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# GERMAN ATROCITIES *in* Poland and Czechoslovakia

## LABOUR'S PROTEST

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# GERMAN ATROCITIES

in POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## LABOUR'S PROTEST

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party at its meeting in London on July 22nd, 1942, resolved:—

**“That the British Labour Movement has heard with indignation and horror of the organised and bestial atrocities committed by Germany in Poland and Czechoslovakia. It is compelled to state, from the facts at its disposal, that they are without precedent in their naked and savage cruelty and that they cast infamy on those who have perpetrated them and dishonour upon the nation which has acquiesced in them.**

**“The British Labour Movement calls upon the Governments of the United Nations for a solemn assurance that all who have taken part in the organisation and perpetration of these outrages, from the highest to the lowest, shall be brought to stern justice at the close of the war.”**

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress also adopted this resolution at its meeting on the same date.

A deputation, composed of Mr. George Dallas, Mr. James Walker, M.P., Mr. Tom Williamson and Mr. William Gillies, representing the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and Sir Walter Citrine, representing the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, handed to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, on August 24th the above resolution.

Replying, Mr. Eden referred to the Prime Minister's statement of October 25th, 1941, that “retribution for these crimes must henceforth take a place among the major purposes of war,” and to his own statement in the Commons that acts such as the destruction of Lidice will not be forgotten when time comes to settle accounts with their perpetrators. The Government was in full sympathy with the resolution and with the spirit which has prompted it.

Later the deputation called on the American Ambassador, Mr. Winant, and left with him a copy of the resolution.

On September 2nd, 1942, the eve of the third anniversary of Britain's entry into the war, an international protest meeting against German atrocities in Poland and Czechoslovakia was held in London, under the auspices of the Labour Party. Mr. A. J. Dobbs, Chairman of the National Executive Committee, presided. He was supported by M. Jan Kwapiński, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Navigation in the Polish Government, and M. Jaromir Nečas, Minister of Economic Reconstruction in the Czechoslovak Government.

Speakers from Norway, France and Belgium joined their British comrades in support of the protest made by Polish and Czechoslovak speakers.

The speeches were of a lofty order, worthy of the concentrated attention and eager response of a representative audience made up of many nationalities, all closely bound together by their common love of freedom and hatred of barbarity.



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# ALFRED JAMES DOBBS

## CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

This representative gathering has been brought together by the British Labour Party on the eve of a solemn and memorable anniversary.

On September 1st, three years ago, the German armed forces invaded Poland. Two days later the British Empire accepted the challenge thus thrown down.

We did not flinch, even when we stood alone. Now the echo of that challenge has resounded throughout the world.

The world is in a state of war.

In China, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the light of victory is shining in men's eyes.

When Great Britain, in the vanguard of the Old World, and the United States, in the vanguard of the New, have joined to overwhelm the aggressors, victory is assured, be the conflict long or short.

The roll of martyred nations is a long one. Many of them are represented upon this platform to-night. Most of them are represented in this meeting.

But it is appropriate that we should especially remember heroic Czechoslovakia, thrown to the wolves, and Poland—dignified, invincible and immortal.

With unbowed heads, Poland and Czechoslovakia met their conquerors with the sword of the spirit, and for them the assassins have reserved their bestial cruelty in the greatest abundance.

Nine Governments have solemnly declared to the President of the United States and to our Government that the acts of oppression and terror in the occupied territories have assumed such proportions and forms as to give rise to the fear that they may lead to the extermination of certain populations.

I am sure that this communication had particularly in mind what is happening in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

What, indeed, is happening?

Organised atrocities without precedent in their naked and savage cruelty—destruction of the economic, political and cultural life of these nations—mass deportations—mass executions—premeditated and cold-blooded slaughter of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children among the Jewish population.

These unspeakable crimes are organised and carried out by—and in the name of—a nation which boasts of being the most creative, cultured and civilised among the nations of mankind. This nation has brought the law of the jungle to Europe for the second time in a single generation.

The nations united against them do not grudge any effort, they do not shrink—nor will they shrink—from any sacrifice in order to destroy this evil enemy of mankind.

The men responsible for such crimes are doomed to the most severe punishment when the final victory is achieved.

We appeal to the Governments and peoples of the United Nations



to do all in their power to hasten the day of victory, and the liberation of stricken Europe from this outrageous slavery.

We send our warmest tribute to the working people and peasantry of Poland and Czechoslovakia who, in spite of an inhuman and unspeakable terror, carry on their brave underground struggle.

These unknown heroes bear witness to the failure of barbarians to drown human dignity and conscience in a sea of blood. They will never succeed in defeating the ideals of a humanity living and working in freedom, equality and justice.

The hour of retribution and revolution of the peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia is not far distant.

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THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Zygielbojm will now address you. He belongs to the *Bund*—a name famous in the history of International Socialism.

He has seen the Germans at work in Warsaw and took part in its defence. He then penetrated into the heart of Germany itself and found his way out again to civilisation.

Comrade Zygielbojm.

## SZMUL ZYGIELBOJM

*(Member of the National Council of the Republic of Poland)*

In the first place, I should like to express my gratitude to our British friends for calling this meeting together, and so enabling us to speak of what we are feeling in this extremely grave hour for our country and our community.

Yesterday it was three years since Poland was overrun. At that time no one was really conscious of the terrible meaning of Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* to mankind and of the devilish aims which Germany pursued. No one realised then the great heroism and the sacrifices which the Polish people showed in their resistance. Therefore the necessary lesson of the battle of Poland in September, 1939, was then not fully grasped.

It is considered by some that this war signifies revolution. If this be so, then it may be said it was the Polish people who started it, in particular the proud people of Warsaw who made the first epic of this war. The defence of Warsaw would have been impossible without the great determination of her people who preferred death in their struggle for freedom to life under the Hitlerite yoke.

The defence of Warsaw was a reaction against the policy of the old Polish regime which had isolated us for many years from the democratic nations. It was a protest against the grim menace of Hitler's "New Order," and a great revolt against a world order which permitted such monsters as Hitlerism and Fascism to rise and to develop, a world order which was unable to save mankind from the terrors of war.

I take this occasion to pay tribute to many thousands of Warsaw workers who formed voluntary battalions and willingly gave their lives for the freedom of their country and the freedom of humanity. I pay tribute to the memory of our great comrade, Mieczyslaw Niedzialkowski, who was at the head of these masses and who upheld their fighting spirit and determination. He paid for it with his life.

