

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. . . .

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 place of the Polish guerrillas, who enjoyed the support and the 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. . . .

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. . . .

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 underground 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 coordinated and directed by central authorities. A few examples of such coordination can be given here.

Before Sept. 1, 1940, the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war, all the underground newspapers printed an appeal from 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 Sept. 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 on 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 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

POLAND'S RAGING UNDERGROUND

Everywhere the country's heroic guerrilla fighters obstruct the "new order." Sabotaging factory equipment. The secret newspapers — how they are produced and distributed. A remarkable meeting of delegates from 2,000 democratic groups.

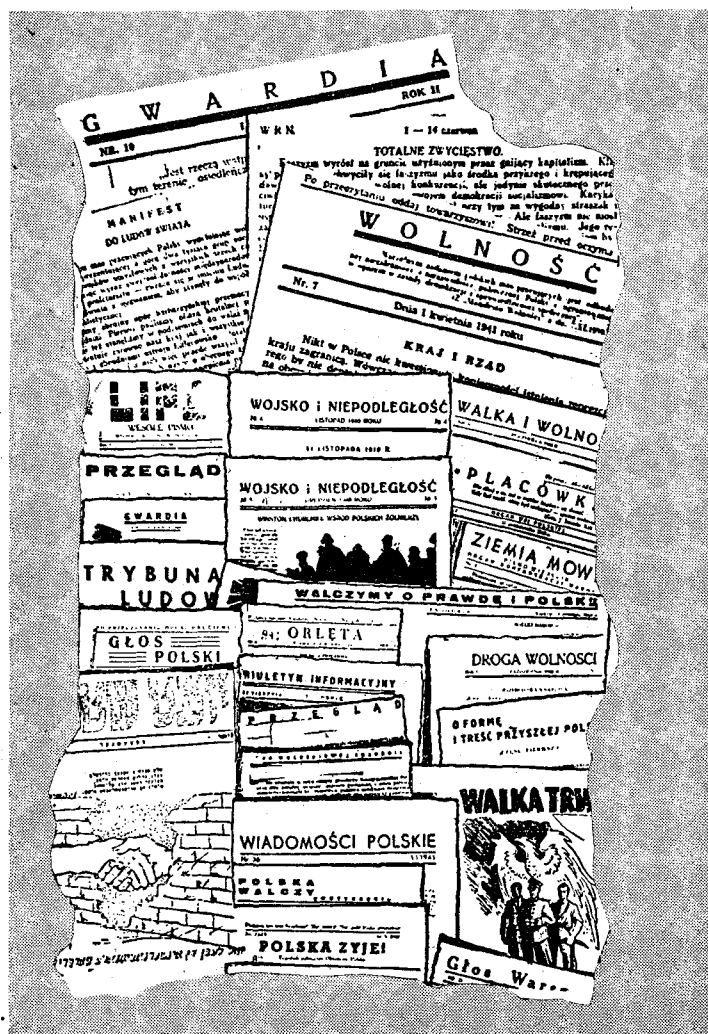
satires. It gives information about the lot of the missing and the revenge taken, and reviews acts of sabotage and their outcome. Naturally it has no established headquarters. Very few of the illegal newspapers in Poland have been discovered, but when the press of the *Dziennik Polski* ("Polish Daily") 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. . . .

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. . . .

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. . . .

At the beginning of 1941 representatives of most of the Polish underground organizations met "somewhere in Poland." Over 2,000 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



The front pages of Poland's underground press.

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 persecution 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. . . .

The fact that representatives of over 2,000 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 establishment 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. . . .

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*. . . .

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 Co. and then gave the Gestapo the names of the recipients. Although 300 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 Co. and the American short-wave stations. Polish leaders in exile often address their countrymen over the BBC, 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. . . . 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 the 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 committees of the underground movement, questions relating to the future Poland are discussed.

