

# THE POLISH REVIEW

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VOL. IV. No. 35  
SEPT. 20, 1944

Barricades on outskirts  
of Warsaw erected  
against the Germans  
by the people of  
Warsaw.



## Polish Prime Minister S. Mikolajczyk's September 1st Broadcast to Poland

**T**HERE are moments in the lives of nations when platitudes must be put aside, when any mention of one's duties, merits or ideals or the paying of homage by rare words is ill-timed. I know that one must speak simply to people who are facing death, who must either endure and win or perish. I know that you have confidence in me, even when, in the throes of a deadly struggle, in spite of a feeling of deception and injustice done to Warsaw, you gave me by a unanimous vote in the Polish Underground Parliament—the Council of National Unity—sanction for my proposals for settlement of Polish-Russian relations, and by so doing testified to your political maturity, which accompanies your sacrifices, heroism and struggles. You may be sure that the Polish Government will not capitulate and resign the rights of Poland to full independence, freedom and sovereignty. I declare this in full realization of the gravity of the tragic situation. As Premier of the Polish Government I take full responsibility for the decisions of your political and military leaders—the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of the Government acting in the Homeland, General Bor and members of the Council of National Unity.

"Having grounds to do so, you arose at the right time to wage an open fight against the Germans for the sake of independence and freedom, and to protect the population. You acted in the same way as your brothers did everywhere east of Warsaw since March, 1944, and as they will still continue to do, at the same time helping the heroic and victorious Soviet Armies in their fight with the enemy. The fate of war has decreed that the liberation of Warsaw has not taken place as soon as was rightly expected by all. The struggle continues. I know that you are fighting—for fight you must and fight you will. You have no other issue and each doubt or breakdown means death instead of victory. You have the right and wish to endure—to win and live. You have the right to assistance. No one has the right to lower the value of your struggle, undertaken with the purest intentions, for the

sake of some opportunist motive or political intrigue. You did not receive such help as was due you, in spite of all the devotion of British, South African and Polish airmen. Lately the latter have been the only ones who helped you. We are doing all we can to obtain help for you in adequate time and measure. I have not lost hope that it will be obtained. Should this help not be given, I will notify you of it.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to address, once again, in public, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, leaders of the great powers, the commanders of the powerful and victorious land and air armies—Warsaw is waiting, the whole Polish nation is waiting, public opinion throughout the world is waiting. Do all you can to provide the means of further fighting and to liberate this city and the population fighting on her ruins, drenched with blood. These people fight and die for Poland, but their desire to live for Poland is equally strong.

"Heroes of Warsaw—beside all crimes perpetrated upon the civilian population, the Germans wish to demoralize and unnerve you by threatening to burn Warsaw. Those who are murdering you pretend—by spreading false information—to become your defenders.

"I wish to declare, with full feeling of responsibility, that, for burning the remnants of Warsaw, should they ever dare to do so, for murdering the civilian population and the Home Army protected by combatant rights, we will hold them to account. We promise—and will keep our word—if the mortally wounded beast dares to carry out its threat.

"I leave you in the conviction that you will endure until help and liberation comes to you, and that you will have your share in the victory of the Allied nations. We will rebuild our cities and villages in a free and independent Poland and Warsaw shall rise from the ruins, more magnificent than ever. We will do everything to prevent the German beast from menacing the world again by new acts of aggression."

"The Polish nation has constantly demonstrated that it values political existence, independence and liberty above life itself. Poland considers no sacrifice too great to maintain the sovereignty and integrity of her territory."

—"Rzeczpospolita Polska," Polish underground publication. Vol. IV, no. 7 (78), Warsaw, May 3, 1944.

## Premier Mikolajczyk Outlines Polish Policy\*

**I** SHOULD like to deal with two questions: Polish-Russian relations and the Polish nation's fight against the Germans in Poland, and particularly Warsaw. I am taking up these matters not only because there have been too many misunderstandings and guesses and too little understanding of the real situation, leading to incorrect conclusions, but for certain fundamental reasons.

"September first we enter the sixth year since the Germans attacked Poland by force of arms, and thus began this terrible war. Poland actively resisted this attack in defense of the integrity of her territory, her independence, sovereignty and freedom. By so doing she not only brought to an end the rape and subjugation of nations without an open fight but also revealed clearly Germany's desire to rule the world. Everyone has to admit that throughout these five years Poles have not for a moment ceased to fight, whether in Poland or abroad. On all fronts they have given proof of their determination to fight, their self-sacrifice, devotion and loyalty to principles for which they took up their fight, but as we approach the end of this war in which the defeat of Germany is so near, the ideological principles of war expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms have somehow lost in value in favor of power politics. I don't minimize the factor of power and its importance for maintenance of peace and protection of humanity from a new calamity, but I fear that might overshadow right and justice, particularly in such moments when in the absence of agreement and understanding between great powers, 'justice' may be administered by force of one power on her weaker neighbors.

"In these circumstances such states as Poland cannot conduct their policy in the secrecy of diplomatic conferences, but must, to a greater or smaller extent as conditions permit, conduct it honestly and openly in daylight before the public opinion of great powers, since on this public opinion will depend maintaining balance between power factor and moral factor and the harnessing of the former forever in service of peace and justice only.

"It is in these moments that it becomes all the more important for the press, which inspires and directs public opinion, to give objective and detailed information. Diplomatic notes, protests, reports of underground fighting and its military achievements by their very nature remain hidden in desks and files and exert a relatively small influence on the actual policy which influences the life of nations. Problems

\* Statement made by the Polish Prime Minister to the press in London on August 31, 1944.



Polish Prime Minister Mikolajczyk leaves his plane on arrival in Great Britain after his talks in Moscow with Marshal Stalin.

of current importance which are not discussed publicly and revealed openly at the time, even if they are kept quiet in the most honest desire to avoid friction between allies, sometimes recoil later because of the shortness of human memory against those who did not inform public opinion in good time as experience has taught us.

"A typical instance of this is the fact that the problem of Polish-Soviet relations was presented to public opinion as limited to the dispute between the Poles of the Polish Government in London and the National Liberation Committee in Lublin. It has been forgotten that question concerns the settlement of relations between the Polish State and the U.S.S.R., that it concerns one-half of Poland and eleven million of her citizens, that it concerns the future political system of the Polish State, its full sovereignty and independence, that it concerns the permanent settlement of relations in Europe such as will guarantee harmony and is closely linked with the foundations of future lasting peace. The problem cannot be settled only on the basis of a so-called dispute between Poles and only between Poles. It would be also a mistake to think that personal difficulties are the main obstacle. I feel certain that there is no Pole who, whenever faced with a choice between the interests of his country and his personal interests, would hesitate for a moment.

"My journey to Moscow, to which Stalin consented and to which I was encouraged by President Roosevelt and Prime

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## Polish Home Army Enters the Second

THE Polish Home Army in Warsaw shall fight on to the last man and the last round of ammunition, General Bor has announced via the Underground radio. Five years after the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland, Warsaw, the capital, was again engulfed in blood and fire as General Bor and the Polish Home Army, alone and unaided by the world, battled the overwhelmingly superior German forces. The Polish Army still holds out in the first days of September, five weeks after the signal to rise was given on the afternoon of August 1.

How long the Polish Home Army is able to continue its heroic fight for the capital will depend on the amount of material aid the Allies are able to send. In addition to military material, medical supplies and serums are desperately needed to quell epidemics of typhoid and scarlet fever raging in Poland's capital.

Since supplies are running low and no outside help has been received since British planes flew over the city early in August, the Poles are gradually being forced to evacuate certain parts of the city that they held during the first stages of the uprising.

For a third time the Germans have offered to members of the Home Army "full rights as prisoners of war" if they capitulate now without further delay. This offer, that was broadcast by the Nazi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been rejected by the Poles as were the earlier ones. It is, however, an indication of how desperate is the Germans' need to crush the uprising that has kept so many soldiers of the Wehrmacht from the collapsing Eastern Front.

