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UNSPOKEN THOUGHTS

AT THIS DECISIVE STAGE OF THE war, when the outlines of the future peace already begin to crystallize, there is no time for undue reticence. One should speak frankly about things which have been so far tacitly passed over in silence, perhaps in the erroneous belief that future developments might provide a better opportunity for revealing them to all. We should no longer conceal things which, although they are actually well known, are quietly suppressed by some and banned by others, thus allowing all kinds of false and misleading interpretations. London and Washington should know the thoughts and the feelings of Europe. The Europeans are still condemned to silence. Let those who understand the meaning of its silence speak on behalf of the taciturn continent. There are here today some of us who know well the dreams and hopes—even the prayers—of our brother Europeans. These hopes and prayers are the same throughout the continent, from the Alps to the Carpathians and from the Rhine to the Vistula. Europe is perhaps more unanimous today than she has ever been and all the nations, with the exception of Germany, share similar views on the future new order which is to open a new lease of life for the old continent.

The great western powers have already carried out a moral occupation of Europe. No plebiscites, no Sicilian testimonies and no confidential reports of emigre politicians are needed to know that. Our knowledge is based on the fact that those features of the life of Britain and America which are the very essence of the national way of living of these countries are also the object of the most intense hopes and prayers of all the Europeans. The nations of the continent realize that these rights and liberties can only be guaranteed by the West.

The differences between the aims and desires of our peoples, fighting on this side of the front line and those of the citizens of some countries now still in the opposite camp are not great. If the aims and aspirations of the great mass of the people of countries politically subjugated by Germany could be summed up, they would be reduced to a few ideas not unlike our own. We do not attach undue importance to the watchwords written on the war banners of those nations, for we know that they do not correspond to any actual reality. There are other, deeper and more important things, which are a permanent bond between us and there is a growing consciousness of their existence.

No one could charge the Poles in this war with selfishness or petty opportunism. We have displayed the greatest romantic generosity and we have paid its full price. That perhaps gives us the right to be the champions of others, even weaker than ourselves, who are condemned today to enforced silence. We can speak on their behalf because we have no particular quarrel with these silent nations and we are aware of the obligations of European solidarity.

We believe that the German nation has wilfully abandoned that European community. The desire to dominate is in itself a denial of equality, which is the basic condition of the new order for which Europe is praying. The Germans declared themselves alien to the European community of nations by laying claim to the rank of supermen. Although their theories may seem ridiculous to us, the Germans believe firmly in their mission. It is a strange kind of messianic myth inspired by base motives of profit. It gives a measure of the moral fibre of the whole nation. Such a nation cannot be included in a community based on equality and brotherhood.

The difference between the position of Germany herself and that of her satellites is generally appreciated. But to realize the fact that there is a difference is not enough. A definite line should be drawn and certain conclusions should be reached. Justice, the strict observance of which with regard to the Germans is advised by so many, requires an accurate judgment of the causes responsible for the fact that certain smaller nations

joined in this war on the side of our enemies.

Are they wholly responsible for it? Let us be candid enough to admit that they are not. The great majority of the people of the countries concerned believe

in the same ideals as ourselves. Their ideological association with Germany is superficial. Why did these nations allow their governments to get entangled in collaboration with the major partners of the Axis? They were simply placed

at the mercy of Germany by their geographical position. London was at the time groaning under the bombs of the Luftwaffe. Washington was still out of the war. Moscow was on the side of the aggressors. France was broken down.

The Allies were driven out of the continent, but the brutal power of Germany made itself felt everywhere. Resistance seemed to be not merely hopeless, but suicidal.

It is true that not all the nations of the continent gave way to what seemed to be at the time the relentless logic of facts. The nations which remained faithful and true to their alliances in spite of all deserve in justice at the final reckoning something more than words of praise.

Geopolitical necessity overcame the feelings of some nations, but they could not change their hearts. Thousands of Polish refugees who have crossed Hungary, Rumania and Italy remember gratefully the kindness and hospitality which they found there. Now, when the true sentiment of these nations can at last come to the surface, let us not ascribe its expression to mere political cunning and expediency.