The German oppressors cannot forgive the Polish people that they did not yield to their *Führer* and that they did not find among them a quisling.

The orgy of bestiality and murder which continues from the very beginning of the occupation in our country is so monstrous that it is hard to believe that human beings could sink so low. And yet, what seems unbelievable is, unfortunately, the truth. What took place at the beginning of the occupation, partly chaotically and wilfully, is now being done systematically, according to plan and on a large scale.

In Poland crimes are committed which have no precedent in human history, crimes so monstrous, in the face of which the worst barbaric acts of the past ages appear mere trivialities. In Poland a whole people is being exterminated in cold blood.

Recent reports tell of the burning of whole villages together with their inhabitants, of new mass deportations of tens of thousands of people, who must leave behind all their possessions for the Germans who are being settled in their homes, of the increased number of mass executions, as well of other facts, which prove that the occupants are determined to finish quickly their work of extermination which they started three years ago.

The worst fate, however, has met the Polish Jews. It is not only that they were compelled to wear the yellow badge, that they were herded into ghettos, that they were robbed of their rights, their possessions, their right to work and to earn their living. From the beginning the Nazi officials frankly declared that while foreseeing for the Poles a future as slaves of the *Herrenvolk*, they could see no future whatsoever for the Jews. They shall be wiped from the face of the earth.

And the Germans found a means to realise their threat. They calculated the food rations for the Jews in the ghettos so as to starve them to death, as nobody could go on living on such rations. As a result of this 20 per cent. of the whole Jewish population dies annually, which would mean according to German reckoning that within five years all the Jews would be exterminated. And yet, the Germans are impatient to wait so long. So they have contrived a plan to exterminate the Jews by still other means. In innumerable towns in Poland the Jewish population, regardless of sex and age, were herded together and mown down with machine-guns. In the town of Vilno only, fifty to sixty thousand Jews were murdered within a short time, and in the district of Vilno and in Lithuania, three hundred thousand Jews were killed. In other parts of the country the barbarians are applying modern methods in slaughtering tens of thousands of men, women and children.

In many places they have installed special poison gas chambers. Tens of thousands of victims are driven together in these places waiting for their turn to be executed, because "only" one thousand people a day can be killed in one gas centre. In the town of Chelmno only, 40 thousand people were gassed within 50 days. The victims are forced to bury the lot previously killed. In eye-witnesses' reports we found the names of people who were forced to bury their own wives, children, parents. We found there also descriptions of how mothers with their infants at their breasts were thrown into the gas chamber, of how the Germans wrenched gold teeth from the mouths of their dead victims who had been previously completely robbed of their clothes and belongings.

The Germans have chosen Poland for the place of execution of Jews of all the other occupied countries, as well as of Germany herself.

And the latest news received by the Polish Government in London is that the mass slaughter of Jews has started also in the Warsaw ghetto where nearly 600,000 are concentrated.

Seven thousand people daily are taken from the ghetto, apparently to be deported, but everyone in the ghetto knows that they are led to their execution.

In addition, the occupants take a special delight in trying to force the heads of Jewish communities to make a list of persons to be slaughtered. To avoid this task the chairman of the Jewish Community in Warsaw, Mr. Czerniakow, committed suicide.

So it is estimated that the total number of Jews murdered by the Germans in Poland up to May this year was 700,000.

The fate of the remaining Jews in the ghettos awaiting their doom, is much worse than the fate of those who have already been murdered.

*As a representative of those masses I echo their outcry of pain and protest, and their call to mankind that means should be found to stop the greatest crime in human history!*

The Jewish people in Poland realise that these crimes are only part of a general plan to destroy our country in order to make living space for the *Herrenvolk*. The facts we know from Poland prove that the Germans are determined to exterminate whole nations if they do not submit to their will and their aims.

Hitler has burnt alive the culture of many generations and the conscience of his own nation, and now he tries to burn alive the whole world.

I believe in the final victory over Hitler. I believe that Poland will rise again as an independent nation, in a free, renewed and just world. As a Socialist I believe that when this war will be over and a just peace will have been attained, mankind will gravitate towards Socialism.

We must realise, however, that if we do not find the means to rescue in time the people of Poland and of other occupied countries, there is going to be neither a Socialist Europe nor any other Europe; there is going to be no Europe at all to save. The whole of Europe will become one expanding graveyard.



Despite of these inhuman conditions, my people have not lost their faith and human dignity and they are continuing to play their part in this war by their resistance and unyielding spirit. They have not lost their belief in mankind. They raise their hands from their lethal chamber and they raise their voices to you in faith and confidence. I do not doubt that the civilised world hears their call, that you will grasp their extended hands and that you will help them to survive despite of all and to live to see the day of victory and liberation.

THE CHAIRMAN : I will now call upon Comrade Ciołkosz. Adam Ciołkosz was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party. He is one of that little group of Polish Socialists and Trade Union representatives in London—which also includes Comrades Stańczyk and Kwapiński—who are destined to form an unbreakable link of friendship between our country and the new Poland.

Comrade Ciołkosz.

## ADAM CIOŁKOSZ

*(Member of the National Council of the Republic of Poland)*

I have the great honour to-day of addressing the British Labour Movement and the people of Great Britain whom we came to love and admire for their endurance and bravery in this war. Even after centuries people in my country will remember how Britain resisted on the seas, in the air and on land, and stood for so long as the only fortress of freedom. It is also a great honour for me to speak in the name of the Polish people and of the Polish Labour Movement, which has been built by past generations in order that future generations may live in freedom. I will also speak in the name of those who will never be able to speak again, for they repose in graves in the squares and streets of our cities and villages, who have been executed or shot and buried in nameless graves by the German invaders. And I am speaking in the name of all those in my country who never lose faith, never bend their heads, who believe in victory and work for it, for they believe in justice and a better future for mankind after the present dark days and dark nights of overwhelming barbarity.

We had the privilege of being the first country to resist the Third Reich by arms. We remember with deepest feeling all those who had previously fallen victims to aggression : brave China, defenceless Abyssinia, heroic Spain, tortured Czechoslovakia. Here were the preludes of this war and signs that an avalanche of aggression was approaching in which humanity would have to defend everything that was valuable in the heritage of the past and everything which the future could bring us in economic, cultural and moral progress. But the world war started in Poland, and as Arthur Greenwood said in the House of Commons three years ago, Poland had stood



“ at the portals of civilisation, defending all free nations, and all that we stand for, and that we hold dear.” I think that our refusal to capitulate and our incessant unbreakable resistance underlies the particular hatred that the Germans feel for us. They give us every day and every night proofs of that hatred. They know that they will be defeated and fear is feeding their fury. Even after defeat they want to leave nothing behind them but tracts so devastated that they could never again be self-supporting and must fall under the German post-war “peaceful” domination. For they are organisers of genius, especially in organising destruction, and they are excellent technicians, especially in creating tools of murder.

