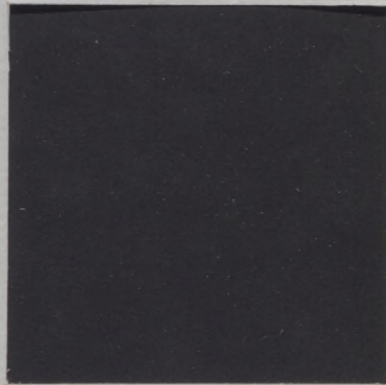




GENERAL SIKORSKI'S
SPEECHES DURING HIS VISIT TO
THE UNITED STATES
IN DECEMBER 1942

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Polish Information Center
NEW YORK
1942



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D. 141 / 2003

GENERAL WLADYSLAW SIKORSKI, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Poland's armed forces, is recognized by all Poles as the political and military leader of the only nation that has refused to appease Germany; as the creator of the Polish armed forces in France, Great Britain, Russia and the Middle East; as the moving spirit of confederation for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe; as the initiator of the Polish-Russian pact, which nullified the German-Russian agreement of 1939.

WLADYSLAW SIKORSKI was born on May 20th, 1881 in Southern Poland. In 1907 he graduated from the Lwow Institute of Technology. During the last war he fought in the Polish Legion, heading the War Department of the Polish National Council. In 1918 he organized the defence of Przemysl and Lwow. In 1920 as Commander of the Fifth Army, he took the offensive against three Soviet armies and an Artillery Corps, initiating the Victory of Warsaw. General Sikorski became Prime Minister in 1922 and obtained recognition of Poland's Eastern frontiers. In 1924-25, as Minister of War he created a modern army, navy and air force for Poland. From 1928 to 1939, General Sikorski was forced into retirement because his democratic principles made it impossible for him to subscribe to the policies of the Polish Government. He used this leisure to write works on military strategy and history, his "Modern Warfare" obtaining one of the highest awards of the French Academy.

GERMANY'S UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION on Poland drove General Sikorski to Paris, where on October 1, 1939, the President of the Polish Republic called upon him to head the Polish Government and appointed him Commander-in-Chief of Poland's Armed Forces, which he proceeded to rebuild in France. When France fell, General Sikorski flew to London and with Prime Minister Churchill organized the evacuation of the Polish army and air force to Great Britain. After Germany's attack on Russia, General Sikorski signed the pact with the Soviet Union that made possible the Anglo-Russian Treaty. Since 1939 General Sikorski has visited the United States on three occasions to confer with President Roosevelt.

AN HONORARY DEGREE of
Doctor of Laws was conferred
upon General Wladyslaw Sikorski,
Polish Prime Minister and Commander
in Chief of Poland's armed forces, by
the Catholic University in Washington
on December 8th. In reply to the Ora-
tion delivered by H. E. the Archbishop
of Baltimore, General Sikorski said:

ALLOW me to express my gratitude for and appreciation of the high honor bestowed upon me by the Catholic University. It was granted to me as the Representative of a country where the Roman Catholic faith is dominant, of a country whose fidelity to that faith is great. In the past as in the present, Poland has given countless proofs of her devotion to her faith and her readiness to bear the greatest sacrifices in its defense.

I have received the degree of Doctor of Laws at a time when in my country the invader proclaims that right and law are the exclusive privilege of rulers and of the mighty, and that the Poles as an inferior and weaker nation are placed outside the law. In view of this, the honor you have bestowed upon me comes as a tribute to the Polish Nation whose intrepid fight in defense of the reign of right and law has entered upon its fourth year.

This war is no ordinary war for material interests or territorial ambitions. It does not resemble those conflicts of the past, the outcome of which was decided in a single battle. On the course of this war depends whether the world will achieve the realization of the highest ideals, or be defeated by a primitive barbaric materialism that reduces men to beasts. We are fighting a mortal war which will decide the fate of nations, of continents and of the whole world. Such is the true nature of this war.

Poland was the first to take her stand on the side of Right, to which all the United Nations have now rallied. I am proud to be able to say that there is no one in my country who hesitated to enter this fight, or who opposed the unanimous will of the nation. The Polish Government and the Polish Army, although abroad, merely express the will of Poland and obey her commands. The Polish armed forces, whose number now exceeds 100,000, are fighting on sea and in the air, taking their part in all operations, including service on the African front.

Those of our land forces who fought so valiantly in Libya, are now being regrouped with Polish detachments that came out of Russia, and prepared in the Middle East and in Scotland for further action.

I have frequently heard expressions of surprise that Poland took up the challenge to fight the invader against such overwhelming odds, and that she has never ceased to fight. It appears likewise that it is not clear to everybody why the most ruthless and brutal persecution and the most inhuman methods of extermination are being applied to Poland. I should like to explain both these facts.

