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LITAUER Stefan

s/c Jana Izydora, kupca i Emilii

z d. Littauer

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Dotyczy.....

Nr rej. 131/ 59

Życie Warszawy .4. 1959

Dr Stefan LITAUER

zmarł nagle w Londynie w dniu 23 kwietnia 1959 r.

W Zmarłym tracimy wybitnego publicystę, nieodżałowanego Kolegę i Przyjaciela — oddanego współpracownika „Polskiego Radia", odznaczonego Krzyżem Oficerskim Orderu Odrodzenia Polski i Krzyżem Komandorskim Orderu Odrodzenia Polski.

Pogrzeb odbędzie się w dniu 7 bm. o godz. 14.30 na cmentarzu wojskowym na Powązkach.

Kierownictwo i Zespół Pracowników Komitetu do Spraw Radiofonii „Polskie Radio"

131/59

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Zespół „Życia Warszawy"

„Dz. Polski i Dz. Żołn." – 23.V.44.

Zmiana na stanowisku kierownika PAT

i jej niespodziewane echa w . . . Ameryce

Dr. Stefan Litauer przestał pełnić obowiązki kierownika PAT'a i inne czynności z ramienia Min. Informacji. Stanowisko kierownika P.A.T. objął redaktor Mieczysław Obarski.

W związku z ustąpieniem dr. Litauera w kilku pismach amerykańskich i brytyjskich pojawiły się dość dziwne komentarze na ten temat, starające się zmianie na stanowisku dyrektora PAT nadać . . . niewspółmiernie wielki rozgłos polityczny.

"I tak dziennik "P.M." traktuje "wymuszoną rezygnację Litauera jako jeszcze jeden gest antyrosyjski." "Po raz pierwszy—pisze 'P.M.' —Litauer popadł w niełaskę ministra Kota. **gdy w ub. r. podtrzymywał kandydaturę Korespondenta londyńskiego "Tass" na stanowisko prezesa "F.P.A."** Dziennikarze polscy **pociągnęli Litauera przed sąd** i po rozprawie sądowej wydali wyrok orzekający, iż Dr. Litauer nie jest winien postępowania niehonorowego, natomiast, **że postąpił nierozsądnie pod względem politycznym.**

Ostatnio Litauer ogłosił list w "Manchester Guardian," atakujący Polaków za sprzeciwianie się porozumieniu z Rosją. Popierając wybór korespondenta "TASS," Litauer stał się przedmiotem ataków ze strony wojska polskiego, oraz ze strony "Myśli Polskiej." List Litauera do "Manchester Guardian," wzmógł kampanję przeciw niemu. Minister Kot, który osobiście wymógł rezygnację Litauera, jest jednym z przywódców ugrupowania przeciw-sowieckiego, których gorącą ambicją wydaje się być głównymi grabarzami Rządu Polskiego.

Podobne opinie wyraża również i kilka innych pism, zwracając uwagę jak to np. czyni "New York Herald Tribune" na rozumne i umiarkowane stanowisko dr Litauera w sporze polsko-rosyjskim."

Donosząc, że zasłudze dr. Litauera miarodajne władze alianckie przypisują łagodzenie prowokacyjnych wynurzeń i posunięć niektórych bardziej anty-sowiecko usposobionych Polaków, pismo to twierdzi, że ostatnio zaszły różnice między "min. Kotem i Litauerem na tle sprawy ks. Orlemańskiego." Min. Kot—pisze dziennik amerykański — nastawał na atakowanie Orlemańskiego w Dzienniku Polskim, natomiast dr. Litauer wyrażać miał poglądy, że ataki te mogą sprowokować trudności i że nie jest rolą oficjalnego organu podejmować tego rodzaju polemiki.

Nieco zbliżone komentarze zamieszcza również londyński "Daily Mail." Trudno zorientować się co mają na celu te wszystkie komentarsze i domysły. Możnaby je traktować jako . . . koleżeńskie wyrazy ubolewania, niezgrabnie łączące zmiany w personelu urzędniczym ministerstwą Informacji z linią polityczną Rządu Polskiego.

W każdym bądź razie mieszanie się do obsady urzędniczej polskich ministerstw wydaje się obyczajem conajmniej dziwnym.

