





Catalogue edited by Daša Pahor and Alexander Johnson
Design by Ivone Chao (ivonechao.com)

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FAR FROM HOME:

Printing under Extraordinary Circumstances

1917–1963



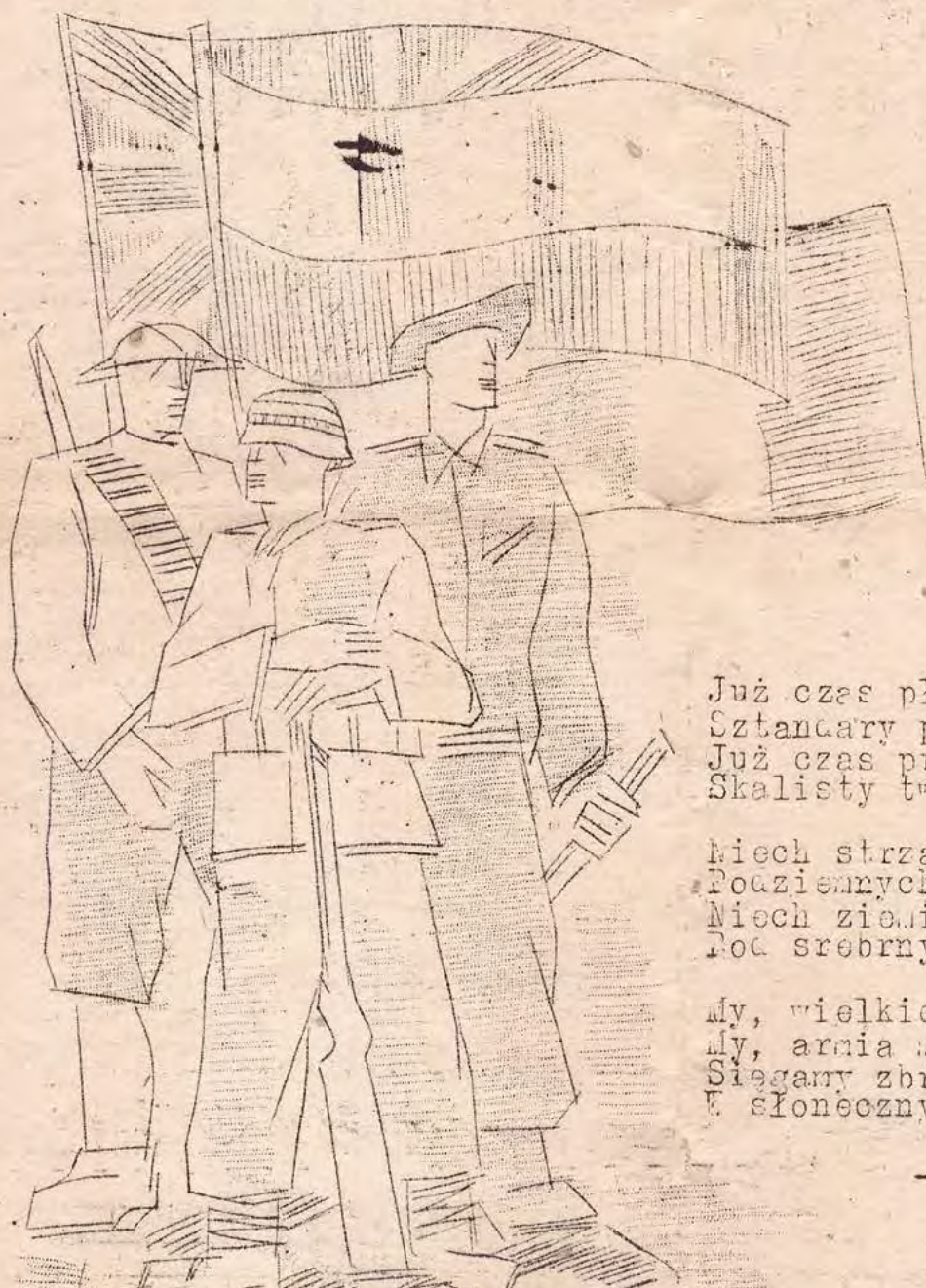
Antiquariat Daša Pahor GbR
Dasa Pahor & Alexander Johnson
Jakob-Klar-Str. 12
80796 München
Germany

+49 89 27372352
antiquariat@pahor.de
www.pahor.de

BASZTA

TYIERDZA NAM BĘDZIE KĄSZY PROG-
TA NAM DOPOMOŻ BOG!

PISMO ŻOŁNIERSKIE
NR. 16. 20.IX.1944r.



EUROPA.

Już czas płomienne wkładać zbroje
Sztandary przed szeregami nieść.
Już czas przed ostatecznym bojem
Skalisty tworzyć z ramion brzeg.

Niech strzałów hukiem odpowiada
Podziemnych armii naszych chór -
Niech ziemia cała urzy w posadach
Pod srebrnych samolotów wór.

My, wielkiej Europy ludy,
My, armia milionowych rąk
Siegamy zbrojną pieśnią cudu
W słoneczny zapatrzeni krąg.

Far from Home tells the incredible stories of demographically and ideologically diverse groups of people, who published unique and spectacular prose, poetry and artwork under the most trying of circumstances, amidst active war zones or in exile, from the period of World War I through to the era following World War II.

The stress and emotional sensations of conflict and displacement were an impetus to create literature of uncommon perceptiveness and candour, and artwork of great virtuosity, the merit of which is only augmented by the artist or printers' use of uncommon or improvised materials and techniques.

The title of this presentation is intended to be taken both literally and figuratively. In many cases, the works showcased were made by people who were geographically distant from their homelands, either involved in military odysseys, or in exile. In other instances, the works were made by those who were figuratively far from home, as, due to conflict, their cities and countries had been transformed into societies, and even landscapes, utterly unrecognizable from their antebellum appearance. Some of the protagonists were never geographically far from their hometowns (and many had even remained there all along), nevertheless, wartime circumstances had suddenly rendered what was familiar onto an alien environment, forcing their forms of expression into the realm of 'underground printing'.

While some of the writers and artists whose works are showcased here are sympathetic figures, others may be much less so, yet all their stories are valuable expressions of the human spirit battling great adversity, best told by the prints themselves. Importantly, as the writers and artists were themselves survivors of perilous and dramatic adventures, all the works showcased in *Far from Home* are ephemeral pieces, and likewise rare survivors bearing witness to the transformative events of the 20th Century.

Daša Pahor, Ph.D.

Alexander Johnson, Ph.D.

1. [RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR / EXTRAORDINARY VOYAGE ARCHIVE:]

An amazing archive concerning Yugoslav soldiers who fought their way across Siberia during the Russian Civil War, to find their way to Vladivostok and, from there, home, sailing aboard the ship 'Himalaya'; including two series of incredibly rare mimeographed magazines (12 issues) and a large custom-made map of Eurasia depicting their route, all mimeographed aboard the ship; plus, a collection of 16 original photographs of their experiences in Russia.

This is a spectacular archive of original artefacts from one of the most fascinating and bizarre military adventures of the 20th Century. During the Russian Civil War, a contingent of Yugoslavs, who (after a long story) had found themselves as allies of the White Russian Army, decided that they had to quit Russia. Along with the famous Czechoslovak Legion, they commandeered an armoured train and fought their way across Siberia to the Pacific port of Vladivostok, arriving in the summer of 1920. There, the beleaguered Yugoslavs were aided by an American spy, Chester Bixby, who arranged for them to take passage home to Dubrovnik aboard the ship *Himalaya*.

On board the ship, Bixby supplied the Yugoslavs with a mimeograph printing press. From August 2 to August 26, 1920, the Yugoslavs printed two series of newspapers, *Хималая* [Himalaja] and *Jugoslovanski romar* [Yugoslavian Pilgrim]. The magazines, all printed aboard ship, are full of candid humour, stories of their incredible experiences, and travel writing concerning the exotic ports they visited on their way home, including Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo and Aden. Additionally, when the *Himalaya* was sailing off Hong Kong, the Yugoslavs published a large map of Eurasia, on which they plotted their route across Russia, and the tracks of their sea voyage from Vladivostok to Dubrovnik.

Importantly, the magazines and the map are incredibly rare – we cannot trace the locations of any examples in any institution or collection, nor can we find any sales records. These ephemeral, mimeographed works are only referred to, in passing, in a couple of the soldiers' memoirs.

Additionally, the archive features a collection sixteen original photographs concerning the Yugoslavs' experiences in Russia, including portraits of the soldiers, as well as images of fascinating subjects, such as of the armoured train that carried them to liberty.

Historical Context: Yugoslavs Far from Home

Our story begins midway through World War I (1914-8), when the Austro-Hungarian Army was engaged in a brutal conflict against Tsarist Russia, along what was known as the Eastern Front. The Austro-Hungarian army was composed of soldiers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, reflecting the demographic composition of the empire itself. Many of these troops were conscripts, who were fighting, not because they believed in the empire, but because they had no choice.

A small percentage of the Austro-Hungarian soldiers from non-Germanic or non-Hungarian nationalities came to switch sides. These included ethnic Poles, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, and Yugoslavians. While the Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavians had long demanded some form of political autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna had staunchly resisted making any concessions in this regard. It was clear that the dissolution of the empire itself was the only way for these nationalities to achieve their freedom.

The Russians actively recruited disaffected Austro-Hungarian soldiers, both willing deserters and POWs held in Russian camps, to join units associated with the Russian Imperial Army. This was done on the understanding that this would hasten the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and that Russia would then support the independence of their respective homelands.

The Czechs and Slovaks were by far the most numerous of the recruits, forming the legendary Czechoslovak Legion (*Československá legie*). Smaller numbers of other nationalities likewise joined the Russian side, including about 2,000 Yugoslavs.

The only problem was that while Austria-Hungary was losing the war, the Russian Revolution of October [November, New Style] 1917 changed everything. While some of the foreign fighters joined the Bolsheviks, many of them abhorred Communism and decided to support the White (pro-Tsarist) Russian Army, in what had become the Russian Civil War (1917-22). As Vladimir Lenin took Russia out of World War I, the foreign troops found that their immediate priority was their own survival in a vast and unfamiliar warzone.

The peace signed between the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers at the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918) physically prevented the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav troops from returning home directly, by heading west. Many of these foreign fighters decided to leave Russia, by fighting their way across Siberia to Vladivostok, the Pacific port controlled by the White Russians, with the backing of Western and Japanese powers. Indeed, during the Siberian Intervention (August 1918 – July 1920), Vladivostok was under the control of the U.S. Army. Once there, it was thought that it would be relatively easy for the Yugoslavs to gain sea passage home.

In late 1918, while still deep inside Russia, a detachment of the Czechoslovak

Legion, joined by the Yugoslav fighters, commandeered the *Lenin* (formerly the *Orlik*), a legendary armoured train, which they renamed the *Zaamurets*. With the aid of the train they fought their way for almost 18 months across Siberia, in what was one of the most bizarre and dangerous military spectacles of all time. The party that included the Yugoslavs was captured by the Red Army, but soon escaped, and for a time even managed to assume control over the city of Nizhneudinsk, northwest of Irkutsk. After an unimaginable adventure, in the early summer of 1920, the *Zaamurets*, carrying the Czechs, Yugoslavs and others, arrived in Vladivostok.

While the U.S. Army was then in the process of leaving Vladivostok, the city was still safely in White hands, while innumerable Western and Japanese spies stalked its streets and bars. The Czechoslovaks soon managed to gain passage aboard ships to Europe. However, the Yugoslavs were, for a time, stranded. Without much money or connections their prospects looked bleak. They had no option of remaining in Vladivostok indefinitely, as the Red Army was gradually advancing eastwards towards the Pacific. Given the ferocity of the conflict in Siberia, the Yugoslavs knew that the Bolsheviks would give them no quarter.

On June 26, 1920, most of the Yugoslavs managed to leave Vladivostok, bound for Dubrovnik, aboard the *Kildonan Castle*. However, a smaller contingent of Yugoslavs remained in the city. They were becoming uneasy, as passage on ships was becoming harder to arrange due to a wave of White refugees.

Then, suddenly, a white knight came to their aid! Chester Bixby was an American spy and somewhat shady entrepreneur, who had joined the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav party in Tomsk, Siberia, travelling with them aboard the *Zaamurets* to Vladivostok. Affectionately referred to by the Yugoslavs as 'Uncle Bixby', for reasons yet unknown, Bixby seemed delighted to volunteer his assistance. He arranged for the Yugoslavs to be given passage home and even gifted them spending money and supplies. The only thing he asked for in return is to be able to accompany them on the journey and for them, to buy from him, photos and souvenirs with their newly-granted pocket money (supposedly from U.S. government funds, thus being 'kick-backs' for Bixby!).

The Yugoslavs, Uncle Bixby and Ivan Zaikin, a Russian wrestler known as the "The Volga Giant", left Vladivostok aboard the ship *Himalaya* on August 2, 1920.

Once aboard ship, Uncle Bixby gave the Yugoslavs a mimeograph printing press to preoccupy them during what was to be a forty-day voyage to Dubrovnik. This led to the publication of the magazines *Хималаја* [Himalaja] and *Jugoslovanski romar*, as well as a large custom-made map of Eurasia, depicting the Yugoslavs' route across Russia, and then home by sea. These publications were printed under the name that the Yugoslav editors gave themselves, Kult. Prosv. Odbor O. S. H. S. [Cultural Enlightening Commission of the Division of Serbs-Croats-Slovenians].

The Archive includes 5 Parts:

Part I.

KULT. PROSV. ODBOR O. S. H. S. [Cultural Enlightening Commission of the Division of Serbs-Croats-Slovenians].

9 (of 10) issues of *Хималаја* [Himalaja] magazine: Nos. 1-6, 8-10 (missing no. 7).

Printed aboard the ship *Himalaya*, Pacific & Indian Oceans, August 2 – August 26, 1920.

Each [1], nos. 1, 3 in 4 printed frontside only, others printed on both sides, each sheet measuring 47 x 30 cm / 18.5 x 12 inches (Very Good, soft folds, no. 1 slightly age toned).

Part 2:

KULT. PROSV. ODBOR O. S. H. S. [Cultural Enlightening Commission of the Division of Serbs-Croats-Slovenians].

3 issues (Complete series) of *Jugoslovanski romar* [Yugoslavian Pilgrim] magazine, Nos. 1-3.

Printed aboard the ship *Himalaya*, Pacific & Indian Oceans, August 7, 12, 18, 1920.

Each [1], no. 1 printed frontside only, others printed from both sides, each sheet measuring 47 x 30 cm / 18.5 x 12 inches (Very Good, soft folds).

Part 3:

KULT. PROSV. ODBOR O. S. H. S. [Cultural Enlightening Commission of the Division of Serbs-Croats-Slovenians].

***Pot po morju iz Vladivostoka do Dubrovnika*. [Sea Route from Vladivostok to Dubrovnik].**

Printed on the ship *Himalaya* (off Hong Kong), August 8, 1920.

Map of Eurasia depicting the Travel Route of Yugoslav Soldiers. Mimeograph, printed on two un-joined sheets, with contemporary annotations in pencil, each sheet measuring 47 x 30 cm / 18.5 x 12 inches (Very Good, soft folds).

Part 4:

Collection of 16 Original Photographs, [Russia, Winter-Summer 1920].

10 black and white photographs, 9 photographs: 7.6 x 10.2 cm / 3 x 4 inches, 1 photograph: 6 x 10.2 cm / 2.4 x 4 inches (Very Good, some with small stains within image), accompanied by a Manuscript index on paper, 10.2 x 8.2 cm / 4 x 3.2 inches (Very Good, soft horizontal fold) [and] 6 black and white photographs, each 4.5 x 6.7 cm / 1.8 x 2.6 inches (Very Good); All housed within a contemporary envelope with printed title (Slightly stained, tiny tears in margins).

Part 5:

Jakob GRČAR,

***Preko morij v domovino* [Over the Seas to the Homeland].**

Celje, Slovenia: Družba st. Mohorja, 1937.

12°: 64 pp., photo reproductions within text, original blue wrappers with printed covers and text on inner side, stapled (Very Good, slightly age toned and stained).

THE COMPONENTS OF THE ARCHIVE IN FOCUS

Part 1 - *Хималаја* [Himalaja] Magazine

Featured here are the only known surviving issues of the *Хималаја* [Himalaja] broadside magazine, which was mimeographed aboard the ship *Himalaya* between August 2 and 26, 1920. Present are 9 of the 10 issues (lacking issue no. 7) of the magazine. A member of the Yugoslav party, Jakob Grčar, confirms, in his memoirs, that the print run of *Хималаја* [Himalaja] was limited to ten issues. All the titles of the issues are printed in Serbian Cyrillic; while the date is always printed in Croatian; and most (although not all) of the articles are in Slovenian. Importantly, it is worth noting that the languages are mutually intelligible to most Yugoslav readers.

It is critical to note that the date of publication on each issue is often not the actual date that the broadside rolled off the press. The issue dates usually concern the day on which the first articles were written; it usually took another day or two for the writers to fill the last page with articles. Only then was the magazine printed (saving on paper). As such, the issues tended to be printed two days after the stated date.

Concerning both magazines, *Himalaja* and *Jugoslovanski romar*, the paper on which the issues were printed was quite scarce, and was often donated by passengers. All efforts were made not to waste paper. None of the issues of either magazine were given out gratis; a small fee was charged for each issue.

The Issues:

No. 1, August 2, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Off the port of Vladivostok, Russia]. (Articles in Slovenian).

This maiden issue is written in the Slovenian language, except for the title, which is written in Serbian Cyrillic. It provides a basic introduction to the magazine series and notes how the party left Vladivostok, and Russia, for the last time, saying their farewells to their White Russian friends and the church. They hoped that Russia would one day return to its old glory, upon ridding itself of the Communists. It notes that while Uncle Bixby had given the Yugoslavs the mimeograph press, the initial batch of paper, as well as some other supplies, were given to them by the war mission of the newly established independent state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (*Kraljevina SHS*, or Yugoslavia). As the first issue was totally dominated by articles in Slovenian, the editor called out for articles in Serbian and Croatian for future issues. The magazine promised to report news sourced from the ship's radio room; provide articles on social life on the *Himalaya*; as well as articles on the various ports of call.

No. 2, August 5, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Korea Strait]. (Mostly Slovenian, but with one article in Serbian Cyrillic).

This entertaining issue focuses on the organization of social and cultural life on board the ship. This includes the establishment of music clubs (in the boiler room); a Slavic library, which was opened twice per day for borrowing books; English classes; musical soirees with both Slavic and English songs; and a cinema show in the evening, screening the *Fire of Love*. It notes that Uncle Bixby gave the Yugoslavs board games, which could be borrowed at the same time as books from the library. One gains the impression that life aboard the *Himalaya* was remarkably civilized and pleasant, in sharp contrast to the bloody fight across Siberia. The issue concludes with the party admiring the view of some Japanese islands.

No. 3, August 7, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: East China Sea, between Shanghai and Hong Kong] (Articles in Slovenian).

This issue gives an account of the history of the ship *Himalaya*. It notes the distance already travelled on the sea voyage and notes how the ship just barely dodged a hurricane, joking that maybe the storm “got scared of fearless Jugovičs [Yugoslavs]”. It goes on to offer a daily report on the on-board cultural activities.

No. 4, August 8, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Hong Kong, or off the Coast of Hong Kong] (Articles in Croatian).

This issue gives an engaging full-page report on Hong Kong and Macao, in the Croatian language. Apparently, this stop proved to be a highlight for the Yugoslavs.

No. 5, August 11, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: South China Sea, between Hong Kong and Singapore] (Articles in Slovenian, Serbian and Croatian).

This issue commences with the admission that there had been many complaints about the fact that most of the articles thus far had been printed in Slovenian, even though Slovenes accounted for a minority of the Yugoslav party on the *Himalaya*. The editor repeats his call for Serbs and Croatians to turn in more articles. A limitation in acquiring copy was that many of the passengers were half-literate, while many had also forgotten how to properly write in their own language, after spending some years in Russia.

On a serious note, the issue features a lengthy article in Croatian on the dangers of Communism. It notes how the Bolsheviks were then preparing to attack Poland and how this preseted a danger to Western countries. On a lighter note, the issue concludes with news of the voyage, on-board cultural activities, a report on Uncle Bixby, and a poem in Serbian.

No. 6, August 14, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Singapore, or off the coast of Singapore] (Articles in Slovenian).

This issue features a full-page article on Singapore, presenting a fascinating impression of the main British city in Southeast Asia. It also includes an article on the climatic zones of the world, illustrated by a sketch of the globe. Also featured, is a concert programme, information on organizing a dance party, as well as matters to do with the library.

No. 8, August 20, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Off the coast of Colombo, Ceylon] (Articles in Slovenian).

This issue features a curious article on Colombo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), as well as an advertisement for the map of Eurasia, featuring the route of the Yugoslavs' travels, printed aboard the *Himalaya*, *Pot po morju iz Vladivostoka do Dubrovnika*. [Sea Route from Vladivostok to Dubrovnik].

No. 9, August 23, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Arabian Sea] (Articles in Slovenian and Croatian).

This issue features a full-page article giving further information about the ship *Himalaya*. The author entertainingly records his visit to the engine room, while other writers supply vignettes regarding other aspects of the ship. It notes that the *Himalaya* was built in 1893, and provides statistical information on its size, as well as technical details regarding its engine. On a heavier note, an article in Croatian explores the contemporary state of Soviet-Polish relations.

No. 10, August 26, 1920 [Ship *Himalaya*: Off the coast of Aden, Yemen] (Articles in Slovenian).

This final issue of the magazine, written as the *Himalaya* was approaching Aden, Yemen, features a report on the places visited and passed by during their voyage since they left Hong Kong. There is much curious detail with respect to the geography, economy, and cultures of various nations. The issue concludes with an interesting article on Aden.

Part 2 - *Jugoslovanski Romar* [Yugoslavian Pilgrim] Magazine.

Present here is the complete run of 3 issues of *Jugoslovanski Romar* [Yugoslavian Pilgrim] magazine, which was mimeographed aboard the *Himalaya*, between August 7 and 18, 1920. This magazine is remarkably different in both tone and content from *Хималаја* [Himalaja], in that its focus is purely on humour and amusement, as opposed to the more serious nature of its sister publication. In fact, it is fair to say that *Jugoslovanski Romar* can be downright silly, and herein lies its value as an authentic and unvarnished insight into the sense of humour enjoyed by men who had experienced such dramatic lives.

The run of *Jugoslovanski Romar* is complete at three issues, as confirmed by a member of the Yugoslav party, Jakob Grčar. Grčar noted that the passengers intended to produce a fourth issue of *Jugoslovanski Romar* on August 24, but that this was rendered impossible due the extreme heat of the weather encountered while approaching Aden, as the paper immediately came to melt into the printing press.

No. 1: August 7, 1920. [Ship *Himalaya*: East China Sea, between Shanghai and Hong Kong] (Articles in Slovenian).

This maiden issue features an introduction, some jokes, as well as an article about why Koreans wear small hats. The magazine bills itself as the best cure against seasickness, which was apparently a major problem for those who had just spent several years in the interior of Russia.

No. 2: August 12, 1920. [Ship *Himalaya*: South China Sea, between Hong Kong and Singapore] (Articles in Slovenian, with some elements in Serbian Cyrillic).

On the front page is a full-page article on Ginseng, including its medical uses, legends, and its critical role in Chinese medicine. The verso features short jokes, mostly about life on-board and some of the passengers. It is curious that the humour has not aged well, as the jokes seem archaic, and not especially funny to today's audience.

No. 3: August 18, 1920. [Ship *Himalaya*: Bay of Bengal, between Singapore and Colombo, Ceylon] (Articles in Slovenian, with some elements in Croatian).

This issue of the magazine makes a joke about the most noticeable passenger on the ship: the Russian circus performer, wrestler and athlete, Ivan Zaikin, "The Volga Giant". In 1920, Zaikin emigrated from Russia on the *Himalaya*. Subsequently, he gained considerable fame as an entertainer, performing in Japan, France, Italy, and the USA, where he was pronounced the strongest man on Earth. He eventually settled in Romania, where he got married and retired from performing, establishing his own gym.

♥♥ JUGOSLOVANSKI ♥♥

POVĚNO-ZABAVNA PRILOHA

K LISTU • HIMALAJA •

:OD UREDNIŠTVA:

Da, bil je čas, ko se, Romar v Varšat, sedaj pa ig-
lo se a v n' meča.

NOVI REDAKTOR.

200 Istia je, Rohian! dugo pain trepetala
naposled nedarkovja nase! - hi trost obela: -
Lazikim, ulog allat, nia je volinta
ne bo se bal mi pesti, mi peetla.

△△ DUMQVITO IN NE DUMQVITO △△

Razne vesti

*Novosti: In di muresanti roma nedisapliniani
- Na je celnos upalo na ot englesim gjenima,
dovrso por. Kavelana porobota g. kapelniku
pobiti. Zalimo, dag. kapelniku upotielgana pati-
ce cim dase eufora muresantioma disaplini
re dexte.*

mudarje se čaji, kaj ne goji se nita dobiti.
 Senečigonečita vasa - in dobiti se "Hindale" in
 svojganitje hite so govoriti s človek, predmeti suvane
 ne obide, vsueten vas biči. Svojganitje so dobiti
 daj se hite obide. hi go se suvane ngor natoral.
 oemuri je hmito malo govoriti radice, Senečigone
 vredenit se dajno pucelotile. lega dočotile, rinu-
 so ne malo vredenit, vafaj je hmito je biči se shi
 ošhar stori svet in je se v prazgodovinski obli
 ne svojganitje vredenit.

[illegible]

The magazine's writers joke that the previous two issues of *Jugoslovanski Romar* were so bad, that the readers wanted to physically attack "us journalists", such that the writers had to hide in the ship's chapel for a couple of days. Given that, they hereby announce that they have appointed Zaikin to be the magazine's new editor, under the assumption that he is too big to beat up! Zaikin's appointment is even celebrated with a custom-composed song. This joke was made more hilarious, as Zaikin, whose name is signed here as the editor, was known to be completely illiterate!

The issue continues with amusing accounts of life on-board, including a story about a family of apes that the Yugoslavs had invited to travel with them, as well as an account of the parrots that had flown aboard. Also mentioned are a chess competition and a ball. The issue concludes with a humorous anti-Communist article that supposed everyone on-board to be an ape, with some of the apes having been baptised, while others have not; while some people are mentioned as parrots.

Part 3 – The Yugoslavs' Itinerary Map of Eurasia

Present here is the fantastic original map of Eurasia, *Pot po morju iz Vladivostoka do Dubrovnika* [Sea Route from Vladivostok to Dubrovnik] that was mimeographed aboard the *Himalaya* while it was sailing off Hong Kong, on August 8, 1920. The beautifully designed, and surprisingly large, map features the entire itinerary of the Yugoslav soldiers, added in manuscript, in pencil, including their progress while fighting their way across Russia, all the way from Kiev (Ukraine) to Vladivostok (including some off-route travels to various Siberian cities); plus, the route of the sea journey home. The map marks the daily progress of the *Himalaya*, and reveals that it took 31 days to travel from Vladivostok to Aden, and then another 9 days to sail from Aden to Dubrovnik (through the Suez Canal). It notes the *Himalaya*'s embarkation and stops in Vladivostok, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Saigon, Singapore, Colombo and Aden.

Part 4 – Collection of 16 Original Photographs of Experiences in Revolutionary Russia

A fascinating feature of the archive is the collection of sixteen original photographs, depicting the Yugoslav soldiers' experiences in Siberia during the Russian Civil War, before they boarded the *Himalaya*.

The 10 Larger Photographs:

The collection includes a series of ten larger photographs, labelled 4, 5, 7, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 29 and 30, accompanied by a hand-written index in the Croatian language. The photographs were apparently available for sale to members of the Yugoslav party, with the present selection of ten items (supposedly out of a larger available set) carrying the total price of '40 dinars' (as noted on the index). The photographs were quite likely taken, developed for, and sold by Uncle Bixby, who was known to maintain entrepreneurial sideshows, in addition to his espionage activities.

The Photographs are as follows:

- 4. Engineering department of the 1st Yugoslavian Division
- 5. Armoured Train *Orlik* (ex-*Lenin*), a.k.a *Zaamurets*
- 7. Bridges near Zamzor (?) (a Ukrainian word "učastak" is used for the area).
- 13. A monument to fallen Czechoslovak Legion soldiers in Nizhneudinsk, with a Czech sign.
- 15. A view of Nizhneudinsk (A city that was briefly taken over by the Czechoslovak Legion, with the help of the Yugoslavs).
- 19. Imjenjpo [*Perhaps* Manchuria]
- 20. A group of Chinese people
- 22. Rickshaw
- 29. War ships in Vladivostok
- 30. The ship *Kildonan Castle*

This series of ten photographs grants a fabulous insight into the travels and experiences of the Yugoslav soldiers as they made their way across Eastern Siberia to freedom in Vladivostok, in conjunction with the Czechoslovak Legion. The photographs seem to all date from the winter to July 1920. The earlier scenes show the frozen landscape of Siberia, and the activities of army.

The armoured train, depicted on photograph no. 5, is the legendary *Zaamurets*, also named at various times, *BP-4*, *Lenin*, *Train No. 105* and *Orlik*. Built in 1916 for the Tsarist army, the *Orlik* [Little Eagle] was the most famous train in Russia, if not all of Europe, during its era. As shown on the photograph, it was of the most incredible design and appearance.

The Red Army commandeered the train, in 1918, during the Russian Civil War, and then used it against the White Army. Late in 1918, the Czechoslovak Legion, together with the leftovers of other White armies, including the Yugoslav contingent, captured it. It was promptly retrofitted to become an even stronger train. As the foreign Slavic fighters were stranded in the middle of Russia following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, they travelled eastwards in the train towards freedom in Vladivostok. However, this was no normal journey, as it included innumerable stops and surprises along the way. The train and the party were even captured by the Red Army, before making their escape. Notably, the passengers found themselves attacking and taking cities, including Nizhneudinsk, which is depicted here in the collection. Amazingly, the train managed to arrive in Vladivostok by the early summer of 1920.

The final two photos in this series depict the port of Vladivostok and the ship *Kildonan Castle*, which on June 26, 1920, took the first, and largest, contingent of Yugoslav soldiers numbering 1,400 men, home. The *Himalaya's* voyage was the second and last transport of Yugoslavs out of Vladivostok.

The 6 Smaller Photographs

The photographic collection is rounded out by a series of small, but fascinating, unnumbered and unlabelled images that seem to focus on the Yugoslavs' time in Vladivostok. We can confirm that one of the photos depicts Chester "Uncle" Bixby, while another likely depicts one of the leaders of the Yugoslav contingent, Lieutenant Colonel Misić.

The remaining four photographs depict a teenage soldier; while two of the images depict train wagons of the *Zaamurets*. One of the photographs features a Slovenian sign that reads 'Come to help, brothers! In unity there is power!' It was common for the troops to decorate their train cars with inspiring, nationalist signs and images.





Part 5 - Jakob Grčar's Invaluable Memoir

The final component of the archive is the best published memoir of the journey of the Yugoslav contingent across Siberia and of their sea voyage home, Jakob Grčar's *Preko morij v domovino* [Over the Seas to the Homeland] (Celje, 1937). Written by a member of the party, it is an engaging read, packed with fascinating details of their epic adventures. It is a peerless source on the subject, and it makes several references to the magazines *Хималaja* [Himalaja] and *Jugoslovanski Romar*. Interestingly, the wrappers of the book feature a map that was obviously based on the map of Eurasia printed aboard the *Himalaya*.

It is interesting to note that Grčar's memoir was first published in the present edition, in 1937, by a Catholic ("White") press, during a time of rising tensions between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Royalist government. In this sense, the memoir was intended to be a patriotic text honouring those who fought against Communism.

References: [Specifically referencing *Хималaja* [Himalaja] and *Jugoslovanski Romar*:] Jakob Grčar, *Preko morij v domovino* (Celje, 1937), pp. 16-7, *passim*.

2. [CZECHOSLOVAK LEGION / RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR / MUSIC:].

Program ceskoslovenského večera 16. XII 1918, Omsk, Sibir. / Programm[e] of the Czechoslovak Evening given 16th of December 1918, Omsk, Siberia.
Omsk (Russia): December 1918.

Single leaf, measuring 75.5 × 30 cm (30 x 12 inches), printed on both sides, folding 'accordion style' to form a concert programme creating 8 compartments of lithographed text and designs (Very Good, mild toning and light wear along original folds, very slight separation along top of one of the folds).

An apparently unrecorded concert programme, printed in four languages, made by members of the legendary Czechoslovak Legion, elaborately lithographed in Omsk, Siberia, in December 1918, during the height of the Russian Civil War.

This seemingly unrecorded survivor is an elaborately designed programme for an evening of musical concerts in Omsk, Russia, on December 16, 1918, organised by the members of the legendary Czechoslovak Legion, an extraordinary military force that assumed control of large parts of Siberia during the Russian Civil War. The Legion grew into a great army out of an initially small coterie of Czechs and Slovaks who signed up to fight on the Russian side, against the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in the hopes of securing the independence of Czechoslovakia upon an Entente victory in World War I. Following the October 1917 Revolution, upon which the Bolsheviks assumed control of the national government, the Czechoslovak Legion sided with the White side in the Russian Civil War. The story of the Legion's two year-long fight along the route of the Trans-Siberian Railway, before sailing home from Vladivostok, is an epic drama that would be unbelievable, if it was not demonstrably true.

The present concert programme was lithographed on a professional press in December 1918, in Omsk, Siberia, the capital of the main White Russian resistance entity, then a safe distance from the battle front. The programme features elaborate patriotic Czechoslovak imagery and illustrated initials, with text in four languages (Czech, Russian, French and English), so as not to cater only to the Czechoslovaks and Russians, but also the Western 'advisors' (spies) who were then present throughout Siberia. The programme features an international repertoire of pieces by the likes of Dvorák, Schumann, Smetana, Rubinstein and Verdi, to be followed by dancing. The evening seems to have been an oasis of civility and cultural sophistication amidst what was a long and brutal conflict.

Most of the prints made by the Czechoslovak Legion were ephemeral in nature and are today very rare, and some titles, such as the present programme, are seemingly known in only a single surviving example. Indeed, we have not been able to trace even a reference to the present work, let alone the location of another example.





PROGRAM

ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ VEČERA
16.-17. LISTOPADU BRATISLAVA

1. HODINOVÝ PROGRAM
16. LISTOPADU VEČER
17. LISTOPADU VEČER

PROGRAMME

1. L'AMANT ET LA FEMME
2. L'AMANT ET LA FEMME

PROGRAMM

1. L'AMANT ET LA FEMME
2. L'AMANT ET LA FEMME

PROGRAM

1. METANA • PREDEHRAC • AKTU • PROHÁNE • VEŠTY • PLUK • ORETSY
2. MASSENET • SYNESE • PIT • TORES • SQUET • ANGELOS • MARCH • OLAE
3. TEBOHE • ME • PLUK • ORETSY
4. DORAK • VELERNIPSEN • BR • HOLV
5. SARASATE • CIJANSKE • MELODIE • SOLO • NA • HOUSLE • BR • PTASINSKY
6. METANA • IVENO • PL • SEOR
7. MONIUSZKO • LOUVERTURE • AKTU • OPERA • HALKA • PLUK • ORETSY
8. SERVAIS • VARIACE • NA • DONIZETTI • DCE • RI • PLUK • SOLO • NA • CELLO
9. ZUZKA
10. DOBROVOLSKY • JERMAK • BR • SHELFTLER
11. SCHUMANN • TRIO • OP • 10 • PTASINSKY • BR • ZUZKA • BR • FLIGNER
12. RUBINSTEIN • LARIE • Z • OPERY • DEMON • BR • HOLV
13. YERDI • PREDEHRAC • AKTU • OPERY • ALDA • PL • ORETSY
POLY • CERPAN • PROGRAM • TANCE •

PROGRAMME

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100. L'AMANT ET LA FEMME

The Extraordinary Adventures of the Czechoslovak Legion

The story of the Czechoslovak Legion is both more impressive and stranger than fiction; one could be forgiven for initially questioning whether it actually transpired.

In 1914, during the early days of World War I, a small group of ethnic Czechs and Slovaks residing in the Russian Empire (in today's Ukraine) proposed that the Tsar establish a special armed force comprised of their number to fight for Russia against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The quid pro quo would be that, following an Entente victory in the war, Russia would support Czechoslovak independence from Austria-Hungary.

The "Czech Companions" (*Česká družina*) was formed, being a single battalion of troops whose members were seconded to fight on the Eastern Front, attached to various Russian divisions. While a small and dispersed force, Russian generals were impressed with the *Družina* members' zeal and martial skills. However, for some time, the Czechoslovak endeavour remained a marginal force.

In September 1915, the *Družina* received additional legitimacy, as it came to report to the newly-formed Czechoslovak National Council, an exile government-in-waiting led by the distinguished Moravian intellectual, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, subsequently the founding President of Czechoslovakia.

In 1916, the *Družina*'s ranks were reformed and augmented, and the force was renamed the Czechoslovak Rifle Brigade (*Československá střelecká brigáda*). Importantly, the Czechoslovaks could fight as a united, coherent unit for the first time. However, the Brigade's growth was limited, as it was still prevented from freely recruiting new members from Russian POW camps. The Tsar's men feared the emergence of a large army of foreigners with questionable loyalty to Russia, so sought to limit the Brigade to a manageable size.

The overthrow of Tsar Nicholas II in the February (March, New Style) 1917 Revolution, and the establishment of the Russian Provisional Government, saw improvements in the Czechoslovaks' prospects. The Brigade distinguished itself by overrunning the Austro-Hungarian lines at the Battle of Zborov (July 1-2, 1917).

The Provisional Government was impressed with the Czechoslovaks' military capabilities and in desperate need of manpower. In a transformative move, they allowed them to form themselves into a semi-autonomous army, the Czechoslovak Legion (*Československá legie*). Critically, the Legion was permitted to exponentially grow its ranks by freely recruiting thousands of new members from the Czechs and Slovaks held in Russian POW camps. Moreover, the Legion was supported by a small, but organizationally separate, corps of Yugoslavs (please see No. 1 above).