There was never any doubt among the Polish people that when Hitler challenged Poland, that challenge would be un-

hesitatingly taken up. The entire nation knew that this was going to be a decisive conflict between the Reich and the Polish nation. We knew that our Allies would stand by us, that the United States and the other American Republics would lend us their support. But above all other things, Poland acted as she did in accordance with her age-old traditions, with that philosophy, morality and culture she had represented for generations in the family of civilized nations. No matter what the odds the Polish nation, with all its dynamic qualities, never gave up, never contemplated surrender. Poland will never accept the yoke of slavery.

From the moment science opened up such vast potentialities, decreasing distance and mastering space, there arose a tendency to disregard faith and to believe that in science and progress alone, people would find the answers to the problems of human existence. Some went even as far as to say that faith was a narcotic that tended to lull human vitality and turn human thought away from realities.

We see the dire results brought about by this dangerous attitude of that modern philosophy which disregards the laws of God. Theories glorifying might and oppression have been revived. Justice, mercy, honor were declared by the creators of totalitarianism to be weapons for the weak and degenerate; and that strong people, called upon to rule, should acknowledge no ethical or lawful standards. Totalitarianism basically rejects all moral standards, including Christian morality, the greatest ethical achievement of mankind.

Totalitarian ideology draws its inspiration from the German philosophers of the past. German philosophy built up the belief in the superman long before Hitler's time, and the German nation secretly believed in the theory of German racial

superiority. That nation was systematically prepared by the Prussian school of thought for the theory of national socialism. Bismarck, in his perfidious speeches, stirred elements in the German nation which Hitler was later called upon brutally to unleash. For a long time the Germans concealed their aims, then they deceived the world masquerading as the apostles of peace and democracy, until at last they disclosed their cynicism. German professors no longer have to improvise theories to explain facts.

How totally different was the trend of Polish thought. When at the end of the XVIIIth century the Polish nation lost its independent political existence, Polish philosophers, Polish statesmen, Polish poets and Polish leaders who sought an answer to the tormenting question—"Why did this happen? How can we restore freedom to our country?"—always found the answer: "The rule of Justice gives birth to Freedom." That is why from the days of Kosciuszko, wherever the fight against oppression was being carried on, Poles fought for human freedom.

One hundred years ago, Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest of Slavonic poets, directed Polish thought towards Freedom. He was called a prophet, because he foretold the coming of the day when a decisive battle for morality, Christian ideals, human justice and freedom would be fought. Mickiewicz was ahead of the philosophers of his time and he was accused of being an impractical idealist; but his teaching was accepted by the Poles who sincerely and deeply believed in Christian morality and refused to foresake it. They unflinchingly and uncompromisingly opposed the pan-Germanic onslaught, and that is why the war began in Poland.

Not everybody understands this fact, but the Germans understand it, and that explains why they have visited the most

brutal persecution upon all the educated classes of the Polish people. The closing of all secondary schools and universities, the imprisonment and murder of university professors, the killing of priests, the profanation of churches, the plundering of museums and libraries, the prohibition to print books and periodicals, are all methods applied systematically to destroy and annihilate the culture of the Polish nation. The Germans have spared no atrocity, no crime and no villany to force the Poles to abandon their ideals, and everything is done to deprave the morals of Polish youth so as to weaken the spirit of the nation. In this struggle the Polish nation, inspired by Christian morality, will continue to resist.

The victory that will be ours, must first restore those moral standards which the Germans and their satellites have destroyed. This will be difficult and we shall encounter many obstacles. But we must persevere in order to exterminate pagan philosophy. Mankind, so sorely tried, can never depart from its devotion to the laws of God which must rule the world, if the world is not to be like unto hell.

But the outcome is sure. In the midst of the struggle we are already witnessing a strange, but most characteristic phenomenon. Many who advocated materialism and sought to replace the laws of God by the ethics of what they called pure reason, admit they now stand in need of Christian morality, they turn to the laws of the Old and New Testament.

I am deeply convinced that the part the Roman Catholic Church will play in the future moral reconstruction of the world will be enormous. The Church of Christ, the mainstay of the moral ideals of humanity, is primarily called upon to demand atonement from Germany for its present madness.

The degree of Doctor of Laws of the Catholic University

in Washington, confirms me in my duty of doing my part to further the laws of God and man. As a soldier and as a statesman, I have ever tried to be faithful to those laws. In them I have always found guidance. Law alone can guarantee the peaceful and moral existence of the individual. Law, justly and severely applied to those who are guilty, and wisely used for the education of generations, is indispensable to the establishment of peace. Only a peace thus founded can endure.