News Chronicle 18. July, 44.

Poland and Russia

Second article by Stefan Litauer

THE international position of Poland after World War 1 was founded on two Peace Treaties—Versailles and Riga.

Can they remain the basis of Poland's international position after World War 2?

Certainly not. It would be impossible to revert after war to the status quo ante.

The Versailles Treaty was made not only without Russia but to some extent, especially as far as Eastern Europe was concerned, against Russia. This time Russia will not only be a participant in the peace she will help to draft, but Stalin will have most to say in how to devise the future of Russia's Eastern European neighbours.

★

AS to the Riga Treaty, the special circumstances of 1920-21, in which, as the result of a victorious Polish war against the then "red menace of Bolshevism," such an agreement was possible, have long ceased to exist. The provisions of the Riga Treaty and, above all, its frontier award, have become obsolete because of the changed war position, from which Russia is emerging as the formidable Ally of Britain and America and the greatest military force in the European Continent.

Poland has therefore to start anew.

The officially recognised policy of Poland before this war was one of sitting on the fence. It was introduced by Pilsudski and faithfully carried out by Beck. Its basis was the belief that by playing Germany against Russia and vice versa, Poland would gain strength and herself assume the role of a Great Power.

★

THIS policy, which reached its climax at the time of the Munich Agreement, lamentably broke down when at the beginning of 1939 Hitler started to demand his price—that Poland should renounce the sitting-on-the-fence policy and align her fate with that of Germany as one of Hitler's satellites.

By Beck's admittedly quick and skilful manœuvring, Polish policy was then turned and converted into the orbit of Britain and France, with whom Poland entered the war against Germany.

There Polish policy has since rested. Its reach has been widened only by close contacts with America. On the other hand, Poland's alliance with France became inactive after France's collapse four years ago.

When Russia entered the war on the side of the Allies, Sikorski realised at once that the right moment had come to allow Polish policy to go beyond its acknowledged orbit by tying up with Russia. With the daring of a visionary he brushed aside the many obstacles put in his way by powerful anti-Russian or anti-Soviet elements among the Poles and reached agreement with Stalin.

Polish policy arrived at a turning point. But the stumbling blocks were too many to see it through. Today we are back where Sikorski started.

True, there are a few assets which go to the Polish Government's credit. The Polish Underground resisting the Germans can render useful help to the advancing Russian Army by blowing up bridges and derailing trains, harassing German communications and stopping supplies. But with the fast rate of advance of the Red Army this help carries less weight.

★

MOREOVER, it is not at all evident whether the Underground Army which obeys the orders of the Polish Commander-in-Chief in London, General Sosnkowski, well known for many years as profoundly hostile to Soviet Russia, is so eager to co-operate with the Russian Commanders.

The Red Army seems to get more assistance from those Underground battalions which deny allegiance to Sosnkowski, and receive their arms from Soviet partisans.

Another asset is the fact that the Polish Forces formed under Soviet auspices and moving now into Poland are, irrespective of their surroundings, ideologically and for all practical purposes a national and truly democratic Polish Army.

It has also become more and more evident that the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow, which aspired to become the counterpart of the Polish London Government, has even less chance of recognition as representative of the Polish people.

Last but not least, there is Mr. Mikolajczyk himself—an honest, straight, self-made man, a peasant closely knit politically and mentally with that great mass of people who make up 65 per cent. of the Polish nation and on whom the future of democracy in Poland must rest.

Mr. Mikolajczyk is shrewd, intelligent and has great will power. He is filled with deep patriotism which, however, does not blind his outlook, as is the case with so many patriotic Poles. He has no anti-Russian inhibitions and he doubtless realises the urgency of reaching full agreement with Moscow.

★

HE has as potential partner Stalin, who has reaffirmed many times that Soviet Russia desires to co-operate on terms of close friendship with a strong, independent and democratic Poland. Stalin, no doubt, would be ready to negotiate with a group of Polish political leaders fairly representative of the Polish people and speaking for all truly democratic sections of the nation.

However, nobody can in fairness expect that Stalin should reinstate in Poland the totalitarian 1935 Constitution and its symbols — President Raczkiewicz and General Sosnkowski, and with them the whole elite of prejudiced émigrés, imbued with a hatred of Soviet Russia.

