

●PSF

Poland

1944

Jan. -

July

PSF
Poland



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Poland Prime Minister

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*General Watson,
for your
information*

January 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

In view of the fact that I will be away most of the time between the 22nd of January and the first of February, I hope Prime Minister Mikolajczyk can defer his arrival in Washington until after February 1st.

F.D.R.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 13, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

With reference to my memorandum of December 28, 1943 enclosing draft telegrams to Mr. Churchill and Prime Minister Mikolajczyk regarding the postponement of the latter's visit to Washington, the Polish Embassy has advised the Department that Mr. Mikolajczyk has had a talk with Mr. Churchill as was suggested and now desires to proceed to the United States to arrive here, if convenient to you, about January 23.

You will recall that Mr. Churchill in his telegram to you of December 27 suggested that he felt that it would be preferable to postpone the visit of Mr. Mikolajczyk until some sort of agreement had been reached regarding the Polish question. It may be that in view of the latest Soviet proposal for a rectification of the frontier Mr. Churchill may wish again to consult with Mr. Mikolajczyk.

I shall be glad to convey to the Polish Embassy your decision as to the time you will be ready to receive the Polish Prime Minister.

C. J. A.



Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

EE

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted **1/25/44**

ADDRESSED TO

The President

Poland folder 1-44

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

January 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

In compliance with your memorandum of January 14 indicating that you would prefer if the Polish Prime Minister deferred his arrival in Washington until after February 1, a telegram was sent to London requesting that this information be conveyed to the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister replied that he expected to see Mr. Churchill sometime this month and suggested that he might arrive in Washington about February 2 or 3.

Today the Minister Counselor of the Polish Embassy called to inform the Department that an urgent telegram had just been received from the Polish government in London expressing the hope that you might be able to receive Mr. Mikolajczyk as soon as possible since he wishes to discuss with you certain questions covering his conversations with Prime Minister Churchill. The Minister Counselor was informed that you were out of town and that therefore it would not be possible immediately to give a definite answer to this request.

In view of the recent developments in Polish-Soviet relations I wonder whether it would be advisable for Mr. Mikolajczyk to visit Washington in the near future. I cannot help but feel that his visit at this time might be misinterpreted and might be more detrimental than helpful to the Polish cause. With this thought in view the attached telegram to Premier Mikolajczyk has been drafted for your consideration.

C. H.

ENCLOSURE:

To Premier Mikolajczyk

*OK
AJP*

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

NO DISTRIBUTION

U.S.URGENT

AMEMBASSY
LONDON

FOR SCHOENFELD

POLES

While the President has been looking forward to the opportunity to renew his acquaintance with Premier Mikolajczyk, he feels that a visit by the Prime Minister to the United States at this time when efforts are being made to help in the situation might lead to misunderstandings and be subject to interpretations more harmful than helpful. (Your 10, January 17) The President feels certain that the Prime Minister will understand fully the spirit in which this suggestion is made and will realize that at this time it is most essential that nothing be done which might be harmful to the best interests of Poland and that accordingly the visit of the Prime Minister should be postponed until a later time.

Please convey the substance of the foregoing to Prime Minister Mikolajczyk.

LEFECBYW

This memorandum and the accompanying telegram have been sent to the President by wire, 11:55 A.M., January 26, 1944.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In compliance with your memorandum of January 14 indicating that you would prefer if the Polish Prime Minister deferred his arrival in Washington until after February 1, a telegram was sent to London requesting that this information be conveyed to the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister replied that he expected to see Mr. Churchill sometime this month and suggested that he might arrive in Washington about February 2 or 3.

Today the Minister Counselor of the Polish Embassy called to inform the Department that an urgent telegram had just been received from the Polish Government in London expressing the hope that you might be able to receive Mr. Mikolajczyk as soon as possible since he wishes to discuss with you certain questions covering his conversations with Prime Minister Churchill. The Minister Counselor was informed that you were out of town and that therefore it would not be possible immediately to give a definite answer to this request.

In view of the recent developments in Polish-Soviet relations I wonder whether it would be advisable for Mr. Mikolajczyk to visit Washington in the near future. I cannot help but feel that his visit at this time might be misinterpreted and might be more detrimental than helpful to the Polish cause. With this thought in view the attached telegram to Premier Mikolajczyk has been drafted for your consideration.

Enclosure:

To Premier Mikolajczyk.



CA

NO DISTRIBUTION

US URGENT

AMEMBASSY

LONDON

FOR SCHOENFELD

POLES

While the President has been looking forward to the opportunity to renew his acquaintance with Premier Mikolajczyk, he feels that a visit by the Prime Minister to the United States at this time when efforts are being made to help in the situation might lead to misunderstandings and be subject to interpretations more harmful than helpful. (Your 10. January 17) The President feels certain that the Prime Minister will understand fully the spirit in which this suggestion is made and will realize that at this time it is most essential that nothing be done which might be harmful to the best interests of Poland and that accordingly the visit of the Prime Minister should be postponed until a later time.

-2-

Please convey the substance of the foregoing to
Prime Minister Mikolajczyk.

EE:ED:LIS

1/25/44

Gen Watson
to see

Memorandum for
The Secretary of State
The President has
approved without change
the message to be
sent to the Polish
Prime Minister

William D. Haxell

WHD
D
12/14
1/27/47

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal*

March 30, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Poland folder
1-44



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 28, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Polish Ambassador, who has just returned from London, brought the attached letter from the Polish Prime Minister. A summary of the letter and its enclosures is also attached.

Premier Mikolajczyk in the letter again suggests that he is most anxious to come here to discuss the Polish and European situation with you. In presenting the letter the Ambassador emphasized the importance the Prime Minister attaches to such a visit, and he explained that his visit would be most reassuring to the people inside Poland and would indicate that their Government is in close contact and understanding both with the United States and Great Britain. The Ambassador explained that the Prime Minister would spend no more than a week here and would refrain from speech-making or other public contact with Polish groups in this country. In this connection the Ambassador stated that the Prime Minister had issued strict instructions to all Polish officials to refrain from any attempts to inject the Polish question into the domestic political situation here.

The remainder of the letter and its enclosures sets forth the Polish case in a very frank manner and particularly the fear of the Polish Government that the Soviet Government intends to set up a Communist-controlled regime in Poland.

CH

Enclosures:

1. From Premier Mikolajczyk, March 18, 1944, with enclosures.
2. Summary of letter and enclosures.



SUMMARY OF LETTER OF MARCH 18 FROM THE POLISH PREMIER
TO THE PRESIDENT

The attached letter dated March 18 from the Polish Prime Minister to the President was delivered by the Polish Ambassador upon his return from London.

The letter and its enclosures contain a frank and friendly exposé of the position of the Polish Government-in-exile regarding the dispute with the Soviet Union.

The following is a summary of the principal points discussed:

1. The Prime Minister expresses his gratitude for the friendly and abiding interest regarding Poland which the President and the American people have always shown, and he emphasizes the profound hope of the Polish Government and the Polish people that the United States will champion their cause and use its best efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace based upon the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

2. The Prime Minister again indicates that he is most anxious to come to Washington to discuss with the President in a frank and confidential manner the essential aspects of the problem of Poland. He asserts that such a visit would assure the Polish people in their own land that their Government continues to act in closest contact and understanding with the United States and Great Britain.

3. Mr. Mikolajczyk indicates that he realizes that he cannot publicly take a stand on the Polish-Soviet dispute at this time, but he nevertheless wishes to discuss this problem with the President.

4. The Polish Premier emphatically asserts the determination of the Polish Government and the Polish people to continue to fight against the Nazis to the end but adds that in order to be effective in this fight they must receive additional arms for the Polish Underground.

5. The Premier reiterates the decision taken by the Polish Government and the Polish people to have their

Underground

Underground organization make itself known to the Red Army as it enters Poland and to collaborate with it whether relations between the two countries are resumed or not.

6. The Polish Premier again requests that the United States Government use its influence to safeguard and secure fair treatment for the members of the Underground when they make themselves known to the Soviet authorities.

7. The Polish Prime Minister very frankly expresses his apprehension that the Soviet Government desires to communize Poland or set up a Government inside Poland which will be under complete Soviet control.

8. He refutes the charges that his Cabinet is made up of reactionaries by stating that he and the other members of his Government always fought for the full application of democracy, social reform and justice for the masses. He frankly maintains that democracy does not exist in the Soviet Union.

He emphasizes throughout his letter the determination of his Government to establish cordial and friendly but mutually respectful relations with the Soviet Union. In his Government's efforts to attain this end he points out that it has refrained from publishing many facts which if made public would detract from establishing closer relations with the Soviet Union since the Polish Government desires to preserve the unity of the United Nations.

9. The Polish Premier, without going into the details, refers to the efforts made by Mr. Churchill to bring about a compromise of the Polish-Soviet question and indicates that in view of the feeling inside Poland as exemplified by the several enclosures to the letter he feels that the Polish Government can make no further concessions.

REPUBLIC OF POLAND
PRIME MINISTER

London, March 18th, 1944.

Mr. President,

Owing to circumstances I am temporarily unable personally to present to you my views at this time so critical for Poland and, indeed, for the problems of peace. I therefore avail myself of the opportunity of the return to his post of Ambassador Ciechanowski to send you this personal letter.-

In the first place I should like, Mr. President, to express to you on behalf of the Polish Government and on my own our deepest gratitude for your friendly and abiding interest in the fate of Poland. Your interest is one of the most important factors in maintaining the morale of the Polish nation and its indomitable resistance in the face of inhuman oppression.

I need hardly stress that the Polish people regard you, Mr. President, and the American people as the trustees of the principles for the triumph of which our United Nations' camp is fighting.

I am fully conscious of the considera-

tions which, for the time being, prevent the United States Government from publicly defining its stand on particular European problems. My urgent desire to pay you a personal visit at this time was not inspired by the intention of appealing to you to do so. I am, however, most anxious to have an early opportunity, at your convenience, frankly and confidentially to discuss with you the essential aspects of the problems of Poland, justly regarded as the test case of the great issues involved. Moreover, my visit would assure the Polish people, especially at this crucial moment, that their Government continues to act in closest contact and understanding both with the United States and Great Britain.

I will not enter into a detailed recapitulation of the course of events relating to the difficulties encountered in our attempts to find a solution of the outstanding differences existing between the Soviet and Polish Governments. I know that you are fully conversant with all these developments and that Prime Minister Churchill is keeping you informed about his untiring efforts at mediation between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government which he has kindly undertaken at our request.-

The Polish Government sincerely tends to reach an understanding with the Soviet Government which would allow their fullest and most effective joint action against the common enemy, thus, forming a solid basis for postwar neighbourly collaboration. The Polish Government considers that, in its efforts to achieve

this aim, it has gone as far as a constitutional Government, conscious of its duties and of its responsibilities to its nation, can go.- Our Government has always acted in closest understanding with and within the limits defined by the Polish Nation. Only thus can our Government conserve its full value for the United Nations including the USSR.-

I am sure that you will agree that at this time, when the whole future of mankind is involved, it is imperative to face reality in a spirit of sincerity and truth on which alone the future of international relations and durable peace can be founded.

I am firmly convinced that Nazi totalitarianism and its drive for world mastery shall be destroyed. But will not Poland, and later Europe, be overwhelmed against their will by a new wave of communist totalitarianism? Can the nations condemned to the rule of such a new totalitarianism agree to accept its tyranny?

Never, as far as Poland is concerned.

The masses of Polish small farmers, anxious to build their prosperity not in collective farms but in individual farmsteads, will never agree to it. The feelings of the Polish working classes are best reflected in the enclosed letter addressed by them to Mr. Attlee, the British Deputy Prime Minister, which is worded with the urgency of despair.

All the classes of the Polish nation want to build a better future for the country and its citizens on a basis of

private enterprise, supplemented by State economic planning and economic, social and political selfgovernment. The views of the population of Poland are best expressed in the enclosed messages received by me from Poland, dated January 6th, January 15th, and February 15th 1944.

The present war has proved that wars cannot be localised. The development of technical means of total war makes it impossible, even for the strongest power, to win a world war single-handed. Collaboration of all of us is indispensable if autarchic systems are to disappear, and nationalisms are to be reduced. Political and economic collaboration must be closer than before to bring about the establishment of the future world order. That is why the coordination of the policy of the great powers and their collaboration with the smaller powers already in the course of the war is so important to the future peace.

The responsibility of the great powers will be ever greater inasmuch as they will be called upon to safeguard, apart from their own security, that of smaller nations, their freedom and especially the freedom of the individual throughout the world.

To achieve this aim it appears to me essential to realize the full truth of the existing situation.

Unfortunately public opinion is frequently being led to accept entirely false views on Europe, and particularly on Poland.

I fully share the admiration inspired by the heroism of Soviet soldiers fighting in the defence of their country against the German invader. I also appreciate the realism of Marshal Stalin whose word can limit the political aims of world communism.

I am afraid, however, that public opinion may be bitterly disappointed should it discover that the widely publicised social changes and the alleged democratisation of the Soviet Union are in fact but a combination of old Russian imperialism with communist totalitarianism which has not abandoned its former ambition for world rule.

Therefore it appears to me wrong to lead public opinion to believe that democracy exists where in reality it does not and cannot exist for a long time, as this is fraught with the danger of causing deep disillusionment and even unhappiness in nations who may be subjected to a rule which while recognizing the freedom of the State, denies that of the individual.

It may also create disillusionment in business circles which expect freedom of trade relations in the future.

The deepest disappointment, however, will be that of the working classes now rightly impressed by the fighting valour of ^{the} Soviet people but misled to believe that labour's greatest aspirations and democratic ideals have been achieved in the Soviet Union.

I regard the maintenance of Allied solidarity as essential and imperative in our common fight.

I therefore observe with profound misgiving the

activity of German propaganda, hitherto completely disbelieved, which now succeeds in rebuilding the German morale - shattered by military defeats - by attempting to prove that the Allies are aiming not only at solidarity in battle, but also at a compromise which would open the door of Europe to communism.

It is difficult to estimate how far the declared Soviet intentions towards Poland and the Baltic countries have already influenced the attitude of Turkey and Finland - thus affecting directly military operations. It is likewise difficult to say what consequences it may cause in European countries under German occupation.

One thing is certain, - Nazi occupied Europe was decidedly anti-German and the hope of its rapid regeneration after its liberation was justified. The activities of communist agencies brought about disunity and fear of chaos, for these agencies have endeavoured in every country to achieve supremacy, less for the purpose of strengthening the struggle against the Germans, than for that of establishing communism in the countries concerned.

The concealment of truth on which this situation is based is more detrimental to the Polish nation than to others. Once more I must stress that I am most anxious to preserve Allied unity. History will reveal how - in spite of violent criticisms of the Polish opposition at home and abroad - General Sikorski's and my own Cabinet have refrained from publishing the true facts

which would have enlightened public opinion regarding Poland's situation and the methods used by Russia in her dealings, and her intentions as regards my country. We have refrained from publishing such facts, although this is clearly against our interests, because we were anxious to reach an understanding with the USSR and to safeguard the unity of the Allies. Our reticence is, however, exploited by Russia, thus placing us in an intolerable position.- Thus, the Polish Government, responsible for the welfare of our country, is deprived of the elementary right of defence of its national interests and the right of the weaker to appeal for help to the stronger, in the name of the principles and ideals enunciated by you, Mr. President, in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms and many other statements which have won the respect and approval of the entire world.

The accusation of collaboration with the enemy, applied to the Polish nation and to the leaders of its underground movement fighting the Germans in conditions of extreme hardship, is monstrous. Coming from those who partitioned Poland in 1939 together with the Germans, it is a brutal insult to those who fight and die in the underground battle of Poland and are guilty of no other crime than the refusal to turn Poland into a communist country.