GENERAL WLADYSLAW SIKORSKI, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, was the guest of the Overseas Press Club of America at a luncheon on Wednesday, December 16th. Speaking before an audience of more than 300 editors, correspondents, radio commentators and well known authorities on international affairs, General Sikorski said:

I AM most grateful for the opportunity afforded me by the Overseas Press Club of addressing so distinguished a press gathering on problems so closely affecting all the United Nations.

Speaking to people who have a deep knowledge of world problems and in particular of the problems of Europe, may I talk to you simply and sincerely as a soldier, as a soldier with a realistic outlook on international affairs.

On every hand I am asked strategic and political questions regarding present war issues. I suppose this is because I represent the Polish nation which, in 1939, was the first to oppose armed resistance to the German onslaught, which refused to surrender, and will continue to fight until final victory. Her geo-political location and consequent importance to peace, give Poland a key position.

My Government maintains uninterrupted contact with the

Mother Country and the Polish Home Front. No obstacle or persecution has been able to prevent that. Questions have been put to me as Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, as the author of various books on modern warfare—for which the American army is today so perfectly trained and equipped—and, last but not least, as the initiator of the ideal of Confederation in Central and Eastern Europe.

Following the trend of these questions, I should like to give some of my views to this distinguished forum—and I shall not avoid questions that might seem embarrassing. There are no indiscreet questions, only indiscreet answers.

The fortunes of war may still fluctuate. War demands the greatest unity of action not in the military sphere alone, war demands unity of allied purpose. But the final issue of the war is becoming ever clearer. We must therefore be prepared for peace, lest peace find us as unprepared as we were for war.

In the course of conversations I had in Washington—where I was honored to be the guest of President Roosevelt—I noted with the utmost satisfaction that this essential unity of purpose and unity of action are fully realized and acted upon.

May I first try to size up the present war situation.

In the limits within which I may speak in public, I can say that in 1942 Germany failed to achieve the aims she had set herself. She succeeded neither in destroying the Russian army nor in bringing about the overthrow of the Soviets. She took neither Leningrad, nor Moscow, nor Stalingrad, nor the Caucasus. Winter finds the German forces once again on the vast open spaces of Russia. Their situation is the same as it was last winter, and even their winter equipment is no better than that of which Hitler so bitterly complained. It is not improbable that the situation of the German army will become even

worse than it was last winter. The third "purge" of experienced German military leaders and their replacement in the most responsible posts by the henchmen of Himmler—the Hangman—clearly point to the difficulties that confront Hitler in his desperate attempt to maintain at all costs his exclusive hold on the army. Such measures will not increase the cohesion of the German forces, but they do show that Hitler is doing his utmost to maintain his influence and his control of the military conduct of the war.

The valiant Russian armies are taking advantage of their natural ally—General Winter, and they will, I hope, be able to force the German armies to retreat on some sectors of the front.

One should always avoid over-optimistic estimates of a situation, especially in times of success. We have to deal with an enemy admirably prepared and still possessing the indispensable reserves of manpower and war material. The natural resources controlled by Germany, the slave labor temporarily at her disposal in occupied countries, enable her to keep up an effective fight and to maintain a high level of war production.

But the war production of Great Britain and the Dominions, and especially the war production of the United States, already greatly exceeds that of the Axis Powers. It is steadily rising, as I have been able to see for myself, while German and Japanese war production long ago reached its peak. In the realm of war production our victory is certain.

Germany has likewise failed to interrupt communications between the Continents. Neither German submarines in the Atlantic, nor Rommel at Suez, nor yet Japan in the Pacific have succeeded in achieving this aim.

Now and now only, in the light of American losses at Pearl Harbor, can we appreciate the magnificent achievement of the American Navy in maintaining communications with Australia.

Germany also in the course of this year has lost her former momentum. The large scale thrusts she used to launch simultaneously in various directions, are a thing of the past. Her Luftwaffe is weakening and shows signs of fatigue. Next year this will become even more pronounced.

To sum up my views on the present war situation, I feel we are entitled to expect that Germany will pass to the defensive. In time Germany will be completely on the defensive and will hold in Europe as in a fortress, if the Allied African offensive succeeds in forcing the enemy out of that continent. That this will not long be deferred is shown by the considerable success achieved at El Agheila by the British Eighth Army which has so brilliantly opened the second phase of its offensive against General Rommel's forces. The Germans entrenched in Europe will play for time, trying to persuade the Allies that further bloodshed is hopeless and that this war should be ended by a negotiated peace. The Germans will try to frighten the great Western Democracies by the threat of Bolshevism, appealing to them on behalf of our civilization that these arch-barbarians pretend they are defending.