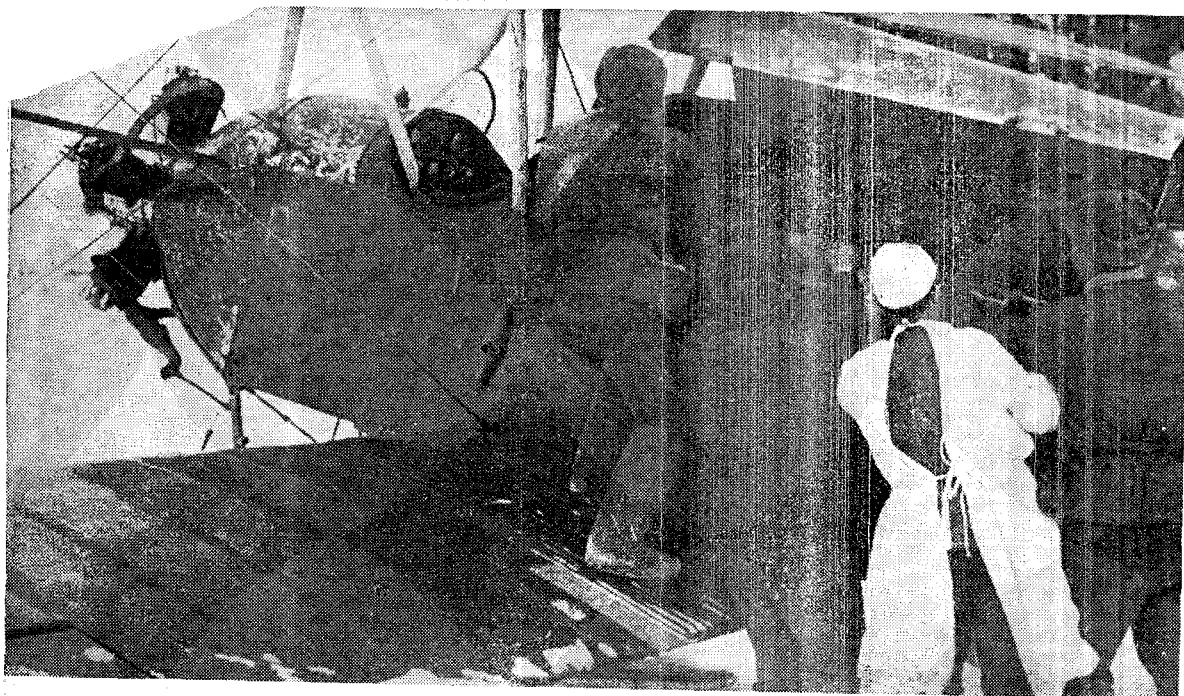
The underground movement also has considerable influence in the democratization of the Polish government-in-exile. While reactionary secret newspapers are also being published in Poland, the overwhelming tendency of the underground movement and the illegal press is toward democracy and greater social 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.

SIMON SEGAL.

The above is excerpted from Dr. Segal's book "The New Order in Poland," just published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.



Nazi execution of a group of fighting Poles. Others are digging their own graves before being sent to the firing squad.



GUERRILLA DOCTOR

A Soviet MD tells the story of his work behind the Nazi lines.

An ambulance plane transporting a wounded Red Army man to a base hospital.

Moscow (by cable).

"NEXT, please!" The door of the "dispensary" opens and a woman with an infant in her arms appears on threshold. "Look at my daughter, doctor," she says. "She is restless and cries much."

I take the child and while examining her try to recall lectures on child diseases. Then I see—the girl's lower gum is swollen. "She is teething," I calm the mother.

"Next!" A boy about twelve displays a finger with a festering sore. I cut the sore open and bandage the finger.

At first glance it might seem an ordinary reception room in a rural dispensary. But why is the doctor without his white smock? Why are these hand grenades alongside the portable medicine kit on the window sill? Why this rifle in the corner of the room, these bullet-holes in the window-panes? Very simple. Because I, a doctor serving with a partisan detachment, am receiving patients in a village in the enemy rear where the detachment halted for twenty-four hours.