The accusation that the Polish Government is undemocratic, when in reality it is composed of men who by their origins and by their lifelong struggle for democracy have proved

their sincere attachment to democratic ideals, is slanderous. It is a serious wrong to insult that Government which enjoys the confidence of its nation and is its expression, merely because it refuses to countenance the cession of eleven millions of its citizens to a country where individual freedom is unknown. Nor can one blame it for refusing to hand over half of its national territory, to agree to the transfer from Eastern Poland of at least 5 million Poles, in exchange for the transfer of millions of Germans, or because it apprehends the prospect of a turning tide which within 50 years or so, in accordance with the changing European political situation, may once more cause the shifting of populations on its territory.

It is the greatest insult to accuse the Polish soldiers who have fought since 1939 in Poland, France, Norway, Africa and Italy - in the Battle of Britain in the air, and on the Seven Seas - of a lack of fighting spirit. While American and British soldiers are rightly promised already now employment and better conditions after their return home, - the Polish soldiers, airmen and sailors, who come from Eastern Poland, are told that they may never be allowed to return to their homes and their families.

Mr. President, the Polish people oppressed on the one hand and tempted on the other, cannot understand why its great sacrifices appear to have been forgotten. It does not claim payment or reward, but only justice.- It still believes that the rights of the weak will ^{be} respected by the powerful.

The Polish nation cannot understand why, in the fifth year of war, it does not receive sufficient armament and supplies for its underground struggle, at a time when Allied mass production of aircraft and weapons has reached a wonderful peak, and the contribution of the Polish underground army can be of considerable importance. Poland needs these weapons for its final struggle against the Germans. Moreover, she justly fears that, while she may be prevented by lack of weapons to rise at the appointed hour fully armed against the common foe, and to finish the fight she has carried on since 1939, she may be accused of not wanting to fight to the end.

In fact the supply of equipment for the Polish underground army has been virtually stopped since the autumn of 1943, and only a fraction of the planned 300 flights was carried out.

Mr. President, your name is revered by every Pole. The Polish nation looks upon you as the champion of the principles which you have proclaimed with such deep faith and conviction, presenting to mankind a vision of human freedom in a better world.

Our people fighting in Poland's underground army have lost everything. They lay no value on life. They may not reckon sufficiently with realism, while being threatened with the loss of their last hope of freedom and by the prospect of another enslavement. They have faith in you, Mr. President. I am convinced that their faith will be justified.

At the present moment the situation in Poland can

be summed up as follows: As far as the attachment to principles is concerned the Polish nation is united and unflinching.

Its attitude towards the war is expressed in the following points:-

1/ Poland is determined to carry on to the end the struggle against the Germans and asks for adequate supplies of arms and equipment for that purpose.

2/ The Polish people decided, in full agreement with the Polish Government and on its instructions, that our underground army will come out into the open and offer its collaboration against the Germans to the Soviet armed forces as they enter Poland, even if diplomatic relations between the Polish and Russian Governments are not resumed. The Polish underground took this decision although it is aware of the dangers resulting from disclosing its organisation to the Soviets.

I hope that you will kindly forgive this very frank and long letter at this tragic moment for my country. - On behalf of the Polish Nation and Government I appeal to you, Mr. President, to do all in your power to prevent the creation in Poland of accomplished facts; to safeguard the sovereign rights of the Polish State and of its lawful authorities; to ensure the respect and safety of the lives and property of Polish citizens; to safeguard the Polish underground army and administration from the dangers that threaten them after their disclosure to the Soviet forces.

I am convinced that in your great wisdom and statesmanship, and realizing that the case of Poland has a direct bearing on the future peace, you will find the best way to give support to her just cause.

Accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

S. Mikolajczyk

7 enclosures.

Translation of Code Message Received from Poland

List of enclosures to letter dated March 18, 1944, addressed to President Roosevelt by Premier Mikołajczyk.

- 1) Translation of code message dated January 8, 1944, received in London on January 22, 1944
- 2) Translation of code message dated January 15, 1944, received in London on February 7, 1944
- 3) Translation of code message dated February 15, 1944, received in London on March 9, 1944
- 4) Declaration issued by the Political and Social Organization of Underground Poland on January 9, 1944, as published in the "Dziennik Polski" of February 29, 1944, - together with translation
- 5) Copy of letter from the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, dated Warsaw, January 10, 1944, to The Executive of the British Labour Party, c/o Deputy Prime Minister, C. R. Attlee
- 6) Translation of appeal to the Peoples of the World, published in "Rzeczypospolita Polska" on January 15, 1944 (official organ of the Delegate of the Polish Government in the Homeland), together with Polish text
- 7) Translation of "Through Struggle to Victory" (official organ of the Peasant Party in the Homeland) of January 20, 1944, No. 2 (98) - together with original in Polish.

Enclosure 1.

Translation of Code Message Received from Poland
on January 22, 1944.

Following the broadcast to Poland on January 6th delivered by the Polish Prime Minister, M. S. Mikołajczyk, the Political Representation and the Home Plenipotentiary of the Polish Government have sent the following message:

"Mr. Prime Minister, the address delivered by you to Poland on January 6th, was received by the nation as a new proof of unchanging unanimity as to the policy pursued by the Government of the Republic and the whole Polish nation.

"The people in Poland are fully aware of the difficult and grave situation which confronts us by the entering of the Soviet armies on the territory of the Polish Republic without previous understanding and without resuming by the Soviet Government of normal diplomatic relations with the Polish Government.

"In the face of this new trial, the Polish people rally round their Government and under its leadership are decided to do all that will be necessary to save the legitimate rights of the Republic.

"The Polish nation is entirely at one with the Polish Government in their endeavors aiming at the resumption and establishment of good neighborly relations with Russia. At the same time, the Polish nation unshakably insists on and, in all circumstances, will insist on the inviolability of the Polish Eastern boundaries established by the Riga Treaty, and that the Soviet troops occupying Eastern territories of the Republic respect fully the sovereign rights of the Polish State on these territories and the rights of its citizens.

"Basing

"Basing ourselves on the historical rights and the rights laid down by international treaties, we are entitled to expect with confidence that the United Nations, which fight for freedom and justice, and understand and share our point of view, - will oppose firmly any attempts at questioning our rights to any part of the territory of the Polish State.

"Unwaveringly faithful to the letter and spirit of the treaties which bind us to our Western Allies, we are fighting and will continue to fight against Germany until the German invaders will be completely defeated and freedom and peace for Poland and the world established.

January 8th, 1944."

- - - - -

Enclosure 2.

Translation of Code Message Received from Poland
on February 7, 1944.

To: Prime Minister Stanisław Mikołajczyk.

In connection with the Soviet statement on Polish-Soviet relations, we declare in the name of the whole community in Poland that the only lawful and legitimate representative of the interests of the Polish nation is the Polish Government in London, round which all classes and circles of the Polish people, all political parties and groups rally, only with the exception of insignificant groups sponsored by the Soviets. Under the direction of its Government, the Polish nation has been fighting the Germans relentlessly already at the time when the Soviets were in alliance with the III Reich with which they partitioned Poland and assisted Germany in her war against the Allies. In accordance with Poland's interests, the Polish people continue their struggle without interruption at the cost of enormous sacrifices and will not consent to be used as a tool for the plans advanced by the Soviets who again strive for a new partition of Poland and aim at imposing Communist régime on Poland.

The Eastern provinces which the Soviets in their statement now demand were dominated by them in agreement and cooperation with Germany. The plebiscite carried out on these territories under the terror of Soviet occupation in no way represented the free will of the population. The assertion that the fate of these lands was prejudged by the Soviet Constitution is inconsequent and contrary to all conceptions of international law. The Polish nation categorically and firmly reject Soviet aspirations to the

Eastern

Eastern provinces of Poland, reaffirm the principle of inviolability of the frontiers established in the Treaty of Riga and will never agree to new annexation of any part of Poland.

The Polish nation is determined to defend by all possible means the integrity of the Eastern territories of the Republic.

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL UNITY
and
THE GOVERNMENT'S PLENIPOTENTIARY
IN POLAND.

January 15th, 1944.

The Polish nation, after the trying up of our Eastern frontiers with the representatives of the Eastern countries. The Eastern territories which were an integral part of our Republic in 1939 are being annexed to the Soviet Union. It is the policy of territorial integrity of the Polish nation.

The Polish nation, after the trying up of our Eastern frontiers with the representatives of the Eastern countries. The Eastern territories which were an integral part of our Republic in 1939 are being annexed to the Soviet Union. It is the policy of territorial integrity of the Polish nation.

The Polish nation, after the trying up of our Eastern frontiers with the representatives of the Eastern countries. The Eastern territories which were an integral part of our Republic in 1939 are being annexed to the Soviet Union. It is the policy of territorial integrity of the Polish nation.

The Polish nation, after the trying up of our Eastern frontiers with the representatives of the Eastern countries. The Eastern territories which were an integral part of our Republic in 1939 are being annexed to the Soviet Union. It is the policy of territorial integrity of the Polish nation.

The Polish nation, after the trying up of our Eastern frontiers with the representatives of the Eastern countries. The Eastern territories which were an integral part of our Republic in 1939 are being annexed to the Soviet Union. It is the policy of territorial integrity of the Polish nation.

Continued.

Translation of Code Message Dated Warsaw, February 15,
Received in London on March 9, 1944.

To: Prime Minister Mikołajczyk.

Following the report received from you with regard to the proposals made by Prime Minister Churchill to the Polish Government:

1. We agree to the proposed Western boundaries and welcome the pledge of removing the Germans.
2. We do not agree to the tying up of our Eastern frontier with the question of our Western boundaries. The Western territories cannot be an equivalent as their re-incorporation to Poland constitutes in fact the return of territories seized from her in the past.
3. We favor entering into conversations, with the participation of the Allies, with a view to the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviets, on condition of full respect of our sovereignty and of non-ingerence in our internal affairs.
4. We object firmly to any discussions with the Soviets with regard to the revision of the Eastern boundaries. We stand by the inviolability of the frontiers as settled by the Treaty of Riga, which was signed also by the representatives of the Ukraine, for the reason that the Soviets do not want frontier readjustments, just as the Danzig Corridor was not the real aim of the Germans, but aim at the sovereignty and integrity of Poland.
5. No one in Poland would understand why Poland is to pay the Soviets the costs of war with her territories and her independence.

dependence. And no one would understand why Poland went to war against Germany and is waging it for the fifth year. Poland was first to oppose the German invaders, not only in defence of her independence, but also in defence of the freedom of Europe. She was called the inspiration of the world. Even now, in spite of enormous sacrifice, the Polish people are decided to fight against the new Soviet aggression in defence of their own independence and for the freedom of Europe. The Polish nation trust that the Allies and the peoples of the world will understand their attitude and will support it actively.

6. There will be no peace in Europe if, instead of justice and right, violence and force were to triumph. The Polish nation will never surrender to violence and still believe in the bonds of alliance, and trust that, in the interest of all peace-loving peoples the principles of the Atlantic Charter will prevail. For this reason we are of the opinion that the settlement of essential problems should be postponed till that time.

7. We shall not break down nor shall we fail. On the contrary, general collapse and chaos would follow only the surrender to Soviet claims.

8. As we are fully aware of the real aims and methods of proceeding of our eastern neighbour we do not attach any serious importance to possible agreements with regard to the functioning of our authorities in the Soviet occupied territories, because we do not believe that these agreements would be faithfully kept.

9. The Polish people are fully aware of the seriousness of the present moment, and the unity of their views and firm will to

fight

fight for the freedom, integrity and independence of their
Mother Country are complete.

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL UNITY
and
THE GOVERNMENT'S PLENIPOTENTIARY
IN POLAND.

Warsaw, February 15, 1944.

(Translation)

Enclosure 4.

Declaration Issued by the Political and Social
Organisation of Underground Poland.

To the Polish Nation.

In the face of imminent events which will decide of the termination of the war and demand of Poland a great and harmonious effort, elements hostile to the Republic are endeavoring to weaken the unity of the Polish Nation by sowing chaos and diversion.

A foreign Communist agency, calling itself the P.P.R., is acting on our territory in a way which threatens the vital interests of the nation.

According to instructions from outside, masking their true aims and the claims raised by their superiors, falsely exploiting patriotic and national slogans, the Communist Polish Workers' Party and its agencies, such as the so-called "Polish" People's Army, declare their readiness to cede the Eastern territories of Poland to Russia and are in opposition to the Government of the Republic of Poland which enjoys the confidence of the nation, to the Polish Army and to their counterparts in Poland.

In their endeavor to weaken and split the nation's forces in this decisive phase of the war, the communist agencies have set up a Home National Council and a People's Army Headquarters, and are foretelling the creation of a temporary Government.

Irrespective of the insignificance of the forces and importance which the above fictitious institutions may actually represent and which are calculated for effect abroad, the activities of the P.P.R. must be condemned vigorously and energetically as treason of the Polish Nation and of the Polish State.

Only

Only the Government of the Republic of Poland, its Plenipotentiary in Poland, the Commander-in-Chief and the Commander of the Polish Underground Army acting on his behalf, are authorized to issue orders determining the final phase of the struggle against the enemy which has been stubbornly and unwaveringly carried on by the entire nation since the first days of the occupation.

Only the nation, never the foreign agency, can decide about political questions.

The Peasant Party and peasant battallions,
The Central Committee of the Movement of the Working
Masses "Liberty, Equality, Independence",
The National Party,
The Labor Party,
The Military Organisation "East",
Reconstruction Front of Western Poland,
The People's Guard,
The Social-Political Working Committee "Reveille",
Convention of Independence Organisations,
Convention of National Unity,
Fighting Poland,
"Motherland",
Independent Poland Society,
Polish Freedom Alliance,
"Racławice",
The Democratic Party,
The Polish Democratic Party,
Syndicalist Society "Freedom",

Union,

Enclosure 5.

To
The Executive of the
British Labour Party,
c/o Deputy Prime Minister
C. R. Attlee.

Dear Comrades,

We decided to write to you once more at this juncture, when the programmes of the future organisation of the world are being shaped and defined. Your friendship and sympathy have been to us, throughout this war a source of encouragement to persist in our fight. To you, therefore, we address ourselves and beg you to be willing to be the spokesmen of our aims and desires.

We are deeply disturbed by tendencies showing in political discussions in Britain, which, to our mind, may result in fatal consequences for Europe and will open a period of anxiety and troubles the world over. Our anxiety over the future of our nation and of the central and eastern European regions increases with the growth, day by day, of the danger overhanging our country.

We write our letter to the awe-inspiring cracking of the guns of the German squads and public mass-executions in the streets of our towns. Since October, when this method of terrorism and exterminations has first been applied, till the 1st January of this year, 950 hostages, seized in the streets or dragged out of their homes, have been shot in Warsaw only in groups of 10 to 100 - publicly in the squares and streets of the city. This happens in many other towns and villages. Simultaneously, the killing of prisoners continues as of old.

There

There is no doubt that the Germans will go on killing our youth, our workers, peasants, educated classes right to the end of the war, choosing the best people, the most valuable and forceful individuals with the aim of weakening and disabling our nation to the utmost degree. And, parallel to this mass-murder, round-ups and raids go on night and day and hundreds of our men, women and young people are detained. Transports to concentration camps continue in endless processions, and in these camps the Germans have brought to perfection their bestial tortures from which there is no escape, but death. The crematories in the camps burn day and night.

In this fight against the Polish people the Germans use every available means, gas not excluded. In Oświęcim, Bełżec, Majdanek and Treblinka they have built special gas chambers to poison prisoners wholesale. The Germans already embarked upon gas warfare in this war! Not yet on the fronts, - but hundreds of our fellow-citizens perish in gas chambers, serving at the same time as test for various kinds of gas.