In the name of the lofty ideals, of the high principles for which we are fighting, I appeal to you, the leaders of public opinion in this Great Republic to oppose such outbursts of Goebbels' propaganda. A compromise peace with Germany would be equivalent to utter defeat. The enormous sacrifices of the fighting nations would have been in vain. At best such a peace would be another precarious and most dangerous armistice.

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The African campaign brings me to another subject on which I am frequently questioned, that of the problems arising out of the present operation in North Africa and especially regarding the attitude of the Allies towards the French. In my opinion, the real problem can be summed up in the following question: Are political or strategic considerations the more important and decisive at the present stage of the African campaign?

I do not hesitate in answering that, under the circumstances and for the time being, politics cannot be allowed adversely to influence the course of strategy, especially when dealing with an operation as important and as difficult as the Allied offensive in Africa. The decision of the Allied High Command in Africa was exclusively dictated by military requirements and is entirely justified by them. I would regard as most dangerous for the further development of the operations conducted by General Eisenhower, anything that would interfere with or restrict the freedom of his operational moves. All the more so on account of Germany's decision to hold Tunis and Bizerte at all cost, and the advantage held by the Axis Powers as regards communications.

I have been asked how I would have acted in General Eisenhower's place. I reply that I should have acted exactly as he did. But what about "Fighting France"? We have no right to forget that at the time when the flag of France fell from the hands of her surrendering army, it was picked up and raised by General de Gaulle. His action was true to the highest ideals and traditions of France—of that France without which a lasting Peace in Europe is unthinkable. General de Gaulle will forever remain the symbol of Fighting and Immortal France.

What under the circumstances is the future of "Fighting France"? Here again political considerations should give way

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to the exigencies of war and ultimate victory. I firmly believe that all Frenchmen will realize the demand of the moment and will join in a policy uniting all their efforts for the time being outside their country, in the same way as we Poles have done, so as to fight in full harmony and unity with the single aim of saving their country.

The necessity of unity is true for us all. We must face facts. We must fully realize the nature of the enemy. We are fighting an enemy who aims at the destruction of all of us. He aims at enslaving us. Poland has become the main testing ground for this modernized version of barbarism.

Just before leaving England I received the latest report on the situation in Poland. I had meant to read it to you, but on second thoughts I decided not to. Why? Frankly, because I know from experience that the most devoted friends of my country are apt to doubt the veracity of the terrible facts reported from the Hell of the Vistula and the Warta. You, free people of the Western Hemisphere, are not capable of grasping or believing the depth to which the Germans have sunk. This report was written at the end of November:—

Six and a half million Poles have been victims of the Germans. It means that every fifth man, woman or child in Poland has been either murdered, or driven from his home, taken to a concentration camp, tortured, or carried off to forced labor in Germany. To help you visualize what this really means, I ask you to imagine that the entire population of Metropolitan New York has been murdered, deported and driven from their homes. What mass-enslavement for forced labor means may best be realized by imagining that all the inhabitants of Chicago and Washington have been thus enslaved.

To realize the extent of the monstrous massacre of Jews,

you must imagine the whole of Manhattan closed in by ghetto walls behind which all the Jews of the Western Hemisphere have been imprisoned, to be gradually and methodically exterminated in groups of several thousands daily by machine-gun fire, lethal gas or electrocution.

Regardless of this appalling state of things, underground Poland fights on. Newspapers are secretly printed and circulated four times daily and print the latest British and American radio bulletins. We do not boast of sabotage because the glory that such propaganda would bring us is not worth the victims it would inevitably entail in our country.

Let us consider the reaction of our population. I will read you the text of a protest secretly circulated in Poznan, Warsaw, Wilno and Lwow:

“The total number of Jews killed has reached one million, and this number is increasing daily. All perish: the rich and the poor, the infirm and old, the women, the men, the youths and little children. Their only crime is that they were born into the Jewish people, and are condemned to extermination by Hitler. Therefore we, Catholics and Poles, desire to speak. We do not want to be Pontius Pilates. We cannot actively counteract the German crimes, we cannot help anything, we cannot save anybody, but we protest from the bottom of our hearts, filled with compassion, indignation and horror.”

On the day of victory the walls of the ghetto in Poland will fall. They will be destroyed by the Polish people. Now, however, means must be found to save the Polish Jews, victims of this bestial barbarism.