In November 1917, the Bolsheviks assumed control of the Russian government, presenting major problems for the Legion. The new regime sought to quickly make peace with the Central Powers, eventually signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918), so ending the war on the Eastern Front. Worryingly, this geographically blocked the Legionnaires from travelling westwards to engage the Central Powers (and to return towards home), and, for a time, imperilled the prospect of Czechoslovak independence. Moreover, relations between the Legion and the Bolsheviks promised to be at best complicated, as most the Czechoslovaks were not naturally sympathetic to Communism, and the two parties did not trust each other.

The Legion's new plan was for them to vacate Russia by travelling eastwards 6,000 miles (9,700 km) across the country to Vladivostok, on the Pacific, and then sailing to France, to re-join the Entente war effort against the Central Powers, so securing Czechoslovak independence. Masaryk, who was personally present in Russia, employed his great diplomatic skills to securing an, albeit uneasy, agreement with the Bolsheviks to this effect.

By early 1918, the Legion's ranks had swelled to over 40,000 fighters, and the logistical challenges of transporting the force across Eurasia by the Trans-Siberian Railway were hindered by a severe lack of rolling stock. It was at this point that the German army mounted a lightning strike against the main bulk of the Legion, who were encamped in the Ukraine. However, the Legion secured its integrity by defeating the Germans at the Battle of Bakhmach (March 5-13, 1918).

The Legion was now locked a race against time. The main bulk of the force moved to Penza, in Bolshevik-controlled Russia, in preparation to gradually, in organised parties, to take the Trans-Siberian Railway eastwards. However, relations between the Czechoslovaks and the Bolsheviks were rapidly deteriorating. The Soviet leader, Vladimir Lenin, (rightly) feared that that the Legionnaires might align themselves with the White Russian forces who still controlled large parts of Siberia. On March 25, 1918, the Legion was compelled to agree to surrender most of their weapons to the Red Army in exchange for the Bolsheviks permitting them free passage eastwards.

By May 1918, the Legionnaires were strung out at various points all among the Trans-Siberian Railway, their progress severely hindered by a lack of rolling stock. The challenge was made even greater as the Legion's ranks continued to grow, as thousands more Czechoslovaks were liberated from Russian camps. Minor skirmishes broke out between Legionnaires and Soviet-allied entities, and on May 15, 1918, Leon Trotsky ordered the arrest and complete disarmament of the Czechoslovak Legion. This instigated what became known as the 'Revolt of the Legion', whereby the Czechoslovaks came into open conflict with the Bolsheviks, formally aligning themselves with the White forces in the Russian Civil War. With most of their number were trapped deep inside Siberia, thousands of kilometres from Vladivostok, the Czechoslovaks would endure an unbelievable odyssey before being able to return home.

By June 1918, the Legion was fighting a low-grade war against the Red Army along the world's longest battle front, following the route of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Penza to Krasnoyarsk. Most of the time, the Legion won these altercations, and, by the end of the month, its front guard had seized Vladivostok, pledging its allegiance to the Entente side in the still ongoing World War I.

By mid-July 1918, the Legion had taken control of the Trans-Siberian Railway all the way from Samara to Irkutsk and, by September, controlled virtually all off the major cities of Siberia, from Yekaterinburg to Vladivostok. In August, the Legion assisted the White Russians in capturing the Imperial Gold Reserves in Kazan. This was all done with a force that never numbered more than 61,000 total troops. This period marked the apogee of the Legion's power, and it is, even in retrospect, utterly shocking that an improvised army of Czechoslovaks could, albeit briefly, control such a massive chunk of Asia!

In August 1918, the Entente powers, with Czechoslovak support, mounted the Siberian Intervention (August 1918 – July 1920), assuming control of Vladivostok, to aid the White Russians and to facilitate the departure of the Legionaries.

Meanwhile, While Russian forces, in alliance with the Legion, had set up national entities behind Czechoslovak lines. The most notable was the Provisional Siberian Government, based in Omsk, which was set up in January 1918. Subsequently, the various White factions unified to form the Provisional All-Russian Government (PA-RG) under the dictatorship of Admiral Alexander Kolchak. It was during the rule of the PA-RG that members of the Legion stationed in Omsk, the regime's capital, made the present concert programme in December 1918.

The most curious aspect of the Legion's adventures was its commandeering, in late 1918, of the legendary Russian armoured train, the *Lenin* (formerly the *Orlik*), which they renamed the *Zaamurets*, upon which they fought their way for 18 months across Siberia.

The Entente powers were hugely impressed with the efforts of the Czechoslovak Legion, and as Austria-Hungary collapsed in the fall of 1918, this played a major role in the Entente acceptance of the Czechoslovak declaration of independence (October 28, 1918). With this, the ultimate objective of the Legion had been accomplished. This both made the Legionnaires even more eager to return home, while improving their morale, as they were still deep in Siberia - they now had their *own* home to return to.

Meanwhile, the Red Army, having recovered from its teething pains, was gaining the upper hand against the White Russian forces, pushing them further and further eastwards. Through the year 1919, the progress of the Legion's troops to Vladivostok proved frustratingly slow, due to a lack of rolling stock and Soviet attacks.

By the fall of 1919, Kolchak's Whites were being throttled by the Reds, with Omsk falling in November 14. Kolchak himself, along with the train carrying the gold reserves, became bogged down at Nizhneudinsk. In February 1920, the Czechoslovaks abandoned the doomed Kolchak and the White cause, signing an agreement with the Red Army, by which they would be guaranteed safe passage to Vladivostok, in exchange for quitting the conflict. The Red Army duly executed Kolchak and took possession of the gold reserves, on its way to conquering all of Russia.

The Czechoslovaks streamed through Vladivostok, taking passage to Europe on any ship they could find. While many vessels were especially commandeered and ordered to the port for this purpose, it was not until September 1920, that the last of their number had left Russia. In total, 67,739 people left Vladivostok as part of the Czechoslovak party, of which 56,455 were Legion soldiers.

Upon their return to the newly independent Czechoslovakia, the Legionnaires heroic epic formed part of the foundation of the nation's identity. For generations, Czechs and Slovaks were inspired by the Legion's adventures, which proved that even a small nation could achieve world-class greatness under the right circumstances.

The Printing of the Czechoslovak Legion

The printed word was highly valued by the Czechoslovak Legion. During such an odyssey, custom made prints were necessary to inform and entertain the thousands of troops in their native languages. Throughout their adventures in Russia, the *Družina* and the Czechoslovak Legion produced a wide variety of published works, although almost of these were of an ephemeral nature and are today extremely rare. The prints they produced in Russia can be divided into two main categories: first, being broadsides and pamphlets that were hastily mimeographed by the armed forces on the move, often in active war zones (and even aboard trains!); second, were more elaborately produced works, professionally published in the larger towns well behind Legion-White Russian lines (such as the present concert programme issued in Omsk). Beyond the titles produced in Russia, the Legionnaires also printed works aboard ships en route from Vladivostok to Europe. These issues often consisted of newspapers and broadsides, of varying print quality.

References: N/A – Apparently Unrecorded.

The Extraordinary Printing at the Bando POW Camp, Japan during World War I (Regarding Nos. 3, 4 & 5).

The items showcased as Nos. 3, 4 and 5 following are truly special, and little-known outside of Germany and Japan. Technically speaking, they are amongst the most spectacular prints we have ever encountered anywhere in the world. The Bando Camp, located near Naruto, Japan, was set up in 1917, during World War I, to house German POWs, most of whom had been captured in China.

The Bando Camp was a remarkably pleasant place, where the prisoners were allowed an unusual level of freedom, under high quality physical conditions. The internees founded a printing house within the camp, active for just over 2 years, from 1917 to 1919, in which they pioneered a unique and highly sophisticated technique for printing in colour on silk paper. They produced works of remarkably elevated and diverse content, including articles on Japanese culture, astronomy, politics, theatre, music, poetry and political and military affairs, as well as 'how to' guides to their own unique printing techniques. These publications were lavishly illustrated with brightly colourful and, in some cases large, views, maps and diagrams, of a quality more akin to fine art works produced in great metropolitan centres, and nothing like what one would consider prison publications. The works have magnificent and unique technical qualities and content that could only have been created in Bando.

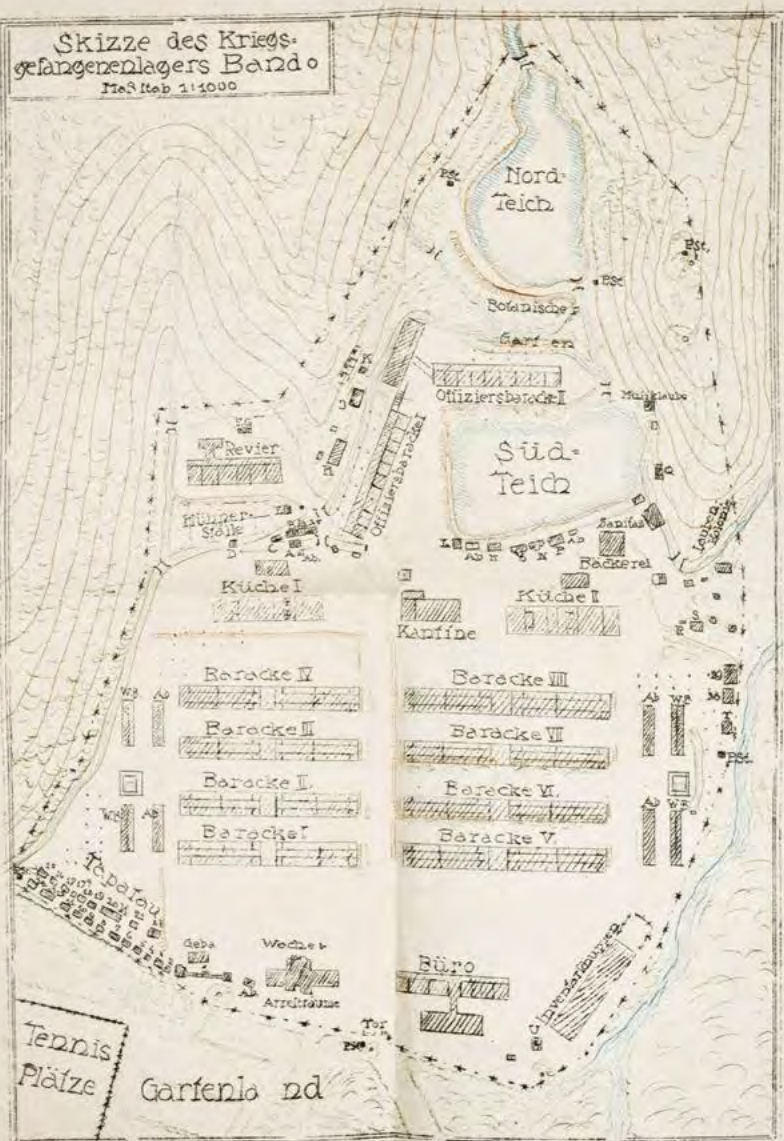
Presented here are three lots of titles from the Bando Press: 1) an extremely rare Address Book for the Camp, with two fine coloured maps and advertisements; 2) a beautiful illustrated Children's book, meant to be sent home to relatives in Germany; and 3) a set of the 6 consecutive final issues of *Die Baracke*, a richly illustrated magazine with all sorts of gorgeous plates illustrating a surprising array of sophisticated topics.

The Bando Camp, Japan: The Most Pleasant POW Camp in the World

The Pacific theatre of World War I is today a largely forgotten aspect of the conflict. Prior to the war, Germany controlled several territories in the Asia Pacific region, including Papua New Guinea, the Caroline Islands and the treaty port of Qingdao (also Tsingtao), a city in Shandong province, China, which is still today known for its beer and Wilhelmine architecture. Since 1898, Qingdao had been, in essence, a German colony, although it was not technically a possession, but rather a leased city. By eve of the war the city had developed a small, yet well-adapted and surprisingly self-sufficient German community, such that a variety of vocations from brewers to bakers to bookbinders carried out their trades in the precise manner as ordained by the apprenticeship system in the homeland.

Japan joined the Entente side against Germany early in World War I, and in October 1914 dispatched a force of around 30,000 troops to take Qingdao. As most of the city's garrison had been dispatched to Europe, Qingdao was defended by only 5,000 German troops, being mostly inexperienced civilian reservists. After an eight-day

Skizze des Kriegs-
gefangenenlagers Bando
11. Feb. 1900



Beilage zum Lageradreßbuch

Erklärungen:
Pst. Postenstand, Abt. Abteilungs-Verwaltung

siege, the city surrendered to Japan on November 7, 1914. Qingdao's German residents, both civilian and military, were captured and held as POWs.

Initially, the German prisoners were held in variety of makeshift camps, but were eventually consolidated to six major camps within Japan. One of these camps was a Bando, founded in April 1917, near Naruto, Tokushima Prefecture (Shikoku Island).

Bando was extraordinary in that the 'prisoners' were treated as something closer to honoured guests, held under remarkably comfortable physical conditions, and given a high degree of liberty. This was due to the fact that the camp was run by Captain Toyohisa Matsue, an ex-Samurai of the Aizu Clan. Toyohisa Matsue was deeply wedded to an ancient code, 'Compassion of the Samurai', that stressed that one must respect and honour one's opponents, especially those that are entrusted to your custody.

During the entire life of the Bando camp, from 1917 to 1920, a total of 1019 prisoners, almost all Germans, were held at camp. The civility of the environment was aided by the fact that only 99 of the 'guests' were professional soldiers; and many of the civilians were professionals with useful skills.

The largest share of the Bando population was made up of merchants (303); while there were also 148 metal workers; 52 key makers; 30 farmers; 27 merchant mariners; 22 carpenters, 19 miners; 18 post and telegraph operators; and 17 bakers. Critical to our story, there were also 4 printers, 1 paper maker, 1 letter press operator, 1 lithographer, 1 bookbinder and 2 book dealers.

The German officers amongst the POWs received the same salary as an equivalent Japanese officer, while other inmates received the same wages as normal Japanese soldiers. Importantly, these salaries were often accepted 'in kind' in the form of foodstuffs and materials.

Toyohisa Matsue authorized the creation of a wide variety of recreational programmes for the inmates, including tennis, sailing on one of the camp's ponds, swimming, a health club, bowling, orienteering and running events. The camp also had its own post office (printing lovely custom stamps that are highly collectable today), a theatre (some of the men insisted on playing women's roles; the camp tailor made special costumes), and held many musical concerts. The local people were encouraged to associate with the inmates, and many cultural events were joint German-Japanese productions. Indeed, Bando became a highly important nexus of cross-cultural exchange, with an enduring legacy.

Of great importance, the Bando prisoners introduced Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* to Japan, a piece with remains immensely popular in the country to this day. Since 1982, the city of Naruto sponsors an annual concert playing the symphony on the first Sunday in June.

Notably, No. 5, the magazine *Die Baracke*, includes many magnificent partly-coloured images and maps recording sites and events within the camp.

Following the closure of the Bando Camp, most of the prisoners were repatriated to Germany. However, 170 former inmates chose to remain in Japan, where they founded German-style businesses, some of which thrive to the present day.

The Extraordinary Printing of the Bando Press

Some of the most unique, beautifully designed and technically innovative printing made anywhere during the early 20th Century was created within the Bando Camp, at the 'Lagerdruckerei'. The camp fostered a unique environment which saw the synergy of the German apprenticeship system with Asian printing techniques and materials.

The printers at the Bando camp created a press shop with the blessing and active support of Toyohisa Matsue. It helped that the camp included 10 inmates who were professionals in publishing and the book trade.

Printing at Bando played major role in the daily life of the camp, as the press shop was very prolific, responsible for 50 separate titles (out of the total of 70 titles produced by all World War I POW camps in Japan). The range of publications was diverse, including newspapers, magazines, short novels, language books, economic tracts, as well as posters, flyers and invitations. Many of the books were sold outside the camp, with some even exported abroad. In the first year of its operation, the Bando press used 350,000 sheets of paper, in the second year 550,000 (an average of 1,500 sheets per day, or around 550 sheets per camp inmate!).

The works of the Bando Press gained the attention of fine printing aficionados the world over, and many titles were ordered from abroad. These sales were encouraged by Toyohisa Matsue, who was proud of his camp's products. Indeed, one of the Bando printers recalls receiving numerous letters from abroad (including a note from Frankfurt in a Red Cross box) that opined, that of all the contemporary presses across the globe, Bando was the best!

The colour printing technique employed by the Bando Press is highly unusual, and this has led many to erroneously describe it as some form of lithography. In truth, the Bando printers devised their own ingenious and gorgeous, yet labour intensive, technique that was a unique melding of German and Asian printing techniques and materials. It seems that while the technique was devised at Bando, the German printers likely benefited from having had some acquaintance with Asian papers and inks from their time in Qingdao.

In the April 1919 edition of *Die Baracke* (please see No. 5 below), the Bando printer K. Fischer explains how the press's colour printing technique was executed.

He was eager to record this unique method for posterity, as Bando was shortly to be closed and the prisoners repatriated to Germany. He recalls how many of his compatriots entered the press shop in its final days, referring to his printing equipment, asking him how he expected to get “all this stuff” home? Fischer was also quite annoyed that many ignorant people referred to the Bando technique as chromolithography. He eloquently called their printing technique “a child of a prison of war” (“ein Kind der Kriegsgefangenschaft”), a procedure which could only be invented in the extremely unusual circumstances of the Bando Camp.

Fischer describes the colour printing technique in exacting detail, such that it could conceivably be revived today by a highly skilled professional. While he never used the term, the technique could perhaps be described as ‘pierced silk paper colour printing’.

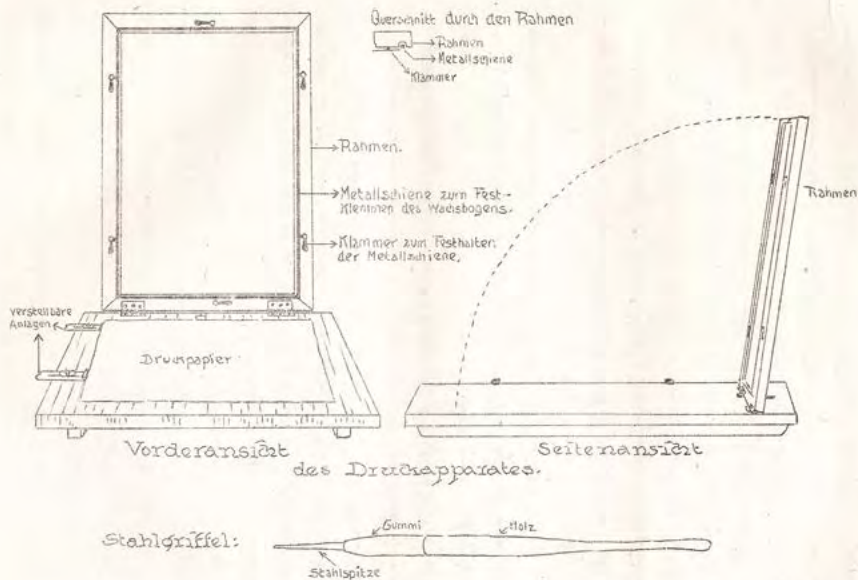
First, the text or drawing was to be impressed upon a sheet of silk paper, that was first coated in a waterproof film, or layer, by making microscopic, strategically placed superficial perforations with a steel pin, in a stipple-like manner. The colour was then applied on the verso of the paper, before being impressed with a custom-made press. The colour then bled out through the tiny holes on the front, leaving impressions on the white paper.

As the different pigments of colour possessed variable structures, they had to be applied separately in different stages: first yellow, then blue, purple, green and black. Each individual sheet of paper had to be run through the press on multiple occasions, each time to add a single colour via a signature impression from a different stencil through the silk paper.

Fischer’s article is beautifully illustrated by sketches of the printing devices, as well as plates showing different stages of the same image printed in colours. The technique combines different lines and layering of colours, and Fischer patiently explains how the finest images are made. Also included is an image of the Lagerdruckerei.



Die unvollständige Abbildung
 zeigt uns, dass es sich
 um ein Beispiel für die
 Herstellung von Eisen-
 stützen handelt.
 Die Zeichnung enthält
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 Braun, Grau und
 Schwarz. Nur von dieser
 Farbe weißt man nichts,
 für verschiedene Eisen-
 stützen nennt man
 nicht. Es ist z. B. ein Eisen-
 stütz und der Bodenraum







d.



e.



Lustspiel
in 3 Aufzügen
von
Oscar Blumenthal & Gustav Kadelburg
Mitte März 1919 Anfang 7 Uhr
Kriegsgefangenenlager Dando, Japan.

f.



D



E



F

Lustspiel
in 3 Aufzügen
von
Oscar Blumenthal & Gustav Kadelburg
Mitte März 1919 Anfang 7 Uhr
Kriegsgefangenenlager Dando, Japan.

3. [GERMAN-ASIAN FINE ART PRINTING IN JAPAN / WWI POW CAMPS:]
Rudolf HÜLSENITZ, Editor.
Kriegsgefangenenlager Bando. Japan. Adressbuch. November 1917.
[POW Camp Bando. Japan. Address Book. November 1917].
Bando, Japan: Lagerdruckerei [Bando Prison Camp Press], November 1917.
Small 4°: 79 pp. text, interleaved with 1 full-page printed map and full-page advertisements (including 4 colour silk paper printed advertisements), plus 1 colour silk-paper printed folding map pasted on inner front cover, original grey paper wrappers with pastedown printed title (Very Good, internally clean and crisp, minor marginal tears to wrappers).

An extremely rare address book printed during World War I by German internees at the Bando POW Camp, near Naruto, Japan, providing valuable information on the inmates, featuring 2 exquisite maps and full-page colour advertisements published through a unique and sophisticated printing technique.

This extremely rare and magnificent survivor is an address books printed by the press at the Bando POW camp. In addition to providing valuable information on the inmates, the book is lavishly illustrated with large, decorative colour advertisements and original maps, employing the press's signature pierced silk paper printing technique.

The main body of the work, edited by internee Rudolf Hülsenitz, features a list of the prisoners in alphabetical order, along with their addresses in the camp, in addition to the same for Bando's shops. Also included is a guide to the shopping quarters and information on the organisation of the health services.

The visual highlights of the book are perhaps the two beautifully designed original maps. The first map, which folds into the inner front cover, depicts the core of the camp as it appeared during 1917, Bando's first year of operation. It corresponds to the address list, depicting each barrack house (dormitory) and listing the names of the occupants according to their beds. Printed in green, yellow and black, it is as elegant as it was useful.

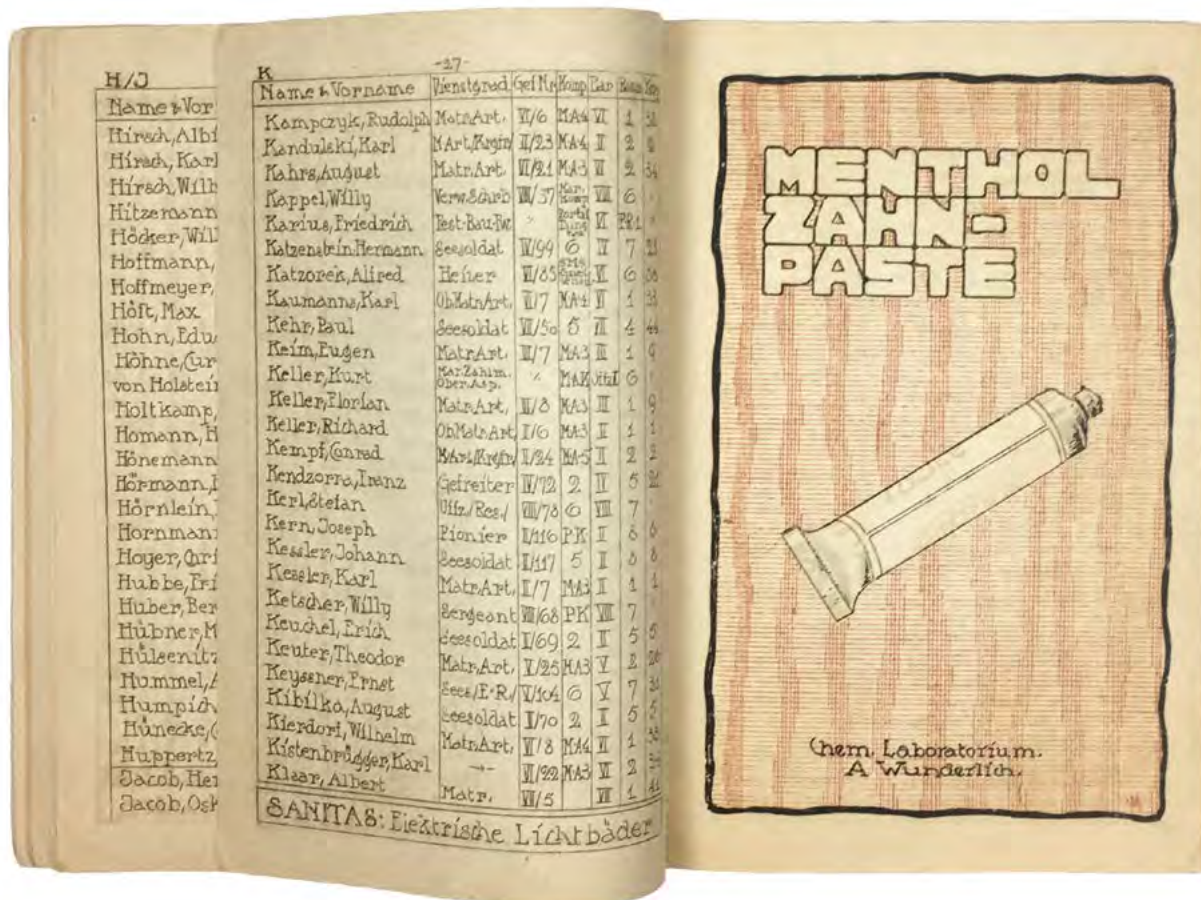
The second map, located on Page 2, depicts the camp within its greater environs, including its barbed wire boundaries, the 8 barrack houses, sports grounds, post office, gardening area, fountains, police station, cemetery, chicken coops, its two ponds, music hall, tennis courts, botanical gardens, officers' quarters, the kitchen, offices, as well as various other structures.

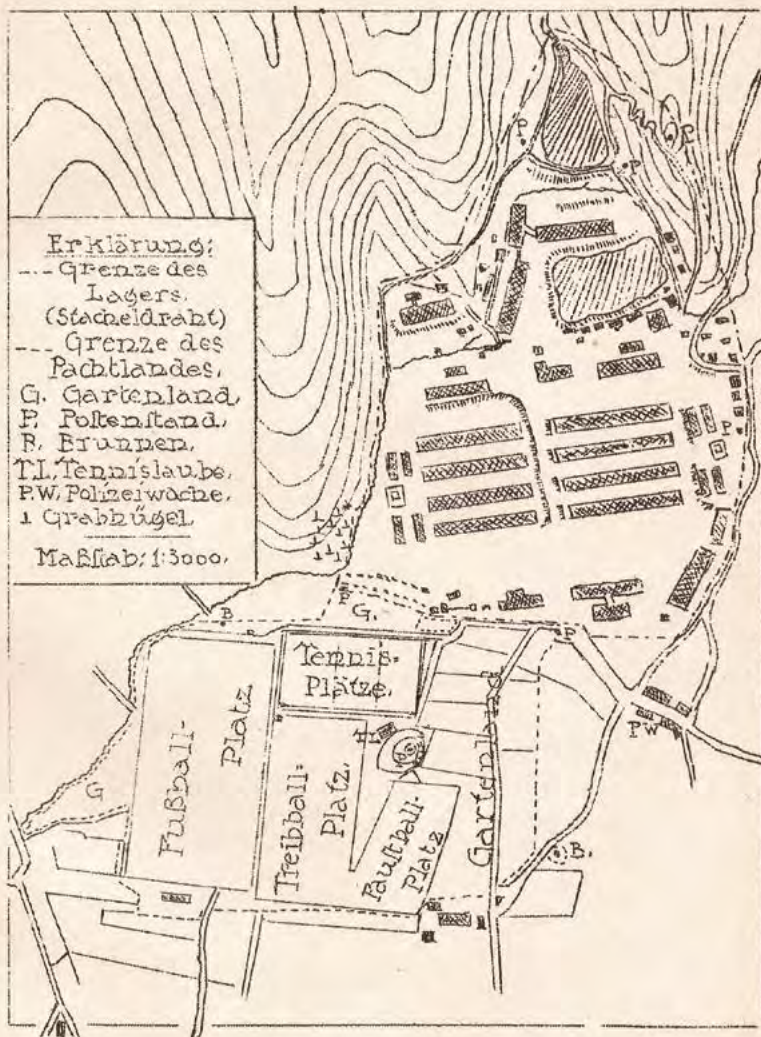
Not to be overlooked, are the highly impressive colour advertisements, including one for the Bando Lagerdruckerei (listing its publications to date). Other advertisements promote pharmacies, pastry shops, an exchange office, an art exhibition to be held in 1918, as well as a series of maps of other POW camps in Japan, plus a printed celestial chart (available mounted on card or unmounted).

The editor of the address book, Rudolf Hülsenitz was, prior to the war, employed by the East Asia Lloyd shipping company in Shanghai, entering the German marine corps in 1914. While at Bando, he also had a role in publishing a newspaper, the *Täglicher Telegramm-Dienst Bando*.

The present address book is extremely rare, as it was printed in only a limited edition, and due to its ephemeral nature was likely discarded once out of date. We can trace only a single institutional example, at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich).

References: OCLC: 643924321.





Skizze
des Kriegsgefangenenlagers und
des Pachtgebiets vor dem Lager,



Lagerdruckerei Bando, Japan.

Theaterzet-
tel, Postkar-
ten, Noten,
Rechnun-
gen, Land-
karten, tech-
nische Zeich-
nungen. □

U. S. W.
U. S. W.



Konzertzet-
tel, Eintritts-
karten, Plä-
ne, Empfangs-
bestätigun-
gen, Druck-
sachen für
Lehrzwecke.

U. S. W.
U. S. W.

Täglicher
Telegrammdienst,
Nachrichtendienst,

„Die Baracke“
„Zeitung für das Gefan-
genenlager Bando, Er-
scheint jeden Sonntag“

Buchdruck,
Bisher erschienen:
Bücherverzeichnis der La-
gerbucherei Bando, Lager-
adressbuch, „Drei Märchen“
von E. Behr, Kalender 1918,

4. [GERMAN-ASIAN FINE ART PRINTING IN JAPAN / CHILDREN'S BOOKS:]
E. BEHR, Author; Gustav MÖLLER, Illustrator.
***Drei Märchen* [Three Stories].**

Bando, Japan: Lagerdruckerei [Bando Prison Camp Press], 1918.

Small 4°: [1] title with hand written dedication, 79 pp. with illustrated title page with colour initials; 3 colour initials and 5 vignettes within text, 8 colour illustrations interleaved through text done by a pierced silk paper technique, original grey silk binding with colour illustrated cover, endpapers with illustrations in green (Very Good, first pages slightly age-toned and stained, old manuscript dedication to the title, binding with light foxing, spine slightly age-toned with tiny tears).

A wonderfully decorative story book for children, issued during World War I by German internees at the Bando POW Camp in Japan, intended to be sent by internees to young readers in the homeland, with magnificent coloured illustrations on silk paper.

This beautifully produced book of children's stories was made in the press shop run by German internees at the Bando POW Camp, Japan, during World War I. The book includes three stories: 1. 'Hans Wunderlich im Schützengraben' [Hans Wunderlich in a Trench]; 2. 'Der Glückstaler' [The Chinese Money Plant]; and 3. 'Die Sprechende Nactigall!' [The Talking Nightingale!]. The entertaining stories, are admittedly a touch harsh by today's sensibilities, as they were inspired by the ongoing war.

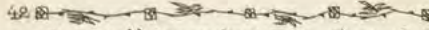
The stories are illustrated with magnificent colour images done on silk paper, executed by a unique technique developed at the Bando Camp. The endpapers feature Art Nouveau designs of green salamanders and mushrooms.

As there were no children resident at the Bando Camp, *Drei Märchen* was specifically made to be sent home to be read by children in Germany. It would have been a touching and reassuring gesture to receive such a lovely book from a relative in the camp so far away. The present example is dedicated on the title by a Bando POW, to his niece Gisela, who was supposedly back in the homeland.

The present 1918 issue is the second (of 2) editions of the book. The first edition was issued in 1917 and is extremely rare, seemingly produced in only a very small print run. The first edition was met with great favour, resulting in the second edition being produced in a larger print run. It is mentioned that 1,500 to 1,600 examples of the 1918 edition were printed; however, this is likely a joke, or a gross exaggeration, as the printing technique employed could generally not produce more than a few hundred copies. Moreover, the rarity of the 1918 edition today suggests that it was made in a much small print run than these stated figures.

Of the present second (1918) edition of the book, we can locate examples in 6 institutions, but none outside of Germany. The first edition is recorded in 2 German institutions, plus an example at the Princeton University Library.

References: OCLC: 245852679.

42.  mußte der Taler mitleiden. Garmiet selten geschahes, daß die Zigeuner unter sich im Streit gerieten, wenn sie vom Weine berauscht waren. Dann zogen sie wohl ihre Messer und stachen aufeinander los, daß Blut floß. Ja einmal geschah es sogar, daß nach einem solchen Kampfe ein Zigeuner tot liegen blieb und von seinen Genossen im Walde verschant wurde. — Da fürchtete sich der Taler und wünschte, bald aus dieser wilden Gesellschaft heraus zu kommen.

Die Zigeuner zogen indessen immer weiter, wanderten durch Süle-sien und Böhmen und gelangten schließlich nach Ungarn, ihrer alten Heimat, wo viele ihrer Stammesgenossen wohnen. Da wurden sie eines Tages an der rumänischen Grenze von Zollwächtern beim Schmuggeln überrascht. Es setzte einen erbitterten Kampf, wobei der Räuberhauptmann einen Schuß vor die Brust erhielt. Die Kugel verwundete ihn aber nicht, sondern prallte an dem Taler oben an der roten Weste ab, und der Hauptmann konnte sich in den Wald retten. Durch die Gewalt des Schusses war aber anzer Taler



5. [GERMAN-ASIAN FINE ART PRINTING IN JAPAN / WWI POW CAMPS:]
Die Baracke. Zeitung für das Kriegsgefangenenlager. Bando, Japan [The Barracks.
Newspaper for Prisoners of War. Bando, Japan].
Bando: Lagerdruckerei [Bando Prison Camp Press], 1919.
6 Issues, all small 4° (please see below for collations and details).

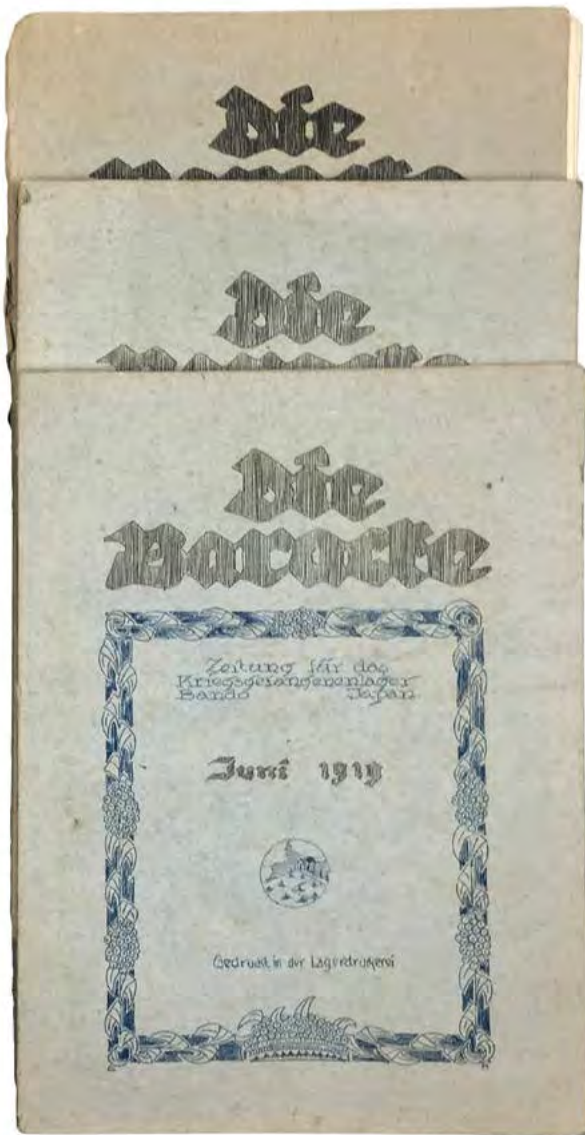
The final 6 consecutive issues of 'Die Baracke', a magazine printed by German internees at the Bando POW Camp, Japan, lavishly illustrated with original maps, theatre sets, a moon chart, music scores, and a 'how to' guide on the unique and sophisticated pierced silk paper printing method pioneered within the camp.

The present final six consecutive issues of *Die Baracke*, a magazine published by internees at the Bando POW Camp, on Shikoku Island, Japan, are amongst the most surprising and technically impressive modern prints we have ever encountered. The issues are lavishly illustrated with maps, music scores, elaborate theatre sets, various sundry diagrams, and even a moon chart. The intellectual depth and varied social and scientific interests of the internees is most unusual. The articles evince an amazingly progressive and sensitive interest in comparing Western and Japanese cultures. The Bando Press shop invented its own sophisticated and remarkably beautiful colour printing technique, the process of which might have remained something of a mystery, had not one of the printers included a detailed, illustrated 'how to' guide within one of the present issues. Generally, the issues of *Die Baracke* provide valuable information on daily life, news, culture and politics, created in what was probably the most humane and pleasant POW camp in the world.

Die Baracke, a monthly magazine, was first published by the Bando Lagerdruckerei on September 30th, 1917, with the first issue recorded as being of a run of 300 copies. By the time the final issue rolled off the press in September 1919, all the issues of the magazine combined accounted for 2,720 published pages.

Presented here are the final 6 issues of the magazine, being those for the months of April, May, June, July, August and September 1919. These issues are especially fine and significant, as they feature illustrations of the most mature and refined pierced silk paper colour printing technique of the Bando Press, and contain much useful information for providing an enduring memento of the camp for the departing internees.