Our losses have mounted to 5-6 millions dead - of whom 2.5 millions are Polish citizens of Jewish faith who were murdered last year for the simple reason that they were born as Jews.

This hecatombe of millions of Polish people includes the majority of social and political leaders, scientists, scholars, technicians and a multitude of ordinary working men and women whose only fault was that they remained Polish. Add to this over two millions women and peasants deported to the interior of Germany and over a million driven into Russia of whom only a few succeeded in getting out to the Middle East, while the

great

great majority gradually pass away in the frightful conditions of the Soviet "punitive labor camps". The most active elements, the most needed and vital were chosen, so that they should not stand in the way of the aims of another age-long aggressor against our country and our freedom.

This is the price we have already paid for our decision to fight tyranny.

We know how difficult it is for you to believe all that is possible. A cruel biological extermination of nations is so foreign to you that your imagination simply does not grasp such a terrible picture which we face every day and which reminds every one of us that it is only a question of chance that the life of this or that man will be saved.

And still the last act is to come. Himmler already decided and Frank already sent instructions as to the evacuation of Polish territories. The educated and professional classes and all unable to work are to be destroyed. Those fit to work and physical effort, will be deported as slaves in the wake of the retreating German armies. We know how these orders were executed in the Ukraine. We have no illusions. The Germans will execute the orders in Poland with the same meticulous care.

We do not complain. We want, however, the world to know of our fate so that the sacrifice of our people shall not be in vain. We do not despair, but get ready to face the new horrors. The world may rest assured that we shall fight first before we die. But let it be known that we shall die in thousands and tens of thousands in our fight against the nazi hordes, their tanks and airplanes, their automatic guns and pistols - ourselves

equipped

equipped with the most primitive weapons. We are disarmed. We clamor for arms. The degree of our resistance will be measured by the level of our armaments. We can get that assistance from you, from Britain only. As it is impossible, according to your letter to us, to paralyze the murderous activities of the Germans by retaliation from the air, there remains nothing to us but to hope for salvation through speeding up of military operations and delivery of arms to us.

What our Home Forces, with which we closely cooperate, received, has become a serious factor of defence. But it is insufficient, especially in view of the German evacuation plans. Our first request to you is, therefore, to multiply the arms' deliveries for our Home Army.

Permit us, however, not to confine ourselves to this only. In spite of our losses, our political life continues, and if only for the sake of a historical record let us state that the working classes of Poland preserved all their spiritual fortitude, and that every gap made in our body by the terrorism of the invader is quickly filled by new men ready for work and sacrifice. Our organisations to an ever increasing degree embrace all the working people. The political, military and special organisations of our Party and of the Trade-unions work ceaselessly. As representatives of this vigorous and undaunted movement we have the right and the duty to present to you our political standpoint.

Until now, despite our tragic conditions, we felt certain that our sacrifice will lead to a victorious end for us as well, to the reconstruction of an independent and strengthened republic,

in which the workers and peasants in brotherly union with the non-manual workers will be able to realise the ideals of liberty and social justice.

Our hopes are now shattered. This hope gave us the strength to face death quietly. To-day, however, there is fear in the eyes of our fellow citizens, fear caused by increasingly striking signs of return to imperialistic methods in international relations. Doubts enter our hearts and the painful thought hurts our brains that our people who were honored as "the inspiration of mankind in the fight against nazism" now weakened and bled in the unceasing struggle and laid prostrate tomorrow, is being sacrificed by the great powers to the insatiable greed of Russia. Where conscience raises its voice the conservatives will silence it by an appeal to "statesmanship" while the so-called progressive elements will feel absolved in the partnership with Soviet Russia, which for snobs of all kind has become a symbol of progress.

How well we Poles know this situation. Our history is full of analogies. Were not the three partitions of Poland executed by Prussia in partnership with Russia, in the same fashion as the fourth partition of 1939 by the Nazi Reich and Soviet Russia. Was not Catherine, Empress of Russia, the embodiment of progress for the European snobs of the XVIII century, the Semiramis of the North and the defender of dissidents. Diplomacy watched with indifference the destruction of a nation - for that was "statesmanship".

You do know, however, the communists and communism. You know how they tried to weaken the British people's will to fight

nazism.

nazism. How much, by spreading cowardice in France, they were responsible for the capitulation. You know that communism in Russia is a disguise for the old imperialism, which always tried to devour its neighbours.

We consider ourselves to be members of the western European family of nations. We want to live and to progress with other European peoples. We have once overthrown the Moscow yoke, and we are ready to give our lives once more in order not to be under that yoke again, even if for a transitory period. Even a temporary occupation of Polish territories by the Soviet will magnify the calamities of the German occupation.

You may not know and perhaps you cannot understand the tragic fate of our officers - mainly of the reserve - who surrendered to the Russians after the September campaign. But you do know the fate of Alter and Erlich and you will not think that we exaggerate when, after what we have experienced in our relations with Russia throughout these long years, we expect from a Soviet occupation nothing but a final destruction of the active elements of our nation, in the first place of the socialist movement, which will not agree to any compromise with Soviet tyranny, and which will not betray its ideals of freedom.

Trust us. We do not hate Russia. We want to live on the friendliest terms with her. In the interest of peace, of our economic development and the general progress of our country, we want peaceful and friendly cooperation with Russia. However, our generation still bears in mind the Tzar's predatory attempts to russify our country - and now, after a short respite granted to us by the Russian revolution, we face again the violation of

solemn

solemn non-aggression pledges and undisguised tendencies to grab a part, indeed the whole of Poland.

The creation of an absolute certainty that the sovereignty of the two countries - Poland and Russia - will not be impaired is a condition of a friendly and peaceful relationship. Without that certainty, Russian nationalism and imperialism will always look on Poland as its ready prey on the road to further conquests in the West and South of Europe.

Security and lasting peaceful arrangement in the eastern part of Western Europe are indispensable not only for the welfare of Poland, but also for the welfare of Russia, in order to guarantee her against Russian imperialism.

The fate of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, the integrity of these countries and their security through an international organisation, will decide on the fate of a future Europe. Any concession to Russian imperialism will serve as an encouragement and a price for Russian nationalism.

We are well aware how little moral values count in international relations. However, leaving in the hands of Russia even the smallest bit of land which the Soviets acquired through their alliance with Hitler, directed against the entire democratic world, would absolve the USSR of her policy in 1939-1940 and would amount to approval of that policy. If Russia will not abide by the will of the world to restore also those countries overpowered by Hitler, which has been done with her cooperation, then the future may indeed bring an intensification of the danger from that most powerful empire.

That is why we reject categorically Russian annexation plans

as regards our eastern territories and demand that the pre-war Polish-Russian frontier be maintained. That is why, in full agreement with our party, the Delegate in Poland of the Government of the Republic has ordered that in the event of the Russian armies entering Polish territory, the population not only must remain on the spot and resist the German evacuation, but also reveal to the Soviet armies the fact that a Polish underground administration exists on all territories legally belonging to Poland.

We know that we shall not be strong enough to assert ourselves. It will depend entirely on the Soviets how we shall have to treat their armies - which we, as the appeal of the Government's Delegate put it, will meet as the "allies of our allies" - and whether we shall have to regard them as a new occupation.

When we were signing the peace with Russia in Riga we had left beyond the frontiers of our Republic two million Polish people, who for centuries lived on Ukrainian and White Ruthenian soil. Where are they now? Remnants could be traced in official Soviet statistics, dispersed in the remotest parts of the Soviet Empire. Yet, we kept silent for the sake of maintaining peaceful relations with Russia. We have no claims on Russia now, but we cannot agree to any tendencies of weakening us to-day, when the biological war waged against us by Hitler devastates us to the extreme.

The Polish people for centuries have lived with the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples on the confines of our Republic. Our Party has always been the most loyal friend of the Ukrainians and

White Ruthenians during the lifetime of the Polish Republic, and we always protected them against the abuses of bureaucracy. More than once they have elected our comrades to represent them in the Parliament, thus demonstrating their confidence. We do not hesitate to tell men and women the world over, and especially you, comrades, that the heart of the masses of the people of those areas is filled with fear at the prospect of incorporation with the USSR. The fraudulent comedy of the so-called "elections for self-determination", when people were compulsorily driven to the polls and no political group but the communist party had the right to nominate candidates - was a nauseating exhibition of cynicism of both authors and actors.

We are the more entitled to take such a stand since the major Polish parties, which support the government and cooperate with it both at home and in exile, have solemnly adopted the principle of full equality of all Polish citizens regardless of their faith or nationality. This found its expression in the declarations of the government and guarantees for the future that the national minorities and the Poles will in the future live together in full harmony and friendship on the basis of "equals with equals and free with the free".

It is, however, the duty of our allies to safeguard the rights of the Polish State on the territories which may be occupied by the Soviet armies pushing the Germans westward. It has come to our knowledge that the Moscow conference has taken decisions regarding the obligation of withdrawing forces from foreign territories on the cessation of military operations on the particular areas. If this is not to remain a hollow

promise,

promise, conditions must be created for the work and activities of the authorities set up by the government of the country. The Soviets, paving their way for "faits accomplis", have broken off relations with our government and have created puppet Polish formations in Moscow. It is, therefore, imperative that at the time of Soviet armies crossing the Eastern borders of the Polish Republic, political allied mission should be present there, with the mission to cooperate in the establishment of a loyal relationship between the on-marching Soviet troops and the re-created Polish authorities, to safeguard the lives and the liberties of Polish citizens and to prevent further "faits accomplis".

This is a most acute problem. A satisfactory solution of that problem will serve as a basis and a precedent for future general political settlements.

As to these future settlements, we must categorically protest against and oppose any tendencies to establish a Russian sphere of influence over the Baltic States, Poland and the Balkans. These countries wish and can develop independently. Even the most backward of them are havens of civilisation compared with Russia. The creation of a "sphere of influence" would amount to forcing that European region at least a century back in the development of their civilisation. We fully appreciate Russia's effort in her upward drive. We wish her speediest progress. But the world should be aware that to place any non-Russian areas under Russian influence would retard the development of Russia herself. It will open new sources of national antagonism - for none of these nations will agree to Russian supremacy without resistance. It will foster Russian nationalism and divert its efforts from urgent

problems

problems of internal reconstruction and progress to a struggle against these nations revolting against being forcibly placed under Russian tutelage.

This is not what mankind expects from an allied victory. All human beings the world over aspire to a life of peace, to a socially organised creative work, to a development of the culture of various nations and the pooling of its results in one civilisation embracing all mankind. That is why we aim at the closest union with our neighbours in the north and the east on the basis of uniting "equals with equals, free with the free". That is why we cherish the idea of a Central European Federation, the foundation of which was laid by our government in the Polish-Czechoslovak confederation agreement. Yet hardly born, that scheme had to face a formidable enemy, - Soviet Russia. The Soviets spared no efforts to prevent that scheme from materializing. They attack it by a diversion of the communist bands in Poland who fight the Poles rather than the Germans; they torpedo the federation by means of a group of Czech exiles. How significant it is! Shall this scheme of a new organisation of Europe not materialize for the sole reason that it may guarantee a full independence of Central Europe from both Russia and Germany, an independence which is a prerequisite to international cooperation. We shall fight to the end for that idea. We are convinced that the entire socialist movement of Europe will fight for it and that you, with all your might will be in the forefront of that fight. Such voluntary regional federations will form the foundation of a Union of the Free Peoples of Europe, friendly cooperating in full security, having at their disposal a military force, which

will

will be a guarantee of that security. Russia and other great powers should also be members of that Union. A far flung international cooperation will develop in this Union as well as the consciousness of a European unity and solidarity, and of world citizenship. We are fully aware that we may be told reproachfully how little we can materially contribute to-day to the realisation of our ideas. But the very fact that we daily face death, that in the nearest future we are menaced by an even greater tragedy, - we want to express to you our feelings, to inform you of our aims and ideals which give us the necessary strength to persist in the uneven struggle. And who can know our situation better than ourselves, as well as the situation of that belt of Europe on which our people have lived for a thousand years!

The knowledge that our ideals will be realised in this war and the certainty that our sacrifice will not be in vain enable us to follow the path we had chosen and increase tenfold our strength in our struggle.

This knowledge and this certainty we shall desire from a clear stand of the governments of Britain and USA as regards our basic aims:

To secure our territory against the prospects of a Soviet occupation.

To take into consideration in the operational and strategic plans of the Allies the use of our forces in exile in such a way that they should reach their homeland in the shortest possible time.

Finally - to equip us with arms and munition, so that we

shall

shall successfully resist the German evacuation plans.

This will create an atmosphere of confidence and security so sadly needed in a country which is being ruthlessly devastated.

We write to you in the conviction that our thoughts and aims will be properly reflected and expressed in your political activities.

Central Executive Committee
of the Polish Socialist
Party.

Warsaw, January 10th 1944.

(Translation)

Enclosure 6.

forced to (RZECZYPOSPOLITA POLSKA - January 15, 1944).

To the Peoples of the World

On the eve of the final blow of the Allied forces and of their decisive battles with the Germans, in which Polish forces in Poland and abroad will also take part at the side of our Western Allies, the world should realize the situation of the Polish nation as it is after four years of German occupation, and the part this nation has been playing in this war, its strength, its aims and its hopes.

We opposed the Hitlerite invader fully aware of the heavy responsibilities this would entail, and we do not ask for sympathy when we state the price we paid for our love of freedom. During this war some five million Polish citizens perished in Poland at the hand of the occupants. About three million citizens were deported as slaves to the East and West. Hundreds of thousands were imprisoned or placed in concentration camps where the majority of them already perished. Tens of thousands were shot or tortured to death in Gestapo torture chambers. Hundreds of villages were burnt down with their inhabitants and razed to the ground. There is not one family which does not grieve over the death of one of its members, there is not one home that would not mourn.

We have paid this price of blood because we remained faithful to our Mother country and because we had not broken our alliances, because our nation would not accept any form of collaboration with the invader. We remained Poles, citizens of our State, who remained obedient to our Government which, although

forced

forced to seek hospitality in a foreign country, has maintained its bonds uniting it with the Homeland. Here, in Poland, we have built underground all the forms of our public life: a representation of our Government, an Underground Army, organs of civil resistance, political parties, abundant secret newspapers and a secret cultural life. The Home Political Representation formed a few years ago is composed of the representatives of four main political parties including all social strata and the principal trends of Polish political thought recognizing the sovereignty of the Polish State.

The occupant everywhere meets these manifestations of our independent political existence and from the very beginning strives to break us by the cruelty of his terror. We give blow for blow. Though disarmed since the end of 1939, we do everything to make the Polish soil unsafe for the invaders. Many thousands of Nazi oppressors fell from the hand of the Polish Underground. Many trains were blown up, many detachments of the SS or other police formations were done away with.

A stubborn, constant, unwavering struggle with the Germans is taking place on Polish soil. In order to govern the country the enemy must maintain in Poland scores of thousands of soldiers necessary for the Eastern front, policemen and administrative officials. This struggle is uneven. The nation, almost defenceless, opposes the enemy who is armed to the teeth. In consequence, over 14 per cent of the citizens of Poland perished in that struggle. This sacrifice is all the greater when we consider the fact that the enemy exterminates the most active and valuable elements of the nation. Scientists, clergymen, artists, teachers, technicians,

technicians, officers, intellectual workers of all kind and the great mass of socially and politically active peasants and workers are the principal victims of the invader. The enemy deals his blows so as to make their consequences last for scores of years. He applies everywhere the terrible principle of collective responsibility. And, seeing how difficult it is to break our resistance, he uses his bestiality to an extent hitherto unknown in the history of the world.

