



Poland fights back¹

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FOR months after the termination of the Polish military campaign, the outside world heard only about the persecutions instituted by the Germans against the Poles, the confiscations and expropriations, the expulsions and deportations of Polish and Jewish populations. The world was being given its first taste of the Nazi "new order." All the resistance of defeated Poland seemed to be crushed; the entire population appeared helpless in the face of brute force. But slowly the outside world learned about various activities, of people fighting against their new masters. It was hardly possible to determine the origin of these reports. Almost from nowhere came the news that a powerful underground movement had developed in Nazi-occupied Poland, accompanied by numerous acts of sabotage.

A fairly comprehensive picture of the heroic struggle of the Polish and Jewish underground movements can be given. Of course, everything cannot be published because it would put these secret activities in danger, but a sufficient number of news items and documents have already reached the outside world.

Immediately after the completion of the Polish campaign and the occupation of the country by Nazi Germany, thousands of former Polish soldiers hid in the woods and began their guerrilla warfare. The Germans were constantly combing the forests, but most of the time they could not discover the hiding places of the Polish guerrillas, who enjoyed the support and refuge of the entire population. These units repeatedly attacked Nazi outposts and thus forced the German High Command to maintain a large army of occupation in Poland.

The largest of these guerrilla units hid in the woods for months near Kielce and did not disband until April 1940, when the Polish Government-in-exile formally ordered its dissolution. Its presence endangered the lives of the local population, which was made collectively respon-

¹ This is the chapter entitled "The Underground Movement," reprinted with permission from Dr. Segal's *The New Order in Poland*. The book will be published shortly by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

sible for the activities of the guerrillas and was exposed to ruthless reprisals. However, the guerrillas continued. Although Poland is a flat country, it has dense forests and bad roads, and guerrilla warfare is relatively easy. The German newspapers themselves admitted that at least three large groups of Polish "armed bandits" which operated in Western Poland alone had become considerably bolder since the outbreak of the Russo-German war, lying in wait in the woods or along the railroads to disrupt and harass German supply columns. In view of the fact that the German occupation authorities were applying the principle of collective responsibility, however, civilian resistance was found more effective and less dangerous in some instances than the armed guerrilla bands.

One of the most important means of civilian resistance was industrial sabotage. Factories in Poland were forced to operate for the benefit of the German war machine, and most of their workers were kept on. These men developed various tactics to retard or prevent production. One method was direct sabotage of factory equipment. A Polish writer who had worked in a commandeered factory and had escaped from Warsaw by the middle of 1940 reported that a machine needed repairs ten times as frequently in six months as had been necessary in a year under Polish control.

Another popular form of sabotage was the so-called "delaying process." Very often, skilled Polish workers would present themselves to the Germans as unskilled laborers with the result that months were wasted in training them to work machines with which they actually had been familiar for many years. To avoid being recognized as skilled workers, these men would travel long distances to towns where they were unknown and where their subterfuge could not be discovered. In the countryside, too, dispossessed Polish peasants managed to burn up the farms of German colonists or destroy their own crops before the authorities succeeded in confiscating them.

THE Poles have now returned to the forms of underground fighting that were so frequently used by them under Czarist Russia. While, of course, very little news about these activities is available from German newspapers, the constant clamor against Polish "bands of assassins" shows how widespread the sabotage activities are and to what extent the old Polish underground tactics have been revived.

The essential differences between the former and present-day under-

ground activities seem to be a greater centralization of authority and a well-planned movement throughout the country. The Polish Government-in-exile has its representatives in Poland, and as far as is feasible, all the underground groups are co-ordinated and directed by central authorities. A few examples of such co-ordination can be given here.

Before September 1, 1940, the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war, all the underground newspapers printed an appeal from the representatives of the Polish Government-in-exile calling upon the population to abstain from attending, on September 1, all places of entertainment, movies, theaters, etc. The population was asked not to buy any newspapers published by the Nazis and to remain at home from four to six o'clock in the afternoon.

On September 1, 1940, great Nazi parades were held in Poland. Nazi soldiers marched and sang German patriotic songs, but not a Pole or a Jew was to be seen in the streets. All entertainment places were open but empty. Suddenly, at six o'clock, thousands of Poles and Jews appeared in the streets and began to walk toward patriotic monuments or cemeteries to honor their dead. In Warsaw a considerable number of people streamed toward the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and other national and patriotic monuments. Immediately these monuments were covered by great masses of red and white flowers.

