germany would react to the glaring inconsistencies in Hitler's policies. It has reasoned that since Hitler had conditioned the whole nation to unreasoning faith in a definite creed, repeated violations of his own dogma would eventually bring him to a head-on collision with public opinion.

An illusion!

German opinion will adjust itself to any and all of his political shifts, will put up with and condone all his inconsistencies.

There is only one thing they will not forgive him—defeat!

As long as Hitler is victorious, he can do whatever he wishes. He can bind himself to the ultra-reactionaries, he can make an alliance with the Bolsheviks, he might even appoint a Jew his Secretary of the Treasury! For although Hitlerism has in its nature something of a religious character, it is a religion with only one dogma. For the masses this dogma is the Frederician and Bismarckian myth of German superiority and power; for the ruling élite, indulgence in unbridled license in a "Great Adventure" along unknown roads of destiny.

But the moral inconsistencies of Nazism are, perhaps, more amazing than even the ideological aberrations.

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In 1940, in the lobby of a Paris hotel I met a good friend of mine, a Dutchman. He had in his hand a copy of the *Black Book*, recently published by the Polish Government-in-exile, which gave an account of German atrocities in Poland. He said to me in great distress:

"I have been reading this and, to speak frankly, I don't know what to make of it. The facts presented here seem to be accurate.

"From reliable sources while I was still in Amsterdam I heard shocking accounts. But in spite of everything, I can't bring myself to believe them.

"Is it possible that all this can be true? I know the Germans inside out. I studied there for three years, and since then I have visited the country many times every year. I have many friends in Germany. I understand its different classes. I know, of course, that in every country there are a certain number of moral derelicts, sadists and criminals. But if all that is told here about the conduct of Germans in Poland be true, it would mean that not merely a small percentage, but a substantial part of the whole German people abandoned itself over to a frenzy of crime and destruction. I don't know what to think.

"What has happened to the honest, God-fearing, sentimental 'petit-bourgeois,' to intellectual circles, to the morally healthy peasantry?"

There are many who seek to explain the question posed by my friend as follows:

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"As a matter of fact," they say, "the great majority of the Germans haven't changed. They stand, as they always have stood, for positive values and enduring virtues in all fields of human idealism. The atrocities were committed by sadists—scores, or even hundreds of thousands of them—by the Gestapo, or by fanatical youngsters who were out of hand. But the others, the nation as a whole, is held in an iron vise of terror, unable to make its voice heard."

This line of reasoning is uninformed and basically false.

It seems to me that Karl Barth hit the nail on the head when he wrote that "National Socialism can be understood only when it is considered as a new Islam, propagating the myth of a new Allah, with Hitler as his prophet. . . .

It is no mere coincidence that in many parts of the world which have no cultural links with each other Hitler is spoken of as the "anti-Christ."

We are not speaking of the so-called "Nordic religion." This singular cult exists, with its own saints and its own calendar, but it has never been taken seriously by the leaders of the Third Reich. Hitlerism, however, can in sober truth be called a religious movement founded on irrational faith in the mission of the Germans as a "chosen people."

Every German (and this is true not only of Hitler's generation) sees his God in the blood and soil ("Blut und Boden") of the Fatherland. From earliest child-

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hood on, a succession of organizations—Pimpfs, Jugendvolk, Hitler-Jugend, Ordensburg, S.S. and S.A. drill into every German the conviction that only in the German nation can be found the true measure of all values. And inasmuch as a jealous world does not “permit the Germans to be Germans,” they must, if they are to fulfill their mission, go forth and conquer that world.

If one traces the development of Hitlerian ideology from the promulgation of the twenty-five points to the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the plans for the new order in Europe, there will not be found a shred of logic or doctrinal continuity.

The general line of the program is a morbid dream of an omnipotent Germany and of 250 million Germans ruling the world. In all other respects, not excluding even the most fundamental social problems, the problem is flexible, easily adjustable to the exigencies of any given moment.

In a conversation with Otto Strasser on May 22, 1930, Hitler remarked:

“National Socialism wouldn’t be worth its salt if it confined itself to Germany. We must impose on the whole world for a period of from one to two thousand years the domination of a superior race.”

Gripped by this quasi-religious psychosis, the German nation does not ask ideological consistency of Hitler. To them Hitler is infallible. If it appears sometimes that his performance does not always square with

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his program, this is due to the fact that "we simple Germans are unable to understand his supernatural genius. . . ."

There is no such thing as a uniform type of a German Hitlerite.

Hitlerian Germany is threefold.

The cornerstone on which the whole conception is founded is the theory that Germany is a "master race," a racial "upper ten thousand."

Life is seen as a Great Adventure, an indulgence in the maximum of sense impressions. Christianity, with its "creed of weakness," is held to be inimical to the German conception of manly honor.

Nazism is not circumscribed within the limitations of an immutable doctrine, but possesses a flexible and evolving dynamism.

Nazism, in the beginning, was a synthesis of Nationalism and Socialism. The socialistic luggage was thrown overboard later. Today only imperialism is left.

Its sole and durable feature is the "will-to-power," regardless of any moral implications or of the doctrinal substance involved.

Spengler has formulated for this caste an ideal of "ancestral barbarism" which must spend itself during a period of world-devastating wars, a period which will be a modern recapitulation of the "two terrible centuries between the battle of Cannae and the battle of Actium."

As long as they cling to the ideal of a life lived

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dangerously in the breath-taking atmosphere of the Great Adventure, there is no possible way to persuade them, convince them, or frighten them with the possibility of ultimate defeat.

At the apex of the National Socialistic pyramid stands the modern robber baron, the "Raubritter," who in the course of his growing prosperity has thrown off the halo of romanticism, while keeping his predatory instincts intact. Men of this calibre, who have known the pinch of poverty and who lack any core of inner integrity, lose no time in lining their own pockets, once they come into a position of unrestricted power.

They started by confiscating the property of the Jews and of those Aryans who failed to fall into step with the new régime. Then came the pillage of war, the systematic looting of the occupied countries, and finally, the graft and bribery which is engulfing all Germany today like a tidal wave.

High ranking officials of the government and leaders of the party are amassing fabulous fortunes. Gangster bookkeeping has replaced the romanticism of the medieval highway man.

This is the first class of the German élite.

The second class consists of from eight hundred thousand to two million praetorian robots. These are the youth of Germany, reared in the school of Hitlerian ethics. They have been trained to be fearless and merciless. In battle they are stimulated with drugs, in peace with visions of the Third Reich's glory and greatness. For prizes they receive Iron Crosses and a

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triple ration of butter. From among them are recruited the flyers, the S.S. men and the members of the Gestapo. A million or two young men, devoid of all moral scruples, ready for anything!

In 1940 I met in Paris a prominent representative of the anti-Hitler emigrés. Conversation touched on the subject of these Third Reich praetorians.

"I don't know," said my companion, "how many of them there are. Hitler has ruined morally the whole body of German youth. Anywhere from one to two million half-educated boys, brought up in such a way that all ability to distinguish good from evil has been deliberately rooted out of their nature. They are a terrible menace to the future of Germany. What can be done with them! They will never be able to live a normal life under normal conditions.

"I see but one solution: to despatch them as a conquering army against Communistic Russia."

This is the second Germany.

What is the third?

An amorphous mass, blindly submissive to orders of organized violence and terror. Today they are Hitlerites—tomorrow they may be pacifists . . . the next day democrats . . . but always they are gripped in an iron vise of terror, enmeshed in a net of cunning propaganda. All, however, simple peasant, kindly "Spiessbürger," learned savant are ready and eager to enroll as soldiers in the army of Hitlerian world revolution.

How does this incomprehensible metamorphosis take

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place? How does it happen that the good-natured and sentimental German peasant and small-townsmen can transform themselves in the twinkling of an eye into fanatical crusaders for Hitler's cause?

Everything in Germany, even to the soul of a man, is classified, organized and filed. In one compartment is found everything pertaining to the individual's private life. The file right next to it is labelled "national duties." Each of these compartments has its own psychic climate. But the switch connecting "private life," wherein a certain standard of ethics is obligatory, with "national duties," which are beyond the borders of good and evil, works automatically.

After listening to a Haydn concerto, in an atmosphere of sentimental and God-fearing family life, the German is ready the next moment to commit the worst possible crime, the basest deed, if this is required by a sense of his national duty or is ordered by his Fuehrer.

Side by side with these three strata one finds in Germany a fourth class—one which has remained unchanged amidst the continuously changing régimes and systems—a class animated by the spirit of Frederick II and Bismarck. This is the Reichswehr, the Germany of the skilled craftsman, which has carried to fulfilment the visions of her Ottos, Karls, Fredericks, Bismarck, . . . and Hitler.

No, there is no single chemical sign which symbolizes the soul of Germany.

The march of Hitlerian Germany towards world power goes forward on roads which cannot be charted

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or predicted. But in spite of all appearances, contrary to the opinion generally held, Hitler's tactics invariably follow the line of least resistance. If the material he is using does not turn out as he expected, if it lacks softness, malleability or reliability, he turns at once in another direction.

The secret of his success, in large part, lies in his readiness to change his plans as easily as he would change his gloves. Thanks to this, he has been able to fall upon his victims by surprise, to take them unawares, unprepared, unawake. An excellent example of this "surprise tactic" was the murder of his closest friend, Captain Roehm.

But most characteristic—and most significant for the fate of the world—were the events of March 7, 1936. On that day with a series of lightning strokes, Hitler startled all Europe, waking her out of her deep dream of pacifism.

3

THE DAY THAT DECIDED EUROPE'S FATE

ON MARCH 7, 1936, Germany stirred Europe and the world by occupying the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland.

In the morning of that historic day, von Neurath notified the representatives of France, England, Belgium, and Italy that Germany was denouncing the Locarno Pact; not a "diktat" of the Versailles Treaty, but a pact signed of her own free will at Locarno. . . .

At noon Chancellor Hitler addressed the Reichstag, which was called in special session. In his speech he announced to the world that at that very moment the German army was crossing the bridge over the Rhine to seize the demilitarized zone.

An hour later, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Beck, invited the French Ambassador in Warsaw, M. Noel, to his office.

"In view of this violation on the part of Germany of the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact," he said,

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"I wish to inform you, Mr. Ambassador, that Poland will adhere strictly to the terms of the Franco-Polish alliance of 1921. She is ready, in case of armed conflict with Germany, to fulfill her obligations as an ally of France. Were I the French Minister of Foreign Affairs," he continued, "I would consider the seizure of the Rhineland a *casus belli*. As Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, I consider it a *casus foederis* which obligates us to take our stand at once by the side of France. Do we march?"

Cautious M. Noel thanked him, but gave no definite answer. He promised only to get in touch with Paris.

In the afternoon one of my friends who was in close touch with the French, rang me on the phone.

"Get out your uniform," he said. "Mobilization will be announced tomorrow."

About nine o'clock in the evening the semi-official ISKRA agency gave out to the editorial staffs of the Warsaw newspapers a communiqué which seemed to us evidence of a serious misunderstanding, if not, indeed, an outright blunder.

On the one hand, it censured Hitler for his lawlessness, pointing out that his action could not fail to jeopardize any further confidence in Germany's good faith; on the other hand it suggested in a very subtle fashion that Hitler's act was justified by the pro-Soviet policies of France. . . .

We were dumbfounded!

In the afternoon a proposal to mobilize and march; in the evening a communiqué which amounted virtu-

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ally to a justification of the occupation of the Rhineland!

Around midnight Ambassador Noel called in two Polish journalists.

He was surprised and shocked. He inquired whether it would be possible to hold up publication of the ISKRA communiqué.

"This afternoon," he said, "Minister Beck told me that were he the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, he would consider the invasion of the Rhineland a *casus belli*, and that as Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, he considered it a *casus foederis*. I gave him no definite answer, but I immediately got a wire off to Paris. Now this communiqué appears which flatly contradicts his statement of the afternoon. What does it mean?"

It was difficult, indeed, to solve this strange riddle.

The next day, in the buffet room of the Seym, a journalist who had close relations with Foreign Office circles, summed up the whole matter tersely:

"This afternoon, Minister Beck received an important long distance call from Paris. . . ."

The call had come from the Polish Chargé d'Affaires.

Immediately after his conversation with Ambassador Noel, Beck had ordered the Polish Embassy in Paris to give an identical statement to the French Government.

The Polish Ambassador being absent from Paris, the Second Counsellor of the Embassy, acting as Chargé d'Affaires, went to see M. Flandin, the Foreign Secretary.

In the waiting room he met the British Ambassador and the Minister of Czechoslovakia.

After the two had left, he was received by Flandin.

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"My government," he said, "has instructed me to tell you that it stands ready to fulfil its obligation as an ally of France. In case France feels it necessary to take military action, the Polish Government will immediately order mobilization—with all its consequences."

M. Flandin thanked him cordially, but obviously embarrassed, did not commit himself in his reply. The Polish diplomat then asked him squarely what the position of the French Government was in the matter.

Flandin threw up his hands:

"What do you want? . . . England does not want to march. . . ." (*ne marche pas*).

Asking no further questions, the Polish Chargé d'Affaires hurried off to telephone Beck.

Two years later the same Polish diplomat, on the day of the "Anschluss" of Austria, under instructions of the Warsaw government, went to see the French Foreign Minister Delbos, to inquire what France's attitude might be.

M. Delbos replied:

"What do you want? . . . It is awful . . . Hitler goes marching on, while we stand back. . . . But . . . the Italians don't want to march. . . ." (*ne marchent pas*).

Why was all this allowed to happen? Why was no effort made to challenge Germany on March 7, 1936?

We know now that on that day, after listening to Hitler's speech, M. Flandin, Foreign Minister in the cabinet of Sarraut, immediately got in touch with London by telephone. As soon as he had finished his conversa-

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tion he went to a special meeting of the French Cabinet to which General Gamelin, the French Commander-in-Chief, had been invited.

I have had no access to the minutes of that meeting, but one of the most reliable French journalists has assured me that when M. Flandin took the floor, manifestly under great nervous tension, and stated that "England won't march,"—that "London proposes to negotiate"—not one of those present appeared in the least shocked or perturbed.

The matter might have ended then and there, had it not been for one of the ministers who raised the feeble question:

"What are we going to do about it?"

The eyes of all riveted themselves on General Gamelin.

"According to information which I have from our Intelligence Service," the General said, "the Germans have entered the Rhineland timidly and with small forces. They are afraid of our reaction, they are not sure of themselves. Although France can not risk a war, inasmuch as England refuses to march, I am confident that a vigorous and determined demonstration on our part, if taken at once, could save the situation and induce Hitler to withdraw."

"What kind of demonstration?"

"Mobilization," answered the General. "Not necessarily a complete mobilization, but say a draft of ten or fifteen classes."

Silence—a long silence. Finally a question:

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"How much would that cost? How long would the drafted men have to remain under arms?"

"I couldn't give you the precise figures of the mobilization expenses," Gamelin replied. "But in my judgment the men would have to remain mobilized for about two months."

A fifteen-minutes recess followed, after which the Finance Minister took the floor.

"It would be an enormously expensive thing to do what General Gamelin asks. I would have to ask Parliament at once to find new ways of raising taxes. Otherwise the budget would collapse under the new burden."

No one had anything further to say. The ministers had performed their patriotic duty, and with minds and hearts at peace they filed out and went home. . . .

And how about England? How did London on that memorable day look at the situation?

The first shock produced by Hitler's outrage having died down, the slogan heard all over London was:

"Don't irritate Hitler! . . . Germany has only taken back territory that was rightfully hers. . . . Restrictions placed on her were unjust. . . . Even if Hitler does show an iron fist, with the other hand he offers us an olive branch. He wants to negotiate. . . . After all, he isn't so terrible. . . . Didn't he tell Ward Price a few days ago that he was willing to make non-aggression pacts with Austria and Czechoslovakia? . . ."

Thus they reasoned in London and consistent with this line of reasoning, came to the following conclusion:

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"Since the very mention of the Versailles Treaty makes Hitler foam at the mouth, let's forget all about that treaty and confine ourselves to the Locarno Pact which he has formally acknowledged. The seizure of the Rhineland is an infringement on that pact only. Let's suggest to France to lay her grievance formally before the League of Nations, according to obligatory procedure. That will enable us to invite Germany to Geneva, since of course, unless she is represented, we can't do anything about the matter. In this way, at the small cost of agreeing to the occupation of the Rhineland we shall get new pacts at bargain prices. . . ."

On March 7, 1936, Hitler first violated the Versailles Treaty overtly. But it was France and England who were responsible for its final collapse.

This day saw the beginning of the history of World War II. On this day two masks were removed in Europe: Hitler cast aside his mask of false negotiations and he slipped off the mask of dignity and pride from the faces of West European politicians revealing a countenance distorted with fear and a sense of their own ineptitude.

The epilogue of the events of March 7, 1936, took place the next week at a conference of the Locarno signatory powers in London, and later, at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations.

This session of the Council, which met to express a sharp protest on the part of all Europe against the violation of the Rhineland, was opened with an invitation to Germany, a non-member, to be present.

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"We cannot discuss the problem unless Germany is represented."

The Council voted unanimously to send the invitation. They waited patiently for three days, only to listen afterwards to Ribbentrop's tirades . . . and to sanction the step Hitler had taken.

At the close of the session, minister Beck invited Polish correspondents to his hotel. Here he made the following statement:

"Gentlemen, you were witnesses today to the reaction of Western politicians and of the League of Nations to the seizure of the Rhineland. You heard the speech of M. Flandin. . . . I am told that one of you has been so upset by the seeming inconsistencies of my policy that for two nights he has not been able to sleep . . .

"On the 7th of March I informed M. Noel that Poland was ready to act immediately, if France decided to mobilize. But after a two-hour talk with him and, more particularly, after a telephone conversation with Paris, I realized beyond all shadow of a doubt, that France would take no action.

"That was the reason why on the very same day and without delay I issued the communiqué making plain the future attitude of Poland.

"I said to myself: 'If France decides to go to war with Hitler, we will march with her instantly. But if in spite of everything, France wants peace with Hitler, Poland, as a weaker nation and one more perilously

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situated, should be the first to take the initiative for peace.'

"Here you have the answer to the riddle of March 7, 1936," Mr. Beck continued. "As you see, gentlemen, I am not a politician; I am a gambler. If I were Foreign Minister in a country situated somewhere between Norway and Sweden, I could afford the luxury of considerations of 'fair play.' But since my country lies between Hitlerian Germany and Bolshevik Russia and since, moreover, my Western colleagues do not recognize the principle of 'fair play,' I find it difficult, all by myself, to play the role of a Don Quixote."

In this cynical attitude Beck proved to be no more than an apt pupil of his Western masters.

Let us look briefly at the sequence of events which shaped Poland's foreign policies in Europe, beginning with the year 1919.

At the Peace Conference Lloyd George exerted all his wiles to prevent the establishment of a strong western boundary line for the newly created Polish State. In 1920, at the critical moment when the Bolsheviks were marching on Warsaw, the West left Poland to shift for herself. Such material assistance as was given her in the last minute, stopped short at the frontiers. Then came Locarno, with its implicit encouragement to Germany to challenge Poland's western boundaries; followed by the anti-Polish policies of Briand and the stubborn unwillingness of France to commit herself to any reciprocal pact of mutual assistance with Poland.

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Finally the long flirtation of the Western Powers with Germany which led up to the notorious Pact of the Four.

As ultimate conclusion, the year 1933.

On January 30th of that year Hitler succeeded in worming himself into power.

Poland, realizing that the decisive hour had struck, that further passivity and compliance would lead to catastrophe, made up her mind to take the initiative. Into the harbor of Danzig steamed the Polish warship "Wicher" and a reinforced Polish garrison occupied Westerplatte.

How did Poland's allies and the Western Powers react to these moves?

At the next session of the League of Nations the Western allies denounced Poland's *action directe*, and censured her sharply.

Always in the background of political thinking was the more or less tacit assumption that an understanding with Hitler might be the best guarantee against further spread of Bolshevism.

The well-known plan of Lord Rothermere frankly proposed that France and England back Germany in her demands on Poland for the "Corridor," and on Russia for colonization territories. . . .

Sometimes one had the impression that the strategy and maneuvering of the Western Powers to bolster up the creaking edifice of European peace had become a competition to see which of them could do the most to help Hitler in carrying out his schemes.

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The position of Poland began to stand out in bold relief. One by one the clauses of the Versailles Treaty crumbled. But the democracies seemed to hide their heads deliberately in the sand, willfully refusing to recognize the fact of Germany's growing strength.

Peace at any price—that was their one and only aim. In such an attitude the spirit of defeatism was already inherent. The French politicians, blind to the tremendous changes going on in Europe, were stubbornly pinning their faith on Russia, refusing to pledge themselves definitely as far as Poland was concerned.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it was felt by both Pilsudski and Beck that Poland could place no reliance in France and England. They feared that at any moment she might be betrayed by the Western Powers in the "superior interests of European peace." They therefore believed that the soundest policy was to make a diplomatic play with Germany. In his effort to arrive at an understanding with the Reich, Beck, of course, did not for a moment believe in the stability of such a relation.

"It gives us ten years of peace," he said. "That's all. We must make use of the time to arm ourselves. And meanwhile, perhaps those Western politicians will get the glaucoma out of their eyes. . . ."

In circles close to him it was asserted that Beck, before actually committing himself to a negotiated agreement with Germany, formally proposed to France and England a preventive war against Germany.

In spite of my best efforts I have been unable to sub-

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stantiate this report. I am rather inclined to think that any such proposal, if actually made, was of an informal nature. In the atmosphere of suspicion and thinly-veiled intrigue which characterized the interplay of relations between the various powers, there was no psychological basis for frank and sincere discussion. In place of open and definite proposals, resort was had on both sides to tentative suggestions and plays for position.

However, Beck's intimates say that in 1933, when Hitler first came to power, these suggestions on the part of Beck amounted to a proposal of an immediate preventive war against Germany to check her rapidly-growing power.

Quite recently someone who had been in Pilsudski's confidence, told me that in the summer of 1933 the Marshal had given Beck the following instructions:

"Tell the French and the British that in settling their relations with Germany they must remember that there still remains an empty space between Berlin and Warsaw. Poland must either unite with France and England to crush German imperialism before it is too late, or she will be compelled to come quickly to an agreement with Hitler."

"What you say is logical and right," agreed the West. "But public opinion in our countries won't stand for war. Our people won't even hear of the possibility of an armed conflict."

Before the "Anschluss" took place, England inquired

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in Warsaw whether Poland was ready to oppose the incorporation of Austria into the Reich.

The Poles answered: "Yes, if you are ready to mobilize, too."

But neither in 1933 nor in the year of the "Anschluss" were England and France willing to listen to any suggestion of mobilization or war. They believed that peace could be maintained by diplomatic measures, by attempts to keep alive something that actually did not exist—the European "balance of power. . . ."

Was Beck right in thus engaging Poland in political maneuvers with Germany?

Positively not. But in the light of historical facts we may affirm that his mistakes were of a derivative nature. They were based upon concrete inferences drawn by him from those Western methods which, starting with the play for balance of power at the Peace Conference, had led them *via* Locarno, Briand's policies, the powerlessness of the League of Nations and the Pact of the Four—straight to Munich.

The non-aggression pact between Poland and Germany, concluded in January, 1934, was nothing more than an interlude designed to give Poland a breathing spell. When in April, 1939, Beck was satisfied that further attempts to arrive at an understanding with Germany were futile, he abruptly changed his policy and became overnight the very standard-bearer of anti-German diplomacy.

The verdict of history will certainly exonerate him of

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any blame for his lack of faith in the principle of collective security under the guarantee of the League of Nations. His experiences in that realm were alas, only too convincing.

I scarcely knew the man. I have never exchanged more than a few words with him on official occasions. But during my journalistic career I have devoted scores of articles to a critical analysis of his foreign policy. One charge against him we must allow: in his methods he was no whit behind his more powerful Western colleagues. As far as his common sense and consistency are concerned we must admit in all honesty that in his dealings with them he often went them one better at their own game.

Beck made three basic mistakes:

(1) Because of his belief in the doctrinal logic of Russian and German politics, he felt sure that these two countries could never bridge their ideological differences; he did not believe in another Rapallo.

(2) In 1939 he yielded to the temptation to seize Teschen under circumstances which reflected little credit or honor on the Poles. In his defense it should be stated that Teschen was a purely Polish territory which had been taken away from Poland, and that in this area were large steel and iron works, as well as armament factories which had to be kept from falling into German hands. Nevertheless, the synchronizing of the seizure of Teschen with Hitler's move against Czechoslovakia made a very bad impression on world opinion.

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(3) Beck was conceited. His conceit was compounded of stubbornness and arrogance. It was due to this that the Polish Government, trusting too fully in his understanding of the international situation, was taken by surprise in the fall of 1939.

On the credit side of the ledger we must enter the fact that Beck was the first minister to make an alliance with Great Britain. Moreover, in May, 1939, abandoning the whole sorry game of maneuvering, in the face of all sober considerations and backed by the unanimous approval of the whole Polish nation he answered Hitler's demands with a resounding "No!"

HITLER'S PARTNERS IN SPITE OF THEMSELVES

IN 1939 Hitler precipitated the war. But the fundamental cause of its final outbreak was the fact that in all Europe fear of war had outrun the ability to keep the peace.

Were Hitler to be called before a bar of justice to answer for his crimes, the Prosecuting Attorney might sum up his case in words not unlike the following:

And now that we are able to appraise the enormity of the defendant's guilt, let us ask ourselves how it was possible for the world to look on year by year, watching this arch-criminal as he developed his nefarious plan, step by step, and not make the slightest effort to stop him! As if infatuated, the democracies of the world did everything they possibly could to help those who were wrecking the peace.

In this connection there were many unwitting co-culprits, among them high-minded statesmen and politicians. I will now name some of the most outstanding among these men:

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Woodrow Wilson, in creating the League of Nations, made her a watchman, but gave her no weapon. The League, though it had no executive power whatever, lulled the nations into a false sense of security, influenced the guardians of peace to disarm, and permitted the aggressor to rearm.

Lloyd George, priest of a false god, the so-called "balance of power on the Continent," in the name of which victorious England in 1919 took up the cudgels for conquered Germany at the expense of France and the mid-European countries. Lloyd George stifled at birth the normal instinct of self-defense and opposed himself to the intelligent view that a peace of half measures would lead only to an attempt on Germany's part to retaliate.

The political and economic leaders of France, England, The United States, Holland, Switzerland and Belgium, for granting to Germany credits of twelve and a half billion dollars in gold. This huge loan enabled Germany to rearm and was the basis of the Hitler-Schacht experiment.

The political and economic leaders of these rich nations who, having given Germany these immense credits, when the world depression broke in 1929-30, withdrew into the shell of their own inner life, praying for salvation to yet another false god—"economic self sufficiency."

The international liberals whose ostrich policy blocked the way to reform, deepened the crisis and, in large measure, facilitated the success of the totalitarian States in social and economic fields.

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Briand and Chamberlain, authors (together with Stresemann and Scialoja) of Locarno. This pact guaranteed the integrity of boundaries on Germany's west, but left, as Beck put it, on the eastern side, the side towards Poland and Czechoslovakia, "a little sand and on the sand a little stick supported by another little stick." The creators of Locarno put on an extraordinary stunt. They insured the ground floor against outbreak of fire on the second storey and, at the same time, by the Treaty of Thoiry, they invited the incendiary into the house.

The entire body of French and English diplomats who, so blinded by fear that they could not see the progressive significance of (1) Locarno; (2) Germany's defiant rearmament challenge (December 11, 1932); (3) revival of Article XIX of the Geneva Protocol; and (4) the Pact of the Four, did everything they possibly could to direct Germany's aggressive expansion eastward.

Ramsay MacDonald, responsible for the moral disarmament of the world and, in the case of England, her physical disarmament as well.

E. Herriot and MacDonald, co-authors of the Geneva protocol, for deceiving themselves and others by trying to outlaw war through verbal phraseology.

Laval and Hoare who, in the name of "peace at any price," were the first to appease the stronger at the expense of the weaker.

The governments of France and England, for their stubborn adherence to the fiction of Geneva and to the

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policy of disarmament, long after events in Manchuria and Abyssinia had proved the worthlessness of paper pacts of security.

The subtle, specious commentators on the Covenant of the League of Nations (especially of Article XVI), for the confusion they brought about by their juridical casuistry, and for creating an atmosphere in which it was not possible to solve even the simplest question.

The great majority of writers and journalists who, in the years 1933-1934 saw in Hitler only a clown and who, by prophesying the early collapse of the Third Reich, stilled the vigilance of Europe.

The whole motley array of pacifists who, during the period in which the incendiary was preparing his crime, tried their best to liquidate the fire department.

All the French and English politicians of the period between the two wars, for their naïve faith that the appetite of the totalitarian powers could be appeased, and for their policy of cowardly capitulation. This created in Europe a dictatorship of fear, under which the totalitarian States, undisturbed, were able to organize for their war of aggression.

Eden and Flandin, leaders of foreign policy in England and France during the Rhineland crisis, for their inability to call up in that decisive hour a minimum of courage and decision, and for opening the road to an aggressor, still weak, to further successes.

Beck, Benes and Titulescu, for the fact that they could not see the common danger that threatened them but, stubbornly defying reality, based all their political

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maneuvering on the assumption that Russia and Germany could never come to an agreement.

Leaders of foreign policy in England and France for their naive faith that Russia (always walking her own and different path) could be drawn into the frame of the European concert.

In all this long list of involuntary co-culprits who helped bring on the catastrophe of the war, I consider least guilty to be Chamberlain and Daladier, authors of the Munich capitulation. These two were the helpless victims of a tremendous avalanche of mistakes which, with the inexorability of fate, toppled the world into the abyss.

The entire twenty-year period between the years 1919 and 1939 was the feeble offspring of a transitory epoch. Enmeshed in tragic controversies, without chart or compass, this era will stand in history like a faltering, irresolute Hamlet unable to choose between the splendor, irretrievably vanished, of the 19th century and the realistic necessity of seeking new roads, new ways and new methods.

In setting up the League of Nations, as an organ of international politics, it had been decided to break with the methods of secret diplomacy and balance of power in the European concert. But the authors of the Geneva institution, while recognizing the imperfections of old concepts, were unable to devise any new system of international mechanics, nor did they break with the old methods. The result was a tragic, discordant con-

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ception, without shape, form or character. For over twenty years they walked an always inconclusive zig-zag of experiment.