When war broke out, Hitler declared in the *Reichstag*: “ I do not desire war against women and children.” Once again he lied. I want to tell you of a few examples out of hundreds. To a woman in Anin the Germans came and bade her to choose which of her two sons she preferred to have shot. Can anything more terrible be imagined than the feelings of this mother who was told to assign one of her children to death? She could not do it and so the Germans chose for her.

In the first days of February of this year the Germans executed in Cierlicko Górne a young student by the name of Trepca. He was hanged in front of his own house; under police escort miners from the nearby coal mines were brought there and the local population ordered to gather and watch the execution. But the Germans were not content with that. They dragged from prison the father of the victim and from her home his paralysed mother, for her to look for two terrible hours on her son being tortured and then on his slow agony on the gallows. For two thousand years we have been told that there is no greater suffering than that of a mother watching her son dying, and these bestial people find enjoyment in the spectacle of such suffering.

The victims number hundreds of thousands. The German tribunals are working hard. Death — for the slaughtering of cattle. Death for supplying other Poles with foodstuffs or textiles. Death even for travelling in a compartment reserved for Germans. Death for a Polish worker in Hamburg for smiling at a German girl. One thing only is permitted: to work hard for the German overlords. According to German sources, 1,090,000 Poles—the actual number is much higher—are working in Germany. Their fate is appalling.

Were the stories about the destruction of Warsaw exaggerated? I am afraid that to-day the photographs of the ruins of Warsaw create but a small impression. The ruins of Rotterdam, Belgrade, Coventry have since been added to those of Warsaw. We Poles have endured the model administration of the German rule in conquered countries for three long years. It used to be said: “ It can't happen here.” Now we know that it can happen anywhere wherever the new barbarians gain a foothold. Yes, we are the training ground for the German New Order. They are aiming at complete destruction of our nation. They are destroying our youth. They are destroying our 1,000-year-old culture. General-Governor

Frank has said: "The Polish lands are to be changed into an intellectual desert." The same German professors who used to visit our universities, our scientific institutions and museums before the war, have visited us once more to direct the looting of our art and our scientific treasures.

By the right of a *Herrenvolk* the Germans are to turn Poland into a "living space" for themselves, into a "death space" for us. And as they love to justify everything scientifically, one of their most devilish men, Werner Best, wrote a few weeks ago: "Historical experience has proved that the annihilation and displacement of a foreign *Volkstum* is not contrary to the laws of life, provided it is total." That is their aim in Poland, sincerely revealed.

Comrades and Friends, this is a Labour meeting, and I appeal to your conscience on behalf of the Polish workers and peasants, who hold aloft the flag of a free, independent and democratic Poland. British friends, three years ago you did not abandon us in the darkest hour of our history: May your voice to-day be the voice of a bell of which it was said that it calls the living, cries for the dead, and is as powerful as a thunderbolt. We are invaded but not defeated, and never will be. We are fighting ceaselessly. Now we call upon the free British people, upon all the free peoples of the world; we call for the sword of retribution for the crimes committed in Poland, for prompt and effective punishment for the deeds of which Labour's resolution very rightly says that "they cast infamy on those who have perpetrated them and dishonour upon the nation which has acquiesced in them."

May the forces of freedom annihilate the forces of tyranny and may justice be done in the midst of liberty. Justice for the victims of aggression and justice to the robbers and murderers—from the highest to the lowest.

THE CHAIRMAN: Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia. He is a non-Party man. He is a comrade to all men who respect courage and honesty and other people's life and liberties.

Jan Masaryk.

## JAN MASARYK

*(Foreign Minister in the Czechoslovak Government)*

We have heard that it is three years ago that Poland was invaded and we have also heard that it was three years ago that Great Britain declared war and accepted the challenge. I sometimes wonder whether the war really started then or not. I remember the day, and some of you will remember it, too, when that mirthless clown, Benito Mussolini, marched into Corfu and poor Greece had to pay to get the rotter out. I remember Manchukuo when we all sat down and let it happen. All these things accumulated and now terrible things are happening. I think it will be very interesting

to study and try and find out the real impetus which was the real psychological preparation for this. We are at war with a bitter enemy. I am not going to tell you what they did to Czechoslovakia—you know, but let me tell you one of the things they did, annihilate the Labour Party. I never belonged to any party, but I was very closely associated with those people and they are very decent people, as decent as any country ever had. Some of you will, for instance, remember big Soukup, six-foot-four of humanity with a reddish nose, a big heavy man, whose weight was reduced to 98 pounds after he had been tortured. You see those are things which we cannot forgive and forget and which we will not forgive. There is the little village of Lidice which suddenly became great. Lidice is just one example of what Germany can do if left alone. To-day we meet and bow in affection and great reverence before the wonderful Polish nation. We will not talk about ourselves, our suffering is to make us worthy of living with them when the war is over. My father once said: "Without a strong and independent Poland there cannot be a strong and independent Czechoslovakia." I would like to repeat that to-day. I bow to Poland and to her wonderful people, the people of Warsaw. I bow to the Polish Jew who is suffering while we go about as *émigrés*, live in comparative safety, and rather good food.

We hear of retribution. Now I do not come of what you would call a murdering family and history shows that we are not a murderous people. I can never forgive that terrible man making me into a hating potential murderer, for he has sinned against my soul. My lovely people have been taught to hate by this misguided son of a misguided mother! When I talk about retribution I am not here to say annihilation, but let us amputate all those who are responsible. By that I do not mean Hitler and Himmler and the Gestapo, they are just part, the upper *Herrenvolk*. It is the German General Staff which must be annihilated.

They generally wear monocles and have faces which look as if they belong to British clubs, and they used to come here. The other day also a misguided Britisher said to me: "After all, Rommel is behaving like a gentleman in Egypt." Now just imagine that Britisher saying that! Of course, in Egypt there are no children, there are cacti and sand, but if he had been in Warsaw he would have behaved just as von Bock did. These people must disappear for ever—the Junker type, the Hindenburg type—all these people who have worked for Hitler, they are the guilty ones.