The position of Italy is different from that of the other satellites. Even the Fascists could not have forced Italy to declare war unless a considerable section of the population was in its favour. But even so there is a wide difference between the degree of guilt of the German and Italian nations. The Germans have proved that aggressiveness is the dominating feature of their character and they have plunged the world into misery more than once. The Italians gave way temporarily to tendencies alien to their national spirit, which they had begun to discard already before the invasion of their country. That is why, although Italy cannot be wholly absolved of war guilt, we can still hope that the Italian nation may play a constructive part in the new post-war Europe. No one, not even those most directly wronged by the Italians, can wish for a violent revolution in Italy. We must all desire to see Italy return as soon as possible to our European community and to bring into our life those assets of culture and civilization which the world has always expected of the heirs of Rome.

The wide scale of guilt and responsibility, obvious in the light of elementary justice, must dictate a different treatment for every one of the defeated nations. Rejecting the German doctrine of collective responsibility, our law cannot adopt the principle of joint responsibility and solidarity of guilt. We believe that it is necessary to establish a differentiation between Germany and the nations collaborating with it. This differentiation should find expression already now, in the appeals and propaganda addressed to our present enemies. The principle of unconditional surrender, which must remain inflexible and absolute as far as Germany is concerned, might be interpreted more generously with regard to other nations. Such an attitude would be inspired not by a spirit of appeasement or by pure opportunism, but by a recognition of certain tangible realities.

That is the view of millions of people of various nationalities throughout Europe. They share the same desire to see order and peace in the continent which has seen so much strife and suffering. They realize that they are unable to carry out such a permanent settlement without outside help. Apart from a handful of extremists, the Europeans want to give their full confidence to the English-speaking nations. They believe in the moral standards of the West. These starving, tortured and terrified men and women desire above all the four freedoms which President Roosevelt so aptly and wisely defined. They believe that this war is being fought for these moral values and they are confident that no temporary advantage and no political inducement can secure the tacit consent of the British and American nations to a European order disregarding such moral principles and oblivious of the four freedoms.

The history of our western, Christian civilization makes us all—Europeans—creditors as well as debtors. We have all helped to build the civilization which can be saved today only by the powers of the North Atlantic.

JERZY ADAMKIEWICZ

EARLY ACADEMIC LIFE IN POLAND

IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY the University of Cracow became one of the focal points of humanistic learning in Europe, although, like all medieval universities, it had been erected and organized under the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church. It is noteworthy that, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the great Polish astronomer Copernicus, a former student of Cracow University, could dedicate his fundamental work on the revolution of

tions threatened by continuous invasions on the part of militant Germanism, seeking to expand its territorial possessions in the East under the pretext of spreading the Christian faith. It was Polish political thought which, already at the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, adopted the modern concept of voluntary international associations on a permanent basis and put it into practice in the form of a Union between Poland and

University, included freedom from taxation and customs duties. Collegiate life on almost communal lines was compulsory. Professors had to live in colleges; students in special tenements called "bursae." Meals were taken in common in the refectory called "hypercaustum." One of the students had to read aloud during mealtimes, in order to avoid idle talk. Academic rules were binding on all. Lectures had to be attended regularly; from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m. in winter, and from 5 a.m. to 4 p.m. in summer, to save candles, as glass windows were only introduced in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The same strict rules applied to public disputes, examinations and promotions to degrees. Students were supervised by proctors called "scriptores" even during the hours of recreation. Traditions were faithfully observed.

One of these ancient customs is especially noteworthy, as expressive of the spirit of Polish academic life at its best.

After the death of St. John of Kanty in the sixteenth century his place at the refectory table of the Jerusalem College in Cracow was reserved for one of the poor students of the University who were exempted from matriculation and other fees. Each time another one was invited the newcomer was greeted by all his fellow students with the words repeated in chorus: "Pauper venit" ("the poor man is coming"), to which the Senior replied: "Christus venit" ("Christ is coming").