The only clearly defined objective of the whole period was "peace at any price."

But he who is willing to concede anything, rather than fight, can surely foresee his own capitulation. It is the policy of the coward, who in fear of the "hold-up" which he sees coming, thinks only of handing over his valuables as quickly and as quietly as possible.

Fear of war, fear of revolution, fear of their own people, fear of their own allies at times—this was what filled the minds and hearts of the average European politician between the years 1919-1939. And because of this fear they behaved, in the words of a contemporary Polish poet, "like drunken children in a fog, pushed by some fatalistic compulsion over the edge of a precipice."

In the field of economic and international cooperation, there was a similar situation. In 1918, after the cataclysm of the war was over, the leaders of the great powers undertook to reconstitute the ruined balance of power, just as if nothing had changed in the last four years. The liberalism of the 19th century, which resulted from the systematic progress of national prosperity, had come to be regarded as if it were a fixed natural law.

The fact was entirely ignored that because of the impoverishment of Europe and changes in distribution of

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natural resources in other parts of the world, the economic life of some of the nations had drastically changed.

Strange phenomena were taking place. In certain countries bastions of liberalism were falling, competition was limited and the free interplay of supply and demand had given way to a system of collective agreements and a directed economy.

The rich nations were constantly saying to their poor clients: "Everything will be all right as soon as you do away with restrictions on imports."

They were entirely oblivious of the fact that for world trade to thrive it was necessary to establish on a sound basis the economic structure of a world distorted by inequalities both in the distribution of wealth and in pressure of populations. To establish this soundness of international relations in the field of economics the rich nations should have abandoned the near-sighted selfishness which prefers to lose all tomorrow than sacrifice a little today, and should have entered on a course of basic reforms in the distribution of the world's wealth.

One of the results of their near-sighted egoism and love of comfort was that capital was made generously available in Germany while to the east of the Berlin-Vienna line almost nothing was made available, despite reliable guarantees, high percentages, and the fact that the middle East offered a much better field for investment.

To a certain extent each nation today is the organizer

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and architect of its own economic life. But no nation, however rich and powerful, can hermetically seal itself up within its own boundaries for any length of time without grave detriment to its well-being. In the course of historical processes, there has developed an inter-relation between national organisms which can be ignored only at the cost of setting back our international civilization by hundreds of years.

The first and most important task of the great world powers after 1918 should have been to set up the most elastic plan possible of economic cooperation throughout the whole world. Instead, they limited themselves to a policy of looking after their own interests and to making high-sounding speeches.

Meanwhile the grave illness of recurring crises was undermining the foundations of the existing world system and was creating conditions favorable for the propaganda and the destructive work of the totalitarian States.

Such were some of the symptoms of the deep-seated malady which, allowed to spread freely and to nourish the totalitarian evil, had been affecting the political and economic life of Europe for the last twenty years.

In the field of practical politics, we find that there were three factors of those operating for war which led Hitler to strike at Poland.

(1) His final abandonment of hope for a German-Polish march on Moscow;

(2) The encouragement which he derived from his successes beginning with the Rhineland crisis. For a

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long time Hitler did not realize how weak the West really was. But when the "Anschluss" went through without a hitch and when the allies met him afterwards at Munich with fear in their eyes and a palsied will, he made a new plan. Instead of marching against Russia, he would strike toward the East—the Sudeten, Czechoslovakia, Memel and Poland.

(3) The conviction in Berlin that if Poland were attacked, the Western Powers wouldn't lift a finger to help her. Hitler certainly had read often enough in the Western press that they didn't propose to "die for Danzig!"

Hitler was convinced that England was not prepared for any intensive military effort. Apparently Haushofer had persuaded him that "even if London does fight, Ireland, South Africa, Australia, and probably Canada will remain neutral."

As we know now from the report of the French Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin, Hitler sent Colonel Schwerin to London July 1, 1939, with instructions to report on the state of England's preparedness. Was she able, if Germany attacked Poland, to intervene effectively? Colonel Schwerin replied categorically:

"England is unprepared. But in spite of many deficiencies in her program, rearmament is going forward rapidly. We should move against Poland at once."

5

THE ALARM CLOCK UNDER THE PILLOW

FOR a number of years there had been signals of the gathering storm. But strange to say, the very pundits who, from their legislative seats and editorial fastnesses, were predicting with irrefutable logic the inevitable cataclysm could be found a few hours later agreeing easily—oh very easily—and with obvious relief, to the most naïve counter-arguments.

“Perhaps . . . perhaps not. . . . Who would dare, with the degree of mechanized technique we have to-day, to let loose on the world such a whirlwind of destruction! It is true, Hitler does insane things but, after all, he is a man who reckons with cold facts. Surely he would rather digest what he has already swallowed than start in on an undertaking, the outcome of which no living man can foresee!”

In 1936 a book by Genevieve Tabouis, *Chantage à la Guerre*, was published in Paris. Both in France and in England it broke all records for best sellers. In this

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book Madam Tabouis, famous "oracle" of the Quai d'Orsay, set out to prove that in reality Hitler was a weakling, that he was afraid of war, and that he would never resort to anything save blackmail and threats to gain his ends.

With astounding facility gloomy Cassandras changed over night into smiling optimists, filled with the faith that at any hour, any day, any month Hitler could be "appeased." . . . "There must be some limit to his Gargantuan appetite. . . ."

Who will deny that after the occupation of the Sudeten many a diplomat and many a financier drew a deep breath of relief, audible even above the chorus of exasperation and indignation that arose on all sides!

It was only after Hitler had occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia and after his speech of April 23, 1939, in which, for the first time he openly threatened Poland, that it began to dawn on the world that this "avalanche" could not be restrained by words or by cowardly attempts to appease his appetite.

But even then, the attitude of European cabinets was still speculative: "War or bluff? . . . Probably only a bluff. . . ." The first signals of a possible German-Soviet understanding—ominous as they were—met with an attitude of wilful self-delusion.

The attitude of all Europe in relation to German military preparations was like that of a man who sets his alarm clock for an early hour of the morning and then stuffs it under his pillow, so that the signal won't disturb him.

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On the eve of the Sudeten crisis, when tension was at its maximum, the Czech Government, through the French Envoy in Prague, appealed to Paris to issue a statement that "the French Government does not see any possibility of military assistance to Czechoslovakia."

The request was made in order to convince the Czechs of the futility of resistance to Hitler's demands, "since we ourselves are too weak—and we cannot count on the French."

It was the last week in August. I don't recall the exact date—the 26th, I think, or perhaps the 27th. I was sitting in my editorial office, busied with the proofs of an article entitled "Happiness of the Present Day."

In this article I had tried to develop the thesis that whatever the fate of Poland might be, it was a great privilege for her to be the first country to make a stand against the godless Hitlerism that was spreading throughout the world. From the ruins of that struggle would spring a better life for both nations and individuals.

My assistant editor, Wasilewski, came in. Leaning over the desk, he read the title and the first few lines of my article.

"Isn't that a little over-optimistic?" he remarked. "I agree with you, of course, that we can't retreat from our position, but at the same time I don't want to fool myself. The Germans will knock us out in a very short time; the disparity in fighting forces is too great. The days of romantic warfare, when Polish insurrectionists fought with scythes, belong only to the past. Today,

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it is not enough for soldiers to have courage; they must have tanks and airplanes, thousands of them. And we have not too many of them."

"You might be right," I agreed, "if the German aggression against Poland were only a question of a local fracas about Danzig and the Corridor. But it isn't. We are standing on the threshold of a new world war. I realize that we will be called on to make great sacrifices . . . that a part, perhaps as much as three-fourths, of Poland will be destroyed. But we are not alone. An attack on Poland will automatically bring about an offensive of France and England against Germany."

France and England. . . .

It seems to me sometimes as if we must all of us have been deaf and blind.

Not long before there had returned from France, where he had been sent to purchase war materials, a certain Colonel X—not a naïve journalist or a "banquet politician," but a substantial business man, an expert. He had brought back word that France was absolutely unprepared for war, her industrial set-up obsolete, her air force scandalously weak, her anti-aircraft defense next to nothing.

The conversation in my office turned into an animated general discussion, in which the rest of the staff took part. When Wasilewski who, like all the rest of the Poles, felt that it was out of question that we should back down, expressed the opinion that "within a few days after war starts, Warsaw will become a pile of ruins," one of the others interrupted him:

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"Very likely. But don't forget that at the same time France and England will be bombing Hamburg and Berlin into rubble."

Wasilewski let this pass, remarking only that military horoscopes didn't make much difference, because there was no choice left us anyway. He said good-bye and left that same night to join the regiment in which he was an officer. That was the last time I ever spoke with my friend. He died from wounds received during the defense of Warsaw.

The same day I had a talk with one of the higher Polish military officials. Though far from sharing the pessimism of Wasilewski, he wasn't very enthusiastic about the military preparedness of France and England. But when I expressed the fear that help from the West would be "too late and too little," he reassured me somewhat, telling me some details of the French-Polish military pact of May 19, 1939, which was confirmed later in England's name by General Ironsides.

According to the terms of this pact, assistance was to begin on the day Poland started to mobilize. The plan was that in the first few days the Allies would make a number of short, sharp offensive thrusts, after which they would come in with an air force of from three to five divisions. On the sixteenth day of the conflict, should the main attack of the enemy be directed against Poland, the Western Powers would start a general offensive, using three-fourths of all their available resources.

Everything hinged on the date of our mobilization.

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On August 30, 1939, at one o'clock in the morning, General Smigley-Rydz was asked by a member of his staff why mobilization was being delayed.

Rydz replied:

"Just a minute ago Beck phoned me that the ambassadors of France and Great Britain are bringing pressure on us *not to mobilize*. And yesterday I had a coded message from Halifax that our Intelligence Service in Berlin predicts an attack not later than August 30 or 31. What shall I make of these contradictions?"

In a talk I had had with this same staff member, some days before, I touched on a subject that was being widely discussed in the press—the possibility of a "Blitzkrieg." The officer, a highly educated and intelligent man, made light of the suggestion.

"Blitzkrieg!" he scoffed. "There isn't any such a thing as a blitzkrieg—except in the minds of you journalists with your everlasting hunger for scoops! The word is one of those German insidious propaganda techniques, meant to frighten people and weaken their power of resistance. Everybody today acknowledges the correctness of Douhet's theory. Even serious German military periodicals admit it. Can you imagine a motorized war in the fall months on those muddy roads and fields of eastern Poland!"

And he trotted out all the old, familiar arguments. . . . "You mustn't lay too much stress on the importance of mechanized warfare—particularly the role of

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the Panzer units. During the war in Spain the Reds stopped an attack of Italian tanks with nothing more than a column of motor trucks.

"When the Germans took over Czechoslovakia—and that as you know, was a mere parade, with no opposition at all—our military observers were impressed with the high percentage of ruined tanks. We ourselves had the same experience at the time of the Lithuanian demonstration. No, no, tanks are a terrifying sight, but you don't win battles with them.

"As to our air force: we haven't a very large number of planes, it is true. But we have a very strong anti-aircraft defense, and this is much more important. Contrary to all predictions, anti-air defense has turned out to be a very formidable weapon. During the Great War out of five airplanes brought down, four were destroyed in combat with enemy planes. In the Spanish War the ratio was exactly reversed; four out of five were shot down from the ground."

I asked him how many planes we had.

"I can't give you exact figures," he replied, "but if you refer to modern airplanes of the first line, their number does not exceed eight hundred."

I was alarmed. Could his estimate be right? The same question had been raised at a recent press conference with the members of the Government in connection with an article recently published in "L'Illustration" which appraised our air force at a very low figure.

Pressed to state what the facts actually were, the

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spokesman of the General Staff had given me to understand that our air strength was approximately 40 per cent that of Germany.

As a matter of fact, on the eve of the war the Polish air force had at its disposal not quite six hundred planes (including thirty-nine modern bombers) as compared with Germany's aerial fleet of over five thousand. In mechanized equipment the ratio was two motorized Panzer brigades (one division) to twelve German Panzer divisions.

The explanation for this, as we learned later, was simple. The Polish military strategy had not been shaped by any *ex cathedra* teaching, but by actual experience in the field. In the World War the army had become thoroughly imbued with the conviction that in warfare the man is everything and the machine plays only a minor role. For this reason our General Staff had not paid any particular attention to the mechanization of the army or to the development of its air force. Instead, all its efforts had been devoted to the individual training of officers and men, with a view to developing the qualities of courage, responsibility and initiative. A radical departure from this point of view was made in 1936, but it was then too late to make up for lost time.

A second—and more basic—cause of our overwhelming defeat in 1939 was the economic foundation of Poland's defense program.

In the beginning of 1937, when gathering clouds on the political horizon led her to speed up her military

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preparations, the Polish Government decided to appropriate for defense—mainly aircraft—more than two and one-half million zloty over and above the budget, a very large amount for Poland.

Then came the question as to how the sum could be used to the best advantage. Should we buy the military equipment we needed from abroad, contracting for quick delivery, or was it better to start in at once and build up our own defense industries—even if that meant slower results?

Although I belonged to the opposite school of thought, I must frankly admit that if a referendum had been taken in Poland in 1933 on the issue, "purchase abroad immediately vs. production at home," an overwhelming majority would have voted without hesitation to (1) build up our own industry; (2) give the work to our own people; (3) coordinate defense production with unemployment relief.

And that is what was done.

In 1937 Poland embarked on a large-scale program of armament production. In numerous industrial centers modern, up-to-date factories were built for the manufacture of planes, guns, arms and subsidiary parts. The work was progressing in an atmosphere of unbelievable enthusiasm and high hopes. It developed into real competitive effort, with the whole Polish nation looking on and watching with pride the splendid achievements of its engineers and technicians. Factories ran at American production rates and by September, 1939, when the crucial hour arrived, they had al-

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ready begun to turn out finished products in substantial amounts.

In the meanwhile the situation became more and more ominous. The open concentration of most of Germany's entire army on the borders of Poland, coincident with a wave of fifth-column activity within the country, forced the government to take steps for immediate mobilization. On August 28, 1939, at a cabinet press conference, we were told that announcement of mobilization would be posted that night.

To my astonishment, however, there wasn't a word about the matter in the papers next day.

What had happened?

Two hours after the cabinet had reached its decision, the French and English Ambassadors made a *demarche* on the Polish Government, urgently requesting that the mobilization be delayed in order "not to irritate Germany."

We couldn't make head or tail of it. No one in his senses could have the least doubt that the German Army would move any day now. Why, then this shilly-shallying? We had realized for a long time that the attack, when it came, would be sudden and unexpected. Delay in mobilization might be fatal.

I phoned Vice-Premier Kwiatkowski, who gave me a late evening appointment at his apartment in the Lazienk Palace. When I asked him the meaning of the decision to postpone mobilization, he threw up his hands:

"It's not for me to judge," he protested. "All deci-

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sions rest with the military authorities, acting in consultation with the allies. Evidently London and Paris are of the opinion that Hitler is only playing his old game of bluff once more, and that all we have to do is to ride out the psychological storm. In the meanwhile, they ask Poland to refrain from any move which could be construed as an act of provocation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs me that there has been a considerable relaxation of tension in the last few days."

Relaxation of tension!

The alarm clock under the pillow!

Why did no one heed the signal given by Hitler himself, when in a talk with Beck at Berchtesgaden in January, 1939, scarcely making any attempt to veil his real purpose by a flimsy suggestion of a mutual attack on Russia, he demanded the return of Danzig, the Corridor and Pommern!

Why did no one see the face of war that looked out from the maps, brought along by the cartographers who accompanied von Ribbentrop on his visit to Warsaw later the same month? They were maps on which the proposed new boundaries of Pommern had already been drawn!

Why did no one recognize the significance of the words of Arthur Greiser, President of the Danzig Senate, when at a session of the League of Nations in Geneva he boasted: "I am certain that I shall never be compelled to appear before this League again"? With which words, after flinging a roll of papers on the table, and thumbing his nose at the international correspond-

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ents present, who looked on dumbfounded, he turned in the direction of Eden and raised his arm in the Hitler salute!

As I was leaving my office on the evening of August 30, 1939, old Jan, the porter, asked me how things looked.

"Any day, any week, any hour now the Germans may move," I told him.

"Oh, the Germans!" he sniffed. "We can take care of them all right. But what about the Russians?" The old man shook his head. "Will Russia keep out?"

As I strolled along through the streets in the evening dusk, on my way to an appointment with an official of the Foreign Ministry press, my mind was taken up with old Jan's last remark. I opened my interview with the same question:

"Will the Soviet remain neutral?"

"Oh, I've no worry on that score," the diplomat replied. "Not because I place any particular reliance on our pact of non-aggression. I don't. We have had enough examples of what such pacts are worth. But there are two good reasons why I think Russia will not move. In the first place, Hitler is the arch-apostle of the struggle against Communism, and collaboration with the Soviets would be fatal to his internal politics. Secondly, it is inconceivable that Stalin would prepare a noose for his own neck by helping Hitler to win. Moreover, don't forget," he added, "that there are many influential Jews in the Kremlin to whom the anti-

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Semitic policy of Hitler is not a matter of indifference."

I, too, was inclined to think it doubtful that Russia would join with Germany, though this line of argument didn't wholly convince me. It expressed the mistaken opinion prevailing in Europe at that time, however; the belief that between the foreign policies of Russia and Germany there was too great a cleavage to be bridged.

The conversation, which soon switched over to a discussion of philosophers was interrupted by the entrance of one of my colleagues who, as he came into the cafe, remarked: "Tonight we can sleep in peace. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs promises us a few days of relaxation."

As my colleague and I were on our way home, he expressed himself very pessimistically about the general attitude of Western Europe towards the whole question of a Polish-German conflict.

"I can't but feel," he sighed, "that in spite of all the bitter experience she has had, the West is still blind and deaf. Only today one of the neutral diplomats said to me: 'Is it really worth while to make such a fuss over Danzig and the Corridor?' . . ."

In spite of the March crisis in 1939, when Czechoslovakia was occupied, in spite of the fact that again and again Hitler had broken his most solemn pledge—"only this and no more,"—apparently there still were intelligent people in the West who were deceiving themselves, people to whom the present crisis was "only a matter of Danzig and the Corridor."

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In Poland no one was deceived. We knew that this time it was not only the fate of Poland that was at stake, but the fate of the whole world.

During the night of August 31, 1939, one of the night operators in the Warsaw central telephone exchange received a call stating that a German air attack had begun on Bydgoszcz (Bromberg).

The startled girl rushed into the room of the military officer on duty, woke him up and stammered out her story. The officer, half asleep, grumbled something about "women's nerves," said it must be a practice alert . . . would she be good enough to let him get his sleep. . . .

The girl went back to her office. Over the face of the switchboard lights were flashing out in quick succession. . . . Poznan, Lwow, Cracow, Katowice, Przemysl, Lodz. . . . The calls crowded in thick and fast—and from each came the same report.

Germany had begun a general offensive on Poland.

Everyone in Poland knew that war was coming; everyone was awaiting it. But no one was expecting it to break out on the night of August 31–September 1, 1939.

The man in the street did not expect it. The press did not expect it.

But how did the situation look from the inside, from the perspective of the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

¹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was confident that the final crisis would be preceded by direct Polish-

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German negotiations, in accordance with customary diplomatic routine. They no more dreamed that an undeclared attack would be made than a fencer would expect a bout to begin without a series of preliminary feints.

All during July the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in a constant state of alarm. Plans for evacuation and mobilization were under way. But after the first of August this feverish atmosphere calmed down.

Nothing more was said about mobilization and vigilance was limited to the maintenance of a so-called "director-on-duty"; that is, each night one of the higher officials of the Ministry remained at his post.

During the night of August 30-31, the officer on duty was Alexander Lubienski, director of diplomatic protocol. When he took over, at ten o'clock, he was informed by Michael Lubienski, a member of Beck's cabinet, that the situation was unchanged; that at the request of France and England mobilization was being deferred, that England was making efforts to negotiate further with Hitler, and that the only thing to report was that German "tourists" were pouring into Danzig.

At eleven o'clock the General Staff reported to the Foreign Ministry that shooting had started at some point on the boundary. But an hour later word came from the same source not to pay any particular attention to this incident.

At a little after two A.M. the English Ambassador, Mr. Kennard, called up. "Give me Colonel Beck," he said. "I must speak with him at once."

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The conversation, which began at three o'clock, lasted till five.

We know now that Kennard was reporting to Beck the gist of a conversation that had taken place in Berlin between the British Ambassador, Mr. Henderson, and the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop.

Ribbentrop had read off to Henderson very rapidly the sixteen points of a very long *Diktat* concerning the annexation of Danzig, a plebiscite on Pommern, etc. He had refused to give the written document to the British Ambassador, stating that it was already twelve o'clock midnight and that, inasmuch as the Polish plenipotentiary whom Hitler had insisted should come to Berlin hadn't arrived, there wasn't anything more to be said.

It looked as if the final break had come.

But both English and Polish diplomatists believed it could be averted.

As soon as Kennard received Henderson's report, he went to Beck with the urgent request that Lipski, Polish Ambassador in Berlin, should try to see Ribbentrop. Beck wired Lipski, instructing him to go to Ribbentrop.

The whole forenoon of August 31 was spent waiting vainly for an answer. Finally, about two or three in the afternoon, a telegram arrived: Ribbentrop had agreed to see Lipski that evening.

This was the last word received from Lipski. There was no further communication with Berlin.

Every effort made in Warsaw, as well as by Lipski in

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Berlin, was unavailing. From the "White Book," published by the Polish Government-in-exile in Paris, it is known that at seven in the evening Ribbentrop received Lipski, asking him in what capacity he came.

Lipski replied: "In my capacity as Ambassador of the Polish Republic appointed to the German Reich."

"I was expecting you to come with plenipotential power to negotiate," answered Ribbentrop. "We have been waiting since yesterday for an emissary from Poland to arrive."

"I am sorry," said Lipski, "but neither I nor my government had any first-hand information about this. It was only indirectly that we learned about the text of the German proposals. However, in my memorandum of yesterday I underscored the statement that the Ambassador of the Polish Embassy is always at the service of the government of the Reich in this connection."

"I will take the matter up with the Chancellor," answered Ribbentrop. With this the interview ended.

Meanwhile, lack of news from Berlin occasioned no particular uneasiness in Warsaw. They awaited word from Lipski, feeling sure that direct conversations must have been held or arranged.

At nine o'clock in the evening, Mr. Wszelaki, economic adviser of the Ministry, accompanied by his assistant, Mr. Mniszek, took over the post/on duty at the Foreign Ministry Building. When asked by the press what the situation was, he gave the usual stereotyped reply:

"The situation is unchanged: nothing to report from

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Danzig except an unusually large infiltration of tourists."

But around ten o'clock, as we sat listening to the radio, we heard the voice of a German announcer, reading out in the harsh accents of a drillmaster the terms of the conditions which Henderson was supposed to have received, but which in reality he had never set eyes on. . . .

"Erstens . . . zweitens . . . drittens. . . ." At the close he stated that these were the demands which Hitler had made on Poland and that Poland had paid no attention to them. Not another word.

Again a wave of phone calls to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"Yes, yes, we know . . . we heard it . . . we are waiting for news from Lipski."

Secretary Starzenski asked Beck about the text of the German broadcast.

"It's all very unimportant," said Beck. "The Germans will agree to talk. And they will talk. . . . But of course I won't consent to go to Berlin. The meeting will have to take place in one of the neutral countries or at Zbaszyn, perhaps, on the border."

It was just after midnight, when one of the pressmen heard the announcer of the radio station in Gliwice say:

"We are interrupting the program to report that Polish brigands have violated the boundary."

Alarmed, he called the Foreign Ministry.

"Nothing to get excited over. We are constantly getting German reports of these supposed border

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provocations. You mustn't take them seriously. Sleep peacefully."

The director of diplomatic protocol, Mr. Lubienski, related to me later how, when the air sirens woke him up out of his "peaceful sleep" that morning, he remarked to his wife: "What a stupid thing to sound a practice alert at a time like this!"

The entire German Army assembled on the borders, waiting orders to attack! In Berlin the whole telephonic communications system was requisitioned for military use. And the Western powers were still deceiving themselves with the idea that not yet had the diplomatic game been played out.

For those two invaluable days of deferred mobilization Poland payed a catastrophic price!

SEPTEMBER, 1939

THE Polish-German war of 1939 was the struggle waged by an isolated outpost to escape destruction. The Poles confidently expected the speedy arrival of help, both political and military, from their Western allies. But after two weeks of struggle, they faced the tragic reality. They did not capitulate nor did they ask for an armistice.

All the strategic plans of the allies had foreseen that Poland would be one of the major theaters of the war. In September, 1939, in a blitzkrieg in which Germany used for the first time the new tactics of synchronized air and mechanized ground warfare, Poland became the only war theater.

The Germans threw against Poland almost the entire weight of their gigantic military machine, leaving in the West only seven divisions.

The High Command of the German Army, General Brauchitsch, gave an interview to an American press correspondent in June, 1940, in which he stated that

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in the fall of 1939 practically the whole force of the Reich's Army was fighting in Poland. He asked ironically:

"Why didn't the allies take advantage of their best opportunity? Why didn't they strike on the Western front?"

The relative strength of the Polish and German forces stood as follows:

<i>Poland</i>		<i>Germany</i>
	POPULATION	
35 million	RATIO 1 : 2	79 million

AMOUNT SPENT FOR ARMAMENT IN 1934-1935

5 billion zloty—about	91 billion marks—or
1 billion dollars	37 billion dollars

RATIO 1 : 37

BUDGET INCOME PER CAPITA

11.5 dollars	32 dollars
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RATIO 1 : 3

INDUSTRIAL POTENTIALS

0.7 million tons	Raw materials	18.0 million tons
1.5 " "	Steel	19.8 " "
1.3 " "	Cement	12.6 " "
36.0 " "	Hard coal	185.0 " "
0.0 " "	Brown coal	184.0 " "
3.6 kilowatts	Electrical power	50.0 kilowatts

RATIO from 1 : 10 to 1 : 18

MILITARY FORCES

31	INFANTRY DIVISIONS	70
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RATIO 1 : 2

PANZER UNITS

2 brigades	12 divisions and 4 motorized divisions
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RATIO 1 : 16

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Poland

Germany

AIRFORCE STRENGTH OR

404 Planes, including
39 modern bombers

4,320 Planes, including
1,295 modern bombers
429 dive bombers
1,209 pursuit planes

RATIO 1 : 10

Clearly the relative strength of the Polish potential compared to that of her enemies was unfavorable. But was not the difference balanced, at least in part, by the financial assistance of her allies?

Poland secured from the allies two loans for armaments. In 1937 from France she received two and one-half billion francs (almost 60 million dollars) and in 1939 eight million pounds (about 32 million dollars) from England—92 million dollars in all, a sum which Great Britain now spends in less than two days on her war effort.

But irrespective of the size of the amount, what were the conditions of the transactions?

The French loan, amounting to two and one-half billion francs at the rate of 6 per cent interest, could be taken out only in military supplies. Because there was no competition on the French market to control the prices for these goods, costs skyrocketed. The same supplies which could have been purchased in America on a cash basis and delivered within a few weeks, cost

ten per cent more in France, with delivery fixed for months ahead.

Nor is this the whole story.

Since the loan could be taken out only in munitions and machinery and Poland needed credits to build up her own factories, a special French syndicate sprang up to meet this need which charged 15 per cent for mediating the loan. Frequent fluctuations in the rate of exchange between franc and zloty were always adjusted in favor of France.

As to the English loan: in the spring of 1939 England loaned Poland eight million pounds, with the proviso that the entire sum be used to buy goods in England. So an envoy of the government went to England to buy ammunition. He learned that England had no ammunition for sale. To every question there was one stereotyped reply: "Yes, we will deliver in eighteen months." Poland needed precision tools for grinding anti-aircraft missiles. Since the quantity she could get in England was far too small, she proposed to import additional supplies at once from America. To this, English industry objected. "Why should you buy from America? We have acquired patent rights for these instruments. We will deliver in eighteen months."

And the war broke out in two!

Was it possible in the light of such disparity of strength to dream of successful Polish resistance?

Had the allies stood by the terms of their military alliance, had they struck at Germany on her western front at once, the situation might have been different.

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But no matter what your strength may be, it is no secondary consideration whether you have opposed to yourself fifteen panzerized units and four thousand planes, or only six units and fifteen hundred planes, which is what the Polish and allied staffs had predicted. In all their plans the Poles had estimated that they had at their disposal approximately one half of the German strength.

From the very first day of the struggle frantic calls for assistance were going out from Warsaw to Paris and London. England, at least, responded by bombing German ports. All that France did, after the lapse of some time, was to place at the disposal of the Poles her airplanes based in Syria, stipulating, however, that Polish aviators must fetch them.

Charges have been made that the strategy of the Polish High Command was faulty, the campaign badly planned. Are these charges justified? History will answer some day, on the basis of documentary evidence and first-hand study. But even today we can confidently assert that whatever mistakes were made—and without doubt mistakes were made—they did not play the decisive role in the outcome of the struggle.

In the course of the campaign it developed that fortresses in the vicinity of large cities offered the strongest resistance. Warsaw, Modlin, Hel and Lwow defended themselves successfully a long while. Should not scores of such fortresses have been prepared? Probably. But even if Poland had employed this technique on a large scale—the value of which was first

demonstrated during the war itself—the result, especially after the Russian occupation, would have been no different. The struggle would have continued only a little longer.

Because of the condition of indescribable confusion that existed all over the country, because of the overwhelming superiority of the German air force and the strength of her mechanized units, four successive strategic plans of the Polish General Staff became impracticable within a few hours after they had been issued. It was at once apparent that a blitzkrieg was something entirely different from anything ever seen in war before. Striking with the full strength of their massed air force, the Germans were able to prevent the Poles from concentrating their forces and even from completing their mobilization. The delay of two days, to which I have already referred, played no small part in this connection.

During the first week the German air force shattered and immobilized most of the numerically weak Polish force, and after five days of intensive bombing the railroads and junctions were wrecked beyond repair. The Polish High Command, faced with a complete breakdown of transportation facilities throughout the whole country, was unable to call out its reserves and mobilization came to a standstill. To this we must add that within a day or two the Germans succeeded in getting hold of the Polish secret military code, so that the General Staff could no longer communicate with the army by means of the radio. After the first week all com-

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munications between the lines had to be carried on by couriers. Under such conditions there was little the High Command could do but look on helplessly.