An old man walks into the "reception room" and, squeezing my hand, shifts his glance to the weapons, respectfully regarding now the grenades, now the rifle and pistol.

"What ails you, father?" I ask. The answer no longer surprises me as it once did: "I am quite well, son. Just stepped in to have a talk. How are things at the front? How soon will the accursed Hitlerites be driven from our land?"

I tell the old man about the situation at the fronts. And so in every village, wherever our detachment stopped for some time, we either organized a "dispensary" service or visited the sick in their homes.

The Nazi barbarians destroyed all the rural and district hospitals, leaving the population without medical aid. Lice-infested German troops spread typhus, typhoid fever—diseases unknown there since the civil war. At times we had to leave our wounded in the care of other partisan detachments while our own was detailed for prolonged operations elsewhere. Wherever our detachment stopped villagers brought us food and clothing for our wounded. In the village of—a middle-aged woman even brewed a special kind of *kvas* for the wounded, which, according to her, was a cure for every sickness. These are a few examples of the love and esteem which the partisan avengers enjoy among the population in the Soviet districts, temporarily occupied by the enemy.

I CAME to the partisan detachments straight from my university, the professors' lectures still fresh in my memory, and I had visualized my medical work as part of the ordinary hospital routine. But life soon taught me better. I recall the first steps in my career. One group from the detachment left for military operations. I remained in camp. At about six PM one of the partisans galloped up on horseback, shouting to me,

"Commander and 'Uncle Mischa' are wounded! Get ready—they will be here soon." I confess I was quite worried. What would I do if an operation were necessary? There was no operation room, no assistants, or adequate sterilized bandaging materials. And suppose a complex operation were required? While waiting for the wounded I heated water, sterilized the necessary instruments, and spread my trench coat on the ground. I was particularly troubled by the fact that it was growing dark and there was no light except the flashlight.

Soon the wounded were brought in a cart. The commander was wounded in the left leg—a bullet from a small revolver or automatic rifle had lodged not very deep below the knee. I could easily feel it. There was no hemorrhage. Applying local anesthetics, I made a small incision, produced the bullet, and handing it to the commander, said, "You may keep it as a souvenir." It was worse with "Uncle Mischa." He was pale, with cold beads of perspiration on his face, his pulse frequent and weak. Passing under his right ribs, the bullet apparently touched the liver, diaphragm, and lung. Trying first to eliminate shock, I injected morphine and camphor, applied hot water bottles, and injected anti-tetanus serum. I spent all night near "Uncle Mischa," whose condition was rather serious. In ordinary hospital conditions an operation could have been performed, but not under these circumstances. I knew that a blood transfusion would be very helpful. But where was blood to be got, and how could the transfusion be made? "Boys!" I said to the partisans, "any of you have blood of the first group?" Some volunteers immediately responded, and I had to take their word for it. Not without some apprehension I took twenty grams of blood from one of them and injected it into Uncle Mischa. By morning his condition had improved and by evening of the next day he even asked for food.

Considerable hardships were caused by the fact that, particularly at the outset of our action in the enemy rear, we had no place to leave the wounded, so had to carry them with us. But strange as it may seem, the constant traveling in most varied conditions and weather—wind, rain, snow—hardly affected them. All of them, without exception, were nursed back to health, gained weight, and became perfectly fit.

I often wonder what I would have said if anyone had told me a year ago that one can successfully operate on a man in a dim hut with twenty-five people in a room fifteen meters square, and the wounded man perched on a log! In my work I firmly adhered to the medical rules taught me. When the war is over and Hitlerism finally destroyed, I will go to the clinics of my teachers, Stalin Prize-winner Spasokukotsky and Professor Rufanov, and say "Thank you. You taught me much. And there's much more I can learn."

BORIS MAGIDOV.