When the war is over, do not let us be savages, but do not let us be sentimental. Do not let us start again saying: "Poor Germany, after all she did not know." Perhaps I shall say something unpopular if I say that for the sake of Germany this is the last chance that she will be given to become again one of the company of civilised people. Do not let us be half-hearted and pussy-footed about it. Let us hope it will not be long, this period of retribution. I hope we shall come back to a civilised Europe, but we must not give them too much the benefit of the doubt this time. When you become sentimental give the Chinese, the Poles the benefit of the doubt—



let the Belgians and the Norwegians, the French and the Czechoslovakians, if there is any doubt, have it. And then if there is any doubt left, hand it to the Germans.

Mind you, you people do not realise what terrible suffering it was for me to speak as I have spoken and as I do to-day. I hate it and I want to go back to love, but love is tearing my soul as long as these terrible people are there. The war will be won by the United Nations, but not easily. It is going to be won under the greatest difficulties, and do not let us have any illusions. So far we have been very successful in losing the war and now we must start winning it. My own conviction is absolute—that it is impossible for Hitler to become the master of the universe. What are the Germans trying to do? They are trying to reduce the species known as human beings to animals, beasts of burden, and they are trying to reduce what we call *homo sapiens* into a camel or a donkey. When you once conceive that idea, the Germans have reduced themselves to a lower strata and we hope that some day after they have paid the price they will be lifted up to our strata, to the strata of the Jew in the ghetto, of Lidice. My country did not want anything from anybody, but we did not like goose stepping and we told them so—I hope we will stop it for it is not dignified even for the geese.

We are going to win the war—we are going to annihilate Hitlerism and Prussianism. Did you ever see a Prussian officer laugh at himself? No, he does not know how to. And if you pull his leg a bit he challenges you to a duel. Shocking people! No good to anybody. They must disappear. They must choose another profession because the German military machine is going to be destroyed and will never be allowed to rise again.

I am going to say something else of the pre-requisite of a decent Europe and a decent world after the war. And that is taking the armament industry and seizing it out of the hands of private ownership and then no individual can get rich while bullets kill men and women and children. We are not civilised, we must get away from that poison—if you buy morphia you must go to a doctor to get permission and every machine will have to be kept, so to speak, in a book. Everybody will have to know what is being done with every bit of armament.

(Dr. Masaryk then broadcast a short message in Czech for his own people) :—

Jsmc zde dohromady Vaši spojenci, vzpomínáme na Vás, přísaháme a slibujeme Vám, že Vás neopustíme, jako Vy neopustíte nás. Přijde den, kdy se svými spojenci, s kterými jsmc zde dnes, přijdeme Vás pomstít, přijdeme se před vámi poklonit a přijdeme vám pomoci. Věřte, doufejte a bojujte.<sup>1</sup>

I am thinking of the British boys in Egypt who to-day are dying so that our children can live as free men and women. I bow before

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<sup>1</sup> We are here together your allies, we are thinking of you, we swear and promise to you that we shall not fail you so as you will not fail us. The day will come when together with the allies with whom we are here to-day we will come to avenge you and we will come to pay homage to you and we will help you. Believe, hope and continue to fight.



Poland and I think of the Russian boys who are giving their lives to-day—to-day. Let us get back to love when we have hated enough to make the world safe for human beings to live in.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of State for Home Affairs and Home Security. He is the guardian of Liberty and Justice on this island, and the organiser-in-chief of Civil Defence against the Powers of Darkness.

I call upon the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, M.P., to address you.

## **Rt. Hon. HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.**

*(Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security)*

The British people, though not among the most imaginative, are one of the kindest in the world. They are quite capable of staging a bit of a riot because a man is ill-treating his horse. Crimes have been committed in their name, as in the name of all peoples on the earth, but they abhor suffering and are easily roused to anger and action by it.

They are also a people with a keen sense of smell. Years before the war, when Governments here and elsewhere were still constrained to be tolerant and forbearing about the Nazis, the British people felt quite differently. They always instinctively knew Hitler for what he is and knew him to be fundamentally evil because of his flamboyant denial of all the common human decencies. There was a cynical European diplomatist at Geneva a year or two before the war, an appeaser by the sound of him, who said with some exasperation: "I believe the British are quite capable of breaking with Hitler just because he ill-treats the Jews."

That man was right, though he should have put it more widely. I believe that the British sense of the unendurable brutality of Hitlerism brought them into the war. It was a decision of temperament and principle combined. It did not ignore the growing danger to themselves, but it helped to make them ready to act before the danger was upon them and their freedom of choice was gone.

So the mounting tale of atrocity and horror which has darkened these past three years is, in one sense, no surprise to the people of this country. They always realised the extreme of inhuman barbarism which inspires the Nazi outlook. But no decent man and no decent people can fail to have been shocked and appalled by the successive revelations of shameless and conscienceless savagery which have come out of Europe in these latter days.

I will not go into detail. You all know the kind of horror that is being perpetrated hour by hour in the prisons and concentration camps, in the streets and homes, not only of Poland and Czecho-

slovakia, but of every subject nation. One is tempted to say that now at last we must have seen the full measure of that which Nazism can achieve. Yet one has said this before and been confounded by some further unimaginable cruelty.

I will not say that under the scourge of Attila or Genghis Khan, or some other of the great barbarian irruptions, things may not have been done which could be ranked in outward form with the mass murders, the child tortures, the deliberate starvations, and elaborate refinements of beastliness which the Nazis practise. But I do say that never before has the human record been so shamed and darkened by the revelation of the unspeakable foulness of which degenerate man is capable; because never before have minds, sharpened by civilisation and working in a world environment of decent social ideas, achieved so black a contrast.

We must remember that the Nazis not only do these things, as men have long done cruel things, in hot blood, in the urge of battle; they do them in cold blood; they proclaim them with approval as necessary, they dignify them by the name of policy.

We are here to record our protest against these things in the name of a movement which stands for enlightened social progress, for the antithesis of everything in which the Nazi believes. We Labour and Socialist men and women recognise in the enlightened democracy of Czechoslovakia and in the progressive social policies that were being developed in other parts of Europe, something closely akin to our own philosophy. We therefore see with an especial melancholy the contrast between the bright and hopeful developments of democracy and the primitive savagery of the so-called New Order.