Within a few days the conflict had turned into a battle of bayonets and gasoline against tanks, a battle of separate detachments of an army on the technical level of 1914 against the vastly superior forces of an up-to-the-minute 1939 mechanized army functioning perfectly.

The plan of campaign adopted on September 1, based on the expectation that Pommern and Danzig could be defended and that the Polish problem was only to hold out till the allies began their attack on the West, had to be abandoned by September 6. It was decided to establish a deeper line of defense on the Narew, Vistula and San rivers and a number of divisions which had been repulsing the Germans successfully were ordered to fall back in order to escape the danger of encirclement. But that same day the Polish northern front collapsed after five days of very heavy fighting and on September 7 the Germans crossed the Narew and the Bug. The line of the Vistula became untenable, and the High Command mapped out a new plan of defense along the line of Eastern Little Poland (Galicia) and Polesie.

On September 9 there began the most desperate battle of the whole campaign, the battle near Kutno, where nine divisions of Polish infantry and three cavalry brigades were surrounded on all sides by three German armies. Though many times outnumbered,

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and in spite of the enemy's crushing air superiority, Poles fought bitterly for eight days and till September 15, recapturing Lodz and taking a large number of prisoners.

On September 9 the siege of Warsaw began. The capital was defended only by regiments formed hurriedly from remnants of the shattered Polish armies. A city which, contrary to German claims, was totally unfortified, except for trenches dug at the last minute by its heroic citizens! A city which had been declared an "open capital" from the beginning.

The siege lasted until September 27—eighteen days. During all this time Warsaw was subjected to a steady and uninterrupted rain of bombs and artillery fire. From the 24th the city was without electricity, water or gas. Not before the ammunition was down to a three-day supply, did it capitulate. As a tribute to their heroic resistance, the officers were permitted to retain their swords and the soldiers allowed to return to their homes. When the Germans entered the city on September 28, they found only smoldering ruins and piles of broken rubble.*

One would need a volume to picture adequately the character of this strange war, to speak, even briefly, of the scores and hundreds of heroic exploits . . . the charges, gallant, but how bloody!—of cavalry against armored tanks . . . the courage of the civilian population of Warsaw . . . the epic of the schoolboys in Lwow who, fighting with bare hands, swarmed over

* See Appendix for detailed account of the defense of Warsaw.

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the German tanks . . . the heroic resistance of the divisions from Maczek and Kleberg . . . the extraordinary exploits of flyers who went up in practice machines to meet German fighting planes—and often brought them down in flames! . . .

A few words must be devoted to the defense of Westerplatte. On this little tongue of land not quite a square kilometer in size, a garrison of about 200 Polish soldiers was stationed in charge of transshipment of munitions. These men had, besides their rifles, only a few small anti-Panzer guns.

Against this sliver of earth there opened at dawn on September 1, a concentrated attack by the Danzig Heimwehr (a regiment of the German Army) and the German cruiser, Schleswig-Holstein. The cruiser, armed with powerful batteries firing from a distance of only a few hundred meters, was aided by German land artillery and flame throwers. Within forty-eight hours not a trace of the barracks or other buildings was left. Resistance continued for seven days. After everything had been leveled with the earth, and every inch of ground ploughed up with shell fire, the Germans took over and found only a pile of dead bodies and a score or so of wounded men.

The cadets at the Marine Academy held out till September 14. Almost all perished. The Polish students and professors from the Polytechnic joined with the clerks in defending the Polish Post Office till their last cartridge was fired.

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On September 14 the High Command issued its fourth and last command: to withdraw to the triangle formed by the juncture of the Dniester-Prut. The Poles prepared their defense feverishly, while waiting for the allies to begin an offensive in the West. Warsaw, Modlin and Hel were still holding out and the army withdrawing from the north would cover the retreat, making possible a general concentration of forces in the southeast.

This plan had every chance of success—in the sense of prolonging the struggle. To protect the new line that was forming, General Sosnkowski, with a very small force, attacked a German motorized division and smashed it completely; a number of divisions, though exhausted by two weeks of continuous bloody battles succeeded in breaking through the enemy's encirclement; and in the north General Kleberg was putting up a successful struggle against the German armies which, fatigued and remote from their bases of supplies, offered little or no resistance.

But just at this moment came a bolt from the blue. At dawn, on September 17, over 100 Soviet divisions crossed the border along the entire eastern frontier and struck at the rear of the reorganized Polish line. At 2:30 A.M., September 17, Molotov, Commissar of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, handed to Ambassador Grzybowski a note in which Moscow explained that since no one knew the whereabouts of the Polish Government and since the administration had ceased to func-

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tion for the last ten days, the Soviet Government was occupying the eastern section of the country for the protection of its inhabitants.

From this moment on, the September campaign was ended. It is true that a number of divisions and a few scattered companies kept up a desultory resistance for some weeks longer. Warsaw defended itself till September 27, Modlin held out till the 29th, and Hel was still resisting on October 1. It is also true that on October 2 Kock was captured by General Kleberg, and that in the forests of central and eastern Poland obstinate guerilla fighting was still going on as late as November 1. But these various engagements were only the slow wearing-down of individual detached forces which preferred death to capitulation.

It was a strange war, this September campaign of 1939. Maurois says that "victories and defeats are merely matters of habit." A victorious army conquers by virtue of an inner morale which augments its external strength. Once defeated, however, self-confidence and faith is lost.

This is not always the case. In September 1939 the Polish armies were defeated, but its separate divisions, brigades, battalions and companies fought on. Never, to the last moment, did they lose their faith and their sense of honor.

In this war, the first in history to employ the blitzkrieg technique, the allies were able to mobilize and prepare themselves because, in spite of their great superiority in strength, the Germans suffered extremely

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heavy losses. They, themselves, admit the loss of 431 planes, and it is safe to say that the total figure was undoubtedly twice that number. For the capture of Warsaw alone they paid with 127 aircraft including their crews.

By the end of September, there had begun a mass exodus southward to the Carpathians—companies and individual soldiers, hurrying to new battles in the ranks of the Polish Army being formed in France under General Sikorski. It is impossible to estimate how many fell victims to German bullets, how many died from exposure, cold and hunger. Thousands fought their way through to the coast and reached their goal. From them was formed the nucleus of an army of 100,000 Poles who fought side by side with the allies in France.

* * *

October 2, 1939, a man in tatters, traces of terrible fatigue on his face, reported to the Polish consulate in Bucharest.

"I am a carpenter," he began. "I am forty-three years old. On September 2 I left my family, which lives near Bydgoszcz. As a reservist, it was my duty to report to the nearest recruiting office. But in Bydgoszcz they refused to enroll me. I went on foot to Swiecie. Here it was the same story. I crossed all Poland—mostly on foot, riding once in a while on trains that were machine-gunned. Every day I reported to recruiting offices and military companies, begging them to take me on, give me a uniform and a

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rifle and let me fight. Finally, in a forest not far from Dublany, I attached myself to a company under General Sosnkowski. We fought for four days. Then we buried our rifles in the ground and made our way through the forest to the border."

This is a typical incident, an example chosen at random from thousands of similar stories out of the annals of Polish reservists in the September campaign of 1939.

In the confusion attendant on the half-completed mobilization, an unfortunate command had been sent out by one of the higher officers over the radio that, in case of approach of the enemy, all reservists should leave their homes and travel eastward. As a result, by September 3rd a situation of indescribable chaos had arisen. Roads all over Poland were choked with recruits and reservists trying vainly to get in touch with their companies. It has been estimated that in front of the retreating Polish armies—so to speak, mingled with them—there was a host of 500,000 reservists moving east. The confusion beggars description!

* * *

By the 10th of September the Germans had already advanced a considerable distance along the line of the Vistula. I was in Lublin that evening and there I met an old comrade-in-arms from the days of the first World War, a certain Reserve-Major "K." He happened to have a few hours' leave from duty at the front, but was returning to his brigade in the north that same night.

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We were sitting in one of the cafés when a German air squadron started to bomb the city. The place was packed with people. The whistling and crash of bombs blended with the barking of anti-aircraft artillery in a din like that of some hellish orchestra. Near the buffet table someone was dressing the shoulder of a little girl who had been wounded by glass splinters. I noticed that whenever a plane roared overhead the faces of everyone present contracted into a nervous grimace, after which came a short hysterical giggle.

"They're gradually getting used to it," remarked my friend. "This rubbish makes a deuce of a noise, but it doesn't really do so very much damage. What are you looking so down-in-the-mouth about?"

"I don't see any particular reason for optimism," I replied. "The Germans have already reached Pulawy."

"What's the matter with people here!" he remonstrated. "You're all falling into a defeatist mood. You ought to see how it is with us up at the front. We're all in the best of spirits. The situation is developing just as we expected. This withdrawal of our armies was foreseen from the start. No reason whatever to be discouraged. The Germans are creeping into their own trap. You don't need to worry because a few of their Panzer brigades have plunged ahead to the East. The further they get from their bases, the easier it will be for us to wipe them out! If you could only see how our Uhlands handle the tanks! . . . And our infantry! . . . The Germans are tremendously effective when they

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fight from protected positions because their artillery strength is really enormous. But when it comes to close range fighting out in the open, they generally turn tail and run. . . . If only they didn't have such crushing air superiority! We can't move at all during the day. And the horses! . . . The horses can't stand this air war. A few days ago while we were resting in the forest, some German planes flew over and peppered us with bombs. They wouldn't have noticed us at all if the horses hadn't stampeded."

After the "all clear" had sounded, we walked over to the D.O.K.* office to get the latest reports. On the way there my friend kept on trying to convince me that things were going all right. "The allies have already started to move . . . a general offensive against the Siegfried Line was just about to begin . . . any day now we might look for the arrival of English and French air squadrons. . . ."

In the D.O.K. office we found a mutual acquaintance, an officer of the liaison. He looked very glum. We asked for the news. At first he made no reply, then burst out irately:

"News? There is no news! Connections disrupted, mobilization completely stalled. We have to fight off an army of reservists whining to enlist and the only information the General gets is what comes over the telephone at the village sheriff's."

I looked at my comrade. He listened in silence to the outburst, paled, started to ask a question. Then

* District Military Headquarters.

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throwing up his hands, he turned on his heel and walked out without a word.

* * *

On the evening of September 7th, as I was told by one who took part in the discussion, the Vice Minister of the War Department called the department heads together for a conference at temporary headquarters of the Ministry in Krasnystaw.

The Vice Minister: "We are now in the seventh day of a blitzkrieg. We have to acknowledge that the new tactics employed by the enemy have taken us by surprise. It seemed to us that we had worked out plans and methods to meet any and all eventualities. But in the face of these new tactics, all our plans are useless. I must ask of each of you, gentlemen, the maximum of initiative. We must improvise new measures."

The Director of Stores and Supplies: "Improvisation is possible only within certain limits. How, for instance, are we going to improvise hospital supplies and equipment when we have lost all control over the railroads and connections are entirely disrupted? I understand that in some places the wounded have been waiting for three days for medical attention while in other localities the hospitals are almost empty."

The Director of the Medical Service: "I know about this situation. We are doing everything in our power to relieve it, but lack of transportation facilities paralyzes all our efforts. My colleague from the Department of Supplies is aware, of course, that for the last

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three days no food supplies have been brought up for the army. The men are living off the kindness of the peasants who either give them food for nothing or charge, at most, a zloty for a sheep . . . ten zloty for a cow."

As I listened to this story, there came vividly before my eyes a scene that took place in the Polish Diet in 1932. The question of the army budget was up for discussion. One of the deputies quoted Douhet's theory that "a five-fold superiority in air force is sufficient to take the enemy by surprise, cut communication and transportation lines, paralyze centers of dispersal, prevent mobilization, and win the war within a few days."

Poland, as I have already said, had a splendid air force, a finely developed aeronautic industry with expert designers and mechanics, and about 2,000 first-class fighting pilots. But (as an aviation authority explained to me) the airplane is a weapon of such a kind that its striking force must be in readiness at least a year before a war begins.

The 1939 campaign caught the Polish aircraft industry in a moment of reorganization. Many planes of the latest design, needing only a few days more for final assembling and testing, were standing unfinished in the factories. At the Marine base in Puck only a single hydroplane was stationed.

Coming now to the question of finances: . . .

A modern bomber of the first line costs approximately a million zloty. The annual budget for aircraft

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in the six years preceding 1939 amounted only to 80 million zloty. (In 1939 the sum allotted was 120 million zloty.) In order to secure much-needed capital Poland was exporting her airplanes and machine guns right up to the last minute. It used to be said that for every two anti-aircraft guns exported we were getting ourselves one for nothing. But the result was that when the war broke, we had too few left for our own use.

The speed and surprise of a blitzkrieg gives rise to the most utterly unpredictable and paradoxical situations. Poland, for instance, was producing a very fine 20 mm. rifle, easily capable of piercing a medium-sized tank. The secret of this weapon was highly prized and jealously guarded. But during the war our own army had only a small number of these rifles to use. Along with the nearly completed airplanes they were destroyed as they stood boxed and cased, when the factories were destroyed.

* * *

Modern warfare is becoming increasingly a clash of two productive potentialities and two technical mechanisms. Less and less is there any chance for play of circumstances, accident or fate. It must be admitted, however, that in September, 1939, fate was decidedly on the side of Germany. Poland, from east to west, is a country of flat plains, stretching out for mile on mile—a terrain admirably adapted for modern mechanized

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warfare. Once the annual fall rains set in, however, the soft, muddy roads would offer serious difficulties to the aggressor.

The fall weather was unusually mild and beautiful that year. All Poland was praying for rain—but the sky was without a cloud by day and filled with stars at night. The smaller rivers and streams dried up completely and the level of the Vistula fell below the 50 cc. mark. These conditions were ideal for the German Army, and there is no doubt that they contributed in no small measure to its quick success.

It must be added that the invaders had also at their disposal another very powerful and efficient weapon, namely, a fully prepared and functioning Fifth Column. For a number of years fully half of the German minority in Poland had been trained under the direction of Berlin, to act as spies and saboteurs. We Poles must have been very blind not to see what was going on. The German armies pouring into Poland were aided by hundreds of secret radio stations and by a superbly organized network of spies and pre-arranged signals. One of the airplane factories, after a first bombing at six o'clock A.M. concealed all its planes in a nearby forest. During the next raid, which came at ten o'clock the same morning, German bombs destroyed all the carefully camouflaged hideaways.

During my stay in Paris one of my acquaintances, a former large land-owner in Eastern Little Poland, told me about his gardener, Hans. A thoroughly reliable, honest fellow, apparently devoted to the family, he

threw off his mask within a few hours after the Germans had entered the country and revealed himself as a major in the service of the Reichswehr. For the past eleven years he had been engaged in directing the espionage activities of the whole district.

There were thousands of such gardeners, waiters, foremen and skilled workers in industrial plants, to say nothing of the whole mass of Volksdeutsche organized into their various subversive societies.

* * *

On the afternoon of September 1st, a map before me, I sat tracing a graph of the localities under German air attack. What was the purpose and meaning of this blitzkrieg that had hurled itself on Poland? The General Staff had furnished us with a list of the raided towns (between two and three hundred already) with the qualification that the tally was by no means complete. Cracow, Bydgoszcz, Grodno . . . here it was clear that the purpose was to paralyze our air force, destroy railroads, and junctions and halt mobilization. Reading further: Otwock, Augustow, Brodnica, Celestynow, Garwolin, Jaslo Kobryn, Pruszkow, Wielun, Wilanow, Zegrze—and scores of others. . . . What did it mean—this bombing of small, unimportant towns with no military significance whatever?

At first we set it down to the fact that the German airmen had lost their sense of direction. But a few hours later the riddle was cleared. The widespread and intensive bombing by thousands of planes that

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went on during the first four days of the war as a sort of prelude to the blitzkrieg was designed to throw the whole civilian populace into a state of panic. In addition to its military objectives, it aimed at disrupting the everyday course of normal life, creating an atmosphere of the supernatural and paralyzing the will to resist.

During the first week of September hundreds of these raids were made and bombs scattered by the thousand in a way that at first seemed random and purposeless. Throughout the length and breadth of all Poland there was no nook or corner, however insignificant, that was more than a few kilometers away from one of the bombed areas. Later we understood full well the reason for the whole thing. Air attacks create a special kind of panic among civilians. The bombing itself is not so bad, especially after one has learned that the effects are not always so devastating and that one can always seek protection in shelters. But when it is repeated day after day at intermittent intervals, a terrible fatigue sets in as a result of continued tension. The first concern of the defense must be to secure a maximum of disciplined organized team-work, because the primary cause of panic is lack of organization.

* * *

The morning of September 17th found the President, the government, and the Commander-in-Chief with his staff in Kutý, a small town situated on the boundary river that separates Poland from Rumania. The government had at its disposal only a small detachment of sev-

enty military gendarmes. When the Russians had approached to a distance of only thirty kilometers by early afternoon, the question of flight to Rumania was raised.

The two countries had a defense alliance which provided for mutual assistance in case of an unprovoked attack from Russia. Hence the Poles, though they had never expected any military support from Rumania, never doubted that she would grant them the fullest measure of guest friendship and asylum.

A few hours after the news of the Russian action had come, a telephone conversation took place between Kutu and Bucharest. At one end of the wire was Minister Beck and a councilor of the Rumanian Embassy: at the other end the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gafencu.

Gafencu offered the Polish Government the choice of hospitality or right of transit, stipulating that should they choose to remain in Rumania, they must pledge their word to refrain from all political activity.

BECK: "We thank you for your offer. The proposed restrictions on our political activities we could not agree to. We would appreciate the right of transit, and ask you to accept our assurances that the Polish Government during its stay in Rumania will abide by all the rules of the Hague Convention."

At this the matter was settled. But Rumanian hospitality worked out in such a way that within a few days all members of the Polish Government were interned and later developments led to the imprisonment of both Minister Beck and Marshal Smigly-Rydz.

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At noon, September 17, began the dramatic exodus of the Polish administration across the bridge over the Czeremosz river that separates Poland from Rumania. It was one of the most poignant moments in the history of the Polish nation. In the long procession of cars moving slowly across the boundary bridge, along with true patriots went a rabble of self-servers and opportunists thinking only of saving their wretched existence. What agony of spirit—amounting almost to complete annihilation of consciousness—is the realization that regardless of all considerations of expediency or compulsion, one is “just a deserter!”

And the shameful flight of the Commander-in-Chief!

Marshal Smigly-Rydz and his staff crossed the border together with the President and the administration. The President, the government, the soldiers—they left to carry on the struggle from new vantage points. This was clear. For five days past the Western allies had been urging the government to seek sanctuary in some friendly country. But that the Commander-in-Chief should flee while the army was still fighting in the field! . . . That he should desert his soldiers at the most critical moment! . . .

I am absolutely convinced that Smigly-Rydz did not take this step out of cowardice. He had given indubitable proofs of high courage and heroism again and again throughout his career. How, then, are we to explain his shameful decision of September 17th?

I have puzzled over this question for months. To-day, after many conversations with persons in circles

close to him, I no longer have any doubts about the matter. Smigly-Rydz was a sick man—seriously and gravely ill for many years. The last two years before the war he suffered constantly from fever. As a result of his illness, the actual dictator of Poland was characterized throughout his régime by weakness and indecision. The man who all through the Great War was the personification of courage and resolution (and who for this reason was chosen by Pilsudski to succeed him) from the onset of his illness seemed to lose all will power and to become virtually a tool in the hands of his subordinates. Under the direction of a sick man, the “government of a strong hand” changed into a “government of Colonels,” a colorless, hide-bound bureaucracy, without any clearly defined program—unless it were that of suppressing, at all costs, the opposition majority.

When the menace of German aggression first became apparent in 1937 a majority of the opposition parties recognized that such a state of affairs was absolutely incompatible with the need for building up Poland's defense potentiality. Questions of prestige and similar consideration must be shelved, inner unity achieved, and the united effort of the whole nation directed towards making ourselves strong politically as well as in a military sense.

All that was required from Rydz was a gesture.

With one of my political friends I went to see him and outlined a comprehensive plan for national defense involving a broad program of internal unity. The con-

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versation lasted three hours. Smigly-Rydz assented to all my proposals and added further suggestions of his own. He assured me that there was not the slightest difference in our points of view. But just as I was leaving, he added that he might have some difficulty with the President in relation to the matter. This last I didn't take very seriously. Smigly-Rydz was not obliged to consult the President in matters of great importance. Furthermore, I knew that the President was also a strong advocate of putting aside party controversies.

The conference over, I returned home, where a group of people were waiting to hear the outcome of the interview. I reported the gist of the conversation, rejoicing that now the last obstacle to national unity was gone. Marshal Rataj, the present leader of the Peasant Party, one of those present, looked thoughtful.

"Wonderfull" he said. "But I wonder. . . . Is Smigly-Rydz really a man of decision and will—or is he a puppet in the hands of the bureaucracy?"

His doubts were amply confirmed by the turn of events.

A week or so later, without any warning whatever, Rydz, under the influence of an organized clique, surprised the Polish people by setting up on a very narrow platform, the O.Z.A. (Camp of National Unity)—a political compromise between the already existing bureaucracy and out-and-out fascism.

And so half-heartedness continued in the political life of Poland. The administration under Smigly-Rydz

lacking any broad constructive program, failed to make use of a wealth of social energies, a wealth of idealism, a wealth of human values. The most eminent and outstanding specialists were not called in to the service of the government because they were not party members. Even after the mobilization, army officials, influenced by petty considerations, failed to make use of the ability of so able a military leader as General Sikorski, and General Sosnkowski was brought in only at the last minute.

But one thing should be made clear: The faulty system of government introduced into Poland by Pilsudski's successors (the so-called "Camp of Sanitation") was not responsible for the course of events in the country that led up to the war of 1939.

It was not responsible for the determination to defy the demands of Hitler. In this respect there was not a shadow of difference between the attitude of the administration and that of the nation as a whole, nor was there any difference of opinion among the various political parties. The categorical "NO" hurled in Hitler's teeth by the Polish Government expressed the will and sentiment of every single Pole.

In spite of the many criticisms which can justly be leveled at the half-dictatorial régime of Smigly-Rydz, no one can deny that during this period there was rapid development in the country along economic, social and cultural lines. A terrain of war from 1914 to 1920, Poland in 1919 was a ruined land. She started to build herself up from ruins and ashes. In the following

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twenty years, though compelled to spend almost half of her national budget on the army, she nevertheless succeeded in creating many fine and prosperous industries. She increased the output of her agricultural resources, she organized her own navy, she established her own ocean commerce, based on the beautiful and rapidly developing port of Gdynia. Year by year she lifted the level of her five universities, her two Polytechnic schools and numerous special High Schools, and she constantly increased her contribution to the world's body of scientific knowledge. She carried on a successful struggle against illiteracy in her eastern sections and *started in on a great program of modern road building, etc.*

It must not be forgotten that in 1919 Poland found herself in a very difficult financial position. In the first place, since she had been ruined by wars in which there was no possibility of indemnity, she was obliged to spend a large share of her liquid funds for reconstructive purposes. During the whole decade of the 20's she suffered from a chronic lack of capital.

In the second place, she had to build and weld together an economic totality out of three provinces which for over 120 years had been developing as parts of separate and distinct organisms.

In the third place, she had great difficulty in securing loans from abroad.

If to all this we add the fact that from a per capita income amounting to one-sixth the per capita income of America, she was obliged to set aside for government

expenses about 14 per cent in good times and about 22 per cent in bad times, we will understand something of the difficulties under which the development of the country was taking place.

But, despite all handicaps, in the decade between 1929 and 1939 the industrial production of Poland increased by almost 20 per cent. During this same period the increase for the rest of Europe (Soviet Russia excepted) was only 13 per cent.

Shipping tonnage in the harbors of Danzig and Gdynia rose by 124 per cent, production of artificial silk 250 per cent, output of electrical energy 52 per cent. From 1913 to 1937 the production of cement was almost doubled. The same was true of cellulose. The output of potassium salts increased by 50 per cent.

But why write about percentages, schools, roads, factories, about the navy and about Gdynia, when the all-important factor in the life of the nation was of an entirely different nature!

Year by year, as a sense of national well-being grew, the happiness of a free people replaced the humility of hopeless rebellion that had smoldered for the past 150 years, and in the eyes of 30 million people was born again sense of human dignity. Today, when the whole of Poland is one vast concentration camp, the ancient struggle has once more been resumed that the dignity of a free man shall not succumb to the dull humility of a slave.

THE EXECUTION OF A NATION

IS IT possible to execute a nation just as you would execute a man?

Of course not. And yet, in the fall of 1939, before the eyes of the whole world Hitler tried to put to death a nation of 30 million people.

Execution of a nation means the annihilation of its substance, the crushing of its spirit and its will, the carving and plundering of its territory, and the complete destruction of its independent political, cultural and economic existence.

Were the first phase of the German plans for Poland actually to be carried out, the results at the end of a ten year period would be as follows:

1. Expulsion of from four to five million Poles from the annexed territories.
2. Massacre of from three to four million Poles.
3. Extermination of the Polish intelligentsia and the Polish cultural tradition.
4. Corruption—physical and moral—of Polish youth.

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5. Appropriation of three-fourths of all Polish property and possessions.

6. Conversion of the remaining Poles into a mass of robot-slaves, physically and morally dwarfed, diseased and degraded.

This program of annihilation started with the cutting of the country into three parts. The western part—Silesia, the Duchy of Posen, Pommern, and part of so-called "Congress Poland," (an area of about 96,000 square kilometers with 11 million inhabitants) was "incorporated" into the Reich.

In the central part of the country (which includes reduced "Congress Poland") and the western part of Little Poland (about 91,000 square kilometers in area, with a population of 12 million) the Germans set up the Government General, designed to be a "Nebenland" or dependency of the Reich. More precisely expressed, this means a colony to be exploited with the utmost ruthlessness.

The eastern part of Poland (202 thousand square kilometers in size, with approximately 12,250,000 inhabitants) was taken over by Russia.

Incorporated Territories

The Polish territories which by Hitler's decree of October 8, 1939, were incorporated into the Reich included the provinces of Pommern, Posen, Silesia, almost the whole of Lodz, and parts of the districts of Cracow and Kielce. The population of this entire area, according to census figures for 1931, was 9,398,600, of whom

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8,202,300 were Poles, and 623,400 Germans. The number of Germans in the whole Polish Republic amounted to only 741,000, or approximately 6 per cent of the inhabitants of the incorporated provinces. Since 1931 the total population of these territories had increased over a million. But the percentage of Germans had decreased, since the German birth rate was lower than that of the Poles.

Gauleiter of the "Wartheland" Foester made a speech in Bydgoszcz September 27, 1939, in which he asserted: "Everything that is Polish is going to be cleared out of this region." The same Hitlerian dignitary, addressing the German "colonists" in Kielce on October 6, 1940, predicted:

"I promise you that by ten years from now there will not be so much as a single sheaf of wheat growing on Polish soil. In our eyes the Polish peasant doesn't deserve the name of peasant. His farm looks as if it belonged to a Kaffir Zulu. If there is such a thing as a God of justice, he has certainly raised up Adolf Hitler to throw this rabble out!"

The German plan for the incorporated area was simple. Berlin has openly revealed her intention that by 1950 not the slightest trace of anything Polish will be left. This plan was worked out with minute attention to the last little detail and the preliminary phases of its accomplishment were put into the hands of the Gestapo. Later on the task was taken over by an organization known as the "Haupttreuhände-Stelle Ost."

In a long series of speeches and publications the

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Germans frankly admit that the methods of Germanization and assimilation employed during the times of Wilhelm II failed of their purpose and must be abandoned. The only thing that can be done about the Poles living in the incorporated territories is to expel them or exterminate them.

"The experience of ages has shown," stated one of the Brigade Führers in the Posen district, "that methods of Germanization and assimilation get us nowhere. After a certain number of years a new process of Polonization starts in all over again."

"This means," observes the official Hitler organ for this region, the *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* of January 1, 1940, "that the slogan of the Germans must be *Äusserste Härte!* (utmost ruthlessness) and that the duty of the Poles is politeness. Germans must regard the Poles in the light of a necessary evil which, for the present, cannot be entirely eliminated."

The gist of the German program was set forth very clearly by Dr. Ley in the Essen *National Zeitung* of February 4, 1940:

"Every nation," writes Dr. Ley, "must struggle to secure for its own people the means of survival. An inferior race needs less food and less cultural opportunities than a superior race. A German cannot exist under the same conditions as can a Pole or a Jew."

The program began without delay in September, 1939. Within a few hours after the German Army had entered a town or village of Western Poland, detachments of the Gestapo, in charge of "mopping up opera-

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tions," would set about their bloody work. All prominent Poles, all leaders of public opinion in city, town or village who had not been able to make their escape, fell before the firing squad. There was no pretense of a trial. The rest of the community—even the families of the victims—were compelled by flogging and beating to assist at the executions. During the months of September and October scores of thousands of landowners, peasants, lawyers, doctors, priests and teachers from the districts of Posen, Pommern and Silesia alone were shot. The Polish aristocracy of this section was practically exterminated. Over 100,000 Poles were thrown into concentration camps.

Then followed a wave of decrees and dispossession orders. Within a few months more than a million Poles were stripped of all their possessions. Everything they owned was taken—farms, estates, forests, factories, machinery, houses, furnishings, shops, fixtures and instalments, jewelry, bank accounts, ready money, valuables of all kinds—even family keepsakes. They were allowed to retain a single valise with a minimum of clothing, two shirts, perhaps, a pair of shoes, a razor. . . .

The evicted families were given from fifteen minutes to two hours (in the country often no more than ten minutes) to pack up, put their homes in spick-and-span condition, and get out. I know of one particular instance (the family of a locksmith) in which the mother of three little children, was pregnant. The family was ordered to be out within two hours, to leave the house

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in apple-pie order . . . flowers blooming in the window boxes, coverlets turned down on the beds, etc., etc., so that the German family which was moving in the next day might find the place not only clean and tidy, but cozy and homelike.

Factories and workshops were stripped of their fixtures and installations without a penny of compensation. Dire punishments were threatened, should so much as one little screw be missing.