The impression made by this national show of discipline, observed by practically the entire population, was such that even the German officers and soldiers felt uncomfortable. The Gestapo, as usual, replied with mass arrests and concentration camps. This, however, did not greatly disturb the spirit of the population, and the underground movement continued with even greater force. Similar demonstrations were held at various times at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw and other monuments in many Polish cities. The Germans finally had to forbid the placing of flowers and other manifestations at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

In view of what happened on September 1, 1940, the German secret police prepared for mass arrests and house searches on September 1, 1941. These were carried out on an extensive scale in Warsaw, Lodz and other cities. All religious services for Polish soldiers killed in action were prohibited, but later, such services were allowed on receipt of special permits. The streets of Polish cities were heavily patrolled by German police, S.S. élite guards, military police and Gestapo agents. Nevertheless, the anniversary was turned by the Poles

into an anti-German protest. Young people held mass demonstrations in many cities and many houses displayed Polish flags. Those that did not participate in the demonstrations remained at home as they had done the previous year. They also refused to buy any German or German-controlled newspapers.

The ubiquitous Gestapo has been baffled by the equally ubiquitous underground press. Occasionally, German secret agents discover a printing press, ink and paper supplies, a short-wave receiving set and men in a cellar. But the sheet soon pops up somewhere else. It prints forbidden news, editorials and satires. It gives information about the lot of the missing and the revenge taken, and reviews acts of sabotage and their outcome. Naturally it has no established headquarters. Very few of the illegal newspapers in Poland have been discovered, but when the press of the *Dziennik Polski* ("Polish Daily") was found in Warsaw, 170 people were arrested and 120 of them shot. However, this did not decrease the number of illegal newspapers. On the contrary, since then they have considerably increased their circulation.

THESE underground newspapers, published by the hundreds, have provided the most effective means of propagating resistance against the occupation authorities. Some of them have been appearing regularly and have succeeded in publishing scores of issues. Many of them were smuggled out of Poland and reached the United States. They usually reported news from England and the United States, and showed the great resistance of the British Empire and its Allies against the Axis powers. Even before American entry in the war, they consistently stressed the aid given by the United States to the Allied cause.

The tone of the papers changed after the French defeat. Until then, most of the Poles believed that the defeat of Hitler would be accomplished in a short time. After the French collapse, however, a general depression seized the country, and many Poles began to doubt whether a victory of Great Britain and her Allies would be possible. Others realized that even if such victory should come, it would be only after a long and difficult struggle. The underground press reflected this change in public opinion.

However, with the increasing resistance of the British Empire and lend-lease aid coming from the United States, a new note of hope and an increased fighting spirit could be detected in the illegal newspapers. Since the beginning of 1941, and especially since the outbreak of the

G W A R D I A

NR. 10

WRN

1 - 14 czerwiec

1941 r.

Jest rzeczą w tym terenie osiedlenia

MANIFEST DO LUDÓW ŚWIATA

Istnieje nas pracujących Polaki, wypolnicie woli reprezentujemy a gorą dwa tysiące grup z powstankow umiarowuch z wszystkich trzech cezarac wyraz swej solidarnosci międzynarodowej i Swiatu z wzajemnie, aby stanęły do wojny politycznej. Istnieje nas pracujących Polaki, wypolnicie woli reprezentujemy a gorą dwa tysiące grup z powstankow umiarowuch z wszystkich trzech cezarac wyraz swej solidarnosci międzynarodowej i Swiatu z wzajemnie, aby stanęły do wojny politycznej. Istnieje nas pracujących Polaki, wypolnicie woli reprezentujemy a gorą dwa tysiące grup z powstankow umiarowuch z wszystkich trzech cezarac wyraz swej solidarnosci międzynarodowej i Swiatu z wzajemnie, aby stanęły do wojny politycznej.

TOTALNE ZWYCIESTWO.

Wyrósł na grunciu użyzionym przez gniący kapitalizm. Klasy wyprzedziły się i szczytu jako środka przykrego i krepującego. Po przeczuciu oddaj towarzyszywo!

WOLNOŚĆ

Narodzonymi ludzkiem i wolnym jest odbudowanie i powstanie polskiej politycznej i uproszenie w sprawie o zasady demokracji i sprawiedliwej demokracji.