Such were the surroundings in which, in A.D. 1517, the eminent English humanist Leonard Coxe, a former principal of the Abbey School at Reading, found himself when he was appointed Professor of Poetry and Classical Philology in the University of Cracow. He was so impressed by conditions in Poland that he wrote a poem in Latin, the English version of which is as follows: *Great was the glory of Rome, when the sword was replaced by the ploughshare, Poland, thy fertile plains vie with Saturnian soil.*

*Thou too hast nurtured a race which, decked with victory's laurels, Now, through its virtues in peace, merits an aureate crown!**

Incessant wars during the seventeenth century, especially during its latter half, were detrimental to the further development of science and academic life. Discipline amongst the students grew looser; the authority of learning declined.

The revival of science occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was then that, under the leadership of the Polish Education Board, the work of reconstructing the entire educational system of Poland, including higher education, was brought to a successful conclusion. Since then learning and the spiritual forces derived therefrom have again become the mainstay of Polish national life. They have informed the conscious action of the whole nation during the period of the Partitions and they have opened up new prospects of progress and prosperity to the Polish people during the years intervening between the two world wars.

It is therefore only natural that Poland must and will be faithful to those great traditions, and will remain always in the ranks of the defenders of true learning and sound education.

* Romanis agri quondam laus maxima culti, Hunc quoque nunc ritum terra Polona tenet, Vomere donavit gentem quam maxima virtus Aurea pro meritis sidera ferre daret. . . .



The Rector and the Senate of the Cracow University leaving the Academic Church of St. Anne after a solemn service at the opening of the term.

On the back page: "Pauper venit."

the planets around the sun to the Pope, whilst the Lutheran Church, represented by Melancthon, for many years remained hostile to his teachings.

In order to understand the historic part played by higher educational establishments in Poland, we must go back to the very origins of their existence.

When, in September 1364, Pope Urban V, at the request of King Casimir the Great of Poland, called into being "un moult grand parlement" in Cracow, he expressly laid down that the new University should be organized on Western lines and that it should be accessible to professors and students "ex diversis mundi partibus."

Thus, in a solemn form, the Pope emphasized the unity of the Christian Faith in the West and the East, and he assigned to Cracow University the special task of defending the religion, learning and culture of the West in Central and Eastern Europe. Poland's role as a bastion of the Christian Faith was once again recognized and reaffirmed by the Apostolic See.

Within the sphere of Polish State interests this role assumed very early the form of a basic line of long-term policy, founded on principles which have lost nothing of their validity and strength down to the present day.

In accordance with these principles, Polish policy has always recognized the right of the individual to full freedom of conscience and it has openly opposed wars of aggression the aim of which was to impose by force religious beliefs on unbelievers. This attitude manifested itself as early as 1415, when, at the Council of Constance, Polish University professors from Cracow unanimously raised their voices in defence of pagan popula-

Lithuania. And it was Polish statecraft that, at a time when events on the European continent were rapidly moving towards religious coercion, the restriction of the liberties of the individual and autocratic regimes, steadfastly upheld the principles of religious tolerance, individual freedom and parliamentary forms of government.

Political theories so far advanced of their times could not obviously have materialized and finally become fixed in public consciousness without the active co-operation of Polish Universities, then in their period of ascendancy and in full enjoyment of all the privileges and endowments munificently bestowed on them by successive rulers, the clergy and the community at large. Their number in the meantime had increased. The University of Wilno was founded in 1576 and that of Lwów in 1608.

Modelled on the great seats of learning in Italy, France (Paris) and England (Oxford and Cambridge), and maintaining close relations with them, Polish Universities soon became disseminating centres for democratic principles in Poland. Each of them was, in point of fact, a small self-governing Republic, constituting to a certain extent an extra-territorial entity within the framework of the State.

These structural peculiarities were reflected in the outward forms of academic life. The Rector or Principal was primarily elected by the graduates and undergraduates in common, later by the holders of the degree of Master, representing the various faculties alone. The jurisdiction of the University, which was exclusive, embraced all its members and extended even beyond the boundaries of Poland. Privileges and immunities, accorded to all members of the