In the cities these evictions were carried out during the night. The following account of such a procedure was furnished by a reliable witness:

The Gestapo arrived shortly after seven o'clock in the evening, at an hour when the Poles were not allowed out on the streets. They broke into the houses, dragged the sleeping people out of their beds, and gave them fifteen minutes in which to get dressed. No consideration was shown for the sick, the aged, for little children, or even for women in the pangs of labor. One and all, they were routed out and thrown into the streets where buses waited to carry them off to detention camps. In these cold, unheated barracks they were kept, half starved for days or even weeks. Whether or not they were allowed to take with them the most common everyday necessities, a toothbrush, a change of underwear, depended on the whim of the man in charge of the raid. Then in bitter cold weather, they were shipped off to the territory of the Government General. At the end of the trip those who had not died from cold and exposure were dumped out into the open country-

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side with nothing to eat and with no roof over their heads, and told to shift for themselves.

At first this mass eviction of Poles was limited to the propertied classes and to the intelligentsia. Later on it was applied to all classes alike.

As soon as the Poles were out, the Gestapo would ransack the premises, helping themselves to whatever they fancied. Then the houses were put in order and assigned to incoming "Baltic Deutsche."

In the city of Posen the number of such evictions almost every night was, with few exceptions, from a few hundred up to two thousand. The same was true of other cities and larger towns.

Young men of military age were seized on the street and asked if they had a labor permit. If they could not show such a document they were held and shipped off to compulsory labor camps in the interior of the Reich. A deliberate attempt was made to wipe out the intelligentsia. Polish teachers, men and women alike, were exiled.

Peasants were ousted from their farms. Not only those who had acquired their holdings after 1918, but even those whose ancestors had been tilling the same piece of land for generations under the Prussians. These farms were taken over for the most part by Baltic Germans, in some cases by Germans resident in the district, and by those arriving from the Reich. These latter took for themselves the largest and best run of the properties. Some of the "colonists" when

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they arrived to take possession, proposed to the former owners that they stay on as hired laborers. The majority of the Poles, of course, preferred to leave.

The devilish brutality with which the deportations were carried out is almost incredible. The sick, the aged, the dying were crowded indiscriminately into unheated cattle cars and kept for days without food. It was heartbreaking to hear the weeping of the starving people when the trains halted at way-stations. Anyone trying to throw the sobbing children something to eat was driven back by rifle butts. One woman in Inowisclaw who persisted in throwing a roll to a hungry child was punished for this act of charity with a three-year prison sentence.

The mother of Professor "S," an aged woman of eighty-six from Posen, had a broken hip. Her son, concerned for his mother's comfort, left his coat and valise on the floor while he helped carry her down stairs. After he had placed her in a truck, he started back into the house to get his belongings. The Germans stopped him. "No one was allowed to reenter once he had left." He explained the circumstances—that he had a right to these things, that he had left them for only a minute to help with his sick mother, that he needed the coat. . . . It was useless. To all his pleadings there was but one answer:

"You should not have left them."

And he had to go without his coat.

J. G., a paralytic, was carried out in a wheel-chair.

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The chair was pushed into the corner of a shed and forgotten. The cripple, unable to help herself, starved to death.

Once across the borders on the incorporated territories, the trains carrying the exiles were, as a general rule, shunted off and left standing in the open fields, miles away from the nearest town or village. The doors were unlocked and the wretched victims told to get out and "follow their nose." Scores froze to death during these journeys. At Torun, January 10, 1940, twenty-five corpses were removed from a single car, forty-two from another.

Charges on which Poles are sentenced to concentration or *Straflager* camps:

"Deutsche Rundschau" of July 22, 1941, reports that a Polish woman, Maria Malek, has been sentenced to three months hard labor and the loss of her civic rights for one year for having played Paderewski's "Minuet" on her gramophone. The fact that she left her window open was held to be an aggravating circumstance. Peter Kowal, in whose apartment German raiders found a book by the noted Polish art critic Witkiewicz, was sentenced to a year in prison and a fine of 500 marks. Another Pole ("Thorner Freiheit" of August 11, 1941) was sentenced to 30 days hard labor and a 250 mark fine when an engraved portrait of Frederick Chopin was found in his possession.

The Germans defend these inhumanities on the ground that, as a superior race, they need "leben-

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sraum": hence the Poles, as an inferior race must be destroyed.

In the German press we find still another justification for such bestialities. The *Völkischer Beobachter* in September, 1940, set forth the thesis that the whole Polish nation must be held responsible for the crimes of their administration and their nationalists during the September campaign. The "crimes" referred to amounted to this: In the first few days of the war, German Fifth Columnists in the towns and villages of the western territories (especially in Bydgoszcz) took a very active part in the fighting, firing on Polish soldiers from the windows and roofs of their houses. It is manifest that those civilian combatants caught with the gun in their hands who were also Polish citizens, were traitors. As such, they were shot forthwith.

Goebbels's propaganda machine, seizing on incidents like this and presenting faked pictures of murdered Poles as German victims of "Polish gangsters," cooked up a legend of German "martyrs" which the Polish nation, as a whole, as well as every individual Pole, must expiate. *Ein für alle mal!* As a result the life of a Pole is regarded as of no value whatever.

As to the justification for Goebbels's lies, the following uncontested evidence speaks for itself: A special medical court was appointed by the Germans themselves to look into the matter of alleged atrocities. At the end of a year's investigation, the court reported that it had found only 250 cases of Polish terrorism.

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A wider application of the thesis of responsibility of a whole nation for excesses committed by its individual nationals would give interesting results. According to this theory, German-Americans in the United States should be held responsible for the crimes of Adolf Hitler.

In the course of the first year of the occupation over a million Poles—landowners, merchants, industrialists, peasants, lawyers, teachers, doctors—stripped and robbed of all they possessed, were deported to the East. According to German sources, the population of the "Nebenland," (the Government General) increased in those twelve months from twelve and one-half million to fifteen million.

What will be the fate of these people?

The Government General consists of the poorest and least fertile sections of all Poland, an area in which there has always been an annual wheat deficit of over a million tons. The former density of the region was 120 persons per square kilometer; today it is over 130. Add to this the fact that the Germans are systematically stripping the country of its foodstuffs—and it is clear what kind of future is in store for the exiles. If the occupation continues a few years longer, deportation will be the equivalent of a death sentence for millions of people.

The life of those Poles who continue to live in the occupied territory as a "necessary evil" is a ceaseless succession of terror. Deprived of all civil rights, they are not classified as citizens, but as property belonging

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to the Reich (*Reichsangehörige*), a concept taken from the period of human slavery. A Polish laborer, as a rule, receives a lower wage, a shorter vacation, less food and shorter clothing rations.

During morning rush hours in the large cities, between 7:15 and 8:15 A.M. Poles are prohibited from using the trolleys. At other hours they may ride only on specially designated cars. Thousands of young Polish women and girls are kidnaped from small towns and villages and forced into houses of prostitution for the use of German soldiers. Germans are penalized with stiff prison sentences for associating with Poles, and lawsuits between the two peoples are unheard of. Regardless of the rights of the case, the result would be a foregone conclusion.

Meanwhile houses, farms and workshops stand idle and vacant. Houses gay with their flowering window boxes wait for their new owners to arrive!

According to the German plan, it was expected that within the first ten years two million Germans would be brought into the incorporated territories to take the place of the evicted Poles. At first it seemed to be the easiest thing in the world. For years "eighteen million hungry German stomachs" had been waiting for a new "Lebensraum" . . . "Germans lack territory" . . . "Germans are stifling." . . .

When it actually came to putting the plan into effect, however, the Nazis ran up against a snag. Within a month or two it became apparent that there were not enough German brother colonists to replace the de-

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ported Poles. Something was wrong with Teutonic arithmetic!

By Hitler's order, the first contingent of farm and town colonists were brought in from the East—the Baltic countries, Bessarabia, Bukowina, Dubrudza, Transylvania. But these nationals, uprooted forcibly from their homes and often unable to speak the German language, numbered no more than half a million.

Where are the rest to come from?

From Germany proper, of course. In another year or two, when the gigantic armies of Hitler have been demobilized, millions of men will be available.

This is the theory. But what are the actual facts? The truth of the matter is that Germany not only has no surplus of agricultural laborers to spare for colonization projects; she cannot even supply her own needs.

Statistics show the following population shifts in the Reich during the last seventy years:

	POPULATION	RURAL AREAS	SMALL TOWNS	LARGE CITIES
1871	41.5	26.0	12.0	2.5
1900	57.5	26.5	23.0	9.0
1939	79.0	25.0	31.0	23.0

Reckoned in Units of Millions

In 1871 the rural population in Germany was 64 per cent of the total number of inhabitants: the urban population was only 38 per cent. Seventy years later the ratio was reversed; 32 per cent was rural while the remaining 68 per cent was urban.

In the last six years before the war the number of

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people living in the country decreased by 10 per cent. 1,450,000 farmers moved to the city. This took place in the face of strenuous government opposition and in spite of all efforts made to check it in the form of farm credits, government subsidies, laws regulating inheritance, and a strenuous propaganda of "back to the land!"

The new German holdings were turned over to the colonists without any down payment. A fixed sum, set by the colonization office and the Reichsnachruhgestand, was charged for rent. This rent was very moderate, allowing for a high standard of living, adequate upkeep of the premises and suitable education for children. It bore no relation to the actual value of the property or the returns on the investment. The newcomers received farm and equipment and, if they had not brought any livestock along with them, were helped to secure it with long-term credits.

The Germans realized that their colonization scheme was hanging in air. The number of voluntary registrations in the last few years had been insignificant, and as long as there was a dearth of men, their whole system of subsidies, reduced taxes, "Osthilfe," and millions of propaganda pamphlets were of no avail. Then the colonization officials had a brilliant idea: "Since there are not enough Germans," they said, "their place shall be taken by trees . . . German trees."

A plan was adopted for large-scale reforestation of one-third of the annexed provinces. This plan had a two-fold advantage: It was economical and it would

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transform the whole countryside into a primeval German landscape. The originators of this plan ignored the fact that such a forest would be a living memorial to the millions of murdered and deported Poles!

* * *

A new document of German persecutions of the population of incorporated provinces is a new decree, dated December 16, 1941, which was published in the German press. This decree applies to the German criminal law to Poles and to Jews. The following is the literal text of this new *Befehl*:

The council of Ministers for the defense of the Reich decrees with force of law:

1. Poles and Jews in the annexed eastern territories are obliged to behave in accordance with German law and with the orders given to them by the German authorities. They are obliged to avoid everything which might prejudice the sovereignty of the German Reich and the authority of the German nation.

2. Their punishment is death if they commit any violence against a German citizen on account of his belonging to the German nation.

3. Their punishment is death or imprisonment in less grave cases, if by spiteful or provocative behavior, they demonstrate a mentality hostile to Germany—and especially if they make anti-German statements or tear down or damage proclamations of German authorities or public institutions or if by their general attitude they disparage or prejudice the authority and the welfare of the German Reich or the German people.

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4. Their punishment is death, or imprisonment in less grave cases:

A. If they commit any violence against a member of the German Army or its auxiliaries, of the German police including its auxiliary staff, of the Reich labor service, of German officialdom or public service or of any member of the National Socialist (Nazi) party.

B. If they deliberately damage establishments of German authorities or public institutions, or any object contributing to the work of these authorities or to the public welfare.

C. If they encourage or provoke disobedience to any ordinance or regulation issued by German authorities.

D. If they conspire to commit an act punishable under Paragraph 2 or 3 or the first three clauses of Paragraph 4, enter into serious deliberation on the subject, offer to commit such an action or accept an offer of this kind or if they have reliable information about an action or an intention of this nature at a time when the danger is still averted and fail to inform in time the authorities or the threatened person.

E. If they are found in illicit possession of firearms, hand grenades, explosives, ammunition or any other weapon of war, or if they have reliable information that a Pole or a Jew is in illicit possession of such objects and have failed to make immediate representation to the authorities.

II. Poles and Jews are also punished when they violate German penal laws or when they commit an act punishable under the basic principle of a German penal law in accordance with the special political exigencies prevailing in the incorporated eastern territories.

III. 1. Penalties imposed on Poles and Jews are imprisonment, fines and confiscation of property. "Imprisonment" means confinement in a prison camp from

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three months to 10 years. In grave cases severe prison camp confinement from two to 15 years is imposed.

2. Capital punishment is invoked whenever it is provided by the law. Even in cases where the law does not provide for it, capital punishment is to be imposed when the criminal action committed indicates especially base character or when it is particularly grave for other reasons. In these cases capital punishment is also permissible against juvenile offenders; in serious cases less than 16 years old.

3. The minimum term of sentence provided by a German penal law or a penalty decreed as compulsory may not be reduced, with exception of cases where the criminal deed was directed exclusively against the offender's own nation.

Any fine which cannot be collected will be replaced by imprisonment from one week to one year.

The only answer to these persecutions and cruelties is continuous resistance and fighting against the aggressor. The history of this struggle has not yet been written. I wish to submit some examples of a short period of this unique and magnificent fight for freedom, which is being carried out against a powerful foe, by a people without arms.

During the period of February 20 to March 20, 1942, that is to say during four weeks, German newspapers of which only a few are received in America, and in which only a part of such information is published, reported that:

A large guerrilla force was active in the territory incorporated into the Reich (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 5.)

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A Pole was sentenced to death for the theft of 43 bicycles belonging to the Gestapo which he wanted to furnish a Polish guerrilla party (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 20).

Five thousand marks reward was offered for the capture of a Pole who had killed two members of the Gestapo (*Deutsche Rundschau*, March 24).

Death sentences were passed on Poles for listening to BBC broadcasts and distributing the news (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, Feb. 21); for fighting with German police during a raid (*Danziger Vorposten*, March 13); for so-called "banditism"—we know from people who came from occupied Poland that this term is often applied to guerrilla attacks (*Danziger Vorposten*, Feb. 27 and March 17); for inciting against Germans (*DNB*); for attacking German treasury agents (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 20); for sabotaging the collection of warm clothing for the German Army (*Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*, March 4); for obstructing the execution of justice (Swedish *Svenska Dagbladet*); for being a "Volkschaedling" (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 6; *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 20 and March 26); for breaking a window in a German shop (*Pommersche Zeitung*, March 6); for possessing of arms (*Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*, Feb. 24); for perusing German military mails (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, Feb. 25); for so-called economic sabotage (Swedish *Goeteborgs Handels Och Shoefarts Tidning* and *Deutsche Rundschau*, March 19). The editor of a Polish underground paper was beheaded in Poznan.

Germans have begun mass trials to remove persons active in anti-fifth column activities in the beginning of the war in September, 1939. Such trial was staged in Bydgoszcz against 38 former Polish soldiers, for alleged ill-treatment of "Volksdeutsche" in 1939. Twenty-one

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of these former soldiers were sentenced to death (*Danziger Vorposten*, March 5). Another such trial took place in Srem against 19 Polish civilians (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 8).

Of the German newspapers received, the following report death sentences or executions of Poles for anti-fifth column activities in the early part of September, 1939: *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, Feb. 24, March 2 and March 8; *Danziger Vorposten*, March 5; *Deutsche Rundschau*, March 18.

Two Polish women were sentenced to long terms of severe *Straflager* camp for resistance to Germans (*Danziger Vorposten*, March 25; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 19).

Two Polish women were sentenced to *Straflager* camps, one in Elbling, another in Bydgoszcz, for helping war prisoners. In this connection the *Danziger Vorposten* of Feb. 23, publishes a warning against giving any assistance to war prisoners. It states that in many cases civilian clothes have been smuggled to prisoners and have enabled them to escape.

Long term *Straflager* camp or hard labor sentences have been passed for resistance to Germans (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 28, and *Deutsche Rundschau*, March 19); for listening to BBC (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, March 17); for "economic sabotage" (*Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*, Feb. 23; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, Feb. 26, March 2, March 13 (several sentences), March 22; *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 25; *Danziger Vorposten*, Feb. 25).

In Berlin two persons, (Jozef Krol and Joanna Kurzac) were executed for espionage for the Allies (*Dagens Nyheter*).

A Polish woman was executed for helping a war prisoner to escape.

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This is an incomplete, but nevertheless deeply impressive list of the victims of the Polish struggle against the aggressor, which was being carried out in the incorporated provinces of Poland, during the short period of four weeks.

“NEBENLAND”

NEBENLAND!”

A country that “adjoins”: a country that has no will of its own, no law of its own, no intelligentsia of its own.

A country of slave labor for the Reich: a reservoir from which to draw a mass of human energy to replace mechanized force.

A potato-wheat country, stripped of its industries and its commerce, in which Poles are not allowed to buy white flour; a country where even to suspect a German of Polish ancestry is an unforgivable insult punishable with a prison sentence.

This is what the Polish reservation will be like within the next ten years if the German plan for the Government General is carried out. The Germans express their intentions perfectly openly:

“The Government General is to be a *Nebenland*, lying docile on the boundary line of the Reich.

“Unable to kill off all the Poles at once, we will establish for fifteen millions of this inferior breed, a vast

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ghetto. Of these fifteen million, at least three million will die of privation and hunger within the next ten years. For those who are left we will create such intolerable living conditions that all sense of human dignity will be snuffed out in short order, every trace of desire and ambition crushed, and they will become an army of fear-driven slaves working for the Germans with a dog's servility."

Destruction of morale! This is the keynote of the program in the Government General. Warsaw was starving at the end of its three-week siege. When the Germans entered, they began to distribute food prepared by the municipal authorities. But before the Poles were given so much as a spoonful of warm soup for their hungry children, they were put through a hell of humiliation. Standing in long lines in the bitter cold streets, they were compelled to recite loudly to the accompaniment of laughs and jeers by the Gestapo: "We are strong, united, ready."

Concentration camps have taken the place of the closed schools and universities. One of the largest and most notorious of these camps is the one situated at Oswiecym.

It consists of a number of barracks built to accommodate four hundred, but which usually contain about a thousand people. In February, 1940, there were over seven thousand Poles, in addition to numerous Czechs and anti-Hitler Germans, at Oswiecym. Each racial group has its own insignia. That of the Poles is a capital letter "P" worn on the sleeve.

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On arrival at the camp the prisoners are required to fill out a blank, answering thirty-two questions concerning their past lives, their families, property holdings, their health and their political affiliations. Special linen is provided for them and a uniform of thin cotton ticking worn summer and winter alike. Prior to October 15 the prisoners went around barefooted, the shoe supply not having as yet arrived. Hats were not given out till December.

Sometimes two hundred and fifty men are crowded into dormitories built to hold fifty. They are not allowed to wear their cotton uniforms during the night, these have to serve them as pillows, though often soaking wet. One blanket is allowed for every two prisoners.

Rising hour is 4:30 A.M. The prisoners wash in the open, stripped to the waist, regardless of season or weather. They receive no soap. After wash-up and roll-call comes breakfast which consists of a cup of hot liquid called "coffee." At six work begins, digging for gravel in the Sola river-bed, working in quarries, loading and unloading railroad cars, frequently an aimless carrying of poles from one place to another.

Men employed in the quarries are frequently chained. They work under the supervision of sadistic guards recruited from among the worst German criminals who as a reward for special brutality, receive "promotions" in the form of shortened penal terms. No wonder they torture their wretched charges! Beating and kicking goes on all day long. One of these

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guards who had the habit of hitting the prisoners over the head with a pair of brass knuckles, killed one or more every day. Among his victims was a professor from Warsaw. One day this brute organized a prisoners' race, compelling each contestant to carry a stone that weighed over a hundred pounds. Those who dropped out of the race from exhaustion had their heads bashed in by this mad sadist. On that day he had fifteen victims to his credit!

Work lasts from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M., with half an hour's intermission at noon time. Not a moment of relaxation is permitted during these ten long hours. Food consists of cabbage soup and a half-pound ration of bread daily for every four prisoners.

Beating and flogging with a rubber hose is the regular punishment meted out for every kind of "offense." For "crimes" of the first degree twenty-five blows of the hose are applied to the face and body of the victim; of the second, fifty; of the third, seventy-five. Death usually follows the fiftieth. Other and more refined forms of torture are also used, such as suspending a prisoner by a rope passed beneath the armpits in such a way that his toes barely touch the ground, while drenching him with an ice-cold stream of water from the hydrant, etc. There are also penal gymnastics, compulsory jumping in a squatting position for twenty minutes or more. One of the men released from Oswiecym returned home with his teeth knocked out, several ribs broken, his hands torn and bleeding from the weight of chains he had been forced to wear.

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Normal men in middle life are broken after a two-weeks' stay at Oswiecym: young men become old men within six months.

Prisoners with a temperature of over 39° C. (102° F.) are sent to the hospital. Anyone running a lower degree of fever who asks to see the doctor is treated as a "saboteur." Men unable to work because of illness are sent to the "sick room," where without medical attention of any kind, they are left to die. No wonder that mortality figures are appalling!

Mailmen all over Poland distribute daily a special kind of card known as "cards of death." The Oswiecym camp authorities use these cards to notify families of the death of their relatives. There are days when a single mail carrier may deliver scores of such cards. Families may have the ashes of their loved ones delivered to them on payment of four German marks. In one case that I know about, the "conscientiousness" of the Germans went so far that the family of a certain prisoner received two "cards of death" and two urns with ashes! In another instance, analysis of the ashes showed the urn to contain only sweepings.

As a general rule, no one is released from any of the concentration camps until the prison authorities are satisfied that his mental and physical breakdown is satisfactorily complete. Anyone—man or woman—known to the Gestapo to have been a member of a political party has no chance of being set at liberty. Up to February, 1941, about two hundred prisoners had returned to Warsaw from Oswiecym.

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Before leaving, a prisoner is obliged to sign a promise that: (1) he will not let anyone know what conditions in the camp are like: (2) he will be loyal to Germany and not take part in any subversive activity against the Reich: (3) he will report to the German police any anti-German intrigues which may come to his attention. He is then given back his own clothing and allowed to go. Immediately on his return home he must register with the Gestapo.

He returns home a physical wreck, in most cases suffering from tuberculosis, with shattered nerves, with heart torn to shreds. . . .

On September 19, 1940, there took place in Warsaw a notorious German man-hunt, one of those periodically organized by the police. The procedure of these hunts is as follows:

A cordon of Gestapo and S.S. detachments is thrown around a certain district of the city and all Poles between the ages of seventeen and sixty who are found in the area are rounded up and taken into custody. They are seized in the streets, the cafés, stores, in their own homes, loaded like cattle on to trucks, and driven to police headquarters. After a brief examination, a few may be released, but the majority are shipped off to concentration camps. In one round-up out of four thousand men arrested, only seven hundred were released.

What happens to these people?

Let us take a look at statistics computed in one Warsaw city block:

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In this block eighty-three men, most of them mere youths, were arrested. Four were released, the remaining seventy-nine sent to Oswiecym. Within the next four months word was received by their families that twenty-two of them had died.

Twenty-eight per cent of these healthy, able-bodied young men dead within four months!

The only other kind of punishment besides the concentration camp which is used in the Government General is the death penalty. A long nine-clause decree issued November 30, 1939, made this penalty applicable for almost any offense.

A special judicial court was established by another decree of November 26. However, in actual practice, any such notion as the possibility of individual guilt and punishment is non-existent in this unfortunate country. In accordance with the Hitlerian theory of corporate Polish guilt, an entire district, village or municipality is invariably held responsible for death, injury, or insult to a German.

In Wawer, a village near Warsaw, a German was killed in a tavern brawl. Later in the day all the men of the village were dragged out of their homes and without any sort of trial 120 of them were summarily shot. A score of villages in the district of Radom were decimated for similar causes. Any injury to a German is paid for by the whole community. All the atrocities committed in the Government General are justified by this theory of collective Polish responsibility.

A sign on the fence saying "Long live Poland and

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her Allies!" a German insulted or wounded by a drunkard during a brawl—and the blood of scores or even hundreds flows in reprisal. It is difficult to go into details about these hideous mass executions where men are lined up at the edge of open graves and shot in the back of the head with machine guns. I will mention briefly only one or two such incidents:

Fifty-two persons from one apartment house on the Nalewki in Warsaw were shot because a policeman had been killed in the night by thieves. In the district of Lublin three hundred peasants were massacred and five villages burned in revenge for the murder of a family of German colonists by bandits. On this occasion the laborers brought in from another village to dig the victims' graves were shot also.

A detachment of guerrilla forces which was still fighting in the Holy Cross Mountains of Swietokrzyskie, near Cracow, had a skirmish with some German troops toward the end of March, 1940. A few days later the Germans burned eight villages in that region and massacred 1,200 of their inhabitants.

What is the nature of the offenses for which the Poles are sentenced to death?

Below are a few cables that were received in the course of a single day:

According to a report in the *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, six Poles from the village of Torun were sentenced to death for having a gun in their possession. The sentence, imposed by a special court, was carried out immediately.

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The same source reports that a court in Posen imposed the death penalty on a thirty-five year old plumber, Karol Kokornaczyk, of Barwalde, because in September, 1939, he had slapped the face of a German. It seems that Kokornaczyk and three Polish Uhlans were taking some arrested Volksdeutsche to prison in Zatsch. Among the prisoners was a man who once had denounced him to the police for stealing potatoes. Kokornacyz, as he slapped the German's face, reminded him about the sack of potatoes.

An item in the *Krakauer Zeitung* reports that a fourteen-year old boy was sent to prison for six years for singing the Polish national anthem. Another Pole received a five-year term because he did not get out of the way quickly enough when he met a *Volksdeutschen*.

Schools and universities were closed. Professors, teachers and priests were thrown into prison and concentration camps. Every possibility of earning a living was taken away from the intelligentsia. Thereupon, with their well-known efficiency, the Germans started in to compass the moral degradation of the Polish youth. The means employed were alcohol, gambling and pornography. Distilleries were built, the price of whiskey lowered, and the sale of liquor diligently pushed. Cheap alcohol was on sale at special supply depots and in the stores whose food supplies had been looted and sent to the Reich. A gambling monopoly established a number of houses for the exclusive use of Poles. Germans were forbidden to patronize these places, and in order to encourage their use by the Poles,

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entrance tickets automatically gave the holder the privilege of staying out on the streets after curfew hour. The youth of the country was deluged with a mass production of obscene literature and pornographic pictures, put out in the name of "physical culture" and "art."

Every effort was made to sow seeds of mutual distrust and suspicion among the Poles in order to render difficult the organization of underground movements. False accusations and denunciations were freely employed for this end. The example given below is illustrative of the technique.

Late in the evening a squad of the Gestapo forces its way into the home of a Polish family by the name of "X." After a thorough ransacking of the place, which includes the ripping up of upholstered furniture and tearing the paper from walls, one of them asks off-handedly:

"Are you acquainted with Mr. Y? Do you see him very often?"

"Yes, I know Mr. Y. very well."

"So! You're a friend of his, are you?"

A few days later, in the course of a similar visit to the home of Mr. Y. this gentleman, as if by an inadvertent slip of the tongue, will be given to understand that he has been denounced by his friend, Mr. X. . . .

A decree issued by Governor Frank legalized confiscation of private property without corresponding compensation, on the ground that such appropriations were "in the interests of public utility." The result was that

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in addition to the confiscation of household goods and office furniture for the use of German colonizers, a wholesale robbery of all sorts of property took place. No one could be sure that what he possessed today, would still be his tomorrow. Germans with uniforms, Germans without uniforms, entered the houses by day or night at their pleasure, helping themselves to anything they could get their hands on—pictures, carpets, furs, clothing, food, money and valuables of all kinds.

A special chapter should be devoted to the martyrdom of hundreds of thousands of young Polish men and women who were deported to Germany for compulsory labor. Polish "workmen" are "recruited" through raids organized on a mass scale, and carried on by the army and police. Entire city districts are surrounded and all men between seventeen and sixty are seized—snatched from the streets, stores and workshops, hunted down in attics and basements where they try to conceal themselves in hope of escaping a terrible fate. Similar raids are made in the villages where men hide out for days in the wheat fields, in barns and in forests, trying to elude the human wolves. Hand grenades are sometimes used to force them out of their hiding places among the grain.

The "recruits" are held for a few days in distributing depots. Then those over forty-five, those employed in municipal institutions and public utilities, those holding work cards from the labor office, are released. The rest are either sent to compulsory labor in the Reich or to concentration camps—chiefly to Oswiecym. High

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school boys and pupils of special trade schools in the Western territories have been special targets for this particular kind of persecution.

A German farmer or manufacturer found treating his Polish workers in a humane manner is subject to punishment for "weakness inimical to the interests of the German nation." A number of instances of compulsory sterilization of the Poles carried to Germany have been fully attested.

According to figures given out by Dr. Timm of Berlin, there were by 1941 over 649,000 Polish workmen in Germany engaged in agricultural labor alone.

From an economic point of view the Government General is literally a German colony. Positions of importance, without exception, are held by Germans or—if there are not enough Germans available—by Ukrainians and Lithuanians. All wholesale business, all foreign commerce and every sort of large-scale industry is exclusively in German hands. Poles may engage only in petty commerce and handicrafts.

The bank set up by the Germans to print Polish zloty, is merely an instrument for the financial exploitation of the country.

As Dr. Emmerich, Chief of the Agricultural Bureau of Economics in the administration of the Government General, puts it:

"It is the function of the Government General to serve as a delivery station of working power for Germany and as a channel of communication with the Soviet."

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In deciding upon the boundary lines of this territory, Germany took for herself the most productive parts of the area, thereby increasing substantially her own grain supply. Furthermore, the Government General being separated from the Reich by a customs house "clearance" is obliged to pay for what little she can import from Germany out of her own scanty resources. All possibilities of industrializing the country have been wiped out, business is being systematically destroyed, and in all exchanges of goods between the two sections Germany enjoys a preferential tariff rate of fifty per cent.

Special districts are being assigned for exclusive residence to the Germans who are pouring in from the Reich to take over various administrative posts or to escape bombings. Poles and Jews expelled from their homes in these regions to make place for the newcomers are not allowed to take with them either food or household furniture.

Even in normal times this part of Poland had an agricultural deficit. Today, with the greater part of its food supplies being shipped out, and with the influx of deportees from the incorporated territories, the inhabitants are exposed to death by famine and diseases. The first victims of malnutrition and starvation are the intelligentsia. By depriving them of any means of a livelihood the Germans have literally sentenced them to death. Crushed beneath the ruthless feet of the German terror, Poles in the Government General live on their own soil as in a vast concentration camp, over

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whose gates are inscribed the words: "Exit forbidden to Poles and Jews!"

According to statistics for 1939, the Jews in Poland numbered 3,113,000—9.87 per cent of the total population. About one-half of these were in the eastern provinces taken over by Russia. The comparatively small number living in the Western provinces were deported to the Government General. At present the two million Jews in the Government General comprise about 17 per cent of the total inhabitants of the area. This number will increase as long as migration from the Reich continues.