But Mr. Mikolajczyk has not much time left. If he misses the bus, Stalin will find inside Poland a sufficient number of good, patriotic Poles of prominent political position with whom to agree on the future of a Democratic Poland.

★

IT depends on whether the Red Army will march into and through Poland as the real liberators of the country and its peoples. If they do—and Stalin's present policy seems to point towards it—they will certainly find the entire nation ready to give the right response.

Let Mr. Mikolajczyk take the risk and offer to go to Moscow for a heart-to-heart talk with Stalin. We live in unusual times, and only unusual methods can succeed. Courage rather than care is the mark of the successful war-time statesman.

Since Polish relations with Russia are the cardinal question of Poland's post-war policy, Polish statesmanship should delay no longer the agreement with Stalin.

Obituary 25 APR 1959

DR. STEFAN LITAUER

Dr. Stefan Litauer, London correspondent of the Polish Radio and the Polish daily paper, Zycie Warszawy, who has died in London, was one of the best known Polish journalists in London in the last 25 years. He was 66. 23 April 59

He was president of the Foreign Press Association in London from 1936 to 1941. He was chief correspondent in London of the Polish Telegraph Agency from 1929 to 1944 and from 1941 to 1944 was in charge of the Press service of the Polish Ministry of Information in London.

In May, 1944, he left the Polish Emigré Government service and later threw in his lot with the pro-Russian Lublin Government of Poland and returned to Warsaw. In 1945 he was appointed Minister-Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at the Polish Embassy in Washington, which he held until 1946.

Dr. Litauer, who was in the pre-war Polish Government and diplomatic service, served as Secretary at the Polish diplomatic mission in Kharkov, Ukraine, 1922-23. He was second Secretary at the Polish Legation, Moscow, 1924, and Counsellor in the Russian Section of the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Warsaw from 1925 to 1927.

„Dz. P." 19 lipca, 1944

Exit p. Litauera

P. Stefan Litauer, zwolniony ze stanowiska kierownika Polskiej Agencji Telegraficznej, pospieszył skompromitować (wedle swej opinii) w jednym z pism londyńskich rząd, u którego stracił posadę.

Umieścił tam dwa artykuły, w których robi, co może, by poderwać w opinii angielskiej powagę rządu polskiego. Kłamstwo, insynuacja, kuglarskie wykręcanie, gra na ignorancję czytelnika—wszystko jest dobre w oczach p. Litauera, jeśli można z tego zbudować oskarżenie przeciw oficjalnej polityce polskiej.

Patrzymy na ten wyczyn z lekkiem obrzydzeniem, ale z dużym spokojem. Przysłowie polskie powiada: "Psie głosy nie idą w niebiosy. . ."

Nie naszą zaś rzeczą jest zwracać uwagę pismu, które dało gościnę tym artykułom, że przedstawianie ich autora jako "leading Polish journalist" może czytelników wprowadzać w błąd. Autor nie jest i nie był nigdy przodującym dziennikarzem polskim.

B y ł dziennikarzem — owszem ruchliwym i poinformowanym, póki miał dostęp do źródeł wiadomości urzędowych. Obecnie j e s t już tylko dziennikarzem wyprzedającym —po odpowiednim przefabrykowaniu — zapas wiadomości zebranych na utraconej posadzie. I gryzącym przy tej sposobności rząd, który go przestał zatrudniać.

These Problems Face the Poles

By STEFAN LITAUER

Dr. Stefan Litauer, known in London as a leading Polish journalist and former President of the Foreign Press Association, has joined the News Chronicle as a Special Correspondent on Central and Eastern European affairs. In this article he discusses the internal political problems of the Polish Government. In a second article tomorrow he will deal with Poland's relations with Russia and the importance of reaching an early understanding

THE latest Russian advance has brought the Red Army right into Poland. Marshal Rokossovsky, the Polish-born Russian hero, is not far now from Lublin, and this Polish city has a definite tradition.

It was in Lublin that, at the end of World War 1, the first free and democratic Government of the resurrected Polish Republic was formed. Maybe it will be from Lublin again that a Polish Government will start on its intricate task of reviving the traditions of a truly free and democratic Poland.