Nr. 7

Dnia 1 kwietnia 1941 roku

KRAJ I RZĄD

Nikt w Polsce nie kwestionuje suwerenności i terytorialności kraju zagranicą. Wówczas rogo by nie den...

WESOLE PISMO

11 LISTOPADA 1918 R.

WOJSKO I NIEPODLEGŁOŚĆ

11 LISTOPADA 1918 R.

WALKA I WOLNOŚĆ

11 LISTOPADA 1918 R.

PRZEGLĄD

WOJSKO I NIEPODLEGŁOŚĆ

WINSTON CHURCHILL WŚRÓD POLSKICH ŻOŁNIERZY

PLACÓWKA

GWARDIA

WOJSKO I NIEPODLEGŁOŚĆ



ZIEMIA MOWI

TRYBUNA LUDOWA

WALCZYMY O PRAWDE I POLSKĘ

GŁOS POLSKI

ORLETA

DROGA WOLNOŚCI

WYWIADY

BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY

O FORME I TREŚĆ PRZYSZŁEJ POLSKI

PRZEGLĄD



WIADOMOŚCI POLSKIE

WALKA TRWA



POLSKA WALCZY

POLSKA ŻYJE!

Głos W...

UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPERS IN POLAND

Russo-German war and the unexpected reverses met by the German Armies in the Russian campaign, the underground press has not only become hopeful of victory but has even discussed the future European order following the defeat of Hitlerism.

Every step in underground work is extremely dangerous, from obtaining presses, ink and paper, to writing, editing and distributing the finished product. All sorts of controls have been adopted by the Germans to ascertain the destination of every scrap of paper and every bit of printing ink sold in Poland. Yet, despite these strict controls and the continuous searches by the Gestapo, publications by the hundreds continue to circulate. Some are no bigger than a post card; some are almost regular newspaper size.

Because of the difficulties of obtaining paper and the danger of arrest, circulation presents quite a problem. The most popular system of distribution is that in which each member of the editorial staff gives copies to a number of his most trusted friends. Each of these in turn hands his copy on to other trusted acquaintances. One of the illegal papers published the following instructions for distribution:

a) The selection of distributors. It is a fundamental duty of the organizers of supplies of this journal to make a careful and intelligent choice of distributors. The basic requisite is that they should be men of character. They must be patriots who have mastered all common, ordinary fear. They must be unruffled in their behavior and not subject to caprices, prudent in action and words. It is not permissible to entrust the distribution to people who are little known, unreliable, garrulous and frivolous. A careless choice of a distributor means sentencing several Polish families to a daily uncertainty of existence.

b) The choice of reader. Not everybody should receive this paper. It is sufficient if, out of a dozen or so people in the habit of frequently meeting one another, one receives a copy of the journal. The regular readers must be people well known and certain. It is foolish and criminal to distribute the — right and left to anyone who comes along.

c) The reader as agent. Every recipient of a single number of the — should regard himself as an agent of the Polish information and propaganda service. He ceases to be a private person, he is in the national service. He should not fearfully destroy the copy of the journal, but cautiously and prudently place it in circulation among absolutely reliable people. Every copy should be circulated among several Polish homes. In addition, the regular recipient of the — should on more important occasions prudently pass on information to others and correct false enemy propaganda.

d) To the hands of those for whom it is intended. The distributor must not let anyone take his place in the receiving or passing on of the journal.

He must do this himself. The confidence of the organizers of the distribution is placed in the distributor himself, and not in others whom the distributor may desire to take his place.

e) No notes. The distributor must rely entirely on his memory in carrying out his work and not make any lists, and he must especially refrain from making notes of any addresses.

f) Silence. Only as many as must know should be informed about the organizational work. If you happen to know more than others, keep it to yourself, for by speaking you betray the cause. If you happen to know the name of an active worker, never say it aloud, for you will betray a human being. All talkativeness in regard to organizational questions is stupid and criminal.

Another underground paper contained the following instructions to the people on how they should behave toward the Germans:

(1) You should not voluntarily render any services to the army of occupation. Officials should not be zealous. The businessman, shopkeeper, or the man in the street should not be polite, not even in such small things as giving information or directions. You can always pretend that you don't understand German. Treat everything officially and let the Germans feel how strong is the hatred that divides us from them.

(2) Do not go to the movies. Every ticket you buy includes a contribution to the German war front. You thus help to destroy your freedom and the freedom of other nations.