A decree of Governor Frank on November 20, 1939, establishing a vast Jewish reservation in the district of Lublin, after being partially put into effect, was abandoned for some cause as yet unknown.

The fate of the Jewish people in the Government General is just as cruel as is that of the Poles, with this one exception: though the Jews suffer perhaps even greater humiliation by reason of the terrible moral contempt in which they are held, they are not subject to deportation to Germany for compulsory labor.

* * *

In January, 1940, a man who had succeeded in escaping from the occupied territories arrived in Paris, bringing to the Poles living there news of their families. In one of these conversations he took out of his pocket a handful of crumpled sheets of paper and remarked:

"Here is a copy of one of the underground papers

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being published in Poland under the nose of the Gestapo. There are a lot of such papers; some say there are more than sixty.

A Russian newspaper man, a former revolutionary who happened to be present, jumped to his feet exclaiming:

"Sixty! But that's impossible. I am well acquainted with revolutionary techniques: I used to dabble in such things myself in my younger days—and it was easier in Tsarist Russia than it is today under the Gestapo. You yourself just now told us, sir, that a death sentence awaits anyone publishing, reading, or even having in his possession such a publication."

And picking up one of the crumpled sheets, he continued:

"To publish a periodical like this and to sell, let's say two thousand copies, presupposes at least two hundred men ready to die at any minute, and several thousand more ready to take the same risk by reading or even receiving such a paper. Figure it out for yourself. Sixty multiplied by two hundred gives twelve thousand. It is a well attested fact that every copy of an illegal paper has a least ten times as many readers as an ordinary paper. Assuming that each of these papers puts out two thousand copies and multiplying sixty by ten by two thousand, we get a grand total of 1,200,000 readers! Permit me to ask you two questions:

"First, admitting that Poland is a nation of extraordinary heroism, do you ask us to believe that over a million of your countrymen are ready to risk their

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lives merely to get the latest news from an underground paper?

"Second, is it conceivable, in view of the remarkable organization and strict surveillance of the Gestapo, that sixty illegal papers could possibly be published?"

Without waiting for their reply, he went on to answer his own question:

"No, gentlemen! This claim is exaggerated, impossible. The Gestapo would have three-fourths of the different editorial staffs in its clutches within three weeks."

And yet. . . .

And yet, in that part of Poland occupied by Hitler for the last eighteen months there are being published not only sixty, but over one hundred of these underground papers.

These, of course, are not newspapers in the sense in which we usually understand that term. Most of them are weeklies; some appear every ten days. The most important among them publish the latest broadcasts by foreign radio stations two or three times a week.

The most amazing part of the story is how these papers reach their subscribers. The premises of the old Russian revolutionary were right, but his conclusions were utterly wrong. Circulation of the individual papers fluctuates between five hundred and fifteen thousand. Assuming an average circulation of three thousand for each, we obtain a total of 300,000 copies. Ten readers for each copy makes a grand total of three million readers.

Let us look into the facts:

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It is possible to publish over one hundred papers in German-occupied Poland because not only one million, but probably three million (almost one-sixth the population of the territory) are ready to risk their lives in order to read them.

Distribution is, of course, the most difficult part of the enterprise.

Thousands of distributors are needed, since a single distributor cannot safely dispose of more than twenty to twenty-five copies. These men are all volunteers, receiving no pay for their services. Theirs is a real "Legion of Death," for execution at the hands of the "Huns" is the inexorable fate of man, woman or child caught editing, selling or having in their possession a single copy of such a paper. Every month a certain number of people are shot by the Nazi butchers for this cause. The number sometimes amounts to a score or more.

In a few instances the police has swooped down on an entire editorial staff. This can usually be avoided by frequent shifting of office and printing shop from place to place.

In spite of the many handicaps and the unending search that goes on by agents of the Gestapo, over one hundred underground papers are being published in Poland, over three million Poles are reading them and, up to the present, there has been no instance of disloyalty or betrayal. Not a single one of the editors and distributors arrested has ever disclosed to the Nazi

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myrmidons the names of his colleagues, or handed over to them the subscription lists of his paper.

On May 16, 1941, the German press for the first time was able to report that:

"German authorities have officially announced the raid of an underground, revolutionary, anti-German Polish paper, and the arrest of five Poles. The raid took place yesterday morning. The entire block was surrounded with hundreds of Gestapo agents and policemen, with drawn revolvers, who were stationed at all house gates and on the roofs of nearby houses. In the cellar where the prisoners were apprehended there was found a printing press, paper, ink, a short wave receiving set, as well as an apparatus for reproducing pictures. The police say they have in their possession a complete list of subscribers to the paper and another list of secret sympathizers with the revolutionary movement it represents. A drive against all Poles suspected of participating in underground activities is announced for the near future."

What is the nature of these papers?

The political articles, the two or three of them which appear in each issue, differ radically from what was previously regarded in Poland as a political article. No polemics, no personal attacks, no discussion of political viewpoints. The underground press in Poland today is of a thoroughly educational nature. It is deeply ideological. The different papers are published by groups of various political persuasions, but you will look in

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vain for fundamental differences in their policies. Anyone studying the contents of these papers will realize that the Poles today have all agreed upon one definite political program, the gist of which may be stated as follows:

1. The first and primary duty of the Polish people is to defeat the Germans. A ceaseless, never-ending struggle against the invaders is the first concern of every individual Polish man or woman. Every paper without exception, preaches the gospel of war against any form of totalitarianism, Nazi and Communist alike.

2. The future Poland must be a true democracy wherein individual liberty goes hand in hand with social order and civic discipline.

3. The economic and social organization of the New Poland must be based on the principle of fair and just distribution of wealth and income. In general, the tone of these papers is rather radical. All of them, however, subscribe to the idea of private property, with some measure of State control.

One thing cannot but strike the reader as he scans these editorials. They all emphasize the fact that at the close of a victorious war, reforms must be initiated that are founded on principles of Christian ethics. One feels himself carried back, somehow, to the era and the atmosphere of first-century Christian fellowship. These people, victims of the most savage terrorism in all human history, are reiterating once more the eternal verities of evangelical teaching.

Here are a few quotations:

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From the radical paper *Fight and Freedom*, an article entitled: "Let us be kind."

"We must not think only of ourselves while bearing our yoke of slavery. To the measure of our ability we must give a helping hand to others who are in straits. Assistance and good will must be bestowed freely on those with no roof over their heads, no means of a livelihood. There must be help for all who need.

"The Germans are seeking to exterminate the Polish nation. They will inflict irreparable harm upon us unless we oppose to them the solidarity of a united resistance. Every Pole must have the assurance that he will find protection and help in this tragic hour. This is the dictate of civic duty and common justice alike.

"Let us be kind. Tomorrow, in my hour of affliction I may not find a friendly hand outstretched to comfort and to succor."

From the *Manifesto of Young Poles* an article entitled "Character."

"Every Polish youth must have as the inmost passion of his soul the aspiration for spiritual growth. He must cultivate his inner life, steadily lifting up his heart to those imperishable values, human and divine, which teach us the way of life: 'He that would save his life must lose it.' This inner life, strictly controlled, but ardent as a living flame, must find an expression in our outward life. Let us not forget the words of that great Pole, Stanislaw Szczepanowski: 'Our regeneration begins within our heart, not within our mind. It does not depend on the degree of our culture and enlightenment,

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but on our growth in character. Changed lives, not changed opinions are witnesses to regeneration.'"

The Pioneer thus formulates the duties of a Pole:

1. "To learn to understand the nature of historical changes now taking place, and to free oneself of obsolete political and social ideas.

2. "To realize that universal work, universal honesty and universal sacrifice are the foundations on which the future independence and equilibrium of our nation must be built.

3. "To root out egotism and pusillanimity.

4. "To execrate profiteering or any other kind of exploitation of the nation's defeat.

5. "To stigmatize cowardice, servility and intimacy in our relations with the enemy."

One could quote similar examples by the hundreds.

Difficult as it may be to believe, it is, nevertheless, a fact that some of these underground papers are publishing and selling special pamphlets of from sixteen to thirty-four pages, devoted wholly to matters of education and self-improvement. Such pamphlets, for example, are *The Code of the Pole*, or *Advice for Self-Instruction Circles*.

Let us not forget that, as is the case with underground papers, the penalty for publishing, reading, selling or possessing such a pamphlet is the death sentence.

* * *

The German methods of starving the Polish population are based on a specific organization of food ration-

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ing cards. It is sufficient to state the amount of food products allotted to the Polish population in Warsaw for September 1941. The daily bread ration amounted to 6 ozs. for adults (Christian); $4\frac{3}{8}$ ozs. for Jews. Even worse is the situation of the monthly rationing of other products: meat—7 ozs., fats— $10\frac{1}{2}$ ozs., oat meal (for children) 1 oz., eggs—3—4, and a small amount of marmalade. The amount of potatoes to be received (9 lbs.) is uncertain. Barley, beans, milk, cheese, fruits, etc., have not been included in the monthly ration cards designated for the Polish population.

It must be added, however, that even these scanty rations are too often theoretical, largely dependent on the system of delivery from distant districts, since the Warsaw soil is not fertile. Of course "uniformed" Germans and the local "Volksdeutsche" have preference to all food supplies.

Undoubtedly, various food products not listed on the cards of the Polish population are obtainable in shops and by illegal trade. How much can this situation be exploited by the Polish worker whose wages are between 100 and 200 zlotys per month, or the "white collar" worker with monthly wages of 100–250 zlotys is highly questionable. The best answer to this is supplied by a comparison of "free market" prices with pre-war prices. Price in zlotys:

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	<i>July, 1939</i>	<i>September, 1941</i>
Lard	1.61	60.00
Potatoes	0.14	2.50
Rye Bread	0.28	14.00
Sugar	1.00	23.00
Flour	0.54	18.00
Meat	1.56	22.00
Milk		4.00
Coal	42.45	1.20

A series of circumstances is responsible for the sharp rise in prices. Due to transport difficulties and severe restrictions against the import of food products, they are brought in illegally in passenger cars subject to constant danger and connected with great difficulties. The hazardous journey calls for sacrifice, ingenuity and cold blood, especially since punishment for being caught is death. One must bribe the railwaymen, policemen, etc. Illegal trade needs intermediaries worthy of full confidence of the buyer and seller. Here again one is subject to Gestapo agents who look out for unlicensed dealers in food products. The intermediary raises the prices. In the deal every representative of the German authorities, besides bribery, "requisitions" a part of the illegal and at times legal transport for himself. They all steal, including packages coming from abroad, especially if they contain meat, or fats.

In the light of this, the German authorities feel too well-satisfied with their exterminating policies, to introduce any improvement of the situation. On the contrary, they obviate all charitable work undertaken by

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the Polish Government in the form of extending financial help, distribution of warm clothes, food, etc. A typical example of such a German attitude is the order requiring the registering of every Pole in a German Employment office, who receives any financial support from The Council of Help or receiving so-called "komitetowa soup." The aim of this order is very obvious: a legal pretext to send such a Pole as a poor laborer—for forced labor to Reich. This fact prevents many Poles who find themselves in a miserable situation from taking advantage of the help extended by the Council of Care. The grim reality for millions of people to live through each month is a tragic, vicious cycle. A family consisting of four people in pre-war days expended about 61.30 zlotys monthly for food; in the fall of 1941 it would have an expenditure of 1.568 zlotys. *But those aren't the daily cares and troubles in the material sense alone.* The food must be cooked. How, on what and for what? Last year a ton of coal cost more than 1,200 zlotys. There is no "ration-card" coal. It's impossible to cook with wood—it costs about 400 zlotys per ton and lasts for a short time only. Consumption of gas and electricity has been severely restricted. There can be no thought of gasoline.

One is also confronted with the problem of clothing. Poles do not receive any rationing for clothing. They must resort to the "free market." Here are some prices quoted for September, 1941: man's suit—2,000 zlotys; second-hand suit from 400 zlotys up, shoes—600–700 zlotys, soles—120 zlotys, shirt—70 zlotys. . . .

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Under such circumstances not even the minimum means of existence can be considered. The population must resort to the selling of their furniture, books, arts, jewelry, everything, in order to satisfy the most primitive needs. Others seek additional employment. Critical is the situation of the learned men, scientists, teachers, writers, journalists, artists, etc., who under the German occupation, have no means of making a living.

Weakened by insufficient nourishment, destroyed physically, the organism of the average Pole is easily susceptible to sicknesses. Forcible crowding of masses of population in crowded areas, ghettos, filth and bugs resulting from lack of fuel, soap, clothes, hospital care, medicines—all of this brings about spreading epidemics and disease.

These statistical figures are supplemented by the no less expressive data of two epidemic sicknesses.

	1938	1940	1941 (8 months)
Typhoid fever	23	1,822	5,592 (illnesses)
Tuberculosis	2,850	6,543	5,983 "

These figures are not exact; the factual increase in epidemics, especially in the ghetto, is much higher, and difficult to ascertain, since the German statistical offices do not "work" conscientiously in Poland. Other epidemics are spreading due to starvation.

Rachitis has affected over 90% of Polish children who are undernourished and completely deprived from essential vitamins. The qualitative compound of the "normal" food ration consists of:

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	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Fats</i>	<i>Carbonates</i>
Adults	7.5	4.1	85.0
Children	5.7	3.9	66.3

The food value of such a ration amounts in calories to 417 for adults, 366.4 for children.

Dr. J., well-known Polish doctor-hygienist in New York submits the following comment: The American calory standards are: 1,100 to 1,700 calories daily for children (pre-school age); 1,700 to 3,000 for children of school age; from 2,800 to 3,400 calories daily for youth; from 2,800 to 4,000 daily for adults. Of course, the minimum of the calories content is not a satisfactory criterion of the nourishing value of food. The vitamins included are of great importance. This is the dangerous, tragic case of the Polish population. Deprived of essential vitamins, the population is subjected to the gradual extermination of whole generations. In the case of undernourishment of adults we note a gradual loss of weight, muscular weakening and the decay of internal organs—heart, liver, spleen, etc. In consequence of this, the people are rendered incapable of any work, both intellectual and physical. The tragic epilogue ends in uremia . . . death. Another parallel and inevitable result is the susceptibility to disease and epidemic, which end catastrophically. The year 1942 may be catastrophic to the Polish population, if the food situation is not improved. Light epidemics may result in a serious mortality.

Dr. J. looks with even greater pessimism on the condition of Polish children, poorly and insufficiently

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nourished. These children, up to the age of seven are extremely susceptible to anemia. Children of school-age are in many cases victims of incurable physical and mental under-development, with noticeable decline and malformation in their internal organic systems, softening of bones, muscles and mental-neurotic cells. Then tuberculosis and other sicknesses take a heavy toll of the undernourished and exhausted, sickly and weak children. The catastrophe of sharp decline in the population hangs over Poland, if the conditions in Warsaw are applicable to other areas of Poland, concludes Dr. J.

Unfortunately, other cities in Poland are in the same position. Even the peasant population suffers hunger due to the plundering of requisitions, loss of livestock, lack of indispensable manure, etc. For almost three years the German occupants have been destroying Polish agriculture and bringing it to ruin. The requisitions have taken a drastic turn, food rations have been reduced, and the danger of epidemics intensified tremendously.

To realize the true meaning of these facts and figures we must take into consideration the following:

1. Publicly and frequently confirmed by high German officials, with Governor Frank taking the initiative, is the fact that Poland serves as an "experimental laboratory" where various forms of the "new order" are tested, which later on are applied to other countries.

2. Reports from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Greece and France prove that the "experiments"

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made in Poland, have been already applied in the respective countries or will be applied there in the near future. Close to 200 million people are threatened with the "new order" with all its Hitlerian implications, so well manifested in Poland.

3. High German officials stress continually the conception of the German "lebensraum," applying the term in fluid fashion, since it cannot be definitively established in terms of borders. But throughout the entire terrain of this elastic "lebensraum" the local population is subject to the doctrines and principles of the Hitlerian "new order"—so well demonstrated and practiced in Poland.

In July, 1942, the Polish Government in London received documentary evidence from Poland that throws a new light on the tragedy of Poland, hermetically cut off from all contact with the world.

At the press conference held in the British Ministry of Information on July 9, 1942, Vice Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk stated that the number of Polish citizens shot, or murdered in the 33 months of German occupation amounts to more than 400,000. Minister Mikolajczyk added, however, that the actual figure is much greater, but the Polish Government limited itself to those cases proved beyond all doubt.

During the two and a half years, to March 1942, German execution of individuals and masses was always justified in some way by the court, or the administration, by investigation or in any case by suspicion. But

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in the last four months, from March 1942, mass executions were carried out without any evidence or even the slightest pretext. The Germans went so far as to use poison gas on their victims.

The spark that set off this raging madness, in which the Germans are trying to murder out a whole Polish nation, was the rejection of the last two proposals for an agreement with Germany. During the three years of German occupation there were at least 5 such proposals—all of them rejected.

From the beginning, in September 1939, the Germans pursued a twofold policy in Poland. Shortly after the occupation they announced the particulars of a "ten year plan" for the complete Germanization of Poland. This plan provided that by 1949 the illegally "incorporated" Polish territory should be free of all Poles and that the Poles in the Government General, deprived of education and culture, should be slaves of the German "colonists." The Germans immediately set to work on this plan. The details of the terror in Poland are well known.

Already in November, 1939, in the face of these mass murders, deportations and pillage, the Germans turned to two conservative statesmen, Prince Janusz Radziwill and Profesor Estreicher, and proposed a Polish-German agreement. In both these proposals the Germans tendered the plan of a quasi-independent Polish state to be created in the Government General.

When these men replied that it was impossible to conceive any kind of agreement when such terror

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reigned, the Germans assured them that this terror would stop as soon as an agreement were reached, "for then you will be our allies."

After the Poles categorically refused, the Germans murdered Professor Estreicher and intensified the persecution of the Polish population.

These happenings are directly related to the two opposing factions which exist among the Hitlerites, each of which has a different solution for the Polish problem. One camp with Rosenberg, Greiser and Foerster at its head maintains that the only successful way in which to widen the German "Lebensraum" to the east is to wipe out and to deport all the Poles and then to settle Germans on this "free" land. This group is opposed to any agreement with the Poles. The second camp headed by Goering and the economic group realized that the Germans cannot populate all the space. Therefore they say that it is more advisable to wipe out all the revolutionary elements and thus deprive the Poles in the incorporated territory of their leaders than to Germanize the rest and to place the Poles in the Government General even temporarily with a superficial "independence."

This second camp proposed agreement, and when these proposals were rejected the first camp took over and directed the biological extermination of the Polish people.

Just before the Russian campaign in the Spring of 1941, the Germans again came out with a proposal for an agreement. This time they not only promised inde-

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pendence to the Government General but also, for the price of an anti-Soviet legion, a widening of the Polish border to the east.

This was rejected and in June, 1941, a new wave of terror broke out in Poland which cost the Poles thousands of lives. After the occupation of Lwow the Germans hoped that the Poles who had been under Russian oppression for a year and a half would be more amenable to their proposal. They approached none other than the ex-Prime Minister of Poland, Professor Bartel. Professor Bartel refused on the spot. The Germans executed him and his colleagues as well as other professors and politicians.

In spite of all these failures the Germans did not give up hope especially since, after a longer period of war with Russia, Polish territory took on a special meaning for them. In December, 1941, and in January, 1942, always under the initiative of Goering, they approached the one-time Polish Ambassador to Berlin, Wysocki, where again they met with a rebuff. In desperation they began looking for any person who would have the confidence of the people and who would be willing to negotiate with them. They did not find such a person. Ultimately conquered by the theory of Rosenberg, Greiser and Foerster they set out to change Poland into a desert, to murder the intellectuals and leaders, to destroy a part of the nation and turn the others, morally and physically crushed, into slaves.

In the last four months, according to given docu-

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mentation, a quarter of a million of persons fell. Of the 400,000 murdered, half were Jews.

The reason why German terror in the last few months was aimed in the most part at young Polish women is simple: In Poland 90% of births occur among mothers of from 19 to 35 years old.

* * *

At the office of the French Ministry of Information in the Hotel Continental in Paris, there took place December 1, 1939, an animated conversation. The participants were two Frenchmen (one an employee of the Ministry, the other a newspaper man) and two Poles.

They were discussing the situation in Poland. Letters and other documents which had just arrived, gave a more or less comprehensive picture of what was happening in the country under the German and Soviet occupation. The French journalist took a very dark view of the situation.

"Such a state of things can't go on much longer," he said. "In a month or two, at most, the Germans will succeed, at least in some measure, in breaking down resistance. First an appeasement party will be created, made up partly of upstarts and partly of patriots who are trying to save what they can. Later on some kind of a Polish Hacha will be found to head them. There is a limit, after all, to even the greatest patriotism and sacrificial spirit. Life has its biological rights that will not be denied."

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This was the opinion generally held throughout the whole world in the spring of 1939 . . . in January, 1940 . . . and in the spring of 1940. More and more terrible news kept coming from Poland, news of executions and atrocities carried out systematically and cold-bloodedly by Germany.

But no news came of any Polish Hacha.

At the moment of France's final and utter collapse, when Hitler at last had become master of the Continent, it seemed as if the moment of victory for the Third Reich had arrived. Pessimists were sure that "any minute now the Poles will capitulate . . . we shall soon hear of a Polish Quisling. . . ."

Over two years have gone by. Russian occupation belongs already to the past. Russia, attacked by Hitler, fights today against Germany at the side of the Allies. The whole of Poland is under the rule of Nazis, who have put into operation an inconceivably inhuman system of violence, torture and extermination. But the will of the whole Polish nation remains unbowed, unbroken. The Germans have tried to create some kind of "appeasement movement." They have not succeeded. The Polish nation has been tortured, starved, decimated. But the greater her affliction and persecution, the greater the measure of the resistance she has been able to call up from some measureless wellspring of inner strength.

A refugee who escaped from Poland in October, 1940, reported:

"NEBENLAND"

"The chief concern of every Pole today is that he shows no hint of defeat or humiliation in his eyes—not for a single instant, and not even if it would help to alleviate the suffering of his closest friend or the hunger of his own children."

The Germans are trying to make use of an artificially stimulated class struggle as a means of breaking down the unanimity of Polish resistance. For a little while they made a pretense of improving conditions of life for the working class. They established collectives and carried out an intensive propaganda against the Polish bourgeoisie.

What has been the result?

Here is a letter that tells about the family of a formerly wealthy industrialist:

"December 30, 1940.

"Adam, Zosia and Tadzik are in K, in the Government General. Their factory was taken by the authorities. They are living in the home of one of the members of a workmen's colony. Zosia teaches the children, since all schools have been closed down. These working people are looking out for them just as tenderly as if they were members of their own family. So they are not suffering from hunger."

Think what this means! A family of rich industrialists living happily in a little room just off a laborer's kitchen. Truly, it is worthwhile losing what one has and becoming poor, if through this, the boundaries of the human heart are enlarged.

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A demonstration by the citizens of Warsaw on the anniversary of the outbreak of the war, September 1, 1940, bears witness to the steadfast and determined attitude of the Polish people. Here is an account of the occasion given by an eye-witness:

"Long before the day arrived, word had gotten round that after early Mass all Poles should return home and not go out on the street again for the rest of the day. No one was to use the trolleys or ride on the trains, no one to patronize the coffee houses or buy cigars or newspapers. The money saved in this way would be used for 'patriotic purposes.' Everyone understood what was meant by this and the command was wholeheartedly obeyed.

"Throughout the day the city, a blaze of red from the German flags and banners, lay deserted. From the windows one looked down on silent, empty streets. No one on train or trolley, no one in the boulevards or squares.

"About six o'clock in the late afternoon, when the German parades were over, the loud speakers silent, the reviewing stands empty, great crowds thronged about the tomb of the unknown soldier and other patriotic monuments still standing, covering them with red and white flowers as they sang the anthem, 'Blessed Mother.'

"The Gestapo, beside themselves with rage arrested people en masse, dragged them off to prison, scattered and trampled the flowers. But no sooner had they

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left than new sheaves of white and red bloomed again, again a crowd assembled, again they sang.

"At the grave of the unknown soldier the disturbance rose to such a height that German troops had to intervene to suppress the brutality shown to the Poles. On the empty pediment of the P.O.W-iak (Polish Legions) monument, from which the Germans had taken the statue to melt it down, the people heaped up a mountain of flowers."

LETTERS FROM A
HOUSE OF BONDAGE

FOLLOWING are excerpts from several letters sent from Poland to families or friends abroad. These letters either passed through the regular mails or were smuggled out of the country by devious routes. Minor omissions have been made and all names have been deleted.

Warsaw, March, 1941.

Life here is becoming increasingly difficult in every way. The slightest real or alleged infraction is punished by imprisonment or the firing squad. More and more are being sent to concentration camps. Intellectuals are systematically being wiped out. The Warnelberg School [a technical school on a college level] is the only institution of higher learning open. Mass deportation of young men from 17 years of age to forced labor in Germany is a general practice. One million men are

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to be sent into the Reich this year. Oswiecim [a concentration camp] is filled to overflowing—hardly anyone comes out of it alive. Upon payment of a sum the ashes of dead relatives are sent to families requesting them. In several instances these ashes were subjected to chemical analysis and proved to be a mixture of artificial fertilizer and soil. Clandestine newspapers are printed, circulated and read at the risk of life. The same holds true for secret radio listening. But the people are well informed about everything. News manages to filter through to us. One must be very careful in exchanging letters with friends abroad. There have been cases where people were called upon to explain certain remarks in their letters. This would indicate that they deliver the letters but that they keep a record of whatever interests them.

The food situation for next winter is nothing less than tragic. Uninterrupted bad weather destroyed winter-crops in many places. Potatoes are not planted everywhere; our cattle keep lowing out of hunger as its winter supply of fodder has come to an end and there still is no grass. Prices are sky-high, earnings very low. The average monthly salary of an office worker is 150 zlotys [50 cents to \$1.20 at official rate of exchange; \$10 in actual purchasing power]. But with all this, the temper of the people is excellent; they have steadfast faith in the future, they refuse to break, and are determined to endure it all. Your sister requested me to let you know this.

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Chopin's statue has been taken into Germany. It is to be followed by the statues of Mickiewicz, Prince Joseph (Poniatowski), Copernicus and the Zygmunt columns. Warsaw has not yet been cleared of rubble. The walls of the Castle still stand but everything that could be taken from its interior was removed. There is talk of dismantling the rest. The Jewish district is walled in, entry and exit for Jews and Christians alike is possible only on certain days upon showing special passes. Hunger in this ghetto is horrible, for the authorities send nothing in. The population lives on the food smuggled in by Christians who in turn make their living in this way. People fall dead in the street from hunger. Disease is spreading like wild fire. Christians married to Jewesses or having Jewish mothers were compelled to move into the ghetto. Rumor has it that Count X is living there.

Warsaw is terribly overcrowded. Every family has boarders. Recently some districts were ordered to evacuate their homes (e.g. Smolna St.). The same applies in the villages, which are evacuated wholesale. The migration of our people goes on—only the question is, where are all these evicted human beings to go? And what will they live on? This year one was able to get along by selling surplus clothing etc., but the supply has dwindled by now. Especially handicapped are pensioners and older people who have no means of earning anything.

All these details are probably known to you, but I am sending them to you again just in case.

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Warsaw, end January, 1942.

You ask what we live on? Let me answer with official figures!

The scale of wages this month was as follows. An unskilled worker earned from 2 to 3.20 zł. a day; a skilled worker from 4.50 to 15 zł. a day; a machine operator from 120 to 200 zł. a month; an independent clerk from 120 to 600 zł. a month; an executive in industry from 500 to 1000 zł. a month. Now compare these with the fixed ceiling prices of basic food products prevailing during this period.

	PRICES IN JANUARY 1942	JANUARY 1939
rye bread 2 lbs.	6.77 zlotys	0.28
wheat flour 2 lbs.	17.06 "	0.51
potatoes 2 lbs.	2.45 "	0.14
beef	22.52 "	1.56
lard	46.53 "	1.61
sugar	25.10 "	1.00

As you see, prices today differ from those in force when we were together, while wages have undergone no change. . . . Of course, things are not easy!

. . . Since I expect this letter to be sent by "a special" let me add that ceiling prices and free market prices are not always the same thing. One must pay extra if one wishes to eat. The first of every month Wacek and Maryska bring me their salaries, 350 zlotys all together. We hold a conclave to decide what we should and can do with such a sum. We began by laying aside only 50 zlotys towards the rent. Our landlord, good man that he is, suggested of his own accord that we pay the other 50 zlotys monthly after the war.

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He claims that this is not a great sacrifice on his part because our payments will begin soon. Everyone here lives in such hope. It is quite a trick to stretch 300 zlotys for three people over a month. To be exact, it is for four because Marysia's little boy, though only five years old, is an important item in our budget. The money must pay for resoling one's shoes and one can't do without soap. Wacek and Marysia must take the trolley when it pours . . . My dear, I know that you haven't too much yourself, but if you could send us a parcel, you would be helping us no end. At least something for Tadzik, who, like all our children today, has a tiny drawn face and a much too big belly from a steady potato diet. Sometimes there are even no potatoes. So, if you only can, send us something for our little Tadzik, I beg of you. . . .

When you see Wladek, tell him that Janka was forced to leave at a moment's notice the apartment in which they had lived since their marriage and where all their children were born. And to find shelter here for four people . . . You must know how Warsaw looks. Wladek's family is all the more badly off as Janka is getting weaker. She did not receive the package of medicines forwarded by the Lisbon drugstore, supposedly because they were of foreign make. One cannot even dream of obtaining here the kind of injections she needs. The doctor says that she should at least get plenty of nourishment. He might as well have advised her to buy medicine. Do you remember their oldest son, Kazik, the one who was to become a priest? Well,

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he is no longer in the theological seminary. His great efforts finally got him work as a waiter. Since he has been at it for only a short time, he cannot as yet be of great assistance to his mother. Bronka cannot help either. She is spending money because she is training to become a nurse. She will receive her diploma in a month and will perhaps find it easier to get a paid position. Stasiek is a bookkeeper earning 200 zlotys a month, about as much as one has to pay for a pair of shoes of poor quality. For the moment, then, they are living on the sale of books from Wladek's library and of their remaining few antiques. This won't suffice for a long time, but Janka firmly believes that Wladek will return home by Christmas. We all think so too. . . .

Near Warsaw, Nov. 1941.