All issues of *Die Baracke* are today very rare. While several German libraries hold various issues, as for institutional holdings in the United States, we can only trace a set of issues of an unspecified quantity at the University of California, Santa Barbara.



The Issues in Focus:

1.

April 1919 Issue:

Small 4°: [1] illustration printed on silk paper in black and blue, 158 pp. of black script printed on silk paper, with black and white illustrations within text, full-page illustration and colour folding plate, [2] advertisements, original blue wrappers with illustrated cover in blue and black (Very Good, minor tears to spine, small marginal folds).

This issue includes articles on the printing techniques of the Bando Press, musical scores and poetry, as well as reports on sporting events which took place within the camp.

2.

May 1919 Issue:

Small 4°: [1] colour illustration printed on silk paper, 142 pp. of black script printed on silk paper with illustrations within text and folding plates, [1] advertisements, original blue wrappers with illustrated cover in blue and black (Very Good, minor tears to spine, small marginal folds).

This issue features articles on the Bolsheviks, the Communist faction that in 1917 assumed control over the Russian government and, after making its peace with Germany, fought a civil war against its domestic opponents. The sensational reports from Russia would have fascinated (and perhaps horrified) the German internees. Also included are articles on music, sports and theatre.

3.

June 1919 Issue:

Small 4°: [1] illustration in grey and black printed on silk paper, 119 pp. of black script printed on silk paper with black and white and colour illustrations within text, full-page illustrations and folding plates, [1] advertisements, original blue wrappers with illustrated cover in blue and black (Very Good, minor tears to spine, small marginal folds).

This issue features numerous engaging illustrated articles on Japanese art, culture and architecture, all conveyed with remarkable cultural sensitivity and evident admiration for the land in which the Bando Camp was located. It additionally includes articles on music, as well as an academically valuable statistical report on the physical activities of the prisoners.

Abb. 1.

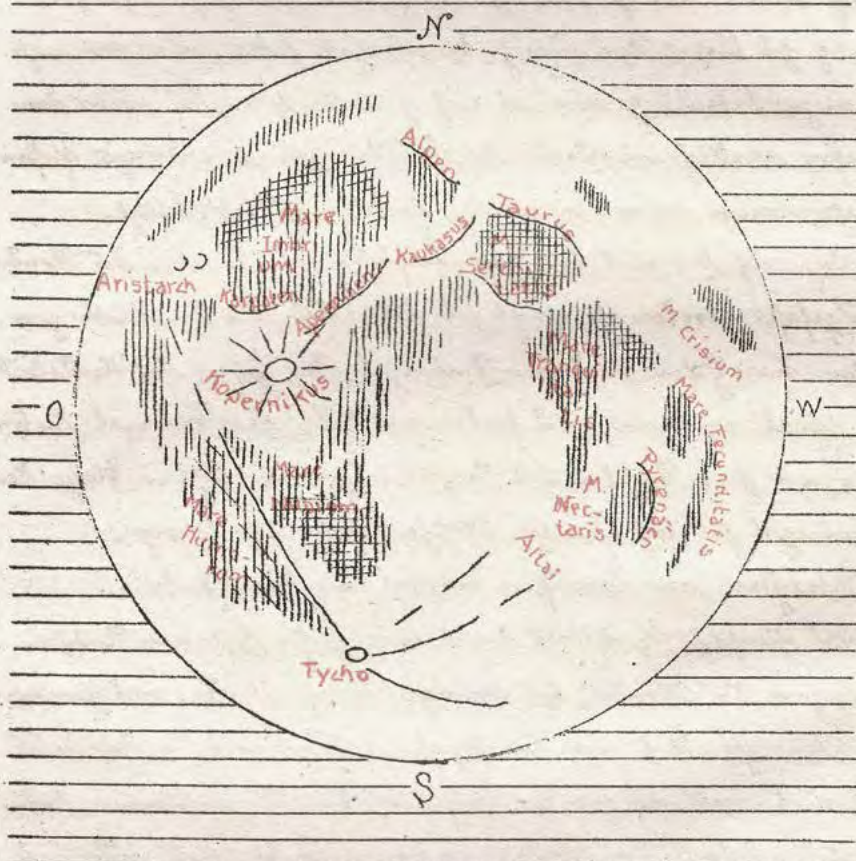


Bild der Mondscheibe im Maßstabe 1:35 000 000

(Die Schraffur des Hintergrundes ist auch in den folgenden Abbildungen von Osten nach Westen gerichtet und kann zur Orientierung dienen.)

4.

July 1919 Issue:

Small 4°: [1] colour illustration printed on silk paper, 100 pp. of black script and musical scores printed on silk paper with illustrations within text, [2] advertisements, original blue wrappers with illustrated cover in blue and black (Very Good, minor tears to spine, small marginal folds).

This issue features a review of a painting exhibition held within the camp, as well as reports on musical concerts and global military affairs, plus an article on what it's like to be a German living amongst the Japanese.

5.

August 1919 Issue:

Small 4°: [1] colour illustration printed on silk paper, 108 pp. of black script printed on silk paper with black and white and colour illustrations within text, full-page illustrations and folding plates, original blue wrappers with illustrated cover in blue and black (Very Good, minor tears to spine, small marginal folds).

This issue features an illustrated article on the nearby Japanese city of Tokushima, including a large folding plan. Fascinatingly, it also contains a lengthy article comparing the European and Asian considerations of the Autumn Full Moon, accompanied by Moon Charts. Additionally, there are reports on global military affairs, as well as sports and musical events.

6.

September 1919 Issue:

Small 4°: 135 pp. of black script printed on silk paper with black and white and colour illustrations within text, full-page illustrations and folding plates, [1] title, 8 pp. black script printed on silk paper, [1] blank page, interleaved with 10 grey pages with mounted colour illustrations printed on silk paper, with printed title, original blue wrappers with illustrated colour printed cover (Very Good, minor tears to spine, small marginal folds).

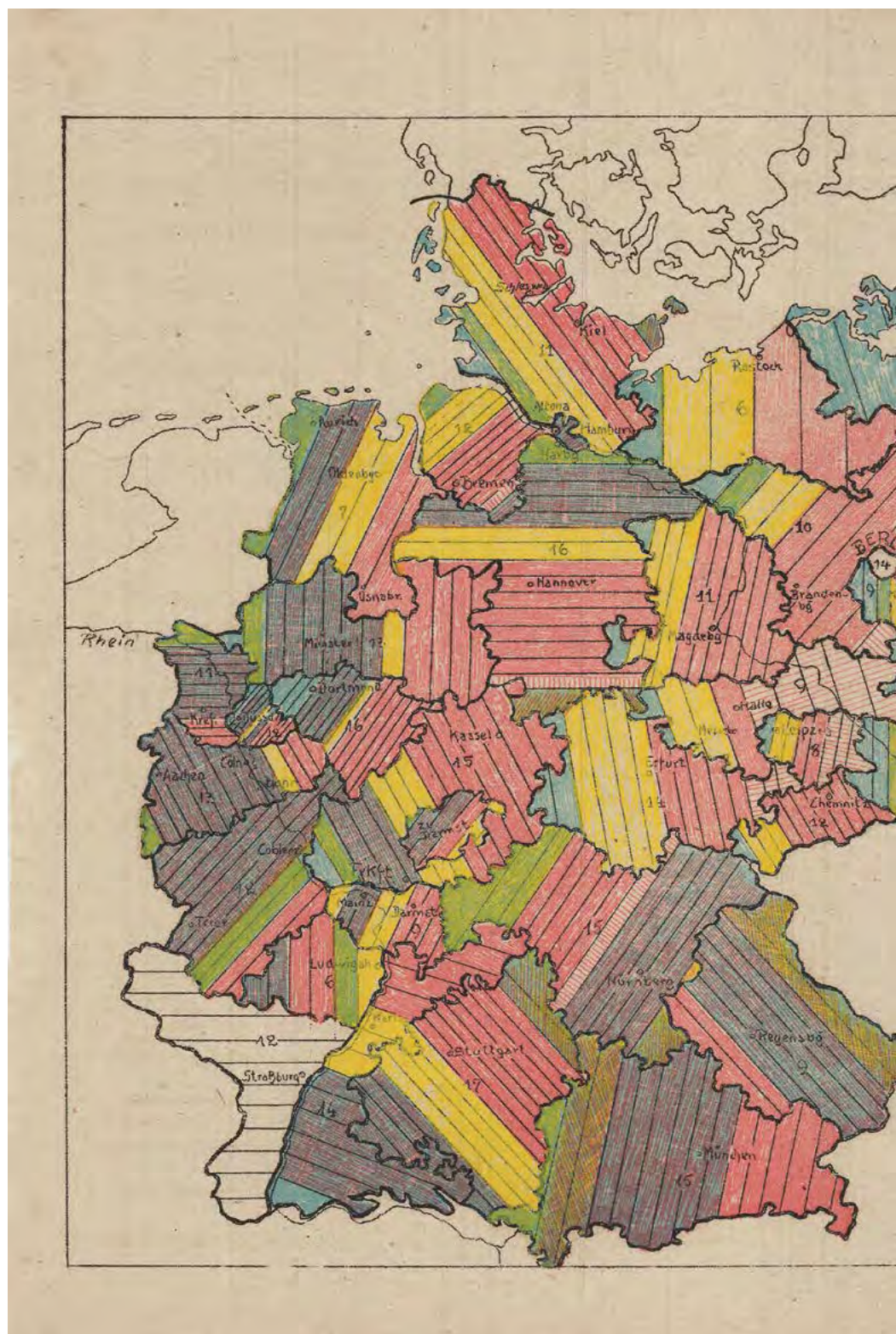
This is the final, and certainly the most impressive, issue of *Die Baracke*, containing special, lavishly illustrated articles that were meant to serve as a memento of the camp for the departing internees. The cover of the issue features a ship, symbolising the Germans' imminent return home.

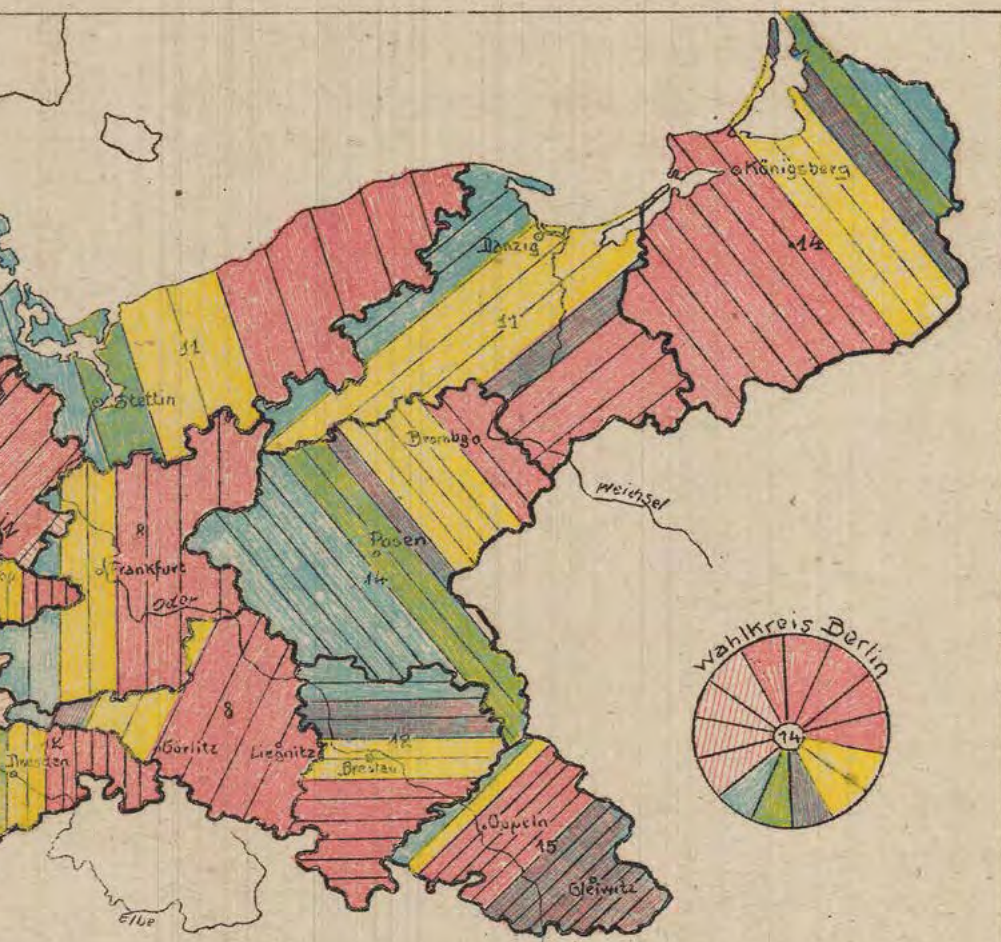
Theatre played a central role in the social and cultural life of Bando, and this issue features 10 exquisite images of theatre scenes from plays performed within the camp, printed in colour on silk paper. Also included is a report on the final days of the Bando Printing Press, as well as statistics on the production of *Die Baracke*.

There is also a detailed article on the current political situation back home in Germany, illustrated with gorgeous folding maps. Finally, an article features an *im memoriam* listing of all the internees who died at Bando.

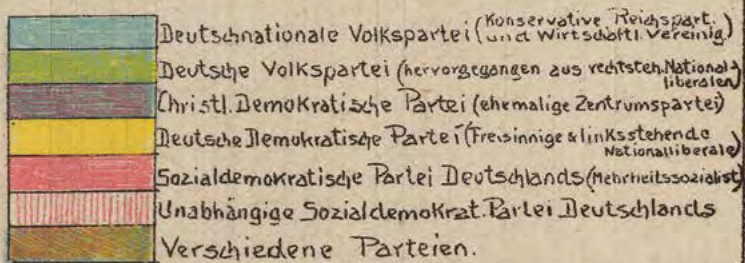
References: Ichiro Tamura, "Hie gut Deutschland alleweg!" Eine Einführung in die Geschichte des Kriegsgefangenenlagers Bando (Bremen, 2011).