The "Old City," one of the Underground's greatest strongholds has finally been taken by the Germans. The Polish Home Army successfully held the "Old City" against heavy counterattacks by superior German forces for 34 days. During the incessant street fighting for the district, both sides sustained heavy losses. "Old City" has been completely destroyed and is now one vast cemetery.

The Home Army has also been forced to withdraw from the Sadyba district in southeastern Warsaw near the Vistula River. General Bor reports that the center of the city is in ruins, but that the Germans still keep up a 24-hour a day artillery barrage and heavy mortar fire on Polish-held parts of the city.

Further details of the situation in Warsaw, broadcast by the Underground radio station, "Blyskawica," reveal that the Y.M.C.A. building, the Sejm or Polish Parliament, and the Academic House are held by the Germans who have turned them into heavily fortified strongholds. The National Mint and the Warsaw Cathedral also fell into German hands in the first days of September. Twenty hospitals and a hundred first aid stations run by the Polish Home Army are now also being used for civilians injured in street fighting or stricken by the epidemics. Three doctors and 16 nurses serving in these

\* News of the final outcome of the latest Battle of Warsaw has not yet reached the United States as this issue of *The Polish Review* goes to press.



Members of the Polish Home Army.

front-line military hospitals have received the Cross of Valor for bravery.

The Germans have set fire to the Marymont district. The inhabitants were first sent out of the area, but were not allowed to take anything from their homes with them. Parts of the capital so strongly defended by the Underground that the Germans cannot take them by military action are deliberately set fire by the "supermen."

During the first week of September, the only gain made by the Home Army was the seizure of the Bank of National Economy after a bloody fight. Several Polish women who were held as hostages in the cellars were liberated.

Polish civilians who fell into German hands during August were put into a concentration camp set up in the ruins of the former Ghetto. They were later set free by the Home Army. Both Polish civilians and soldiers who are captured by the Germans are murdered in cold blood or slowly starved to death as hostages. The Gestapo shoots about 300 civilians daily and has their bodies cremated on the spot. The Polish Home Army is powerless to prevent this massacre. It has no heavy weapons with which to attack such a powerful stronghold as the Gestapo Headquarters.

Warsaw's residents, even those not taking an active part in the insurrection, have lost almost all of their material possessions. More than 250,000 civilians have lost their homes and all their belongings. They are in desperate need of food, clothing, linen and shoes.

The women of Warsaw have made a name for themselves, not only behind the lines, but fighting shoulder to shoulder with their men. Many volunteer for dangerous front-line

## Month of the Battle for Warsaw\*

work, and undertake such jobs as mine-laying in the streets in preparation for Polish infantry assaults.

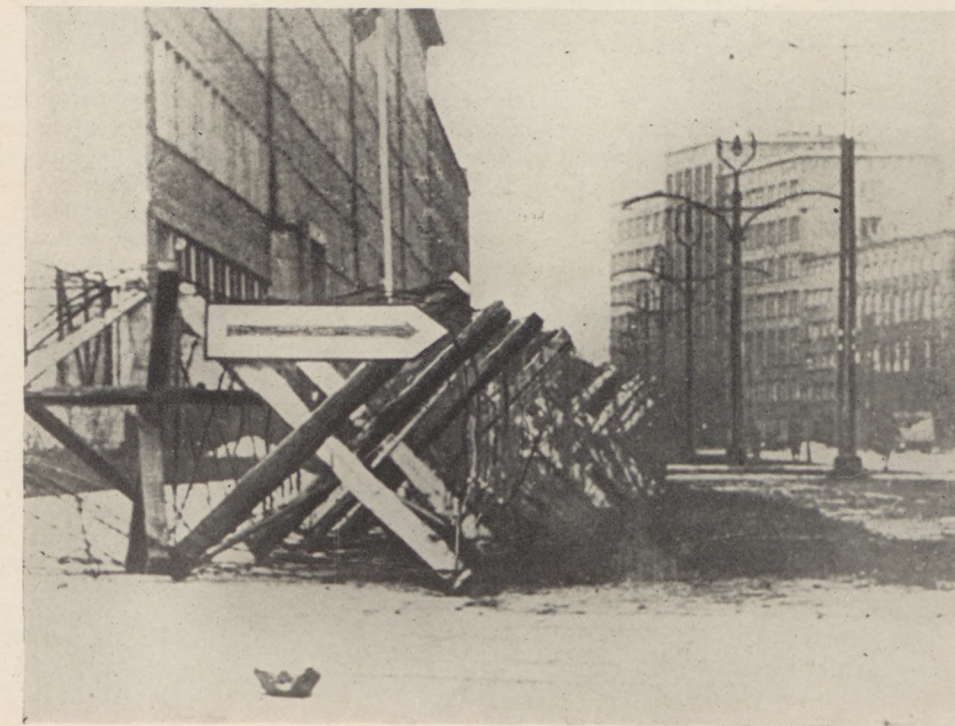
German treatment of Polish women and children has become so brutal that Warsaw radio stations have broadcast appeals for intervention to the International Red Cross. People of all districts still under the Germans have been driven to the Pruszkow concentration camp outside of Warsaw where more than 100,000 are held. This camp has neither shelter nor sanitary arrangements. Hostages are herded into a huge open area surrounded by barbed-wire fences. No food is given them nor any water for drinking or washing. Mass executions take care of those who do not starve to death quickly enough to suit the Germans.

General Bor has recently been promoted to the rank of Major General and has received the Golden Cross of Virtuti Militari, Poland's highest decoration for military valor, that he was awarded last March. Five other senior officers of the Home Army as well as an RAF pilot who lost his life over Warsaw received the same award for their part in the present battle.

The South African press has given much attention to the daring flight undertaken by their pilots serving in the RAF stationed in Italy, who on August 14 delivered arms and ammunition to General Bor. These papers emphasize that the South Africans' mission was but a continuation of brotherhood-in-arms that began on the battlefields of Libya.

The Johannesburg *Star* writes that "When our bombers flew over Warsaw, German anti-aircraft guns sent up heavy flak. The entire city was a sea of flames. The red glare over the burning city was visible from a distance of 50 miles. Once over the city, visibility was extremely poor, limited by the heavy palls of smoke.

"Over the city, our pilots ran into ack-ack fire heavier than any they had ever previously experienced," continues the *Star*. "Anti-aircraft batteries all over the city fired round after round incessantly. Hundreds of great reflectors lighted up the sky and deepened the red of the flames from the great fires. Red, white and orange trails made by enemy shells in the darkened sky completed the picture. Germans in revenge



German office building in Warsaw guarded by barbed wire to prevent an attack by the Polish Home Army.



German defense bastion in front of Warsaw's Central Railroad Station.

opened fire on our planes even with hand weapons and rocket guns."

### Radio Message from British Airman Fighting with Poles in Warsaw:

"Today is the thirty-fifth day of the battle for the capital of Poland, a city with a population of 1,300,000. During these thirty-five days there has been no communication with the provinces. Therefore, no food has reached Warsaw. Rations are already very short and many people are starving. The greatest tragedy is that of the small children, who receive no milk or special nourishment, which they need.

"The people in Warsaw hear with hungry envy of the liberation of Paris after four days of fighting. They heard that the British Army rushed thousands of tons of food and medical supplies to the French population. During the first few days of the uprising, Warsaw received some much-needed help, in the form of ammunition dropped by the RAF, but for the past two or three weeks no relief whatever has been received.

"Poland is our oldest ally in this war. Despite all she suffered at the hands of the German invaders, she remained an always-active power against the enemy.

"The Underground Army in Poland itself has now risen and is also fighting openly, as it has fought under cover during the whole war. Poland is a country which I, as an Englishman, am proud to call an ally. She produced no government cooperating with Germany. The only government she acknowledges is the one in exile in London.

"To end, I would like to make an appeal to the British nation. It is short: 'Help Warsaw.'"