" . . . Wanda and her little son are slowly getting better, but during three weeks they hovered between life and death because of a chance purchase of some pork meat. A month ago she succeeded in buying two pounds of pork—she was very proud of her ingenuity. But her joy did not last much longer than the meat, which—as the doctor later told us—was trichinous. I see it is more healthful to be a vegetarian by necessity. I prefer to go hungry than to be ill. . . ."

Cracow, Dec. 1941.

. . . I stay mostly at home, for Ceska and Jozka stand in line for hours to obtain some provisions on our ration cards. Unfortunately they return empty-handed

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more and more often. . . . I am scribbling this letter with a pencil, a bad one at that, to save what remains of my ink for writing addresses. As long as it lasts. . . .

Cracow, Dec. 1941.

“. . . We cannot tell you anything more about your brother. His room looked awful after they took him away. He was very calm. He asked us to transmit his farewell to everyone and he requested that we pray for him. . . .

“Wacek and his wife are almost out of their mind with despair. Three days ago their daughter Jadzia went to her evening Commercial Course and disappeared without a trace. They trudged from one government office to another and were shuttled back and forth in the usual way by the officials. . . . They had happily anticipated that things would be easier for them after their daughter's graduation, for the girl already had a job promised. Nowadays it is dangerous to be young and good looking—if you only knew how many of them have disappeared in this way. . . .”

Warsaw, Dec. 1941.

“. . . Did you get my picture, son? I can imagine how surprised you must have been seeing your old mother transformed into an 'ethereal sylph.' What can one do? It is very fashionable these days to reduce as rapidly as possible. . . . They say this makes one look younger, so do not worry, my son. When you come back, you will find your mother with a head of

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gray but a girlish figure. And you will return soon. Signs in the sky predict it and a mother's unerring heart. . . .

Kielce, Jan. 1942.

. . . Adam is away again. The story of the nocturnal departure was repeated. Now I don't know how long he will live away from us. But I remember the state he was in when he returned four months ago. I shall never forget what he looked like. He was exhausted, more sick than was apparent, hardly left his room, was interested in nothing, wished to see no one. He would not even receive the assistant who came to tell him that his University laboratory and his library were gone. Sometimes only he would chuck little Zoska under the chin, look silently into her eyes and return to his room . . . Little Zoska bears a striking resemblance to Hala . . . Sometimes I deliberately asked him about his family, thinking that pain might bring him out of this state. It was no use. A friend of Adam's was telling us that he saw Hala at the railroad station in Lwow but that the train was so surrounded by soldiers that it was impossible to talk to her. Stach was seen together with other boy scouts in Zaleszczyki. Maybe the enterprising lad will be able to find his mother in the wilds of Russia . . . Miracles do happen!

Warsaw, Feb. 1942.

" . . . We get the usual laconic regulation cards from Jas, who still is in the prisoner of war camp. He wrote

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that he receives the food packages and clothing. Many thanks to those who help him,—I cannot help him in any way. At times I really don't know how I'll go on. I am now all alone. The temperature is below zero, but I suppose spring will finally come. Is it not so? All of us here are waiting to get joy out of the sunshine. . . ."

Będzin, Dec. 1940.

. . . Adam and Zosia, together with Tadzik, are in K (Government General). The factory has been taken over by the authorities. They are living in a worker's colony. As the schools are closed, Zosia teaches the children of the workers. The workers take care of them just as if they were part of the family. Thanks to this they do not suffer hunger. Do you understand—they, manufacturers, feel happy in that little room next to a workman's kitchen. It was worth becoming poor in money to become so rich in human goodness.

x . . . Prison.

November 15th, 1941.

Dear Parents,

I am coming to the end of my torture, for sentence of death was passed on me the day before yesterday. To-morrow more than a dozen of us are to die. I believe this letter will reach you, and I would like you to know that my last prison was at . . . , and the place of my execution will be . . . near. . . . I do not know what death awaits me, but to-day I openly admit that

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it will be as nothing compared with the tortures that have been inflicted on me for the past six months and nineteen days. Forgive me all the trouble you have had on my account, and I know you will forgive me, for it is all for the future Poland. I ask you, dear parents, after the war to divide the six acres of land which are my property as follows: let dad sell two acres and pay the money to (here follows the name of a Polish organization), Marysia is to have three acres, and Franek one acre. But he is to take a handful of earth from . . . from a spot where there are no graves, and scatter it over that acre. Thus I shall feel that my dust is resting in my beloved native earth. It is not hard for me to die, for I have endured everything, and they got nothing out of me which could hurt any others. I am only sorry that I have not been allowed to see a priest before my death. I take farewell of you in this world, but you must live with faith in Poland and God. Say goodbye to Franek for me and tell him that as I take my farewell of him I believe that at the right moment he will avenge my sufferings and death, first and foremost on those who betrayed me, and that without doubt he will guess who is the traitor. Know that I die with the words on my lips: "Long live Poland."

Your son.

(8) Extracts from Another Letter

I am kept in isolation. I'm feeling pretty rotten. I'm dying of hunger. And death from starvation is the worst of all. I would not want to be shot or die of

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hunger. . . . Down to to-day I have been examined three times—January 20th, January 30th and February 20th. Depositions were taken during the tortures. The first time they stripped me to my shirt and beat me on the head with blunt instruments. I had contusions on the left side of my head. I was beaten all over my body with a rubber truncheon and a hammer. I lost consciousness again and again. There were nine torturers. I was beaten by them in turn for several hours, while they put forward all kinds of evidence. . . . The next time, January 30th I was stripped naked and while I was beaten they repeated the questions of the first examination. . . . This time they beat me with rubber truncheons and a whip ending in small iron weights.

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Shortage of Fish in Marseilles

Paris, April 2, 1940.

OUR movie people were in the French Ministry of Information yesterday. We were trying to get permission to make a picture showing German atrocities in Poland during the September campaign. The French replied quite frankly:

"About September now—it's quite out of question. We can't have our people frightened and demoralized by a picture of such cruelties or such horrors as the bombardment of 'open cities.' It wouldn't be right to let them realize what a shambles life can become."

Paris, June 5, 1940.

More and more terrible news has been coming in from the front. The French are beginning to look at us Poles with enmity and distrust. Yesterday the concierge said to me:

"You are to blame for this calamity. We had no business getting mixed up in this war."

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The magic circle of defeat and fright is spreading with terrible rapidity. Captain A returned from the front today. When we asked how things were going, he shrugged his shoulders.

"The front! There is no front. The Germans are pouring in like butter, with practically no losses whatever. Small detachments of their motor cyclists are taking whole regiments prisoner."

The French have practically given up the struggle. Since Dunkirk it is only the Poles and the Colonials who have offered any real resistance.

Paris, June 10, 1940.

Incidents related by Major Z, attached to Colonel Maczek's brigade:

"It was the fifth of June. The Germans were within a few kilometers of our position on the Marne when we received orders to move. There were quite a number of the new recruits who weren't very skillful with their rifles, so the Captain ordered a drill in the nearby field. Half an hour later the camp adjutant of the brigade returned from French headquarters.

'We can't go on with this rifle practice.'

'Why not?'

'The French have just informed me that they have a regulation forbidding military drill on seeded fields. They advise that the brigade go to the practice ground near Versailles.'

"Two days later, at the front lines, a French gendarme held up one of the brigade squadrons, demand-

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ing that the captain show an order for permission to leave."

Libourne, June 18, 1940.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, on his way back from inspection at the front, passed through Dijon, a few miles behind the lines. He was surprised to find the town empty and dead. Dropping in to see the French divisional commander, he found the General, pipe in his mouth, sitting at his desk.

"What is the situation, General? What are your plans? What about the Poles?"

"In Dijon there is only myself and my pipe. General Weygand admitted yesterday that the French believe it useless to go on fighting any longer. And Marshal Petain advises that the Polish forces should acquiesce in the French decision."

General Sikorski replied tersely:

"The Marshal seems to forget that the Polish Army is fighting. It will continue to fight. I cannot agree to his proposition that we share the fate of the French."

Bayonne, June 23, 1940.

I got into conversation with a young French workman. I wanted to see how he felt about the Armistice. He waved his hand in the direction of some Polish aviators driving past in their car.

"You will throw bombs on us! The Germans have demanded our air bases and now you are going to England and will bomb us from there!"

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Safety. In this moment of defeat—the most crushing and terrible his country has ever suffered—this was all the young workman in Bayonne could think of!

Lisbon, February 3, 1941.

A good acquaintance of mine, a certain Mr. M, has just arrived. During the German offensive last June he was staying with his family and a few friends at Sables d'Olonnes, near La Rochelle. He gave us some interesting details about the German occupation of French coast resorts. It seems that more than once they telephoned ahead to let the French know they were coming. In many cases the French officers made no attempt to take the opportunity to escape. They said that under the circumstances they considered it a matter of military honor to surrender voluntarily.

It is reported that the authorities who betrayed Grynspan and Companays to the Germans and Spaniards, respectively, have agreed to hand over to the invaders all the German born officers of the Legion. What depths of perfidy! What moral collapse! Who can possibly place any reliance in the guarantee of the French Government to do nothing "inconsistent with its sense of honor!"

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Lisbon, October 15, 1941.

The former consul-general from Marseilles has just arrived. He tells us that there was a shortage of fish in Marseilles. A shortage of fish in a city which before the war was one of the great centers of the fishing industry!

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One had to get to market very early mornings, for within an hour or two the small stock was entirely sold out.

Was this shortage due to German requisitioning?

No. The Germans have requisitioned many things—but so far, not fish.

The housewives of Marseilles on their way home with empty baskets on their arms, passed through idle crowds of young fishermen lounging in the sun, throwing dice. Only the older men—those between fifty and sixty—go out to the fishing banks these days.

The shortage of fish was a result of the shortage of gasoline. These young fishermen refused to go out to their work in sailboats. Asked why, they replied:

"We are accustomed to motor boats. Sailboats are dangerous and uncomfortable."

Vivere necesse est, navigare non est necesse.

The use of sailboats for fishing is not the only thing that is uncomfortable and dangerous. There are many in France today who consider it uncomfortable and dangerous to bear and rear children . . . to work on the soil . . . and unquestionably war is neither safe nor comfortable. . . .

At the time of her great revolution France, after Russia, was second in population of all the European States. In 1830 France had a population of twenty-eight million, England not quite twenty million. Today England has forty million (an increase of twenty million) not counting her aliens and nationalized citizens who amount to an additional four million. Today in some

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of the Departments of France the number of inhabitants is scarcely a third of what it was at the close of the 18th century. Whole districts, especially in the southwestern part of the country, are suffering from economic blight due to the decrease in population. Von Moltke used to say that her falling birthrate was costing France a battle every day.

Such is the picture. Battles are not won under conditions of comfort and safety.

It is not a comfortable and easy thing to go fishing in sailboats. Nor to till the soil . . . nor to give birth . . . bring up children . . . wage war. . . .

It is the tragedy of France today that a great majority of her people values above all else in life its comfort and its safety. An annuity-pension ideal of life!

Behind the Maginot Line one was comfortable and safe. There were scores and hundreds of Maginot lines—lines of comfort and security behind which you could hide as in a shell, close your eyes and wait till your fate was upon you. Why struggle, since the ideal of life is comfort? As a logical ultimate answer to this question, we have the tragic gesture (fortunately only of a comparative few of resignation:

"On était français; on sera boche!"

One does not throw away one's life in defense of an ideal of life so ignoble as this!

It is said that one of the principal causes for the French defeat was lack of sufficient mechanical equipment. This is very probably true. But it should be remembered that the reason for this deficiency was that

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for years the French Government, with a thrifty eye peeled for money and a favorable balance of trade, had been deferring the purchase or production of such equipment.

The tragedy of France today, with her superb cultural tradition and her unextinguished genius, is the tragedy of Prometheus. She is fettered by the golden chains of materialism bound about her body by her thousands of "rentiers," small and great, who above everything else in life, love their security, their comfort. In the crucial hour of her destiny the French nation was lacking in the energy and vitality that is produced only by the voluntary self-sacrifice of a people.

Regard for material goods is proper and right. But they must not be allowed to take first place in the scale of values. The French Command decided to give up the idea of defending Paris, so that the city might not be destroyed. Only a few days before its capitulation they forbade a Polish Panzer brigade to practice with sharp cartridges, lest cultivated fields be injured.

But when London was devastated by German bombs, the English said: "Never mind. The town was hideous anyway. We will build a new city—a much more beautiful one." And when their hour of testing came, it was not on calculations of "Safety First" that the Poles and the Finns based their categorical "No!"

Life's most precious values do not lie in the things that can be measured and calculated.

During the war the French soldiers were given bromides and sedatives in their rations of bread and

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wine, which kept them calm, comfortable and serene. This represents the attitude that centers its efforts and energies in making life safe and comfortable. It leads only to self-centeredness, to the closing of the self within a shell of egoism and to the renunciation of sacrifice. The instinct of self-protection when it becomes the guiding principle of life, paralyzes the will and wrecks the morale of the individual, family and nation. He who values his life above everything else will never pass the threshold of greatness.

If a "safe life" is not the ideal of existence, what shall we say of life "lived dangerously?"

It is commonly believed that the Germans are given heroin and other stimulants in their chocolate. The Hitlerian ideal is that life should be a "great adventure" full of struggle and danger. It is drilled into the boys and young men at Ordensburg that the supreme manly virtue is courage; the most contemptible sentiment is that of compassion. But such slogans lead straight to anarchy and chaos.

The source of spiritual palsy is the same in both instances, namely this, that any ideal or purpose that is divorced from moral values leads straight to downfall and disaster.

Lisbon, March 3, 1941.

Today we said good-bye to some of our aviators who were leaving for England. One of our number came out with a little speech by way of a send-off. He characterized the satanic devilishness of Hitlerism and

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Stalinism pretty well. But when it came to a positive definition of the ideals for which we are fighting, he limited himself to some vague remarks about the need of "defense for democracy."

I noticed that the aviators didn't seem particularly impressed. One of them bent down and asked me *sotto voce*:

"Is he talking about the kind of a democracy that we have just been seeing in France?"

There you have it! It is not enough today to proclaim that the world is at war with totalitarianism in the name of democracy.

What kind of democracy is it for which we are fighting?

Is it the democracy of the electoral voting sheet and the parliamentary game, of demagogues and constantly recurring plebiscites? A democracy involved in the everlasting struggle of parties large and small, and which looks upon the right to cast a vote as a synonym for liberty?

Is it a democracy of "hominis economicae," kowtowing to unrestricted "sacred rights of property?" A democracy which allows of the economic exploitation of its own citizens?

Is it a democracy linked up with imperialistic interests of financial and industrial groups and with a system of exploitation of one nation by another?

Finally, is it a democracy patterned on the style of America and Switzerland, or one like England and France?

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In each of these imperfect approaches there is found the germ of a true democratic ideal. But in spite of the label they wear, their true essence is something quite different. The name "democracy" can and very often does stand for all sorts of conflicting ideas. It all depends on who uses it.

We must not forget that the world today is struggling with a highly organized evil, an evil which has been able by means of myth or narcotic to liberate and organize the tremendous energy potentialities of two great nations. If we are to meet and successfully combat this evil, it will not be enough to mobilize our material resources. We must mobilize the imagination, the hearts, the will, of hundreds of millions. Material resources may suffice to win the war: they will not suffice to win the peace.

The world is fighting the totalitarian evil in the name of the defense of a Christian civilization of freedom and law. But can we honestly affirm that the civilization for which we are fighting in the name of democracy is a civilization founded on the ethics of Christian teaching?

We cannot. We all know how far removed we are in actual life from the essential principles of the Christian ideal, how imperfect is the organization of our freedom. How far short of this ideal we fall is evidenced by our political, economic and social mores.

What is the task that confronts us?

First: To win the war and destroy an enemy which has at its disposal the best equipped and mightiest fighting machine in the history of the world.

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Second: To prepare ourselves morally and spiritually for the difficult period of post-war ferments.

Third: To examine and study with the greatest care the various concepts, principles and ideals regarding the freedom of the individual, his rights and obligations, the sovereignty of the nation and the state, the rights of property, etc., etc. Historical processes force us to reconsider and reinterpret these principles. Two roads lie before us: We can, through creative and sacrificial effort, keep step with the march of progress or, failing this, we can let the waves of circumstance carry us whither they will.

Fourth: To work out a plan of political and economic reconstruction and organization for the world. Empty phrases and formulae about democracy no longer suffice. A new and inspiring myth is needed, a new moral and political code, a new political and economic organization. This does not mean the invention of some new "ism" or exotic creed. What is called for is only a restatement and reinterpretation of the basic principles of Christian morality, a reassertion of the spiritual values which we have forgotten in this era of materialistic development.

Lisbon, March 11, 1941.

Engineer K gave me the inside story of the development of one of the new military devices. It seems that for over a year the inventor had been making the rounds, trying unsuccessfully to induce the French authorities to look at his model and give it a test. They

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turned him away as a harmless crank. It was only the energetic intervention of one of the army officers that secured him some attention at last. The invention proved to be of very great value. Production was started about a month to six weeks before the final catastrophe came.

It seems to me that up to the present time this war has been the struggle of evil, inspired by a criminal but bold and victorious imagination, against a routine defense of good.

In September, 1939, in the first days of the Polish-German campaign, one of the officers tried to convince me that the Germans would repeat in Poland the tactics of the war of 1914. A careful analysis of the events of the war might show that one of the causes for the allies' failures and defeats was a lack of imagination on the part of their command. We must see to it that the same mistake is not repeated in the construction of the peace.

Everyone is prophesying: "After this war is over, a new and different world will be born." But whenever any discussion starts on the nature of this coming "new world," it is at once apparent that its prophets are planning once more to follow the line of least resistance. They look for chart and compass to the nearest historical parallel, the Peace Conference of 1919.

We must not forget that after the war is over the task of the world will not be limited to cleaning up, straightening out and repairing the havoc and destruction caused by the present holocaust. Long before it broke, there was chaos in politics and industry and in the field

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of international relations. The existing social and economic doctrines and systems were bankrupt.

We are faced with the inexorable necessity of building tomorrow's world on totally new political and economic principles. A tremendous challenge. A task that demands tremendous effort, tremendous sacrifice, and the maximum of creative energy, power and vision.

How shall we prepare ourselves for this task?

One thing must be said in advance: This new world will not be born in an atmosphere of libraries, consultations of professors, and conferences of experts. These latter are all very necessary and important, because without a well defined plan, we cannot even make a beginning. But in the hierarchy of problems, the work of experts and planners must take second place.

The first essential is to give to the world an heroic and inspiring myth of a new world order; to fire the imagination and organize the aspirations and enthusiasms of nations.

The new world must be born of the desire for life, of the sincere and true longings of nations and individuals—not of a mosaic put together by bureaucrats and intellectual routinists. *It must be a synthesis of a national ideal with the principles of true Christian morality.*

The work of planners and experts must yield precedence to that of political missionaries—"men who dream great dreams, and youth who see great visions." For in peace, no less than in war, of equal importance with the organization of material means is the organization and mobilization of the mind, the heart, and the vision.

II

THE DAY AFTER THE WAR

IN THE early part of May, 1940, a few days before the German offensive against Belgium started, "someone" from the Soviet-occupied territories arrived in Paris.

He spoke briefly of the most harrowing experiences of his escape, in the dry, terse manner of a pedantic official. We were already accustomed to the fact that people from "there" had no use for sentimentality or pathos. The guest from the East made his report to the "right person" and then, without losing a day's time, left to return the same way he had come. . . . He said, as he bade us goodbye:

"Things are very bad where we are. They are getting worse every day. But never forget this: We are willing to suffer a year or two more—longer, if necessary—if only the worst of all can be kept from coming to pass—the making of a bad peace."

There had already been a good deal of discussion among us about the possibility of such a calamity. We were all convinced that such a peace, following the

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war, would be as catastrophic as a flood following on the heels of an earthquake.

A few days later I took part in a meeting devoted to a discussion of the problems of the coming peace, especially as they related to the interests of Poland. On what basis must a just peace be founded? How to organize the structure and policy of the Polish Government so as to protect it in the future from such tragic shocks as the September, 1939, disaster, and still allow the fullest possible measure of political, cultural and economic development?

The first reflection: Make an analysis, searching and merciless of our past mistakes.

This, of course, is the necessary preliminary, but . . .

But suppose we had not made these mistakes; suppose we had utilized to the full every possible means of defense at our disposal. What chance was there for Poland in a total war with Germany and Russia? A war in which distances did not exist and in which all distinction between front and rear were wiped out? A war in which the courage and heroism of a whole nation would count for little when pitted against the almost limitless productive capacity and the ruthlessness of an enemy who balked at no bestiality in achieving his aim? A war in which the outcome could be predicted from the very start with almost mathematical certitude?

What can we do to prevent such a fiasco in the next generation?

Just one thing. Arm ourselves. Arm in time and, if all else fails, arm in a totalitarian fashion. Begin at

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once the day the war is over. Throw every ounce of energy we possess into the work of making our country an impregnable stronghold of steel and concrete. Create an airforce so strong that the Polish squadrons shall throw long shadows onto the territories of her neighbors to the East and the West!

But at this point we are brought squarely up against the stark realities of the situation. This way is a dead end street. Suppose we do bow to tragic necessity and make ourselves over into a nation of warriors: suppose we set aside 90 per cent of our total annual budget for defense, and surround three thousand kilometers of our boundary with a wall of steel and concrete, what good will it do us in the end? Never in all the world could we bring our defense potentiality up to the level of either Germany or Russia.

Of course, the situation for Poland and the other countries of Europe would be altogether different if, after the war is over, Germany were to be disarmed. But such a disarmament would have to be complete and thoroughgoing—not a repetition of the ineffectual half-measures imposed by the Versailles Treaty which, in the long run, acted as a boomerang. And before so drastic a measure could be put into effect, there would have to be a radical change in the existent system of international relations.

What about a federation? After all, five or six countries—even small countries—united for defense, constitute a power not to be despised.

This is undeniable. But one thing must be kept in

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mind. In any confederation for total war if resources of manpower, equipment and territory are to be effective, they must, both in war preparation and in warfare itself, be welded together into a unified fighting mechanism, with a single purpose and under a single leadership. One of two results is bound to follow: Either such a federation would be changed by the iron hand of necessity into a totalitarianism, or the aggressor, picking off the "disjuncta membra" one by one, would overcome the strongest confederacy without any difficulty whatever.

Looking for a further solution, we come to the question of reciprocal alliances. In the union of our own forces with those of the Great Powers lies great possibilities. But in any war an alliance has only the worth of a moral obligation. And if we were living in a world in which moral obligations counted for more than "matters of expediency," alliances would not be necessary. As things are today, such coalitions often function like insurance companies: during the disaster they do not liquidate; they defer or suspend payment.

This is merely the logical result of our present system of international relations. Above every question of ethical obligation, every consideration of right and wrong, there reigns supreme the principle of the Welfare of the State, wandering always on the roads and footpaths of history hand in hand with its sister principle, the doctrine that "the end justifies the means." This fact makes the effectiveness of alliances only "a matter of relativity."

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Theoretically Poland was insured in 1939 by a close automatic alliance and by the military pact of May, 1939. In September, 1939, the fallacy of relying on such alliances was all too clearly demonstrated. Today we understand why things fell out as they did. Even if we assume that England and France followed the only practicable—the only possible—course from the standpoint of long-range advantage to the allied cause, still no arguments will ever give back to the Poles their faith in the efficacy of alliances—at least, within the frame of the present political set-up of the world.

Over a long period of time it would be difficult to find a statesman of better will and heart and greater sincerity of purpose than Neville Chamberlain. And yet it was the government under his leadership that in 1939 failed to live up to the obligations of her alliance with Poland. Paradoxically enough, under our present system of international politics (based as it is on the mechanical principle of balance and play of forces) it is often the noblest of our statesmen who, bowing to the dictates of the "Welfare of the State," are obliged to act contrary to their pledged word.

As long as this system continues it will always be questions of expediency that will play the decisive role in shaping international relations. A statesman who based his policy on moral considerations would be a dangerous Don Quixote, a menace to the interests of his country. Instead of mending matters, he would probably only precipitate still greater chaos into the already existing confusion.

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How are we to meet the situation? This problem is the concern not only of Poland, but of every other nation which wants to live, work and develop, but would rather perish than exist under the domination of a theory of "Grossraum."

In answer to this question, voices of submission and fatalistic resignation to destiny more and more often are heard in the world today. In one of the Swiss weeklies published in January, 1941, we read:

"Freedom has become a chimera. In the totalitarian nations the State has already taken over the direction of economic life. This will soon be the case in the so-called 'democracies.' The term 'state leadership' has an accent of compulsion that we do not like. But mankind must reconcile itself to the fact that increasing regulation is as unavoidable in economic functions as it is in military affairs. . . .

"The prospect is not alluring. If things continue to develop in this way, the nation will before long become a great workshop in which every detail of our lives will be regulated by the State. The kind of work we do, hours, payment, everything will be prescribed for us. In short, the nation will become a great anthill, with the majority patiently resigned to their fate, but hoping vaguely for a return some day to the 'good old times.'

"Anyone harboring such a hope is doomed to bitter disappointment. . . . The situation did not come about as an aftermath of the war. It has its roots in the organic decline of the whole world economic system and in the evolution of new conditions of life under which

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the future of mankind will develop. Further progress of today's trends and tendencies will lead us into a nexus of difficulties from which we shall not be able to free ourselves. New forms of control will arise, harder to bear because they will be administered not by individuals but by collectives."

We hear such prophecies today on all sides. In the light of these forebodings, destruction menaces not only the individual but most of the existing nations as well. Not only will the separate states be metamorphosed into antlike barracks, but great political and economic organizations will arise that will threaten the very existence of smaller nations.

When one reads the speeches and other public utterances of democratic politicians and economists, one gets the impression that this concept of a state, expressly devised by Hitler, Rosenberg, Schmidt, Reichenau to justify the violence of the Third Reich, has found advocates and followers in the opposite camp of the democracies.

They reason in this fashion: Social and technical changes within the separate countries have been leading with unavoidable exigency to State interventionism. There were only two roads from which to choose—intervention or revolution and anarchy. And having chosen the first, new difficulties and complications will inevitably arise, and policies of intervention will gradually be transformed into "etatism" (totalitarianism) with the resulting conversion of the community into the status of a gigantic barracks.

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Nor will the process stop here. The same dilemma, intervention or anarchy, confronts us in our international relations. Technical evolution has complicated the exchange of goods, credits and peoples while, at the same time, by overcoming the factor of distance it has made possible total war. This in turn demands a tremendous economic potential, and the weak nations, unable to regulate their own internal processes, will be subjugated by the stronger nations.

And so . . . abandon hope! It is better to look the worst and most unpalatable truth in the face than to go on deceiving oneself and deceiving others with illusions that have no basis in reality.

Woodrow Wilson's attempt to organize the world into a League of Nations met with failure. The outcome showed that smaller nations are incapable of maintaining permanently their economic and political independence. The pessimistic theory considered the fate of the world to be as follows: (1) existence of *Grossraum* consisting of whole continents in a constant state of warfare; (2) absorption of smaller countries by these *Grossräume* as colonizing territories or "Nebenlande."

The day following Hitler's complete defeat, all smaller nations will have to put themselves under the protection of the Great Powers, to escape political extermination, since they cannot maintain a separate economic independence.

The world today is ruled by force and the facts created by force.

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Freedom was possible in a day and an age when nations were separated by vast distances, in an age of handicraft economy, an age in which the average density of population per square kilometer was thirty persons, an age in which the characteristics of chivalry and courage counted for something in warfare. But today, in this era of mechanization, conveyor belts and assembly lines, an era of flying fortresses and total wars, the word "freedom" has become an empty shibboleth, a legend of happier "far-off forgotten days," to be put out of our minds as quickly as possible. Our chief concern today should be that we shall at least be assured of fresh air to breathe in those barracks in which we are to live.

"You see," a certain expert recently explained to me, "why it is we want Hitler defeated. We realize that even if he is destroyed, we shall still all be put into some kind of an economic *Grossraum*. But we will be allowed to go out for a walk, take a daily bath and change our underclothing. They will treat us per Pan. But if Hitler wins, we may expect the fate of Kaffir slaves."

In ministerial circles, lecture halls, drawing rooms, cafes, etc., all during the years from 1919 to 1939 a psychosis of "parlor bolshevism" was in vogue. Today it is a psychosis of *Grossraum* that is spreading like wildfire, and not on the totalitarian side alone. . . .

The common source of these themes and prophecies is not so much the kinship of ideas as it is the result of a similar way of thinking. In spite of the apparent

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mysticism of the National Socialistic idea, the whole conception of the movement is founded on a purely materialistic interpretation of history.

No wonder that some pessimists from the anti-totalitarian camp, using the same method of reasoning, have arrived at the same opinions.

Over against these vagaries of thought the masses are helpless, because in the very complicated life of today it is difficult to distinguish the false from the true, the spurious and counterfeit from the genuine coin.

LOOSE LEAVES ABOUT THE
FUTURE*A Dangerous Slogan*

STATESMEN, brass hats and writers repeat countless times the following slogan:

Our only aim is to win this war. All other problems must wait for solution until the war is over. It is impossible at present to discuss the future organization of the world. Undoubtedly, there will be a fairly long interval between the last day of the war and the signing of a treaty of peace. This interval may last four or five years. It will be a transitional period between war and peace, and we shall then have plenty of time to work out a new political and economic organization of the world.

That's true. You are perfectly right, everybody agrees. You could not expect that a new order will manifest itself as suddenly as the divine Minerva, who leaped from Jupiter's head, and that this will happen on the final day of the war, when a deadly silence succeeds the roar of heavy artillery. There must be a

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transitional period. We all remember that after the first world war there was such a period.

The superficial slogan is repeated thoughtlessly like an axiom, confirmed by the experience of a century. Nobody seems to realize that such a point of view is a threat to the whole of our civilization.

The truth is that this war—and here also everybody agrees—is far different from any other conflict, it is a great revolution. It has destroyed and is destroying not only human life, and material treasures, but also old institutions, organizations, dogmas and principles deeply rooted in human nature.

The war has smashed the very foundations of our life, which for decades and centuries were believed to be indestructible. Some of these institutions, already doomed, still exist thanks to the inflexible martial laws and all the mechanisms of war ordinance. The war ordinance with an iron grasp maintains and coordinates antagonistic claims, conflicting ambitions, and cravings of millions of human beings.