In any case the existence of a Polish civil administration in the liberated Polish territories becomes an urgent necessity.

Two alternatives are open :

1—That the Polish Government in London signs an agreement with their liberators-to-be, the Soviet Government, defining the national authorities the Poles intend to instal in those parts of Poland which, from the point of view of Russian military operations, need not be administered any more by the Command of the Red Army.

2—That the Polish Government in London fails to reach such an agreement and the Soviet Government finds other patriotic Poles to fulfil the task.

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It made all organs of the State — Government, Parliament, Armed Forces, Courts of Justice, State Control — subordinate to the President, in whom the new Constitution vested unlimited power. For official acts arising out of the President's prerogatives no counter-signature was necessary.

In short, the 1935 Constitution has done away with all democratic provisions made by the 1921 Constitution.

Totalitarian

The adoption of the totalitarian Constitution came after a long tussle between the Pilsudski followers and the political parties which opposed them. During the years of the struggle many members of the Opposition were put in gaol and beaten up.

Finally the new Constitution was passed by the Polish "Seym" by 260 votes of Pilsudski stooges against 139 votes of the Opposition made up of the Peasant parties, the Polish Socialists, the National Party and the Christian Democratic Labour Party—the same four political groups which form the present Polish Government of National Unity, among them Mr. Mikolajczyk himself.

A strange picture. Those who

fusal to continue the surrender of his constitutional privileges, Mr. Mikolajczyk accepted office as Prime Minister. The President and his Pilsudski regime advisers won. From then on the Government of Mr. Mikolajczyk became fastened to the reactionary and undemocratic Constitution which the same politicians opposed so vigorously in 1935.

Today the Polish Government could only restore its position by courageously renouncing the 1935 Constitution. To prove its strong democratic creed is more important for a Government sharing in a death struggle for Democracy than to cling to the myth of "legal continuity."

Hacha enjoys the "legal continuity" in Czechoslovakia, but Benes has the confidence of the winning democratic world.

Another weakness of the Polish Government is its facade of "National Unity." This claim is based on the fact that in the last Parliamentary elections held in Poland under protection of genuinely democratic conditions the four parties of the present National Unity obtained no less than 90 per cent. of all the Polish seats in the "Seym."

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Greatest weakness

At this moment it appears doubtful that the Polish Government in London as at present composed could reach agreement with Moscow and transfer its seat to Poland.

The internal political position of the Government over which Mr. Mikolajczyk is presiding is rather embarrassing. The Polish Government is particularly proud of its "legal continuity." It has not, from a formal point of view, the provisional character of the Czech or French Governments ; it has no Hacha or Laval to depose. It is well rooted in the legally binding Constitution of Poland of 1935.

Too well, indeed ! This is the great, maybe the greatest, political weakness of the present Polish Government.

The 1935 Constitution was passed shortly before Pilsudski's death to suit his rule over Poland, as a charter of a Polish home-made totalitarianism. It abrogated the democratic Constitution of 1921, abolished the parliamentary system. It abolished the political parties.

It made all organs of the State — Government, Parliament, Armed Forces, Courts of Justice, State Control — subordinate to the President, in whom the new Constitution vested unlimited power. For official acts arising out of the President's prerogatives no counter-signature was necessary.

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A strange picture. Those who opposed the 1935 Constitution as invalidating the very foundations of the Polish Democratic Republic today cling to that Constitution as the refuge of the distressed.

When in October, 1939, the Polish Government-in-exile was formed under Sikorski in Paris, the Polish leader realised at once that no democratically minded Government can act under the provisions of the valid Constitution. Sikorski demanded, therefore, that the President of the Republic surrender the special privileges vested in him by the 1935 Constitution.

President Raczkiewicz then gave to Sikorski in writing a personal undertaking that he would not avail himself of such privileges. This document of November, 1939, made the 1935 Constitution invalid for all practical purposes, leaving the Government in full command of State affairs.

Sikorski understood that the totalitarian Constitution was a liability which would never be honoured by the new Poland.

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The claim would be impressive and convincing were it of recent date. But these elections were held in 1922, 17 years before the outbreak of World War 2, at a time when the political life of resurrected Poland was in its prime. Since then political mentality has progressed to ideas which may prove that the "National Unity" is no longer a reality.