But protests are not enough. Indeed, we Britons want to assure all Poles and all Czechoslovaks—indeed, all the oppressed of Europe—that we know well that protests are not enough. For the waiting has been long. We realise how long the days must seem to those whose hearts are with their stricken countries and with friends and relatives in those countries. We know that their determination never flags, just as the unflinching and sacrificial resistance of people in the occupied countries themselves does not flag. But they would all of them be more than human if they did not look for a sign. And because of past unpreparedness and the immense strength of our enemy the sign has been long in coming.

If you told us that you were impatient we British would understand it—we are impatient, too. We wait the day when the chance to strike home will first present itself, when we may plant the standards of all the United Nations on whatever corner of the Continent Freedom will first reclaim for its own.

That day has been brought nearer by the magnificent courage of Poland's and Czechoslovakia's own fighting men with our Army, Navy and Air Force. These men have done more than fight well and successfully. They have joined their work with the work of the indomitable underground movements on the Continent itself in keeping the soul of their countries alive when the whole effort of the enemy planned to crush that soul . . .

References have been made to the troubles that will face Europe at the end of this war. They will be grave. The test of statesmanship in the years immediately following the war will be greater and more complicated than even the pursuit of the war itself. Europe will be a muddle for a time. It is bound to come through a period of some difficulty and even possibly chaos. For one of the curses of dictatorships is that the peaceful transferring of power from one body of politicians to another becomes a difficult thing because the other body of politicians has been suppressed or destroyed. And Europe, therefore, will have its difficulties, and the United Nations will have to take over Europe and will have a good deal of responsibility of running Europe through that transition period. And there will be justice to administer, justice upon these war criminals; justice to decide, justice to enforce, and we would wish that it should be done with certainty, with precision and in an orderly manner, but it won't be all orderly. There will be some disturbances. There will be some rough justice done by some of the peoples of Europe to some of their oppressors. Perhaps a little bit of rough justice will teach the Nazis what this kind of thing is like. We will restore law and order as soon as we can, but it may be we won't be able to do it quite quickly enough before the crowd has had a little go at the job itself . . .

After the war had been won, Europe will be in a state of great confusion. The Germans must not be permitted to take advantage of it. We must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We must sit on the Germans' necks militarily, and control them, but not for two years only. The control ought to be applied for as long as is necessary to avoid the risk of further aggression . . . .

I would ask the people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and all the oppressed lands, here and in their own countries, to carry in their minds three messages from the people of Britain.

The first is that the day of deliverance will be brought as near as the developed power and the determined will of this country can bring it.

The second is that whether the day comes sooner or later, come it will with an absolute certainty. Never must they allow themselves to doubt victory. When some tale of defeat may cast them down or hope deferred afflict them, never let them cease to believe in the power and the determination of the United Nations to liberate Europe and overthrow Hitler. It is said that before the end of this year Germany will deliver her peace ultimatum. Rest assured that the United Nations would accept no peace offer from Hitler, unless it took the form of a promise, with guarantees, of the performance of a collective suicide pact by the whole of the German leadership.

Lastly, the leaders of the United Nations have pledged their word that those who are responsible for ordering, or executing the infamous cruelties practised upon the men, women and children of Europe will surely find the retribution they deserve when the inevitable day of reckoning comes.

THE CHAIRMAN : I should like to tell you that I have received letters from Comrades Hans Vogel, Wenzel Jaksch, Oskar Pollak



and Piero Treves, asking me to convey to you their fullest sympathy with the objects of this meeting—on their own behalf, and on behalf of their comrades in this country.

Why Norway ?

Was there ever a people more respected and better loved—more devoted to the arts of peace—a little people, as the Germans would say—a people who have given less cause for jealousy or enmity—a people without an empire.

That did not save them from the Germans. I call upon Comrade Arne Ordning of Norway—unconquered, unconquerable.

## ARNE ORDING

*(Norwegian Foreign Office)*

I just have to say some words on Norway. I take the opportunity to greet the British Labour Movement and to greet and thank you. Our people at home know very well what you are doing and what you will do in the future.

As you know, in the first part of the war the Germans treated the different occupied countries quite differently and behaved with caution in Norway. They said we were a Nordic people and they offered co-operation and friendship within the framework of their New Order. The Norwegian people rejected the offer and we rejected it at a time when the outlook was very dark from a military point of view. We are a small people, but we have never lived in slavery and our people have a very strong instinct for liberty and a very strong sense of justice. Neither our enemy's promises nor his threats had any effect.

One year ago the real terror in Norway started with the murder of two of our best men in the Labour Movement, and later many shared the same fate. It is very difficult to make it clear to decent people in non-occupied countries what this terror really means. I remember before the war even anti-Nazis in Norway had a great difficulty in really believing the stories which were told about torture in prisons and cruelties in concentration camps. I am not going to give you examples or go into details, but I can assure you that the reality is far worse than anyone can imagine and these things will not be forgotten. I can tell you another thing, that there is not a single pacifist in Norway now. In other countries perhaps more people have been killed than in Norway and particularly in heroic Poland; on the other hand, the contrast in the conditions prevailing in the past and those of the present is perhaps greater in Norway than anywhere else. We have had peace for more than 120 years; we had abolished the death penalty a long time ago. There are no political police. I remember when I went to a small town there was one policeman to the six thousand inhabitants—he had held this job for forty years and never made an arrest. No wonder Germany considers us a backward people! You may



ask me how can such a peaceful people stand up to the ordeal. Allow me to give you one example.

When the Germans wanted to nazify Norway many attacks were directed against the schools and the teachers were compelled to join the Nazi Teachers' Union. They refused, and twelve hundred of them were sent to concentration camps where they were maltreated and humiliated in every possible way. They still refused. Then more than five hundred of them were packed on to a small steamer and sent to forced labour in the Arctic. That voyage lasted for fourteen days. In peace times that trip during the light polar nights is one of the most beautiful in the world. The greater part of the teachers had never been there before, for it was rather an expensive trip. They were not able to see the land of the midnight sun this time either, for they lay packed together in the stinking hold of the ship. Now they are working on the docks, starving and clad in rags. It would have been so easy to escape all that—all they had to do was to sign a declaration. What is so moving is that these teachers have established the closest friendship with the Russian prisoners of war with whom they are working. These Russian prisoners of war had been kept isolated and we learn that the Norwegian teachers have inspired them with new hope and courage.

These teachers have sent a letter to their pupils and this has managed to find its way into the hands of them all. It was a tribute of thanks to the children :

“ We teachers have been proud of you during the time since our country was occupied. You have shown how children from good homes and good schools can endure hardships. You have been of good heart even in the darkest moments and when many grown-ups lost courage. You knew that what is good and true will always win in the end, and therefore you have never stopped believing in our liberation. Your cheerfulness has given us grown-ups new heart.”