Das Ergebnis der Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung



~~~~~ Grenze des Wahlkreises  
 Die Zahlen bedeutet die in dem Wahlkreis gewählte Anzahl Abgeordnete

6. **[JOSEPH STALIN / EARLY SOVIET HISTORY:]**

**Boris BAZHANOV (1900 – 1982).**

**[Boris Bazhanov's Memoirs of Stalin's Kremlin: Collection of Original Typescripts, Predating all his Published Works].**

**[Paris:] 1928 – 1929.**

Collection of original typescripts in the French language with occasional contemporary manuscript corrections in pen (A4 size, single-sided, total 74 pp.) divided into 19 separately titled sections: Section 1: 8 pp.; 2: 4 pp.; 3: 4 pp.; 4: 4 pp.; 5: 5 pp.; 6: 9 pp.; 7: 4 pp.; 8: 5 pp.; 9: 3 pp.; 10: 2 pp.; 11: 3 pp.; 12: 3 pp.; 13: 3 pp.; 14: 4 pp.; 15: 3 pp.; 16: 4 pp.; 17: 2 pp.; 18: 2 pp.; 19: 2 pp.; plus 1 mimeographed copy of a typescript in blue, marked 'Copie', 8 pp.; all sections fastened by original paperclips, pins or claps (Generally Very Good, some staining, creasing and marginal tears, Section No. 16, first page, upper-right corner torn with loss to text).

*A series of original typescripts containing one of the earliest authoritative accounts of the secret internal workings of Joseph Stalin's Kremlin, being the first-hand recollections of Boris Bazhanov, formerly the Soviet leader's personal secretary, made shortly after his defection to France, and predating all of Bazhanov's published works.*

This historically important and truly fascinating series of original typescripts contains Boris Bazhanov's firsthand account of the internal workings of Joseph Stalin's Kremlin, being one of the earliest detailed and reliable accounts of the subject ever presented to a Western audience. Importantly, the typescripts predate Bazhanov's celebrated publications on the subject, and were created in Paris, in late 1928 and early 1929, barely six months after the author arrived in France, following his defection from the Soviet Union. From 1923 until the end of 1927, which saw the rise and consolidation of Stalin's leadership, Bazhanov was the personal secretary to the Soviet leader, and one of his most trusted assistants. Critically, he was not only privy to Stalin's daily actions and private meetings, he was also the secretary of the Politburo, being tasked with recording the secret deliberations of the Soviet Union's governing body. However, Bazhanov became horrified by the murderous nature of Stalin's regime, and disaffected from Communism in general, and suddenly left his Soviet life behind by defecting across the Persian border, on New Years' Day 1928.

In the typescripts, Bazhanov recounts top secret and arresting information on Joseph Stalin, his interactions with his colleagues and rivals, and the operations of the Soviet government, all in a fashion far more detailed and accurate than any analysis recounted to date. Up to Bazhanov's defection, Westerners had virtually no useful intelligence on the internal workings of the Kremlin, their spy networks failing to embrace any insiders with proximity to the Politburo. Many of the contemporary analysts of the Soviet regime relied on here say, if not outright fabrication. Bazhanov, while not himself a decisionmaker, was a silent witness at

COPIE

6.- LA POSSIBILITE QU'AVAIT PROGRES DE FAIRE UN COUP D'ETAT

Les répressions qu'on remarque actuellement contre ceux qui sont accusés de tendances vers la droite, sont la conséquence de l'opposition. On

cela équivaut à puiser dans les fonds de l'Etat pour ainsi dire impossible! Il ne puiser ces, sur les salaires usités d'un effet politique romanesque. une émissi- me plus facile. Ce moyen, prati- une nouvelle conditions nor-

2. STALINE

Impressions  
écrites d'un ancien adjoint de STALINE

1) Quelques mots sur l'auteur

Sous les chemins mène à Rome, mais chacun différemment. J'ai suivi le mien, assez extraordinaire. Je n'aime pas les sentiers battus, on peut toujours, avec de la volonté, en trouver de meilleurs et de plus intéressants.

Les 18 ans me trouvèrent dans ma ville natale, Moghilev-Podolsk. C'est là que je venais de terminer ma 8-me classe de lycée. Sous la direction du Hetman l'ordre y régnait et les études étaient bonnes. Je finis mes classes avec la médaille d'or et passai le second semestre à Kiev, à la Faculté physico-mathématique. A la fin de 1916, la ville fut prise par les bolchéviques et par les bolchéviques et toute possibilité d'étudier disparut. Je retournai à Moghilev et me mis énergiquement à mon instruction. Je ne me réalisais pas encore à la politique - j'étais trop jeune, je n'avais que 18 ans. Je décidai, avant tout, de bien me rendre compte des choses et j'en approchai théoriquement. Après avoir pris connaissance du marxisme, l'antipathie politique que j'éprouvais pour le socialisme en général et le communisme en particulier se trouva théoriquement confirmée, et je me sentis un ennemi irréductible du bolchévisme et du socialisme. C'est ce que je suis resté jusqu'à ce jour.

Dépendant la vague bolchéviste avait submergé notre ville. Les incendies, les pillages, les confiscations se succédaient, et leur répercussion se fit sentir surtout sur les élites, les intellectuels. Il était impossible de prendre part à la lutte contre les bolchéviques. Il me vint alors une idée, au hasard, qui plus tard joua un rôle important dans ma vie. Profitant de mes connaissances du marxisme et des théories bolchéviques, j'essayai de me faire passer pour un "idéologue du bolchévisme" et de sauver la vie de mes amis et parents. Cela me réussit. Les dirigeants bolchéviques étaient absolument ignorants de leurs propres théories et il ne fut très facile, après m'être mis en contact avec eux, d'être considéré comme une autorité en théorie marxiste. Les bolchéviques partaient et revenaient. Je restai dans la ville. Les ennemis des bolchéviques ne me touchaient pas, car la population savait que je n'étais pas communiste. Quand les bolchéviques arrivaient, je continuais mon travail. Quelque temps après la guerre civile prit fin en Ukraine.

Je décidai de me rendre à Moscou pour étudier et me rendre compte des événements. Durant 1921, j'étudiais très énergiquement, je lisais jour et nuit. Au début de 1922, je conclus que, dans la situation actuelle, la meilleure possibilité

à une des questions ration et pour l'étran

tte question attire ment le maître de la nde ne le sait pas, tuteur des traits as en réalité.

simple et même com- à se rendre écrivain lui quelque chose

nt d'estimer la pers- objective, il est im- ntr bien naturelle et STALINE quelque'un de

que STALINE est actuel- qu'il ne fait pas com- pouvoir. L'autre -

le hasard qui a joué un rôle énorme à égale- STALINE. Au contraire, e ses mains, on ne . C'est ce que nous

l de Guerre révolution- ntérent et sa gros- cheis militaires et r STALINE. Quelque temps ie pour son homme", 17- es ouvriers et Paysans raconté qu'à l'assen- nomination, l'un des e autre candidature, tait active et intelli-

elligent; nous y ret-

the very heart of the Kremlin. While he had certainly, by the time of his defection, developed an ardent anti-Stalinist and anti-Communist bias, he seems to have made every effort to be truthful in his recollections, and historians have subsequently backed up his accounts. Today Bazhanov remains one of the most authoritative sources on Stalin's leadership style, as well as early Soviet political history in general.

Even upon reading Bazhanov's recollections almost ninety years on, one cannot help but to be shocked and captivated by the paranoid brutality of Stalin, and the unstable cocktail of deadly rivalries that comprised the Politburo, so charting the course of one of the world's great powers.

The various sections of the typescripts embrace several critically important topics, including: the Russian Civil War and the Red Army; the GPU (the fearsome Soviet State Police); Bazhanov's biography and his place in the Kremlin; Stalin as a person and leader; Stalin's mechanisms of power and action; the Politburo; Stalin's Opposition; the Coup supposedly planned against Stalin by Mikhail Frunze (but which was never realized); the opportunity cost of Frunze's coup having never reached fruition and the Absolute Power of Stalin.

Far from being a dry monologue, the text is a real 'page turner'. Each topic comes alive with Bazhanov's first-hand anecdotes, many of which concern the most famous members of the Soviet hierarchy, including many stories from *in camera* meetings that had never been revealed.

Bazhanov arrived in France, in June 1928, as a political exile. He was eager to tell his story, as he ardently believed that the World should know of Stalin's brutality and the tragic course upon which the Soviet Union was headed. This did not come without risk, as deeply embittered by his former assistant's 'betrayal' and fearful of what Bazhanov might reveal, Stalin ordered several credible, yet unsuccessful, attempts to assassinate Bazhanov.

The present typescripts were created towards the end of 1928 and early 1929, just as Bazhanov was getting settled in his adopted country. The typescripts are likely based on notes or interviews conducted in the Russian language, that were subsequently translated, and perhaps stylistically modified by a professional French editor. Nevertheless, the lines authentically convey Bazhanov's own thoughts and fresh memories, barely a year after he left the centre of Soviet power. The typescripts themselves were clearly done up by a secretary, while manuscript corrections were applied to remove errors and to improve readability.

Importantly, the typescripts predate any publication by or after Bazhanov. The purpose of the typescripts was evidently to organize Bazhanov's recollections in preparation for publication. While the content of the present typescripts clearly formed the basis of Bazhanov's most important publications (or parts thereof), these publications did not *verbatim* copy the language and order of the text of the

typescripts. Rather, it seems that typescripts were meant to organise and clarify Bazhanov's thoughts, likely so that a ghost writer or editor could refashion the content into prose thought to be more suitable for publication and particular audiences.

Bazhanov's first publication, which was obviously anchored in the content conveyed in the present typescripts, was *Avec Staline dans le Kremlin*, published serially in four parts within the successive issues of the French journal, *Revue de France* (1930), and as a stand-alone book of the same title (Paris: Les Éditions de France, 1930).

The influence of the typescripts on the published work is unmistakable, even if the language and ordering of the content employed is somewhat different. *Avec Staline* embraces many of the seminal points conveyed in the typescripts, but due to the projected preferences of the target audience, as well as space restrictions, it emphasizes certain topics at the expense of others.

*Avec Staline* caused an immediate firestorm, as Western governments, academics, spies and curious members of the public were utterly transfixed by the shocking details of life inside Stalin's Kremlin. In 1931, the work was translated into German and Spanish.

Bazhanov's first-hand accounts of Stalin's Kremlin established him as a globally renowned expert on the Soviet Union and a leading anti-Communist dissident. His work had a profound influence on the perception of the Stalinist regime in the West.

Bazhanov re-employed much of the material contained in the present typescripts in his memoir, written towards the end of his life, *Bazhanov révèle Staline. Souvenirs d'un ancien secrétaire de Staline* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979). Bazhanov's influence outlived him, and a well-received, expanded edition of his Kremlin memoirs was published as (ed. David W. Doyle) *Bazhanov and the Damnation of Stalin* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1990). Moreover, Bazhanov's writings are, up to the present day, routinely cited by serious scholarly works on Stalin and the early Soviet Union.

### **The Typescripts in Focus**

The typescripts are arranged into 19 separately titled sections, each segregated and fastened by original pins or clips, altogether totalling 74 pages (on single sided sheets), featuring sporadic contemporary manuscript corrections in pen. Some of the sections are paginated or dated, while others are not. Certain sections clearly relate to others, such that here we have organized the sections into 11 parts. This has been done for the sake of order and clarity, although these parts are not necessarily the same as those intended by Bazhanov or his editors, nor are the sections necessarily in the order in which they may have originally been intended.

**The Parts (11 Total) and Sections (19 Total)**  
**are as follows:**

**Part I:**

**1. La guerre et l'Armée rouge [The War and the Red Army], dated December, [1928].**  
8 pp., not paginated.

**Part II:**

**2. Le Pouvoir et la Nation [The Power and the Nation], dated January 4, 1929.**  
4 pp., paginated 1 - 4.

**Part III:**

**3. Le G.P.OU [The GPU: the Soviet State Police], dated January 11, 1929.**  
4 pp., not paginated.

**4. Le G.P.OU [The GPU: the Soviet State Police], dated January 12, 1929.**  
4 pp., not paginated.

**Part IV:**

**5. Impressions d'un ancien adjoint de Staline [Impressions of a Former Assistant to Stalin / Autobiography of Bazhanov].**  
5 pp., paginated 1 - 5.

**Part V:**

**6. Staline [Stalin (regarding him as a person and leader)].**  
9 pp., paginated 6 - 14.

**Part VI:**

**7. Le mécanisme du pouvoir de Staline [The Mechanism of Stalin's Power].**  
4 pp., paginated 15 - 18.

**8. Le mécanisme de l'activité de Staline (Suite) [The Mechanism of Stalin's Actions].**  
5 pp., not paginated.

**Part VII:**

**9. Où va Staline? [Where is Stalin?].**  
3 pp., not paginated.

**10. Où va Staline? [Where is Stalin?].**  
2 pp., not paginated.

**Part VIII:**

**11. Le Politbureau [The Politburo].**  
3 pp., not paginated.

**12. Le Politbureau [The Politburo].**  
3 pp., not paginated.

**Part IX:**

**13. L'Opposition [The Opposition].**  
3 pp., not paginated.

**14. L'Opposition [The Opposition].**  
4 pp., not paginated.

**15. L'Opposition (Suite) [The Opposition].**  
3 pp., not paginated.

**Part X:**

**16. La possibilité q'avait Frounze de fair un coup d'Etat [The Possibility that Mikhail Frunze would have mounted a Coup d'Etat].**  
4 pp., not paginated.

**Part XI:**

**17. Sur les possibilités perdues d'un coup d'Etat [On the Lost Opportunities of the Coup Not Materializing].**  
2 pp., not paginated.

**18. Sur les possibilités perdues d'un coup d'Etat [On the Lost Opportunities of the Coup Not Materializing].**  
2 pp., not paginated.

**19. Sur les possibilités perdues d'un coup d'Etat [On the Lost Opportunities of the Coup Not Materializing].**  
2 pp., not paginated.

Additionally, the typescripts are accompanied by a mimeographed copy of a typescript which is another version of Section 16 above, identically titled: 'La possibilité q'avait Frounze de fair un coup d'Etat' (marked "Copie", 8 pp., paginated, 42 - 49).

*Impressions*

Notes d'un ancien adjoint de STALINE

### I) Quelques mots sur l'auteur

Tous les chemins mènent à Rome, mais chacun différemment. J'ai suivi le mien, assez extraordinaire. - Je n'aime pas les sentiers battus, on peut toujours, avec de la volonté, en trouver de meilleurs et de plus intéressants.

Les 18 ans me trouvèrent dans ma ville natale, Moghilev-Podolsk. C'est là que je venais de terminer ma 8-me classe de lycée. Sous la direction du Hetman l'ordre y régnait et les études étaient bonnes. Je finis mes classes avec la médaille d'or et passai le second semestre à Kiev, à la Faculté physico-mathématique. A la fin de 1918, la ville fut prise par Pétlioura et par les bolchéviks et toute possibilité d'étudier disparut. Je retournai à Moghilev et me mis énergiquement à mon instruction. Je ne me mêlais pas encore à la politique - j'étais trop jeune, je n'avais que 18 ans. Je décidai, avant tout, de bien me rendre compte des choses et j'en approchai théoriquement. Après avoir pris connaissance du marxisme, l'antipathie politique que j'éprouvais pour le socialisme en général et le communisme en particulier se trouva théoriquement confirmée, et je me sentis un ennemi irréductible du bolchévisme et du socialisme. ~~C'est~~ ce que je suis resté jusqu'à ce jour.

Cependant la vague bolchéviste avait submergé notre ville. Les fusillades, les pillages, les confiscations se succédaient, et leurs répercussions se firent évidemment surtout sentir sur les élites, les intellectuels. Il était impossible de prendre part à la lutte contre les bolchéviks. Il me vint alors une idée, au hasard, qui plus tard joua un rôle important dans ma vie. Profitant de mes connaissances du marxisme et des théories bolchévistes, j'essayai de me faire passer pour un "idéologue du bolchévisme" et de sauver la vie de mes amis et parents. Cela me réussit. Les dirigeants bolchéviks étaient absolument ignorants de leurs propres théories et il me fut très facile, après m'être mis en contact avec eux, d'être considéré comme une autorité en théorie marxiste. Les bolchéviks partaient et revenaient... Je restai dans la ville. Les ennemis des bolchéviks ne me touchaient pas, car la population savait que je n'étais pas communiste. Quand les bolchéviks arrivaient, je continuais mon travail. Quelque temps après, la guerre civile prit fin en Ukraine.

Je décidai de <sup>aller</sup> me rendre à Moscou pour étudier et me rendre compte des événements. Durant 1921, j'étudiais très énergiquement, je lissais jour et nuit. Au début de 1922, je considérais que, dans la situation actuelle, la meilleure possibilité

## **Boris Bazhanov: Witness within Stalin's Kremlin**

Boris Georgiyevich Bazhanov (Борис Георгиевич Бажанов, sometimes Bajanov) was born, in 1900, in Mogilev-Podolskiy, Russian Empire (today Ukraine), the son of a medical doctor. While a student at the University of Kiev, Bazhanov was caught up in the turmoil that followed the October 1917 Revolution, and was injured during a protest.

Having returned to his home town to recover from his wounds, in 1919, Bazhanov joined the local chapter of the Communist Party. He recalled that this choice was not motivated by any affinity for Communism, but rather due to the necessity of 'picking a side' during a civil war; he preferred the Reds to the only other viable alternative, the Ukrainian nationalists.

Bazhanov was both highly intelligent and discreet, and he rose rapidly through the local party ranks, becoming district secretary in 1920, at only the age of 20. The following year, he moved to Moscow to study, and there he made many valuable Communist party connections.

In 1922, Bazhanov was selected for a support staff role at the Politburo of the Communist Party, an incredibly prestigious appointment with immense potential for promotion.

In August 1923, Bazhanov was appointed as personal secretary to Joseph Stalin, the party's General Secretary. Along with that post, he assumed the role as the recording secretary of the Politburo, whereupon he was responsible for drafting the council's official minutes. The Politburo's meetings were held *in camera*, and many top secret and explosive topics were frequently discussed, as Bazhanov's job was to witness and record everything!

Notably, Bazhanov had a front row seat as the party's heavyweights, Stalin, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin all vied for power in the wake of the death of Lenin.

Stalin won the power struggle and established himself as the supreme Soviet leader. Bazhanov became one of Stalin's most trusted assistants and was privy to virtually all the leader's innovative and ruthless methods of consolidating power and disposing of his opponents. He was also present during the formation of many of the Soviet Union's signature policies, such as the First Five Year Plan.

However, Bazhanov came to find Stalin's brutality repugnant and strongly disagreed with the path down which Communism was leading the country.

On January 1, 1928, Bazhanov made the bold decision to defect, by walking across the Persian border. Stalin was livid and ordered the GPU to assassinate his former secretary. In the Middle East, Bazhanov was pursued by the notorious hitman George Agabakov, but managed to always remain one step ahead.

Bazhanov arrived in France, in June 1928, where he was immediately given political asylum. He was warmly welcomed by elements of the French political and academic class, and became a vocal critic of Communism and Stalin. He, more than anyone else, exposed Stalin as a self-absorbed, murderous tyrant, as opposed to a hero for the working classes. Bazhanov survived several other attempts by Stalin's agents to assassinate him in France, including a staged car accident, before the Soviet leader supposedly 'moved on' to concentrate on other targets.

The present typescripts were made barely six months after Bazhanov's arrival in France, and were the fount of his high-profile publications on Stalin and Soviet affairs. These works included memoirs of his experiences in the Kremlin, but also editorial works commenting on current events. For the rest of his life, Bazhanov remained in demand as an international authority on his homeland, which was largely an enigma to the West. Bazhanov's account of life inside Stalin's Kremlin has stood the test of time, as official documents accessed after the fall of the Soviet Union have only confirmed what he asserted many decades earlier.

**References:** N / A. Cf. Boris Bajanov, 'Avec Staline dans le Kremlin' [serially issued in 4 parts], *Revue de France*, 10<sup>th</sup> year, nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 (1930); Boris Bajanov, *Avec Staline dans le Kremlin* (Paris: Les Éditions de France, 1930); Boris Bajanov, *Bajanov révèle Staline. Souvenirs d'un ancien secrétaire de Staline* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979); Boris Bazhanov (ed. David W. Doyle), *Bazhanov and the Damnation of Stalin* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1990).

7. [SOVIET GULAG HANDMADE PLAYING CARDS:]

Anon.

[Soviet Union, *shortly before January 28, 1963*].

Partial set of 15 playing cards, upon blank paper and sheets of newsprint (7 x 5 cm / 2.8 x 2), accompanied by a manuscript letter, written in cursive Russian Cyrillic (14 x 22 cm / 5.5 x 8.7) (Very Good, cards with small marginal chips, manuscript letter with soft folds and marginal tears).

***An extraordinary survivor – a set of 15 handmade playing cards, created by the inmates of an unidentified Soviet Gulag, accompanied by a letter written by a gulag warden, detailing the circumstances surrounding the confiscation of the deck.***

This is a unique (but regrettably incomplete) set of playing cards, made by prisoners in an unidentified Soviet Gulag, in 1962 or in early 1963. The cards are accompanied by a letter by a gulag warden, Lieutenant Kozhimiakin, addressed to Superintendent Danilchuk, detailing the confiscation of the deck from two inmates, Muratov and Kuts.

Playing cards were contraband at all levels of the prison system in the Soviet Union, as they were regarded as enabling gambling and fostering ill-discipline. Decks were confiscated from both inmates as well as civilian workers (Mochulsky, F.V., *Gulag Boss: A Soviet Memoir*, 2011, p. 26). Despite this, playing cards were frequently produced in Gulags in secrecy, where they became the centerpiece of massive, hierarchical underground gambling scenes.

The production of the cards was described in Anne Applebaum's *Gulag: The History of the Soviet Camps* (2003):

*"Experts' among the thieves specialized in the production of playing cards, a process which had become, by the 1940s, highly sophisticated. First, the 'expert' would cut squares of paper with a razor blade. To ensure the cards were sturdy enough, he then pasted five or six squares together using 'glue' made by rubbing a piece of damp bread against a handkerchief. After that, he put the cards under one of the bunks overnight to harden. When they were ready, he stamped the suits on to the card, using a stamp carved out of the bottom of a mug. He used black ash for the black cards. If the medicine streptomycin was available – if the camp or prison doctor had it, and could be threatened or bribed to give some away – he would make red cards as well."*

The present 15 cards seem to have been produced in a similar way as to those described by Applebaum. They were either part of a 32 or 36 card deck, and made to a size by which they could be easily hidden within pieces of clothing.



8. [TATAR REFUGEE MAGAZINE PRINTED IN SWEDEN:]

*Heberçi. İsviçdegi Dini-Medini-Türk-Islam Oyuşması Karşında Vakıtlı Revişte çığarılardır.* No. 1. [The Reporter. Swedish Religious-Civil-Turkish-Islamic Association Against the Contemporary Popular Magazines] Stockholm, 1952.

4°: 20 pp. mimeographed text in Ottoman Turkish in purple and pink with manuscript details, original printed wrappers, mimeographed text on inner sides of the wrappers, stapled (Very Good, slightly stained, wrappers with small marginal tears and a small scratched spot, soft vertical fold, two old owner's stamps to the cover and title page, first two pages printed a little pale).

*An extraordinary single-issue Tatar language magazine, largely in Ottoman script, published in Stockholm, in 1952, by exiles from the Soviet Union.*

This fascinating magazine was published in only a single issue, in 1952, in Stockholm, by Tatar exiles from the Soviet Union. The Tatars are a Turkic people hailing from many disparate regions, primarily in Crimea, Russia and Kazakhstan. They were often brutally persecuted by Russian/Soviet authorities, a situation that was especially severe during the Stalinist era. However, many Tatars found safe refuge in Sweden.

The present mimeographed magazine is written in the Tatar language, largely in Ottoman script (but with some elements in Latin script), and is richly colourful and decorative in places. It was issued primarily for the recent wave of Tatar exiles from the Soviet Union who had arrived in Sweden via Estonia and Finland.

*Heberçi* includes biographic information on the late Turkish president Mustafa Kemal 'Atatürk' (a hero to all Turkic peoples), as well as poems, games for children and community notices. The text was entirely written by members of the Tatar exile community, and a poem in homage of Atatürk was written by one Mr. Minhatsch (whose name is stamped on the cover of the present example, bearing his address in Neu-Ulm, Germany).

### **A Brief History of the Tatars in Sweden**

Very few Tatars settled permanently in Sweden prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and those that did would have had to lose their identity and integrate into the traditional Swedish culture, owing to a long-lasting 1686 law that required all immigrants to convert to Christianity (the Tatars were generally Muslims). Indeed, the 1930 Swedish census records only 15 Muslims as living in the country, while the formation of Islamic congregations was strictly forbidden.

However, Stalin's brutal, anti-Tatar policies saw a wave of emigration from the Soviet Union. In 1941-3, many of the Tatars that had initially fled to Finland were (to their great misfortune) forcibly returned to the USSR. As such, many of the Tatars that managed to make it to Finland and Estonia, carried on to Sweden.

The first wave of Tatars arriving in Sweden mostly hailed from the Mishar subgroup of the Volga Tatars, from Sergach, a town that was the administrative centre of Sergachsky District in Nizhny Novgorod Oblast, Russia.

By the end of World War II, the immigration laws in Sweden had been greatly relaxed, and the Tatars were free to openly practise their religion and celebrate their culture. In 1949, a group of immigrants, which included several Tatars and 2 Turks, founded the Turkic-Islamic Association of Sweden for the Promotion of Religion and Culture.

In 1952, the Association published the one and only edition of their newspaper, being the present issue. Subsequently, they planned to build their own mosque, but their proposal was rejected by the state. However, they purchased their own plot of land, upon which they built a Muslim cemetery.

Meanwhile and subsequently, Sweden saw ever larger waves of Tatar immigration, and today Tatars represent one of the country's most vibrant communities.

The present sole issue of *Heberçi* is extremely rare. We can trace only a single institutional example worldwide, at the University of Chicago Library.

**References:** University of Chicago Library: OFC687; Svanberg and Westerlund, *Muslim Tatar Minorities in the Baltic Sea Region* (2016), pp. 152-3.



ھىچچى مەجموعەسىنىڭ ئىدەرە سېپى تۈرلۈ جىرلەردەن  
ھىچچى ئوقتاۋ سىز ھاتلار كېلىپ ئورا . بو ھاتلارنىڭ بارچاسىنا  
كېچىك مەجموعە بىر دا اورن بىرۈ مۇمكىن ئۆڭل . شۇلاى  
بولسا دا كېلگەن ھاتلارنىڭ قاى بىرلەرنىڭ ئۆز مەتلەلەر  
تۈز سەتتەب او ئوقى ئېرىشتى اېلىق .

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>* سىزنىڭ شوشىدى<br/>بۇنىڭ بىر ئىشكە كۆڭل بىلەلەۋى<br/>ھەم قارار كىڭ دان بىك مەمنون<br/>بولسۇم<br/>سەبەبىنە كىشىب . ئوشىب<br/>قارا ساعىز آفارىن او قىل<br/>بىر ئاش ياپىماش اولور سىڭر<br/>مەتبوعەت ئاشچىپىز<br/>حسن حميد الله</p> | <p>* سوڭى ھاتنى ھەم ئاندا<br/>يازىلغان مەلۇمەتلەر اوچىن<br/>سىزگەرە ھەمەتلەر<br/>ئورۇنالىقنىڭ پىلانى مېڭايدىك<br/>اوشادى . پىڭرەكتە سەبەب سەتكە<br/>قوشىلماۋى ھەم باشقىلارنى ھوز<br/>لاۋدان چىدەدە بولۇغان شۇر<br/>كۆڭلەمە بىك ئوقى كېلىدەت<br/>پىروفىسسور ت . دەۋلەت شىپىن</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

# پانگه جوجا



سوکما قالب اوپکه قایدقان  
بیر تئلف ایکنی قاتدا یوقو  
برایه سی نه منار که کیرک بولغان  
اول حاتنی او یانب سون  
قایدقان اوجن اور شماسن  
شکله له سن دیت آیاق کیم  
ارن سالت آخون آق رعن  
بایدق لارعا بایم سه باشلاب  
شول اوقد وافت یوقن تاوش  
بائن موحه میده دپه دن  
چن آدهم چه ننه نه اولدی  
دیب کویلدب منه باشلاغان

سوکما قالب اول تراویا لار توغلا  
تورغان اورنعا بایسقان بیک اوزاق  
واقدان بیرلی تراویای کویتب تورا  
لاغان  
شده هر اورامدا هیچ برکش  
یوق، یوق، یورت باشداغی سه دن  
ق تولاویا کوب قالماغانی کور سه نه  
آله قایدان برکش چعب جوجا  
آلای سالت ق تولاویا  
بو وافت تراویا لار یوزمیلر سز آ  
یوقاغانی نه سز ایگه  
جوجا تراویا لاری یوزم سه  
نیگه سونق نیم یوقن آله اغانلار  
دیب حاداب قایدان ماسا صم تالی  
کونه برکون

عزیمه تلی ادقوجی  
اوقی جوجانی  
لاکین جوجا بولما

9. [OPERATION BARBAROSSA – POLAND / UKRAINE – COLOSSAL MAP:]  
Anon., Monogram 'CH'.  
*Ostfeldzug der III. A. R. 195.*  
[Germany or Ukraine], October 1941.

Mimeograph, printed on two joined sheets of paper (Very Good, small marginal tears, slightly stained), 48 x 222 cm (18.9 x 87.4 inches).

*A seemingly unrecorded gargantuan mimeographed map depicting the progress of German forces from Poland deep into the Ukraine, during the early part of World War II's Barbarossa Campaign, privately printed as a memento by Wehrmacht soldiers shortly after the events shown, being a clever combination of a time chart and an itinerary map, with notes, personal anecdotes and vignettes, including a firsthand account of the attack upon Kiev.*

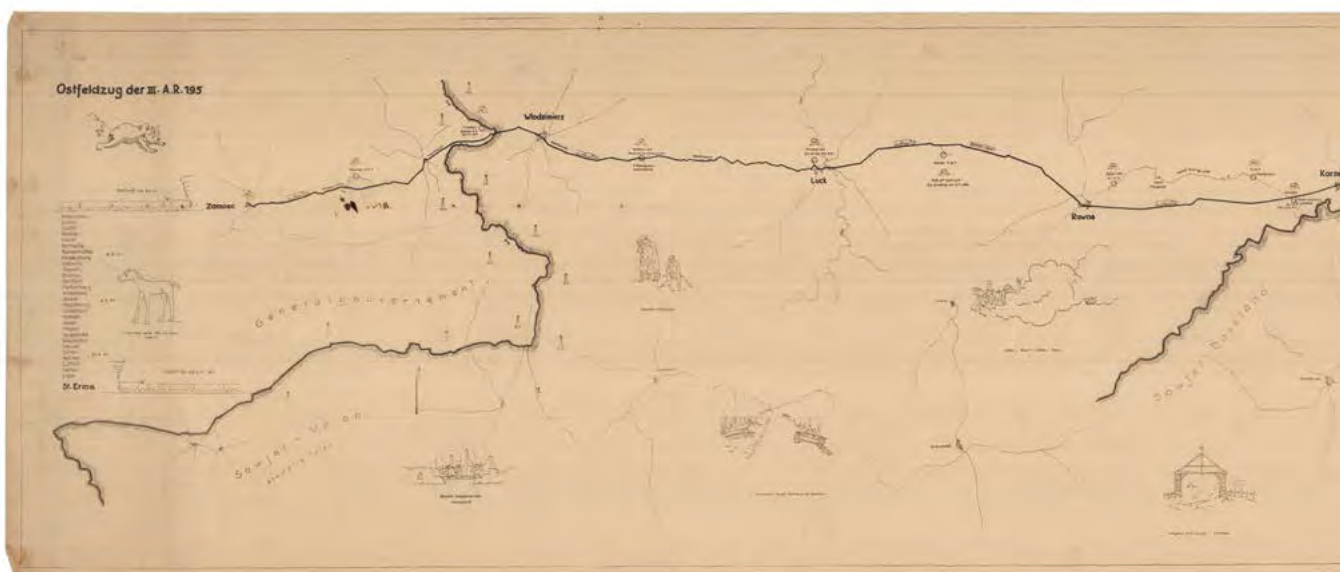
This seemingly unrecorded, monumental map (over 2 metres long!) showcases, in vivid detail, the early stages of Operation Barbarossa, Hitler's Blitzkrieg invasion of the Soviet Union. Its coverage extends eastwards from Eastern Poland, deep into the Ukraine, to a point just beyond Kiev. The map was privately issued by Wehrmacht soldiers, in the German language, in 1941, immediately in the wake of the events shown. A manuscript annotation on the verso states that the map was given to members of German Rifle Division 195, as a memento of their adventures during the campaign.

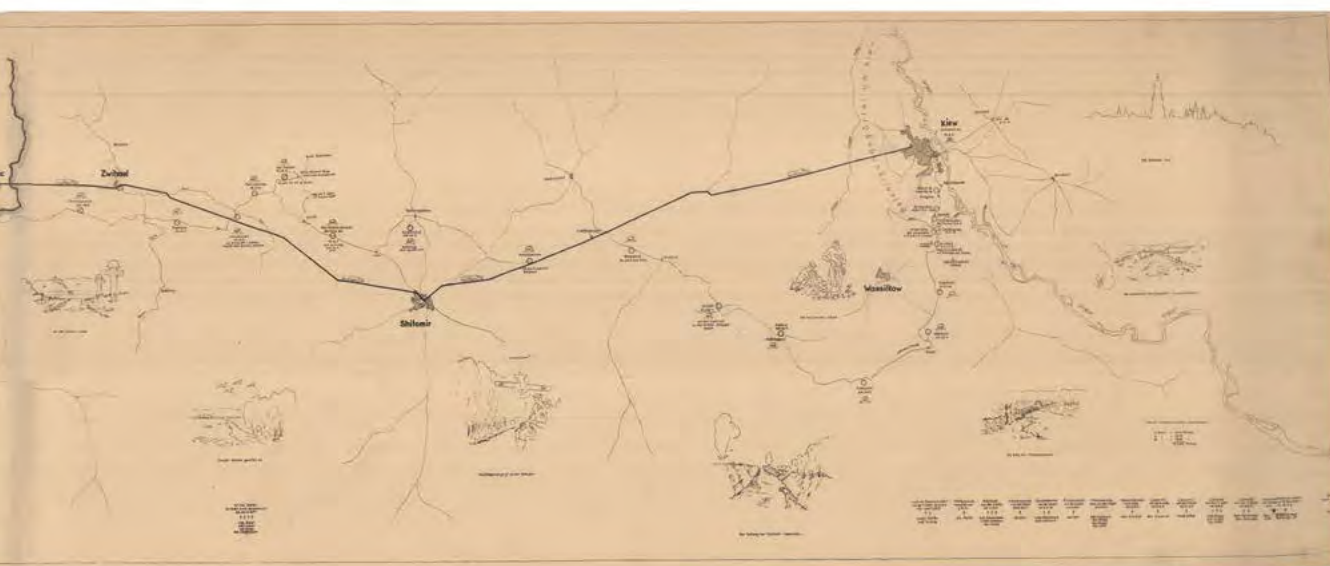
In the spring of 1941, Hitler drew his attention to the invasion of the Soviet Union. He ripped up the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, a non-aggression accord that had been signed between Berlin and Moscow in August 1939. He then planned for the Wehrmacht to invade Russia in a rapid campaign, aiming to repeat the *Blitzkrieg* campaign in France, but on a much larger scale. The Nazis wanted to annex the plains of western Russian and the Ukraine, populating the land with Germans, while enslaving the indigenous peoples. Germany also desperately needed Ukraine's vast crops of wheat, plus the great oil supplies of the Caucuses, to sustain its overall war effort. It was believed that failure to seize these resources would ultimately result in Germany's defeat.

The Wehrmacht launched Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, making steady progress eastwards from Poland. By September 19, the Nazis had taken Kiev, a major prize, before concentrating on seizing Moscow. Up to this point, the invasion had gone almost perfectly to plan.

The present map is a clever combination of an itinerary plan and a time chart, and carefully follows the progress of the Wehrmacht units in question, from June 1941 until November 1941. The map takes the form of a visual narrative, all along augmented by annotations, personal anecdotes and vignettes (some of which are humorous – ironic given the savagery of the campaign).







The map is signed with the monogram 'CH', and is dated October 1941, when the German troops were still enjoying military success in the Ukraine. The map was clearly made shortly after the events shown, although it is not clear as to whether it was mimeographed in the Ukraine or back in Germany (presumably by a soldier on leave).

We could not trace any references to the map, let alone the locations of any other examples.

### **Operation Barbarossa & the Map in Focus**

The story begins in the lower-left of the map and progresses rightwards (to the east). In the beginning, on June 29, 1941, at 18:41 (exactly a week after the beginning of Operation Barbarossa), the German troops in question are shown leaving the train station in the French town of Saint-Erme-Outre-et-Ramecourt, where they were stationed. The train journey lasted for four days and took them through 28 stations from France, through Belgium and Germany to Zamość, Poland, where they arrived on July 3, 1941. Onboard, during the journey, a horse, a mare named Ria, gave birth to a foal, whose image the author includes on the map.

From Zamość to Kiev the mapmaker marks the distances made daily; notes as to whether the march was conducted at night (Nachtmarsch); and records where they paused and for how long. Some places feature notes on events, such as the taking of prisoners, separations of troops, and even lice inspections.

The images in the lower part of the map commemorate broader events: the first signs of the war on the Polish-Russian border; the first taking of Soviet prisoners by the Wehrmacht; while airplanes are shown attacking troop formations, as broken-down Soviet tanks line the dusty roads. The former western border of the Soviet Union is shown giving way to the "Stalin Line", which is strewn with graves. The skyline of Kiev is depicted, surrounded by trenches and soldiers engaged in combat.

After the fall of Kiev, in September 1941, the Wehrmacht force in question ravaged the region to the southwest of the city. While the present map is dated October 1941, the last entry showing the troops' progress has them at the town of Browary, to the east of Kiev, on November 5, 1941.

The remarks in the lower right corner of the map name fallen German soldiers, with the locations and times of their deaths.

The map's narrative ends when it still appeared to many that Operation Barbarossa was a brilliant masterstroke. However, signs were already hinting that the German campaign in the Soviet Union would become one of the greatest disasters in military history.

Far to the north of the Ukraine, the Wehrmacht failed to take Leningrad (which they surrounded and besieged, but never conquered), and spectacularly failed to conquer the Soviet capital at the Battle of Moscow (October 2, 1941 – January 7, 1942). The vast expanse of Russia and the indefatigable nature of the Red Army, which kept fighting, even after losing millions of men, revealed the limitations of *Blitzkrieg*.

In one of the greatest historical blunders of military strategy, German forces then mounted a south-eastward thrust towards taking the Caspian oil fields, in a massive operation called *Case Blue*. The Wehrmacht repeated the mistakes they made during Operation Barbarossa, failing to secure their supply lines, while arrogantly underestimating the Red Army.

Before reaching the Caucasuses, the Wehrmacht had to take the large industrial city of Stalingrad, which lay on the west bank of the mighty Volga River. While the Nazis initially seized the city, the Soviets realized a massive pincer movement, cutting the invader's weak supply lines and encircling the main German army, which was trapped within Stalingrad. This resulted in a five-month-long battle that was the most destructive and deadly in world history - resulting in over 1.2 million casualties! The house-to-house fighting in the ruined city, often conducted in sub-zero temperatures, was horrendous, even by the standards of the most seasoned soldiers. The besieged German force was finally defeated, surrendering at the beginning of February 1943.

From that point onwards, the Soviets continually rolled the German lines back westwards. The Eastern Front absorbed so much German manpower and resources that it severely weakened their war effort elsewhere, allowing the Allies to make serious gains in North Africa and Italy, and later in France. The Soviets would keep pressing westwards until they besieged Berlin, in April 1945, securing the Nazis' final defeat.

**References:** N / A.

10. [PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE / WWII in NORTH AFRICA:]  
***Afrika-Post. Wochenblatt für Deutsche Truppen in Tunesien.*** [Africa Post. Weekly Newspaper for German Troops in Tunisia].  
[Constantine, Algeria], January 11, 1943; [Tunisia], February 8, 1943 and March 8th, 1943.  
3 issues – 2 of which are 4°: 2 pp. mimeographed text on both sides; and a single 8°: [1] printed text on both sides (Very Good, soft folds, slight marginal staining).

***Three issues (of 6) of the extremely rare 'Afrika-Post', a supposed weekly newspaper for German Troops in Tunisia, but actually printed by the Allies in Algeria and Tunisia during the height of World War II as a psychological warfare device.***

It is said that 'One should not believe everything that they read in the News' and, in this case, the line was especially true, as the purpose of the present newspapers was to misinform and undermine its readers! The newspapers were printed in the German language, employing a German-style layout, by British intelligence officers specialized in psychological operations.

Present here are Nos. 1, 4, and 5 of a total of the 6 issues of the series of *Afrika-Post*, a supposed weekly newspaper for German troops in Tunisia. The first 2 issues (including No. 1, present) were mimeographed in Constantine, Algeria, and distributed inside German-held territory by companies of foot soldiers, while the latter 4 issues (including Nos. 4 and 5, present) were published on a professional press in Tunisia.