Nonetheless when the war is over, when there will come an end to the period of martial law, and when the victorious but totally exhausted armies will return to their homes, a normal continuation of institutions already shaken to their foundations, would be out of the question. Can we expect that during the transitional period these institutions will continue a normal existence, and that temporary laws and decrees will suffice to settle the most important economic and political claims? Can we hope that the dynamic human masses

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will not pull to pieces the weak dam of a makeshift legislation? Are we sure that a new unexpected cataclysm will not disturb the red-tape bureaucrats, discussing the future of the world during this transitory period? Such a cataclysm might be a new edition of the Napoleonic 100 days epic adventure.

Since the majority of us share the same opinion about the revolutionary transformations of the social and the economic structure of the world, it would seem most risky to allow such an "interim" to become a field of action for antagonistic activities and revolutionary tendencies.

A patient who has undergone a surgical operation could not be left with a wound open to all kinds of infection. This is why it is essential to get rid of the dangerous conception of a lengthy provisional state of affairs, and of the delusion that only after the war can peaceful research work on the reconstruction of the world begin.

A deep sense of responsibility urges one to draw a definite plan of political and economic organization for the world immediately after the war. It is obvious that some details of this plan should be adjustable to new requirements, but in any case the general principles and their quick realization require immediate action.

A Paradox of the Present War

One of the paradoxes of the present war is the fact that while the world fights for the freedom of nations,

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the national state itself sits on the prisoner's bench.

It is frequently asserted that nationalism is the real mischief maker, and that therefore the world should be so organized in the future that the cultural evolution of the individual peoples can be separated from their states. Let the population enjoy perfect autonomy in its religious, cultural and social evolution, but let the state organization be based upon an entirely different political and economic foundation.

I recall an abortive experiment which took place some twenty odd years ago.

In the years 1918-1919 the Soviet Government arrived at the conclusion that the family is Enemy No. 1 of the communistic regime. Thereupon it decided that the family should be abolished. The family—the bolsheviks said—is not only the main bulwark of religious and political reaction, but also a serious hindrance to progress in the domain of education, nutrition and hygiene.

Therefore they crushed the family and divided its functions among the school, the cooperative society, the tenement house, etc. Large common dining rooms, kindergartens and recreation halls were established, and the experiment was expected to become a radical turning point in education and hygiene.

But what was the real result?

After a few years the bolsheviks themselves dropped the experiment and began to foster and promote by all possible means the family life of old.

The anti-family experiment proved a failure not be-

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cause of erroneous theoretical premises. On the contrary. From a strictly logical viewpoint it is evident that it is easier, more economic and more hygienic to organize the wholesale alimentation of several hundred people than that of a family consisting of a few persons. Modern educational methods may also be more easily applied in kindergartens and educational institutions than in individual families.

All this is unquestionable truth. But the bolsheviks, in their zeal for innovations, had overlooked one very important fact, namely, that the family is not an artificial organization. They failed to understand that the family is a natural phenomenon which is by itself a source of immense natural social energies, the lack of which must result in imperiling the normal functioning of national life.

The bolsheviks are not sentimental traditionalists. Their return to family life certainly was not motivated by sentiment.

Having eliminated the family, they soon became aware that an essential was lacking in the life of the Russian nation. The social brake which curbs the expansion of individual egoism had disappeared. The organization of tenement blocks, of cooperative societies and kindergartens could not replace the family either as a dynamic or ethical force.

We are witnessing today once more the activities of doctrinaires who brand the national state as the enemy of mankind and who want to divide its functions while confining the activities of the people to moral and cul-

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tural problems. By doing so they expect to secure a permanent peace. This attitude is reminiscent of the anti-family experiment in Russia. The stone thrown at the fly may at the same time kill the man on whose forehead it lands.

A modern nation is the product of history. But centuries of common evolution, of common suffering and sacrifices and achievements, have given it the strength of an organic entity.

The supreme value of a nation consists in its ability to produce moral energy, a recognition of individual sacrifice for the good of the nation. It is the duty of the State to avail itself of that energy for proper creative and ethical purposes. The separation of people and State leads to distortions, to anarchy and to exhaustion of national energy.

The problem is not to smother national feelings artificially, but to direct those feelings and energies into the proper channels. To transform a man of overabundant virility into a eunuch is hardly an intelligent educational method. The myth of "wider federal motherlands" will never replace the freshness, the abundance and the strength of national feelings.

There exist unquestionably some forms of degenerate nationalism which are supremely dangerous. But because the idea of freedom may degenerate into a doctrine of unethical exploitation and license, because the idea of social justice may be perverted to the aims of totalitarianism, we do not demand that freedom and justice be abolished.

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Essential Principles

It would be ridiculous to assert that day is more important than night, summer more necessary than winter, that the brake of a car is more essential than the gear shift, the hand of a clock more important than the dial . . . or the other way round. We would not waste a minute of our time in arguing such absurdities.

And yet, how much time and effort has been devoted to discussions of the relative needs of body and spirit! Libraries have been written on this subject. Distinguished scholars have given the problem their most weighty consideration! For centuries the battle has raged: Is man a being akin to the angels and is human society a commonwealth of angels, or is man only the highest form of animal life and the nation nothing but a horde of animals?

Those who, like Plato, Saint Augustine, Kant and Gandhi hold that man in his nature is only "a little lower than the angels," believe that human affairs can be conducted by means of persuasion, education, logical arguments and ethical considerations.

Those, on the other hand, like Hitler, to whom man is no more than the highest type of brute maintain that the world can be ruled only by means of force, discipline, the whip, and in extremity by narcotics.

Actually neither school of thought is wholly right. It is not true that man is ruled only by his instincts, his passion for pleasure, his acquisitive instincts. But neither is it true that these instincts play no determina-

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tive part in human life. By nature man is an egoist, but at the same time he is capable of the highest sacrifice and self-giving. He wants to enjoy life but he is also ready to lay down his life in the service of a high ideal.

Everything depends on the individual's degree of social consciousness and this, in turn, is the result of a gradual process of renunciation of personal egoism in the larger interest of group welfare.

The same instinct which made primitive man a savage taught him to found a family through a sacrifice born of love. This was the first great turning point in the history of humanity. A social and moral abyss separates the egoism of a single man from that of a father struggling to win a livelihood for his family. The moral development of mankind is brought about through the sublimation of personal egoism as a result of voluntary sacrifice and voluntary assumption of responsibilities.

A sense of nationalism depends on a moral-social tie as well as on an awareness of common descent, speech, and history. A people which does not enjoy an abounding vitality based on voluntary sacrifice ceases to be a nation.

This is why the idea of nationalism is in complete opposition to that of totalitarianism, whose strength is based on compulsion. From the moment that the principle, "You are nothing; your state is everything," gains the upper hand and the ethical-social tie is displaced by a system of mechanical commands and pressures, the moral foundation of the nation begins to disintegrate.

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The basis of harmony and balance in all life's relations is sacrifice of egoism—individual, family, class, state. The sacrifice may be spontaneous, dictated by love, induced by moral sense, dictated by science and the mind, or decreed by law. The more inclusive the sphere of relations regulated by this principle, the higher the type of human association. A community which regulates everything by compulsion, however, destroys an incommensurate amount of social energy and finally exhausts the springs of its own being.

It cannot be otherwise. There is only one natural form of social energy—the act of sacrifice born of love, faith and conscious discrimination between good and evil. This is not mysticism, but the most fundamental principle of social progress.

But how about the Roman Empire? Is not its growth and its creative historical role a refutation of this thesis?

On the contrary. The source of the power of the civilizing mission of Rome was the moral and social-minded citizen of the Republic who voluntarily assumed duties and responsibilities based on religious and ethical considerations. It was the republican who formulated the Roman Law.

So great was the degree of natural social energy accumulated during this period of the Republic that it sufficed for the centuries of waste and degeneration that followed.

The source of the power of Rome was social harmony founded on a healthy family life, on a sense of social justice in keeping with the ideals of the age, and a feel-

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ing for international (if one may use the term) justice, as evidenced by Roman respect for the individualities of tribes and conquered peoples.

The degeneracy and disintegration of the Roman Empire began with the ruin of family life, the exploitation of individuals by individuals, classes by classes, and the oppression of conquered peoples. The process, as I said earlier, went on for a very long time, because of the wealth of social energies accumulated during the period of the Republic.

We may concede the truth of this thesis when it operates within the confines of a single community or nation. But how about the international sphere? Is it possible for a nation to maintain its own inner health and moral strength while at the same time it subjugates other nations in the name of its mission as a "chosen people?"

It is not. Each conquest, each exploitation automatically replaces creative power by further exploitation and thus shuts the source for creation of new social energies. A young German intoxicated by Hitlerian slogans is ready for the greatest sacrifice for his Führer. But after he has taken part for a few months in the administration of the Polish occupied territories, he changes into a man who "has his price." When put to the test, he will not be ready to sacrifice himself for an idea. The scale of values has shifted in his life: idealism has yielded to self-seeking and lust for enjoyment.

Like a family, but in a much broader and higher

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sense, the nation lifts a man to higher stages of civilization. In its service, through voluntary assumption of responsibility and readiness to sacrifice, creative power is released and a sense of honor and justice developed.

This energy can, of course, be utilized by the state for non-creative purposes, for the conquest and oppression of other nations. But such a procedure is contrary to the nature of things and exacts a terrible revenge. The moral form of the aggressor is ruined, the sources of his creative energy run dry.

Man is not wholly angel nor wholly animal, and nations are not societies of either.

Certain forms of national egoism must and will exist. But it must stop short of the line where it harms others or sooner or later decay will set in.

Just where this line begins cannot be left to individual subjective appraisal. There must be brought into international life a factor which will regulate the play of egoism, namely, a law equipped with executive power. The following moral and political conclusions derive from the very nature of man and of nations:

1. The progress of life and history lies in the subjection of the ego of the individual to a greater cause than himself. This process begins with the voluntary sacrifice that is born of love for the family and continues by way of sacrifice of individuals and groups for the state on toward ever nobler forms of life.

2. The idea of the nation as a creative principle of civilization comes first. The state as a form of government and a body of law is secondary. A state which

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oppresses the nation and individuals in the name of the slogan "everything for the good of the whole" invalidates the main forces of progress: initiative, creativeness, voluntary sacrifices made by the individual for the welfare of humanity, on the one hand and the sense of oneness which inspires and organizes faith and enthusiasm in the masses.

3. The life of the nation, as well as that of the individual, must be founded on a uniform moral law which discriminates clearly and impartially between good and evil. Evil and crime continue to be evil and crime, regardless of the purpose for which they were committed, and regardless whether they were committed by an individual or a State. There cannot co-exist two different codes of ethics—one for the individual, another for a nation or state.

4. A system and basis of law which regulates relations between either individuals or groups cannot permit the exploitation of some by others. Not only because this is amoral, but because every organism based on exploitation in any form destroys strength which should be used to raise nations to ever higher levels of life.

5. Just as in the life of the separate state each individual should be entitled to his just and proportionate share in the national wealth so each nation in the world economic system should be entitled to its individual "place in the sun," sufficient for the requirements of its political and economic development.

Since it is impossible to achieve equality on all levels

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of life, there must be instituted in the economy of both nations and individuals some modicum of intervention which will provide for a minimum of justice to all.

In this way that harmony which is essential for the development and continuance of human institutions will be insured.

6. Social harmony within a state depends not on the curbing of private initiative but on the voluntary subordination of the individual ego to the welfare of the whole according to the principle of equal opportunity to share in the social income of the world. The same holds true in the world political-economic order. Scope must be allowed for the play and expansion of national individualism, but in the interests of world order and harmony the particular claims and ambitions of each nation must voluntarily yield to the interests of the world commonwealth.

Free Men and Free People in an Organized World

All over the world today one hears people saying: "Things can't go on like this any longer. When the war is over, there must be a change. We will never get anywhere with an impotent League of Nations, countries forever embroiled in wars, and the fiction of economic self-sufficiency . . ."

And they are right. Such institutions are as well adapted for this period of totalitarianism and warring economic autocracies as are evening gowns for a polar expedition.

"The League," it is suggested, "should be given the

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power to enforce its dicta. It ought to have a powerful international police force at its disposal."

This suggestion sounds sensible. But to act on it would mean choosing the way of least resistance and half measures. Were the League to be equipped with the strongest possible police executive power, it would be at once both too much and too little.

The League in its present set-up is theoretically both a world government and an international court. The Geneva Institution boomeranged her over-ingenuous creators, who planned the League to be an impartial court which would prevent war, and at the same time serve the political purposes of the Great Powers. It was inevitable that results in both roles would be disappointing. The experience of centuries has shown that judicial authority cannot be combined with executive power. No one today thinks seriously of establishing a super-state on a world scale. There remains, therefore, only the problem of an international court.

Any court, if it is to function adequately, must possess three characteristics: (1) Moral authority; (2) Impartial objectivity; (3) Strong executive power. The League of Nations did not have these even in a minimal degree.

Whatever moral authority it may have possessed in the beginning, was soon lost, discredited by its weakness and helplessness, its inability to carry out the purposes for which it was created. Within a few years after its establishment the Geneva Institution had brought the concept of an international court and in-

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ternational arbitration into derision. No one dreamed of looking to the League for impartiality and objectivity. Geneva became in the eyes of the world a synonym for falsity and opportunism. The greatest enemy of the ideals which the League of Nations represented could have devised no better means of discrediting it than by pointing to its own methods.

Add to this the fact that in the few instances in which the League was on the right track in her decisions she lacked the power to put them into effect (because sanctions had become no more than a nine-letter word, suitable for cross-word puzzles) and you get a picture of the whole.

Since it is our concern today to secure for the world some guarantee of lasting peace, we must say to ourselves: We do not propose to create a world super-state, and therefore we do not need a world super-government. All that is required to keep national and state egoisms in their place is an international court with high authority, impartial objectivity, and a strong police and executive power.

How is such a court to be constituted?

If we use the previous method of sending delegations from all member countries, we run the risk of making the same mistakes all over again. On the other hand, it is difficult to devise an entirely different method because, of course, unless all countries were represented, the whole matter would be left up in the air.

There is perhaps a middle-course solution that will meet the situation, namely, to supplement purely na-

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tional delegations with another factor representing only moral authority and impartiality. This would necessarily be a religious authority. The future international court is to guard the universal interests of a civilization founded on Roman law and Christian ethics. Hence it is only natural that the Christian churches should be represented. Representatives of social agencies might, to some extent, replace political representatives.

I am aware that one or perhaps both of these suggestions may meet with doubts and objections. But if once the principle is accepted, the working out of details will not prove insurmountable.

It is not my purpose to go into the matter of organization or questions of representation in the court of its constituent members, political, religious, social, scientific or legal. But I consider it axiomatic that any such edifice, founded on purely political lines, will prove disappointing.

There arises the question of the codification of international law. It is important to formulate certain basic ethical principles which arise from the nature of man and nations. There should be a "Declaration of the Rights of Nations." Such a "Bill of Rights of Human Society" would simplify and solve many legal problems in international life which today seem practically insoluble.

This is the real core of the problem. Matters of organization, details of the plan for our future international relations, will and should be subject to change

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and improvement. Such things will always be provisional to a certain degree. But one thing is fundamental: There must be a moral-political conception of the world, which has the strength of a positive dogma based on faith. Only faith can liberate these energies of creative enthusiasm, without which it is impossible for the new order to endure.

It is obvious that no court, however well organized, can be effective unless it is equipped with sufficiently strong executive power. From the very nature of things, national egoisms and the accompanying misunderstandings will always exist. For this reason any code of international law must be joined with a factor of physical force which, when necessary, will intervene on the side of right and justice.

The international court might be given control over monopoly of all armament production, air communications, and all rights to future technical discoveries and patents of a military nature.

We are not seeking to create a world super-state: on the contrary, we stand for the freest possible development of individuals and nations. We do not deceive ourselves with misplaced faith in the rule of "king-philosophers," who put their faith in the triumph of reason and persuasion over the instincts and passions. We cast away the thesis of mechanistic pacifism as impracticable and inadvisable since it leads inevitably to a world super-state with its accompanying restraint of freedom and initiative. We wish only to create effective guarantees of equilibrium.

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There is no other way.

The day following the close of the war the world will be brought face to face with the dilemma of choosing between (1) Grossraum and counter-despotisms, seeking to crush smaller nations and win more *Lebensraum* as terrains for strategical protection or (2) a court with strong executive power, working in the interest of law and political principles.

The first eventuality means slavery of the individual in the barracks of a state and slavery of the state in the barracks of Grossraum. The second eventuality, though it limits the freedom of expansion on an international scale, preserves the freedom of man and the liberty of nations, and greatly reduces the possibility of future destructive wars.

We are all agreed that after this war is over, future international life must be based on the principles of a uniform moral law. Evil and crime continue to be evil and crime, regardless of the purpose for which they were committed, and whether they were committed by an individual or a nation. There arises, therefore, the question of guilt and punishment for those responsible for this, the most terrible war in all human history. Without atonement for the crimes committed by them in the holocaust, the new world order would be left hanging in air. Not revenge, but justly inflicted punishment!

It is clear that there can be no solution of a political problem without a simultaneous solution of the economic questions connected with it.

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The immense technical and economic progress of the world has made it impossible for any nation to satisfy the needs of its people from within its own boundaries. Distance has been eliminated and a vast complicated mechanism of exchange of goods, capital and peoples has been instituted. If we are unable to find some permanent and orderly method of canalizing these new currents of progress, we risk eventual destruction in a wild and endless chaos.

It is lack of coordination between the economic and technical progress of the world that is responsible for the situation. No one nation, not even the strongest and most stable, can by itself regulate the problems arising from new world developments.

Each type of civilization has its own needs, its own standards of living. For centuries the white race throughout the whole world lived on almost the same level. Wide distances separated the groups and vast expanses of unsettled territory available for colonization served as a stabilizing factor.

But the situation changed when distances ceased to exist through technical evolution and peoples were brought close to one another. Population pressures increased, but most of the still unsettled lands had been taken over by the stronger powers, so that the safety valve of comparatively free migration was closed. Striking differences in standards of living arose among peoples within the same frame of civilization, and these inevitably acted as a disturbing ferment.

To a certain extent these differences are normal and

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unavoidable. Demographical processes cannot be halted, and not all parts of the earth are of equal intrinsic or potential value. People settled on lands rich in raw materials and possessed of good natural communications will, of course, always have better opportunities for development than those in poorer countries. There will always be some countries richer than others, just as there are rich and poor within the same community. The idea of an absolutely equal standard of living for all is Utopian. But differences should never be too great. Beyond a certain limit they breed only ferment, chaos and war.

The problem is to find a way of regulating the income of the world in accordance with the development, the needs, capacity, and numerical strength of the different nations. There can be no permanent solution of the problem of world peace until through methods of justice and equity a more proportionate distribution of the world's wealth has been brought about. As long as there exist certain nations whose income is below the "existence level," these nations will seek to find a way out of their difficulties by the gangster methods of war and the creation of despotic empires. It is not a question of philanthropy; the common interests of our whole civilization make it imperative to find a solution for this problem.

How shall we set about this task?

The most efficacious method would probably be that of controlled migrations of people into parts of the world which are rich in productive potentialities. The

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short-sighted immigration policies of today should be revised. But it must be admitted that this procedure, though effective, is complicated and distressing both for the newcomers and for those already settled in the areas in question.

Turning aside, for the present, from this phase of the question, we come to the consideration of a fair distribution of resources and capital. Some type of controlled world economy is indicated, some sort of an international economic council of a World "New Deal," directed by an international "brain trust," a liberal collectivism of the whole world.

Any such centralized control, if it is to function effectively, must be on a world-wide scale, since only thus can there be any guarantee of steady profits and maintenance of a balance of payments. Positive results can be achieved only through collaboration of free peoples, not by attempts at a forcible solution of the problem.

Such voluntary restrictions on the part of the separate nations in the interest of the common good will, in the long run result in a larger measure of freedom for the individual. There is no doubt that the cause of controls and restrictions which many countries have imposed on the rights and liberties of their citizens has been the desperate situation in which these countries have found themselves as a result of unfavorable economic conditions, coupled with difficulties in international trade.

Disorder in world economy compels states to use

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force in dealing with individuals and nations. A sensible solution of this question within the framework of a regulated world economy will automatically increase the freedom of individuals and nations. And if the inevitable effects of war lead to rigorous forms of "directing" state economy, the reconstruction of freedom is conceivable only under conditions of organized world economy.

Here again the world is faced with a dilemma. Should it countenance the existence of huge totalitarian or non-totalitarian autarchic "grossraums," engulfing the smaller and medium-sized nations? Or should it work for the application of the principle of equal opportunity to share in the social income of the world through the regulation of the flow of goods by a specially created World Supreme Economic Council?

Just as in the struggle to maintain harmonious and stable political and socio-economic relations within the various nations, an equilibrium was made possible only through the wise concessions of the rich in favor of a just distribution of goods and social income—so in the world arena the rich nations must make a choice that will determine the fate of humanity for many decades to come. They must choose between the road of sensible sacrifices, which in a planned economy will enable the world to regain its equilibrium and peace, and the senseless resistance of short-sighted egoism, leading to permanent anarchy.

Should the latter attitude prevail, even the most victorious peace would be followed by a catastrophe.

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The parallel between the situation of individuals within their respective communities and that of nations within the world commonwealth is very close. In both instances the role of intervention has a two-fold function: (1) maintenance of security and (2) concern with collaboration, organization for mutual interests and (when necessary) mediation. Scope must be allowed for the play of initiative and free planning. When interventionism encroaches on the freedom of the individual, it destroys that initiative which is vital for the welfare and progress of man or country.

But the time has come when the principle of voluntary subordination of individual egoism to the welfare of the whole—which makes possible peaceful collaboration within communities—must govern the separate members of the world family in their relations with one another.

The economic progress of the world and the moral and political ripening of mankind has lagged far behind its great technical progress. Tremendous energies have been unleashed by man in a whirlpool of uncontrolled activity, and these are now threatening to devour him. Powerful and voracious trusts and cartels in economic life, and totalitarian systems in the field of political life are two manifestations of one and the same disorder which is making men slaves to the machine. The whole world today is engaged in a mad scramble for money and power. It is absolutely essential to find a way out of this vicious circle of uncontrolled economic and political centralization. Com-

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pulsion must be replaced by understanding and cooperation.

The artificial and political structures of the existing order have entered so deeply into the fibre of our thinking that they seem to us like eternal laws of nature. Radical reorganization may seem impossible. But there is no other way. If we are threatened by an avalanche, it is not enough to keep on walking, even if we are headed in the right direction: we must risk a leap.

In the situation in which the world finds itself today there is no alternative. It is a choice between free men and free peoples on the one hand, and chaos, anarchy and the rule of conquering empires on the other. There is no third way. . . .

And yet, perhaps there is a third way out. A solution might be found in temporary world leadership of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. This race which represents the apex of development of our civilization might take over responsibility for the rest of the world. If there were only a choice between the two—Anglo-Saxon hegemony or the *status quo ante bellum*, there is no question which would be preferable. The latter would mean continued and uninterrupted quarrels between despotic and contending "Grossraums"; the first something like a provisional stay in a correctional school till the rest of mankind were grown to maturity. But of two evils, I would choose the lesser.

The situation might perhaps be saved by the creation here and now of an international body to plan and

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decide the fundamental principles on which to base the political and economic reconstruction of the world. This body should, it is clear, act according to democratic principles. To insure fair representation three-tenths of the delegates should come from the United States; two-tenths from Great Britain; one-tenth from universal ecclesiastic bodies; and four-tenths from all the other Allied nations. Thus, in establishing the principles of a new order in the world we would avoid chaos resulting from a surplus of conflicting tendencies and too great a play of political forces with its danger of imperialism.

I mistrust the decisions and methods of any "great four" or "great five." I prefer to rely on a single body in whose objectivity I believe, rather than risk the turbulent currents of imperialistic politics that whirl around ineffectually and make decisions at peace conferences impossible.

But, perhaps, one should not exaggerate the negative side of the Anglo-Saxon world hegemony,—as long as it is based upon a reasonable plan of political and economic reconstruction of the world,—if it represents a system of internationalism and not one of "statism."

In this world of ours there are two general conceptions: one is Hitler's; the other that of the Allies.

Theoretically Hitler wants to divide the world into five or six "Grossraums" or empires. But in practice he tries to realize the conception of German world rule, which is evident from the fact that he wants to make Berlin the capital of Europe and Africa.

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Hitler strives to rule the world because he is aware that in the face of modern technical civilization and the steadily growing economic interdependence of the continents, his system, if it embraced Europe only, must fall if other political and economic systems prevail on the other continents.

And this is why he wants to have at his disposal all the wealth and all the political influences of the world.

Hitler wants to impose upon the world a homogeneous political and economic system.

The point of departure of the Allies is entirely different. They say:—We recognize the right of self-determination of the nations, but we believe that the future world order cannot be based upon a full sovereignty of fifty or sixty quarreling and fighting larger or smaller countries. For political as well as for economic reasons it is imperative to adopt after the war the principle of large geo-political entities. This is synonymous with the conception of federations.

The Allies do not want to impose upon the world any homogeneous legal, political and economic forms. They want only to create a series of federal ensembles. And they believe that the union of small and middle-sized nations will be a sufficient guarantee against eventual imperialistic tendencies of the Great Powers.

From a psychological viewpoint one cannot help finding in the above the stamp of old habits of that liberalism which recoils from the abuse of international regulation methods, and the fear of too great an effort.

Some light has been shed upon that problem by

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certain English writers and politicians who overtly propound the thesis that the small and middle-sized nations of Central and Eastern Europe will not be able to decide their fate, but will be compelled to seek the protection of some Great Power.

That means that Allied political thought continues to adhere to the principle of international free play, the only difference being that fifty or sixty sovereign countries shall be replaced in the future by nine or twelve large political or economic blocs.

A serious misunderstanding lies at the basis of that conception.

The Allies think that federative blocs will be stronger and have more vitality than national states. But they seem to forget, that this is a premise which will prove right only if the aforementioned blocs merge into homogeneous and uniformly ruled empires. In such a case, however, these federations would simply become empires.

The thesis I bring forward is the following:

Without a basic change in the principles and methods of international collaboration the creation of federative unions, as a panacea against political and economic ailments, will remain a purely mechanical attempt, which will not bring any solution. The political as well as economic foundation of the world must first undergo a radical change. And inasmuch as this will hardly be achieved by means of "understandings," the question arises whether it will not be necessary to establish, for

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a shorter or longer period, some kind of hegemony of a single factor over the whole world.

Only the Anglo-Saxon races can undertake that task.

But the political leaders of Anglo-Saxon nations cannot limit themselves to playing the part of war strategists, while they leave the solution of the problem of the world's future to their secretaries as a question of secondary importance.

To the criminal ambition and plans of Hitler one must oppose a positive ambition and an Allied conception; against the totalitarian—a Christian vision.

The truth is that a victory without a great and clear conception of peace will prove a defeat and a catastrophe.

If we want to maintain peace, to assure the freedom of the individual and of the nations, if we wish to avoid conflicts between the "satiated" and the "hungry" peoples, solve the problem of raw-materials distribution, organize the turnover of goods, capital and men—we must accept as our goal a universal interventionism based upon clean-cut moral and political tenets.

Let us return to the question of hegemony. Is it within the realm of probability? Will it really prove indispensable, if even as a temporary measure of leadership—"primi inter paris"?

In my opinion, yes. It is indeed probable that a new order of things cannot be established and introduced except by means of a majority vote.

In the transitional period between the liquidation of

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the war and the organization of peace, the need may arise for a force that would maintain order and that would be capable of assuming the following functions:

a) Chief liquidator of the war. This function must be assumed by an agent having no stake in territorial disputes, capable of averting chaos by temporary occupation of a number of countries, and of organizing relief in the lands devastated by war and hunger.

b) Chief peace maker. The role of chief peace maker can be exercised only by a nation or group of nations whose interests will be least at variance with the principles underlying the new order of things and who, in the midst of conflicting individual egoisms, will stand for universal needs.

c) Chief coordinator of peace. The introduction of a new political and economic world order will necessitate the temporary existence, in one form or another, of a single supreme force whose task it would be to forestall international disputes and conflict.

It must be frankly admitted that all this may well lead to a temporary hegemony, for which only the English-speaking nations are equipped at the present time, for the following reasons:

1. Neither America nor England has any direct territorial interest in the European continent.

2. The weakening of the British Empire will bring in its wake a far-reaching ascendancy of American influence. And everyone will grant that American imperialism has compared favorably with other imperialist systems by virtue of its greater preoccupation with the

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welfare of the subjugated than with assertion of its authority.

3. The current internal socio-economic evolution in the U.S.A. and the philosophy of the Lend-Lease program would seem to augur a restriction by Washington of the negative role of all private concerns in American post-war economic expansion abroad.

4. After the war, America will be the only country whose production and technology will fit her for the role of coordinator in the task of economic reconstruction of the war-ravaged continents.

5. The ethnic composition of the American nation and the sense of justice and objectivity peculiar to Americans cause them to stand out advantageously among the other nations of the world.

* * *

The renaissance of the world, now lost in a labyrinth of chaos and amorality, will not come about as a result of conflicting rationalistic doctrines but from faith, enthusiasm and creative fervor. The narrowness of petty and particular interests is not the only hindrance to a "better tomorrow." There is also the poison gas and magic of words which when disassociated from their true meaning, only serve to bewilder us further.

Instead of thinking things through, we seek refuge in fascinating words, formulae and doctrines, abandon the struggle for righteousness and truth, and reconcile ourselves to the necessity of absurdities, the unreality of the good and the uselessness of opposing evil.

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These reflections on the subject of the future with which I have tried in the most concise form to complete my report have only one purpose. I hope thereby, in a modest way, to stimulate honest and sincere discussion of the issues involved. These are hard and difficult times for the whole world. The responsibility for finding a solution of the baffling problems that confront us is not confined to diplomats dried up by routine and professors blinded by partiality. It rests upon the shoulders of us all.

I cannot find it in my heart to regret that I am not a diplomat, or a professor of economy and international law, that I have not served as head of a trust or as secretary of a professional union, that I have never participated in conferences international, political or economic. . . .

I regret only one thing. I wish that I were a poet, endowed with such facility of words and force of expression that I could instill into the souls of men one necessary thing: faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness and the achievement of a plan which reconciles the ideal of the nation with the goodwill and understanding among all men.