## British Ministry of Information Describes Polish Victory in Normandy



Polish troops in France, September 1944.

IT fell to the Polish Armored Division to lead the final assault, which carried the thrust by the 21st Army Group southward to link with General Patton's advanced forces and thus complete the encirclement of the German Seventh Army. For many hours the Poles, temporarily out of touch with their Allies on both flanks, held this vital encirclement unsupported.

Strung out though they were and much as they endured—not only in this final victorious assault, but in earlier battles southeast of Caen—the Poles held firm. The enemy massed his remaining tanks for a sustained assault to breach the thinly-held line to the east. The Poles were attacked again and again from the west and by German forces outside the pocket attempting to cut a passage through to their encircled comrades.

The Poles held their ground. They repulsed desperate attacks in front and rear. Towards the end of a day of fierce fighting they were forced to signal for urgently-needed ammunition and troops to cover various lanes, through which the Germans were attempting to infiltrate the sparse Polish ranks.

Americans flew in fresh supplies of ammunition and rations from the south. From the north the Canadians brought enough artillery to stop the majority of the German forces seeking to penetrate toward the Vimoutiers road. Those few Germans who did manage to make their way through fell

into another trap beyond. A screen of Canadian armored cars shot up most German vehicles that succeeded in bursting through the inner encirclement.

This superb achievement—the sealing of the gap and its resolute defense against the enemy forces battering vainly eastward—crowned the brief but already glorious campaign of the Polish Armored Division. It had first been tested supporting an assault on the German defense lines, massed in depth down the Caen-Falaise road. A thousand Halifaxes had paved the way with a bombardment in which 4,000 tons had been dropped on the flanks of the sector against which the attack was to go in.

Then the Division swept into action—fifteen men on each self-propelled 105-mm. gun. During the night the Division had advanced six miles in their great thrust south of Bourguebus. The next day the Poles' turn came. German resistance had stiffened; morale had recovered; the effects of air bombardment had worn off. With two infantry divisions and elements of at least one armored division astride the Caen-Falaise line, the enemy clung tenaciously to his positions.

After four days of desperate fighting, in which the Polish Division sustained losses in men and equipment, the task entrusted to them was fulfilled. Their armored cars advanced

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## "Poland's Underground State" Exhibition

IF ever a nation has won its right to freedom, then surely Poland's record in this total world war has won her that right," declared Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador to the United States when he inaugurated the exhibition of "Poland's Underground State" on September 1, at the New York Museum of Science and Industry in the RCA Building at Rockefeller Center, New York City. "Her people have uninterruptedly fought and suffered for freedom inside Poland without any regard for preserving their lives or their personal safety," he continued. "They have been ruthlessly decimated through methodical extermination and yet they have never faltered."

Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York City and Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, also spoke at the opening ceremonies. Mayor LaGuardia urged a closer adherence to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and a new approach to post-war problems based on those principles and "not a game of diplomatic chess with Poland and other small nations as pawns."

Ambassador Ciechanowski explained the organization and the extent of the Underground State in Poland that now has jurisdiction over every part of Poland.

The entrance to the exhibition is flanked by the flags of the United States and Poland. A large white eagle of cut paper provides the Polish theme. As one enters, one is reminded that "Fighting Poland has not faltered for five years. Your battle is Poland's battle. Remember, Poland's battle is your battle too."



Designed by Hanka Gorecka-Egan

Section of "Poland's Underground State" Exhibition at the Museum of Science and Industry in New York.

The exhibition has been divided into 10 main parts: Free Thought, the Underground Army, Warsaw Fights On, Sabotage, No Surrender, Poland's Secret Weapon—Sabotage, Justice—Merciless But Lawful, Crime and Punishment, Communications, and Jews in Poland with the heading "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

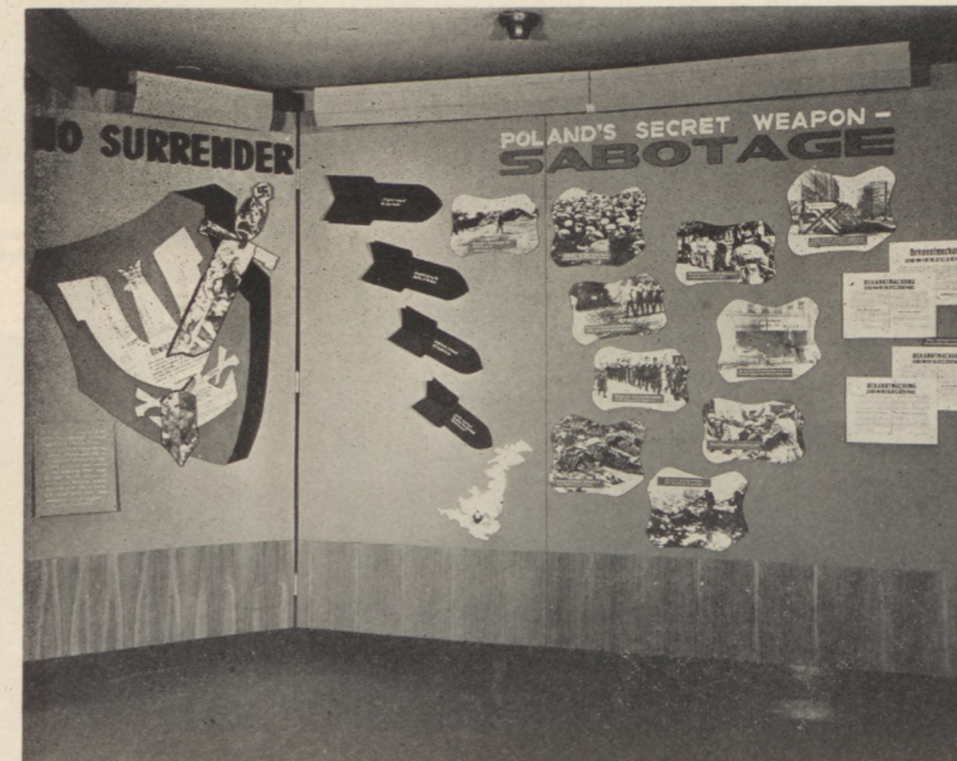
Four dioramas illustrate life in Poland under the German New Order. The first is a model of a secret printing shop where one of the 150 regular publications of the Underground Press is printed. The shop is located in a busy section of the city that is noisy enough so that sounds of the presses are unnoticed. It is in a cellar under a seemingly innocent-looking cabinet maker's and blacksmith's shop. There in a back part of the cellar, behind a wall hidden by barrels of supplies, is the secret press-room.

A German supply train on its way to the Eastern Front is shown wrecked on a bridge dynamited by the Polish Underground. "When the whole world was doubtful of the outcome of the Battle of Stalingrad, the Polish Underground was busy destroying railway tracks and trains," reads the caption.

Another diorama shows how Underground justice is carried out. A Pole places a charge of explosives in a Warsaw street car full of German soldiers. He shoots his way to freedom.

The fourth diorama depicts a patrol of the Home Army fighting Germans deep in a Polish forest. These dioramas were

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Designed by Hanka Gorecka-Egan

Section of "Poland's Underground State" Exhibition at the Museum of Science and Industry in New York.