Mass executions, in which 2.5 million Jews perished, exceed by their cruelty the darkest legends of ancient times. The ruthless sadism of public executions of Poles, which have been taking place in our country during the last two months, has no precedent in the history of mankind. Since October, 1943, in the streets of Warsaw and many other towns of Poland the shooting of hostages has been taking place. There are days when in Warsaw alone the occupants shoot in the streets and public squares up to 270 men at one time. To heighten the terror, loudspeakers repeat the names of those killed, and give long lists of new "hostages" caught in the streets in the man-hunt of that day, which provide the next group to be murdered. Every day large red posters are displayed with new names. In that manner during a few weeks in Warsaw alone more than a thousand persons perished, and all over the country more than five thousand were put to death. Moreover, prisoners confined in prisons or concentration camps are killed by shots fired from behind or are suffocated in gas chambers by a method applied already for the past four years.

We are fully aware that the Germans are aiming, if not at complete extermination of the Polish nation, at least at such

destruction

destruction and weakening as to prevent any danger from the Polish side for long years to come. Besides, Himmler announces plans for the further intensification of terrorism against the Poles: if the Germans must evacuate Polish territories, our towns and villages will be razed to the ground by order of this hangman, while masses of the population, apart from those fit for physical labor, are to be destroyed, particularly the educated class. This places us in the face of new unspeakable horror and terrible dangers.

Before the eyes of the world there takes place this inhuman crime of extermination of the Polish nation. This crime is ever present in our daily life. It is the duty of all the nations of the civilized world to understand this and to extend a helping hand to the nation which is struggling for its existence to the last drop of its blood. Peoples of the world - we demand from you help in our struggle. We ask for the speeding up of military operations so as to shorten the time which the Germans exploit for our extermination. We ask you to give support to our Government and our Army so that they might return to Poland as soon as possible and jointly with the whole nation take part in the final struggle with the enemy. We ask you to deliver without any delay arms for the units of the Underground Army which maybe tomorrow will be joining by all the Poles in the mortal struggle with the might of the occupant.

Facing the tragic moment of our history, when our nation is menaced by the loss of new millions of lives, we have the right to appeal to you, peoples of the world, to assure us that our sacrifice will not be in vain, that in the new post-war world the

rights

rights and interests of Poland will be respected, - of that Poland, which holds the key position between the East and the West, and which for centuries opposed the Prussian drive to the East and defended western culture and civilisation against eastern barbarism.

We, Poles, faced with most terrible dangers, have the right to ask for the assurance that:

No one shall rob our country of any territories,
no one will have the right to interfere in our internal affairs, while our Government, backed by organized Polish public opinion, will be respected in its rights,
the integrity and independence of the Polish State will be held sacred by the world regardless of how many of us will be still alive after this war.

Such an assurance given by the nations of the world which are fighting for freedom and justice, will strengthen our forces in the struggle with the enemies of freedom.

The National Party

The Polish Peasant Party

The Christian Democratic Labor Party

The Central Committee of the Movement of the Working Masses "Liberty, Equality, Independence"

constituting the

HOME POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

Warsaw, January 8th, 1944.

Als walke ta jest nierówna. Prawie bezbronna ludność i zabrojeni po całym kraju. To jest ofiara tej walce i podjęto już ponad 140 obywateli Państwa Polskiego. Ofiara ta była wielka, że w swojej chwili

niezwykłej

D o N a r o d ó w Ś w i a t a .

W przededniu rozstrzygającego uderzenia sił sojuszniczych, w przededniu decydujących bojów z Niemcami, w których u boku naszych zachodnich Sprzymierzeńców staną do walki także polskie zagraniczne i krajowe siły zbrojne - świat powinien zdawać sobie sprawę z sytuacji Narodu Polskiego po czterech latach niemieckiej okupacji, z jego wkładu podczas obecnej wojny, z jego sił, dążeń i nadziei.

Stawiliśmy czoło hitlerowskiemu najeźdźcy z pełną świadomością ciężkich następstw i nie o współczucie nam chodzi, gdy stwierdzamy jaką cenę zapłaciliśmy za umiłowanie wolności. Zginęło już w Polsce podczas tej wojny z rąk okupantów około 5 milionów obywateli Państwa Polskiego. Około 3 miliony obywateli wywieziono na wschód i na zachód jako niewolników. Setki tysięcy Polaków zamknięto w więzieniach i obozach koncentracyjnych, w których większość z nich już zginęła. Dziesiątki tysięcy rozstrzelano, lub zamordowano podczas tortur w mordowniach Gestapo. Setki wsi zrównano z ziemią, spalono wraz z mieszkańcami. Nie ma rodziny, któraby nie opłakiwała kogoś bliskiego, nie ma domu nieokrytego żałobą.

Zapłaciliśmy tę tak krwawą cenę dlatego, że pozostaliśmy wierni swej Ojczyźnie, że nie złamaliśmy sojuszu, że naród nie przyjął żadnej formy współpracy z najeźdźcą. Pozostaliśmy Polakami, obywatelami swego państwa, dochowując posłuchu swemu Rządowi, który mimo, że musiał szukać gościny na obcej ziemi, zachował wszystkie więzy, łączące go z Krajem. Tu w kraju zbudowaliśmy w podziemiach organy życia politycznego narodu: ekspozytury Rządu, Armię Krajową, Organa Walki Podziemnej, Stronnictwa Polityczne, bogatą prasę tajną i tajne życie kulturalne. Utworzona przed paroma laty Krajowa Reprezentacja Polityczna składa się z przedstawicieli czterech głównych stronnictw, obejmujących wszystkie warstwy społeczne, skupiających wszystkie stojące na gruncie państwowości polskiej wielkie prądy polskiej myśli politycznej.

Okupant na każdym kroku napotyka na te przejawy naszego niepodległego bytu i od pierwszej chwili usiłuje nas złamać okrucieństwem teroru. Na jego ciosy odpowiadamy ciosami. Chociaż już w końcu 1939 r. zostaliśmy rozbrojeni, sprawiliśmy, że ziemia polska parzy stopy najeźdźcy. Nie jeden tysiąc satrapów hitlerowskich padł już pod uderzeniem Polski Podziemnej. Nie jeden pociąg wyleciał w powietrze, nie jeden oddział SS, czy innej formacji policyjnej został zlikwidowany.

Zacięta, stała, nieustępliwa walka z Niemcami trwa na ziemi polskiej nieprzerwanie. Aby tu panować musi wróg utrzymywać w Polsce krociowe zastępy tak potrzebnego mu na frontach wojska, policji i administracji.

Ale walka ta jest nierówną. Prawie bezbronny naród i uzbrojony po zęby najeźdźca. To też ofiarą tej walki padło już ponad 14% obywateli Państwa Polskiego. Ofiara to tym większa, że w swej akcji

niszczycielskiej

niszczyielskiej okupant tępi najczynniejsze, najbardziej społecznie wartościowe elementy narodu. Uczeń, duchowni, artyści, nauczyciele, technicy, oficerowie, pracownicy umysłowi wszelkich kategorii oraz ogromna masa aktywnych społecznie i politycznie ochłopów i robotników - to główne ofiary teroru najeźdźcy. Wróg wymierza przytym cios w taki sposób, aby osłabić nas na całe dziesiątki lat. Na każdym kroku stosuje okrutną zasadę odpowiedzialności zbiorowej. Widząc zaś jak trudnym jest złamanie nas, potęguje swe bestialstwo do granic nieznanym w historii świata.

Masowe egzekucje, ofiarą których padło 2.5 miliona ludności żydowskiej, zaćmiły swym okrucieństwem, najbardziej ponure legendy zamierzonych czasów. Wyrafinowany sadyzm egzekucji publicznych na Polakach, jakich widowiskiem jest nasz kraj w ostatnich dwóch miesiącach, nie ma przykładu w dziejach ludzkości. Oto od października na ulicach Warszawy i wielu innych miast polskich odbywa się rozstrzelanie chwyconych zakładników. Bywają dni, że w samej Warszawie rozstrzeliwuje okupant na ulicach i placach do dwustu siedemdziesięciu ludzi naraz. Dla spotęgowania grozy megafony ogłaszały wielokrotnie nazwiska zabitych i długie listy "zakładników", to jest tych, których chwymano danego dnia w ulicznych łapankach, by sformować następną partję przygotowaną do zamordowania. Teraz krzyczą o tym codzień nowe, rozklejane na ulicach wielkie, czerwone plakaty. Tak zginęło ostatnio w ciągu kilku tygodni w samej Warszawie ponad tysiąc osób, w całym Kraju około 5,000. A pozatym przecież trwa nieustannie mordowanie więźniów masami w obozach i zakamarkach więzień strażem w tył głowy, lub w komorach gazowych, po cichu, starą, cztery lata już stosowaną metodą.

Mamy pełną świadomość tego, że Niemcom chodzi jeśli nie o wytępienie całkowite narodu polskiego, to o takie wyniszczenie i oszabienie jego, abyśmy na długo przestali być dla nich groźnymi. Zapowiedzi Himmlera, mówią przytym o planach dalszego zaostrzenia teroru przeciw polskiego: w razie ewakuowania przez Niemców ziem polskich, mają być z rozkazu tego zbrodniarza zrównane z ziemią nasze miasta i osiedla, a masy ludności poza jej częścią nadającą się do pracy fizycznej, w pierwszym zaś rządzie inteligencja - mają być zniszczone. Stawia to nas wobec nowej grozy, wobec nowych straszliwych niebezpieczeństw.

Na oczach świata odbywa się nieludzka zbrodnia tępienia Narodu Polskiego. Zbrodnia ta jest rzeczywistością naszego dzisiejszego życia. Obowiązkiem wszystkich narodów świata jest zrozumieć ją i podać dłoń pomocną narodowi, który walczy o swe istnienie do ostatniej kropli krwi. Pomocy tej domagamy się od Was, Narody świata. Domagamy się jej w postaci przyspieszonych działań wojennych, by skrócić czas wyzyskiwany przez Niemców dla tępienia nas; w postaci współdziałania z naszym rządem i wojskiem, by mogli jaknajszybciej przybyć na teren Kraju i wspólnie z całym narodem wziąć udział w ostatniej walce z wrogiem; w postaci jaknajszybciej dostarczonej broni dla walczących w Kraju oddziałów Armii Krajowej, która może już jutro skupi wszystkich Polaków w śmiertelnych zapasach z przemocą okupanta.

Stojąc w obliczu tragicznej chwili naszych dziejów, kiedy Narodowi naszemu grozi utrata nowych milionów istnień, mamy prawo zwrócić się do Was, Narody świata, o stworzenie atmosfery pewności, że ofiary

nasze w tej walce nie pójdą na marne, że w nowym powojennym świecie, uznana i uszanowana zostaną prawa i interesy Polski, Polski, która zajmując kluczową pozycję między wschodem a zachodem od wieków przeciwstawiała się parciu prusactwa na wschód i od wieków stawała w obronie kultury i cywilizacji zachodu przed falami wschodniego barbarzyństwa.

My, Polacy, patrząc w oczy najstraszliwszym niebezpieczeństwom, mamy prawo domagać się zapewnienia:

że nikt państwu naszemu nie zrabuje żadnych ziem,

że nikt nie będzie miał prawa ingerencji w nasze życie wewnętrzne, a Rząd nasz, opierając się o zorganizowaną opinię publiczną Kraju, będzie uszanowany w swych prawach,

że całość i niepodległość Państwa Polskiego będzie dla świata świętością, niezależnie od tego, ile nas po tej wojnie zostanie przy życiu.

Pewność uznania przez walczące o wolność i sprawiedliwość narody świata tych naszych, tak słusznych, żądań udziesięciokrotni nasze siły w walce z wrogami wolności.

Stronnictwo Narodowe,
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe,
Narodowe Stronnictwo Pracy,
Centralne Kierownictwo Ruchu Mas Pracujących
"Wolność, Równość, Niepodległość" (W.R.N.)

stanowiące

KRAJOWĄ REPREZENTACJĘ POLITYCZNĄ.

Warszawa, dnia 8 stycznia 1944 r.

Zak. 7.

PRZEZ WALKĘ DO ZWYCIĘSTWA

NR. 2 [98]

K 1

20 STYCZNIA 1944 ROKU

ROK V.

W SPRAWIE
WICHRZYCIELSKIEJ
AKCJI P. P. R.

W CZASACH NIEZWYKLE CIĘŻKICH, JAKIE NARÓD POLSKI przeżywa od września 1939 r., uwydatniły się dwie wielkiej wartości jego zalety. Pierwsza — to bohaterska nieugiętość wobec najeźdźcy stosującego najsrozsze formy przemocy i gwałtu. Druga — to zmyślenie, w której Naród Polski utrzymał się po dzień dzisiejszy wśród zawieruchy wojennej, trwającej przeszło cztery lata. Dzięki swej bohaterskiej nieugiętości Polacy stali się natchnieniem wszystkich narodów, zagrożonych przez zaborczość niemiecką. Dzięki swej jedności — wybili się na pierwsze miejsce wśród narodów chwilowo podbitych, dając dowód wielkiej politycznej dojrzałości, zdobywając sobie uznanie, szacunek i podziw tak w opinii społeczeństwa, jak i rządów wielkich swych sojuszników — Anglii i Stanów Zjedn.

A wyrazem tej jedności narodu polskiego wobec całego świata jest przede wszystkim fakt, że jeden jest tylko Rząd Polski, dzierżący w swym ręku sztandar polskiej niezawisłości państwowej, ster polskiej polityki oraz walki o wyzwolenie i wielkość Polski. Rząd ten, mający poparcie wszystkich największych ruchów politycznych w kraju — będąc rządem jedności narodowej — jest równocześnie rządem demokracji, postępu i sprawiedliwości społecznej. Na czele jego stoją obecnie przedstawiciele polskich chłopów i robotników: Premierem jego jest chłop, przywódca ruchu ludowego, Stanisław Mikulczyński, wicepremierem — przywódca ruchu socjalistyczno-robotniczego, Jan Kwapiński. Ten właśnie Rząd Polski na emigracji i jego Pełnomocnik wraz z Krajową Reprezentacją Polityczną w Kraju — to jedyny, najwyższy kierowniczy ośrodek polskiego życia politycznego, uznawany przez Rządy państw sprzymierzonych i neutralnych, przede wszystkim zaś przez wszystkie odłamy polskiego społeczeństwa. I nie mógł w Polsce nie występować z myślą tworzenia jakiegось innego rządu, który miałby przeciwstawiać się Rządowi Polskiemu w

2
K Tymbardziej żaden z polskich obozów politycznych nie występuje z podobną myślą dzisiaj — w przede dniu decydujących wydarzeń na frontach wojny; w przede dniu tego momentu, na który cały Naród czeka niecierpliwie — momentu decydującej walki o Niepodległość. Do tej ostatecznej decydującej bitwy musi stanąć cały naród w jedności, bo ta jedność jest jednym z warunków zwycięstwa.

Tylko jedno środowisko polityczne na ziemiach polskich, w tak niezwykle ważnej chwili, rozpoczęło wichrzycielską robotę, mającą na celu wywołanie zamętu i zasadniczego rozdwojenia w szeregach polskiego społeczeństwa. Środowiskiem tym są komuniści, występujący pod nazwą Polskiej Partii Robotniczej. Oni to rozpoczęli ostatnio nieprzebiegającą w środkach kampanię przeciwko Rządowi Polskiemu; przeciw jego Pełnomocnikowi w Kraju, przeciw Armii Krajowej — słowem przeciw wszystkim Kierowniczym Czynnikom polskiego życia politycznego i walki podziemnej z okupantem. Oni to między innymi głoszą kłamliwie, że obecny Rząd Polski prowadzi w dalszym ciągu politykę sanacyjno-ozonową, gdy prawdą jest, że właśnie obecny premier Rządu — Stanisław Mikołajczyk należał przed wojną do najwybitniejszych działaczy ruchu chłopskiego w okresie jego bezwzględnej walki z sanacją i ozonem, i że dziś, poza komunistami, żywieli sanacyjne są mu najbardziej nieprzychylni. Cel tej kłamliwej propagandy komunistycznej jest jasny: chodzi o poderwanie zaufania do tego Rządu, aby następnie łatwiej było narzucić społeczeństwu samozwańczy Rząd Tymczasowy, którego utworzenie propagują. Tymczasowy Rząd, powołany do życia z inicjatywy komunistów wraz z ich krajowymi Radami Narodowymi, do tworzenia których wzywa propaganda komunistyczna — w przełomowej dla Polski chwili — o ile udałoby się im uchwycić władzę — nazewnątrz chciałaby występować w imieniu całego narodu, nawewnątrz zaś przygotowywać grunt pod dyktaturę komunistyczną w Polsce, i całą Polskę w ten sposób podporządkować wschodniemu sąsiadowi.