(3) Never go to places of amusement (music halls, night clubs, gambling casinos). It is not fitting to amuse ourselves while the Germans destroy our country and torture hundreds of thousands of our brethren in concentration camps and prisons.

(4) Reduce as much as possible the purchase and consumption of all goods from which the occupants draw profits. Boycott their papers, their vodka and their tobacco.

(5) It is our sacred duty whenever possible to harm the oppressor in executing his orders, in industrial production, everywhere and always.

The underground press is continuously appealing to the people to resist the Germans and to refuse to co-operate with them. It is true that the behavior of the German authorities has greatly facilitated this work. Only a very small section of the former pro-fascist Polish group has agreed to collaborate with the Nazis, while the overwhelming majority of the Polish people refuse to have anything to do with the Germans and follow the instructions of the underground press.

A Polish calendar, secretly printed and circulated throughout the country, may be quoted as another example of the ingenuity of the Poles in communicating with one another and in keeping up the morale

of the people. It was printed in very small type on paper 1½ by 1¼ inches. Among other things, this strange little calendar contained the following application of the Ten Commandments to Poland:

- I. Thou shalt have no other earthly love above me.
- II. Thou shalt not take the name of Poland for thine own glory, career or reward.
- III. Remember that thou shalt give unto Poland without hesitation thy possessions, thy personal happiness and thy life.
- IV. Honor Poland, thy Motherland, as thine own mother.
- V. Fight persistently with Poland's enemies to thy last breath, to the last drop of blood in thy veins.
- VI. Struggle with thine own complacency and cowardice. Behold, a skunk cannot be a Pole.
- VII. Be without mercy to them that betray the Polish name.
- VIII. Always and everywhere boldly admit that thou art a Pole.
- IX. Suffer none to have doubts as to Poland.
- X. Let no one insult Poland, belittle her merits and greatness, her achievements and majesty. Thou shalt love Poland above all else, save only God. Thou shalt love her more than thyself.

THE underground press keeps the people well informed on happenings in Poland and throughout the world. The efficient work of this news service can be seen by a comparison of the dates of international events with the dates on which they are reported in the illegal papers. Day and night, a staff of linguists listens to news broadcasts emanating from the allied countries. They in turn translate these news items into Polish and send them to the hundreds of basements, cellars and barns which usually serve as the offices of the underground press.

The illegal papers are also very well informed on events in Poland. They often report the lack of efficiency in the Nazi administration, and the confusions and red tape prevalent in Poland. For instance, one of the best known illegal papers, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* ("Information Bulletin"), of August 7, 1940, reported the lack of planning and the confusion existing in the school system. The Governor of Warsaw, Herr Fischer, first introduced the German language in the schools of the Warsaw area. Later, this order was repealed. In other cities, similar orders were issued, but they were not repealed and are still in effect. In still other cities, no such orders were ever issued. Thus, in the area of the Generalgouvernement, German was taught in some schools; in some, it was at first taught and later discontinued; and in others, it was never taught at all. This simply proves the confusion, lack of planning,

and arbitrariness of local officials. It also shows the lack of a general policy in one of the most important fields, education.

In addition to strengthening the resistance of the people and giving information on occurrences in Poland and the outside world, the underground press has been an important factor in educating the nation politically. In this connection, general, social, economic and political topics are discussed by the illegal newspapers. Even special magazines dealing with the role of Poland in the future economic and political system of the world have been published by the underground movement. The changes that have occurred since 1939 in the ideas of the Polish people are reflected in the illegal papers, and expression has been given to the hopes and aspirations of the nation for the future.

Scores of meetings have been held in various Polish cities in spite of the Gestapo. In November 1939 a statement was issued by the various groups representing the active Polish underground labor movement and was circulated throughout the country. This statement, called a "Manifesto of Freedom," outlined the progress of the democratic forces of Poland. After severely criticizing the former Polish regime and its totalitarian ideology, which weakened the resistance of Poland to Hitlerism, the "Manifesto" stated as the objectives of the struggle:

1. The chief aim in the fight of the Polish working masses is reconstruction of the full political freedom and independence of Poland, based on principles of democracy and social justice.

2. In the new Poland, the decisive influence must be given to the masses, the peasants, the workers and the intelligentsia. The political constitution and the social and economic structure of Poland must forever preclude the possibility of the existence of privileged social groups which would strive to seize political power and economic supremacy.