# WARSAW WAS BEAUTIFUL

by STANISLAW L. CENTKIEWICZ

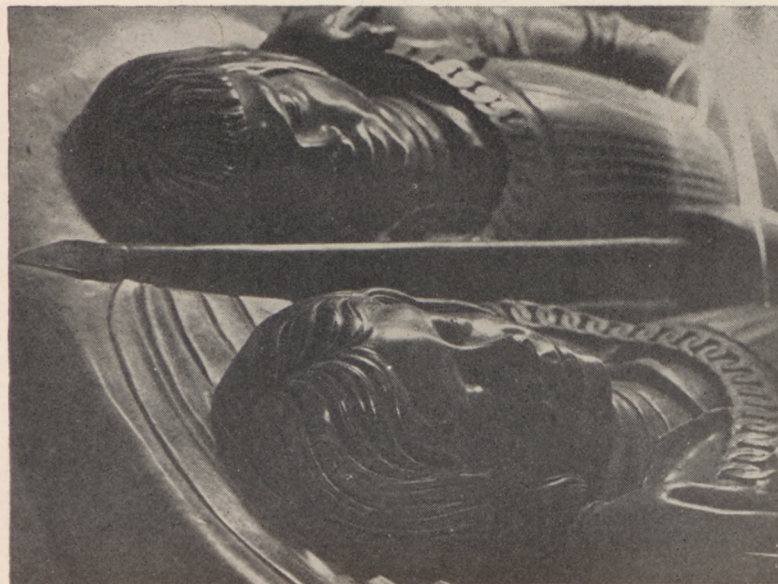


Statue of King Zygmunt III and Royal Castle in Warsaw, now in ruins.

TODAY Warsaw lies in smoking ruins. Devastated by three weeks of siege and bombardment in September, 1939, martyred by five years of German occupation, and now being destroyed in its epic battle with the Germans, the once beautiful and light-hearted City of the Mermaid has become a symbol of Polish patriotism and sublime courage. Indeed, few European cities had suffered as much from fires, wars, invasion and foreign barbarism. Everything had conspired to vilify it, to make it ugly, but after every defeat it emerged more beautiful, more pure, more perfect.

In the "English Atlas" by Moses Pitt, Oxford, 1680, we read: "Warsaw was much beautified by successours of King Sigismund the Third." It was in this very period that Warsaw was recuperating from the catastrophic fires of the Swedish invasion in the middle of the 17th century. In the 18th century, under Stanislaw August, last King of Poland, Warsaw was famous as one of the loveliest cities of Europe. This was doubtless partially due to the splendor of the court of Stanislaw August, who soon made the Polish capital the equal of any capital in Western Europe. This great liberal and enlightened patron of the arts personally supervised the landscaping, built public parks and erected fine palaces. Stanislaw August's summer palace, the so-called "Lazienki" or Bath-Palace in the Ujazdowski Park in Warsaw is still considered a very pearl of 18th century taste. This short-lived and glorious period was brutally interrupted by the partition of Poland, by wars, and by fire. After crushing the Kosciuszko uprising, Russian troops under General Suvorov horribly massacred the inhabitants of Praga, a suburb of Warsaw on the opposite bank of the Vistula (1794).

But the people of Warsaw could not be kept down. Their capacity to recuperate is shown by the fact that only a few years of freedom under the Duchy of Warsaw (1806-1813) sufficed,



Tombstone of Jan and Stanislaw, Dukes of Mazovia, in St. John's Cathedral in Warsaw (16th century). This Cathedral was blown up by the Germans.

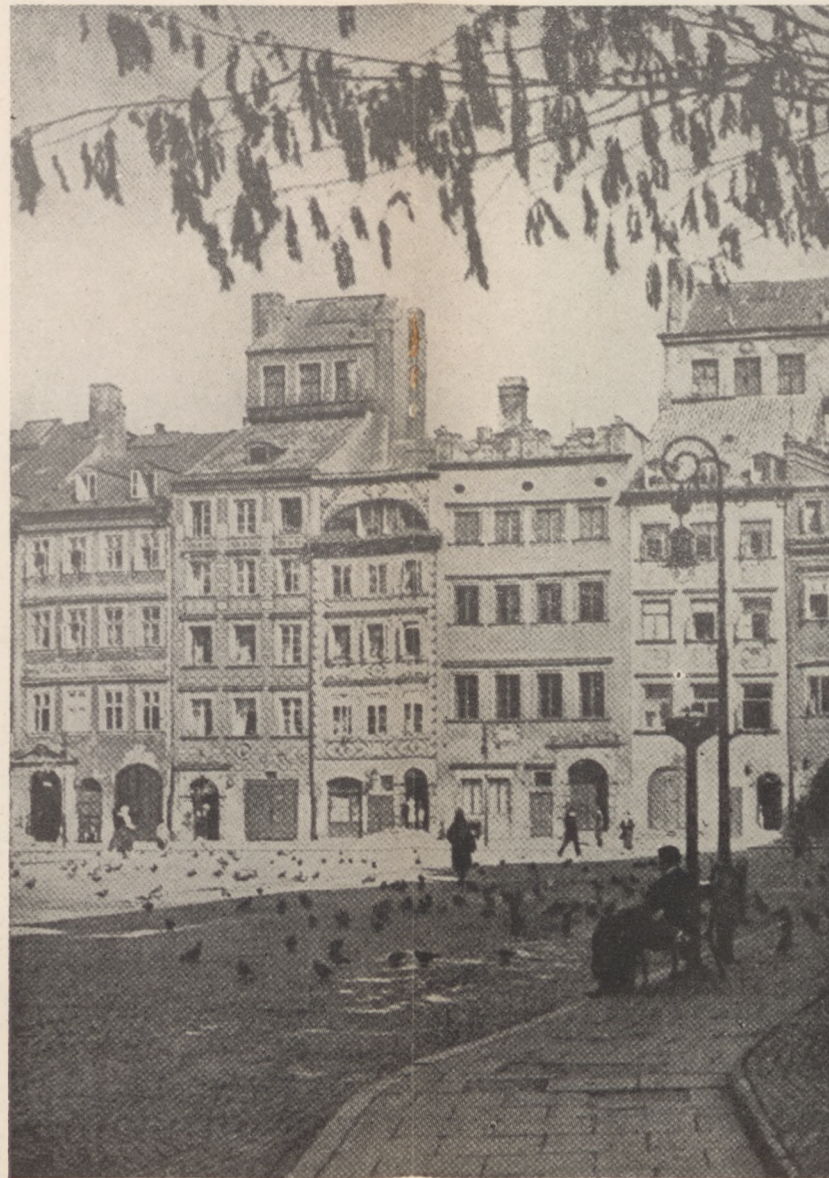
and Napoleon I was able to say after his visit to Warsaw: "A Varsovie le monde s'amuse toujours, sans cesse. Varsovie est un petit Paris."

Partially destroyed by the Russians during the siege growing out of the Polish insurrection of 1831, Warsaw became the prey of the most savage, barbarous Russian oppression. Tsar Nicholas I thought to turn it into a Russian provincial town by means of a single "ukase." He ordered beautiful period houses to be plastered over and painted in his favorite color, green. He tried to eradicate every trace of beauty, everything that savored of the West; but in vain!

When Warsaw was still under the Russian yoke, an American, Louis E. Van Norman, visited Poland and described his impressions in a book "Poland, the Knight Among Nations," New York, 1907. He wrote:

"To thoroughly enjoy Warsaw, understand it, and appreciate it, one must enjoy good music, understand good painting and good acting, and be able to appreciate fine public gardens, splendid horsemanship, good eating, and—beautiful women. The subtle, cultured taste of the Poles is especially conspicuous in Warsaw in all of these: in the music they hear, the painting and drama they see, the parks and horses they enjoy, and the fascinating women who make their streets and drawing rooms so alluring . . ."

But this seemingly carefree Warsaw could also be serious on



This Old City market in Warsaw is now a shambles as a result of fierce fighting between the Polish Home Army and the Germans.



"Here Maria Skłodowska-Curie first saw the light of day on November 7, 1867. In 1898 she discovered the radioactive elements POLONIUM and RADIUM." Memorial tablet at 16 Freta Street, Warsaw.

occasion. Viscount D'Abernon wrote in "The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World" that when in 1920 he arrived in Warsaw, then close to the front, his "first impression was that of surprise at the normal aspect of the population."