Komuniści z pod znaku Polskiej Partii Robotniczej, posługując się w sposób oszukańczy hasłami ogólnonarodowymi i patriotycznymi oraz hasłami radykalizmu ludowego, usiłują wprowadzić zamęt i rozbić nie tylko do cywilno-politycznego życia narodu, chcą oni również rozproszyć i rozbić, a przez to osłabić żołnierskie szeregi Polski Podziemnej, Armii Krajowej, podlegającej narówni z formacjami Armii Polskiej na emigracji Najwyższemu Czynnikiem państwa polskiego, usiłując przeciwstawić stworzoną przez się tak zwaną Armię Ludową, spokrewnioną z „czerwoną dywizją polską” przy armii sowieckiej i od niej dowództwa całkowicie zależną. Ta robota komunistyczna na odcinku wojskowym zmierza do rozbięcia i osłabienia polskiego wysiłku powstania, którego, wysiłku, który wymaga przede wszystkim jednolitego planu i jednej komendy.

Ale nie na tym koniec! Jeszcze w jednej bardzo ważnej sprawie, w sprawie, w której niema żadnej różnicy zdań wśród wszystkich naprawde polskich obozów politycznych, — komuniści starają się zro-

bić wyłom w jednolitej postawie narodu. Jest to sprawa polskiej granicy wschodniej. Cały naród polski jednolicie i niezłomnie stoi na stanowisku utrzymania granicy wytkniętej przez Traktat Ryski, tej granicy, której Sowiety nigdy przed wrześniem 1939 r. nie kwestionowały, a którą naruszyły dopiero wtedy, gdy Polska krwawiła się w nierównej walce z Niemcami hitlerowskimi. Zaś komunistyczna P.P.R. uważa, że wysuwanie praw Polski do jej ziem wschodnich „jest przejściem na platformę faszystowskiej walki o Lebensraum (przestrzeń życiową)”, że Polska zetem winna zrzec się prawa do tych ziem, cofając się prawdopodobnie aż na linię Bugu i Sanu, to jest na linię, do której doszły Sowiety w r. 1939 na skutek paktu z Hitlerem.

Takiego stanowiska P.P.R. nie można nazwać inaczej, jak jawna zdrada wobec państwa i narodu polskiego.

Wobec powyższego — Stronnictwo Ludowe oświadcza:

Niema i niemoże być żadnej współpracy między Stronnictwem Ludowym i jego działaczami a komunistyczną Polską Partią Robotniczą.

Stronnictwo Ludowe uznaje Rząd premiera St. Mikołajczyka, ma w nim swych przedstawicieli, jest współodpowiedzialne za politykę tego Rządu, i wierzy, że ten Rząd, przy czynnym poparciu warstwy chłopskiej i robotniczej, zapewni Polsce Niepodległej taki ustrój polityczny, w którym masy ludowe będą mogły mieć decydujący wpływ na sprawy państwa, i taki ustrój społeczno-gospodarczy, który będzie odpowiadał ideałom sprawiedliwości społecznej.

Stronnictwo Ludowe stoi również na stanowisku, że może być tylko jedna armia w państwie i że tylko jednolity wysiłek powstańczy, jednemu podlegający Kierownictwu Polskiemu — może dać upragniony rezultat — Polskę Niepodległą. Dlatego też Stronnictwo Ludowe współpracuje z Armią Krajową i Armią Polską na emigracji, podległymi Rządowi Polskiemu w Londynie, harmonizując prowadzoną przez siebie akcje niepodległościową z ich akcją zbrojną.

Stronnictwo Ludowe stoi również niezłomnie na stanowisku całkowitej niezależności politycznej Polski i nienaruszalności jej terytoriów,

Chłopów ludowców, wiernych ideałom Polski Ludowej i swym zielonym sztandarom — wzywamy do wzmożonej czujności wobec każdej wichrzyielskiej roboty, usiłującej wprowadzić zamęt lub rozbicie w szeregach chłopskich — a szkodliwej dla sprawy Niepodległości Polski!

Stronnictwo Ludowe.

STANOWISKO RZĄDU SOWIECKIEGO WOBEK POLSKI

WMOSKWIE OGŁOSZONO OŚWIADCZENIE, WYJAŚNIAJĄCE linię polityczną Zw. Sow. w stosunku do Polski. W oświadczeniu tym Rząd Sow. czyni niesamowite wprost zarzuty pod adresem Rządu Polskiego, który rzekomo — jak się tam mówi — „prowadząc błędną politykę, często działał na rękę Niemcom”. Ponadto że „okazał się nie-

4 zdolny do ustalenia przyjaznych stosunków ze Zw. Sow.", oraz „nie potrafił zorganizować czynnej walki przeciw niem. najeźdźcy”.
K Granice wsch. muszą być — według Rządu Sow. zmienione i być mniej więcej wzdłuż tak zw. linii Curzona (Kerzona). Czyli Zw. Sow. chce zabrać całe woj. tarnopolskie, stanisławowskie, wołyńskie, poleskie, nowogródzkie, wileńskie oraz część lwowskiego i białostockiego. W zamian za to proponuje na zachodzie poszerzenie granic Polski „przez przyłączenie odwiecznych ziem polskich, zabranych Polsce przez Niemcy” oraz utrzymanie „koniecznego dostępu do morza Bałtyckiego”. Pod tymi warunkami Rząd Sow. „dąży do ustalenia trwałych i przyjaznych stosunków między Polską i Zw. Sow.”.

Proponuje też przystąpienie Polski do traktatu sowiecko-czechosłowackiego. Atakując Rząd Polski i sięgając do „nrodu”, Sowiety wyraźnie mówią iż chcą rozmawiać i utrzymywać „przyjazne stosunki” tylko z miłym sobie „rządem”, gotowym na wszelkie zalecenia i ustępstwa.

Rząd Polski pod przewodnictwem prem. Mikołajczyka, w chwili gdy to piszemy obraduje nad wytworzoną sytuacją. Ponadto prem. Mikołajczyk w obecności min. spraw zagr. Romera odbył rozmowy z bryt. min. spraw zagr. Edenem oraz z prez. Czechosłowacji Beneszem.

WYJAŚNIONA SYTUACJA

OD PIERWSZYCH TYGODNI PO WYBUCHU WOJNY ISTNIEJĄ i działają na emigracji legalne władze Rzeczypospolitej. Od pierwszych też tygodni rozpoczęły i prowadzą pracę podziemną w Kraju ugrupowania polityczne, które wzięły na siebie odpowiedzialność za kierunek rządów. U źródeł tej pracy widnieją więzienia, obozy konc., oddziały egzekucyjne i komory gazowe. U jej źródeł spoczywa też śmierć marsz. Macieja Rataja, urzędującego Prezesa S. L., i red. Mieczysława Niedziałkowskiego, przywódcy P.P.S. zamordowanych przez okupanta. Prem. Mikołajczyk, przemawiając przez radio londyńskie, ujawnił, jaka jest tymczasowa organizacja podziemnych władz państwowych. Uregulowana została ona dekretem z dnia 1. XI. 42 r., podpisanym przez Prezydenta R. P. i Rząd Polski z prem. Sikorskim na czele. Na mocy tego dekretu mianowany został w Kraju Delegat Rządu który jest ministrem Rzeczypospolitej. Posiada on uprawnienia szczególne, — uprawnienia wszystkich władz naczelnych w zakresie wewnętrznej administracji państwa oraz wydawania tymczasowych rozporządzeń we wszystkich przypadkach, które w myśl obowiązujących przepisów mają prawo wydawać: Rada Ministrów, Premier i poszczególni Ministrowie. Delegat Rządu prowadzi swoją działalność zgodnie z dyrektywami i instrukcjami Rządu Rzplitej przy pomocy swego urzędu i swojej sieci administr. w ścisłym powiązaniu z Krajową Reprezentacją Polityczną i Komendantem Armii Krajowej.

Sytuacja jest jasna. Ten nie dojrzy, kto nie chce. Wszakże 5
im bliżej końca wojny, tym hałaśliwszą „robotę“ usiłują prowadzić K
różne grupy, grupki i koterie, stawiające ponad wszystko interes
własny, lub, co jeszcze gorsze, — wskazówki i sugestie obce.

W kraju istnieją trzy grupy, które tego widzieć i uznać nie chcą.
Jedna z nich, to sanacja, rozbudowana silnie u góry, a nieistniejąca
na dole, w masach. Posiada ona bardzo obfitą prasę, usiłuje zasypać
społeczeństwo swoimi wydawnictwami. Składa się z kilku, czy nawet
kilkunastu kanapowych grup, które przed paru miesiącami szumnie
obwieściły o „zjednoczeniu“ i stworzeniu t.zw. „Konwentu Org. Nie-
podległościowych“ i „Obozu Polski Walczącej“. Ostatnio obydwie te
sanacyjno-ozonowe grupy zakomunikowały sobie, Polsce i Światu o po-
wołaniu do życia wspólnej Komisji porozumiewawczej. Oznaką, po
której można tych panów poznać, jest tupet, mentorstwo i czarno-
księskie miny. Usiłują żyć atmosferą „ozonu“, i wmówić w naiwnych,
że istotnie czasy ozonowe nie przepadły, jak zły sen. Starają się na-
gwałt odepchnąć od siebie myśl, że czekają wielu z nich nie zaszczyły
i dygnitarstwa, ale — sądy i kryminal.

Druga grupa, to różne „O.N.R-y“, które pod płaszczykiem nazw
i hasel „narodowych“, „katolickich“, „polskich“ itd. usiłują prowdzić
swoją wicherzycielską, szkodliwą działalność. Ich partyjne bolawki,
nazwane przez nich „Narodowymi Siłami Zbrojnymi“, nie usłuchały
rozkazu Ministra Obrony Narodowej i Naczelnego Wodza, i nie pod-
porządkowały się Komendzie Głównej Armii Krajowej. Marzeniem
ONR-u jest uszczęśliwienie Polski totalizmem, podobnie jak Mussolini
uszczęśliwił Włochy, a Hitler — Niemcy i prawie całą Europę. Tworzą
też, czy mają zamiar tworzyć własny „rząd“ i „tymczasową Radę Na-
rodową“ o kompetencjach parlamentu.

Wreszcie grupa trzecia, to komuniści — P.P.R. i jej agendy. Przed
paru tyg. wydali oni „manifest“ pod firmą „demokratycznych org. społ-
polit. i wojskowych w Polsce“. Wśród „organizacji“ podpisanych pod
„manifestem“ widnieje również „grupa działaczy Str. Lud. i B. Chł.“
Kto to i co to jest — wiedzą tylko przywódcy PPR-u. Podszywać się
pod cudzą nazwę, zwłaszcza w warunkach pracy konspiracyjnej, nie
jest trudno. A to, że to jest nieuczciwość, to już najmniej obchodzi
tych panów, którzy wyznają zasadę, iż wszystkie chwytły i środki są
dobre. W „manifestcie“ atakuje się, oczywiście, rząd i oficjalne czyn-
niki rządowe w Kraju, oraz zapowiada utworzenie „Krajowej Rady
Narodowej“, a „w momencie właściwym“ również „rząd“ i „naczel-
nego dowództwa“.

Oto główne ośrodki wicherzycielstwa, szkodnictwa i dywersji.
Chłopi muszą zdawać sobie z tego sprawę i dobrze znać wszystkich
fałszywych i szkodliwych „obiekunów“. Chłopi też — aż nazbyt dobrze
wiedzą, iż ci, co na prawo i lewo szermują hasłem „Ojczyzny“ „Boga“
i różnych świętości, straszliwie często żyją w niezgodzie z najelemen-
tarniejszymi prawami ludzkimi i boskimi.

F ^{K6} RONT ZACHODNI DOWÓDZTWO ANGLO-AMERYKAŃSKIE lotnictwa bombowego sporządziło listę największych miast w obrębie Rzeszy Niemieckiej, które są ważnymi pod względem wojskowym ośrodkami i które muszą ulec zniszczeniu. Systematycznie plan ten jest wykonywany. Świadczy o tym fakt, iż na 45 wielkich miast niem., dotychczas już 36 uległo zbombardowaniu, nie licząc wielkiej ilości ośrodków mniejszych. Tylko 9 dużych miast nie zapoznano się jeszcze z bombami. Są to: Wiedeń, Drezno, Wrocław, Chemnitz, Magdeburg, Halle, Grac, Erfurt, Mühlheim. Z pewnością nie wszystkie z nich będą oszczędzone. Ostatnio były wielkie nocne naloty na Kilonę i Szczecin, oraz szereg mniejszych, między in. na Berlin. Zaś lotnicy ameryk. w biały dzień zbombardowali największe niem. fabryki samolotów w Brunzswigu, Halberstadt Oensleben. Amerykanie stracili 64 samoloty niszcząc wiele olbrzymich fabryk oraz ponad 100 myśliwców niemieckich. Był to nalot kosztowny, ale — bardzo skuteczny.

FRONT WSCHODNI Wojska sow. wbiły się klinem w nasze woj. Wołyńskie, zajmując Sarny (60 km. od granicy, ok. 300 km. od Lublina) oraz przekraczając granicę w kierunku na Równe. Po zajęciu Berdyczowa i zbliżeniu się pod Winnicę, Rosjanie znaleźli się w odległości zaledwie 100 km. od granicy rumuńskiej. Ten wielki zagon ma niewątpliwie na celu w najbliższym czasie marsz na Kiszyniów i Odessę. Gdyby się to udało, w kleszczach znalazłaby się wielka armia niem., operująca nad dolnym Dnieprem (Nikopol, Krzywy Róg, Mikołajew), i na Krymie. Jedyna droga odwrotu — morze Czarne byłaby straszliwie trudną i niebezpieczną. Na odcinku płu. trwają nadal ciężkie walki o Witebsk, otoczony z trzech stron lecz zaciekłe broniony przez Niemców, na zachód od Newla w kierunku na Rygę.

FRONT POŁUDNIOWY Toczą się zacięte walki o Cassino (120 km. na pld.-wsch. od Rzymu), oraz na wybrzeżu adriatyckim. Lotnictwo bombarduje zaplecze armii niemieckiej, dwukrotnie zbombardowana była stolica Bułgarii, Sofia, oraz szereg wojskowych ośrodków niemieckich w Grecji.

FRONT DALEKIEGO WSCHODU Stopniowo ameryk. likwidują okup. wojsk jap. na wyspach w pobliżu Australii. Oczyścili prawie cały archip. Salomona i Gilberta, coraz bardziej niszcząc opór jap. na Nowej Gwinei oraz zaatakowali wyspę Nowa Brytania. Robią to bez wielkiego rozgłosu, ale systematycznie i pewnie.