As regards the future European settlement. I should like to say that the natural instinct of self-preservation makes na-

tions tend towards the establishment of international unity among freedom-loving peoples who, living peacefully side by side, are exposed to the threat of attack from their powerful neighbors. This tendency towards federation is especially strong among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The realization of this ideal, of which I am a fervent advocate, will safeguard not only the security of nations situated between Germany and Russia, who will thus form a kind of international family, but it will likewise be a natural rampart of protection for Soviet Russia, always so concerned about her Western security. Such a peaceful family of nations would not only be a factor of security, but also one of permanent European stability and economic development through the creation, over a vast area, of possibilities of large scale exchange. As the Representative of Poland, I have the right to talk of Confederation, because five centuries ago, Poland had already established a successful Confederation of neighboring States.

In this present war, Poland is not only fighting for her own freedom. True to her traditions, she is fighting for the realization of her oldest maxim: "The union of the free with the free, on a basis of mutual equality." Regardless of overwhelming odds, Poland was the first to challenge brutal aggression. She will be the last to leave the field of battle.

ADDRESSING ALL POLISH ORGANIZATIONS in America at a meeting in Chicago arranged by the Polish American Council, General Sikorski read a message from the Women of Poland urging retaliation upon German civilians for German attempts to exterminate the Polish Nation and the wholesale massacres of Jews. The General said:

I AM glad indeed that despite the pressure of work and the short time I am spending in the United States, I was able to come to Chicago. Chicago has the largest number of Americans of Polish descent, Chicago—where beats Poland's heart—is the home of the Polish-American Council, the general staff of American Poles, its brain and head.

So I hastened to accept the invitation of Mr. Swietlik, President of the Polish-American Council, to come to you and acquire new strength to continue fighting for Poland. I bring to you greetings from the President of the Polish Republic, from the Polish Government and from the Polish Armed Forces, from those fighting so gallantly at sea and in the air on all fronts, and those who having already fought are preparing to fight again on land.

I came to the United States as the guest of your great President Roosevelt, whom I can say in all sincerity after my talks

in Washington, is a true friend of Poland. The talks I had with members of the American Government have strengthened my conviction that the war and its direction are in good and able hands: that Mr. Churchill in Great Britain and President Roosevelt here, our great leaders, know what they are doing. The war may last a long time, but Victory is certain.

The Polish Government, of which I am the head, is a legal and constitutional Government and not a National Committee of Free Poles. Although established abroad on the hospitable soil of Great Britain, it is in close and constant touch with the people of Poland and enjoys their full support. It represents Poland in every sense of the word.

Yesterday I received a cable from the women of Poland, that I should like to read to you. It is a depressing cable, but one that gives us courage to fight on to complete victory. This cable was sent on to me by our Minister of Foreign Affairs in London. It reads as follows:

"To the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief:

"On Polish Soldiers Day, the women of Poland send you greetings for the Army fighting abroad. They send you the might of their suffering, their longing for freedom and their will to endure, stronger than death itself. May these lead you to Poland and Her Freedom.

"With these greetings, we report to you as soldiers, for we too are an army of Fighting Poland. Side by side with you and your forces we continue the fight night and day, without pause, without rest.

"We want you to know and remember this. We want you, upon your return, to find homes and not rubble; living human beings and not rotting corpses. That is why we call to you

while there is yet time. Our only weapon in the fight with the enemy is silence. We are silent when at night they rob Jews of sons and daughters, when German soldiers shoot at children in the street, when they drown Jewish children in the sewers and brain mothers bringing food to their family. We are silent when they shoot at our husbands, hang them along railroad tracks, and use the butt-ends of their rifles to herd us together to witness their execution, as happened in Krakow, Silesia, and Poznan. We are silent when they take our last bushel of rye, when we pick weeds, when our bodies bloat from hunger as in eastern Malopolska, when they throw us out of our farms for failure to meet our quotas, when they burn our villages, kill the defenseless inhabitants of areas where parachutists have landed, but our silence of two years ago and our silence today are two different things.

"Wives, mothers and sisters will welcome you, if you find us alive upon your return. A pain so terrible has been burned into us, a misery and suffering so horrible numbs us, that there is not an ounce of mercy or indulgence in us. We are against applying diplomacy and humanitarian methods to the German beast. We do not want you to postpone vengeance until after the war. Why do you not strike? Why are there still cities in the Reich whose civilian population knows nothing of the horror of war? What are you waiting for? Only through horror and reprisal will you ward off death from us and our children. In the face of the enemy we maintain a disciplined silence, we know that it is not yet our time to speak. But to you, Sir, we report with a cry: Do you and the Government know what is happening in Poland? And if your knowledge is derived from bare accounts, you can certainly not grasp the full truth. We ourselves did not think things could be so bad as they are today.