Just as soon as Warsaw regained its freedom, it set to work with fervor. A Frenchman who paid it a visit in the early post-war years compared it to an ant-hill busily repairing its galleries following the intrusion of an enemy. Warsaw changed with incredible speed. As if by the touch of a magic wand the traces of a century of Russian occupation were wafted away: from beneath the plaster and the stucco reappeared the classic facades of Polish schools, libraries, palaces. The city that had been cramped with a ring of Russian fortifications, began to grow like a mushroom after rain. New sections sprang into being, surrounded by attractive gardens and shaded boulevards. "Warsaw in flowers" was the slogan of the last Mayor of Warsaw, the heroic Stefan Starzynski, who wished to bring Warsaw back to its 18th century grandeur, when its thousands of trees were the envy of many a European capital. In an effort to remove at one stroke the ugly



Fukier's early XVIIth century wine cellar is no more.



Polychromy by Zofia Stryjenska in the Old City in Warsaw. This building is no longer standing.

traces of partition days, new avenues were cut through some parts of the city. One of its main arteries ran from the Old City, through historic Krakowskie Przedmiescie, gay Nowy Swiat and ended in the modern newly-constructed Warsaw district.

"Warsaw is a bewitching city, the great capital of Eastern Europe, the Paris of that region, the intellectual and artistic center, radiating a Polish Slavism sharpened and heightened by occidental and Latin culture"—wrote M. and L. Barot-Forliere in "Notre Soeur—La Pologne," published in Paris in 1928.

Foreigners who came to Warsaw were, in the main, businessmen or diplomatic and consular officials. Most of them had travelled extensively. They knew the world and all it had to offer. One might have thought that poor Warsaw, so often destroyed and burned through the centuries of its history, would not attract, enthrall or seduce those who had seen the glory and the glamor of other lands. And yet Warsaw

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## WARSAW WAS BEAUTIFUL



"Pope Pius XI lived here when he was the first apostolic nuncio in reborn Poland 1918-1921." Memorial tablet at 21 Książca Street, Warsaw.

(Continued from p. 9) cast a spell over more than one foreigner.

They loved to stroll in the narrow streets of the Old City where the atmosphere of the Middle Ages had been preserved. They were enchanted by such churches as the lovely old Church of the Holy Virgin in the New City and the Cathedral of St. John where Poland's elected Kings had taken the oath of office. They lingered in the 17th century baroque and rococo churches and palaces in which Warsaw abounded and many collected curiosities which they treasured all their life. But these foreigners also felt at

home in the metropolitan pulsating rhythm of Warsaw; they drank in its humor, carefree spirit, buoyancy and hospitality; they appreciated its excellent cooking, the charm of its café life, the allure of its beautiful, well-dressed women, who carried themselves as only women of Warsaw know how. Reflected in all this was the great energy of a city where some-



Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, designed and executed by the Polish sculptor, Stanislaw Ostrowski.



Gate of the ruined Potocki Palace in Warsaw.

thing was always happening, a city throbbing with the brisk life of a young state.

In the ancient, 300-year-old Fukier wine-cellar in Warsaw was a guest book, in which outstanding visitors wrote their names. The autographs of many statesmen, army men, and scholars were interspersed with drawings and caricatures penned by noted artists. The confessions of love for Warsaw recorded in this volume acquired an oddly ecstatic tinge . . .

Perhaps because the wine at Fukier's was old and good.

Warsaw did not disappoint its foreign friends. In September, 1939, Warsaw supposedly light-hearted and light-hearted, took up the hopeless fight against the greatest armed might in history. For three weeks it gloriously resist-

(Cont. on p. 14)



"Here lived and composed Fryderyk Chopin before leaving Warsaw forever in 1830." Memorial tablet at 5 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Warsaw.

## WHERE POLAND'S SOLDIERS GET THEIR REVENGE

by ALEXANDER JANTA\*

THE Poles are winning battles in Italy. They have taken Monastery Hill, Piedimonte, and, last, but not least, Ancona. A correspondent in mentioning recently the fact that Poles have again a sector of their own on the Italian front remarked matter-of-factly: "They have, as usual, one of the toughest assignments."

The Second Polish Army Corps fighting under General Anders in Italy is a very strange gathering of men. Their commander, Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, who now commands also the Italian Corps of Liberation, is one of the most colorful military figures of this war. He began his career in the Imperial Russian Army as a platoon commander in a Commando-type detachment comprising picked officers and men and designed to carry out particularly bold raids. He was among the men, who in 1915, attempted to raid the German GHQ in East Prussia in order to capture Hindenburg. The raid failed, but Lieutenant Anders won fame and the Russian VC, the George Cross, for conspicuous bravery. On the eve of the Russian revolution he was already in possession of all the highest Russian decorations an officer of his rank could win.

In 1939, three times wounded while commanding a cavalry division, he was captured by the Russians and, while convalescing, was offered by Stalin the command of a cavalry corps. He preferred, however, to share the fate of his men and, only after the Sikorski-Stalin agreement, was given the command of the Polish army being organized in Russia.

The pact gathered them all up, from Archangel to Alma-Ata in central Asia, from eastern Siberia and the Urals, from the Volga Valley and the white plains of the polar regions. They arrived in the camps of the newly formed Polish army ragged and barefooted. The bitter winter of 1941 was just beginning. In the frosts and snow the motley army lived under canvas. For training purposes it resorted to wooden models of the various types of equipment. In time, Stalin agreed to move them to the milder climate of central Asia. Still later, when Polish-Soviet relations had begun to deteriorate, he consented to the transfer of the Polish forces to Iran. In February and July, successive groups of the Polish army in Russia crossed the Soviet-Iranian frontier. In Iran, British and American missions organized large-scale medical help, provided food, clothing and supplies for the Polish soldiers and those civilians who had been able to cross the border with them.

\*From "The Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine," August 6, 1944.



Soldiers of the Polish Second Corps in Italy advance under cover of a smokescreen.

They form the major part of the two divisions which crowned their months of fighting in Italy by the capture of Monastery Hill. These soldiers are fighting the Germans. They have accepted General Anders' slogan: "We reject all that divides us, we accept all that binds us together." There are no deserters among them. On the other hand, countless Poles forcibly conscripted into the German army are coming over to them from the German lines. An overwhelming number of General Anders' men have escaped from at least one concentration, internment or labor camp. Many traveled the five continents and the seven seas before joining their reconstituted units again.

These units are organized into two divisions, the Carpathian and the Borderland (Kresowa). The Carpathian Division was formed as a brigade in Syria as a part of General Weygand's army; it withdrew to Palestine after France signed the armistice. This brigade took part in the first successful Allied push carried out by General Wavell to defend Egypt, then threatened by Marshal Graziani's forces at the approaches of the Nile Valley.