E

KZ Z KRAJU
I ZAGRANICY

EGZEKUCJE PUBLICZNE TRWAJĄ NADAL W CAŁYM KRAJU. W samej tylko Warszawie w przeciągu 2 mies. (od 15.X. do 31.XII.43) okupant dokonał 29 publicznych zbiorowych morderstw, w których stracono 983 osoby. Ponadto w drugiej połowie grudnia ub. r. terrorystyczne egzekucje odbywały się w całym kraju. M. in. rozstrzelano: w Siedlcach — 10 osób (17.XII.), w Łukowie — 20 osób (2.XII.), w Częstochowie — 20 osób (20.XII.), w Leśnej Podl. — 15 osób (17.XII.) i t. d. Niezależnie od tego trwają masowe aresztowania, łapanki, wywożenie do obozów konc. i morderstwa trzymane w tajemnicy. Krwawe zbiry niemieckie powodowane wściekłością i strachem przed swym niedalekim połym końcem wpadły w szal i mordują na oślep.

15 policjantów granatowych. W Myślenicach aresztowanych zostało przez Gestapo za „nierobienie“ donosów na ludność polską. Pod tym samym zarzutem aresztowano również obsadę posterunku pol. gran. w Mogilanach k. Myślenic.

Faszystowski sąd w Weronie. (Włochy) skazał na karę śmierci 18 Włochów członków h. Wielkiej Rady Faszystowskiej, którzy przyczynili się do upadku Mussoliniego. Z pośród oskarżonych 13 skazanych zostało zaocznie, zaś pozostałych 5-ciu, którym nie udało się uciec z rąk niem., — rozstrzelane. Są to: b. min. spr. zagr. i zięć Mussoliniego, Clano, marz. de Bono, oraz Marinelli, Pareschi i Gotthardi. Tak się mści „rząd“ Mussoliniego, a w rzeczywistości — mścą się Niemcy, w których rękę Mussolini gra rolę zwykłej jarmarcznej kukły. W odniesieniu do stosunków niemieckich przez to nowe morderstwo Hitler chce powiedzieć swoim: to samo czeka każdego z Was, jeżeli osmielicie się w jakiegokolwiek formie wystąpić przeciwko mnie. Przedłuża to wojnę, ale na wynik jej nie ma żadnego wpływu, poza tym, iż Niemcy zostaną jeszcze bardziej zniszczone.

Szwecja nie kryje się już ze swą sympatią do obozu alianckiego. Rozmowy gospodarcze ciągną się w nieskończoność. Dn. 2 b.m. przeprowadził rząd szwedzki próbę pełnej mobilizacji popołitego ruszenia. Świadczy to o gotowości bojowej Szwecji, którą prasa niemiecka coraz częściej i silniej atakuje.

W Hiszpanii, której dyktator Franco wpatrzony był do niedawna w Hitlera i Mussoliniego, jak w obraz, następują zasadnicze zmiany. Przede wszystkim nie uznano tam, pomimo nacisku Hitlera jarmarznego „rządu Mussoliniego“. Rozwiązano t. zw. milicję falangi, która stanowiła ostoję totalizmu w Hiszpanii. A wreszcie Franco tłumaczy się przed Anglią, iż całą t. zw. błękitną dywizję wycofał już z frontu wsch. czyli — Franco boi się koalicji.

8 **Zajęcie Żytomierza.** Rosjanie wycięli wszystkich Niemców cywilnych i Ukraińców galicyjskich, jakich tam zastali. Dowódca sowieckiego oddziału egzekuc., w ten sposób przemówił do Ukraińców: „Psy i zdrajcy — Zdradziliście wszystkich: cara ros., austr. i niem. Zdradzaliście panów polskich i proletariacką władzę ludową. Dzięki waszym zdradom Niemcy wesłali tak głęboko do naszego kraju. Zmiłowania niema dla was żadnego.”

Na Wołyniu chaos i pożoga. Niemcy, ustępując przed napierającymi wojskami sow., starają się wszystko rabować lub niszczyć. Głoszą, iż zostawią po sobie tylko „niebo i ziemię”. Zakłady przemysłowe przestały dawno pracować. Okupant wywozi wszystko, co się da, przede wszystkim zboże i inwentarz. Teror szaleje. Stan bezpieczeństwa bardzo zły. Transport na drogach odbywa się tylko wielkimi kolumnami pod osłoną zbrojną. Dywersanci niszczą linie kolejowe, mosty, ścinają słupy telefoniczne. Zatrudnieni u Niemców — Ukraińcy i Kozacy masowo uciekają w las. Najruchliwszą ukraińską organizacją jest „Ukr. Powstańcza Armia” (UPA), która głosi hasło walki przeciwko wszystkim. Niemcy uchodźców w sile wieku masowo wywożą do Rzeszy.

Broszura o Rydzu Śmigłym, napisana przez pułk. A. H., zwięźle lecz wyczerpująco i trafnie analizuje działalność Edwarda Rydza, jako generalnego insp. Sił Zbrojnych i nacz. wodza — przed kampanią wrześnieową i podczas niej. Udowadnia jasno straszliwą winę tego „marszałka” z nieprawdziwego zdarzenia i jego klikki. Każdy światły chłop — ludowiec winien tę broszurę przeczytać i jej treść dobrze zapamiętać.

Prem. Churchill, przemawiając do jednego z pułków w Afryce, powiedział: „Wojna rozwija się pomyślnie. Nie wolno nam jednak lekceważyć nieprzyjaciela, który wie, że musi zginąć, i dlatego walczyć będzie do końca. Mam jednak nadzieję, że uporamy się z nim w ciągu 1944 roku”.

W Ameryce w ciągu ostatnich dwóch lat wyprodukowano: ponad 150 tys. samolotów, 82 tys. czołgów, 1 milion 650 tys. samoch. cięż., 230 tys. armat, miliony karabinów masz. i zwykłych, olbrzymie ilości amunicji, okrętów itd. Z 10-cio milionowej armii ameryk. w Europie i Afryce znajduje się już 3 ml. 800 tys. żołnierzy.

THROUGH STRUGGLE TO VICTORY

No. 2 (98)

January 20, 1944.

V-th year.

THE DISRUPTIVE ACTION OF THE P.P.R.^x

In the unusually difficult times which the Polish nation has been going through since September, 1939, two of its characteristics of great importance have become apparent. The first one is the heroic, unyielding attitude towards the aggressors who apply the most cruel methods of violence and outrage. The second, is the spirit of unity which the Polish nation has never failed to show in the midst of the turmoil of war which has lasted for over four years. Thanks to their heroic determination to resist, the Poles have become the inspiration of all the nations which are threatened by German aggression. Thanks to their unity, the Poles have gained the first place among the temporarily conquered nations, thus giving proof of great political maturity, gaining the consideration, the respect and the admiration of both the people and the governments of their great Allies, England and the United States.

The expression of this unity of the Polish nation in the face of all the world lies first of all in the fact that there is only one Polish Government which carries the banner of independence of the Polish State, stands at the helm of Polish policy and that of the struggle for the liberation of Poland and for its greatness. This government, which has the support of all the most important political movements inside Poland, due to the fact that it is a government of national unity, - is at the same time a government of democracy, of progress, and of social justice. It is headed at present by representatives of Polish peasants and workers. Its

Premier

x) Polska Partja Robotnicza or
The Polish Workers' Party.

Premier, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, is a peasant, the leader of the peasant movement; its Vice-Premier, Jan Kwapiński, is the leader of the socialist workers' movement. It is this Polish Government abroad and its Delegate at Home, together with the Home Political Representation inside Poland, that are the one and only leading center of Polish political life which is recognized by the Governments of the United Nations, by those of the neutral countries, and, moreover, by all factions of the Polish people. Until the present time no one in Poland has yet advanced the suggestion of creating a different government in opposition to the one in London. What is more, none of the Polish political camps is advancing this suggestion today, on the eve of the moment anxiously awaited by the entire nation, - the moment of the decisive fight for independence. The entire nation must be united for this decisive last battle, as this unity is one of the conditions of victory.

There is only one political group inside Poland which at this critical moment has initiated disruptive work aiming at the creation of confusion and of definite splitting in the ranks of the Polish people. This group consists of communists who function under the name of the Polish Workers' Party. They are precisely those who recently started an indiscriminate campaign against the Polish Government, against its Delegate in Poland, against the Underground Army, namely, against all the leading factors of Polish political life and of the underground struggle against the occupant. They proclaim falsely that the present Polish Government continues to conduct a "Sanacja-Ozon"^{x)} policy, while the truth is that

x) contemptuous names given to the political groups supporting the pre-1939 régime. "Ozon" or O.Z.N. is abbreviation of "Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego" (Camp of National Unity).

that it is the present Premier of the Government, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, who before the war was one of the most prominent leaders of the peasant movement, at a time when this movement fought bitterly against the "Sanacja" and the "Ozon", and that today, except for the communists, the "Sanacja" elements are most antagonistic to him. The purpose of this mendacious communist propaganda is clear. It aims at undermining confidence in this Government in order to subsequently facilitate the introduction of a self-appointed temporary government which they advocate. The temporary Government, established on the initiative of the communists as well as of their national councils, the creation of which is being constantly advocated by communist propaganda, if successful in seizing power at a moment crucial for Poland, would play a dual role: to the outside world it would speak in the name of the entire nation, while at the same time preparing inside Poland the ground for communist dictatorship so as to subordinate the whole of Poland to her Eastern neighbor.

The communists from the Polish Workers' Party, thus making fraudulent use of patriotic slogans pertaining to the entire nation as well as of those of popular radicalism, - are not only trying to introduce confusion and disruption into the civilian-political life of the nation; they also want to disperse, divide and weaken the ranks of the Polish Underground Home Army which, along with the formations of the Polish Army abroad are subordinated to the highest authorities of the Polish State. The communists are trying to oppose to the latter their own so-called People's Army, related to the "Red Polish Division" which is fighting at the side of the Soviet Army and is entirely dependent from its command.

This communist work in the military field aims at the disruption and weakening of the Polish insurrection movement, a movement which, above all, requires a unified plan and a single command.

But that is not all. The communists are trying to make a breach in the united front of the nation in one more question of the utmost importance, in which there is no divergence of opinion among all truly Polish political camps, namely - in the question of the Polish eastern borders. The entire Polish nation unanimously and unyieldingly is for the maintenance of the frontier established by the Riga Treaty, that frontier, which was never questioned by the Soviets before 1939, but which they violated at the time when Poland was fighting and bleeding in an uneven struggle against Nazi Germany. The Polish Workers' Party considers that the bringing forward of Polish rights to her Eastern territories constitutes a "transition to a fascist platform of the fight for Lebensraum" and that therefore Poland should give up the right to those territories and retreat to the Bug-San line, namely, to the line reached by the Soviets in 1939 as a result of the pact with Hitler.

Such an attitude of the Polish Workers' Party cannot be termed other than an outright treason of the Polish State and of the Polish nation.

In view of the above - the Peasant Party declares that:

There neither is nor can be any collaboration between the Peasant Party and its functionaries, and the communist Polish Workers' Party.

The Peasant Party recognizes the Government of Premier St. Mikołajczyk, in which it has its representatives and for whose

policy

policy it shares the responsibility. The Peasant Party believes that this Government, with the active support of the peasant and the working classes, will assure to an independent Poland such a political régime in which the masses of the people will have a decisive influence on matters of state, and such a social and economic set-up which will be in accord with the ideals of social justice.

The Peasant Party is also convinced that there can be only one army in the State, and that only a coordinated effort of revolt against the occupant, subordinated to one Polish command, can give the desired result - an independent Poland. That is why the Peasant Party collaborates with the Polish Underground Army as well as with the Polish Army abroad - both of which are subordinated to the Polish Government in London - and coordinates its liberation activities with their armed action.

The Peasant Party also unwaveringly supports the belief in the complete political independence of Poland and in the integrity of her territories.

We call on the peasants of their Party, who are faithful to the ideals of a Peasant Poland and to their green banners - to be increasingly watchful for any kind of disruptive work which tries to introduce confusion or division in the ranks of the peasants and which is harmful to the cause of an independent Poland.

THE PEASANT PARTY.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TOWARD POLAND.

In Moscow a declaration explaining the policy of the Soviet Government toward Poland was published. In this declaration the

Soviet Government makes fantastic accusations against the Polish Government, which - according to the declaration - "by carrying on a wrong policy often helped the Germans". Moreover, that it was "unable to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union" and "unable to organize active struggle against the German invader". According to the Soviet Government, the Eastern frontiers must be changed and should follow the so-called Curzon line. That means that the Soviet Union wants to take the entire districts of Tarnopol, Stanisławów, Wołyń, Polesie, Nowogródek, Wilno, and a part of the districts of Lwow and Białystok. In exchange, the Soviet Union proposes that the Polish frontiers be widened in the West "by the annexation of territories that had been Polish for centuries and were taken by the Germans", as well as by assuring Poland of an "indispensable access to the Baltic Sea". Under those conditions the Soviet Government "aims at the establishment of lasting friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union".

The Soviet Union also invites Poland to join the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty. By attacking the Polish Government and reaching "the people" the Soviets plainly demonstrate that they want to negotiate and maintain "friendly relations" exclusively with a "government" of their liking which would be ready to follow all Soviet recommendations and to make all demanded concessions.

x x

The Polish Government, under the leadership of Premier Mikołajczyk, at this very moment is discussing the situation which has been created. Besides, Premier Mikołajczyk, in the presence of Minister for Foreign Affairs, Romer, has conducted talks with the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, Eden, and with the President

of Czechoslovakia, Benesz.

CLARIFIED SITUATION.

Since the first weeks after the outbreak of the war the legal authorities of the Polish Republic have been existing and functioning abroad. On the other hand, since the first weeks political groups which took the responsibility for the direction of the government, have initiated underground work in Poland and have continued directing it. At the source of this work there are prisons, concentration camps, firing squads and gas chambers. There is also the death of Maciej Rataj, the Acting President of the Peasant Party, and that of editor Mieczysław Niedziałkowski, the leader of the Polish Socialist Party, both of whom were murdered by the occupant. Premier Mikołajczyk, broadcasting from London, disclosed the nature of the present underground organization of government authorities. This organization has been regulated by the Decree of November 1, 1942, which was signed by the President of Poland and by the Polish Government headed by Premier Sikorski. On the basis of this decree, a Delegate of the Government in the Homeland, with the title and power of Minister of State, was appointed. He has all exceptional powers, namely the powers of all the highest authorities with regard to the internal administration of Poland, as well as the power to pass provisional decrees in all cases in which, according to regulations in force, the Cabinet, the Premier and the respective Ministers have the right to pass. The Delegate of the Government acts in accordance with directions and instructions of the Polish Government through his own office and his administrative set-up, in close connection with the Home Political Representation and with the Commander of the Underground

Army.

Army.

The situation is clear. Only those who do not wish to see will fail to see. However, the nearer we are to the end of the war, the noisier will become the "work" which certain larger or smaller groups and coteries are endeavoring to conduct, - groups which place their self-interest above all, or, what is even worse - follow directions and suggestions of foreign origin.

In Poland there exist three groups which do not want to see and recognize this. One of these, namely "sanacja"^{x)} is highly developed at the top and non-existent among the lower masses. It possesses a very prolific press and tries to flood the people with its publications. It is composed of several or even more "parlor" groups, who a few months ago noisily proclaimed their "union" and the creation of the so-called "Convention of Independence Organizations" and of the "Camp of Fighting Poland". Both these "sanacyjno-Ozonowe"^{x)} groups have announced to themselves, to Poland and to the world at large the setting up of a Joint Advisory Commission. The signs by which these gentlemen can easily be recognized are - presumption, impudence and magician's airs. They attempt to live in the "Ozon"^{x)} atmosphere and to persuade naive persons that actually the OZON days did not disappear like a nightmare. They endeavor violently to reject the thought that it is not honors or dignities which await them, but trials and the criminal courts.

The second group is composed of various members of the "ON R.'s"^{xx)} who, under the mantle of "national", "Catholic", "Polish" and other names and slogans strive to conduct their destructive and injurious activity. Their warring factions called by them

"National

x) See footnote on p. 2

xx) "Obóz Narodo-Radykalny" or
"National-Radical Camp.