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*The Defense of Warsaw **

Warsaw, Sept. 3, 1939. The Havas correspondent visited several suburbs of Warsaw to-day. He gives an impressive picture of the terrific effect of an explosion which occurred in an apartment house where twenty-seven lodgings have been completely blown out. A crushing bomb perforated three flights of stairs, killing ten people, mostly women and children. There are also many wounded. Three corpses have not yet been removed from the debris. A child of ten waited fourteen hours before it was possible to remove all the fragments of stone, bricks and wood which covered him like a mountain. A worker has lost his wife and two children; he spent the whole day in a state of complete prostration sitting among the ruins; he could not believe that this could have happened to him. Kolo, the district where this occurred is situated at a distance of ten kilometres from the city. In another suburb, called Sielce, the small house of a policeman was bombed, and his mother, wife and daughter were injured. None of those objectives could be considered as a military one. In the afternoon three apartment houses were destroyed.

* Press despatches are quoted verbatim.

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On the shores of the river there are sixteen holes 15 feet deep from previous raids. Six new air raids have been sounded this afternoon. German airplanes appeared in groups of three at an altitude of 15,000 feet. The results of this new attack is not yet known.

*The Order of the Day of General Czuma, Commander of Warsaw, released on the Warsaw radio by
Lieut. Colonel Wacław Lipinski*

Warsaw, Sept. 8. "The Commander in Chief has entrusted us with the defense of the capital. He demanded that the attack of the enemy be stalled at the gates of Warsaw and that the devastation of Polish territories come to an end. We will avenge those who were killed on the battle-fields, men, women, and children. To-day we must cooperate with our soldiers, and render their task easy. Soldiers: we are now defending a post which cannot be abandoned. The only answer our enemy can get from us should be: No more! Not an inch more. The only report which we can submit runs as follows: The order of the day of General Czuma has been carried out."

Signed: Czuma.

A Radio Announcement by Lieut. Colonel Lipinski

Warsaw, Sept. 8. Lieut. Colonel Lipinski after the reading of the order of the day, released the following speech:

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"This is the order of the day of General Czuma, who is commanding the defense of Warsaw. This order of the day is to be understood as an official statement that Warsaw will be held and defended until the last, and that if it does fall into the hands of the enemy, it will mean that the enemy has entered the city over the body of its last defender. The people of Warsaw must do their utmost in order to facilitate the heavy task of our troops. They must keep calm, and remain self-possessed and unwearied. Everybody should stay at the place where the defense started. To leave Warsaw now would be the act of a coward. Warsaw and its inhabitants have today a wonderful opportunity to show their public spirit and their patriotism. This is a historic opportunity. The Polish soldier should see only calm and smiling faces. The smiles of the Polish women and their blessings should follow him on the field of battle. A cheerful song should accompany him on his way. Warsaw is now on the battle front, and it can be proud of this. I am talking to you on the radio, but you must be prepared that at any moment our radio station may be destroyed by bombs. When this station is silenced then you will know that the enemy has succeeded in destroying it completely. But even in that case the orders of the day of our General in Chief will be released by the press, and every citizen must keep informed."

At the end of the broadcast the radio station played the national anthem.

The Polish Telegraphic Agency in a bulletin issued

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somewhere outside of the town, where it has been evacuated with other governmental offices, advised that battles were raging in the regions mentioned in the communiqué of the Polish General Staff on September 8th. The advance of the enemy has been halted everywhere, and the retreat of the Polish armies proceeds slowly. Warsaw is feverishly organizing its defenses; the whole population is taking an active part in spite of several heavy bombardments, which have cost the lives of many civilians. On the east side of the suburbs of Warsaw inhabitants of the capital have dug deep trenches.

Warsaw, Sept. 10. Lieut. Colonel Lipinski in his daily release states that Warsaw has lived through another difficult day. At 5 A.M. a series of aerial attacks began. During the first attack a German bomber was shot down. Later on fourteen aerial attacks by at least seventy bombers were counterattacked by Polish fighters. Fifteen German bombers were shot down in the streets of Warsaw, and in the suburbs of the capital.

The German pilots also dropped tons of leaflets inviting the inhabitants to surrender. These leaflets were burned by crowds of civilians on the Square of Joseph Pilsudski.

Warsaw, Sept. 10. Mr. Starzynski, the Mayor of Warsaw, addressed the people of the capital on the radio, at 9:30 P.M. He stated that the German assault on Warsaw had been repulsed. He condemned the incredibly

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barbaric methods of the enemy, whose aim is a total destruction of the residential sections and the bombard-
ing of the most crowded sections of the town, inhabited
only by the civilian population.

"It does not however weaken my faith in the final
victory of Poland, in the final victory of justice and
freedom. The heroism of the people of Warsaw and of
the battalions of the defenders of the city is stupendous
beyond measure. German lies and false statements, as
well as their impudent claims that they have taken over
Polish radio stations, have no effect upon us," said the
Mayor.

The Mayor further enumerated the battalions now
fighting on the front which have decided to give over
all their monthly pay to the children of those soldiers
who were killed in action. The population of Warsaw
is enthusiastic and hopeful. Though the front line is
situated at 10 kilometres from Warsaw, there is no ap-
parent change in the way of living. The wonderful
spirit of Warsaw people is a guarantee of our future
victory.

The Polish Telegraphic Agency released through the
Warsaw station Bulletin Number 2, at 10:45, reporting
the good news of a German defeat near Warsaw.

Warsaw, Sept. 11. Thousands of workers are now
forming battalions for the defense of the city. All men
between 17 and 70 years are "drafted."

A new attack of the enemy has been repulsed at the
suburbs of Warsaw.

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The Commander in Chief of Warsaw defense announces that more than 20 per cent of attacking German aircraft was shot down today. A heavy bomber exploded in one of the streets. Two houses were completely demolished. In the northern sector the enemy has been repulsed. In the Western sector our battalions, after a furious attack, are now on the defensive.

Basle, Sept. 12 (Havas). The *Basler Nachrichten* has received from Berlin the following news: Competent military quarters in Berlin have expressed their opinion that the German army operating now around Warsaw will sustain heavy losses, on account of an incredible activity of snipers, guerrillas, and isolated groups of soldiers who are continuously attacking from its rear. There is also some anxiety on account of the activity of Polish submarines.

The *Basler Nachrichten* was informed by its Riga correspondent that the civilian population of Warsaw is digging trenches and constructing barricades. They have formed an army of civilian guards composed of all classes of the population, also workers battalions have been formed from the very young and old. The barricades are built up with piles of bricks, of pavement, and the debris of bombarded houses. Tramways, trolley cars, rails, and railway coaches are used as barricades which form a real labyrinth.

Warsaw, Sept. 12. A relatively calm day. The garrison, assisted by armored cars, has succeeded in at-

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tacking the enemy and in destroying three German tanks. During one of these battles Colonel Chmura was killed in action. There was no aerial attack. Yesterday the German bombers aimed at the historical mansion of Belvedere, the old residence of the late Marshal Pilsudski. This charming white palace surrounded by a large garden was a kind of national shrine and museum. It was partly destroyed.

Zurich, Sept. 12. New details have been received in Switzerland about the siege of Warsaw. Motorized units have retreated slightly in order to dig into new positions where they will wait for reinforcements. The defense of the capital is carried on by General Czuma and Commissaire Starzynski, who have at their disposal three types of units, civil, militia and the workmen battalions, composed mainly of women, children and the aged. Everyone is doing his share. The entire population is carrying on its work with courage and ardor. With an incredible speed barracks have been constructed with overturned trolley cars, with debris from devastated buildings and with bags full of sand. All those who in the first days left the city, seeking shelter elsewhere, were readmitted only when they could prove that they would be of real help to the defendants. There is still telephone communication with the suburb of Praga, which is situated on the opposite bank of the River Vistula.

Warsaw, Sept. 13 (Havas). Warsaw is continuing to repulse the assaults of the enemy. Mr. Starzynski, the

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Mayor of Warsaw, delivered a radio address again in which he paid tribute to the gallant population of Warsaw, and accused the Germans of criminal and despicable methods. "Many generations of Germans," he continued, "will pay for the shameful behavior of their compatriots, who are carrying on a policy of extermination among the civilians and in all parts of the country. We can be proud of the heroic attitude of the Warsaw inhabitants who are doing their duty with complete calm, and fearless and unshaken belief in their sacred cause. They respond to each appeal eagerly and without hesitation. Warsaw must become a powerful rampart which will thwart the barbaric assault."

Communiqué of the Polish General Staff #12 (Sept. 13, 1939)

After several murderous battles the enemy retired from the immediate vicinity of the capital. Terrific fighting was going on in the north and east side of Warsaw near the suburb of Marymont and along the Warsaw-Vilna railroad. The Polish cavalry succeeded in destroying ten German tanks. German aircraft bombarded the northern suburb of Warsaw, Marymont, as well as the highway of Grojec, which was crowded with refugees.

Warsaw, Sept. 13. During the night of Sept. 12 and 13, Polish detachments again succeeded in repulsing the

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enemy from the gates of Warsaw. In the afternoon German bombers attacked the northern and north-western suburbs of Warsaw. Military objectives have not been damaged, but a large block of houses of the workmen's cooperative in the suburb of Zoliborz was partly destroyed. Our anti-aircraft has shot down three German airplanes. Last night the capital was under the fire of heavy artillery. Many fires broke out. The Institute of Medical Research was burned.

Bucharest, Sept. 13. Seventy bombers attacked Warsaw. One of the bombs fell in a large avenue crowded with people. Fifteen women were killed. Some of them were waiting in queues in front of a bakery for already the lack of bread is being felt.

Warsaw, Sept. 14. According to the communiqué concerning the defense of Warsaw, there were several battles between armed guards and German patrols. In the suburb of Wole, an important German assault was repulsed by an infantry detachment with a machine gun. One German tank, several armored cars and an anti-tank gun were put out of action by civilians and captured as booty. The enemy sustained heavy losses in killed and wounded. Yesterday, during the night, many houses in Praga belonging to workmen, were completely burned by incendiary bombs. The hospital of Praga has again been the target of an aerial bombardment and was severely damaged. One bomb attacked the palace of the Papal Nuncio. During the day there were only some reconnaissance flights.

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Zaleszczyki, Sept. 15. According to the latest news received here from Warsaw, the capital is still in Polish hands and is valiantly resisting furious German assaults, although the enemy has succeeded in entering one of the suburbs on Friday. There is still no visible change in the mode of living of the inhabitants. Tramways still operate, although it is not an easy job as there are trenches and barricades which prevent a regular schedule. Shopkeepers are trying desperately to keep their stores adequately supplied in spite of the fact that no food is received from the country. Civilians seem to get more and more accustomed to the raids and the explosions. The volunteer squads of firemen, nurses and the civic militia are doing an admirable job whenever a catastrophe occurs. It must be stressed that there is no sign of panic or of hysteria. Some of the trenches which were dug in July by voluntary workers proved now to be more or less reliable shelters. However, the number of victims of aerial bombardments continues to increase. Until now, the heaviest bombardments were experienced by the inhabitants of the city on the 14th of September. A great number of German bombers attacked the center of the capital. Many were killed and wounded. At the same time German pilots were dropping hundreds of leaflets inviting the population to surrender, and advising the soldiers to discard their arms.

For several days the German radio stations cut in on the same air waves as the Polish stations with defeatist propaganda. These messages were broadcast in ap-

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pallingly poor Polish. Some of the pilots dropped Polish counterfeit money in order to depreciate Polish money.

Warsaw, Sept. 19. This is the answer of Mr. Starzynski, Mayor of Warsaw, given to the British nation in his radio address to the courageous Poles:

"The Mayor of the City of Warsaw, in the name of the inhabitants of the capital of Poland and of all Poles, expresses his cordial thanks for the tribute paid by the British nation to the heroic Polish population, and gives assurance of the continuation of the common fight for freedom. Poland is the target of a barbarian aggression which has seen no equal in the past centuries. Warsaw and other Polish towns and villages are sustaining a brutal and ruthless bombardment by heavy artillery and a continuous and systematic destruction of all sacred memorials and shrines of our nation, works of art, the Royal Castle, the Belvedere and many public buildings. The House of Parliament, old churches, the residential section, foreign legations and the homes of workmen, everything is being destroyed. When shall we receive efficient support and help in order to put an end to the massacre of women and children? When will there be an end to the aggressor's systematic destruction of works of art?"

Warsaw, Sept. 19. Warsaw released a statement to the effect that the British radio apparently lacks reliable information. The British radio erroneously reported

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that Warsaw is only threatened by possible bombardment, in spite of the fact that for several weeks Warsaw has been under continuous bombardment. Warsaw, for the information of the British radio station, released this communiqué: "Sunday last, between 9:15 and 11 A.M., one of the beautiful churches of Central Europe, the Warsaw Cathedral of St. Jean was the target of a bombardment. Under a rain of projectiles the roof caught fire and some heavy wooden supports fell on a crowd of persons who were attending Holy Mass. In spite of the panic, the Reverend Msgr. Kepinski did not leave the altar. He finished the Mass and then he carried the chalice to a safer place in the little chapel with the miraculous crucified Saviour.

"The Royal Castle, full of works of art of inestimable value and masterpieces of painters and sculptors, is burning. The new House of Parliament is completely destroyed by fire. The Director of the Museum of Art of the Royal Castle has been killed and is buried in the garden of the castle. There is no possibility of carrying the bodies of numerous victims as far as the cemetery which has also been bombed ruthlessly. Bodies are being buried along walls and in the squares. The Warsaw sector was relatively calm to-day. Apparently the enemy is transferring its units to other sectors, probably due to the lack of fuel.

"The shops are open. There are no signs of panic nor of depression."

Mayor Starzynski spoke today about the Russian aggression which was a shock for Warsaw and for the

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whole world. But Warsaw is not concerned now with politics; Warsaw is fighting and working. Warsaw trusts the government and her allies who are concerned with politics. Mayor Starzynski also denied impudent lies spread by German propagandist quarters. It is not true that last Sunday Warsaw sent a deputy empowered to talk with the German Command. The facts are that the Diplomatic Corps who formerly desired to remain in Warsaw and now were anxious to leave the city, have appealed to the General in command of Warsaw for a permit to contact the German Commandant. A diplomat representing the Diplomatic Corps refused to proceed alone and asked to be accompanied by an officer of the Supreme Command of the Defense of Warsaw. The Polish citizens of Warsaw have not sent any deputy to the Germans, and they do not even think of capitulation.

There was also more cheerful news concerning several German prisoners who were taken by civilians. They were kept in a barrack which was later on blown up by a German bomber.

Message of the President of the Polish Republic

Citizens of Warsaw:

Our army is still repelling German attacks with incredible courage, in spite of an overwhelming superiority of German forces, and in this very moment our neighbor from the East became an aggressor.

It is not the first time during the past centuries that

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we have to face an enemy invasion coming both from the West and from the East.

Poland, being allied to France and Great Britain is fighting for justice, for its faith, for civilization. Poland is fighting against barbarian invasion, and I am deeply convinced that it will win the final victory.

Citizens! In order to safeguard the prestige of the Republic in this cataclysm, I have, with a heavy heart, decided to transfer the headquarters of the authorities—the personification of the Republic and the source of the constitutional Power—to a place where conditions allow it to exercise our full power and to safeguard the interests of our Republic.

Citizens! I am convinced that in spite of all, you will continue to give proof of steadfastness and dignity and of national pride, which have won for you the admiration of the world. Every Pole must safeguard today the honor of our Nation.

God will render us justice.

Kosow, Sept. 17, 1939. IGNACE MOSCICKI,
President of the Polish Republic

Warsaw, Sept. 19. Mr. Starzynski, the Mayor of Warsaw, broadcast today an impressive and moving address to the people of Warsaw. It was a report submitted to the President of the Republic in answer to his farewell message, forwarded on the eve of his crossing the Rumanian frontier.

“You are right, Mr. President. I have the honor of informing you that the population of Warsaw has not

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changed its attitude. We are and will continue to be steadfast. We are supported by an unshaken belief in our final victory. We realize that we are defending the national honor. We are proud that we have the opportunity of doing this, and we still believe that our sacrifice will not be a vain gesture; that our blood will swing the balance of victory."

Mr. Starzynski also delivered an appeal in the name of the citizens of Warsaw to France and to Great Britain asking when the promised help would come.

Warsaw, Sept. 19. During the night of Sept. 18, and 19, the enemy succeeded in piercing the eastern sector, but all German attacks have been repulsed. We inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. Our troops also halted the assault of the enemy on the southern sector of the suburb of Praga. In the northern sector the Polish battalions in a furious offensive movement have advanced and now occupy new positions. On the military front battles are also raging.

Warsaw, Sept. 20 (Havas). The following declaration has been broadcast today by the station Warsaw II. It was addressed to Polish soldiers, who are defending the capital:

"Rumors are being spread by the German propaganda quarters that Warsaw is resigned to capitulate. On the contrary, though Warsaw is under a continuous attack, it does not think of surrender. Polish soldiers are not frightened by German tanks, by aircraft or by guns. It

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has been decided not to yield a single inch of Warsaw soil. Warsaw will fight and will win."

Colonel Lipinski broadcast the following address:

"Today our battalions have advanced. Their situation is improving. In the suburb of Wola our cavalry detachments have succeeded in attacking the enemy several times, and again it has been proven that when our soldier faces a German infantry detachment, he has the final word.

"During a hand-to-hand attack, our soldiers armed with bayonets had forced the enemy to retreat in the streets of Praga, and inflicted serious losses upon him. On the other hand the aerial supremacy of the Germans could not be denied. German aircraft have achieved their aim in Poland. Today there were again three air raids over Warsaw, over its suburb of Bielany. During the third raid, which took place at 5 P.M., forty bombers were over Warsaw. In the afternoon we heard the thunder of the heavy artillery and again projectiles killed many civilians in the city. The center of Warsaw was the main target of this artillery attack. At this very moment, while listening to the broadcast, can be heard the deafening noise of the battle. The enemy is now attacking Praga and Wola.

"You are listening to the sharp sounds of rifle fire, and the incessant thunder of heavy guns. But in spite of this Warsaw is self-possessed and calm. We are thinking of those who are fighting continuously for many days and nights. Polish women! The Warsaw woman has one job to perform. Our soldiers must get food

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and water. Though it is a long and dangerous road to Praga and to Wola, women of Warsaw must go there and perform their duty. The defenders of the city must feel its sympathy and its support. They must hear the beating of the heart of Warsaw.

"One more night to live through. Today's Communiqué has been released late in the day. Officers who are leading the attacks are exhausted. They have kept their eyes open during these sleepless nights, and their ears have been tuned to every sound coming from the battlefield.

"The thoughts of all courageous Warsaw people are accompanying those who desperately try to push back the enemy."

Warsaw, Sept. 20. In the western sector and in the northern sector after a successful hand-to-hand fight our battalions have fortified their new positions. The cavalry detachments have also successfully attacked a column of armored cars. Several armored cars have been put out of action. In the suburb of Ochota we have captured three machine guns. The morale is excellent. Today German aircraft has bombarded three times the Royal Castle, the National Museum, the Academy of Physical Education, and a great number of residential houses in the city.

Warsaw, Sept. 21. The Mayor has broadcast an answer to an address of the Polish Ambassador which has been released from London:

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"I wish to express my cordial thanks for your encouraging words. Even before this war started we realized that the first assault would be terrific and devastating for us; that Germany would throw her entire power against us. But we also realized that the whole civilized world would hurry to our rescue. And this has been confirmed today by our Ambassador, Mr. Raczynski, in London. We realized that our fight for freedom would be a common fight. We have also listened to the words of Mr. Chamberlain who stated that Great Britain would never forget her duty towards Poland. Thus we will continue to fight, because we are full of confidence in our own strength and in our allies who will not abandon Poland. We will win!"

The Warsaw radio station announced the bombardment of the hospital of the Red Cross, in spite of its being marked with the sign of the Red Cross. This bombardment, which violated all international regulations, has provoked a general indignation and a feeling of dismay.

In his daily address Mr. Starzynski, Mayor of Warsaw, stated that the banner of the Red Cross was on the roof of the hospital but that has not prevented German pilots from dropping several heavy bombs in that direction.

"I am not sure," continued Mr. Starzynski, "if this hospital was a member of the Union of the International Red Cross, but I wish that my voice could be heard in the headquarters of the Red Cross at Geneva, and that the world may realize that the so-called humanitarian

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methods' of Germans consist in throwing bombs on hospitals. German propaganda still endeavors to weaken our resistance by spreading impudent lies through bogus Polish stations. No force exists which could break the resistance of the soul of Poland. We are trying to follow our every-day mode of living; we are organizing a voluntary sanitary service and an anti-aircraft service. Up to the present time the civilian guard has performed its various duties in all sectors. The most important duty is to make every effort to safeguard the normal schedule of all activities. Our every-day life should be followed in a normal manner. The aspect of the city should not differ from that of previous days. As the movement of tramways has been rendered practically impossible by barricades and debris, I have organized a new service of buses which have again made their appearance in the city.

"The population and the army are convinced of final victory.

"We are witnessing with horror-stricken minds the ruthless devastation and destruction of notable works of art of our civilization. We suffer when we think of those who gave their lives to the country which they defended to the last. The population has trust in its army. We know that the proud spirit of Warsaw had revealed itself many times during the past centuries. All attempts to break the morale of the Warsaw people by a treacherous propaganda are doomed to failure. The spirit of Warsaw must win this battle, the spirit of Warsaw will win the battle!"

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Warsaw II broadcast supplementary news about the savage fighting that was going on in the vicinity of the capital. The Polish lines in the suburbs of Wola and Mokotow have been maintained. Most furious battles were raging at Praga and Brodno. The sectors of Brodno and Zoliborz have been targets of heavy bombardment. In the city the famous skyscraper of the Prudential Life Insurance Company of Great Britain was the target of a furious artillery fire. The Embassy of Italy is in ruins.

Warsaw, Sept. 21 (Havas). The resistance of Warsaw is stiffening, according to Lieut. Colonel Lipinski's broadcast. Reinforcements are still arriving. All assaults of the enemy have been halted. The defenders of the city are accomplishing deeds which demand inhuman courage. They are throwing themselves against tanks and armored cars, they are jumping on the turrets in a rain of machine gun bullets, and they succeed in disarming the crews. The cooperation of civilians is invaluable to soldiers.

Warsaw, Sept. 22. The Mayor has delivered his daily address to the population:

"Citizens! German aircraft and their heavy artillery are again bombarding women and children. Bombs were thrown with an increasing fury on hospitals and on public memorials. They apparently aim at a total destruction of our national shrines. And at the same

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time they are throwing leaflets written in a barbarian volapuck, which is supposed to be Polish. They could not find a single traitor among Poles who would be willing to do this despicable job for them.

"Germans are trying to fool us by spreading false news about the total destruction of our army which 'is no more in existence,' but a few hours later they broadcast news about 'frightful fighting going on in Poland.' Enough of these lies!

"I will not speak today about Warsaw—I am too busy. But I wish to stress once more our unshaken belief in justice and in final victory. This belief is an offspring of our indomitable spirit to which tribute is being paid by the people of London, of Paris, of Brussels, by people of France, of England, and of Belgium."

Warsaw, Sept. 22. Warsaw was again under heavy artillery fire and a rain of bombs. The radio station Warsaw II had broadcast an appeal to the inhabitants for more volunteer rescue squads. They are indispensable to rescue wounded and sick from hospitals which are the targets of German bombers. Two bombers were shot down. Life in the city continues to be more or less normal, even during the aerial attacks. Today several German soldiers have been taken prisoners. In the Eastern sector heavy artillery fire was raging.

There was also broadcast an appeal for bandages and disinfectants, and for donors to bring these gifts to hospitals, where a scarcity of first aid material is being acutely felt.

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Zurich, Sept. 23 (Havas). Warsaw has been bombarded for twenty-three days and at the same time the city is also an object of a war of the air waves. A German station, which cannot be situated very far from the city, has cut in on the 216 meters wave of Warsaw II today at 7 P.M., and an address in "Polish" has been broadcast by the Germans, advising the "unfortunate people of Warsaw to surrender immediately." "Poles have been abandoned," continued the invisible speaker, "Poland has been abandoned by its government and by its allies. France and England have done nothing. Warsaw must surrender. There is no other way. Further resistance would be suicide."

Today the city itself has been ruthlessly bombarded for an unusual length of time. Heavy artillery is aiming at the city from several directions. Fires are spreading. Whole sections are being totally destroyed.

Two principal railway stations, the Hotel Bristol and various buildings are burning. Four churches and three hospitals crowded with wounded were also destroyed. There was an unsuccessful German attack against the right shore of the river Vistula. In the sector of Modlin battles are still raging. The defense of Warsaw is continuing and will be continued.

Sept. 24. Warsaw was under an incessant artillery fire from dawn until late in the night. There was not a single moment of silence. At the same time German pilots are dropping incendiary bombs. In many places entire streets are in flames. All hospitals marked with

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big signs of the Red Cross are under a rain of bombs and of machine gun bullets. The National Theatre and the Great Opera House are burning. A scarcity of water on account of the destruction of water pipes, prevents the rescuing of buildings. Thousands of inhabitants of Warsaw have been deprived of all their possessions, but in spite of this the attitude of the people is one of grim determination.

The British and the French radio stations are asked to repeat the Polish communiqués. The Church of the Holy Saviour has been bombarded during the Service. There are many victims. German aircraft has completely destroyed the old railway station and all the lines. The City Hall has also been the target of aerial attacks. The methods of the German aggressor are so barbarous and so inhuman that they compromise the entire German army. This evening the Ujazdowski Hospital has been several times under a heavy attack and is destroyed. Poles will never forget all these barbaric deeds of the German nation. All attacks of the German infantry have been repulsed by soldiers and civilians. There were today eight aerial attacks. The Polytechnique is burning. In the sector of Zoliborz and around the Unia Lubelska square several modern buildings are completely destroyed.

Warsaw, Sept. 24, 11 P.M. Warsaw and Modlin are targets of an incessant artillery fire. There is not a single house in Warsaw where victims would not be found. The majority of public buildings and of resi-

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dential sections are in ruins. One hundred fires are spreading since this morning. The approximate total of the civilians killed in action amounts to several thousands. And this figure concerns only the last twenty-four hours of siege. Modlin is still resisting, though it is being attacked from several directions. On the left shore of the river two successful offensive movements have been performed by our battalions. Many Germans were taken prisoners. The morale of the army and of the population is excellent.

Warsaw, Sept. 25. Last night and today Warsaw has endured the worst moments of the siege. Germans are proceeding systematically and with determination. Both heavy artillery and aerial attacks are aiming at a final destruction of the city. Squadrons of airplanes are bombarding the centre of the city, and starting big fires by spreading hundreds of incendiary bombs. Eight aircraft were shot down. The battalions fighting outside of the city were less exposed than the civilians as the bombardment was unmistakably aimed only at the civilian population, in order to break its morale. The number of victims is enormous. Warsaw is in ruins. Mountains of debris are hampering circulation of rescue squads. The last diplomatic missions arranged to leave the city in special German trains, at the proposal of the German command. But at the very moment when the diplomats were leaving Warsaw the bombardment was intensified to such a point, that they decided to remain in the city. Modlin is surrounded but continues to re-

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pulse German attacks. In the sector of Mokotow civilians have also halted a German assault. The garrison is still defending the ruins and is fighting in a black cloud of smoke.

Warsaw, Sept. 26. Warsaw and Modlin are still holding. Extremely violent attacks have been halted on the left bank of the Vistula River. Thirteen German aircrafts were shot down. The total number of downed planes is one hundred and six. At the present time the city is in ruins and is still under heavy artillery fire. Filters and reservoirs were completely destroyed a few days ago. Rescue squads had great difficulty in reaching the victims of the raids. Nine hospitals crowded with wounded were totally destroyed by bombs and bullets. All historic memorials and nearly all churches are wrecked. The air is full of smoke and dust. In view of the desperate situation of the civilian population and the tremendous destruction of the city and in view of the lack of water and the consequent danger of epidemics, the Polish High Command proposed to the German High Command an armistice of twenty-four hours. The answer has not yet been received. The situation of the civilians compels the Polish High Command to take decisions which will permit it to avoid further losses.

Warsaw, Sept. 27. It was announced by Warsaw that the approximate total number of victims of yesterday's bombardment amounted to three thousand civilians.

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Warsaw, Sept. 28. During the nights of the 26thth and 27th heavy fighting went on on the left shore of the Vistula. Four German assaults in the western and in the southern sections were repulsed. During a counterattack four tanks and three guns were taken as well as a large number of prisoners. After seventeen days of ruthless bombardment the capital of Poland is in ruins. The city was the target of continuous aerial raids and under artillery fire. Thousands of incendiary bombs were dropped. The complete destruction of water reservoirs prevented the extinguishing of fires. Fire spread over entire sections. Water is being distributed by volunteers, who under a rain of projectiles carry buckets from the wells in the outskirts, and from the river. German bombers systematically aimed at large food stores so that there is a scarcity of bread and other food articles. No meat nor milk is available, except the horse meat from horses killed in the streets. Sixteen thousand soldiers and twenty thousand civilians lost their lives during the last raids. It is absolutely impossible to give the exact number of killed and wounded inasmuch as there are large numbers of people who were not dug out from under debris. Several hospitals were also completely destroyed. Rescue squads were compelled to continuously transfer the wounded from one hospital to another. Hygienic conditions are so appalling that danger of epidemics is imminent. In spite of all this the morale of the population is unshaken. Soldiers are holding their posts; as far as infantry is concerned their superiority is without a doubt. They give

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in only under the pressure of panzer troops. The Polish High Command, not wanting to increase the inhuman suffering of the population, and taking into consideration the lack of munitions, decided to conclude an armistice of twenty-four hours and to begin conversations concerning the conditions of capitulation of Warsaw and Modlin. These conversations have already started and will end on the 29th of September.

Warsaw, Sept. 29. After exhaustion of all possibilities of further resistance, and also in view of the desperate situation of the civilians, of the complete lack of water, munitions and artillery munitions, the Polish High Command in defence of Warsaw communicates that it was compelled to sign an armistice. The Polish High Command has already defined the conditions of capitulation. The City of Warsaw and its garrison had to surrender today at noon. The German command agreed to guarantee to all Polish officers who took an active part in the defence of Warsaw, honorable conditions permitting them to retain their swords; and to demobilize all petty officers and enable them to return to their homes.