3. The future Constitution of Poland must be based on the principles of political democracy guaranteed by a democratic representation of the people elected on the basis of secret, equal, universal, direct suffrage and proportional representation; responsibility of the government before Parliament; independence of the courts of justice; extensive democratic local self-government; freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; and personal immunity of all citizens. Under these conditions, the political and social aspirations of the working masses will find their expression in the emergence of a workers' and peasants' government enjoying the confidence of the people and representing the interests of all workingmen.

4. The influence of big capitalists and landlord groups on the destiny of Poland must be removed through the abolition of large landed estates by means of a thorough and immediate agrarian reform; through socialization or subjection to strict social control of the credit system and large-scale industrial establishments, and the abolition of monopolistic organizations such as cartels, syndicates, etc.; and through the support of small-scale agriculture, the co-operative movement, and protection of small businessmen.

5. The military forces of Poland must be based on democratic organization, which will preclude any caste system.

6. All nationalities living in Poland must be guaranteed full political, economic and cultural equality. Race doctrines and anti-Semitism must be eliminated from public life in Poland.

7. Universal free education must be provided for all citizens, particularly for the children of peasants and workers.

8. The freedom of science and religion must be guaranteed.

9. All citizens of the new Poland must be guaranteed the right to work, the protection of labor and health. It is necessary to expand social insurance, on the basis of democratic self-government.

10. The foreign policy of Poland must be based on mutual understanding and full co-operation with all free peoples of the world and, particularly, with the nations with which Poland has to live in good neighborly relations.

The "Manifesto" concluded:

The struggle for such a Poland is a struggle for freedom, justice, and peace. The fight for such a Poland is a struggle for Socialism and in this struggle the masses of the working people of Poland are not isolated. It coincides with the conflict of the masses of the working people of the whole world against totalitarianism, which brings to the people chains and destruction. Fighting for the people of Poland we fight for the fate of all oppressed nations. We fight under the noble slogan, "For Your Freedom and Ours!"

The underground movement is fully aware that Poland's future is inseparably linked with that of the rest of Europe and of the world. The *Trybuna Ludow* ("Peoples' Tribune"), one of the most important underground papers, stated:

An independent Poland is impossible unless France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, and Holland are also restored to their independence. The whole problem of Europe must be solved. The problems of

the European nations add up to the common European problem. There can be no return to pre-war Europe. The Europe of yesterday is the Europe of Versailles, a mass of economic and social contradictions, exposed to Fascism, constantly haunted by the imminence of war.

AT THE beginning of 1941, representatives of most of the Polish underground organizations met "somewhere in Poland." Over two thousand groups of workers, peasants, and intellectuals from all parts of the country sent delegates to a convention which gave expression to the resolute and united will of all Polish democratic forces. The meeting instructed the leadership of the movement to bring its resolution before the public opinion of the world as an expression of the aspirations and ideals of fighting Poland. This statement, called "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World," reached the United States after an incredible journey of many months across war-infested Europe.

The "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World" reflects the fighting spirit of the Polish working masses. It reviews the military campaign of September 1939 and describes the arbitrary, cruel regime established by the Nazis after the Polish defeat. It condemns the ghetto system and the persecutions of Jews, the deliberate extermination of the people, and the systematic destruction of the country's economic life. It denounces the theory of a *Herrenvolk* (master race) and the discrimination against Poles and Jews, who are considered "inferior races." Finally, the "Manifesto" expresses the hope that the cause of the Allies will ultimately be victorious and that a new Europe based on freedom and justice of peoples will be established. It concludes as follows:

Our struggle like the struggles of other oppressed nations is carried on by united effort to a common end: freedom and social justice in our own land and a new and better order in Europe.

We are firmly convinced that the enemy will be overthrown in the end. At the first opportunity, the conquered peoples will arise to strike the death blow to the invader. Therefore in the name of the Polish people, working and fighting in underground conspiracy, we call to the peoples of the world.

We call to all who have risen in arms to fight the powers of oppression; to all who wage an underground struggle against the dark terror.

We call to the nations who are still outside the armed conflict in this historic tragedy.

We call to the people of Germany, of Italy, of Russia.

No persecutions can compel us to abandon the banner of national and social liberty.

We call to the peoples of the world to join with us.

Look at the bloody face of the "new order" which a victorious totalitarianism holds in premise. Look at our country which is being transformed into a vast graveyard. This is the fate which awaits the conquered. The brutal methods of wholesale extermination, the systematic moral and physical tortures which are inflicted today by the invaders upon millions of people outdo the darkest pages of human history.