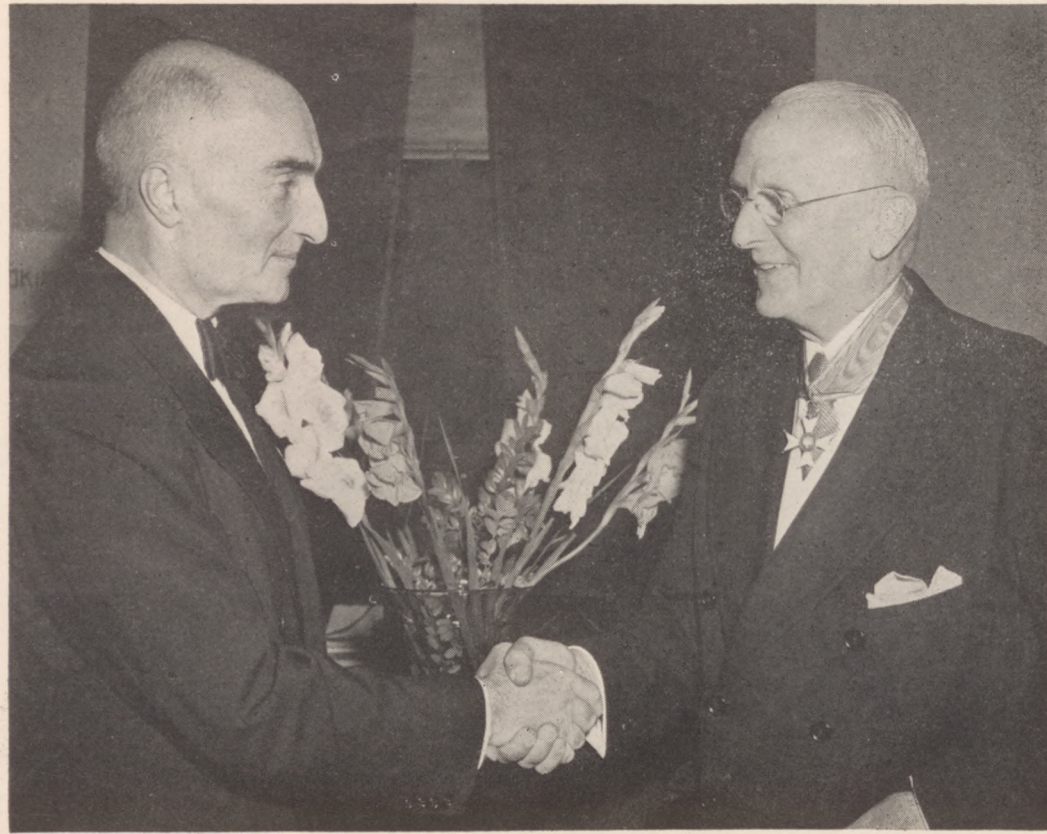
At that time, as a part of the Eighth Army, together with Australian and New Zealand troops, this brigade was successfully defending Tobruk against a ten-month siege. Reinforced with the veterans of the Sep-

(Please turn to page 14)



Polish mortar gun site. Polish Second Corps in Italy.

## Friend of Poland Wins Highest Polish Civilian Decoration



At a ceremony held in the Polish Consulate in New York on the fifth anniversary of the German attack on Poland, Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski confers the Order of *Polonia Restituta* upon William Seabury, prominent New York attorney, in recognition of his efforts in behalf of Polish educational institutions. Mr. Seabury was instrumental in bringing about the adoption of Lublin University of Poland by Fordham University.

## "POLAND'S UNDERGROUND STATE" EXHIBITION

(Continued from page 7)

designed after pictures smuggled out of Poland.

Photographs of pre-war Poland contrast vividly with those taken by the Underground after the German occupation and smuggled out of the country. The ruins of Poland's cities and the slaughter of her population show the price she has paid for refusing to collaborate with Germany. Hitler tried five times from 1934 to 1939 to get Poland's support for an attack on Russia. Poland refused each time, and for those refusals she has been subjected to a five-year reign of terror during which seven million of her people—one-fifth of her entire population—have been murdered.

"For Your Freedom and For Ours," ancient battle cry of Polish soldiers, has been adopted by the Army in this war. Poland's army now ranks sixth among the United Nations, while her air force stands in fourth place. There are 500,000 Home Army soldiers, 30,000 in Scotland, 75,000 in Italy and the Middle East, and 80,000 in Russia.

Sabotage by Polish Underground fighters and workers was responsible for many of the dud bombs that fell on London during the Battle of Britain. Instead of explosives, these bombs carried greetings from the Polish Underground. An average month in Poland costs the Germans: 340 trucks destroyed; 18 military transports attacked; more than 500 Germans killed; 17 transports derailed; and 100 locomotives damaged. By sentence of Underground Tribunals of the Republic of Poland, 1,163 Gestapo agents and 118 high German officials were put to death during 1942 alone.

The Jewish version of "Thou Shalt Not Kill" is the heading for the Jewish panel of the exhibition. There is a map of the Warsaw Ghetto and a picture of corpses of the victims killed during the great battle last year superimposed upon a list of all known names of those who fell during that epic struggle. Photographs of Michal Klepfisz, leader of the battle, of Jews being tortured, and of the Ghetto after it was bombed and burned out by the Germans complete the panel.

Aside from directing the unwieldy resistance to German oppression, the Polish Underground State has reconstructed the Republic of Poland in secret. A large wall graph illustrates this underground state and its structure which reaches down into every part of the country's life. Through this reconstructed home state, the government in London is kept closely in touch with the life of the nation. Regular courts of law that meet in secret pass sentence upon German war criminals. Photostatic copies of their verdicts have been made for the exhibit.

The Underground Press is one of the strongest weapons of this secret Polish State. Actual copies of some of the 150 regular underground publications are shown. The press, along with the Underground radio, functions so well that two days after President Roosevelt speaks over the American radio, these papers carry texts of his address. The Underground Press takes its cue from Nietzsche who once said: "One kills not by anger but by ridicule." Many of these publications are humoristic newspapers and periodicals that poke fun at the "super men." There are 12 daily broadcasts to Poland from London, and seven from New York. Even the worst torture cannot keep Poles from listening.

Photographs taken during April and May of 1944 of the Home Army in training and in actual combat with the Germans are convincing proof that Poland may be defeated but shall never be conquered. A delegate of the Home Army, Lieut. Jan Karski, explained and amplified various parts of the exhibition at the opening ceremonies.

The exhibition is presented by the New York Museum of Science and Industry and is sponsored by the Polish Government Information Center. Hanka Gorecka-Egan designed the exhibition and planned the decorations and color scheme. The large white eagle made of cut paper at the entrance to the exhibit is also the work of this artist. The organization of the exhibition was under the general supervision of Mr. Jan Walczak of the Polish Government Information Center.

—A.H.A.

## NEW YORK'S FIFTH AVENUE DECORATED IN TRIBUTE TO POLAND DAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1944.

by HESTER E. HENSELL

THE red and white banner of Poland flew proudly up and down the most famous avenue in the world on September first, 1944, which had been designated as "Tribute to Poland Day" by the Fifth Avenue Association of New York City.

Flags, posters marked "Poland—First to Fight" and complete window displays marked the fifth anniversary of Polish resistance to the aggressor as more than sixty stores and buildings cooperated with the Polish Embassy and the Polish Government Information Center in saluting the gallant nation which was the first to fight in the present war of Liberation.

The windows of Bonwit-Teller, and Lord and Taylor, as shown on this page, were much admired by the thousands of Americans passing by, while the window of Georg Jensen, displaying the Polish flag, several posters and a beautiful ebony statuette of a woman weeping, caused many a person to stop and think of the heroism and the tragedy of that country so far away but so near in its fight for freedom and democracy.

"It has given me a great deal of pleasure to see the red and white flag of Poland mingled with the American flag



Worsinger Photo  
Window display at Lord and Taylor's, Fifth Avenue, New York.



Worsinger Photo  
Window display at Bonwit-Teller's, Fifth Avenue, New York.

on this symbolic of days, a sort of milestone in our fight for freedom," declared Captain William J. Pedrick, executive vice president of the Fifth Avenue Association. Also, according to Mr. Frederick N. Sard, director of Public Relations of the association, the members in their quick response to honor Poland conveyed a message of courage and comradeship to the First Fighting Ally of the war.

Among the stores which displayed flags and posters were Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, Bonwit Teller, Stouffer's, James McCutcheon and Co., Peck and Peck stores, Stern Brothers, Lane Bryant, B. Altman and Co., McCreery's, Shields, Milgrim's, Tiffany, Rogers Peet, Bergdorf Goodman, Emily Shops, Day Brothers, Hearn's, R. H. Macy and Co., U. S. Life Insurance Co., Steuben Glass, Arnold Constable and Co., W. and J. Sloane, Gotham Hotel, Georg Jensen & Co., Abercrombie and Fitch, Saks-Fifth Avenue, De Pinna, Coty, Duveen Brothers, Lord and Taylor, International Business Machines, Benson and Hedges, Cartier, Wallach's, Mark Cross, F. R. Tripler, Hotel Plaza, The Tailored Woman, Best and Co., Elizabeth Arden, Helena Rubinstein, Woolworth, and various buildings along the avenue.