*Afrika-Post* appeared a critical time, when Germany was experiencing major set-backs both in North Africa and in the greater war effort. Wehrmacht troops, who would have been shielded from receiving bad war news from formal sources, would nevertheless have had a sinking feeling based on their own experiences, as well as rumours which circulated throughout their camps. They would have been highly susceptible to propaganda from the opposition that capitalized on their existing insecurities.

The issues of *Afrika-Post* contained carefully written stories that emphasized the 'downside' of Germany's situation, while resisting the temptation to go overboard, so maintaining an air of credibility. The British objective was to demoralise the German troops by imparting bad news in a subtlety disquieting way.

The present maiden issue, published on January 11, 1943, appeared as the Germans were on their way to losing the Battle of Stalingrad, in Russia, which would become the turning point of the entire war. This defeat came on the heels of the Afrikakorps' disastrous showing at Second Battle of El Alamein (23 October 23 to November 11, 1942), which marked the beginning of the end of the German North Africa Campaign. In this case, the British only needed to impart the truth to strike a devastating blow to morale.

The *Afrika-Post* hinted that German troops in North Africa were being intentionally misinformed by their own commanders, and included stories of Germany's economic troubles and anecdotes about veterans being neglected by their homeland. The newspapers give the overall impression that the Third Reich was destined to be utterly vanquished and that its leaders viewed their own soldiers as mere cannon-fodder! To escape their gloomy predicament, the newspaper gives Wehrmacht troops instructions for how to safely desert to Allied camps in North Africa.

All issues of the *Afrika-Post* are extremely rare. We can only trace one set of the newspapers at the British Library and only a single issue (No. 4) at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

**References:** British Library: General Reference Collection ZD.9.b.657; R. Ackland, *Catalogue of Allied Leaflets dropped in North Africa*, p. 7.



## 11. [POLAND - WARSAW UPRISING COLLECTION:]

*An important collection of underground prints produced during the Warsaw Uprising, published within the besieged city by its defenders, comprising 34 issues from 8 different series, the highlights of which are 4 issues of the ultra-rare 'Baszta' soldiers' magazine; 4 issues of the large broadside newspaper 'Warszawa Walczy'; and an issue of the 'Kobieta na Barykadzie' magazine for female fighters.*

The Warsaw Uprising of August to October 1944 was one of the most dramatic and tragic events of World War II, whereupon the Polish resistance briefly seized the centre of their capital city from the Nazis. For two months, the brave resistance fought valiantly to hold on to Warsaw, before being compelled to surrender. Sadly, the city and its people would pay a horrendous price for their courage, in the form of Nazi retribution. However, the legacy of the resistance fighters endures, as a testament to bravery and patriotism against overwhelming odds.

During the Uprising, despite the dangerous and desperate nature of their circumstances, the city's defenders managed to print a diverse and sophisticated corpus of prints, to inform and to lend succour to their side. While most of the prints were made under the auspices of the Armia Krajowa (the Polish Home Army, AK), the mainstream, Western Allies-backed Polish resistance, some were made by the Soviet-backed Armia Ludowa (the People's Army, AL), as well as unaffiliated resistance splinter groups. These prints are all today rare, some exceedingly so, and are known as the *Prasa z okresu Powstania Warszawskiego* (Press from the Period of the Warsaw Uprising). They are the most coveted and fascinating genre of World War II Polish printing, as they tell the story of the Uprising in the realtime words of the city's defenders.

The present collection consists of 34 individual pieces, from 8 different series or titles, all produced by fighters in Warsaw during the Uprising. All the pieces are rare, most exceedingly so, and the selection represents an unusually high quality and diverse cross-section, published by different resistance factions, in a variety of formats and printing techniques. The works are rich in content, ranging from propaganda, the reporting of current events and military affairs, official directives, women's issues and even humour.

Highlights of the collection include four issues of the exceedingly rare mimeographed *Baszta* soldiers' newsletter, one issue of which is the only known surviving example; four issues of *Warszawa Walczy*, a large, illustrated broadside newspaper that was the most popular form of news within the besieged city; an issue of *Kobieta na Barykadzie*, an extraordinary work written by female fighters; and 2 issues of the *Kurier Mokotowski*, a mimeographed newsletter made by the Soviet-backed Armia Ludowa. The present selection forms a stellar basis for any collection of original works from the Warsaw Uprising, or a strong augmentation of established holdings.

# W WALCE



## KURIER

Wyd. Oddz. Propagandy  
Polskiej Armii Ludowej

Nr. 7

22. IX. 44. Piątek

M O K U T O W S K I

WSPOLNI

### KOBIETA NA BARYKADZIE

*I nie ustaniem w walce, siłę słuszności mamy,  
A mocą tej słuszności wytrwamy i wygramy.*

Nr 4

Warszawa, dn. 29 sierpnia 1944.

Rok I

#### Drugi front

W obecnej chwili istnieją w Polsce dwa fronty: jeden bojowy, drugi wewnętrzny, front całego narodu. Oba równie ważne: sprawność pierwszego zależy w dużej mierze od sprawności drugiego, który jest jego zapleczem, źródłem jego sił bojowych. Część kobiet uczestniczy w działaniach frontu bojowego, ale olbrzymia większość należy do frontu drugiego. Rolą ich jest urabiać nastrój społeczeństwa na taki, który doda sił i podniecie walczącym na froncie, kształcić charaktery dzieci i młodzieży na żywym przykładzie Powstania, utwierdzać otoczenie w przekonaniu, że koniec wojny zbliża się szybkimi krokami, zachęcać do wytrwania, walczyć ze słabością ducha i załamywaniem się nerwowym. Bronią skuteczną w tej walce są przewalające się przed naszymi oczyma zdarzenia bieżących dni. Trzeba tylko bystro obserwować je i wyciągnąć wnioski. Weźmy chociażby pod uwagę wygląd ulic stolicy. Jeszcze przed 3-ma tygodniami ul. Marszałkowska, Nowy Świat, Aleje Jerozolimskie zatłoczone były wojskiem niemieckim, samochodami ciężarowymi, czołgami pędzącymi nieprzerwanie dzień i noc w obu kierunkach. A dzisiaj? Gdzież one są? Wymarły arterie przemarszu wojsk niemieckich, poprzecinane mocnymi barykadami, których Niemcy nie wazą się przekroczyć. Jeszcze przed 3-ma tygodniami pędziły tędy samochody pancerne, pełne dzikich twarzy SS-manów, strzelających do bezbronnej ludności, która kryła się przed nimi w bramach domów. A dziś? SS-mani poddają się, zebrząc oszalałymi ze strachu oczyma — litości. Zaledwie trzy tygodnie temu chodziliśmy ulicami z trwogą w sercu, dzisiaj? Dzisiaj Niemcy-tchórze, z łapanekowych. A dzisiaj? Dzisiaj Niemcy-tchórze, z łapanekowych. A dzisiaj? Dzisiaj Niemcy-tchórze, z łapanekowych.

ców wśród  
pewien o  
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pewne pra  
li wstąpi

wśród wal  
Chodzi na  
nistracvj  
nych orga  
wania swa

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wystąpiły  
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ma i to w  
wszystkie

wódcy prze  
kich i zró  
nich będzie  
i wówczas  
sada naczo  
narodów. Z  
i później w

WARSZAWA WA  
frzu nad wa  
ka ostrzeli  
ryjski słabo  
forcie Dabro  
własny. Od po

## The Collection:

### A.

**ARMIA KRAJOWA (AK) [POLISH HOME ARMY]; Henryk KULESZA, Editor.**  
***Baszta: pismo żołnierskie* [The Tower: Soldiers' Letter], 4 Issues: Nos. 11, 12, 14 and 16.**

**Warsaw (Mokotów District): Referat Informacji i Propagandy v Obwodu Armii Krajowej [Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army], September 1, 5, 12 and 20, 1944.**

Each 4° (30 x 21 cm / 12 x 8.5 inches): each 6 pp. mimeographed (including illustrated title), no binding as issued, stapled (No. 11: Fair, tears along old folds to title, some mild damp-staining; Nos 12 and 16: Very Good, old folds, light toning; No. 14: Good, toning along old folds).

The present four issues of *Baszta* are perhaps the highlight of the entire collection, being amongst the rarest and most fascinating of all Warsaw Uprising publications. All issues of *Baszta*, which is believed to have been produced in a total of 17 numbers, were crudely mimeographed in the Mokotów District, a part of central Warsaw that was the scene of some of the Uprising's fiercest fighting. The magazine was issued by the Armia Krajowa's Bureau of Information and Propaganda, specifically to be read by soldiers on the front line. Featuring patriotic articles, uplifting news, entertaining imagery and humorous anecdotes, it was designed to raise the morale of the troops who were operating under unimaginably stressful conditions.

Even by the standards of Warsaw Uprising printing, all issues of *Baszta* are especially rare. As noted on some of the numbers, each issue was printed in only 'Nakład 300. egzom.' (300 examples), a very small print run, of which the clear majority would have perished during the Uprising itself. We can only trace examples of issues at the Archiwum Akt Nowych (Warsaw), which possess only numbers 2 to 13 and 15 to 17 inclusive. Moreover, we are not aware of any other examples as having been offered on the market. Importantly, the present issue No. 14 seems to be the only known surviving example.

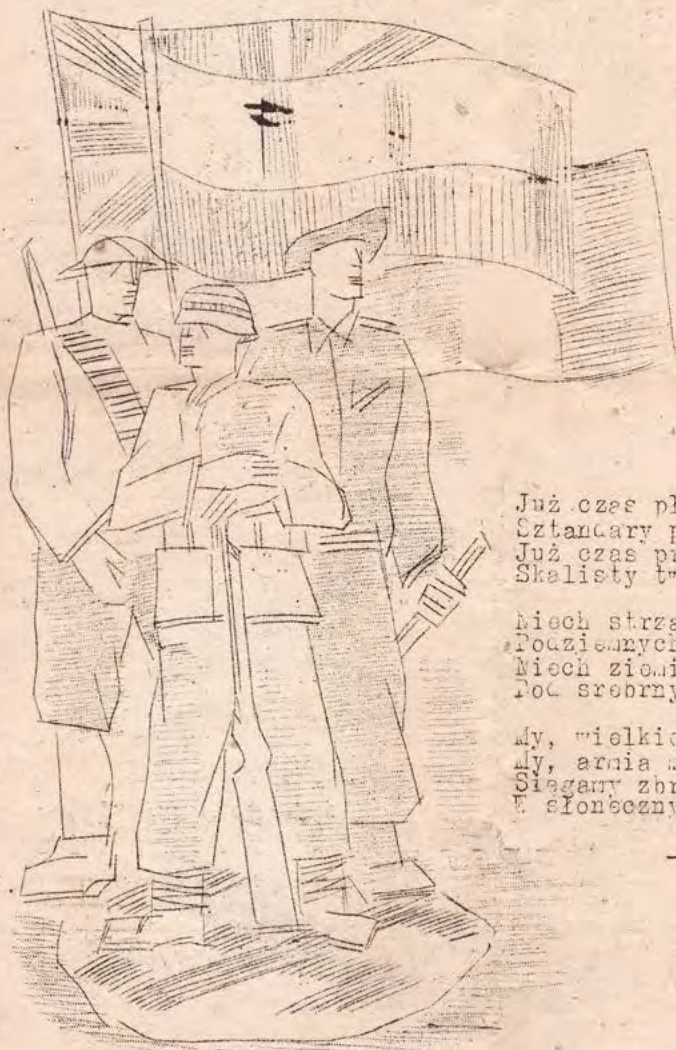


# BASZTA

Wydawca  
300 egzempli.

WIERZĄC, MY BĘDZIE KASZY PRÓG-  
TER NAM DOŁOŻYŁ BOG!

PISMO ŻOŁNIERSKIE  
nr. 16. 20.IX.1944r.



## EUROPA.

Już czas płomienne wkładać zbroje  
Sztandary przed szeregiem nieść.  
Już czas przed ostatecznym bojem  
Skalisty tworzyć z ramion brzeg.

Niech strzałów hukiem odporząca  
Podziemnych armii naszych czoł -  
Niech ziemia cała arzy w posadach  
Pod srebrnych samolotów wiatr.

My, wielkiej Europy ludy,  
My, armia milionowych rąk  
Siegamy zbrojną pieśnią, czoła  
W słoneczny zapatrzeni krąg.

B.

**ARMIA KRAJOWA (AK) [POLISH HOME ARMY]; Sławomir DUNIN-BORKOWSKI and Halina AUDERSKA, Editors.**

***Warszawa Walczy* żołnierska gazeta scienna. [Warsaw Fights: Soldiers' Wall Newspaper], 4 Issues, Nos. 40, 41, 43 and 48.**

**Warsaw: VI Oddział Sztabu, Wydział Propagandy Armii Krajowej [VI Division of the Headquarters, Department of Propaganda of the Home Army], August 19, 20, 22 and 27, 1944.**

Broadside (43 x 61 cm / 17 x 24 inches), off-set print with illustrations (Nos. 40, 41, 43: Very Good, clean and sharp, old folds, some light wear along vertical centerfold; No. 48: Good, some light wear along old folds, light even toning, some faint damp-staining in blank margins).

Presented here are four remarkably fine examples of *Warszawa Walczy* [Warsaw Fights], a large illustrated broadside 'wall newspaper' that was perhaps the most widely read and visually impressive periodical produced by the Armia Krajowa (AK) resistance fighters during the Warsaw Uprising. *Warszawa Walczy* was published in 56 issues from August 2 to September 9, 1944, on some dates appearing in both morning and evening editions.

While the earliest issues of *Warszawa Walczy* were crudely lithographed on A4-sized sheets, most of the issues (such as the present examples) were large, illustrated broadsides, published on a modern industrial printing press. The 'wall newspapers' were posted on billboards in AK-held areas of the city, and would have had a much larger and diverse readership than most other periodicals. Issues featured stories of a general interest, not only of events in and around Warsaw, but of war news from across Europe. While the reporting of events was factual, an emphasis was placed upon 'encouraging' stories, such as AK advances in Poland and Allied victories on both the Eastern and Western Fronts – the message being that it was worth fighting for Warsaw, as the Nazis' days were numbered.

The present issues were published on various dates between August 19<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, 1944, from around three to four weeks into the Uprising. Despite the *Warszawa Walczy*'s popularity during the Uprising, its large size and ephemeral nature ensured that very few examples survive today.

## Jeszcze jeden...



*Pozdrowienie partyjne przez podniesienie... obu rąk. Nowy jeniec pod strażą patrolu polskiego*

# Dzień walczącej Warszawy

Najcięższe walki ostatnich dni toczą się w rejonie ul. Towarowej, Wroniej, Grzybowskiej i placu Grzybowskiego. Niemcy podjęli również natarcie wzdłuż ul. Siennej w stronę pl. Kazimierza Wielkiego. Odparto ich, zadając ciężkie straty.

Znakomitą postawą bojową wyróżniła się znowu załoga Dworca Pocztowego, uzbiegła Żelaznej i al. Sikorskiego. Po południu dn. 17 h.m. Niemcy przypuścili silny wypad z rejonu ogrodu Saskiego w stronę Królewskiej i Marszałkowskiej, wsparty o-

gniem czołgów i granatników. I to natarcie odparto zwycięsko. W toku walk Niemcy podpalili kilka domów przy ul. Królewskiej i pl. Grzybowskiem.

W rejonie Powiśla — nękaący ogień artylerii niemieckiej ze stanowisk na Pradze. Odcinek: ul. Polna — Politechnika — ul. Wspólna, atakowany był silnie, przy czym Niemcy dwukrotnie i bez rezultatów użycili czołgów wybuchających „Goliat”. W Górnym Mokotowie oddziały nasze przyprowadziły szeregi natarć w różnych kierunkach.

## Ulice zmieniły wygląd



*Barykada na rogu Wilczej i Marszałkowskiej*

# To się nazywa

Spśród wielu dodatnich cech, jakie charakteryzują przeciętnego warszawiaka w dzisiejszych dniach ogniowej próby, na plan pierwszy wysuwa się samozaradność i umiejętność dostosowywania się do okoliczności chwili.

Instynkt samoobrony nie indywidualnej, lecz zespołowej i dążenie w kierunku normalizacji życia ujawniają się u nas obecnie przy każdej okazji. Oczywiście, iż zdarzają się wyjątki o których niejednokrotnie wspominaliśmy. Ogół jednak zajmuje stanowisko istotnie godne uznania.

W dzielnicach stolicy położonych nieco dalej od stanowisk bojowych, działa cały aparat władz cywilnych, Państw. Korpus Bezp., OPL i wojskowe służby pomocnicze. Niema dziś domu, w którym nie zostałyby przygotowane środki do gaszenia ognia — woda i piasek. Dyżury całonocowe objęły wszystkie domy miasta. Z inicjatywy społecznej powstałe kuchnie dzielącej pogorzelców. Działają punkty pomocy RGO, działają punkty pomocy Polskiej YMCA. Powstała dosłownie z niczego sieć punktów opatrunkowych i sanitarnych. Tam, gdzie sytuacja na to pozwala, czynne są sklepy.

Wrodzony nam instynkt samoobrony pozwolił na bezczynne opuszczenie miejsc, które pozostały bez broni.

Nie mają co jeść pogorzelnicy —  
zujemy kuchnie społeczne.

To czynne nastawienie się do ży-  
wotności jest dziś dla Warszawy

## AK w walce

W niedawnych walkach o oswo-  
 lubelszczyznę od Niemców oddzi-  
 szły w pierwszej linii do boju, w-  
 łażąc lojalnie z wojskami sow-  
 W potyczce pod Kurowem, 23.V.  
 15 p.p. zdobył m. in. 2 czołgi. 24.  
 działy tegoż pułku zajęły Koniskow-  
 dwa dni później, oddział 15 p.p.  
 wraz z rosjanami, bój o Puławę.  
 zajął 20.VII Bełżec, a 7 p.p. zdo-  
 Krasnystaw.

Lublin zdobyty został przez wojska polskie 24 lipca po 3 dniowych walkach, w których Niemcy zniszczyli czołgi sowieckie. W dwa dni po

## Obywatelka Julia

[illegible]

Ob. Julia (Barbara Wolska) padła na śmiertelnie niemiecką kulą dni. Zginęła tak jak żyła, jak zawsze żyć: w akcji, na posterunku.

## Bezcenne budowle niszczą Niemcy

**Długotrwałe bombardowanie dzielnicy starmiejskiej przez Niemców pociągnęło za sobą niepowetowane straty w zabytkowych budowlach stolicy.**

Katedra sw. Jana, podpalona przez Niemców, trawiona była długotrwałym pożarem. Ponieważ Niemcy nieustannie ogniem niebezpiecznym wszelkie próby ratunku, katedra całkowicie spłonęła.

Z przepięknego pałacu Krasińskich (gmach Sąd Najwyższy) pozostały zaledwie zarysy murów. Niemcy koncentrowali ogień pocisków zapalających na pałacu pomimo że był on starannie oszczędzany przez oddziały A.K. Przyległy gmach Archiwum A.K. Dawnych przy ul. Długiej 24 rozbity został pociskami artylerii niemieckiej. Żołnierze i archiwiści z narażeniem życia ratowali nieoszczędzane zbiory aktów.

## „Pięty” robią swoje

Angielska broń przeciwpancerna „Piat” w rękach żołnierza A. K. jest niezawodna. W toku walk o Stare Miasto, na odcinku bronionym przez oddział por. Rysia, pojawił się czołg typu „Tygrys” usiłując od strony Wisłostrady zaatakować teren fabryki przy ul. Mostowej. Jeden pocisk „Piat” wystarczył. Czołg buchnął jasnym płomieniem. Żołaga zginął.

**Nie niszczy, nalep na murze!**

C.

**ARMIA KRAJOWA (AK) [POLISH HOME ARMY];** Zbigniew BEYER, *pseud.* "Maj. Zenon", Author; Jan STĘPIEŃ (1910 - 1995), Editor.

*Komunikat Specjalny* [Special Message].

**Warsaw (Mokotów District): Komenda Placu Odcinka Mokotów / Referat Informacji-Propagandy / Warszawa-Mokotow [The Odcinka Mokotów Square Command / Bureau of Information and Propaganda / Warszawa-Mokotow], August 8, 1944.**

Broadside (31 x 21.5 cm / 12 x 8.5 inches), off-set print in blue ink (Good, mild stains and old folds, minor loss in blank margins).

This is a very rare, single issue bulletin, issued by the Armia Krajowa to its fighters in the Mokotów District of central Warsaw. We can trace another example at the Archiwum Akt Nowych (Warsaw).

D.

**DELEGATURA RZĄDU [GOVERNMENT DELEGATION].**

*Dziennik Obwieszczeń Rejonowego Delegata Rządu Warszawa-Południe* [Journal of Announcements of the Regional Government Delegation, Warsaw South], No. 5.

**Warsaw: Delegatura Rządu, Śródmieście-Południe [Government Delegation, Warsaw Downtown-South], August 27, 1944.**

4° (30 x 21 cm / 12 x 8.5 inches), 2 pp. off-set print, on a single folding sheet (Very Good, light folds).

This is a very rare issue from a series of official messages from the district government of the Armia Krajowa in the southern part of Downtown Warsaw.

E.

**CHŁOPSKA ORGANIZACJA WOLNOŚCI „RACŁAWICE” [PEASANT ORGANIZATION FOR FREEDOM “RACŁAWICE”];** Stefania KRASOWSKA (1912 - 1944), Editor.

*Kobieta na Barykadzie* [Women on the Barricades], Year 1, No. 1.

**Warsaw: Chłopska Organizacja Wolności „Racławice” [Peasant Organization for Freedom” Racławice”], August 29, 1944.**

8° (22.5 x 16 cm / 9 x 6 inches), 8 pp. off-set print (Very Good, very light folds).

*Kobieta na Barykadzie* [Women on the Barricades], represented here by its first issue (of 4 total published), is one of the most extraordinary series of publications made during the Uprising. It is a magazine by female fighters for female fighters, and it gives a voice to a critically important demographic of the resistance that has not always received the attention it deserves by historians. All issues are extremely rare, we can trace only a few examples of various issues in Polish institutions.

F.

**ARMIA KRAJOWA (AK) [POLISH HOME ARMY]; Edmund MĘCLEWSKI, Editor.**

***W Walce. Dziennik Starego Miasta* [To Battle: Journal of the Old Town], No. 37. Warsaw: Batalion im Walerego Łukasińskiego [Łukasiński Battalion], August 30, 1944.**

4° (30 x 21.5 cm / 12 x 8.5 inches): 2 pp. on a single sheet, off-set print, illustrated heading (Good, some creasing throughout).

This is a very rare issue of the journal of the Armia Krajowa's Łukasiński Battalion, which fought valiantly during the Uprising. It grants unique insights into the priorities of a resistance unit on the front lines. It was produced in a small print run, in 6 total issues, and today all examples are very rare.

G.

**ARMIA KRAJOWA (AK) [POLISH HOME ARMY]; Jan STĘPIEŃ (1910 - 1995) and Jan DOBRACZYŃSKI, Editors.**

***Komunikat Informacyjny*, 20 Issues: Nos. 19, 22, 23, 35, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45 and 46.**

**Warsaw (Mokotów District): Biuro Informacji-Propagandy Obwodu v Armii Krajowej [Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army], various dates from August 25 to September 21, 1944.**

Each 4° (30 x 21 cm / 12 x 8.5 inches): each 2pp. off-set print on a single sheet, paper of various colours (Very Good, old folds and some points of toning, save for Nos. 25, 28, 35 and 44, which are fair, variously having some tears and toning along old folds, with minor points of loss).

Presented here is a set of 20 issues of the *Komunikat Informacyjny*, a double-sided broadside bulletin that was intended to quickly deliver news to front line soldiers. It was produced in a total of 49 daily issues by the Armia Krajowa in the Mokotów District of central Warsaw. As all individual issues of such an ephemeral publication are very rare, it is highly unusual to be able to find such a large assemblage.

POZA KOŁEJKĄ.

Ostrzegali. Perswadowali, że w kolejce, za kartkami.  
Nie pomogło. Chce męża! Chce męża!  
Nie czekała, w kolejce nie stała, no i ma. Taki ślub.

Ala kto. Ona, ob. Tania, sanitariuszka. A on! Pod-  
porucznik Jerzy, naturalnie z Bel. od porucznika Jacka,  
który, jak słuchy chodzą, prowadzi ciche biuro matrymo-  
nialne. Jego reklama: samochód z eskortą przez strefę  
zagrożoną, ksiądz - gratis. Spirytualia, lokal, mowy u-  
rzędowe tudzież salwy honorowe, wykonywane znakomicie  
przez czas cały trwania uroczystości przez nie-  
przyjaciela również. Wałówkę należy przyno-  
sić ze sobą.

Żeby to opisać trzeba szukać poety.  
Gdzie! Naturalnie u porucznika Jac-  
ka. Również gratis. Jest tam  
Orzech. Wysoko fruwa. Takich  
drobnostek jak ślub nie  
widzi. Ja byłem; widzie-  
łem i jeszcze ciągle wi-  
dzę samochód z eskortą  
honorową. Przypomina mi  
nieodawno czasy, gdy tak  
jechałem. Tylko nie do  
ślubu!

L-S.



## KOMUNIKAT INFORMACYJNY Nr 44

### PIĘĆDZIESIĄT DNI!

Od pięćdziesięciu dni Warszawa walczy. Od pięćdziesięciu dni stoi na przeciw siebie, oko w oko, milionowe miasto i uzbrojony po zęby, pobity, ale jeszcze nie złamany największy barbarzyńca 20 wieku. Pięćdziesiąt dni i pięćdziesiąt nocy. Gdy sięgniemy w tył pamięcią wydaje się nam ten okres jednocześnie bardzo krótki i bardzo długi. Krótki – bo w walce i w ciężkiej, oszołamiającej pracy chwile lecą szybko, długi – o całą dłuższą odległość między życiem jakiegoś człowieka, a tym, jakie obecnie widzimy. Nie oczekiwaliśmy, że powstanie tak długo będzie trwało. Tydzień wydawał się nam terminem zawrotnie długim. Tymczasem rozpoczął się już ósmy a my nie wyładowaliśmy na brzegu, którego imię jest – zwycięstwo.

W ciągu tego okresu przeżyliśmy wiele uczuć bolesnych i do zniesienia trudnych. Przełamaliśmy te wszystkie trudności. Idziemy dalej. Przeżyliśmy momenty wątplenia, goryczy i upadku. Odrzuciliśmy się z tych nastrojów. Wciąż krocymy naprzód, wciąż zbliżamy się – krok za krokiem – ku zwycięstwu.

Droga nasza jest bowiem drogą ku zwycięstwu. Rozpoczęliśmy walkę 1 sierpnia, **świadomi prawdy, że innej drogi poza walką nie mamy.** Na stos ofiary całopalnej rzuciliśmy wszystko: życie, krewność, miłość do najbliższych, nasze domy, nasze mienie. Nie pozwalaliśmy Ojczyźnie niczego.

Poszliśmy, słabo uzbrojeni, przeciwko czołgom i działom nie dlatego tylko, że tak nakazywał nam honor, że uważaliśmy, iż jedynie romantyczny gest walki z silniejszym przeciwnikiem jest godny Polaka. Nie. Poszliśmy bić się, wiedząc, że innej drogi nie mamy, jeśli chcemy ocalić nie tylko własne życie, ale przede wszystkim życie Narodu.

Od wroga niczego dobrego oczekiwać nie mogliśmy. Dziś – z odległości – wsparci na karabinie zaczynamy sobie lekceważyć niebezpieczeństwo okresu okupacji. Zapominamy, zmęczeni walką, o tym, jak drżeliśmy, słysząc czołchód, zatrzymujący się przed naszą bramą. **Jeszcze przed pięćdziesięciu dniami byliśmy na ulicy ściganą zwierzyną. Dziś tamto należy do przeszłości. Może my nie przeżyjemy tej chwili, ale Naród jednak dzięki naszej walce ocalał.**

Pięćdziesiąt dni ocaliło Naród, Świat cały ujrzał, że istnieją ludzie, których żadna przemoc nie zgnębi i nie złamie. Świat wprawdzie stawia wyżej spryt niż cność – ale nie może pozbyć się całkowicie uznania dla prawdziwej wielkości. A walcząc Warszawa właśnie się na taką wielkość wzniósła. Pokazała, że ceni więcej swe ideały, niż swe domy i swe mienie. Wprawdzie nasze ideały nie są obecnie w zbyt dużej cenie – bo świat, który się zachłystuje słowem wolność – prawdziwej wolności – wolności ducha – nie ceni, ale myśmy wymyli w naszej krwi te stare, nieśmiertelne ideały i one, spod polny starości błysnęły wiecznie nowym blaskiem.

Przez pięćdziesiąt dni, walcząc, mówiliśmy – pukotem kul – światu, że istnieje coś droższego niż wygodny, zasobny dom i pełne dobrobytu życie. Że wolności nie kupuje się ani za tanie, ani za drogie pieniądze, ale wolność zdobywa się ofiarą krwi i życia. Że Polska „to wielka rzecz” której zmniejszyć do karlich proporcji nie można. Że sprawiedliwość, uczciwość, wierność, miłość i zaufanie są cnotami, o które się warto bić choćby z całym światem, bo one przez samą swą wartość, podnoszą nas i bogacą. Że moralność życia, tak narodu jak i jednostki, zasługuje na to, by dla niej poleć. I że wreszcie „Gott mit uns” na pasku nie wystarczy by być naprawdę z Bogiem, bo Bóg sam powiedział iż nie ten kto woła: Panie, Panie, ale ten kto postępuje zgodnie z Jego wolą usprawiedliwienia dostąpi.

Od pięćdziesięciu dni dla tych prawd krowimy na barykadach Warszawy. I czekamy na zwycięstwo, które nie może nie nadejść.

### WIADOMOŚCI RADIOWE.

#### Z Warszawy.

Komunikat gen. Bora z dnia 17 bm. donosi, że w Śródmieściu prowadzimy natarcia na Powiśle celem utrzymania trwałej obrony brzegu Wisły. Nasze oddziały zajęły Frascati i część ul. Książęcej. Nieprzyjacieli poniosł duże straty. Na Czerniakowie prowadzą nasze oddziały ciężkie walki celem utrzymania wybrzeża. Nasze oddziały uzyskały kontakt z oddziałami wchodzącymi w skład Armii Czerwonej. Na Mokotowie npl

nacierał pod osłoną czołgów z kierunkiem na Belwederską i Praseczyńską; natarcie to było poprzedzone bombardowaniem lotniczym przez JU 87. Na Żoliborzu odparto wszystkie ataki npl. Utworzył się front niemiecki, idący od północnego Żoliborza przez Wawrzyszew, Boernerowo i Bolicę. Na terenie Warszawy nplska obrona przeciwlotnicza znacznie osłabła. Pod osłoną nocy dokonaliśmy natarcia w kierunku Puszczy Kampinowskiej. Zniszczono 24 czołgi i wzięto dużą zdobycz m. i. 250 krów. Londyn podaje że wojsko

H.

**ARMIA LUDOWA; Mieczysław KRZEPKOWSKI (1900 - 1971) and Stefan MAGENHEIM (1885 - 1950), Editors.**

***Kurier Mokotowski*, 2 Issues: Nos. 6 & 7.**

**Warsaw (Mokotów District): Organ PAL Wydawnictwo Oddz[iału].**

**Propag[andy], Polskiej Armii Ludowej [Propaganda Department of the Polish People's Army], September 21 and 22, 1944.**

Each 4° (29.5 x 21 cm / 11.5 x 8 inches), 2 pp. mimeographed on a single sheet (Good, No. 6: old folds, toning to vertical centrefold; No. 7: old folds, a small nick with very minor loss to text).

The *Kurier Mokotowski* is an extremely rare series of broadside newsletters, produced in the Mokotów District during the Warsaw Uprising by the Armia Ludowa (Polish People's Army), the Soviet-backed force that maintained a highly controversial role in the conflict. AL publications from the Uprising are especially scarce, as it is thought that the force maintained a maximum force of only 500 fighters within the besieged city at any one time.

Present here are two consecutive issues (nos. 6 & 7) of the *Kurier Mokotowski*, which was produced in only 8 daily issues, from September 16 to September 23, 1944, near the tragic end of the Uprising. Both issues are broadsides, printed on 2 sides, in a crude mimeograph technique, and feature short news bulletins, heavily censored to reflect information favourable to the Allies, and the Soviets, in particular. The *Kurier* was evidently printed in considerable haste, and almost certainly in a very small print run, as a quick morale-boost specifically intended for the small contingent of AL troops in Mokotów.

All issues of the *Kurier Mokotowski* are very rare, we note an incomplete set at the Archiwum Akt Nowych (Warsaw).

# KWIER

Wyd. Oddz. Propagandy  
Polskiej Armii Ludowej

Nr. 6.

21. IX. 44. Środa

M O K O T O W S K I

**ŻOŁNIERZ DEMOKRATYCZNEJ POLSKI.** Od pierwszej chwili Powstania stanęliśmy praktycznie przed zerwaniem stosunku żołnierza do obywatela. Okres przedwojenny wytworzył w Polsce mało chwalebny tradycje, z szczególnego honoru żołnierskiego, tradycje żołnierza nad-obywatela i nad-nad-obywatela w osobie oficera. Tradycje te hodowali piszczałkowie nasi senatorzy i ozonowcy, młodziacy hitleryzm. Te tradycje ci i owi usiłują utrzymać i obecnie...

Widzę, jakiś porucznik trzyma godzinami parę obywateli przed domem, bo obojętni jego "powagę", zenim w dół im łaskawie przepuszcza. Jakiś żołnierz z karabinem krzyczy i zianie przekleństwami na siwowłosego człowieka, który zaplątał się na pierwszej linii w poszukiwaniu żony. - Jakiś kapral pijany wpada do mieszkania z rewolwerem, grozi zastrzeleniem dozorcę domu, a starszego człowieka szarpie brutalnie i obraża ordynarnymi przekleśnieniami w obecności kobiet i wystraszonych dzieci. Ci wszyscy i im podobni, robią wrażenie raczej "stupańek" czy nawet "okupantów", a nie żołnierzy polskich.

Żołnierz demokratycznej Polski ma wiedzieć i pamiętać, że jest służą Narodu, Państwa, Obywateli, a nie państwa, państwa, państwa, państwa dla obywateli. Jeśli przejawia tę postawę, ubliża sobie, wojsku i Narodowi. Jeśli o tym nie pamięta, niech sobie przypomni, że jakiś jego kolega może w podobny sposób zachować się wobec jego matki, ojca, siostry czy żony. - Nasze rycerskie tradycje, przez poczucie godności własnej, każą nam stawiać wysoko i szanować moralnie w stosunku do żołnierza polskiego, żołnierza demokratycznej Polski.

**Gen. Zymirski.** - Jedną z najwybitniejszych postaci Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego jest osoba gen. Zymirskiego. Gen. Zymirski przeszedł wszystkie szczeble dowodzenia od dowódcy kompanii do dowódcy dywizji piechoty włącznie. - Jako żołnierz liniowy ma piękną tradycję. W r. 1925 pełnił ciężką i ważną funkcję zastępcy szefa administracji Armii w czasach sprawowania urzędu min. spraw wojskowych przez gen. Sikorskiego. Gen. Zymirski uważany był za jednego z najbardziej zaufanych współpracowników ówczesnego min. Sikorskiego.

Po maju 1926 ukazują się broszury, wydane przez ówczesny reżim sanacyjny p.t. "Zbrodniarze". Gen. Zymirski podany jest jako zbrodniarz nr. 5. Dla orientacji podajemy listę generałów, uznanych za zbrodniarzy: nr. 1 gen. Władysław Sikorski, nr. 2 gen. Zagórski, nr. 3 gen. Jędziewski, nr. 4 gen. broni Rozwadowski. Podajemy również nazwiska zbrodniarzy politycznych. Są nimi skazani sądowo: Wincenty Witos, Barlicki, Lieberman i inni polityczni więźniowie brzescy. Po tym wyjaśnieniu każdy zrozumie, że zarzuty, skierowane w epoce gomułkowej na poszczególnych działaczy politycznych i wyższych wojskowych, nie mogą być argumentem obciążającym.

**WARSZAWA WALCZY.** - Komunikat gen. Bora z dnia 19 b.m. oboustronna działalność patroli i lokalne wypadki, poza tym silny ogień artylerii niemieckiej i miotaczy min. na południową część Śródmieścia. Drugi dzień bez bombardowania przez samoloty niemieckie dzięki akcji lotnictwa sowieckiego i sowieckiej artylerii. Oddziały nasze na Woli, Czysławem i Ochocie stwierdziły obecność nowych wojsk niemieckich. Zrzuty alianckie z dnia 18 b.m. wywołały podniosły nastrój wśród ludności.

**NA PRADZE.** - Radio moskiewskie podaje, że na Pradze życie poczyniło stopniowo wchodzić na tory normalne. Ruch na ulicach coraz bardziej ożywiony. Ładność wraca do swych opuszczonych mieszkań. Zaczyna się otwierać sklepy i jadłodajnie. Na Pradze przybył prezes Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego Morawski. Jemu towarzyszą dr. Drobner i szereg współpracowników. Przewodzą z sobą

## The Warsaw Uprising: A Brief History

The Warsaw Uprising (August 1 to October 2, 1944), represented both the climax and the downfall of the independent resistance to the Nazi occupation of Poland during World War II. The war commenced with Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, followed a little over a fortnight later, by the Soviet invasion of the country, from the east. Poland was totally overwhelmed with all its conventional military resistance quickly crushed. Pursuant to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (August 23, 1939), Germany annexed western and central Poland, while the USSR absorbed the *Kresy Wschodnie*, or eastern parts of the country.

Immediately in the wake of the invasions, Polish resistance movements were formed, with the objective of opposing the occupation through acts of guerrilla warfare. The most prominent resistance movement, commanding the support of the mainstream elements of Polish society, backed the Polish Underground State (*Polskie Państwo Podziemne*), which by the summer of 1940 had set up a government-in-exile in London. Within Poland, the Underground State was represented by its military wing, the *Związek Walki Zbrojnej* (Union of Armed Struggle).

In June 1941, Nazi Germany turned on the USSR, quickly overrunning the rest of Poland, on its way to invading Russia. This placed the entire country under Nazi occupation, and subject to its devious *Generalplan Ost*, its design to eliminate Polish society and to resettle the territory with ethnic Germans. Poland was subjected to an occupation of imaginable brutality directed towards its civilian population. The Nazis would kill almost one-fifth of the Polish people, including almost its entire Jewish community.

Meanwhile, despite their traditional animosities, the Polish Underground State and the Soviets signed the Polish-Russian Military Agreement (August 14, 1941), whereby the Soviets agreed to release the thousands of Polish soldiers imprisoned in their gulags, while both parties outwardly agreed to bury their differences to form a united front against Germany. However, the mainstream Polish resistance (rightly) viewed the Soviets as an enduring threat, as Stalin plotted against the Polish Underground State, even as he was supposedly cooperating with them.

In 1942, the *Związek Walki Zbrojnej* was transformed into the *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army, AK), and was formally joined by most Polish resistance groups. By the summer of that year, it counted 200,000 soldiers, plus millions of active civilian supporters.

In 1943, the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with the London Polish government-in-exile. Stalin revived the KPP (Polish Communist Part) and formed the *Krajowa Rada Narodowa* (KRN, Homeland National Council), a Communist government-in-waiting, supported its own army, the *Gwardia Ludowa* (GL, People's Guard). To be clear, the KRN reported directly to Moscow, and was not even

semi-autonomous. As such, many consider the organization to be an organ of the USSR, as opposed to part of the Polish resistance.

The GL was much smaller and less active than the AK, having only about 5% of the manpower of its rival, although it was very well armed, courtesy of Moscow. While the GL participated in many low-grade actions, it avoided serious direct confrontation with the Germans. Its main purpose seemed to be to spy upon and limit the effectiveness of the AK, and there are many recorded instances of the GL and its successors passing information to the Gestapo, which was then used against the AK.

On January 1, 1944, the GL became the *Armia Ludowa* (AL, People's Army) and later that year possessed a strength of 30,000 active fighters, although authoritative information on the AL is very hard to come by, as Soviet records remain sealed.

Returning to the *Armia Krajowa*, much controversy and misinformation still surrounds the nature and effectiveness of the movement, causing heated disagreements up to the present day. However, most historians agree that the AK was the legitimate mainstream Polish resistance movement and that, while ultimately unsuccessful in liberating Poland, had a major effect upon the course of the war. Historian Ben Macintyre claimed that "The Polish contribution to allied victory in the Second World War was extraordinary, perhaps even decisive, but for many years it was disgracefully played down, obscured by the politics of the Cold War."

Prior to the major uprisings of 1944, the AK concentrated its energies on self-defence, mainly the freeing of prisoners, defending civilians from Nazi genocide programmes, as well as mounting acts of sabotage against the Wehrmacht. Evidence shows that during the period, while far from toppling the German occupation, the AK managed to severely disrupt Nazi plans, tying down considerable enemy resources. The AK also played a crucial role in Western Allied intelligence operations, in that it is estimated that 43% of all the intelligence received by London from Continental Europe came from the AK.

The efforts of the Polish Underground State and the AK came to a head in the summer of 1944. By that time, the AK numbered over 400,000 troops, making it the largest resistance force in Europe. In many respects, things were looking up. Germany was facing defeat in France, Italy, Russia, as well as Eastern Poland, where the Soviets were driving the Wehrmacht westwards day by day. By late July 1944, the Red Army had driven the Germans almost to the eastern outskirts of Warsaw.

However, the predicament of the Polish resistance was more complicated. Their support was imminently slated to face a crushing blow, as the Nazis planned to press all able-bodied Poles into slavery in service of the occupation, thus robbing the AK of their back-up manpower. Moreover, it was recognized that if the Soviets liberated Warsaw, then they would be able to claim control over Poland following

the war, placing their Polish Communist comrades in charge of the country, at the expense of the Polish Underground State.

Thus, it was at this juncture that the AK's commander-in-chief, General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski, decided to mount *Operation Tempest*, an all-out attempt to throw off the German occupation, to be staged in multiple rebellions across the country. The Soviets publicly supported the operation, although their subsequent actions would prove otherwise.

The greatest aspect of the operation was Bór-Komorowski's design to seize control of Warsaw, in what was to be known as the Warsaw Uprising. Beginning on August 1, 1944, the AK seized control of much of central Warsaw from the beleaguered, but still formidable, German forces. Ferocious, street-by-street fighting ensued, as the AK tried to dislodge the Wehrmacht from its urban bases. However, they were never able to completely drive the Germans out of their positions, setting the scene for a protracted struggle that was to be the largest single resistance military effort of World War II.

It soon became clear that the AK had fallen into a Soviet trap, which Arthur Koestler called "one of the major infamies of this war". Stalin knew that he would defeat Germany sooner or later, and had already turned his attention to the post-war situation.

Despite his assurances of assistance to the AK, Stalin ordered Soviet forces, which were on the eastern gates of Warsaw, to do absolutely nothing, to simply wait and watch while the AK and the Germans attacked each other. Without Soviet back-up, the AK army in Warsaw, which numbered, at most, 49,000 troops, would undoubtedly be defeated by the Germans. According to Stalin's Machiavellian master plan, this would eliminate the pro-Western Polish leadership, leaving the country ripe for a post-war Communist takeover. At the same time, the AK would seriously maul the Germans, leaving them weakened in advance of the intended Soviet drive westwards.