The war of today, the war against the instigators of war, is above all a defense of the very foundation of civilization, a defense of the most elementary human rights. In this conflict, no one can remain neutral. We call upon the working people of the world to unite with us in the struggle against the new tyranny. Let the century-old slogan of Polish liberation—For Your Freedom and Ours!—lead us today in our fight for Freedom, Equality and Independence!

The fact that representatives of over two thousand illegal democratic groups could meet under the noses of the Gestapo and that such a document could be accepted and thousands of copies distributed throughout Poland at the risk of life for every distributor and every reader, shows the spirit of the Polish nation and the extent of hatred against the Nazi invaders.

The slogan accepted by the Polish democratic underground movement, "For Your Freedom and Ours," is the old battle-cry of the Polish insurrections against Czarist oppression. It shows the renewed fighting spirit and vigor of the Polish democratic forces.

All the underground newspapers do not represent the working and peasant masses of Poland. The followers of the pre-war regime and nationalist groups also publish illegal papers calling for resistance against the Nazis and for a future independent Poland. But these papers seem to meet with relatively little popular response. The democratic press is decidedly the more important and more widely read by the majority of the Polish people. This press has completely dissociated itself from the pre-war Polish regime and condemned without reservation all totalitarian and anti-Semitic tendencies.

In this respect it is very significant that a proclamation was circulated throughout the country protesting against the establishment of the ghetto in Warsaw. The proclamation was jointly published by the major groups in the Polish underground labor movement. In it, the solidarity of interest of the working people of all nationalities living in Poland was solemnly proclaimed. The Polish workers declared that the establishment of the ghetto was directed not only against the Jews but against the Polish working masses as well. They also said that by the establish-

ment of the ghetto the Nazis were seeking to separate the working people of the various nationalities and attempting to divert the hatred of the Poles from the occupation authorities to the Jews. The proclamation warned:

There are no degrees in slavery and there are no better or worse categories of slaves. The Polish people understand the meaning of that game [of separating the Poles from the Jews] and reject with contempt the position proposed to them by Hitlerism to become better types of slaves because of the fact that they are not enclosed in a ghetto. In the face of the brutalities of the invaders the Polish people recognize only two classes: those who submit and compromise with the oppressors, and those who fight against them.

This close contact and cordial collaboration between the underground activities of the Polish democratic parties and the Jews are of great importance for the future.

SECRET papers also appear in the Warsaw and other ghettos. Jewish workers issue periodicals in Yiddish and sometimes in Polish. The Yiddish periodicals are *The Bulletin*, published fortnightly, and *The Voice of Youth*, published monthly. The December 1940 issue of *The Voice of Youth* had on its front page a sketch of two hands clasped in a cordial handshake through a broken ghetto wall; one hand symbolizing the Polish, the other the Jewish working people, who through their common effort and friendship have broken the ghetto walls erected by the Nazis. The Jewish underground groups also publish a newspaper in Polish called *For Your Freedom and Ours*.

The titles of the several hundred illegal newspapers are constantly changed to prevent detection. Only a few can be mentioned here: *Freedom*; *The Peoples' Tribune*; *Polish News*; *Information Bulletin*; *Bugle*; *Independence*; *Polish Voice*; *Army and Independence*; *We Are Fighting for Truth and Poland* (weekly); *Eaglet* (a paper for youth); *Review*; *The Road to Freedom*; *Future Poland*; *New Poland Fights*; *Poland Lives*; *Roads and Road Signs*; *Sword and Plow*; *The Earth Speaks* (peasant paper); *The Fight Goes On*; *Voice of Warsaw*; *Sentinel*; *Fight and Freedom*; *Lipa* (a satirical paper); *Guard*, etc.

In spite of the fact that publishers and distributors of illegal papers are liable to the death penalty, the underground press is constantly being extended. The Gestapo agents very rarely succeed in discovering illegal publications and printing presses. However, from time to time

the German papers report trials of members of Polish illegal organizations which publish newspapers. Invariably all those connected with the publication of an illegal paper are executed.

The printing machines are hidden in the forests and other remote places and are frequently moved from one place to another. It was reported that the Nazis attempted to spread confusion by distributing pseudo-illegal newspapers on market days, especially among peasants, and then arresting all who accepted them. In Lublin, an agent spread news issued by the British Broadcasting Company and then gave the Gestapo the names of the recipients. Although three hundred people were arrested and many of them were shot, their deaths were quickly avenged, for the Gestapo agent was found slain soon after.