The Polish parties are carrying on underground, and therefore not much knowledge is available about their activities and their views. But the Polish Socialist Party, for example, is split in Underground Poland. The Government - supporting Socialists claim to be in overwhelming majority ; but the famous party organ "Robotnik" is in the hands of the Opposition.

Present position

The Peasant Party is supposed to be wholeheartedly behind Mr. Mikolajczyk's Government. We know, however, that a radical group of the Peasant Party opposes the Government's policy.

Poland's relations with Russia and the importance of reaching an early understanding

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Sikorski understood that the totalitarian Constitution was a liability which would never be honoured by the new Poland.

When Sikorski met so tragic and so untimely a death a year ago the President refused to grant to Mr. Mikolajczyk the rights which he had not denied to Sikorski.

The only way

Mr. Raczkiewicz, whose whole political career was closely knit with the Pilsudski regime, was Speaker of the Polish Senate from 1930 and took a very active part in promulgating the totalitarian Constitution. Hence his attachment to everything that represents the Pilsudski ideology and tradition.

In spite of the President's refusal to continue the surrender of his constitutional privileges, Mr. Mikolajczyk accepted office as Prime Minister. The President and his Pilsudski regime advisers won. From then on the Government of Mr. Mikolajczyk became fastened to the reactionary and undemocratic Constitution which the same politicians opposed so vigorously in 1935.

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Present position

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Even more opposition meets the Government from the parties of the Right. The attitude of the Nationalist Party inside Poland is ambiguous, and in London the chairman of the party, Mr. Bielecki, leads a violent anti-Government opposition.

The Christian Democratic Labour Party never had any real influence in Poland, and compared with the three other political parties its following was insignificant. The Communists are banned from the Government.

This, then, is the internal political position of the Polish Government in London.

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July 18th 44.

Poland's Task

THE two articles on Poland by Dr. Litauer which we published yesterday and today clearly set out the difficulty—and the importance—of the problems that must be solved by those who guide her destinies.

The future of Poland vitally concerns this country. She is the largest non-Axis country in Eastern Europe; on her relations with her neighbours the future of Europe largely depends; it was to ensure the independence of Poland that we went to war with Germany. One of the results of our common victory must be a strong, independent, democratic Poland.

★

But in Poland—as in every country of the world—we cannot solve our difficulties by the slogan "Back to 1939." From the date of Mussolini's march to Rome onward, dictatorship has challenged democracy in Europe, not merely in Axis countries but in many of those which had been liberated by the first World War.

When Hitler attacked Poland her Government had moved far from the democratic constitution of 1921. Those who are disposed to judge this harshly should contrast the difficulties of a country placed in the storm centre of Europe and not yet twenty years old from her rebirth with our own democracy evolved from a thousand years of tradition and experience.

Today, the totalitarian epoch in Europe is nearing its end. In Poland and elsewhere new political and economic forces are stirring and must find their place in the fabric of every State.

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Poland's future is crucial for more than purely Polish reasons. Her relations with Russia will greatly influence the contact between the other States of Eastern Europe and their powerful neighbour. Stalin has brought back Russia into Europe, and the British-Soviet Treaty of Alliance is proof of our desire to collaborate with her. Without Russia, no collective security and, therefore, no durable peace is possible.

Those, therefore, who speak for Poland have a responsibility not only to their own people but to other European nations. Russia's place, too, in history and in the eyes of Europe will depend on the helpfulness which she shows to her Western neighbours in the next few weeks and by her understanding of their difficulties.

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Events are on the march. Little time is left for the Polish Government in London to come to a friendly arrangement with Moscow and so lay the foundation of future good relations between the two peoples. By a visit of the Polish Premier to Moscow or in some other way a bridge should be built before it is too late.

Poland is the principal Western neighbour of Russia. But she also belongs to Europe, and must play an important part in whatever order is established on the Continent.

It would be helpful to the peace of Europe, her own independent development and her relations with Russia if she would join hands with other countries of Europe in drawing up a Charter of Liberties which would become the inalienable right of all Europeans. It would do much to clear the air if a start could now be made with translating into practical terms the political clauses of the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations of two years ago.