Now these people never claimed to be heroic ; most of them were middle-aged, holding small positions in small towns and villages. I think these things are the sign of the great moral reserves of democracy. It has been said that the coming century will be that of the common man. I think that one great feature of this war is that the common men of every United Nation have shown themselves to be worthy of this future.

THE CHAIRMAN : Not far away from Norway is Denmark. I have just received a telegram which reads :—

“ On behalf of the Free Danes in Britain we join in your protest against the bestial German atrocities committed against the heroic Polish and Czechoslovak peoples. These crimes shall never be forgotten. We Danes will demand just retribution for all the wrongs done by the Nazi oppressors. United in suffering, the peoples of Europe will stand united on the day of reckoning. The Danes will not fail their fellow victims in other occupied countries.

(Sgd.) J. CHRISTMAS MÖLLER,  
Chairman, Executive Committee, The Danish Council.”

To give back freedom to her people and to restore the greatness of France is one of our most cherished war aims.

But that cannot be done without the co-operation of the French people themselves.

Our comrade, André Philip, has dedicated himself to that task.

He comes here to-night as one of the representatives of the new French Socialist Party.

I now call upon André Philip to address you.

## ANDRÉ PHILIP

*(National Commissioner of the Interior and of Labour of Fighting France)*

We also in France are now having the experience of what German rule is like. At the beginning Germany tried to be more cautious, even charming, in her relations with us. She even offered us collaboration. But very quickly everyone understood what this means. It means complete plundering, complete domination of the people, directly in occupied France and indirectly—and this is still worse when Germany's job is done by French traitors—in the unoccupied country. We have been experiencing all the atrocities which have been developed and pushed to higher degrees in Poland. We have seen all the stages—people taken, people in concentration camps, people killed in Paris, 100 or 200 a month. Every time I went to the cemetery in Paris I saw a huge number of new graves open for people murdered or killed by the Germans, and now for some days we have been realising the complete generalisation of methods which were first tried out on the Jews before their generalisation on all other citizens of France. You know what happened in Paris on July 16th when 26,000 Jews were rounded up all over the city—men, women and children to be sent into camps, some to Poland, some to other parts in Central Europe. All the families broken up, with no possibility of finding their children. I have just had news to-day of what happened in Paris and of the anger of the Germans to find that a great number of their victims had disappeared before there was time to rush them out. As a result policemen have been killed in Paris, hundreds of them are imprisoned to-day, and high officials of the police have been taken into custody for having helped to get Jews away from the Germans.

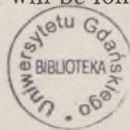
In the unoccupied country they asked Laval (who always does everything to please) to do the same thing. I have just had news of what happened two days ago in Lyons, my home town, where it had been decided to take 3,000 Jews and send them to Germany. They did not succeed, because not only part of the police helped the Jews to get away, but there were, in many quarters, risings of the population, risings of the workers, risings of high-school boys,

who sometimes went into the streets and took the people away out of the hands of the police in order to save their lives.

We are experiencing what German rule really is. We know it as yet very little and we know it only at the beginning. What our suffering is, is nothing compared with what they have endured in Czechoslovakia and Poland and in other countries, which have had for some years the suffering which we are now beginning to know, which is going to grow and develop also in France.

We get news from other countries, we know everything that is happening there, through the resistance papers, and the printed news that is growing and developing as the resistance of the whole country and people grows. This was something which began individually, carried on by private initiative, each one trying to do everything he could. Then there began to be organised groups which are getting stronger every day. I may say this is a struggle in which the working class in France has been taking the lead. To-day this is the strongest element of resistance in the struggle, helped by all that we know of the wonderful courage of the other nations in Europe, and I may also say of the wonderful courage of all those who are fighting and those who accepted the fight alone when almost everyone of us had lost hope. If resistance is possible in France to-day, it is because, when every hope had been lost, Britain alone went on with the fight. If since the Armistice and the treason of the Vichy people, the spirit of resistance has been going on, it is because we heard every evening through the British B.B.C. the French sending us the news of all the peoples who were carrying on the fight. We realised how in the last winters the British nation was still going on through the terrible *Blitzkrieg* and showing such wonderful calm and quietness and courage, the life going on under terrible conditions. We had this testimony that they were going on and fighting when they were alone and had not yet any hope of help from others. This is what gave us courage.

And now I will try to say also what I think should be the lessons of all that has happened. Masaryk said it a few moments ago. When we think of the suffering of all the peoples, all over the world to-day, we must denounce the terrible brutality of Hitler and cowardice of the German nation in accepting this and not taking the initiative in the fight with strong inner resistance. But we must also remember that we all are responsible for the policy of appeasement, which had been the policy of almost all the great nations, and we must therefore all bear a big responsibility for the sufferings of the people of the world to-day. It began in Spain—we let the Spanish Republic go down. This went on and we let Czechoslovakia go down. We did not realise, just as it may not be entirely realised yet by everyone even now, that this is *one* war—it is not a Russian war, nor a special war for each country fighting separately. It is a united war in which all races are together in a resistance movement and are a great fighting force. Each must play its own rôle. This war, which we shall win if we keep enough strength, enough feeling of unity, enough feeling for all that binds us together all over Europe, all over the world, will be followed by the problems of peace. We shall





need this unity in the terrible problems which will come up in the rebuilding of Europe. We have to remember that, just exactly as the war can only be won by the unity of all those taking part in it, so the peace can only be won if we keep the unity of all those who will have to take part in it. If we do not want to see the same thing happen again in 20 years, we shall have to keep Germany in custody for a long time. We have also, as Masaryk said, to destroy those private interests which are building up armaments of a policy which is not an international policy, not that of workers or of common people. We must realise that the economic life of Europe of to-morrow will have to be managed by representatives of the common man and not by private capitalists. If we do not do this we may have a period of reconstruction and new prosperity and in ten to fifteen years will come a big economic crisis which will lead to war exactly like this one. This is the whole problem of reconstruction for which we must remain united. This is the reason why I tell you to-day, more than at any other time, the motto of the Socialist Movement must be: "Workers of the world, unite." This is a possibility and only in this possibility shall we win the war, and after that find a real and lasting peace.