"Gloomy prison fortresses in Polish cities tremble with the moans of the tortured, and there are children among them. Every so often, we are deluged with telegrams informing us of deaths in the camps. News later reaches us of how horribly these people have been tortured. Through Warsaw railroad station pass trainloads of young people shipped into Germany like wild animals. We are surrounded on city streets. They hunt us in villages and in railroad cars stopping at some terminal. For many weeks now, we have been witnessing mass executions. People are murdered by families or by groups, men and women and children separately.

"Hundreds of cities and villages have been depopulated. They call it the "liquidation" of the Jewish element. But we cry out: they are murdering human beings.

"Daily they ship ten thousand human beings from Warsaw, and thousands from other cities. Daily these thousands are gassed to death in sealed cars. Others are machine-gunned and buried alive or made into chemicals in underground factories.

"Daily entire families commit suicide. Mothers with little children jump out of windows. Children go mad. On ghetto streets German soldiers shoot them down like ducks.

"The toll of Jews is being exhausted. The licentious beast is seeking new victims. Already in Central Malopolska there have been manhunts against the aged, against beggars, and against men and women.

"In the vicinity of Lancut, beggars were executed en masse so that they might not deplete Polish bread. One already hears talk that the order to kill old men found on the highways will be extended to old men in our homes. Tomorrow we shall tremble for the lives of our fathers and mothers, just

as today we tremble for the lives of our children. In Deblin, they arrest entire trains, and take them in an unknown direction. Our eyes go blind looking for news from you. Why is all so quiet? After all, there are bombs—Polish, English, American. Why are you silent? We do not weep, we have no tears. We are alive, we are able to die for Poland, but we wish to live for her. Therefore, we demand a ruined German city for every murdered family in Poland, raids on the civilian population of Germany for every bloody massacre, and a ten-fold execution for every murdered Pole.

"We want to hear over the radio that our prayers that German mothers may be made to weep, have been answered.

"Send us no words of acknowledgment, nor call upon us to endure. That we know how to do. Do not praise our sacrifice, but make the Allied governments give Poland a free hand and power for immediate reprisal. Let them allow Poland to use her air force, stronger now than before the war, and strike hard enough for us to hear that we have avengers and defenders.

"General, please bear this our report in mind!"

I know the horror with which this dreadful report must fill you. That is actually what is happening in Poland. The Polish nation will bear up under it, for no power on earth is capable of destroying our nation's greatness, of which it gives daily proof. German bestiality must be punished. What a vast difference there is between your life and the life of our people. I do not believe we have destroyed any German cities by bombing, but Polish air forces have played an important and effective part in every raid carried out so far. But these poor Polish women do not know how widely their outlook in an occupied country differs from the outlook of a civilized

world of free people, who can neither believe nor comprehend that human beings are subjecting other human beings to such barbarous treatment.

But this report shows only too well how great is the responsibility of the Government at whose head I stand. I was fully aware of it when, in Poland's blackest hour, I took over the helm of this Government. I do not demand much from Poles, but I demand one thing and I demand it absolutely, taking upon myself the full responsibility, I demand discipline from all citizens of Poland, and soldierly discipline at that.

The Government has three main tasks: the organization of Poland's armed forces; an active, vigilant and cautious foreign policy; the care of refugee Poles.

Before the fall of France we had 100,000 men organized. When the fall came, we lost 50% from one division, 30% from one Brigade, and others not completely organized were scattered. That army ceased to exist as a whole. Then the question arose, what was to be done. I flew to London and arranged with Mr. Churchill for the evacuation of Polish soldiers to Great Britain. We went to work anew to rebuild Poland's armed forces. Today, after our agreement with Soviet Russia and the organization of Polish armed forces in the Middle East, we have 115,000 soldiers. We have an air force, which in combat strength, fighting the enemy, is as large as the Canadian air force. We have a brave navy, twice the size of Poland's pre-war navy, and we are preparing to take over a Polish cruiser. We have a merchant fleet, the tonnage of which has not decreased in spite of the war service it has seen and its participation in the North African expedition.

Thus in exile, following the path indicated by our national self-consciousness, we hold our banner high—to the end.

Poland's foreign policy must be active, vigilant and cautious, its results, in spite of everything, show it was just. Today I say it with pride and without exaggeration, Poland holds a place of great prominence among the United Nations.

Now I come to our constant care and great burden, for which we receive such generous help from the Polish-American Council, the care of our refugees, who are spread all over the world. Organized aid for those who are in Russia, not of their own free will but by the force of circumstances. There are a million of them. To give you a clear picture of the situation here are some figures: Since July 30, 1941, that is since the signing of the agreement with Russia, the situation of Poles in Russia, dreadful then and difficult today, has greatly improved, thanks to your efforts and ours: financial help and direct help from centers organized by our authorities.