The Armia Ludowa's role in the Warsaw Uprising remains a topic of fierce debate. There is a paucity of reliable information on the operations of Soviet-allied troops within Warsaw, and much of the written history is often warped by Cold War propaganda. As best as can be discerned, it seems that during the Uprising only about 500 AL troops were allowed by Stalin to cross the Vistula River into central Warsaw. Officially, the AL fighters were supposed to be part of the resistance, battling the Germans in alliance with the AK, although it is unclear as to whether they were ever engaged in serious anti-Nazi combat. Probably their true objective was to keep an eye on the AK as they fought their valiant, but doomed, struggle against the Wehrmacht. Stalin needed eyes and ears within the city, so that he could perfectly calibrate his response. It seems that Stalin wanted the AK to be given just enough support (via Western Allied air drops) that they could fight long enough to seriously weaken the Wehrmacht, but not support sufficient to sustain their effort, such that they would ultimately be defeated.

As the battle raged, the AK forces were soon trapped in their urban enclaves, suffering massive casualties, while running short of ammunition and food. The fighting was so intense that over 25% of the city's buildings were destroyed. While, the Soviets begrudgingly allowed the British to drop supplies into Warsaw, these operations only delayed the inevitable. The AK fought valiantly, holding out for 63 days against far superior German forces. However, on October 2, 1944, Bór-Komorowski was forced to surrender to the Wehrmacht. While he and his troops were accorded the status of prisoners of war, Warsaw's long suffering civilian population was not so fortunate. The Nazis proceeded to wreck horrendous vengeance upon the city, killing 200,000 civilians, while expelling another 700,000 from their homes. They then proceeded to level entire districts of Warsaw, block-by-block, annihilating another 35% of the city.

The Soviets would not manage to take Warsaw until January 1945, although by then the city was virtually depopulated, with over 85% of its buildings in ruins. That same month, the AK was disbanded, as the failure of the Warsaw Uprising had decapitated the movement. The following month, at the Yalta Conference, the Polish Underground State would be rendered meaningless, as the Western Allies essentially abandoned Poland to the Soviets. Following the war, far from being honoured for their valour and patriotism, the remaining members of the AK were persecuted, with some of their leaders executed on the orders of Stalin.

While the AL was a bit-player in the resistance, it nevertheless emerged after the war as the victorious domestic faction, whereupon many of its members became part of the Communist elite that would rule Poland for over four decades. It was only after the fall of Communism that historians have found the freedom to properly assess the Armia Krajowa's courageous role in attempting to liberate Poland during World War II, including its activities during the Warsaw Uprising.

## Polish Underground Printing during the Warsaw Uprising

Throughout the war, the Polish resistance issued thousands of different prints from clandestine workshops within Poland. This genre of prints is known as the *prasa konspiracyjna ii wojna światowa* (Polish Underground Press of World War II). Most of these titles were of an ephemeral nature, and are today very rare.

As the dominant resistance movement, the AK, and its various affiliates, was the preeminent publisher of *drukuje konspiracyjnych* (underground prints), although many other titles were issued by other resistance factions. The AK had organized its publishing operations across the country under the auspices of its Biura Informacji i Propagandy (BIP / Bureau of Information and Propaganda), a specialist unit headed by experienced authors and publishers, which reported to Section V of the AK. The BIP was a highly sophisticated operation that carefully organized the content of its publications. War news was censored to focus on the positive, while morale-boosting stories, songs and humour were chosen to appeal to the troops. The BIP also created anti-German propaganda, as well as psy-ops material to demoralize the enemy.

The *Prasa Konspiracyjna Powstania Warszawskiego* (Warsaw Uprising Underground Press) specifically includes works issued by the resistance within the Polish capital during the Warsaw uprising itself. Historians especially prize these works, as they give authentic insights into the thoughts and aspirations of the Polish resistance fighters during the fateful climax of their struggle. The resistance issued over 100 different titles, most in several serial issues, produced under incredibly difficult circumstances. That they dedicated such considerable energy to producing and disseminating the works is a testament to the great importance that the AK placed on the press to both inform and to boost the morale of their followers. As time and resources (notably paper) were in short supply, most of the publications were brief, being either broadsides or small pamphlets of few pages. Many were issued by improvised (mimeograph) presses, and have a crude appearance, while some had the benefit of having been published on modern professional presses. Most of the titles were issued by organs of the AK, although some were produced by other anti-Nazi groups, such as the AL.

The works of the Warsaw Uprising Underground presses can generally be classified into 3 categories: 1) daily newspapers, issued for the general public in Warsaw, issued mainly to inform them of the accomplishments of the resistance, as well as the progress of the war outside of Poland; 2) magazines, often geared specifically towards the resistance fighters, featuring morale-boosting articles, including patriotic declarations, songs and humorous stories; and 3) information bulletins, being broadsides geared towards combat-ready troops, delivering factual information in a concise manner.

**References:** Archiwum Akt Nowych [Henceforth referred to as: 'AAN']; Jadwiga Czachowska, Maria Krystyna Maciejewska and Teresa Tyszkiewicz, *Literatura polska i teatr w latach II wojny światowej: bibliografia*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1983-4-6) [Henceforth referred to as: 'Czachowska']; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive, *Prasa Konspiracyjna Powstania Warszawskiego*, RG- 15.091M [Finding Aid for Microfilm Copies of Warsaw Uprising Underground Press Publications in the Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw], (2002) [Henceforth referred to as: 'HMMA']; Re: (A) *Baszta*: AAN: P. 30 cim; Czachowska I: p. xi; HMMA, no. 9; Re: (B) *Warszawa Walczy*: AAN: P. 928 cim; Czachowska I: p. xxxix; HMMA, no. 83; Re: (C) *Komunikat Specjalny*: AAN: P. 332 cim; Re: (D) *Dziennik Obwieszczeń*: AAN: P. 209 cim; HMMA, no. 22; Re: (E) *Kobieta na Barykadzie*: AAN: P. 243 cim; Czachowska I, pp. xx-xxi; HMMA, no. 37; Wł. Mroczkowski, H. Nowosad-Łaptiew, *Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1939-1945* (Warsaw, 1979), p. 212; Re: (F) *W Walce*: AAN: P. 296 cim; Czachowska I, p. xxxix; HMMA, no. 76; Re: (G) *Komunikat Informacyjny*: AAN: P. 332 cim; HMMA, no. 41; Re: (H) *Kurier Mokotowski*: AAN: P. 503 cim; HMMA, no. 49.

12. [WWII YUGOSLAVIA – PARTISAN UNDERGROUND PRINTING -  
FRANJO TUĐMAN].

Franjo TUĐMAN (also Tudićman, 1922 – 1999), Vlado STOPAR (1925 - 1975),  
Dragutin SAILI (1899 - 1968), Marko BELINIĆ (1911 - 2004) and Branko LEF,  
Editors.

*Glas Hrvatskog Zagorja*. [Voice of the Croatian Zagorje], No. 2, July 1942 and  
No. 3, August 1942.

[Croatian Zagorje region, near Krapina, Croatia:] Narodno-oslobodilačka  
fronta Hrvatskog Zagorja [National Liberation Army of the Croatian Zagorje],  
July & August 1942.

Each large 8°: No. 2: 38 pp. mimeographed text, complete, but some pages printed  
upside down in error, unbound as originally issued; No. 3: 24 pp. mimeographed  
text, unbound as originally issued (Very Good, slightly water-stained and age-toned,  
small marginal tears).

*Two consecutive issues of 'Glas Hrvatskog Zagorja', an extremely rare and early  
Croatian Partisan magazine, printed by an underground press in the Croatian  
Zagorje region, curiously edited, in part, by a young Franjo Tuđman, who later  
became famous as the founding President of the Republic of Croatia.*

Presented here are two consecutive issues of *Glas Hrvatskog Zagorja* [Voice of the  
Croatian Zagorje], an extremely rare and early Croatian Partisan magazine, printed  
by an underground press near Krapina, not far from Zagreb. The editors of the  
series were Vlado Stopar (1925 - 1975); Dragutin Saili (1899 - 1968), the first  
post-war mayor of Zagreb; Marko Belinić (1911 - 2004); Branko Lef and Franjo  
Tuđman (1922 - 1999). The last name may be a bit of a surprise to some readers, as  
Tuđman is today best known as having served, from 1991 to 1999, as the right-wing  
nationalist founding President of the Republic of Croatia. While his youthful  
membership of the Partisans was never a secret, the Socialist, Pan-Yugoslavian values  
of the movement could not be further from the policies that Tuđman later spearheaded.

The articles within *Glas* include reports on the war in both Croatia and in external  
theatres (supplied, in part, from Soviet radio news), as well as short stories and poems.

*Glas* was first published monthly, until issue no. 6, whereupon it appeared every  
15 days. However, many issues seem to be unrecorded, with no known surviving  
examples. The magazine was sold for 4 kunas per issue to support the underground  
movement. Due to the rationing of paper, every part of each sheet had to be used;  
the text starts and ends on the back of the wrappers.

All the editions of *Glas* are today extremely rare, especially as the Croatian Partisans  
did not always send copies to headquarters to be preserved in a central archive, as  
was often the case in Slovenia. Even the 1964 census of Partisan prints in Yugoslavian  
libraries cites only some isolated examples of issues, with no complete series existent.



Many numbers were never cited as being held by any institution, and the only issues recorded are: nos. 1-7 (1942); nos. 14-20 (1943) and nos. 1-5 (1944).

Today we can trace only several issues at the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb; we are not aware of any issues of *Glas* as ever having appeared on the market.

### **Franjo Tuđman: Founding President of the Republic of Croatia**

Franjo Tuđman (also Tudićman, 1922 – 1999) is one of the most important and controversial figures in the modern history of Croatia, and the former Yugoslavia in general. Born on May 14, 1922, in Veliko Trgovišće, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (today Croatia), in 1941, at the age of 19, he became an early volunteer to join the Partisans, shortly after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia during World War II. While Tuđman's membership in the Partisans was never made a secret after the war, many would be surprised that Croatia's foremost right-wing nationalist leader once belonged to a Socialist, Pan-Yugoslavian movement.

After the war, Tuđman remained in the Yugoslavian Army, eventually becoming one of its youngest generals. In 1961, he changed course to become an academic, receiving his Ph.D. in History, in 1965, while serving as the director of the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement.

As an academic, Tuđman assumed a more conservative, Croatian nationalist tone, and eventually became an apologist for the World War II Ustaša (Croatian Fascist) regime. This placed him on a collision course with the Yugoslav government, which expelled him from the Communist Party and fired him from his academic position. Tuđman became an open Croatian nationalist dissident, and was jailed on two occasions for anti-government activities. Nevertheless, he became a hero to the hundreds of thousands of Croats who shared his point of view.

In 1989, Tuđman founded the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) party, which won Croatia's first free elections the following year. As the republic's president, he advocated the independence of Croatia from Yugoslavia. This was achieved in 1991, with Tuđman as the nation's founding President. He led Croatia through the bloody Serbian-Croatian War, and while a signatory to the Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), his role in the conflict remains highly controversial. Tuđman died in office in 1999.

**References:** *Bibliografija*, p. 614, no. 8455.

13. [WWII YUGOSLAVIA – PARTISAN UNDERGROUND / FINE ART PRINTING:]  
Ivan “Goran” KOVAČIĆ (1913 - 1943), Author; Edo MURTIĆ (1921 – 2005)  
and Zlatko PRICA (1916 - 2003), Illustrators.

Jama [*The Pit*].

[Topusko, Croatia:] Naprjed Izdanje kluba kulturnih radnika Hrvatske  
[Publishing House of the Cultural Workers of Croatia], [End of November], 1944.

4°: 26 pp., including printed title, 25 lithographed text pages, illustrations within text, bound in parachute linen with lithographed title, manuscript signatures of illustrators on title (Very Good, slightly age toned, a few very short tears to blank margins).

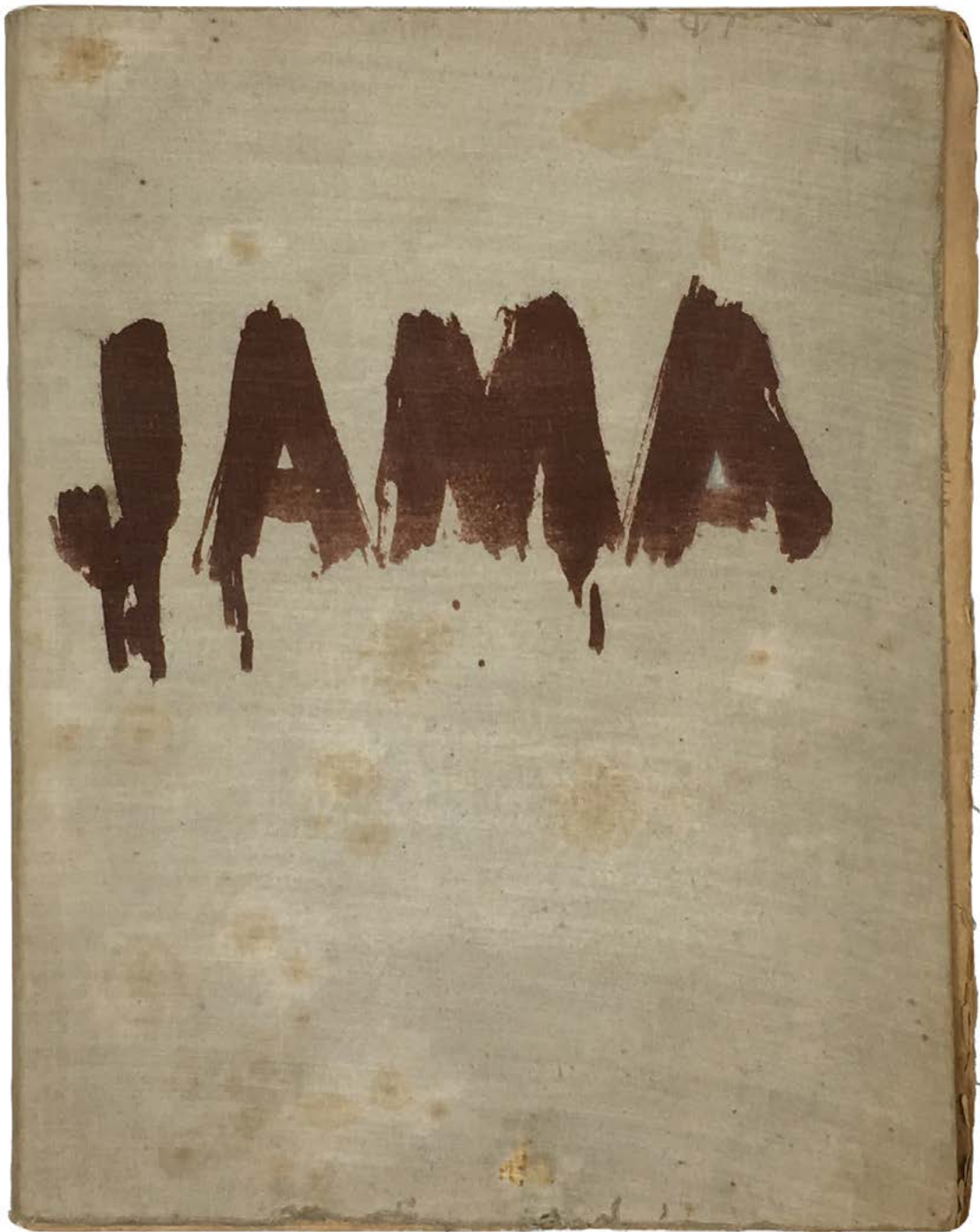
*The Topusko edition of Ivan Kovačić's 'Jama', one of the great classics of Croatian and World War II poetry and one of the most artistically virtuous works of Yugoslav Partisan Underground printing, exquisitely illustrated and bound in parachute linen, one of only 150 pieces signed by the illustrators.*

Ivan Kovačić, *nom de guerre* ‘Goran’, was born in Lukovdol, Croatia, on the Slovenian border, to a Croatian father, Ivan Kovačić, and a Jewish mother, Ruža, neé Klein. After studying Slavistics in Zagreb, he became a journalist, writer and poet.

In 1942, Kovačić joined the Partisans and served in Bosnia, in a theatre known for especially savage warfare fought amidst rugged terrain. After months of cruel battles, witnessing massacres of civilians, he wrote his most famous masterpiece, *Jama* (The Pit). This epic poem was inspired by a genocide of Serbs conducted by the Ustaše, pro-Axis Croatian nationalist forces. Written in the first person, the poem employs cruel, yet beautifully composed, verses to describe acts of torture and mass killing. While initially difficult to read, one is eventually overcome by Kovačić’s powerful mastery of the language, worthy of the gravity of his subject.

In 1943, Kovačić, then only 30-years old, was killed in ‘Case Black’, a massive joint Axis offensive that sought to wipe out the main Yugoslav Partisan army, then headquartered in Bosnia. The operation is best known for its climax, the Battle of the Sutjeska, upon which the Partisans beat back the Axis forces, yet at tremendous cost.

In the immediate wake of Sutjeska, Axis and Chetnik (anti-Partisan Serbian nationalist forces) units roamed the Bosnian countryside in search of isolated Partisan detachments. Kovačić, separated from his unit, was compelled to hide in a farmhouse, weakened by a lung-illness, while Chetniks murdered wounded Partisans in the nearby fields and forests. Tragically, the Chetniks discovered Kovačić, who was brutally slaughtered and buried in an unmarked grave.

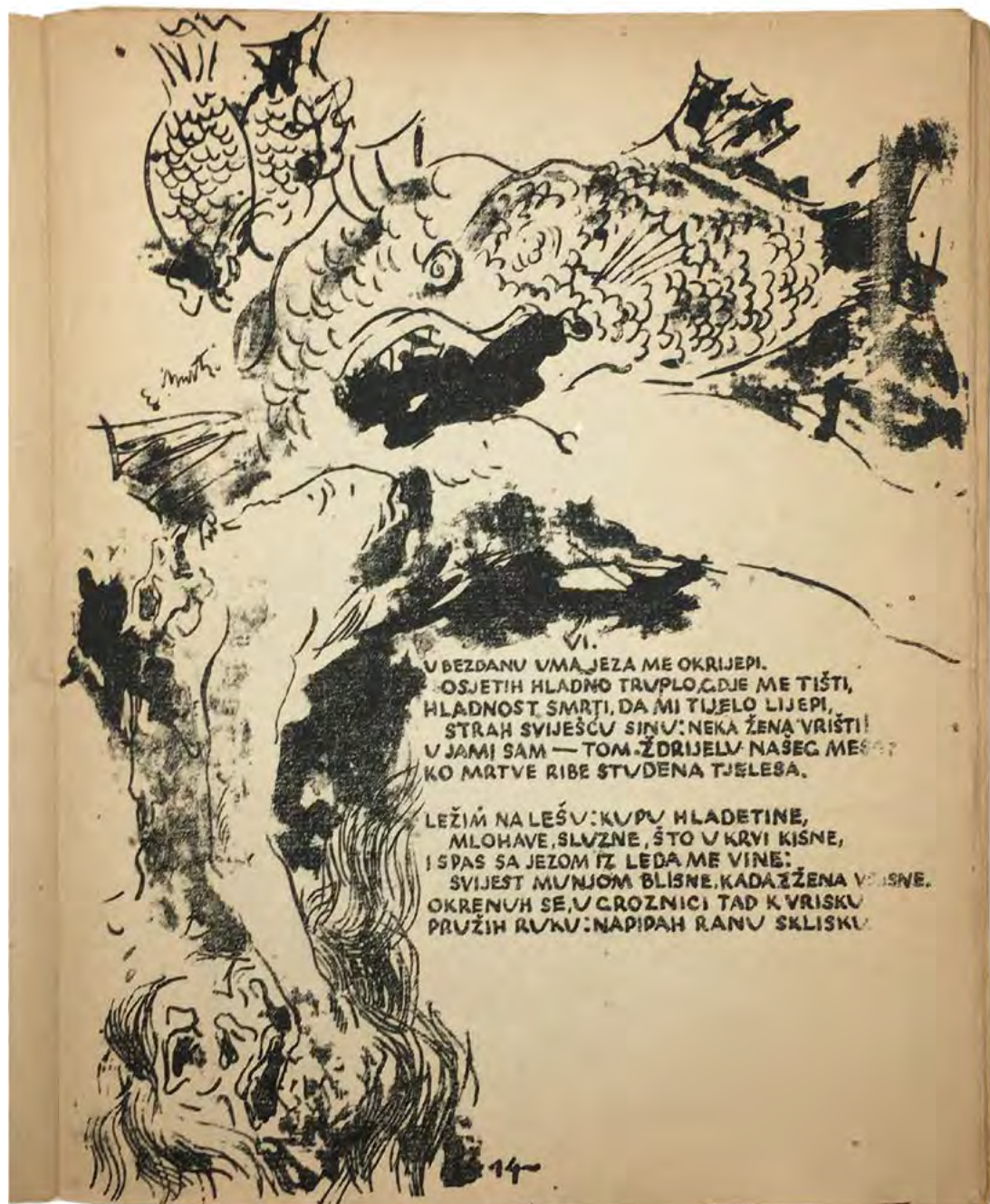


The Partisans were profoundly shaken upon hearing of Kovačić's demise. The journalist and future vice-president of Yugoslavia, Moša Pijade (1890 - 1957), described his death:

*"Goran Kovačić did not survive the horrendous fifth [Case Black] offensive. This young Croatian poet, who in "The Pit" formed the strongest poem of protest against the Ustaša massacres against the Serbs, was killed by "Serbian vigilante" Chetnik degenerates, these Swabian and Ustaša allies. They cut his throat, which had so sincerely and strongly thundered from the Croatian fraternal soul against Ustaša crimes against Serbian youth. Never before a more honest and humane work of a poet was punished and never a forehead of a murderer was tainted by a more disgraceful crime. Reading Goran's "Jama", hearts of generations and generations of Serbian youth will shed tears over the crimes, which caused such a cry of a poet, but also over the crime, which slit the throat of this beautiful seagull."*

*Jama* is considered one of the most hauntingly beautiful war poems ever composed and one of the great masterpieces of Croatian literature.

The artists who executed the powerful lithographs that illustrate the text, Edo Murtić (1921 – 2005) and Zlatko Prica (1916 - 2003), were already by this time famous Croatian academic painters, who would go on to enjoy lengthy and brilliantly successful post-war careers. Their original manuscript signatures can be found on the present example of the work (on the second page). *Jama* was famously translated into French in 1948, entitled *La fosse commune*, in a special edition illustrated by Pablo Picasso.



VI.  
V BEZDANU VMA JEZA ME OKRIJEPI.  
OSJETIH HLADNO TRUPLO, Gdje ME TIŠTI,  
HLADNOST SMRTI, DA MI TIJELO LIJEPI,  
STRAH SVIJEŠĆU SINU: NEKA ŽENA VRIŠTI!  
V JAMI SAM — TOM ŽDRIJELU NAŠEC MEŠET  
KO MRTVE RIBE STUĐENA TJELESA.

LEŽIM NA LEŠU: KUPU HLADETINE,  
MLOHAVE, SLUZNE, ŠTO U KRVU KISNE,  
I SPAS SA JEZOM IZ LEDA ME VINE:  
SVIJEST MUNJOM BLISNE, KADA ŽENA VOJSNE.  
OKRENUH SE, U CROZNICI TAD K VRISKU  
PRUŽIH RUKU: NAPIDAH RANU SKLISKU.

### **The Circumstances of the Creation of the Topusko *Jama***

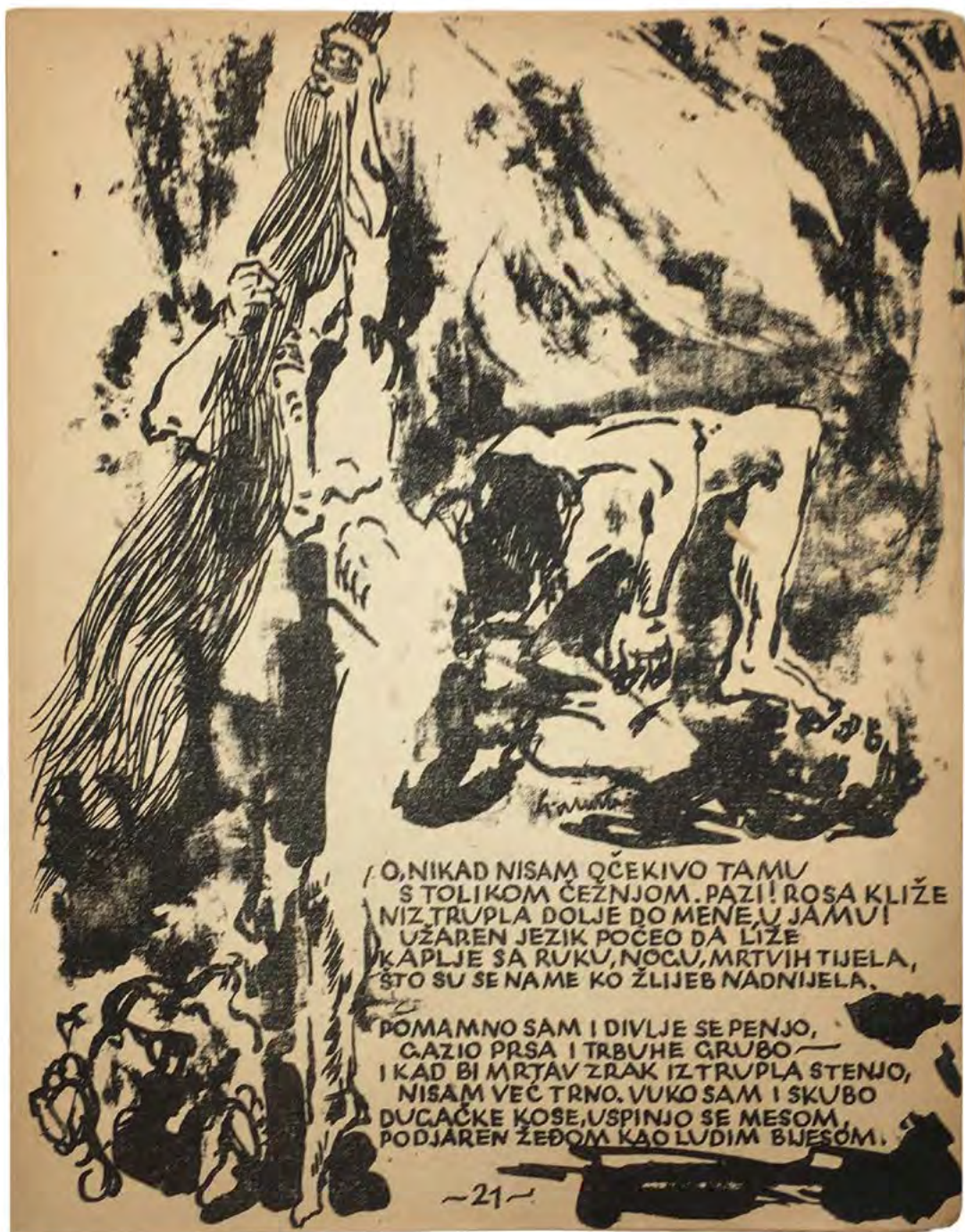
The present edition of Kovačić's *Jama* is inarguably one of the most artistically virtuous works ever created by the Yugoslav Partisan Underground presses. This edition was printed in November 1944 by a Partisan press, in a so-called 'Liberated area' called the "Federal State of Croatia", an underground pseudo-state founded on May 8/9, 1944 in Topusko, Croatia by the Croatian anti-Fascist movement. The densely wooded area around Topusko was then securely controlled by the Partisans, enabling them to publish the present work with a great deal of care, employing far more time-consuming techniques than would otherwise be executed by underground presses. The lithographs are of a superlative design and quality and the binding, made of parachute silk, is extraordinarily beautiful.

As noted on the title page of the present example, the Topusko edition was issued in 250 examples, of which only the first 150 examples were signed by the illustrators, Murtić and Prica. The relevant line on the title reads in Croatian: "Ove je djelo tiskano u 250 primjeraka na običnom papiru i vezano u padobransko platno. Litografska preša konstruirana je u partizanskoj radionici. Prvih 150 primjeraka provideno je originalnim potpisima autora litografija". The present example is no. 132 of the numbered and signed copies. Murtić and Prica were recorded as having sent examples of the work to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin and Pablo Picasso.

Also in 1944, another edition of Kovačić's *Jama*, but lacking illustrations, was published by the Partisans at an Allied military base in Bari, Italy.

The Topusko edition of *Jama* is today extremely rare. We can trace three examples at the National Library of Croatia, plus six more examples held by institutions worldwide. A 1964 census recorded only six examples in Yugoslavian institutions.

**References:** Bibliografija, no. 5650.



O, NIKAD NISAM OČEKIVO TAMU  
S TOLIKOM ČEZNJOM. PAZI! ROSA KLIŽE  
NIZ TRUPLA DOLJE DO MENE, U JAMU!  
UŽAREN JEZIK POČEO DA LIŽE  
KAPLJE SA RUKU, NOCU, MRTVIH TIJELA,  
ŠTO SU SE NAME KO ŽLIJEZ NADNIJELA.

POMAMNO SAM I DIVLJE SE PENJO,  
GAZIO PRSA I TRBUHE GRUBO —  
I KAD BI MRTAV ZRAK IZ TRUPLA STENJO,  
NISAM VEĆ TRNO. VUKO SAM I SKUBO  
DUČAČKE KOSE, USPINJO SE MESOM,  
PODJAREN ŽEĐOM KAO LUDIM BJESOM.

14. [WWII YUGOSLAVIA - SLOVENIAN PARTISAN UNDERGROUND  
MAGAZINES:]

France SLANA (b. 1926), Illustrator.

*Gorenjski partizan.*

[Dovžanova soteska Gorge, Slovenia: 'Tehnika B' Printworks], various dates  
from December 15, 1943 to July 15, 1944.

A set of 14 magazine issues, bound into 10 Octavo pamphlets, being 14 issues  
(of 17) of the series (See below for individual collations).

*A series of 14 issues (bound as 10 pamphlets) of an extremely rare and magnificently decorative Slovenian Partisan magazine, bearing fine printed and watercolour artwork by the subsequently famous painter France Slana.*

Showcased here is large collection of one of the rarest and most artistically virtuous Slovenian Partisan magazines, including 14 issues (of 17, so lacking Nos. 1, 3 and 6), issued in the form of ten octavo pamphlets. All issues of *Gorenjski partizan* were printed by a secret press for guerrilla soldiers fighting in the Alpine woods of the Gorenjska region of north-western Slovenia during World War II. Each pamphlet features a highly decorative cover of original handmade artwork by the subsequently famous painter France Slana. Within, the articles cover various topics regarding the ongoing war and the contemporary political situation, in addition to short stories, poems, lessons in the Russian language and the Cyrillic alphabet, as well as humour columns. The rhetorical thrust of the series is pro-Allied and pro-Russian, aiming direct black humour against the Germans and their collaborators.

France Slana (born 1926), today in his early 90s, is an esteemed Slovenian painter who has the distinction of having had one of the longest artistic careers in the country's history. At the beginning of World War II, the teenage Slana undertook an apprenticeship in the studio of the illustrator and painter Hinko Smrekar, until the later was assassinated by Italian Fascists in 1942. Subsequently, at the age of only 18 years, Slana joined the Partisans as "a young idealist", whereupon he illustrated a variety of publications.

Focusing on Slana's cover illustrations for *Gorenjski partizan*, each of the designs were made by the linocut method, which was watercoloured by hand. The vibrancy of Slana's original designs, and the skill of their execution is unusually fine. Notably, the few known examples of each of the surviving issues feature different variations of colour, done to Slana's taste, such that each issue is a unique artwork. The cover for Nos. 7-8 is signed by Slana.

While the present series is admittedly incomplete, it is nonetheless an impressive assemblage, as all issues of *Gorenjski partizan* are today virtually unobtainable. The work, in part due to its handmade nature, would have had a small print run, while its ephemeral nature insured that only very few examples survived the war.



Indeed, issues were meant to be handed from soldier to soldier, in an especially active war zone. As such, it was common for pages to be intentionally extracted (note that the present examples of No. 2 and No. 5 are missing pages), while the brittle wartime paper was easily subject to damage. Moreover, the series was not generally collected into sets, making the present assemblage rather exceptional.

Notably, the present issue No. 4 of Gorenjski partizan seems to be particularly uncommon, as most examples of this issue were intentionally destroyed on the orders the Partisan high command shortly after its publication, as this issue contains a troubling error. As mentioned in an official letter, which is here enclosed in photocopy, this issue features an illustration, accompanied by a caption mentioning the sighting of the first Allied planes over North-western Slovenia. Crucially, the caption claims that at the rate the war was currently progressing, the Allied armies would arrive in the region in 1947! As this issue appeared in January 1944 (about 16 months before World War II ended in Yugoslavia), it is no surprise that Partisan officials were none too happy about any claim that the war would last another 3 years! Especially as the Axis powers were then on the backfoot, and war was expected to end in the relatively near future, nothing would demoralize the Partisan troops more than this caption, should it be believed. Sometimes 'typos' have outsized consequences!

All issues of Gorenjski partizan were printed by a secret workshop called 'Tehnika B', hidden under an Alpine cliff in a densely forested area above the Gorenška town of Tržič. The press occupied a small (3 x 4-metre) hut and all supplies had to be carried up almost daily by secret couriers, from the valley below. Despite the workshop's prodigious nature, the Nazis never discovered its location. Today, one can visit a faithful reconstruction of Tehnika B at its original site, which is an outdoor museum.

### **A Note on Rarity**

All issues of Gorenjski partizan are extremely rare. We cannot trace any other examples as having appeared on the market and the only institutional holding we can locate is a partial series at the National and University Library of Slovenia (Ljubljana).



### **The Collations of the Specific Issues (14 issues in 10 Pamphlets):**

No. 2. Year I. December 15, 1943. Collation: [1] mimeographed title page, 22 pp. mimeographed text, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated cover with hand-coloured title, back cover with original issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, missing pages 5-6 and 9-12, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, soft marginal creasing).

No. 4. Year II. January 15, 1944. Collation: [2] mimeographed cover and title page, 30 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, last page loose and with small loss of blank margins, missing back cover).

No. 5. Year II. February 1, 1944. Collation: [2] mimeographed cover and partly coloured title page, 30 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations, [1] back cover with original issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, missing page 3-4, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears).

Nos. 7-8. Year II. [March 1944]. Collation: [1] mimeographed title, 46 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations by France Slana, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated cover by France Slana with water-coloured details and red stamped title, back cover with original issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, wrappers loose, old pen and pencil marks to the cover).

Nos. 9-10, Year II. [April 1944]. Collation: 56 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations by France Slana, title page and back page mimeographed in red, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated cover by France Slana with water-coloured details and red stamped title, back cover with original red issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, some words in text contemporarily underlined).

Nos. 11-12. Year II. [May 1944]. Collation: 44 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated front cover by France Slana with water-coloured details and red stamped title, back cover with original red issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, some words in text contemporarily underlined).

No. 13. Year II. [Beginning of June 1944]. Collation: 32 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations by France Slana, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated cover by France Slana and red stamped title, back cover with original red issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, some words in text contemporarily underlined in pencil, wrappers and title page loose).

No. 14. Year II, June 15, 1944. Collation: 44 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated front cover by France Slana and red stamped title, back cover with original issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, staples rusty).

No. 15. Year II, July 1, 1944. Collation: 44 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated front cover by France Slana and red stamped title, back cover with original issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, covers loose, page 37 missing 3 mounted illustrations (?) and a hole with small loss to text, contemporary manuscript markings in pencil to front cover, back cover originally composed from an envelope).

Nos. 16-17, July 15, 1944. Collation: 44 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations by France Slana and stamped red initials, original wrappers with mimeographed illustrated front cover by Slana and red stamped title, back cover with original issue stamp, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned and stained, small marginal tears, red title on front cover slightly smudged, old annotations to cover, parts of internal text temporarily underlined)

**References:** *Bibliografija*, no. 2541; Nataša Budna Kodrič, Jože Dežman and Janez Lušina, *Gorenjski partizan: Gorenjski odred 1942-1945* (Kranj: Partizanski knjižni klub, 1992).

15. [WWII YUGOSLAVIA – ORIGINAL SLOVENIAN PARTISAN LINOCUT PLATES:]

Dore KLEMENČIČ, *nom de guerre*, 'Maj' (1911 - 1988).

*V imenu Kristusovih ran* [In the Name of Christ's Wounds].

[Primorje Region, Slovenia:] Propagandni odsek IX korpusa [Propaganda Office of the IX Corps], June 1944.

A Collection of original linocut plates, a zinc plate and proof state prints, plus associated material, all in Very Good condition (Please see below for details).

***Incredible survivors – the complete set of original linocut plates used by an Underground Slovenian Partisan printshop during World War II, to publish a powerful series of prints, Dore Klemenčič's, 'V imenu Kristusovih ran' [In the Name of Christ's Wounds], a harsh critique of the brutality of the Axis forces, their Church allies and their false claim to be representing the will of God; accompanied by a complete series of original proof state prints published from the linocut plates, plus associated material.***

During World War II in Yugoslavia (1941-5), the Partisans, a Communist movement led by Marshal Josip Broz 'Tito', became the most potent resistance to the Axis occupation of their country. They eventually gained the distinction of being the only resistance force to successfully self-liberate their nation from the Nazis. The Partisans formed an underground society, hidden in the woods and mountains of the countryside, with agents in the occupied cities. Printing played a seminal role in the Partisan movement, and came in the form of propaganda pieces, legal texts, newspapers, educational manuals and works of artistic expression (such as Klemenčič's present images). Most works were produced in secret print shops, located in remote areas, allowing some measure of safety from the enemy. Partisan printing assumed a wide variety of forms, but improvised, low-tech methods, such as mimeography and illustration by use of linocuts formed the backbone of production.

In 1944, the Slovenian Partisan artist, Dore Klemenčič, *nom de guerre* 'Maj', working in a printshop in the Primorje (Coastal) region of Slovenia, created a series of 10 dark-impressed prints, *V imenu Kristusovih ran* [In the Name of Christ's Wounds], a powerful critique of the Axis occupiers and their allies within the Roman Catholic Church who falsely claimed that their brutal acts were done in the name of God. It is important to note that not all priests and churchgoers were sympathetic to the Axis occupation, and there were even many priests who supported the Partisans. Klemenčič's images are hauntingly cruel, but effective, showing Axis soldiers slaughtering civilians with the aid of priests, who justify the violence in the interests of protecting society from the atheist Communists.

Present here are the complete set of 11 original linocut plates (including a plate for an extra print that was not included in the series as normally issued) that Klemenčič used for creating the series. They are amazing survivors, as almost no



linocut plates from Partisan Underground publications are known to survive, let alone come to market. Linoleum, which was usually taken from the floors of kitchens of abandoned houses, had the advantage of being easy to carve, water-resistant and durable (it could create hundreds of impressions before showing significant signs of wear). The present linocuts seem to come from three different sources, as one plate was originally red, while two were probably beige-green, but with different verso structures.

Also present are a complete set of 10 proof impressions, plus an extra image not normally called for, taken from the linocut plates, being a unique set, on paper of different quality and sizes. On the verso of one of the prints, Klemenčič writes he made 10 impressions from the original linocut plates two months after the end of the war, in July 1945. He notes that he retained the seventh set of these impressions, and he lists the names of the people who received the remaining nine sets. Seven of the present proof prints are dated '1944' and are signed, while four are not. The paper stock variously employed is of different quality, due to war era rationing. It is not clear as to whether these proof prints were made by Klemenčič in 1944, during the war, or if they are one and the same as the artist's retained set made in July 1945.

Additionally, the present collection includes two identical copies of the original wrappers in which the series was issued, adorned on the front cover with a design above the title. Both wrappers date from 1944, as they bear the imprint of the Partisan press of the Propagandni odsek IX korpusa. Included is a related original linocut plate and a zinc plate. It seems that the linocut plate, which bears only the title text, may indeed be a fragment, having once been larger to include the cover design. Due to its large size and unwieldy shape, such a linocut plate probably wore down, or was broken, and the upper (design) part had to be discarded. The present zinc plate seems to be a replacement for the once-larger linocut plate, but bears little evidence of having ever been used. Perhaps the zinc plate was made only as a test, but did not react well to the circumstances of printing. Notably, the title text on the present wrappers corresponds to the linocut plate.

## **List of Items in the Collection:**

### **1. Linocut Plates:**

12 linocut plates: 10 plates, circa 22 x 18.5 cm (8.6 x 7.2 inches); 1 plate, 18 x 14 cm (7 x 5.5 inches) and 1 plate, 7 x 12 cm (2.7 x 4.7 inches).

### **3. Proof Prints from the Linocut:**

11 loose black linocut prints: all large 4°, printed on different paper, 7 dated and signed by the author in pencil, one print on a folded sheet with printed text and manuscript notes by the author.

### **3. Zinc Plate:**

1 zinc plate: 27.5 x 11 cm (10.8 x 4.3 inches).

### **4. Original Wrappers:**

2 identical original loose tan wrappers (large 4°) with black linocut title and printed imprint on a flap.

### **5. Original Folder bearing the Title:**

Later large 4° tan linen folder with pasted original title image to front cover.

## **Dore Klemenčič – ‘Maj’: Slovenian Partisan Artist**

Dore Klemenčič (1911 - 1988), *nom de guerre* ‘Maj’ was Slovenian, but completed his studies in 1934 at the Art Academy in Zagreb. In the late 1930s, he lived in Celje, Slovenia, where he joined a group of left-wing artists, before moving to Banja Luka, Bosnia. He was also a reservist with officer rank in the Royal Yugoslav Army, giving him skills which would soon prove valuable.

Following the capitulation of Yugoslavia in World War II, in April 1941, Klemenčič was sent to a German POW camp, Oflag Doessel-Warburg, and later to a prison camp in Yugoslavia. He escaped from the camp and joined the Chetniks in Serbia, before transferring allegiance to the Partisans in Bosnia. He eventually returned to his native Slovenia as a Partisan officer in charge of several underground printing presses. Following the war, Klemenčič was a professional painter.

The objects of the present collection are unique, while only 3 examples of the normal published editions of *V imenu Kristusovih ran* are recorded in institutions, at Princeton University Library; the National and University Library of Slovenia (Ljubljana) and at the National Archives of Slovenia (Ljubljana).

**References:** N/A. Cf. [Re: the normal set of prints:] *Bibliografija*, p. 37, no. 455; OCLC: 42591290 & 813590158.





16. [WWII YUGOSLAVIA - PARTISAN ARTS & CULTURE MAGAZINE:]  
Stevan ŠUVAKOVIĆ, Editor; Slobodan ĆUJIĆ (1919 - 1988), Illustrator; plus,  
Several Authors.  
*Наш Израз Часопис Културно-Уметничке Групе КНОЈ*. [Naš Izraz, Časopis  
Kulturno-Umetničke Grupe KNOJ / Our Expression, Journal of the Cultural  
and Artistic Group of KNOJ].  
[Belgrade, Serbia], February 1945.  
4° (28 x 21.5 cm / 11 x 8.5 inches): [1 blank], iii pp. (Introduction, hand-typed  
text with manuscript title in blue crayon and ink and 1 monochrome linocut  
illustration), 29 pp. (un-paginated, hand typed text including 5 monochrome  
linocut illustrations within text, 3 manuscript illustrations in pen and 1 full page  
manuscript music score), [1 blank], bound in original card covers with linocut  
illustrations and hand-typed text with manuscript title in black ink, stapled  
(Very Good, slight toning and a few small stains, but overall clean, some minor  
marginal wear, staples a little rusted).

*Apparently the only known surviving example of the first official arts and culture magazine sponsored by the new Partisan military government of Yugoslavia, issued in Serbian Cyrillic in Belgrade, in February 1945, after the liberation of that city, but while World War II still raged elsewhere in the country, featuring original articles, poems and music by several prominent Yugoslav artists; a beautiful production, entirely hand-made with typed text, manuscript decoration and several fine original linocuts by Slobodan Ćujić – seemingly unrecorded.*

This is a superlative example of original Partisan artwork and design, which is rather fitting given that it is the first officially sanctioned arts and culture magazine of the new Partisan military government of Yugoslavia. This entirely hand-made production features hand-typed text, manuscript titles and decoration, with the artistic highlights being several magnificent linocut illustrations by the Croatian academic artist Slobodan Ćujić. The content is also rich, featuring fifteen original articles and compositions by eleven different prominent and up-and-coming Yugoslav artists, all of whom were members of a special arts and culture society officially sanctioned by the new regime in Belgrade. The authors include visual artists, poets, musicians, actors and cinematographers, each of whom provide their unique perspective on the arts and cultural scene that was given new life upon the dawn of liberated Yugoslavia.

*Naš Izraz* is certainly one of the finest and most intriguing hand-made Partisan works we have ever encountered. It seems to have been made in only a single issue, and the present example is, as best as well can tell, the only known surviving example of the work, of which we can find no references in literature. All the information as to the nature and purpose of the work is contained within the publication itself, conveyed first-hand by the project's participants.

# НАШ ИЗРАЗ

ЧАСОПИС КУЛТУРНО-УМЕТНИЧКЕ ГРУПЕ КНОЈ



## САДРЖАЈ

- С.Шуваковић - Уводна реч  
Б.Алфиревић - Културно просветни рад у НОВЈ  
Д.Вујновић - Празник душе  
В.Живковић - Наша народна поезија  
Д.Спасојевић - Јутро  
С.Ђујић - Улога сликарства  
Д.Вујновић - Позориште и глумач  