## WHERE POLAND'S SOLDIERS GET THEIR REVENGE

(Continued from page 11)

tember campaign who came from Russia, this brigade became a division and soon after the beginning of the Italian campaign was involved in the battle there.

The Borderland Division, contrary to the Carpathian, is composed entirely of men who were released from Russian internment camps in 1941. Of the Polish divisions which were evacuated from the U. S. S. R. in the summer of 1942 the Kresowa Division was completely retrained in the Middle East. The soldiers of this division had last fought the Germans in September, 1939; they had had their preliminary training on the slopes of the Pamirs in Soviet Asia, and had finished their training as mountain troops in 1943 in the Middle East. Today they are applying the results of that training in the Apennines. Like all the Polish Second Army Corps, the Kresowa Division has British equipment and weapons.

They are in great majority an army of intellectuals. They have their own theater, their own papers, their own poets. There have been days when reading of the poets has attracted a crowd of 1,500 men. They are fond of music and their choirs have won fame in Italy. Italians have started going to church in those areas held by the Poles to hear them sing.

Lieut. Gen. Sir Oliver Leese has offered soldiers of the

Polish Corps in Italy the right to wear the Crusaders' badge of the Eighth Army on their sleeves as a special mark of their achievement in the present Italian campaign. It is an honor won at a high price. Among roughly 4,000 casualties, 2 brigadiers, 6 colonels and 200 other officers are listed as dead.

The first Polish detachment entered the ruined abbey in the victory of Monastery Hill at 5 o'clock on the morning of May 18, while units of the Eighth Army cut off the road to Rome, west of Cassino, pressing on to clean up the Germans still remaining in what was left of Cassino itself. The final battle for Monastery Hill was the most savage and raged more fiercely as it neared the climax, hand-to-hand fighting occurring frequently. The Germans used long knives.

At some places ladders had to be used in the assault. War correspondents who visited the ruined abbey described their climb to Monastery Hill as their grimmest and most exhausting experience of the war. The German paratroop division which fought against the Poles consisted of young fanatics of the Nazi regime.

The Poles fight, "not asking for conditions, not bargaining for a price," as Sir Archibald Sinclair put it when speaking of the part played by the Polish Air Force in the Battle of Britain, loyal and faithful to their slogan: "For your freedom and ours."

## WARSAW WAS BEAUTIFUL

(Continued from page 10)

ed the furious onslaught of the enemy. There was something noble and splendid in this defiance of Warsaw, something that went back to knightly traditions of old, something of the legend of the half-god of early 19th century Warsaw, Prince Jozef Poniatowski, who perished in the waters of the Elster at Leipzig in 1813 to "give up to God the honor of the Poles."

The first period of the defense of Warsaw brings to mind the American photographer and reporter, Mr. Julien Bryan, who came to Warsaw to do a Polish documentary film and a few days later became the capital's true defender. I remember how stirred I was by Bryan's radio appeal to the American nation for help. I listened to his broadcast in a shelter, while the house above us shook from the German artillery that was rocking the city. And I remember thinking: here's another friend of Warsaw.

September 21, 1939, is very vivid in my mind. On that date following an agreement between the defense command

of Warsaw and the German army, the foreigners were permitted to leave the besieged city that was being systematically and treacherously destroyed. They were to meet before the Bristol Hotel. One would think all these foreigners would be overjoyed at this heaven-sent opportunity to escape from the hell of burning, crumbling Warsaw. But the majority were in tears and many waited until the very last minute, before they entered the automobiles sent to take them away, as if they wished to enjoy as long as possible the view of Krakowskie Przedmiescie with the King Zygmunt Column glistening in the distance. A curt command forced them to hasten their leave-taking but I know of instances where people left their cars en route and came back to share our bitter lot and death.

War has brutally interrupted the development of what could have become one of the loveliest capitals of Europe. The beauty of the past is gone but the spirit will live on and will rebuild another Warsaw, different from that which went up in smoke, but no less beautiful and charming.

## BRITISH MINISTRY OF INFORMATION DESCRIBES POLISH VICTORY IN NORMANDY

(Continued from page 6)

more than six miles and destroyed fourteen enemy tanks. The supporting infantry made a considerable haul of German prisoners. Two German defense lines were breached and overrun.

For the most part, the Polish Armored Division is composed of men who saw service in Poland and France as well as on other battlefronts in the present war. Many escaped to

France at the end of the Polish Campaign in 1939, going on foot from Poland through the Carpathian mountains, dodging internment in Rumania and Hungary. Some came from Russia, after the Stalin-Sikorski pact of 1941. Others were recruited from Polish emigrants in France. Some were Americans and Canadians of Polish descent. The command of the Division was given to General Maczek who led Polish armored units in Poland and France in 1940.

## PREMIER MIKOLAJCZYK OUTLINES POLISH POLICY

(Continued from page 3)

Minister Churchill, has given us an opportunity to find out what was the attitude of the Soviet Government and what were the tendencies of the Committee of National Liberation. However, the U.S.S.R. signed an agreement with the Committee of National Liberation after the date of my departure from London and after powers which my colleagues had given me had been drafted and before my arrival in Moscow. Thus I had to return to London to work out a new program. This new program of such momentous importance for the future of Poland has been forwarded to our people at home and was approved by the Polish Underground Parliament. Now it has been forwarded to Moscow as the unanimous decision of both Government and our home country.

"In drafting this program we were actuated by the following motives: First, the anxiety to retain full independence and sovereignty of Poland. Secondly, the sincere desire to establish lasting and friendly Polish-Soviet relationship including a Polish-Soviet alliance, both during the war and after the war. Thirdly, to provide a basis for international collaboration by posting solution of the Polish test case, in addition to friendship with the Soviet Union and a permanent alliance between Poland and Britain, Poland and France, and Poland and Czechoslovakia, and on the most intimate relations between Poland and the United States, and thus secure the world against further aggression.

"I wish to stress the heroic attitude of our home country. The Poles at home endorsed our program at the moment when they were engaged in the bitterest struggle against the Germans, which has been ceaselessly going on in Warsaw ever since August 1st, and when they are feeling forlorn and forgotten. While they heard on the radio news of immediate assistance to Bucharest, of the bombing of Koenigsberg and of the oil refineries of Czechowice in Poland near the ill-famed concentration camp of Oswiecim, of the shuttle service of American planes which landed on Russian bases after bombing of Gdynia, they received only very inadequate help or no help at all. They endorsed our decision while they heard that their comrades of the Home Army of underground administration, who had shared for five years their dangers in their struggle against the Germans, are now being arrested. In spite of that they unanimously endorse the program of my Government. This is best proof of their desire to find a solution to Polish-Soviet problems, and of their political maturity which is capable of overcoming their bitterness.

"You will probably ask me why we do not propose to return to the Constitution of 1921. The answer is this: First, facts cannot be eradicated wilfully and the status quo automatically restored; on the other hand, it is necessary to have a minimum of good will and confidence that decisions which have been taken and pledges which were given will be carried out. The main point is, however, that if we were to refuse to admit the validity of the Constitution of 1935 we would thus declare null and void all treaties and laws concluded or promulgated by the Polish Government after that date. Thus not only the signature of Poland under the Atlantic Charter and U.N.R.R.A. would be invalid but so would be the military agreement which provides the basis for the existence of the Polish armed forces.

"The very basis of the existence of the Polish Government acting on behalf of Poland and its recognition by the whole free world would be shattered, and even the Polish-Russian agreement of non-aggression and the Polish-Soviet treaties of July and December, 1941, would be left in the air. But even if one were to assume that the Constitution of 1935 is no longer valid a new government would have to be appointed by the President of the Republic. The theory that the Home National Council should act as source of sovereign power and appoint a new government cannot stand any critical exami-

nation: indeed in such case the political parties of the Polish Underground Parliament which have supported the Polish Government and have acted uninterruptedly underground ever since 1939, have a far better right to be considered as such a source of sovereign power than the Home National Council which was set up only in January, 1944.