By April 1942, 149 orphanages and shelters had been established, in addition to 30 institutions for those unable to work, 21 canteens and boarding houses, 116 canteens for children and feeding centers, 10 hospitals, 5 night shelters, 16 infirmaries, a total of 356 aid centers. There are several doctors at each center. Our basic aim is the evacuation of Polish citizens from Russia. That is not an easy problem. First of all because the Soviets are not too eager to release all these people and then what are we to do with them? Where can they be sent? Who will receive them?

In Persia there are 42,000 civilian refugees who were evacuated with the army. Of these 12,000 have been sent to Central Africa, to Tanganyika, where the British government has placed at our disposal a colony where Polish farmers are working.

The President of Mexico has offered to take 20,000 Polish refugees and settle them near the capital, in a very healthy climate and with land suitable for cultivation. But how are these people to be supported? All of them must be helped. Our government has managed to get on up to now, but the estimate for the support of this group alone exceeds six million dollars. It is a difficult problem to assure these people an existence, because the money must be provided in dollars. I trust that the Government of the United States in accordance with the understanding with the British Government, will facilitate the solution of this problem.

As you see, the Government is faced with difficult and extremely responsible tasks, not only as regards the present generation but also the generations to come. We must save Polish blood, Polish youth; we must save Poles wherever we can.

You in the United States, living in a traditionally democratic atmosphere, can do much to help us. I am counting on the Polish-American Council, on President Swietlik, I count on you to continue working in the moral and political field. The resolutions passed at your Convention in Buffalo set the Poles of America on the right road, for only unity can assure us victory along with all the United Nations. Anyone destroying that unity harms Poland and by the same token harms America. For the unity of American Poles is as important to America as to our own country. Polish soldiers, farm-workers, factory-workers, all serve the same cause: they defend freedom, they fight for victory and a free and independent Poland, on fair and democratic principles, that will liberate not only the Nation but also the individual and will assure everyone, regardless of creed or race, a share in the Nation's benefits.

Enemies of Poland, and of the United States, overt or covert

fifth columnists, often accuse the Polish Government of fascism and anti-semitism. This is contrary to the truth. Both the Government and National Council, which represents public opinion, and was created by us as a forum for critical appreciation of our policies — represent all angles of political opinion, from right to left, all ideological trends that possess any counterpart in Poland. Represented are the Jews and also all occupations. The National Council may not be ideal, but it reflects present-day Poland and is the best justification for the Government's policy. The assertion that there are fascists in the Polish Government is a most obvious lie. Attaching importance to minor oversights, raising an outcry accusing Poland of anti-semitism at a time when Polish women make the report I have just read to you—accusing the Government, which initiated the idea of the joint protest of all the Allied Nations, United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia, now featured in the American press—is absurd. I told this to Jews in New York. I told them to stamp out this propaganda, because I consider it to be Goebbels propaganda and not that of our friends.

The inviolability of our frontiers—wider than before the war—a broader access to the sea—these are the aims for which Polish soldiers are fighting and for which the Polish Nation is bleeding.

The confederative idea encounters great difficulties. I do not believe we need to study all the difficulties of Europe in London or Washington, and then bring them to the continent. Now is the time for all governments that find themselves in the same place, to take advantage of their proximity to come to an understanding and start a new conception of world organization. Humanity is not shedding its blood to return to old, pre-war ideas, but to new and hundredfold bet-

ter conceptions. Let us hope that this time the militant hydra of germanism will be rendered totally harmless.

The Polish-Russian pact has evoked much comment. I wish to reassure you. Those who criticize it do not know the elements of the decision made by the Government. We planned it as a broad and long-term policy. Thus far, we have lost nothing by this and have raised Polish prestige very high. Had not this pact existed, the British-Soviet pact of May 1942 would not have materialized. The results of the latter would have been quite different and a hundred percent worse for us.

Who knows whether our pact with Russia and the agreements entered upon with Russia later, are not a turning point in the life of the entire Nation.

I wish it sincerely. The future fate of our agreement depends on the behavior of Soviet Russia. Such possibilities do exist, as is evidenced by the numerous telegrams received by me, although there are great difficulties. However, no great things are achieved without difficulties.

Concluding my address, I should like to make one more appeal. Although I was working very hard for the Polish cause in Washington, I found time between one official appointment and another, to lay a wreath on the tomb of my beloved friend, that great Citizen of Poland, Ignacy Paderewski. He is not with us, but his spirit lives on. His spirit is among us. May he inspire all Americans of Polish descent by his ideology, as he always inspired us Poles. He fought for our homeland. May he point the path that will lead us to Poland, freed from barbarism and truly great.