С.Веселиновић - Бел Канто  
В.Чанковић - Црвена Звезда  
М.Радивојевић - Режија и задатак редитеља  
Д.Петровић - О сценографији  
С.Ђујић - Маје поколење  
З.Игњатовић - Последњи акорди  
С.Шуваковић - Клонимо се деструкције  
В.Чанковић - Мало о историјату и раду групе

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ФЕБРУАР 1945

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## The Partisans & the Cultural and Artistic Group of KNOJ

The arts, whether it be music, theatre, poetry, prose or painting and drawing, played a key role in the Yugoslav Partisan movement. Even while the Partisans were fighting for their survival under the most difficult circumstances, they dedicated considerable time and resources to the arts, recognizing its critical impact on raising morale and maintaining a sense of group identity. From the Partisans' foundation in 1941, their various local detachments across Yugoslavia officially sanctioned and sponsored innumerable artworks, as well as many publications concerning the arts and culture, mostly consisting of broadsides and periodicals. During the height of the war, through 1943 and 1944, the Partisans' cultural activities benefited from the efforts of numerous professional artists and writers who created works of high quality and originality. However, these individuals usually had to balance their cultural activities against their military duties, so limiting their output. Moreover, their artistic endeavours were generally coordinated at the local level, as opposed to being part of a coherent pan-Yugoslavian Partisan arts and culture programme.

Upon the liberation of Belgrade (October 20, 1944), it became clear that the Partisans would inevitably win the war and assume control over all of Yugoslavia. Even though the conflict was still ongoing, Marshal Tito began to prepare the Partisans for the transition from a wartime army to a peacetime civilian administration. Gradually, thousands of members of KNOJ (People's Defence Corps of Yugoslavia) were released from their military duties and redirected towards fulfilling civilian roles. The development of a 'national' arts and culture programme for the new Yugoslavia was a priority.

As recounted by Veljko Čanković, in the last article of *Naš Izraz*, KNOJ aimed to form an official arts and cultural group whose purpose was to develop the new national programme. This programme was to be comprehensive, including policies on film, theatre, music, painting and graphic design. While it was to retain some of the influences of the Partisans' wartime military-propagandist themes, paramount would be its emphasis on more broad-based, peacetime cultural expression.

In December 1944, the new KNOJ group met in Belgrade, initially consisting of eight artists hand-picked by the high command. However, the group was quickly hobbled by what Čanković described as "unexpected problems", being infighting between 'artistic personalities'.

The solution to this problem was to expand the group to thirty people. Apparently, and perhaps surprisingly, this was effective, as it seemed to dilute the personality conflicts, as opposed to adding new ones, such that the group began to work effectively. In early January 1945, many more artists joined the society, balancing its composition between male and female members. It was then decided to create six working groups focusing on specific forms of expression: 1) a male choir of 60

members; 2) a co-ed song troupe; 3) a theatre group; 4) a poetry group; 5) a dance troupe; and 6) a small orchestra.

While the groups were to run their respective operations autonomously, their membership was not mutually exclusive, as some individuals were members of multiple groups, with a few, amazingly, members of all six sections.

The KNOJ Cultural and Artistic Group did not lose sight of its overall goal, which was the development an overarching arts programme for the new Yugoslavia. As noted by Čanković, this agenda was first articulated upon a series of three 'wall newspapers' (large broadsides) that discussed the themes that the new state would officially support in cinema, theatre, dance, music, literature and the visual arts. The present journal-format edition was considered by the group to be a step further, being a more thorough and articulate expression of the themes covered by the broadsides, thus forming the first full-feature, dedicated national arts magazine for the new Yugoslavia.

It should be noted that while the group aimed to create a truly 'national' arts policy, *Naš Izraz* is Serbian-dominated, although it features strong representation from Croatian artists. This probably is due to the geographical limitations of the ongoing war, as it was physically difficult for artists from all the Yugoslav national entities to be present in Belgrade during this period.

### ***Naš Izraz* in Focus**

*Naš Izraz*, which appeared in this singular edition, is, in and of itself, a beautifully produced original work of art. Hand-made, with manuscript decoration and original linocuts, each example would have taken some hours to produce. The fact that the work contains some over-typed and manuscript corrections to the text, gives it more of the feel of a publisher's proof than of a product for broad distribution. It seems that it was likely made in only a handful of examples, to be passed around by group members, with likely a few examples going to the high command of KNOJ. As the present work is apparently the only known surviving example, it is impossible to say whether all the supposed original examples were identical in configuration.

Contained within are fifteen articles and entries, written by eleven different artists, representing diverse fields of expression, each of which articulate the new national priorities for their respective fields. The 'Introductory Word', written by Stevan Šuvaković, features very heavy Soviet Communist rhetoric, saluting Vladimir Lenin as the greatest single inspiration for the arts, yet at the same time articulates the Pan-Yugoslav purpose of the publication. Šuvaković relates that the group endeavours to give new life to the "dying tree" that was, in his opinion, the state of the arts and culture in Yugoslavia during the war. The articles that follow are far little less 'hard core' Leninist in nature, and are generally in keeping with the subtler Communist tone that generally prevailed in Yugoslavia.

The other articles are, in the order of their appearance: the actor Božo Alfirević's overview of the Cultural Department of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, being the immediate predecessors to the KNOJ group; Dragiša Vujnović's 'The Holiday of the Soul'; Branka Živković's 'Our Folk Poetry'; Desanka Spasojević's 'Jutro' [Morning]; an article by the illustrator of *Naš Izraz*, Slobodan Ćujić, on 'The Role of Painting'; Dragiša Vujnović's 'Theater and Actor'; Stanoje Veselinović's article on music, 'Bel Canto'; Veljko Čanković's manuscript music score for the song *Crvene zvijezda* [Red Star]; an article on film by the subsequently famous Serbian actor Mirolslav "Duda" Radivojević (1919 – 1990), 'Directing and the Role of the Producer'; Dobrovoje Petrović's 'About Scenography'; Slobodan Ćujić's 'My Generation'; Zdravko Ignjatović's 'The Last Chord'; Stevan Šuvaković's 'Let's Avoid the Destruction' and, finally, Veljko Čanković's informative 'A Little about the History and Work of the Group', which provides a fascinating firsthand account of the KNOJ arts and culture society's formation and activities.

## Epilogue

It is not clear as to why *Naš Izraz* appeared in only a single edition, despite the comprehensive nature of the KNOJ arts and culture groups' work and the high quality of the articles contained in the journal. On a practical level, the period after the war was a time of great transition in Yugoslavia, and the artists involved may simply have moved on to other things. On a political level, it seems that the notion of developing a truly 'national' arts programme was subordinated to the reality that, following the end of the war, the six constituent republics of Yugoslavia each took the lead on developing their own cultural policies, with only limited direction from Belgrade.

**References:** N/A – Apparently unrecorded.

# НАШ ИЗРАЗ

ЧАСОПИС КУЛТУРНО-УМЕТНИЧКЕ ГРУПЕ КНОЈ

**И**сторијска хроника као један од најважнијих докумената прохујалих векова је бележила и бележи многе друштвене турсове, сеобе, ратове итд., у почетку мање, неорганизованије и прилично јалове бунтове, а касније масовније, организованије револуције, широких потхвата, јаснијих тенденција потеклих из дубљих, разложнијих и одређенијих побуда са далеко бољим резултатима исхода.

Новија, револуционарнија хроника таласом својих слободњачких и напредњачких идеја, запљускује разум скоро свих интелектуалаца ширећи се и у шире народне масе да би преко великих визионара револуције: Маркса, Енгелса, Плеханова итд. нашла своју потпуну зрелост и најконкретнији одраз у најумнијем и најгенијалнијем организатору В. Илију, Лењину.

Његове мисли и идеје су се упијале у руски народ као "хидра", стварајући од њега бесмртног хероја, који данас под командом маршала Стаљина прославља своје највеће успехе заузимајући најдоминантнији положај у свету како у ратној вештини, тако и у уметности и науци, скидајући са себе мрачну копрену непријатељске, провокаторске, бјутаве, бруталне, много брбљиве и лажне пропаганде.

Стаљинови непобедиви "бајцови" носећи заставу слободе поробљеним народима дођоше и на Балкан. Бурне 1944 године тешком борбом очеличени Титови орлови приуше из непроходних врлети и гудура у сусрет братској Првеној Армији сатирући злочиначку фашистичку помахниталу и насртљиву рањену звер, ударајући тиме у овој несумњиво беспримерној епохи историјског прелома јединствен, чврст, крвав, наплетан и неразорив темељ новој творевини, Демократској Федеративној Југославији. Ова тако брза, може се рећи изненадна слобода најснажније удигну дух целом народу, а на мајентузијазмом распламтелој омладини стваралачку моћ. Ми

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17. [YUGOSLAV PARTISAN CHILDREN'S & YOUTH MAGAZINES PRINTED IN EGYPT – COLLECTION of 3 PERIODICALS:]

*Pionirski List*, [Pioneers' Newsletter], Nos. 18 & 20, Year 1.

El Shatt, Egypt: [Prosvjetni Odjel Centralnog Odbora Zbijega iz Jugoslavije (Education Department of the Central Committee of the Refugee Camp of Yugoslavians)], August 31 and September 21, 1944.

2 broadsides, each 33 x 20 cm (13 x 8 inches), mimeographed, printed on 2 sides, no. 20 on peach-coloured paper (Both Very Good, old clean folds).

[and]

*Omladinska Rijec* [The Youths' Word], No. 4, Year 1.

El Shatt, Egypt: Ujedinjeni Savez Antifašističke Omladine Jugoslavije [United Federation of Antifascist Youth of Yugoslavia], 1944.

8° (21.5 x 17 cm / 8.5 x 6.7 inches), mimeographed: [2 pp.], 36 pp. [1 p., being printed on the inside of back wrapper], bound in original illustrated paper wrappers, stapled (Very Good, sharp and clean, only some rust to staples, cover a little loose).

*A collection of 3 extremely rare Croatian Partisan children's and youth magazines, published at a refugee camp in El Shatt, Egypt, in 1944; including 2 issues of the 'Pionirski List' [Pioneers' Newsletter] and a single issue of 'Omladinska Rijec' [The Youths' Word].*

Presented here are three issues of extremely rare children's and youth magazines published during World War II by Croatian Partisan refugees in Egypt; being 2 issues the *Pionirski List* and a single issue of *Omladinska Rijec*. From the summer of 1944 to March 1946, around 30,000 Croatian refugees, fleeing the German invasion of Dalmatia, lived in a camp run by the Yugoslav Partisans located at El Shatt, near the Suez Canal, in British-controlled Egypt. Struggling against great adversity, the refugees forged their own society in the desert, producing some very interesting, and today extremely rare, publications. Educating children and youth, while always a priority for the Partisans, played an especially prominent role at El Shatt, where most of the residents were women and children.

### ***Pionirski List***

*Pionirski List* is an extremely rare children's broadside magazine geared towards educating the 'Pioneers', the Partisans' classification for children between ages 7 and 11. Unlike the highly rhetorical and political content that the Partisans geared towards teenagers, the material for Pioneers is focused on teaching basic comprehensive skills such as reading, as well as universal morals, such as the value of loyalty and honesty. Specifically, in the present issues, Pan-Yugoslav unity was the priority, and teaching Croatian children how to read Serbian in Cyrillic was a key part of that agenda. The front side of one of the present broadsides features a richly illustrated lesson on the calendar and the seasons written in basic Serbian. Interestingly, the verso features a story, written in Croatian, about 'King Marko', a benevolent pan-Slavic king, written by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787 – 1864), the most famous Serbian storyteller and the father of the modern Serbian language.

The *Pionirski List* was published in two to three issues per month beginning in May 1944. Today all examples are extremely rare, so much so that many of the issues are today considered lost and it is not even known how many issues were published in total.

# ★ PIONIRSKI LIST

Br. 18.

ČETVRTAK, 31. DEK. 1944

GOD. 7.



## ЛАЖИТОРБЕ

ТОДОР И БЕНКО, ДВА МЛАДА ШЕГРТА, ПРОЛАЗИЛИ ЈЕДНОМ МИМО ВРТ У СЕЛУ.

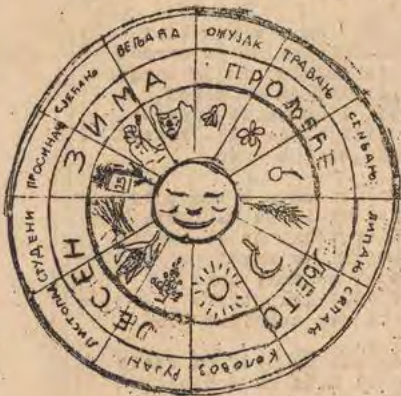
»ГЛЕ ВЕЛИКОГА КУПУСА!« РЕЧЕ ТОДОР.

»ТА ШТО СЕ ТОМУ ЧУДИШ!« ОДГОВОРИ МУ ХВАЛИША БЕНКО. »ЈА САМ НЕГДЈЕ ВИДИО КУПУС МНОГО ВЕЋИ НЕТОЛИ ЈЕ ЖУПСКА КУБА.«

»И ЈА САМ ШТОШТА ВИДИО У СВИЈЕТУ,« НАТО БЕ МЛАДИ КОТЛАР ТОДОР. »ЈЕДНОМ САМ ПОМАТАО НЕКОМЕ МАЈСТОРУ ГРАДИТИ КОТАО ВЕЋИ ОД ОНЕ ЦРКВЕ ТАМО ГОРЕ.«

»ПО БОГУ БРАТЕ, А ЧЕМУ ТАЈ ВЕЛИКИ КОТАО?« КЛИКНУ У ЧУДУ БЕНКО.

»ДА СЕ У ЊЕМУ КУХА ОНИ ТВОЈ КУПУС,« ОДВРАТИ МУ ТОДОР.



У ГОДИНИ ИМА ЧЕТИРИ ГОДИШЊА ДОБА: ПРОЉЕ, ЛЕТО, ЈЕСЕН И ЗИМА.

СВАКО ГОДИШЊЕ ДОБА ТРАЈЕ 3 МЈЕСЕЦА.

## МОБА

МИШ ПОСИЈА ПРОЈУ  
ПО ЈЕЖЕВУ ПОЉУ.  
НАРАСЛА ЈЕ ПРОЈА  
ПО ЈЕЖЕВУ ПОЉУ  
МИШУ ДО КОЉЕНА,  
ЖАБИ ДО РАМЕНА.

МИШ САКУПИ МОБУ,  
ДА ПОЖАЊЕ ПРОЈУ  
МИШ ЗАКОЉЕ МРАВА,  
ДЕВЕТОГА БРАВА,  
ТЕ СЕ ЧУДИ МОБА  
ШТО ЈЕ МАСНА ЧОРБА



# ★ PIONIRSKI LIST

Br. 20.

Četvrtak, 21. septembar 1944.

God. I.



## nepametna djevojka

Pošla djevojka u grad. Na glavi je nosila košeru i u njoj više lonaca i mlijekom i škorpom. Uputi se ovako promišljati: Kad prođem mlijeko i škorpom otidiću u dućan, na pupovet ću lijepih suknenja i maršica. Lijepo ću se odjevati i namjestiti, pa kad prođem ulicom, vidjet će me ljudi, pozdravljat će me i poklonit će mi se. U tom razmišljanju zagne duboko glavu kao da poklon, a glave izvraću se lonci i mlijekom i škorpom, sve se razlupa i prolje.

## Djeca i maca

Pokraj peći maca prola,  
Do nje dobra djeca sjela.  
Predi preću, maco malo,  
Pa joj tako šaptat stali.  
Mi ćemo tad platno tkati,  
Platno namoj mami dati,  
Mama će nam dobra biti,  
Novo ruho nam sašiti.  
Halje ćemo tad obući;



One će se veseliti,  
Sve nam redom zagrliti.

## Pijetao

Pogledaj ga samo! Ponosito hod po dvorištu. Na glavi mu se vije orven kruna i bradica. Trivi rep toji mu u vis, leprša se kao zastava. Perje mu se sija, prave slatke.



Pijetao iskide kljunom orva i namiri svakoj koki po komadić. One kljunuše i odnesuše svaka svoj komadić u kljunu. Kad je svršio ovaj ručak, pijetao poskoči, lupne dva tri puta krilima, zažmuri i zapjeva: kukuriku, kukuriku. Zašto kokot kukuriše se zatvorenim očima, to možda ne znate, ali ja ću vam reći. Zato jer zna svoju pjesmu na pamet.

RUGAO SE LONCI LONCU, A OBLOVA GRMA!

## ***Omladinska Rijec***

The *Omladinska Rijec* is a richly illustrated magazine with intriguing original content, geared towards enlightening the *omladine* [youth], the Partisans' classification for youth between the ages of 12 and 18. In sharp contrast to the *Pionirski List*, the *Omladinska Rijec*'s content is far more rhetorical and political, seeking to shape sophisticated young minds into assuming the responsibilities of adulthood, especially pressing during times of war.

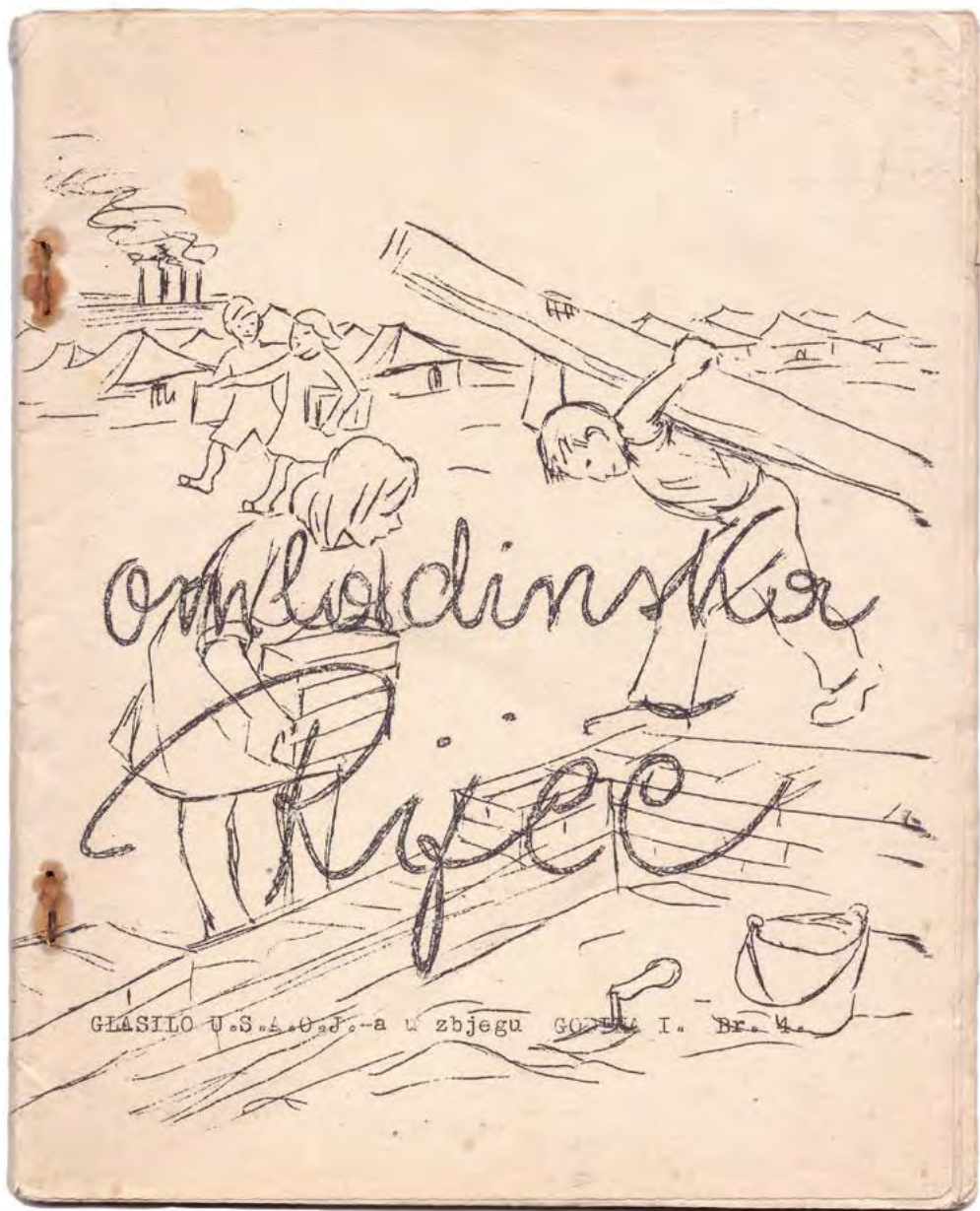
This issue of *Omladinska Rijec* commences with a political article illustrated by a portrait of Marshal Tito, meant to inform readers about preparations for the First Partisan Congress of Youth. Also covered are articles on Croatian-Serbian brotherhood, a key Partisan theme, seeking to heal a nation torn apart by civil war.

Most importantly, the issue features extensive original content regarding the experiences of young refugees at the El Shatt Camp. One article, written by a young woman, discusses the Partisans' friendly cooperation with Allied soldiers at the camp. Another article discusses how Partisan youth prepared to become soldiers, assuming progressively important duties at the camp, such as maintaining the night watch.

The highlight of the issue is a detailed article regarding the visit of a youth theatre group from the camp to Cairo. There, the group performed for orphans at the French Society and were amazed upon visiting historical sites, such as the grand mosque and the Pyramids of Giza. Another article discusses an exhibition of arts and crafts made by the El Shatt residents that was staged in Cairo and which received hundreds of visitors per day, along with highly positive reviews. Also included is a report on a football game between the refugees and British airmen, which ended with both sides singing Partisan songs.

The issue concludes with a series of letters written by young Partisans who had just learned to read and write at the camp, and pleasingly, a crossword puzzle.

The *Omladinska Rijec* was produced beginning in June 1944, and ran to include 4 issues printed at the El Shatt Camp (thus the present issue is the last El Shatt printing); a fifth and final issue was printed in Cairo in early 1945.



GLASILO U.S.A.O.S.-a u zbjegu GODINA I. Br. 4.

## Historical Background

In April 1941, during World II, following the Axis invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, much of Dalmatia was placed under the control of Italy, while the rest became part of the Axis puppet nation of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH).

Following Italy's capitulation in September 1943, a power vacuum developed in Dalmatia. The Partisans briefly took over large parts of region, including Split and Šibenik, plus most of the southern Dalmatian islands. However, by the end of the month, the German Wehrmacht moved in with tremendous force, evicting the Partisans and placing the region's civilian population in great jeopardy, especially those in villages and on islands that were known to hold Partisan sympathies.

In late 1943 and early 1944, tens of thousands of Croatian refugees fled to the Partisan-held island of Vis, having evacuated Makarska, Vodice, Hvar, Korčula, Ravni Kotari and Bukivica. Vis was a small island, completely unable to accommodate such an influx. The incoming refugees, plus the portions of the indigenous Vis community not involved in the island's defence, were provisionally moved to Bari and Taranto, in Allied-occupied Italy. However, Italy was still an active war zone and there were nowhere near enough resources to accommodate the Croatian refugees long-term. It is important to note that most of the refugees were women and children, as all the able-bodied men had enlisted to fight with the Partisans.

The British decided to send 30,000 Croatian refugees to their protectorate of Egypt. There was certainly more than enough room there and, in theory, enough resources to accommodate the Croatians.

In the early summer of 1944 a massive camp of tents was established at El Shatt, in the Sinai Peninsula, near Port Said and the Suez Canal. The Croatians began arriving in waves from that point onwards, and the camp, and its subsidiary units, grew rapidly. Crucially, the camp was to be run under the auspices of the Yugoslav Partisans, with British assistance.

The British, distracted by the larger war, showed limited interest in the camp and provided it with the minimum amount of supplies necessary to make it viable. The Partisan officials provided much needed organizational skills, but added little material resources. The Croatians faced extremely tough desert conditions, for which they were unprepared. The refugees showed remarkable resolve, and through hard work and strict discipline managed to create some semblance of a normal life, founding their own schools, theatres, cultural centres, football clubs, mess halls, workshops, hospitals and laundry facilities. The camp's main church benefited from having the well-known composer and conductor, Josip Hatze, from Spil, as its choirmaster.

John Corsellis, a British aid worker at the camp (who later became a writer), observed of the El Shatt Camp: "People mysteriously appeared and disappeared with a frequency reminiscent of a popular transit hotel". He continued, "I must not give the impression that these people created a little paradise here on the desert with their resourcefulness. Their extreme lack of everything only makes what they do more impressive, standing as it does against such a background."

The Partisan leadership at the El Shatt Camp set up their own rudimentary printing houses, with mimeograph machines. This way they could produce their own official documents, exit passes for those wishing to temporarily leave the camp, as well as small periodicals, such as the *Pionirski List* and *Omladinska Rijec*.

Life went on in the camp and 300 marriages occurred and 650 children were born at El Shatt. However, thousands also became ill from various semi-tropical diseases and 825 of the refugees perished.

While World War II ended in Yugoslavia in May 1945, with the complete Partisan takeover of the country, most of the refugees at El Shatt remained in the camp for some months. First, the refugees needed to be screened for communicable diseases, so a medical quarantine period was mandated. Moreover, Dalmatia had been ravaged by the war and the new Yugoslav government had much work to do to make the refugees' villages habitable upon their arrival. The Croatians gradually returned home in waves, with the last leaving Egypt in March 1946, upon which the El Shatt Camp was closed.

The legacy of the El Shatt Camp, particularly in the southern Dalmatian islands, is a powerful one. As the populations of entire villages were temporarily relocated to Egypt, the memory of the exile had an enduring influence upon the thousands that returned, and served as the basis for many movies and books.

More recently, in 2008, the El Shatt experience was the focus of a well-regarded exhibition at the Croatian History Museum (Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej, Zagreb), *El Shatt - Zbjeg iz Hrvatske u pustinji Sinaja, Egipat (1944. - 1946.)* [El Shatt – A Croatian Camp in the Sinai Desert, Egypt, 1944 to 1946].

**References:** *Pionirski List: Bibliografija*, no. 8776; *Omladinska Rijec: Bibliografija*, no. 8747.

18. [CROATIAN PARTISAN MAGAZINE PRINTED IN NORWAY:]  
*Slobodna Zora, Nedeljni Časopis Partizanskog Odreda Bivših Jugoslavenskih Zarobljenika u Norveškoj, Broj 20. [Free Dawn, The Weekly Magazine of the Partisan Detachments of the Former Yugoslav Prisoners in Norway, no. 20]. Melhus, Norway, August 11, 1945.*

Small 4° (30 x 22 cm), mimeographed in black ink: [1, Table of Contents], 48 pp., plus 2 illustrated ff. interleaved through text, bound in original illustrated card covers, stapled (Good, internally clean, save some mild damp-staining to latter pages of text-block; cover stained with small loss to blank lower right corner of front cover).

*Extremely rare – an issue of ‘Slobodna Zora’ [Free Dawn], a Croatian language magazine printed in Melhus, Norway by Yugoslav Partisans who were former prisoners of the Nazis, issued shortly after Norway’s liberation.*

Present here is one of the only surviving examples of an issue of *Slobodna Zora* [Free Dawn], a Croatian language magazine printed in Melhus, Norway by Yugoslav Partisans who were former prisoners of the Nazis. The magazine was printed in August 11, 1945, around three months after Norway was liberated, but while the Yugoslavian former prisoner-labourers were still detained in Melhus while awaiting exit processing and transfer back home.

The magazine has a strong Partisan and pro-Communist flavour, owing the fact that most of the Melhus detainees had been Anti-Fascist activists back home, before being detained and sent to Norway. The present issue of the magazine features two articles praising Macedonians (presumably there were a few of their number amongst the detainees, and Pan-Yugoslav unity was key Partisan theme); an article extolling the progressive role of women, including as frontline fighters; and an important and interesting article on the medical and nutrition needs of the prisoners, including the number of daily calories that could be obtained from a variety of listed foods. Moreover, this article gives valuable insights into the life and death nutritional calculations made to sustain prisoners who were condemned to hard labour. There are also some mini-articles that feature vignettes of Partisan literature. The issue also features two full-page mimeographed illustrations, including portraits of male and female Partisan soldiers, as well as a curious image of Vladimir Lenin and his associates working in a lumber camp. Likewise, the front cover is illustrated by a scene of charging Partisan soldiers.

# SLOBODNA ZORA

NEDELJNI CASOPIS PARTIZANSKOG ODREDA BIVSIH JUGOSLOVENSKIH  
ZAROBLJENIKA U NORVEŠKOJ.



... "Ne steme ni bogastvo,  
ne steme ni pari,  
tuk iskame svoboda  
covecni pravilni..."

BROJ: 20.-

11.VIII.1945.GOD.

MELHUS.

## Historical Context

During the Nazis' occupation of Norway (1940-45) the Wehrmacht found an urgent need to build mass infrastructure, including airports, harbours for capital ships, railways, and roads. This was not only crucial to sustaining their brutal regime in Norway, but to maintaining the 'Atlantic Wall', the defence cordon protecting Axis Europe from Allied attacks from Britain.

There was a huge labour shortage in Norway; thus, the Nazis imported around 150,000 foreigners to serve as slave labour, being mostly political prisoners. While most of the prisoner-labourers sent to Norway were Russians and Poles, about 5,000 were Yugoslavians.

Trondheim is one of the Norway's most important centres, a major port located midway up the country's North Sea coast. In May 1940, barely a month after the Nazi takeover of Norway, the Luftwaffe, decided to construct an airbase near Trondheim, at Melhus, known as the Trondheim Airport-Øysand. While the airbase was built quickly and in good order, it ended up serving only as a subsidiary airport; Melhus's main role was to be a supply base for infrastructure projects.

Concurrently, the Nazis' engineering corps, *Organisation Todt*, was determined to complete the Nordland Line (*Nordlandsbanen*), a great rail link that was intended to eventually connect Trondheim with Bodø, 729 kilometers to the north. This line was of great strategic importance, although its construction was so technically difficult that only the first 400 kilometres had been built since the project's commencement in 1882! The Nazis required mass manpower to finish the project (they would only complete another 137 kilometres of the line by the end of the war, falling far short of Bodø).

In the summer of 1942, with the Nazis' labour needs in Norway in mind, the Ustaše Fascist regime in Croatia sent several hundred Croatian political prisoners (mostly Partisan sympathizers) northwards to serve their Nazi allies. Many of these victims were dispatched to the prison camp at Melhus, where they were joined by other Yugoslav internees. The prisoners were forced to work on the airbase and on the *Nordlandsbanen* (said to be a particularly brutal assignment, especially in winter).

When the Allies liberated Norway in early May 1945, the Yugoslav prisoners at Melhus were mandated to remain in the camp for some months thereafter. The Allies needed time to screen the internees to ensure that none of them harboured troublesome political sentiments, while a medical quarantine period was mandated to ensure that any communicable diseases were cured before the internees ventured home. Moreover, Yugoslavia, and all of Central Europe, was in turmoil and it would take some time to arrange for the Yugoslavians' safe passage home. The Allies made every effort to dramatically improve the Yugoslavs' conditions at the Melhus

camp, giving them good food, clothing, sports equipment, movies, and access to mimeograph machines!

This gave rise to *Slobodna Zora*, appropriately named in honour of the Yugoslavs' liberation. The magazine had an unmistakable Partisan and pro-Communist theme, and featured a diverse array of articles. It was produced at least once a week (it seems that some weeks featured two issues) beginning in May 1945, and while we are not sure as to how many issues were produced in total, it is safe to assume that the present issue, no. 20, printed on August 11, 1945, was one of the final issues, as the prisoners were released from Melhus shortly thereafter.

*Slobodna Zora* is especially rare, even in the realm of Partisan exile prints. It is safe to assume that the print run was very limited, as the Melhus camp was much smaller than most of the other camps where Yugoslav internees and exiles printed periodicals.

We are aware of no other surviving examples of any of the issues, save for a collection of an unknown size at the National Archives of Serbia (Belgrade).

19. **Pavle BORŠTNIK, *nom de plume* 'Ljubo' (b. 1925), Author; Zvonimir ŽITNIK, *nom de plume* 'Gorazd' and Tone KROIS, Illustrators.**

***Iz mojih temnih dni* [From My Dark Days].**

**[Eboli, Italy: Refugee Press], 1946.**

8°: [33] colour title page, mimeographed text in brown with titles and initials in blue and 5 full page coloured illustrations, original tan wrappers, front cover with mimeographed designs, stapled (Very Good, very minor tears to spine).

***An extremely rare poetry book by the Slovenian Chetnik Pavle Borštnik, with elegant and extraordinary illustrations, published in a POW camp in Eboli, Campania, Italy.***

This poetry book is of a very unusual and beautiful design, mimeographed in colours, with extraordinary illustrations made by imprints from linen cloth (probably employing the military cloth used for bandages). We have never encountered another work with similar artistic or technical qualities.

*Iz mojih temnih dni* is rendered more amazing by the fact that it was made in a POW camp for former Yugoslavian Chetniks (a Serbian Nationalist force), that was set up in the wake of World War II in Eboli, Campania, Italy. The poetry was composed by Pavle Borštnik, *nom de plume* 'Ljubo', while the amazing artwork was created by Zvonimir Žitnik, *nom de plume* 'Gorazd' and Tone Krois.

LJUBO

+ IZ +  
MOJH  
TEMNIH  
+ DNI +

1946

## **The Chetniks and the Eboli POW Camp**

World War II in Yugoslavia, which commenced in April 1941, was not only an Axis invasion of the country, but a multi-faceted civil war. One of the key players was the Chetniks, a monarchist, Serbian nationalist militia, led by Draža Mihailović, whose role in the conflict is incredibly complicated and remains controversial. Importantly, not all Chetniks were Serbs, some individuals from other nationalities, including Slovenians, joined the movement, either due to their conservative convictions or to the wartime necessity of 'picking a team.' In the end, the Chetniks made an alliance of convenience with the Germans to battle their mutual arch-nemesis, the Partisans. Upon the Partisan-Allied victory in Yugoslavia in May 1945, the new Socialist regime of Marshal Tito had a particular distain for the Chetniks, whom they considered traitors, and the movement's members were marked men.

On the eve of the Partisan victory, a group of Chetniks (including the creators of the present work) surrendered to a detachment of the New Zealand Army, part of the larger Allied force in the northern Adriatic region. This was a wise choice, as while the British sometimes sent the Chetniks back to Yugoslavia (and certain execution), the New Zealanders had no personal bad blood with the Chetniks, and agreed to give them full Geneva Convention protections.

The Chetnik detainees in question were initially confined to a camp in Forlì, Italy, but near the end of 1945 were moved to a camp at Eboli, Campania. There they were housed in relatively good conditions, until April 1947, when they were transferred to British camps in Germany. From there, the former Chetniks were usually freed, with almost all preferring not to return to Yugoslavia, with many immigrating overseas.

### **The Author: Pavle Borštnik**

Pavle Borštnik, the author of the poetry in *Iz mojih temnih dni*, was born in Ljubljana in 1925. In his youth, he was a member of the Boy Scouts and the Sokol movement. In 1942, he fell afoul of the Italian Fascist regime that was occupying Ljubljana, and was imprisoned in Italy.

Following Italy's capitulation, in September 1943, Borštnik joined the Chetniks. The Chetniks were initially opposed to the Nazis and the Roman Catholic Church, which were strongly against the Partisans, all of which were entities that Borštnik disliked.

He was part of the group of Chetniks that found their way to Eboli, where he wrote the present work.

Following his release from captivity, Borštnik got married and, in 1949, moved to the United States. He had a day job in a factory, but remained active in literary circles and became an editor for Voice of America in Washington, D.C.

Borštnik retired in 1994, and moved to Cleveland, Ohio. In 2017, at the age of 92, he published a memoir, *Moj čas* (My Time).

### **A Note on Rarity**

The present work is extremely rare, we can trace only a single institutional example, at the National and University Library of Slovenia (Ljubljana).

**References:** OCLC: 446784125.

20. [SLOVENIAN REFUGEES / MUSIC:]

**Dr. Franc CIGAN [born Czigán Ferenc] (1908 - 1971), Editor.**

***Slovenske narodne pesmi* [Slovenian National Songs].**

**[Southern Carinthia, Austria, 1946].**

8°: 320 pp. mimeographed music scores and text, stapled into 20 volumes and enclosed within two original green and orange card folders with mimeographed titles (Very Good, slight staining).

***An extremely rare anthology of 361 mimeographed songs with musical scores, in the Slovenian language, published in a DP Camp in Austria by a Roman Catholic priest for 'White' refugees fleeing the new Socialist regime in Yugoslavia in the wake of World War II.***

This impressive work is an anthology of 361 Slovenian popular and national songs, along with music scores. It was published in 1946 in an, yet unidentified, Displaced Persons Camp in Southern Carinthia, Austria, by 'White' (conservative / Roman Catholic) refugees fleeing the new Socialist regime in Yugoslavia. The work is historically valuable, as it grants a perhaps unprecedentedly thorough insight into the contemporary musical tastes of a large segment of the Slovenian population.

The editor of the anthology, Dr. Franc Cigan, notes on pages 139 and 140 that the songs were gathered by students under very difficult circumstances and printed on cheap paper, in times of rationing.

Dr. Cigan (1908 - 1971), born Czigán Ferenc, was a Roman Catholic priest and a keen collector of Slavic music. He earned his doctorate at the University of Padua in 1946, and later that same year moved to minister in Stein im Jauntal, near Klagenfurt, in Austrian Carinthia. In Carinthia, he encountered many recently arrived Yugoslavian refugees, who resided in DP camps. From them, he gathered music scores and lyrics to hundreds of Slovenian songs from various parts of the country.

The present anthology is today very rare. We can trace only three examples in libraries worldwide (National and University Library of Slovenia (Ljubljana); Slovenian Academy of Sciences (Ljubljana) and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich)).

Despite the rarity of original examples, the anthology is well known and highly regarded in academic circles. In 1996, a reprint was published in Klagenfurt.

**References:** OCLC 443592484.



SLOVENŠKE

NARODNE

PESMI

I.



SLOVENŠKE

NARODNE

PESMI

II.



21. [SLOVENIAN REFUGEES / BOY SCOUTS:]  
'Gilcraft', *pseud.* / SLOVENIAN EXILES IN AUSTRIA.

*I. Red. First Class Book for Boy-Scouts.*

[Spittal an der Drau, Austria: Refugee Press, 1947].

Oblong 8°, [1] blank page, 33 pp. mimeographed text with illustrations within text, original tan wrappers with mimeographed cover, stapled (Very Good).

*Extremely rare – 1 of only 2 known examples – of a manual on Scouting published by 'White' Slovenian refugees in a DP camp in Carinthia, Austria, in the wake of World War II.*

This extremely rare work is certainly one of the most curious books on the Boy Scout movement ever published. It was mimeographed by Slovenian refugees in a Displaced Persons camps in Spittal, Carinthia, Austria, in the wake of World War II. The work is closely based on an authoritative recent British manual on scouting likely given to the refugees by one of the British soldiers or officials who administered the camp.

The illustrated text is in Slovenian (translated from the original English), although many of the original English titles are preserved. The select use of English is likely strategic, as it would have assisted the refugees in learning what would have been an important, yet almost universally unfamiliar, language. The work explicitly notes its source: as the 'First Class Book for Boy-Scouts', published in "London, C. 2. Arthur Pearson, Limited, Tower House, Southampton Street, London W. C. 2. First Published January 1945, Second edition March 1945." The British manual was written anonymously, with the author employing the pseudonym 'Gilcraft'.

Scouting was very popular in certain segments of society in pre-World War II Yugoslavia. The movement was favoured by the youth of the affluent, urbanised bourgeoisie, as well as some people of a conservative, religious disposition. The Scouts' values of order, self-reliance, community and patriotism appealed to these elements of the population.

However, the Scouting movement was deeply disfavoured by the Yugoslavian Socialist regime that assumed control over the country in 1945, upon the end of World War II. While many of the values of scouting were ironically similar to those of the Partisans, Scouting was seen as inextricably linked to conservative elements of society, and was additionally a potential competitor to the Socialists' youth movements.

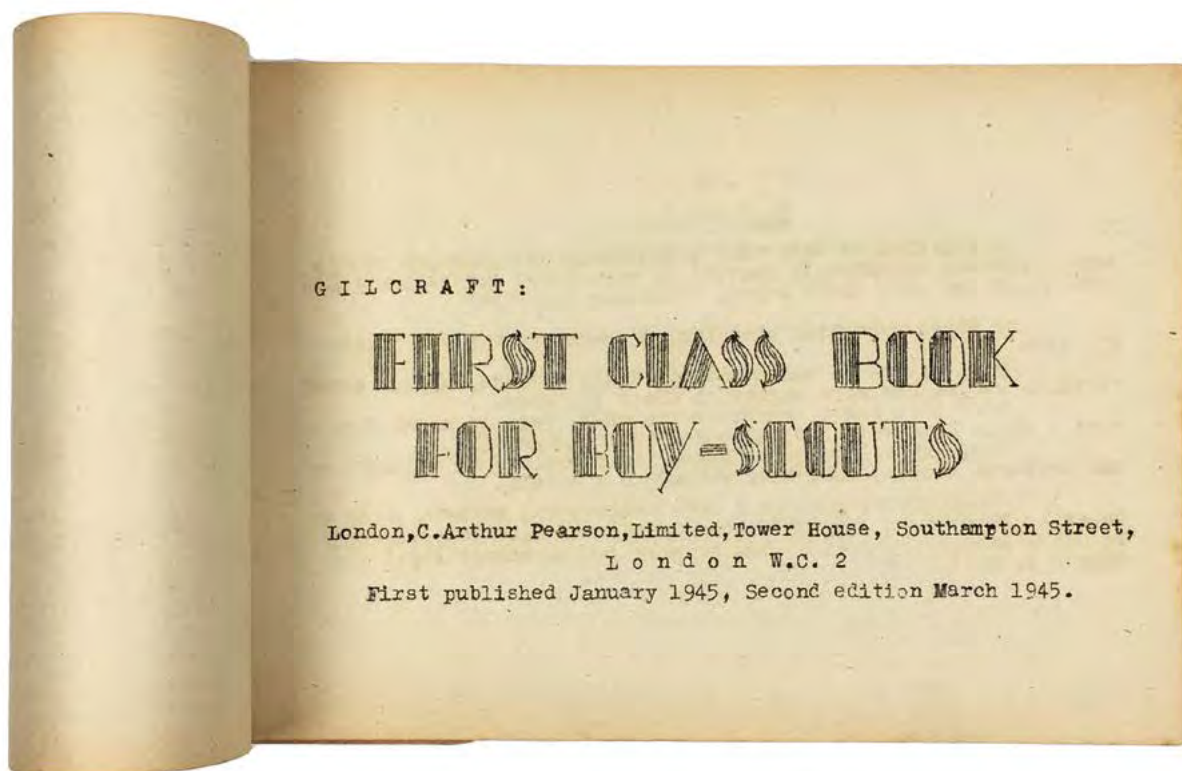
The re-embrace of Scouting by the refugees in the Spittal DP camp represented both a continuance of beloved antebellum customs, as well as an act of defiance against the regime which had compelled their departure from Yugoslavia. Moreover, the values of Scouting would come in handy to young people who would have to build futures in far away countries.