"National Armed Forces" did not follow the order of the Minister of National and of the Commander-in-Chief, and did not subordinate themselves to the G. H. Q. of the Underground Army. The dream of the O.N.R. is to bestow upon Poland the blessings of totalitarianism, similarly as Mussolini did in Italy and Hitler in Germany and almost all of Europe. They also create or intend to create their own "government" and a "temporary national council" with parliamentary authority.

Finally, the third group is composed of communists - the P.P.R.^X and its branches. A few weeks ago they issued a "manifesto" under the title of "democratic, social, political and military organizations in Poland". Among the "organizations" which signed the "manifesto" appears also the "group of representatives of the Peasant Peoples Party and the Peasant Battalions". Who and what they are - is known only to the leaders of the P.P.R. To abuse the cover of another's name, especially under conditions of underground work, is not difficult at all, while the fact that this is dishonest is of least concern to these gentlemen who follow the principle that all ways and means are good. In the "manifesto" the Polish government and official circles in the Homeland are openly attacked; the "manifesto" also announces the formation of a "National Homeland Council" and "at the opportune moment" also of a "government" and of a "supreme command".

These are the main centers of this destructive, disruptive and diversive action. The peasants must realize this and know well all their false and harmful "guardians". The peasants also know only too well that those on the right and left, who abuse the slogan

x) See footnote on p. 1

Nikolajev,

slogan of "Motherland", "God" and various sanctities, too often are in discord with the most elementary rights of man and God.

FROM THE FIGHTING FRONTS.

THE WESTERN FRONT - ANGLO-AMERICAN BOMBER COMMAND has compiled a list of the largest cities of the German Reich, which are important military centers and which must be destroyed. This plan is carried out systematically. This is evidenced by the fact that out of 45 large German cities, 36 have already suffered heavy bombing, not counting a great number of smaller centers. Only 9 larger cities had not yet been acquainted with bombings. They are: Vienna, Dresden, Breslau, Chemnitz, Magdeburg, Halle, Gratz, Erfuhr and Muhlheim. It is sure that all of these will not be spared. Lately there were heavy night bombing attacks on Kiel and Stettin, as well as a series of smaller attacks, among others on Berlin. On the other hand, American airmen bombed by daylight the largest German aircraft factories in Brunswick, Halberstadt, Oensleben. The Americans lost 64 planes destroying numerous large factories as well as over 100 German fighters. It was a costly attack, but a very successful one.

THE EASTERN FRONT: Soviet Armies drove spearheads into our District of Volhynia occupying Sarny (60 km from the border, about 300 km from Lublin), also crossed the border in the direction of Rowne. After occupying Berdyczow and nearing Winnica, the Russians found themselves at a distance of barely 100 km from the Rumanian border. This great raid, no doubt, has as its aim a march on Kiszyniow and Odessa in the earliest future. If this should succeed, a large Germany operating on the lower Dnieper (Nikopol, Krivoj Rog,

Mikolajev,

Mikolajev, Crimea) would be caught in a pincer movement. The only road for retreat - the Black Sea - would be terribly difficult and dangerous. On the Northern front heavy fighting continues for Vitebsk, surrounded on three sides but stubbornly defended by the Germans west of Nevel in the direction of Riga.

SOUTHERN FRONT: Heavy fighting prevails in Cassino (120 km south-east of Rome) as well as on the Adriatic coast. The airforce bombed the rear of the German army; the capital of Bulgaria, Sofia, was twice bombed, also air raids took place on several German military centres in Greece.

FAR-EASTERN FRONT: The Americans are gradually liquidating the occupation by Japanese armed forces of islands near Australia. They have cleaned up almost the entire Salomon and Gilbert Archipelagos, increasingly destroying Japanese opposition in New Guinea and attacking New Britain. They are doing this without much publicity, but systematically and surely.

FROM THE HOMETLAND AND ABROAD.

PUBLIC EXECUTIONS CONTINUE INSIDE THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. In Warsaw alone in the course of two months (from October 15 to December 31, 1943) the occupant carried out 29 collective public murders in which 983 persons were killed. Moreover, in the second half of December of 1943 terrorist executions took place in all of Poland. Among others there were shot: in Siedlce - 10 persons (Dec. 17); In Lukow - 20 persons (Dec. 2), in Czestochowa - 20 persons (Dec. 20), in Lesna Podlaska - 15 persons (Dec. 17), and so forth. Besides this, mass arrests, man-hunts, deportation to concentration

camps

camps and secret murders continue. Bloodthirsty German bandits actuated by fury and fear of their not far distant miserable end, have run amuck and murder indiscriminately.

15 "Blue"^xpolicemen. In Myślenice they were arrested by the Gestapo for not denouncing the Polish population. Under the same accusation the personnel of the "blue" police post in Mogilany near Myślenice, was arrested.

THE FASCIST COURT IN VERONA (Italy) condemned to death 18 Italians, members of the former Great Fascist Council, who contributed to the fall of Mussolini. Among the accused 13 were condemned "in absentia" and the remaining 5, who did not manage to escape from German hands, were shot. There are: the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and son-in-law of Mussolini - Ciano, Marshal de Bono, also Marinelli, Pareschi and Gotthardi. In such manner Mussolini's "government" revenges itself. In reality however it is the Germans who take vengeance, in whose hands Mussolini plays the role of a simple marketplace puppet. As regards the German situation, Hitler wishes to tell his people through these new murders: "the same fate awaits each of you if you dare to oppose me in any way". All this prolongs the war, but has no effect on its result, beyond the fact that Germany will suffer a greater destruction.

SWEDEN does not further conceal its sympathy for the Allied camp. Economic negotiations are being dragged out indefinitely. On the 2nd instant the Swedish Government carried out a test of full mobilization of the reserves. This is proof of the military readiness of Sweden, which is being more often and stronger attacked by

the

x) Popular name for Polish traffic policemen.

the German press.

IN SPAIN, whose dictator Franco stared at Hitler and Mussolini as at a picture, basic changes are taking place. First of all, in spite of Hitler's pressure, the puppet régime of Mussolini has not been recognized there. The so-called "Falangist militia" which formed the main support of totalitarianism in Spain, have been dissolved. And, finally, Franco explains to England, that the entire so-called blue division has been recalled by him from the front - in other words - Franco is afraid of the Coalition.

OCCUPATION OF ŻYTOMIR. The Russians have slaughtered all German civilians and Galician Ukrainians who were found there. The commander of the Soviet firing squad spoke to the Ukrainians in the following manner: "Dogs and traitors - you betrayed all, the Russian Czar, the Austrians and the Germans. You betrayed the Polish gentry and the people's proletarian authorities. Thanks to your treachery the Germans made such deep inroads into our country. There is no pity for you".

IN VOLHYNIA - chaos and conflagration. The Germans, retreating before the advancing Soviet armies, endeavor to rob or destroy everything. They declare that they will leave nothing but "the sky and the earth". All industrial establishments ceased to function long ago. The occupying forces remove everything, in the first place the wheat and live stock. Terror is raging. Public security is very bad. Transportation on roads is carried only in large columns under armed guard. Groups of partisans are destroying railroad tracks, bridges, cutting down telegraph poles. Ukrainians and Cossacks who were employed by the Germans are escaping in large numbers into the forests.

forests. The most active Ukrainian organization is the "Ukrainian Army of Insurrection" (UPA) whose slogan is: Fight against all. Able-bodied refugees are being deported into Germany.

PAMPHLET ON RYDZ SMIGLY, written by Col. A. H., concisely but exhaustively and excellently analyzes the activity of Edward Rydz as Inspector General of the Armed Forces and the Commander-in-Chief - before and during the September campaign. It clearly proves the shocking guilt of this "Marshal" by chance, and of his clique. Every enlightened Peasant Party member should reach this pamphlet and memorize well its contents.

PREMIER CHURCHILL, speaking to one of the regiments in Africa, said: "The war is developing favorably. However, we should not underestimate the enemy who knows that he must perish and therefore will fight to the end. I hope, however, that we shall finish with him during the year 1944".

IN AMERICA during the last two years there were produced more than 150,000 airplanes, 82,000 tanks, 1,650,000 trucks, 230,000 cannons, millions of machine guns and ordinary rifles, immense amounts of ammunition, ships, etc. 3,800,000 American soldiers, out of an army numbering 10,000,000 men, are already in Europe and in Africa.

- - - - -

A letter of March 14, 1944 from the Treasury Department has called attention to this \$68,000,000 and has suggested that the Polish Government might be approached with the proposal to sell a sufficient amount of this gold to the United States to repay the advance made to Poland, which the Treasury mentions as \$12,000,000.

The Department of State would regard such an approach to Poland as of doubtful wisdom. Poland has received extensive credits from Great Britain and the Soviet Union to meet wartime expenditures. The United States does not appear to have any prior claim on the gold. Most of the credits from the Emergency Fund have been used in the underground movement in the form of American currency. They had to be financed from the Emergency Fund as Lend Lease procedure is not applicable and no other loan authorization is available for such cash transfers. In the absence of such other lending power, it may not appear wise to deplete Poland's gold assets to pay outstanding war credits if Poland's need for credits for these and other purposes is to continue.

It is believed that the Treasury may wish to purchase some of the Polish gold, whether here or in Africa,
for

for convenience and advantage in meeting American expenditures in India and elsewhere, but such operations could be handled independently of any consideration of repayment of advances so far made to Poland. There is no present question of any further advances to Poland except that request for the \$3,500,000 completing the amount approved last July may be expected at any time now.

The Department is informing the Treasury that the advances to Poland have been handled primarily by the President and that the Treasury's instant suggestion has therefore been submitted to the President.

CH

May 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I had luncheon with Joe Davies yesterday to find out what he wanted to tell you confidentially. He says it has to do with Captain Kravachenko, who gave an interview to the New York Times that caused quite a sensation. In this interview the Russian Government was accused of getting ready to double-cross her Allies, the United States and Great Britain. Kravachenko represented himself as being a member of a Russian mission.

Joe says he has talked twice with Ambassador Gromyko, at the Ambassador's request, and each time Gromyko stated how resentful his government was of this action on the part of Kravachenko, that Kravachenko was an unworthy officer and that they had asked for his extradition. This, in effect, would mean sending Captain Kravachenko back to Russia to be shot. Ambassador Gromyko said his government felt that their Ally, the United States, should stand by Russia in punishing unworthy officers. Gromyko said Kravachenko was not a member of any mission, but that he was a Captain in the Russian Army; that while he was here officially, he was only one of many technical assistants on a mission.

Joe Davies said he had also been to see Mr. Hull and the Secretary told him that he was not impressed with the Russian Government's request, and was going to recommend to the President that it be not granted. Joe said at this point that he believes Mr. Hull is being poisoned by some of the State Department "underlings" against Russia. Joe said his only interest in the world is his desire that the President not do anything to alienate the present fine understanding between Russia and the United States. He suggested that the extradition be granted in principle but that the actual date of extradition be postponed, he hoped, indefinitely. I stated at this point that this smacked of irregularity and, perhaps, of trickery, and Joe said he did not think so and really believed it could be done in principle but not actually effected.

This is all that Joe wanted you to know.

E. M. W.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

File
VAB

April 20, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY

As suggested by Mr. Poole,
I am glad to transmit herewith
the attached document entitled
"Polish Pressure Campaign Takes
Form".

C. W. Gray _x

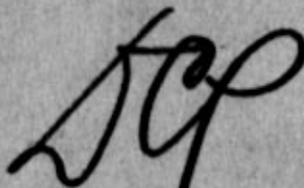
x20
x463

Cecil W. Gray, Esquire

~~SECRET~~

19 April 1944

This is the report mentioned this morning which you thought you might care to send to Mr. Early at the White House.



DCP

DECLASSIFIED

E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

CIA letter 11/26/74

By *WBS*

Date DEC 4 1974

FROM: DEWITT C. POOLE

~~SECRET~~
U.S.C. ...
transmission ...
of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

Poland - 1944

COPY

91

FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

x485

NUMBER 179

1 APRIL 1944

POLISH PRESSURE CAMPAIGN TAKES FORM

With the sharpening of the Russian-Polish conflict abroad, and the approach of the presidential election in this country, Polish national leaders here have wrought the hitherto hesitant Polish-American fraternal societies and the ultra-nationalist KNAPP into a working union. Under the direction of a joint committee, a Congress of American Polonia is expected to draw 5,000 delegates to Buffalo at the end of May to demonstrate "in defense of Poland." The result may be a marked disturbance in American politics.

A MAMMOTH Congress of American Polonia to be held in Buffalo 28-30 May is expected to bring to full flood a tide of Polish nationalist sentiment in the United States. In conjunction with uneasiness aroused in other American groups by the Russian advance westward, this is counted upon in a year of presidential election to impel the Administration toward action of some kind favorable to Poland.

Naturally a Polish government in exile disappointed of the support it had hoped for from Great Britain, has more and more looked to "3,000,000 Polish votes" in the United States to bolster its precarious position. The considerable mechanisms available for this purpose were described in "Polish Nationalism in the United States" (FN Number 173, 12 February 1944). Until recently, however, the response has been sluggish.

While the Russian armies remained well within Russia the Polish-Russian conflict appeared to be one largely of principles, and Polish-American opinion was stirred, but not yet deeply. The fraternal mutual-aid societies which with memberships of hundreds of thousands provide, along with the Roman Catholic Church, the main social structure of American Polonia were averse to endangering their function as insurance companies by involvement in politics. The prevailing temper was one of caution; and after seeing some adverse response to over-zealous officials, the Polish Government-in-Exile sustained that note too.

DECLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

x B. F. Office of Strategic Services
x 76-B

~~SECRET~~
~~DECLASSIFIED~~

The policy of moderation has been most notably exemplified by Dean Francis X. Swietlik, Grand Censor of the largest Polish-American mutual aid society, the Polish National Alliance. He stood against ultra-nationalist clamor for "action." Representatives of the Polish Government supported Swietlik and his policy of restraint, and he was victorious in a hard-fought election at the convention of the Alliance at Boston last September.

Now the situation has changed. The Russian armies have moved on to what was Polish soil. Soviet diplomacy has seemed brusque and aggressive. The problem of Polish-Russian relations has assumed practical urgency. Recent speeches by Prime Minister Churchill are interpreted to mean British abandonment of Poland. The Catholic priesthood is stirred by fear of atheistic Communism. With the approach of a presidential election Americans begin generally to air their discontents and restless criticism fills the whole American scene. Foreign policy is a natural target; the fear of Russia is widespread; and a tempting invitation to political pressures has thus been offered to the despairing Poles. The formerly somewhat restrained attitude of Polish officials is believed to have given place to an active, systematic campaigning.

Concrete manifestations of a new united movement taking form, which after the mammoth meeting in Buffalo next month may become seriously disturbing in American politics, include a shoving aside of the moderate leadership in the Polish-American fraternal and the alignment of these powerful organizations with the ultra-nationalist, openly anti-Russian leadership of the numerically small National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent (KNAPP).

KNAPP'S political views were outlined by its president, Maximilian F. Wegrzynek, in a speech 11 March (*Nowy Swiat* 12 March) :

- 1) As German totalitarianism is suffering defeat there arises the danger of aggression by Soviet totalitarianism;
- 2) Great Britain has gone beyond mere political tactics and capitulated before the demands of Eastern totalitarianism, which are incompatible with the Allied war aims;
- 3) Among the smaller nations, Allied and neutral, disillusionment is leading to a dangerous process of disintegration;
- 4) The foreign policy of the United States is shrouded in a fog of vagueness and silence on certain most fundamental problems.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the strength of the new movement now seemingly united behind KNAPP is its note of supreme confidence. Its

organizers speak of having 5,000 delegates at the Buffalo Congress, and of raising a fund of \$100,000 for use in propaganda. Plans are proposed by responsible leaders for securing, as a supplement to the Polish pressure, the signatures of 5,000,000 Americans of recent foreign (but non-Polish) extraction from among a supposed ten million presumed to feel equally with the Poles the Russian threat to their "old countries." A flood of pamphlets, booklets, circular letters, and other literature is forecast.