There are also several secret anti-fascist broadcasting stations which send out news picked up from foreign broadcasts, such as those made by the British Broadcasting Company and the American short-wave stations. Polish leaders in exile often address their countrymen over the B.B.C., and in defiance of the death penalty, large sections of the Polish and Jewish populations systematically listen to them. There is ample evidence that the broadcasts from London and the United States are heard by thousands and known throughout the country. The Gestapo is constantly searching for the illegal stations, but when one is discovered, another is soon heard from.

Poles have a long tradition of underground activities, and it has been practically impossible for the Gestapo to cope with the situation. It has therefore retaliated through collective responsibility, shooting of hostages and other ruthless forms of repression. But this does not deter the Poles. Their movement has maintained constant relations with the outside world and especially with the Polish Government-in-exile. One of the methods by which the Polish Government in London receives information from occupied Poland is through couriers and messengers, who cross the German frontier at the risk of their lives. We know of instances where people living in neutral countries went back to Poland to place themselves at the disposal of the underground movement because they were needed there. Naturally, this requires the highest type of idealism, courage and willingness to sacrifice one's life for the cause.

Many instances of the exceptional heroism of these couriers could be cited. One was captured by the Gestapo on his way back to Poland after delivering dispatches to the Government-in-exile. He had no chance to commit suicide. In spite of the cruelty of the Gestapo, no

secrets could be tortured out of him. Fortunately for this man, a secret organization effected his escape from the concentration camp in which he was interned. Often couriers or other workers of the underground movement can be rescued because of the corruption of the Gestapo agents in Poland. We know of an instance in which very compromising documents were found on one of the most important leaders of the underground movement in Poland. For a considerable amount of money this leader was not only released but permitted to escape abroad.

Many death penalties have been imposed in the German-annexed area for arson and resistance to the police, and dissemination of news picked up from foreign broadcasts. In the annexed areas of Poland, arson has become one of the principal weapons against the Nazis. A Polish newspaper controlled by the Nazis reported that in one district alone there were 170 fires in one year. The official German newspaper in Krakow, *Krakauer Zeitung*, reported a fire due to sabotage which caused 60,000 zlotys damage. Because of continued sabotage, the Nazis formed a special police corps in Warsaw to protect water pipes, railway tracks, street cars, electric cables and plants operating for public utilities.

The whole story of the underground movement cannot as yet be told. Suffice it to say that there are thousands upon thousands of people, Poles as well as Jews, who are active in the movement. We have already mentioned one meeting attended by representatives of over two thousand Polish democratic groups. We know of meetings of the Jewish underground movement which were attended by several hundred people who represented tens of thousands. And after the beginning of the Russo-German war, the German press reported a well-organized terrorist campaign by Polish "Robin Hoods" who banded together in a secret Liberty group. The increasing number of "bandits" brought before the German courts shows that the underground movement is constantly growing. In that movement, Polish and Jewish workers are the most active.

IN THE first few months after the occupation, various groups sprang up spontaneously without any plan or direction. Many of these groups were therefore trapped by the Gestapo. Since then, however, an almost perfect system has been organized by people who have had much experience in conspiratorial and secret work. The underground press in Poland is the main instrument of expression of the underground movement and is better developed than the secret press in any other German-occupied country. It is rather significant that the illegal newspapers,

especially since the middle of 1941, have been concerned not only with the present but have been thinking of and educating the people for the future. At practically all the meetings of the central committees of the underground movement, questions relating to the future Poland are discussed.

The underground movement also has considerable influence in the democratization of the Polish Government-in-exile. While reactionary secret newspapers are also being published in Poland, the overwhelming tendency of the underground movement and the illegal press is toward democracy and greater social justice. A sincere desire to break with the pre-war totalitarian Polish regime is prevalent in the papers. The underground movement also seems to be aware of the fact that the anti-Jewish policies of previous regimes weakened the nation, and they have energetically rejected anti-Semitism in the future Poland. If the spirit of the present leaders of the underground movement and of the papers published by them should prevail in the future Poland, it will be one of the most progressive democracies in the world. The underground movement has been fighting one of the most glorious battles for a future great and democratic Poland, united with other freedom loving peoples. It is writing one of the greatest pages in Polish and human history.

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