THE CHAIRMAN: The women of Europe have a tale of their own to tell. Wherever there is a man there is a woman—whether the man be in the army, a galley-slave in Germany, in the concentration camp, in the ghetto or in a dead man's grave. The women of occupied Europe are sometimes forgotten in this war. Without the work and courage, the steadfastness in adversity of the women, Europe could not hold out.

I now call upon Comrade Mary Sutherland to address you.

## MARY SUTHERLAND

*(Chief Woman Officer of the British Labour Party)*

It is both a duty and a privilege to take part in this meeting. It is the duty of a member of the British Labour Movement to help to make known throughout the free world what is happening in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other occupied countries. And it is a privilege to pay a humble and grateful tribute to brave men and brave women in these countries whose broken and tortured bodies bear witness to their unbroken and indomitable spirit.

The story of the wholesale massacres, the tortures, the concentration camps, the deportations of men and women to slavery inside Germany, the corruption and execution of children, the degradation of women, takes so long to tell that it must be compressed into rows of figures. But figures, however true, tend to separate us from the truth. We add and subtract and compare, we become engrossed in the abstraction and almost forget the realities.

These terrible statistics represent human lives and human



suffering, suffering which is without parallel in the blood-stained pages of European history. And in all the agony of the past three years, Czech and Polish women have suffered equally with their men. Where the German armies march, there is no discrimination either of age or sex. Women, like men, are sent to prisons and concentration camps; women are enduring physical torture and facing the firing squads; women are sent to forced labour—or to a much worse fate. But that is only part of their suffering. Those who themselves escape physical violence, endure the bitter anguish of separation from their husbands and children.

The wholesale destruction of family life, the brutal trampling on the simplest and strongest of human emotions, is part of a policy which aims at exterminating the Czech and Polish peoples. It is a weapon by which the Germans also aim at sapping resistance, by destroying hope.

Such is the German aim. But they have miscalculated. There are tens of thousands of women in Central and Eastern Europe, simple hard-working peasant women and manual workers and professional women, who only wanted to live in peace and do their work and watch their children grow up in happiness, and who to-day have no idea where their husbands and children are. They don't know if they will ever see them again. They don't know whether they are alive or dead. There are thousands more who *do* know. They know that their husbands have been killed, that their children, who were torn from them, have been placed in German institutions. Yet hope has not been crushed in them. They take part in the fight for freedom. They give aid to those who are doing underground work. They face danger every day and every hour.

It is not pleasant or comfortable to read the tale of barbarous atrocities which are happening daily in occupied Europe. Some people prefer not to believe them; to dismiss them as atrocity mongering; to give Cain's answer to the question "Am I my brother's keeper?"

But British Labour women will keep faith with the brave women of Poland and Czechoslovakia. We will not shrink from calling attention to ugly things. We will not hesitate to call ugly things by their proper names. We condemn the savage and bestial atrocities which are being committed against the Polish and Czech peoples. We condemn the political and economic policy of which they are the instrument.

For these deeds are not isolated acts of brutality committed in the heat of battle. They are done in cold blood, according to plan, against defenceless civilians. They are part of a deliberate policy of extermination of the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other occupied countries, so that these countries may be turned into German territory. Germany aims at killing enough non-Germans to ensure that if she wins, and even if she is defeated, Germany will be able, by predominance of numbers, to dominate the political and economic life of Europe.

We condemn that policy as we condemn the atrocities. We say that those who commit these crimes must bear responsibility for

them—they can plead no moral alibi. We reject the evil doctrine that a man ceases to be a man when he wears a soldier's uniform.

And we ask the German people how long they are going to acquiesce. Unless they are prepared to repudiate these crimes they must share the responsibility for them. We require them to give some sign of repudiation now and not to wait until Hitler has been defeated and it is safe to speak.

Throughout occupied Europe, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in Yugoslavia and Greece, and Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, brave men and women who understand freedom are performing acts of sabotage and offering resistance to every new oppression even though it is *not* safe. They run fearful risks, they take their lives in their hands every day. But they are not afraid.

We salute their courage and offer them our admiration and our gratitude. Above all we salute their heroic dead. We salute those who have died even since we began our meeting here two hours ago.

If I were asked to write the epitaph of all these brave men and women, I would repeat the inspiring lines which our poet Wordsworth dedicated to Toussaint l'Ouverture, who gave his life for the cause of the negro slaves nearly a century and a half ago :

“ There's not a breathing of the common wind  
That will forget thee: thou hast great allies ;  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.”

“ *Man's unconquerable mind.*”—The heroism and martyrdom of nameless men and women in Greece and Yugoslavia and Poland and Czechoslovakia, and all over occupied Europe, are a symbol for us to-day of man's unconquerable mind. Labour women salute their valour. We shall not fail them nor those who still carry on the fight. We shall work without stint, we shall not spare ourselves until victory is won. And after victory, they and we, who are allies now, shall go forward together, still allies, to build a new world which will assure Bread and Peace to all mankind.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our comrade, Albarda,<sup>1</sup> cannot be with us to-night. He has sent me a letter which I am now going to read to you.

“As, to my regret, I shall be unable to be present at your meeting, I should like to express herewith my sincerest sympathy with the aims of your demonstration.

The barbaric cruelties committed by the Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia will remain for all time an indelible scar on all those who have ordered and executed them as well as on those who stood by without protest.

To the peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia as a whole the German regime has brought indescribable sufferings, not least on the Jewish section of the population. However far one looks back along the road of misery trodden by the Jewish people in all ages one cannot find a stretch darker or more bloody than this latest trail.

With the greatest reverence and admiration we think of the

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<sup>1</sup> Minister for Communications, Acting Minister of Finance, the Netherlands Cabinet.

people of those two countries who, undaunted by all atrocities, remain steadfast in the battle for liberation.

Together with the other peoples of the United Nations, who everywhere in their occupied countries are forced to endure the gross injustice and the inhuman brutality of the Germans, they will move forward to the world of Freedom in the midst of sorrow and tears.

(Sgd.) J. W. ALBARDA."

Louis de Brouckère is a Belgian, and one of the elder statesmen of International Socialism. We will, therefore, give to him the last word.

## LOUIS DE BROUCKÈRE

*(ex-President of the Labour and Socialist International)*

We have heard this evening many important speeches and now I must confess that I do not find myself quite at ease to sum up, so to say, in my broken English, so I will try to say a very few words.

We have heard with a feeling of deep indignation all that those of Poland and Czechoslovakia have had to tell us, but all the time I could not help having my attention divided over the sufferings of all our countries—the far away countries and of my own people near by. One is always more or less egoistic.