"Another important factor which ought to be considered is that though the Constitution of 1935 is still formally in force it has been applied in a democratic spirit ever since 1939. Indeed, when it became obvious that a number of states which were neutral in 1939, and one of them was the United States, were willing to recognize as a lawful Polish Government the only government which would be based on the Constitution of 1935, we decided to consider everything in it which was not democratic as a dead letter and to apply it in a strictly democratic spirit.

"Here are some facts to support what I have said: First, the Polish Parliament as it existed before the outbreak of the war was immediately dissolved. Secondly, the National Council composed of representatives of all democratic parties which were in constant opposition to the pre-war Polish regime was set up. Thirdly, a democratic program was promulgated by the Government. Fourth, new democratic elections were promised immediately after the liberation of the country. Fifth, a new democratic electoral law in the form of a decree was prepared for this election. Six, the President of the Republic gave a pledge to our people at home that he would not exercise his rights on the basis of article 13 of the Constitution without conference with the Government. Seven, in 1943, the organization of the supreme military authorities was altered and powers of Commander-in-Chief curtailed. Eight, the representative of the Labor Movement, just back from Poland, was appointed President-Designate. Nine, after General Sikorski's death the present Polish Government was constituted on July 11, 1943, according to directions of the home political representation agreed upon in Poland on July 9, 1943.

"Furthermore, the Polish Government has prepared decrees concerning organization of Polish law courts, a new press law, agrarian reform, etc. Now, a new constitutional declaration will be promulgated which will contain the outline of the future political structure of the Polish Republic. The proposal which we are now considering, of creating a war cabinet on the English pattern, on which the Chief of Staff would act as an adviser, shows clearly that my Government has no tendency whatever to set up a military regime in Poland.

"The declaration of this Government of 1939 and 1942 and the declaration of the political parties in Poland in 1943 show clearly that Poland is now treading along the path of true democracy based on freedom and social justice. In a nutshell, the constitutional dispute is but a pretext for the Home National Council, which represents only a small part of our people, to obtain the right to appoint a government of the Polish Republic. Such claims lack every formal or factual foundation. The program which the Polish Government adopted in accordance with our people at home provides the basis for a satisfactory solution of Polish-Soviet relations and for co-operation of the whole Polish nation with the Soviet nation, based on mutual recognition of their sovereignty and independence. It provides the basis for securing both countries against new German aggression and strengthens the peaceful co-operation of all peace-loving nations.

"I think that if this program is backed by the Soviet Government and the Governments of the United States and Britain, and if we obtain guarantees that this program will be capable of practical and free application in Poland, a sound and felicitous solution will be found which will allow us to forget the past in the interest of the future."



## Broadcast of Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia Appealing for Help to Warsaw

I have received a most unusual message from my colleague, the Mayor of Warsaw, Poland. It was transmitted to me by the Premier of the Polish Government in London, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. I will read the message to you:

"G427 POLISH GOVT LONDON PARFIL 203 1/51 10 110A

FIORIELLO LA GUARDIA, MAYOR OF NEW YORK, NY

I HASTEN TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL APPEAL ADDRESSED TO YOU AND THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON BY THE MAYOR OF WARSAW.

'WARSAW IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF UNDERGROUND WARFARE IS NOW OPENLY FIGHTING THE GERMANS FOR OVER FIVE WEEKS WITHOUT RECEIVING OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. THE DAY WE HAVE CHOSEN FOR THE BEGINNING OF OUR RISING WAS THE LAST THAT COULD HAVE SAVED US FROM THE GERMANS PUTTING INTO PRACTICE THEIR DESTRUCTIVE PLANS FOR THE EXTERMINATION AND DEPORTATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF OUR CITY. WE ARE FIGHTING NOT TO EARN ADMIRATION BUT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE LIBERATION FROM BONDAGE TOGETHER WITH OTHER NATIONS. AS MAYOR OF THE CAPITAL I THEREFORE FEEL ENTITLED TO PUT THE QUESTIONS STIRRING WARSAW'S POPULATION:

1. WHY ARE WE LEFT ALONE AND FOR SUCH A LONG TIME DO NOT RECEIVE WEAPONS, AMMUNITION AND FOOD?
2. WHY IS THERE NO AIR SUCCOR COMING, ESPECIALLY THE BOMBERS THAT COULD SAVE WARSAW FROM THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION BY THE GERMANS OF WHOLE DISTRICTS IN SUCCESSION?

WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE CIVILIZED NATIONS. ONLY THEIR IMMEDIATE HELP CAN BE EFFECTIVE. MAYOR OF WARSAW.'

STANISLAW MIKOLAJCZYK"

Obviously, the message was intended to be transmitted through me to the People of New York City and through them to the people of our country. If I thought, for a moment, that the appeal was contrary to the military policy of our Armed Forces, or if I believed that compliance would be inconsistent with the present strategy of our Armed Forces, irresistible as the appeal may be, I would not read it to you. If I believed that the appeal would be irritating to our Commanding Generals, to those responsible for the present offensive and the winning of the war, horrible as the consequence may be, would have to take it in silent sorrow, as part of the terrible cost of the war. I am informed that the ammunition is ready, that the weapons are ready, that the material and supplies are ready, that the planes are ready.

As I understand it, the adopted strategy of the offensive of the United Nations has been to give word to the oppressed people of occupied countries as our offensive approached from either side. I remember that while I was broadcasting to Italy every week, the patriots in the occupied portion of that country were warned, not to commence activities until they got word from proper military authority, and that was also true as we advanced in France. The word was given and then arms and ammunition provided, invariably by air. In this way the Italian patriots, the French Maquis and the FFI received the weapons and the means to carry on their brilliant and helpful fighting.

It must be remembered that Poland and the people of Warsaw are not engaged in a "private war." The people of Warsaw are fighting the Nazis, our enemy; the Nazis, the enemy of Great Britain; the Nazis, the enemy of Soviet Russia. The brave people of Warsaw are not afraid to die. All they are asking is the opportunity to die fighting. They have been carrying on for five long years. They have renewed intensive fighting the last five weeks. They had every reason to believe that arms and ammunition would be dropped from planes as was done in every other case as United Nations forces approached occupied countries.

As Mayor, of course, I am helpless. The seven and one-half

million people of New York City as such are helpless, but with their fellow countrymen, perhaps, we may bring to the attention of the proper authorities this pathetic appeal from men and women who are fighting our common enemy.

Warsaw is besieged. More than that, it is actually occupied, but there are still and always will be, as long as a single Pole lives, men ready to fight for their country and our cause. They are not asking for sympathy. They are not asking for the unreasonable. They are only asking that cooperation to which, as an ally, they are entitled, and which believe they have every right to expect.

I hope my colleague, the Lord Mayor of London, if he has not already done so, will in some way bring this appeal from our Colleague of Warsaw to the attention of the people of Great Britain. They are in a position, perhaps, to better understand the plight of those brave people who are fighting our cause along with their own. I am sure that the sense of fair play and good sportsmanship inherent and traditional in the people of Great Britain will prompt an immediate response. You are closer to the scene than we are. Your experience through the hard, long years brings a full realization of actual conditions in Warsaw.

What can we do? I must leave that to the judgment of every citizen of our country. Perhaps an appeal to our President or to our representative in Congress might focus attention on the situation. I am certain that immediate help is possible. I am confident that it is not inconsistent with military plans or contrary to the wishes of the gallant Commander in the European theatre for whom we have such admiration and in whom we have complete confidence. I do not believe that the delay is due to military reasons. That is why in all likelihood this agonizing situation has been brought to our attention in this unusual manner. It is a direct appeal from people to people.

In the name of Unity—in the name of American fair play—in the name of United Nations' sincerity—and in the name of our sacred duty, I transmit this message of the people of Warsaw to the people of our country.

—New York City, September 11, 1944