The DP camp near Spittal, Austria, in which the present work was published, was founded by the British in the summer of 1945. The dormitories, built by German POWs, were specifically intended to house refugees and exiles from Yugoslavia, primarily from Slovenia. At its height, the camp was home to 5,000 people, including approximately 800 school-aged children. Most of the refugees were 'Whites', Slovenians who during the war had been closely aligned with the Roman Catholic Church, with some even having been members of the Slovenian Home Guard (the Domobranc), a pro-Axis militia. Naturally, these people did not feel welcome in Yugoslavia under the newly-established Socialist regime of Marshal Tito. In the late 1940s, most of these refugees immigrated overseas, mainly to Argentina, Canada and the United States.

#### **A Note on Rarity**

The present Scouting book is extremely rare. We can trace only a single institutional example worldwide, at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna).

**References:** ÖNB: AC11335164.



22. [SLOVENIAN REFUGEE MAGAZINE:]  
**Marijan JAKOPIČ (1923 - 1978), Editor in 1952, plus others.**  
***Posavski zvon* [The Bell of Posavje].**  
**Spittal an der Drau, Austria and Cleveland, Ohio, USA, various dates between December 1, 1948 and May 1, 1952.**  
Set of 9 Quarto mimeographed magazines (see below for collations).

*A series of 9 (of 10) mimeographed magazines, printed by Slovenian refugees in the wake of World War II, between 1948 and 1952, first in a DP camp in Spittal, Austria, and then with the latter issues printed in Cleveland, USA – exceedingly rare – the only known surviving examples.*

This is an exceedingly rare set of 9 (of 10, first issue lacking) mimeographed magazines published by Slovenian refugees, who in the wake of World War II fled from the new Yugoslavian Socialist regime to a Displaced Persons camp in Spittal, Carinthia, Austria, before immigrating to Cleveland, Ohio, USA. Quite unusually, the magazine series was initially printed, in 1948 and 1949, at the Spittal camp, and after a hiatus, its publication was resumed in 1952 in Cleveland.

The authors and readership of *Posavski zvon* were initially confined to refugees from towns along the Sava River, which are today part of the northern suburbs of Ljubljana (the so called Posavje area, not be confused with a region of the same name in the south-eastern part of the Slovenia). However, after a short time, the magazine reached a wider audience of Yugoslavian refugees and immigrants to North and South America. The bell of the church in Ježica, near Ljubljana, was taken for the name and emblem of the magazine.

The DP camp near Spittal, Austria, was founded by the British in the summer of 1945. The dormitories, built by German POWs, were specifically intended to house refugees and exiles from Yugoslavia, primarily from Slovenia. At its height, the camp was home to 5,000 people, including approximately 800 school-aged children. Most of the refugees were ‘Whites’, Slovenians who during the war had been closely aligned with the Roman Catholic Church, with some even having been members of the Slovenian Home Guard (the Domobranci), a pro-Axis militia. Logically, these people did not feel welcome in Yugoslavia under the newly-established Socialist regime of Marshal Tito. In the late 1940s, most of these refugees immigrated overseas, mainly to Argentina, Canada and the United States.

The first issue of *Posavski zvon*, which is the only number missing from the present set, was, according to information supplied in subsequent editions, hand-typed on a single sheet of paper and pinned to noticeboards within the Spittal camp. It included news and gossip from the Posavje villages. It is thus understandable that not a single example of this extremely ephemeral issue is known to survive today.

# POSAVSKI Zvon

Leto III.Štev.2.

Cleveland,1.marca 1952.

## SPOMIN NA NAŠO FARNO CERKEV.

Mislím,da ni nikogar med nami,ki ne bi večkrat mislil na našo farno cerkev.Posebno ob velikih praznikih nam misli kar naprej uhajajo domov in tudi k našim farnim patronom sv.Kancijan in njegovim tovarišem na Ježici.Lepo je to.Spomin na dom in domačo cerkev,pri katere krstnem kamnu smo prejeli sv.krst,nam mora biti vse življenje svet.

Mislím pa tudi,da ne bom odkril nič novega,če povem še eno tiho našo skrivnost,ki jo goji vsakdo izmed nas na tujem,namreč kako bi mi tudi očitno izpričali svojo ljubezen in hvaležnost ne samo do svojih domačih,marveč tudi do naše farne cerkve za vse velike dobrine,ki nam jih je pedarila v našem dosedanem življenju.Vsi izmed nas smo v njej prvič in nato še pogostokrat prejeli Gospoda v svoje duše;mnogi so prejeli v njej zakrament sv.birme,nekateri celo zakrament sv.zakona.Velike mislosti nam je delila na potu našega življenja.Pomislímo samo,kolikokrat smo v njej sprejeli odpusčenje naših grehov!Zatorej ni čuda če danes,ko smo na tujem vsaj kolikor toliko za prvo silo preskrbljeni,mislímo tudi prav resno na to,kako bi mogli storiti nekaj dobrega tudi za našo farno cerkev.

Ko je odhajal zadnji rod posavskih rojakev na tuje,smo pustili našo farno cerkev še v nedodelanem stanju.Prav takšna je ostala vse do danes,razen da se je še nekoliko bolj obletela.Posebno omet in belež na zunanjih straneh sten bi bil še nujno potreben obnove.Edino,kar so doma v času po našem odhodu sami iz lastnih sredstev storili,je bila prižnica.To je napravil po načrtih ing.Glanza,ki je naredil tudi načrte za povečavo cerkve in za nove cerkvene klopi,mizarski mojster Jože Dovč iz Savelj.Vse drugo pa čaka,čaka boljših časov.Gotovo je,da dokler bo komunizem vladal na Slovenskem,ní računati niti na najbolj nujna popravila,odnosno nova dela pri cerkvi.

Za danes naj v našem PZ omenim samo eno stvar:naša povečana farna cerkev ima samo zasilni glavni oltar,to je menzo z relikvijami naših farnih patronov.Farni patroni sami pa zaenkrat še nimajo svojega prostora na oltarju.Tako lahko rečemo,da za glavni oltar manjka še zelo veliko.To pa je tisto,kar bi danes rad sprožil v PZ.Kaj pravite,posavski rojaki,po svetu,ki ste prej ali pozneje zapustili svoj dom,ali ne bi mi mogli prevzeti naše skrb za napravo glavnega oltarja v naši farni cerkvi,mi,ki živimo v svobodnem svetu in v razmerom

SPOROČAJTE ŽELJE,pošiljajte poročila in novice,da bo VAŠ list res zanimiv!

Following intense interest in the first issue, the second number was promptly mimeographed and, according to the text within the issue, was not only distributed among the refugees in the camp, but also to immigrants throughout Austria, England, Italy, Canada, Argentina, as well as in the British-occupied sector of Germany. Indeed, the purpose of the magazine seems to have been to keep the refugee community connected, even as its members dispersed to locations that were often thousands of kilometres distant from each other.

The early issues grant valuable information on life in the Spittal DP camp, as well as data on the numbers of refugees who had arrived from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, as well as other countries. There are also reports concerning the process and nature of the immigration experience from the camp to Argentina, Canada and the United States. Copies of the magazine were obviously given to emigrants upon their departure, and the February 1949 issue features reports from Slovenians living in Toronto, Halifax, Buenos Aires, and various locations across the United States.

The final Spittal issue (No. 4, Year II) was printed on March 1, 1949. It records that, at the time, approximately 1,400 Slovenians lived in the Spittal camp, in addition to about 180 Croatians, 60 Serbs and 580 Hungarians, amongst others. The camp provided residents with lessons in the English and Spanish languages, so that the refugees would be able to quickly adapt to their future homes.

Later that year, *Posavski zvon*'s authors and editors, according to information within subsequent issues, emigrated to the United States, and the publication of the magazine ceased for the next three years.

In 1952, the final three issues of the magazine were published in Cleveland, Ohio, which was then (as it is today) home to the largest Slovenian community outside of Europe. The new editor, Marjan Jakopič, a prolific poet, would continue to make it his personal mission to keep the Posavje Slovenian diaspora connected, even two decades after the final issue of the magazine.

The appendix of the final issue of *Posavski zvon* lists the names of all the people from the Posavje region who were killed during and after World War II, as well as a list of those who were assassinated in the Dachau concentration camp, plus the names of members of the Home Guard (Domobranci) who were forcibly repatriated by the British to Yugoslavia, whereupon they were executed.

## A Note on Rarity

The present set of nine issues of *Posavski zvon* represents the only examples of the magazine that are known to survive. A reference is made to the series in Rozina Švent's 1992 master's thesis, submitted to the University in Ljubljana on Slovenian Emigrant Printing after World War II, but only mentions that the magazine was no longer issued as of 1964, and provides no information as to the location of modern-day examples.

## List and Collations of the Present 9 Issues:

**No. 2, Year I.** - Spittal an der Drau, Austria: December 1, 1948. [1] mimeographed text.

**No. 3, Year I.** - Spittal an der Drau, Austria: December 15, 1948. [1] mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 1, Year II.** - Spittal an der Drau, Austria: January 1, 1949. [1] mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 2, Year II.** - Spittal an der Drau, Austria: February 1, 1949. [1] mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 3, Year II.** - Spittal an der Drau, Austria: March 1, 1949. [1] mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 4, Year II.** - Spittal an der Drau, Austria: April 1, 1949. [1] mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 1, Year III.** - Cleveland, Ohio, USA: January 15, 1952. 4 pp. mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 2, Year III.** - Cleveland, Ohio, USA: March 1, 1952. 4 pp. mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**No. 3, Year III.** - Cleveland, Ohio, USA: May 1, 1952. 4 pp., [1] mimeographed text with illustrated title.

**References:** Rozina Švent, *Publicisticna dejavnost slovenskih emigrantov po drugi svetovni vojni*. Magistrsko delo (Ljubljana 1992), p. 88.

23. [UKRAINIAN PRISON CAMP POETRY:]

**Bogdan BORA [aka Bohdan Bora or Boris Shkandry] (1920 - 1997).**

***B dorozh* [V dorozh / On the Road].**

**Rimini (Italy): Zytia w tabori [Life in Camp], 1946.**

8°: [1] mimeographed title page, [1] mimeographed portrait, iv pp.

mimeographed text, [1] mimeographed illustration, 102 pp. mimeographed text

with 3 mimeographed unnumbered full-page illustrations interleaved, [1]

mimeographed text, originally bound in army linen with mounted mimeographed illustrated cover (Very Good, slightly stained, small marginal tears to endpapers).

***A very rare book of poetry by the Ukrainian poet Bogdan Bora (1920 - 1997), written and published within a prison camp in Rimini, Italy, in the year following World War II.***

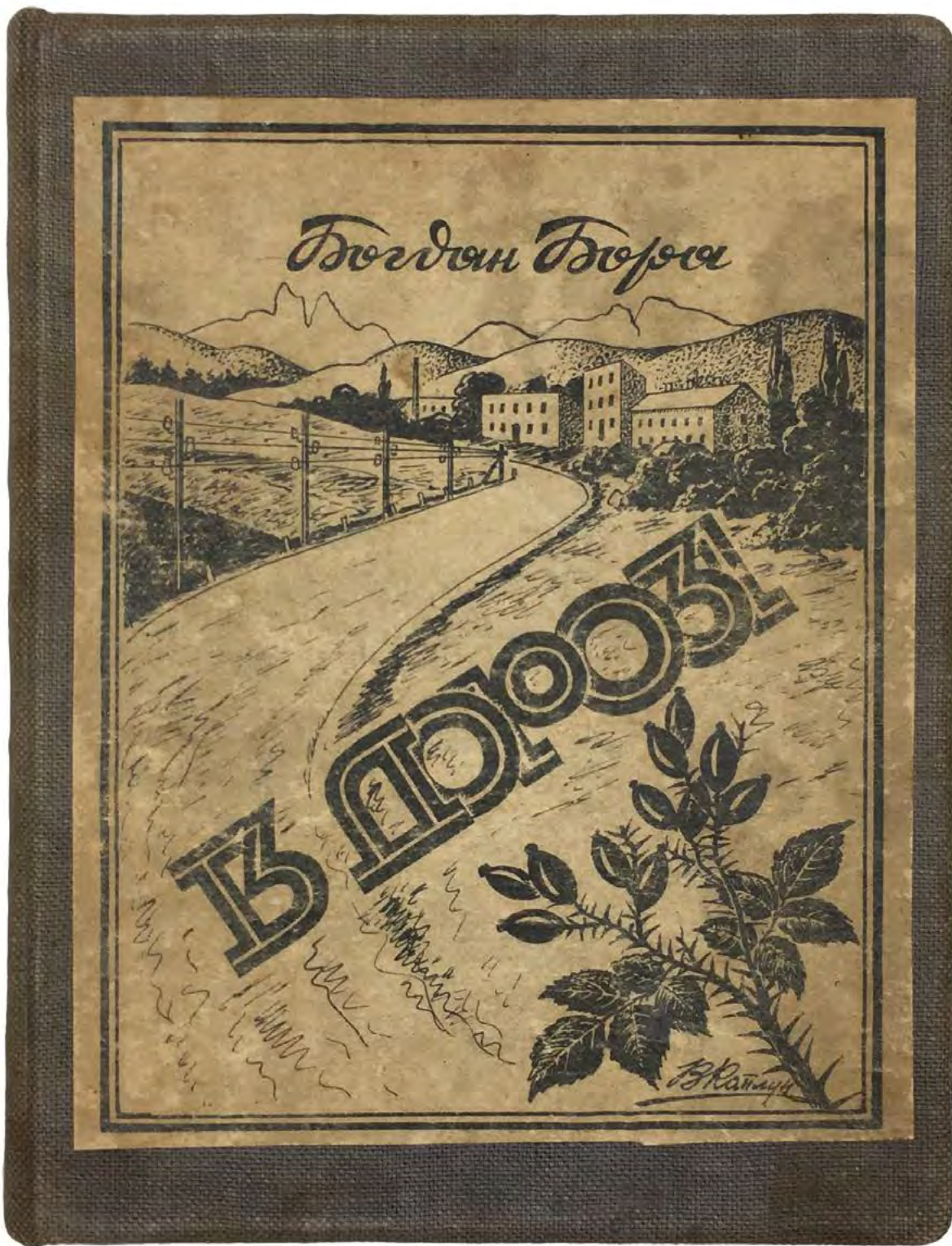
Bogdan Bora was captured by British forces at the end of World War II, and remanded to a prison camp in Rimini, Italy, where he spent the following two years, publishing three poetry books, including *B dorozh* [V dorozh / On the Road].

Bora's poems, written in Ukrainian, are moving works, evocative of the turbulent era. The cover design and the portrait of Bogdan Bora (on the second page) were made by fellow inmate Volodimir Kaplun. As mentioned on the last page, *V dorozh* was printed in only 280 examples.

In 1947, Bora was moved to Britain, where he was given his freedom, and lived out the rest of his days. He was active in the Ukrainian community and continued publishing books, including educational texts on the Ukrainian language.

Today *V dorozh* is very rare, we can trace only 6 examples in institutional holdings worldwide.

**References:** OCLC: 77326441.



24. [TURKISH BRIGADE ARCHIVE – KOREAN WAR:]

***A stellar archive of apparently unrecorded ephemeral publications and original photographs contemporarily made by members of the Turkish Brigade, the special force that bravely fought alongside the U.S. Army during the Korean War.***

This is an archive of stellar quality concerning the Turkish Brigade, the special infantry force that joined the United Nations Coalition (led by the United States) during the Korean War (1950-3). The exploits of the Turkish Brigade represented the first major international military operation engaged by Turkey since the end of that nation's war of independence in 1923. The Brigade fought with great distinction, and its contribution was aptly summed up by A.K. Starbuck: *"The Turks acquitted themselves in a brave and noble fashion in some of the worst conditions experienced in the Korean War. Very little else could have been required or expected of them. Their heavy casualties speak of their honor and commitment. Their bravery requires no embellishment. It stands on its own."* Due to the achievements of the Brigade in Korea, Turkey won global respect as a military power and full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The present archive consists of six parts. First, are four issues of *Savaş Dönüşü* [Return to War], a seemingly unrecorded magazine produced in 1951 by Turkish Brigade members as they sailed aboard a ship on their way from Turkey to Korea. Second, is *Korea ve Harp* [Korea and the War], an apparently unrecorded history of the war mimeographed in Korea by Turkish troops in 1954, illustrated with eight maps. Third, is the final issue of the apparently unrecorded magazine, *North Star*, printed aboard a ship by Brigade members sailing back home to Turkey. Fourth, is an original mimeographed list of a party of Turkish soldiers who were slated to sail home from Korea after serving their tour. Fifth, is an unusually large and elaborate photomontage made as a memento for a Turkish Brigade soldier shortly before he deployed for Korea. And last, but certainly not least, is a collection of 115 original photographs taken by Turkish soldiers, both in Korea and during related travels, featuring valuable documentary content.

# SAVAŞ



Çıkaranlar:  
Basıl

glu, K. Cümbüşel

DÜNYA HABERLERİ:

Pakistan

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Tu

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Amer

\* Merkez... ki mey... silerin ge... vetleri ba... ti cephesin... stratejik tep... ler daha alin...

\* Evvelsi sun y... ki toplantidan sonra B.M.Karargahinden yayımlanan tebligde bir çok uzlastirici teklifler üzerinde anlaşma lara varildigi zikredilmektedir. General Ridgway'in yanında bulunan B.M.Muta reke komisyonu baskani Amiral Jey, dun Tok

Harekatimizi bir de kendi kendimize kıymetlendirelim:

Tabiye ve sevk idare sahasındaki u-fak tefek noksanlarımız (evet noksanlarımız hariç savaşlarımızın hangisi bizim için u-tandırıcı oldu?..

İlk ve en büyüğü olmasına rağmen (Kunuri) bölgesindeki hareketimiz, insan ve malzemece bize çok azir gelmişti. Üç günlük çarpışmalar Korede birinci defa harbin seyrini değiştirmede mi? Evet Tugay mensu...

USNS GEN.R.M.BLATCHFORD (T-AP 153)



# NORTH STAR

KORE TÜRK SİLAHLI KUVVETLERİ GAZETESİ



SAUVENIR EDITION

## The Contents of the Archive in Focus:

### Part 1:

**Refik SOYKUT, Nazmi OZOGLU and Dr. K. CUMBUSEL, Editors.**

***Savaş Dönüşü* [Return to War], 4 Issues, Nos. 3, 8, 15 and 20.**

**[Red Sea / Indian Ocean / Pacific Ocean:] Aboard the ship *USNS General C. C. Ballou* (T-AP-157): September 30, October 5, October 13, and October 18, 1951.**

Each 4° Broadside, printed on both sides, mimeographed text with illustrated title.

Present here are four issues of *Savaş Dönüşü* [Return to War] (being nos. 3, 8, 15 and 20), a broadside magazine mimeographed by members of the Turkish Brigade aboard the ship, *USS General C.C. Ballou*, travelling en route from Turkey to Korea, in September and October 1951. Under a cartographic title (depicting the outlines of both Turkey and Korea), each issue features news stories from home and reports on the war action in Korea (all acquired from the ship's radio), as well as short articles, poems, humorous vignettes and inspiring quotations. The work is meant to lift the spirits of soldiers who understood that they were headed into a ferocious conflict. It follows a tradition of soldiers publishing their own periodicals during long sea voyages, which first became popular during the World War I era, although all such works tend to be extremely rare today.

The present issues of *Savaş Dönüşü* were made by members of the second combat rotation of the Turkish Brigade, which was slated to replace the units that had arrived in Korea in October 1950. The troops in transit were apprised of how their predecessors had fought heroically in several brutal altercations, notably the Battle of Wawon (November 1950), the Battle of Kumyangjang-Ni (January 1951) and the Chorwon-Seoul Diversion (April 1951), so there was no ambiguity concerning what awaited them.

The *USNS General C.C. Ballou* (AP-157) was a General G.O. Squier-class transport ship that had been seconded for transporting members of the Turkish Brigade from Turkey to Korea. Indeed, most of the Brigade members were transported aboard American vessels, as the Turkish Navy lacked such mass long-distance capabilities. The present issues of the magazine were made aboard ship after it had cleared the Suez Canal, but before its final approach towards Korea.

*Savaş Dönüşü* is seemingly unrecorded – we cannot trace even a reference to the periodical, let alone the locations of any other surviving issues. This is perhaps not all that surprising, as the issues would have been produced in only a very small print run and would have had a low survival rate due to their ephemeral nature.

## Part 2:

**4 NCÜ TÜRK TUGAYI. II NCI ŞUBESİ. [4th TURKISH BRIGADE. 2nd DIVISION].**

***Korea ve Harp. 1 Haziran 1954. [Korea and the War. June 1, 1954].***  
**[South Korea:] 4 ncü Türk Tugayi. II nci Şubesi [4th Turkish Brigade. 2nd Division], June 1, 1954.**

Small 4°: [1] mimeographed index in blue, 53 pp. mimeographed text in blue, including 1 blue mimeographed folding map and 7 full-page maps, original paper wrappers with mimeographed blue illustrated cover, stapled (Very Good, slightly age-toned, small marginal tears, pagination partially in manuscript).

This is an apparently unrecorded stand-alone publication made by a division of the Turkish Brigade in the late spring of 1954, around ten months after the end of hostilities, being a short history of the Turks' dramatic adventures during the war. It is historically significant in that it is a rare first-hand account of seminal events of the Korean War, contemporarily written and published in the theatre by its protagonists. The work is beautifully mimeographed in blue ink and is illustrated with eight custom-made maps of military action.

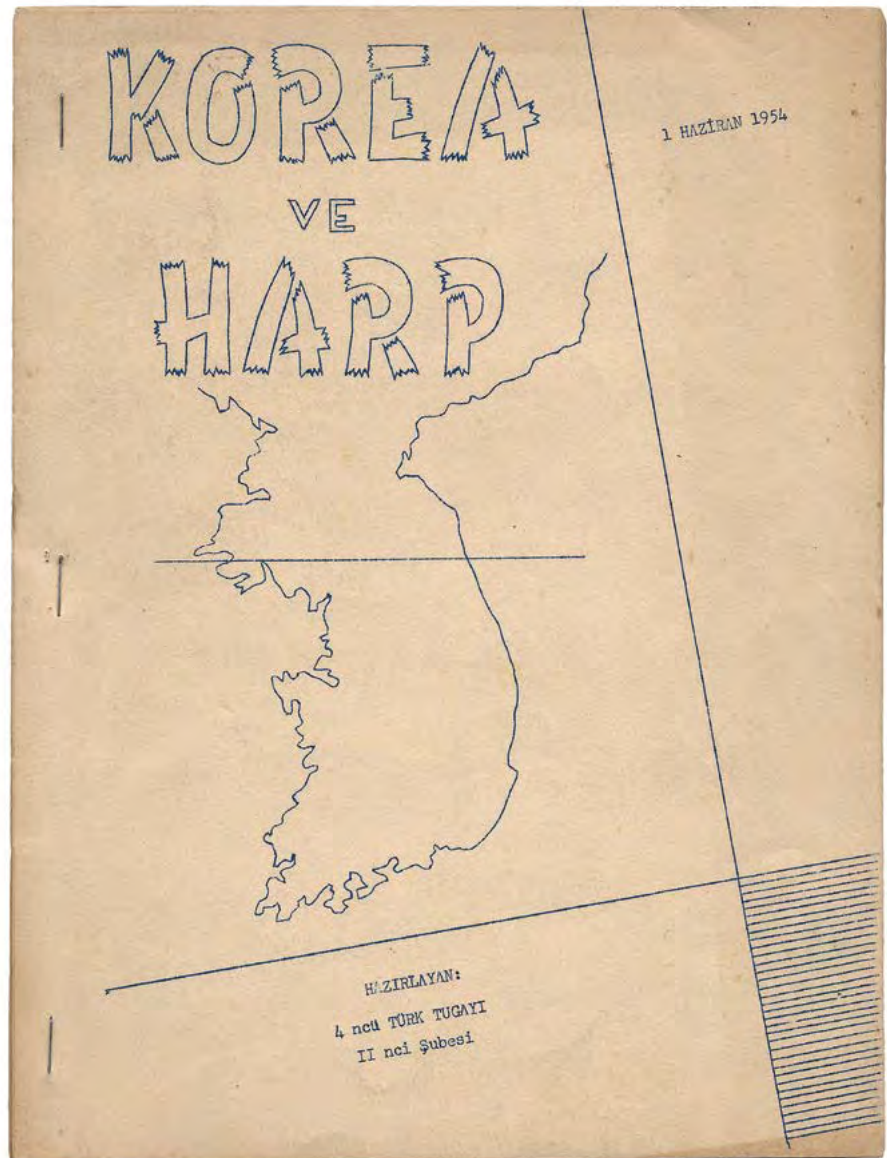
*Korea ve Harp* is divided into various sections, each packed with curious information and statistics. First, is a discourse on Korean history, religion, geography, as well as an explanation of the Korean alphabet. Next, is a history of the Korean War, including details on the protagonists and specific battles (including the numbers of soldiers that fought in each engagement, along with casualty statistics).

The first of the eight attractive maps depicts the historical peninsula, divided into the traditional Three Kingdoms of Korea. The following seven maps depict the course of major military land operations in Korea, from November 25, 1950 to July 1951, in which the Turkish Brigade played a central role. For instance, the battles of Wawon and Kumyangjang-Ni and the Chorwon-Seoul Diversion are specifically detailed.

Following the maps, are meticulous lists of the Turkish Brigade soldiers then serving in theatre, including their names and registration numbers. Solemnly, this is followed by another list detailing the Turkish fallen soldiers, inducing their names, battalions, ranks, the names of their fathers and their places of birth. Finally, is a list of the locations of the fallen soldier's graves in the cemetery in Pusan, including their names, dates of death, and their grave numbers within the appropriate sections of the graveyard.

The listing of the fallen soldiers was not only important as a tribute to their sacrifice, but it also had a crucial practical purpose. Regarding the fallen soldiers whose bodies were yet unaccounted for, the United Nations Command was then preparing for *Operation Glory*, the programme to exchange soldiers' remains with North Korea, a process which lasted from July until November 1954.

We have not been able to trace even a reference to *Korea ve Harp*, let alone the locations of any other examples.



### Part 3:

[TURKISH BRIGADE].

*North Star. Veda Sayısı. Kore Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Gazetesi. Souvenir Edition.*

[Korea Turkish Armed Forces Newspaper. Farewell Edition]. USNS GNS.

R.M. Blatchford (T-AP 153), Voyage 33, Number 9.

[Eastern Mediterranean Sea:] Aboard the ship USNS GNS. R.M. Blatchford (T-AP 153), July 11 – August 4, 1954.

4°: 4 pp. mimeographed text with 2 illustrations within text, original cover with mimeographed illustrated title, stapled (Very Good, soft vertical fold, slightly stained, minor marginal tears).

This magazine was mimeographed by members of the Turkish Brigade aboard the ship *USNS General R. M. Blatchford*, en route from South Korea to Turkey. Specifically, it was printed as the vessel was sailing somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, having cleared the Suez Canal, on the final stretch towards Turkey. It was issued in early August 1954, just over a year after hostilities in the Korean War had ceased, and so the party that created this magazine included troops from the last Brigade rotation to have seen active combat. The magazine is named ‘North Star’ (Turkish: *Şimal Yıldızı* or *Kutup Yıldızı*) after the code name of the Turkish Brigade.

In line with similar soldiers’ periodicals published aboard ship during long voyages, *North Star* features amusing and morale-boosting short stories, poems, patriotic quotations and humorous vignettes, as well as reports concerning the journey itself.

The Turks were travelling aboard the American navy vessel, the *USNS General R. M. Blatchford* (AP-153), a General G.O. Squier-class transport ship that had been launched in 1944, during World War II.

According to the headers of the magazine, this trip marked the 33rd voyage of the ship, and this issue was the 9th, and supposedly final, issue of *North Star*.

We have not been able to trace even a reference to any of the issues of the magazine, let alone the locations of any other examples.

#### Part 4:

[TURKISH BRIGADE].

*Birinci kafil ile yurda gidecek Asb. Isim cetveli.* [Soldiers who will Return Home with the First Group / Name Table].

[South Korea, circa 1951 - 1954].

4°: 3 pp. mimeographed, stapled, with final entry contemporarily added in manuscript (Very Good, toned, slight marginal chipping).

This is an archivally important original mimeographed list, printed in South Korea, detailing a party of Turkish Brigade soldiers who were scheduled to imminently return to Turkey. The printed list features 151 soldiers, while a final name (no. 152) has been contemporarily added at the end in manuscript. The name of each soldier is accompanied by their serial number, unit, rank, and tag number.

Most of the Turkish Brigade troops were meant to be rotated out of the Korean theatre after serving a one-year tour of duty. While the undated list describes the party in question as being of the "First Group", it is not clear as to what this means, although this list is thought to date from sometime between the autumn of 1951 and the spring of 1954. Further research will undoubtedly succeed in determining the party's exact date of departure.

#### Part 5:

Anon.

*"Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh."* [Peace at Home, Peace in the World].

[Probably Turkey, circa 1950 - 1952].

Photomontage, of retouched black and white photographs, with added full original hand-colour (Good, long repaired tears, but with no significant loss), 49 x 60 cm / 19.5 x 23.5 inches.

This is an unusually large and highly decorative original photomontage made for an anonymous Turkish Brigade soldier, depicting his portrait, a map of the Korean War theatre, and the figure of a lady, adorned with a Turkish flag and carrying a torch, personifying 'peace', following a common motif in both contemporary Turkish and international iconography. The title of the work is taken from the banner which appear on the wreath behind the lady, which reads: "Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh" [Peace at Home, Peace in the World], being a phrase coined in 1931 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the late founding President of Turkey, which subsequently became the motto for the nation's foreign policy. In the foreground is the figure of 'Everyman', or in this case 'Every Soldier' whose destiny is controlled by his fate, here symbolically represented by the map.

While a matter of educated speculation, the present photomontage was likely made in Turkey at the behest of a Turkish Brigade soldier who was about to depart for

Korea and was likely given as a memento to a loved one. The soldier was almost certainly part of the annual Brigade deployments, from the autumn of 1950 to the autumn of 1952, that expected to see combat duty. While the creation of such photographic mementos had been a common custom amongst soldiers from across Europe since World War I, the present composition is far larger and much more elaborate than general. We can assume that the anonymous Turkish soldier was well-off, as this piece would have been very expensive, not to mention technically difficult, to produce.

The photomontage is a unique survivor, and we have not been able to trace the existence of a remotely comparable piece.



## **Part 6:**

### **[Collection of 115 Original Turkish Brigade Photographs].**

**Variously taken in Seoul; Pusan; along the war front in Korea; Tokyo; and aboard ship sailing between Korea and Turkey, 1953 & 1954.**

115 original black and white photographs, variously ranging between 9 x 7 cm (2.7 x 3.8 inches) and 17.8 x 12.7 cm (7 x 5 inches), almost all originally dated and annotated in manuscript on verso in Turkish, save for 2 photos which feature typed pastedown labels in English on verso (Very Good, some tiny folds in corners), all loose-leaf, but housed within a contemporary U.S. Army Records Jacket (slightly worn, small marginal tears).

This a large and fascinating collection of original photographs taken in 1953 and 1954 by members of the Turkish Brigade, mainly in Korea (variously in Seoul, Pusan, and along the battle front), but also while 'on leave' in Tokyo, Japan, as well as during the homeward sea voyage between Korea and Turkey.

Many of the photographs are portraits depicting a Turkish soldier in various surroundings, with different backgrounds, amidst various weather conditions, and sometimes in the company of others.

Importantly, there are many photographs featuring valuable documentary content. These include various scenes from the war front in Korea; photographs of mosques, both of a make-shift nature in field encampments, as well as a grand edifice in Tokyo; scenes involving both Turkish and American soldiers; candid scenes of life on base; poignant scenes at the Turkish military cemetery in Pusan, including a funeral service; as well as pictures taken during the return voyage home.

Almost all the photos feature, on the verso, detailed annotations in manuscript giving the date and context of the scene, while 2 photos are labelled, on the verso, with pastedown captions in English.

## The Turkish Brigade: Honour and Sacrifice in Korea

The story of the Turkish Brigade is undeniably one of the most fascinating and surprising aspects of the Korean War, and while well-known within Turkey and by enthusiasts of the history of the conflict worldwide, it has today largely escaped the consciousness of the Western public.

The Korean War (June 25, 1950 – July 27, 1953) was an epic conflict, whereby a United Nations Coalition (spearheaded by the United States) sought to repulse the invasion of the Western-backed republic of South Korea by North Korea, a Communist state that was soon to be joined by China. The showdown was the first large-scale international contest between the West and the Communist world, and it proved that, on many occasions, the Cold War was in fact 'red hot'. The conflict see-sawed back and forth, at different times it seemed that one side was about to be annihilated, only for it to recover and repulse its opposition, thereafter assuming an offensive posture.

Significantly, the contest revealed that America in the wake of World War II was, contrary to popular assumptions, not invincible, while Chairman Mao's China proved its mettle on the international stage for the first time. While the UN Coalition technically won the war, by successfully rescuing South Korea from North Korean-Chinese conquest, the conflict is generally seen as a stalemate, as the Communist forces held their own against technologically superior armies.

In the wake of World War II, Turkey, in part fearing Stalin's Soviet Union, but also wishing to continue the Westernizing, modernizing course charted by the nation's late founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, sought to formally join the Western powers, and hopefully, one day, NATO, its mutual-defence organization. To overcome the misgivings, held by some Western nations, of admitting a largely Muslim, Asian nation into its ranks, Turkey felt a need to prove itself militarily on the international stage. In this respect, the situation in Korea presented a golden, yet costly, opportunity.

On June 25, 1950, North Korea attacked South Korea, overwhelming its defences. This act was held to be against international law, and the United Nations passed Resolution 83, requesting all nations to come to South Korea's aid. The United States was the first to respond, and it both led and overwhelmingly dominated the resulting UN Coalition. On June 29, Turkey became the second nation to sign up, proclaiming that "Turkey is ready to meet his responsibilities."

On July 25, 1950, Ankara authorized the formation of the Turkish Armed Forces Command (TAFC), popularly known as the 'Turkish Brigade' (Turkish: *Türk Tugayı*; code named: *North Star*, Turkish: *Şimal Yıldızı* or *Kutup Yıldızı*) for the Korea mission. The Brigade was a regimental combat team consisting of three infantry battalions, along with supporting artillery and engineering corps. The deployment plan called for the Brigade to have approximately 5,000 troops in the Korean

theatre at any one time, with almost the entire force being switched out annually, replaced by fresh troops. The Turkish Brigade, connected to the U.S. Army's 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, was notably the only brigade-sized force to be attached to an American regiment for the duration of the war.

The first leader of the Turkish Brigade was Brigadier-General Tahsin Yazıcı (1892 – 1971), a highly respected veteran of World War I's legendary Gallipoli Campaign. Yazıcı's experience was notable since Turkey's armed forces had not fought a major international battle since the early 1920s.

The first members of the Turkish Brigade to arrive in Korea disembarked at Pusan (Busan) on October 12, 1950, with the bulk of the force arriving at the same port five days later. From there, the Brigade deployed to Taegu (Daegu) for a brief course of training with the U.S. Army.

Before recounting some of the details of their experiences, it is worth noting that the soldiers of the Turkish Brigade were undeniably brave, motivated, and skilled. However, they also suffered far more than was perhaps necessary, due to two key factors. First, the Turkish troops were deployed to a strange theatre and given unfamiliar American arms and equipment, before being rushed into pitched battle without the proper training. Second, very few Turkish soldiers (including their commanders) spoke even a word of English, and so much was 'lost in translation' with their American allies, sometimes resulting in serious (and theoretically avoidable) miscommunications during battle. The Americans, while well-disposed towards their Turkish allies, proved amazingly oblivious to these problems.

A fascinating and very 'human' account of the experiences of the Turkish troops in Korea was written by Hasan Basri Danişman, an American-born Turkish Brigade veteran, as the book, *Korea 1952: Situation Negative! - An Account of Service with the Turkish Brigade* (Istanbul: Denizler Kitabevi, 2002).

The Turkish Brigade's finest hour occurred early in the conflict. In late November 1950, the U.S. Eighth Army, accompanied by the Turkish Brigade, was fighting the Chinese People's Army in brutal combat in what is today western North Korea. At the Battle of Wawon (Turkish: *Kunuri Muharebeleri*), fought on November 27–29, 1950, near modern Kaechon, the American forces took flight, after the Chinese had surprised them at the strategic road junction at Kunu-ri, decimating their right flank. The Chinese, in hot pursuit, seemed set to finish-off their quarry. However, the Turkish Brigade took a stand, but found itself surrounded by vastly superior Chinese forces. The Turks fought with such bravery and ferocity that they tied-up tens of thousands of Chinese troops, while the Americans made a safe retreat. Amazingly, the Brigade managed to fight its way out of the Chinese trap; however, this came at a heavy price, as it lost 15% of its personnel (218 killed, 455 wounded, and almost 100 taken prisoner) and 70% of its equipment. Curiously, the Chinese had no idea that they were fighting Turkish soldiers until an ethnic

Uighur (a Turkic people) Chinese soldier heard a Turkish fighter utter the familiar word 'düşman' (enemy).

Critically, while the Battle of Wawon was technically a Chinese victory, the valiant Turkish resistance allowed the U.S. Eighth Army to survive to fight another day, with great consequence to the UN Coalition's overall war effort. In December 1950, the United States awarded Brigadier Yazıcı and fifteen of his fellow officers both the Silver Star and Bronze Star medals for bravery, and additionally conferred high group honours upon the Brigade as a whole.

The UN Coalition's Commander-in-Chief, General Douglas MacArthur, aptly summed up the Turkish Brigade's role at Wawon:

*"The military situation in Korea is being followed with concern by the whole American public. But in these concerned days, the heroism shown by the Turks has given hope to the American nation. It has inculcated them with courage. The American public fully appreciates the value of the services rendered by the Turkish Brigade and knows that because of them the Eighth American Army could withdraw without disarray. The American public understands that the United Nations Forces in Korea were saved from encirclement and from falling into the hands of the communists by the heroism shown by the Turks."*

The Turkish Brigade continued to distinguish itself in the field. At the Battle of Kumyangjang-Ni (January 25-26, 1951), the Turks fought off a Chinese force three times its size, although it subsequently suffered great casualties upon repeated North Korean attacks. It seems that language problems, in part, led to inadequate coordination between the American and Turkish forces, causing the battle to be far bloodier than it would perhaps have otherwise been. The Brigade's heroism was nevertheless recognized by President Harry Truman, who awarded the Turkish force the exalted group commendation, the Distinguished Unit Citation (today, the Presidential Unit Citation).

Subsequently, the Turkish Brigade fought hard during the Chorwon-Seoul Diversion and related actions (April 22-23, 1951) and during the Vegas Action at the Battle of the Hook (May 28-29, 1953).

Importantly, midway through the Korean War, the valour and skill of the Turkish Brigade convinced even the most reluctant Western nations, that Turkey would be a valuable permanent military ally. Turkey duly joined NATO, on February 18, 1952, and to the present day maintains the second largest army in the alliance, next only to the United States.

By the end of the conflict, in July 1953, the Turkish Brigade had circulated a total of 14,936 troops through Korea, of which a maximum number of 5,455 was present in the theatre at any one time. The casualty rate was very high, as a total of 721

Turkish soldiers were killed in action, while 2,111 were wounded and 168 were declared missing.

The majority, being 462, of the Turkish Brigade's fallen soldiers were laid to rest at the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Pusan, South Korea, which is home to two memorials specifically dedicated to the Brigade.

As the threat of a North Korean invasion endured even after the July 1953 cease-fire (in fact, no peace treaty between the UN Coalition and North Korea was ever signed), the Turkish Brigade remained in South Korea at full strength (but with the full contingent being replaced annually) for seven years after the war. As such, the Turkish Brigade was not disbanded until 1960.

The exploits of the Turkish Brigade had major contemporary consequences, in addition to an enduring legacy. Importantly, Turkey was henceforth taken seriously by the World as a military power. Within Turkey, several prominent military, political and business leaders cut their teeth during the Korean War, granting them the gravitas to advance rapidly through the ranks in their respective professions in the years following their return home.

The Turkish Brigade was also memorialised in countless books, theatrical works and films, the including *Şimal Yıldızı* (1954) and recently, *Ayla: The Daughter of War* (2017).

**References:** N/A: All archive items seemingly unrecorded. Cf. Hasan Basri Danişman, *Korea 1952: Situation Negative! - An Account of Service with the Turkish Brigade* (Istanbul: Denizler Kitabevi, 2002); A.K. Starbuck, "Korean War: 1st Turkish Brigade's Baptism of Fire", *Military History* (December 1997), online: <http://www.historynet.com/korean-war-1st-turkish-brigades-baptism-of-fire.htm>

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**Dr. Daša Pahor** founded the business in 2006. An art historian by training, she is an expert on Central European and Slavic art, architecture and print culture. Her special interests include rare and unusual international objects, manuscripts, and documents of historical importance, with a particular focus on the 15th to 17th centuries.

Daša is a member of the ILAB and one of the youngest antiquarian dealers trading on a global scale. She speaks six languages fluently.



**Dr. Alexander Johnson**, a historian by training, is an international authority on the mapping of the former British Empire, and generally on cartography. His primary periods of focus are on objects from the 17th to 20th centuries.

Alex's passion for historical research and storytelling enables Antiquariat Daša Pahor to offer buyers of particularly remarkable items a special service: These objects will be accompanied by intriguing facts on their creation, historical context and use, such that they will “come alive” again for their new owners.