Of course, in Belgium, as in every other occupied country, people are suffering in an awful way. In Belgium also the children are all underfed, nearly 75 per cent. of them are undersized, and many hundreds of them will never be able to get back their normal standard of life and health. In Belgium also many people are fighting loyally, in constant danger of being shot or tortured. It is the same in Holland and in the two parts of France—the France occupied by Hitler and the France occupied by traitors. There is in my country, as in Norway, suffering going on, but still when we compare the situation in our countries with the situation in Eastern Europe we must remember that the suffering in the West is now the worst we have ever experienced since the time of the Spanish Inquisition. It is useful to try to understand why it is that Hitler manifests this brutality everywhere where his armies go, but in different ways in Eastern and Western Europe. Perhaps it is necessary for us living in the West to think what we can do to help not only the people living in the Eastern part. What can we do? The first thing we can do is to go on fighting. I think I can say in the name of all my people, in the name of all the occupied people of Europe, that they are decided to go on fighting for years if necessary.

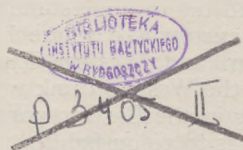
We must not under-estimate the importance of that fight, for the issue of the war and the building up of peace. Hitler has treated Eastern and Western Europe in two different ways, and in a different spirit. He well realises that he would be done to-day were a profound



solidarity to exist between the two parts of Europe. If everyone of us studies his own conscience or the national conscience, there is not a single person in Europe who has not to reproach himself or itself for the past. We must all realise that it is not enough to have words of sympathy, that we cannot have our own peace where there is not justice and peace in the whole world, and especially in Europe. The ways to establish peace and to solve the problems may be differently thought of, but it is impossible to have peace in the West if there is not peace in the East. We have to live together or to do and die and perish together.

One thing is necessary to help our Eastern comrades, it is this : we must be strongly determined to have justice after the war on the criminals who have committed the appalling deeds of which we have heard this evening. The punishment must not only be for the murderers, but also for the people of different nationalities who are their accomplices.

A few days ago a young Belgian who has just escaped from his country under difficult conditions told me that in the streets there if, during conversations, the question of traitors is mentioned and names such as that of Degrelle or others are spoken, nobody says a single word, but they all look silently at the next lamp post. Yes, after the war there will be justice and at first it will be *popular justice*. A few days ago I was asked by one of my friends who is a very good soul, whether, if people were being hanged without much of a trial, it would not be my duty as an old man to prevent it. You, being an old man, he said, ought to be calm. I told him very frankly : " Well, if I wanted to try I should not succeed, but if I was sure to succeed, I should not try." When popular justice is satisfied, let us have regular justice after that, social justice, and then we can start to build the peace.



## MESSAGE TO POLAND

We have learnt from reliable sources that the Nazis have again intensified their activities in your country, and that they pursue the one purpose, now avowed, of exterminating all who live upon your soil—the Jews to begin with, and then, to complete the crime, the Poles themselves.

This is no longer a racial matter only. It is also bound up with "Lebensraum."

In Poland the theory of extermination wears a double mask—but the acts of barbarism, and the purpose, are the same.

Coolly and systematically, by mass execution, the Germans are to secure possession of your property and of your territory, and to occupy it indefinitely.

Must one be surprised at this criminal policy of theft and brigandage? We do not think so. It was so in the past, when the German barons settled among you and around you. Moreover, the Norwegians, with the Greeks and the Yugoslavs, and the Czechoslovaks, also know to-day what it costs to resist oppression, and the misery which reigns in Holland, Belgium and France, as everywhere else—the organised misery—provides a foretaste of the "happiness" which the regime of the New Order has in store for Europe should Germany be victorious. In Holland the deportation of the Jews to the East has begun.

Moreover, Hitler-Germany is wrong in imagining that the people in the Occupied Countries will ever give way to despair and renunciation. We know that violence has an end. We know that friends are watching and that they have the power of destroying the evil things being done by the Nazi hordes.

Great Britain will never yield. Russia is fighting heroically for her existence. The United States have thrown the weight of their armaments into the balance. And, were it necessary to quote an example of endurance, we would invoke that of Eternal China.

Under the ægis of the fighting forces, the people in the occupied countries are doing their duty, and in the foremost ranks stands indomitable Poland, who has never bowed the knee.

In your distress we send you this testimony of our solidarity, and of our admiration for your courage.

**Belgium** : Camille Huysmans, Louis de Brouckère, August de Block, I. A. Smets, Josephine van Liefferinge, E. Smets, A. J. Raxworthy, R. Smets, C. G. Everling.

**Czechoslovakia** : Jaromir Nečas, František Němec, Jan Bečko, Gustav Winter, Josef Bělina.

**France** : André Philip, Felix Gouin, Georges Gombault, Henry Hauck, Louis Lèvy, Gustave Moutet.

**Holland** : J. W. Albarda, J. van den Tempel, J. C. Esveldt, J. W. Lebon, M. Sluyser.

**Italy** : R. M. Luzatto, P. Treves.

**Luxemburg** : Pierre Krier.

**Norway** : Ingvald Haugen, Hakon Lie, Konrad Nordahl, Arthur Ruud.

**Palestine** : Berl Locker.

**Spain** : Luis Araquistain, Pablo Alvaro, Lorenzo Campos, Wenceslao Carillo, Rodrigo Leon, Jose Ruiz.

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If you wish to understand the problems of Central-Eastern Europe and to know the conditions under which the Polish people are living under German occupation, read these pamphlets :

*Slavery Under Hitler's " New Order,"* with a Foreword by the RT. HON. SIR WALTER CITRINE  
(Out of Print) .. .. . id.

*Underground Poland Speaks,* with a Foreword by P. J. NOEL-BAKER, M.P. .. .. . id.

*A Worker's Day Under German Occupation,* with a Foreword by JIM GRIFFITHS, M.P. .. id.

*Stop Them Now,* with a Foreword by the RT. HON. LORD WEDGWOOD .. .. . id.

*Towards a New Poland,* with a Foreword by the RT. HON. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P., and an introduction by JAN KWAPINSKI, Member of the Polish Cabinet .. .. . id.

*Workers' Protective Legislation in Poland,* with a Preface by JAN STANCZYK, Polish Minister of Labour .. .. . 3d.

*Unknown Europe,* with a Foreword by VERNON BARTLETT, M.P. .. .. . 3d.

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**NIE  
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*A Polish cartoon: "We Shall Not Forget!"*