EXCERPT FROM GENERAL SIKORSKI'S speech in Detroit to a great Gathering of Americans of Polish descent on Sunday, December 20th. The Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief dealt with the myth of German invincibility, and spoke of the part he played in the defense of Eastern Poland. He said:

BY standing up against the path of Germany's march to world dominion, Poland dispelled the myth that had spread its evil shadow over Europe after the Anschluss, after Munich and after the occupation of Czechoslovakia without a shot being fired! The myth that no one could oppose the Germans. That myth was dispelled in September 1939, when the first Polish machine guns swept down the invaders.

Then in 1940, a second myth was dispelled. The myth that German arms were invincible, when Great Britain, alone but undaunted, under the leadership of Winston Churchill, accepted the "Battle of Britain" and won it. As Commander-in-Chief of Poland's armed forces, I am proud that in this great battle of the war our Polish airmen covered themselves with immortal glory.

Again—for a second time—the myth of German invincibility was dispelled under the walls of Stalingrad, where the unswerving valor of the Red Army brought all of Hitler's

Eastern plans to nought. Now the United Nations' offensive in North Africa, under the leadership of your great President Roosevelt, is forcing Hitler's "invincible" army to assume the defensive.

Passing to Polish problems, I bring to you all greetings from the President of the Republic of Poland, from the Government, from underground Poland and from the Polish army, navy and air force.

A great deal is being said about Eastern Poland. But those who speak often forget that it was I who fought for our borders, that I defended Lwow, that later as commander of the Fifth and Third Armies I fought for Eastern Poland. I did not and shall not barter Polish soil! I defended and shall defend Polish soil! I represent the Poland that in 1939, accepted the German challenge, and I trust and firmly believe that Poland will come out of this war victorious and will be greater and stronger than ever!

Because of Poland's geo-political position, every responsible Government must pursue a policy that will, as far as is humanly possible, secure Poland from having to fight on two fronts. I am a realist, and that is why I believe we should come to an understanding with our Eastern neighbor.

More than a year ago, Stalin spoke to me in the Kremlin about a "great and powerful Poland" with her front facing the Germans. He emphasized this again in a telegram handed to me in Washington only a few days ago. So there *is* a basis for an understanding, and my policies, firmly founded on facts, are unchanged.

The Peace that is to be after our common Victory will be a Peace of the working masses, a peace of the free and equal, with the right to employment and to education for all!

Thirty-two

TO A LABOR DELEGATION IN DETROIT, General Sikorski spoke highly of the patriotism of Polish Labor and said he counted on it to help in the restoration of Liberty. Declaring international security and social security to be interdependent, and lasting Peace possible only if both were assured, General Wladyslaw Sikorski said:

MODERN war has made the worker at his bench equal in importance to the soldier in arms.

At the same time, modern warfare—that is total war—has drawn entire nations into the orbit of suffering and sacrifice. Enemy bombs and barbarian terror fall equally on all professions and on all social classes.

When by the labor and armed effort of entire nations, we achieve complete victory in this war of nations—peace, to be lasting, must guarantee international security, and also social security.

International security we can achieve by establishing democratic institutions not only in the life of particular nations, but also in international life. The basis of such an international democracy will be the acceptance and realization of the principle of Confederation in Europe, its permanence

Thirty-three

must be guaranteed by international power in the service of Right.

We shall achieve social security by establishing economic conditions in which all will be equally assured of work, fair wages and complete equality before the law.

For the maintenance of peace, I believe that social security is as important as international security. No international system of political cooperation can maintain peace, if the people suffer from poverty, or are exposed to discrimination or persecution, or if labor is not assured of the right to work, and is not insured against unemployment, sickness, accident and old age, or if the worker does not earn enough to enable him to live a decent life.

Today it is difficult to foresee what the post-war world will be like, economically and socially. It seems to me, however, that disappointment awaits those who expect a complete reversal of existing policies.

When this war is over, I imagine the world will have learned the lesson of experience and will go forward along the road of international economic cooperation, planned on a national and international scale.

After this war, we must make the benefits of public utilities, such as the American TVA for instance, accessible to broad masses of people. The realization of such plans will also enable us to deal with employment problems, better than after the last war.

In Poland, war has made men equal in sacrifice, suffering, resistance and fighting. When we liberate Poland we shall all have an equal right to freedom, work and education.

Thirty-four

I know the patriotism of the Polish Socialist Party, which has a page all its own in the history of Fighting Poland.

I count on its patriotism in the rebuilding of liberty! The working masses can rely upon the fact that the words contained in today's statement will become deeds in the free and independent Poland that is to be.



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Thirty-five

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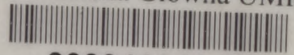


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