Much of the potential power of this drive comes from the fact that it is not at heart anti-Administration. Polish-Americans traditionally support the Democratic Party, and Polish labor has traditionally been pro-Roosevelt. But the leaders of the drive now argue that President Roosevelt needs to be informed, and that the coming Congress of American Polonia has as its main function to make clear to the Administration just where American Polonia stands. Not highly educated, and disposed to follow recognized leadership, Polish-Americans are peculiarly susceptible to guidance of the type proposed.

Over against the nationalistic leadership is a pro-Russian opposition, the conspicuous figures in which are Professor Oscar Lange of the University of Chicago and Father Stanislaus Orlemanski, founder of the Kosciuszko League. This movement has been described in FN Numbers B-121, B-135 of 3 December and 30 December 1943 and B-154 of 9 February 1944, and will be only incidentally touched upon in the present paper. The strength of the pro-Russian movement has not yet been tested; but it may receive a fillip soon through the departure, which is rumored, of Professor Lange and Father Orlemanski for a visit to Russia as guests of the Soviet Government.

*The Beginnings of
the Present Campaign*

The purpose of the present paper is to recount the steps which during the month of March led to the unification under KNAPP inspiration of the great body of Polish-Americans whose delegates will foregather at Buffalo in May. The movement which may now approach a successful culmination began more than a year ago. Colonel Wacław Jędrzejewicz, refugee member of the Polish ultra-nationalist party Endek (National Democrat), acknowledged adviser to Węgrzynek and close associate of the ultra-nationalist publicist, Colonel Ignacy Matuszewski, then remarked: "Our entire endeavor so far has been directed toward the alignment of certain people and various honest and weak local organizations into one group with a distinct plan worked out with a sense of the reality of the facts."

At the time Colonel Jedrzejewicz spoke, Polish-American nationalists stood in two distinct camps. One was moderately nationalist and numerically the vast majority, representing the large fraternal and backed by most of the Polish Catholic hierarchy. It headed up in the Polish American Council. The other was the small vociferous minority headed by a few Polish-American businessmen gathered in KNAPP and egged on by a group of Polish emigres of whom the best known is Colonel Ignacy Matuszewski. Since its inception in 1942 KNAPP has charged the Polish American Council and its president, Francis X. Swietlik of the Polish National Alliance, with inactivity and inability to come to the defense of Poland's interests. KNAPP demanded political action, while the Council limited itself to relief work, and refused to interfere in political matters.

The precarious position in which the Polish Government-in-Exile has been placed as a result of the Polish-Soviet boundary dispute has now strengthened the hand of the KNAPPists, and has served to justify in the eyes of Polish-American moderates KNAPPist criticism of the passivity of the Polish American Council. Action in defense of Poland's rights has emerged as the rallying point for creating Polish-American unity.

The unity now building has been forged by a succession of events since the turn of the year: 1) a declaration by the Polish American Council, 29 January, that it could not undertake political activity; 2) a conference held under the auspices of Council leaders in Chicago, 4-5 March, which issued a call for the forthcoming Congress of American Polonia in Buffalo 28-30 May; 3) a KNAPP-dominated conference in New York, 11-12 March, which created a coordinating committee of its own, but authorized participation in the Buffalo Congress; 4) a meeting at Chicago 22 March of the executive committee formed to organize the Buffalo Congress.

*Battle for Control
of the Polish
American Council*

The moderately nationalist Polish-American camp has been best represented by the Polish American Council, the full name of which is Polish American Council—Polish War Relief, Inc. As a relief organization receiving funds from the National War Fund, the Council has not engaged directly in political activity, but as the only body representing the many fraternal of the moderates it has become a symbol of their point of view.

The Council is composed of delegates of most of the Polish fraternal; of these the most powerful are the Polish National Alliance, generally abbreviated PNA (membership 257,634), the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America

~~SECRET~~
DECLASSIFIED

(membership 144,990), and the Polish Women's Alliance (membership 64,663). The PNA, as the largest of these, traditionally controls the Polish American Council. The president of the Council, Dean Francis X. Swietlik of Marquette University Law School, is, through his position as Grand Censor of the PNA, in effective control of both organizations, though in the PNA he shares some authority with the president, Charles I. Rozmarek. Because the PNA is considered in some degree anti-clerical, the Council has never been completely united under its control. In particular it is reported that the leaders of the Polish Roman Catholic Union chafed under Swietlik's domination. The recognized spokesman of the Council is the Chicago daily *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, organ of the PNA. Except for the occasional restlessness suggested, the Council has also generally enjoyed the support of the Catholic daily *Dziennik Chicagoski*, organ of the Resurrectionist Fathers.

Representatives of the Polish Government-in-Exile in the United States have given support to the Polish American Council as against the KNAPP.

*Attacks from
KNAPP and Others*

The break in Soviet-Polish relations April 1943 appeared to open the way for a more vigorous anti-Soviet campaign among Polish-Americans, and during the summer the KNAPPists campaigned incessantly against Dean Swietlik and his moderate policy. The first real test came at the September convention of the PNA at Boston, when the KNAPPists put forward Stanislaus Gutowski as their candidate for Grand Censor. Gutowski an attorney of Newark, New Jersey, was defeated by the Swietlik forces after a bitterly contested election. During the election the moderates had support from the Polish Embassy, exercised chiefly through the press attache. In part Swietlik's success stemmed from a dislike on the part of members of the PNA to seeing their society dragged into politics.

Failure of KNAPP to seize control of the PNA appeared to spell failure in connection with the Polish American Council as well. But attacks upon the "cautious" leadership of the Polish American Council continued. For a number of months the Polish American Council was under fire from two directions: Polish nationalists upbraided it and its president, Swietlik, for passivity; at the same time the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice in November 1943 approached the Council on the subject of registration. Political activity is of course forbidden to relief organizations receiving funds from the National War Fund.

Early this year evidences of new difficulties within the Council appeared. On 11 January 1944, a plenary meeting of the executive council and directorate of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, held at Chicago, resolved that it "solemnly protests, in the name of its membership composed of Americans of Polish extraction, against the contemplated partition of Poland by Soviet Russia. . . ." The resolution supported the stand taken by "the Polish Government in London, which is allied with the Government of the United States. . . ." "We place," it continued, "implicit trust in our President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and express the firm conviction that he will not permit the Government of Soviet Russia to despoil the Polish Nation, now so terribly tortured and ravaged by the Nazi barbarians." Printed copies of the resolution were widely circulated.

*The Council
Abandons
the Field*

To a directors' meeting of the Polish American Council held 29-30 January 1944 in Chicago, Consul General Karol Ripa of Chicago spoke of the struggle of the Polish people for independence "within their just borders." There had arrived an epochal moment in the history of Poland, he asserted, and all for whom the Polish problem lay close to heart would wait with bated breath for the words of the representatives of the mass of Americans of Polish descent.

On the same day (29 January) the *Dziennik Chicagoski* declared that practically the entire Polish press in America was agreed that the Polish American Council should expand its activities or withdraw in favor of a new organization which would feel free to participate in political activities. Now, the paper added, the administration of the Council had indicated a willingness to do something. But promises were not enough. Action was called for.

Under this pressure the Council's board of directors at the January meeting came to a final decision: as a relief organization the Council could not undertake political activity. According to a declaration published 1 February 1944 in the *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, it was urged that "all our mutual aid organizations without exception, as well as the Polish clergy and the Polish press, at a suitable time delegate their legal representatives to a conference to deliberate upon the current serious problems. . . ."

*Mr. Churchill's
Speech*

At this juncture came Prime Minister Winston Churchill's speech of 22 February 1944. "We Poles," said Victor Alski, conservative editor of the Pittsburgh Catholic weekly *Pittsburczanin*, on 1 March to a friend, "are wild as a result

of Churchill's statement. It seems to us that Mr. Churchill is ready to sell the Poles down the river. No actions are planned locally, but all Polish groups in Chicago will meet on Saturday [4 March] to discuss the situation and to lay plans for a national Congress which will attempt to raise a united voice of appeal and protest. We feel, of course, that the Poles are being betrayed. No doubt we will all turn to the United States as the only escape from this impossible situation."

*Plans for the
Buffalo Congress*

On 4 March in Chicago fifty delegates assembled as a Conference of Representatives of Polish Mutual Aid Organizations, Clergy and the Polish Press. The meeting was dominated by the representatives of the three large old-line fraternal, the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, and the Polish Women's Alliance. A number of other fraternal were also represented. Of the nine largest Polish-American newspapers, only the Boston daily *Kuryer Codzienny* was not represented. The Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas P. Bona appeared for the Chicago clergy and the Very Reverend Monsignor Adalbert B. Zadala represented Bishop Stephen Woznicki of Detroit. An observer came for the New York KNAPP.

The chief address was delivered by Rozmarek of the PNA. He emphasized the need for American Polonia to coordinate its activities in defense of Poland's rights and to call a congress for this purpose. Peter Yolles, who had recently resigned from the editorship of the ultra-nationalist *Nowy Swiat* of New York, urged that a fund of \$100,000 be raised "to support the truth about Poland," and that the signatures of 5,000,000 naturalized Americans of non-Polish origin be obtained for a statement in favor of Poland, which he was sure would bear great weight with the Congress of the United States.

A resolution approved by the convention declared that "in view of the need to create a central organization to defend the interests of American Polonia in all respects, the Congress of American Polonia is being called for the purpose of supporting the efforts of the American Government to win the war and the peace, to support the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt as well as to come to the aid of democratic Poland, represented by the legal Government in London." The declaration appealed for energetic action, and stated that "the Congress will be a gigantic manifestation for the cause of Poland, and at the same time an evidence of the strength and solidarity of Americans of Polish descent."

SECRET
DECLASSIFIED

For organizing the Buffalo Congress an executive committee of eleven was appointed, with Rozmarek as chairman; John Olejniczak, president of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, treasurer; and Honorata Wolowska, president of the Polish Women's Alliance, general secretary. The new committee and the Polish American Council may be said to represent interlocking directorates.

At the Congress each local organization, whether fraternal or "ideological," will be entitled to one chief delegate and an additional delegate for each 10,000 members. Parishes may send one clergyman and one layman each. Daily newspapers are entitled to two delegates. Publications, scientific institutions, religious orders, high schools, and colleges are allowed a delegate apiece. Individuals may be admitted by the executive committee. Approximately \$6,000 was pledged by the Chicago gathering for Congress expenses.

In conversation with a representative of this Branch, Starzynski, chairman of the coming Buffalo Congress, described the aims of the Congress in terms of "a front whereby to counter and expose the Communist propaganda — especially as it bears on the Polish question — in this country." The Congress, however, would not stop at the Polish question. According to Starzynski, it would have in mind quite specifically an attack on the "Leftist Front" wherever and whenever it occurs. This statement followed close upon assertions of "Polish influence in America."

Starzynski went on to say, however, that he and those working with him were determined to prevent direct Republican vs. Democrat issues from arising at the Congress. Though Starzynski, like Wegrzynek, is a Republican, he has in the past, as have a number of other Polish-American Republicans, supported the candidacy of President Roosevelt. These Polish-American Republicans, sensitive to the "rumors spread by the opposition" of a possible Polish coalition with Republican forces, vigorously deny such a possibility, but they admit that domestic political issues are intimately involved.

The tools of the Congress, according to Starzynski, would be resolutions, appeals, "propaganda," personal contact, pressure group politics, and whatever else served the general aim of "exposing the Communist role" in shaping American opinion with regard to Poland's post-war fate.

Two formal statements (Starzynski revealed) would be prepared for submission to the Congress: (1) "What Poles Gave to America," under preparation by a Mr. Haiman, historian of the Polish Roman Catholic Union Museum in Chicago, setting forth in detail Polish contributions to America; and (2) "What

Poles Gave to This War," under preparation by a group including Starzynski, Rozmarek, and Wegrzynek, which will begin with an account of Poland's role in the early phase of World War II and then lead directly into the present political issue. When these documents have been presented and approved, a resolution would then be drawn up in the Congress. According to Starzynski, the attempt would be to give it weight and character exceeding that of ordinary resolutions, and it would be addressed primarily to President Roosevelt.

KNAPP Preliminaries In New York, meanwhile, the KNAPP had been planning a congress of its own; late in February its president Wegrzynek had approached Colonel Theophilus Starzynski, of Pittsburgh, president of the Polish Falcons of America, and a man highly respected in Polish-American circles as a veteran of World War I. Wegrzynek invited Starzynski to become chairman of the proposed KNAPP-sponsored Congress. After accepting this invitation Starzynski attended the Chicago convention of the Polish American Council, informed its leaders regarding KNAPP plans, and was made a member of the organizing committee of eleven.

The New York conference held 11-12 March appointed a Coordinating Committee of Polish Organizations in the East, with Wegrzynek as chairman.

However Rozmarek, head of the Chicago group, attended the New York conference and took the floor as one of the first speakers. He paid tribute to Wegrzynek's political activities which "splendidly filled out the gap in activities in times when Polonia was not yet organized as an entity in defense of Poland's rights." He explained that the Polish American Council could not engage in political activities, and made an appeal for New York and Chicago to work "together, unitedly and harmoniously." "We are guided by one common aim, one cause, that is — Poland," he said.

In the discussion which followed, the delegates gave free expression to charges against the Chicago center for its failure. Some also voiced suspicion that Rozmarek was trying to hamper the work of the New York group. In reply, Rozmarek suggested that the conference appoint representatives to the Congress's executive committee. "I see no reason for the existence of two organizations," he said. "Let us work together. There is no time for opposition now." Rozmarek's proposal was accepted with the result that three delegates were authorized to participate in preparations for the Buffalo Congress and it was announced that in matters of general interest to the Polish community the

Coordinating Committee would follow the directives and orders of the representative body to be created by the Congress.

It was decided, however, that the New York Coordinating Committee would begin functioning at once, and that it would continue after the Congress as the representative body for the East.

*Swietlik Isolated;
KNAPP Takes Over*

Rozmarek's visit to New York and his bow to the Wegrzynek gathering came about apparently without the endorsement of Swietlik, who appears to be practically isolated at the moment. (In Polish-American liberal circles Rozmarek, formerly an attorney at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, has been characterized as a "small-town politician," with large ambitions and small experience.)

The role played in all this by Peter P. Yolles, recently resigned editor of the ultra-nationalist *Nowy Swiat*, is interesting. Although present at the New York conference, he took no part in the proceedings. One explanation is that he had misjudged the situation; he is said to have anticipated an approaching clash between Chicago and New York and to have intended to throw his influence behind Chicago. After Rozmarek's reconciliation with Wegrzynek in New York, Yolles appeared to have been left in the lurch.

It is worth noting that while the 4 March conference in Chicago declared itself in favor of the policies of President Roosevelt, a different atmosphere prevailed in New York. Wegrzynek's address included many direct and indirect charges against the Administration's policies and he characterized as justified "the doubts about the basic line of our foreign policy." Confronted with a direct question at the conference as to his position in regard to domestic policies, Wegrzynek avoided a clear answer, declaring that he was interested in international problems only.

*The KNAPPist
Coordinating
Committee*

The Coordinating Committee formed at the New York conference is to represent local, county, and state organizations rather than individuals. Its aim is defined as follows:

- (1) coordination of political activities of the associated Polish societies and organizations in the East in defense of democratic principles based upon the Christian foundations for which the present war is being waged;
- (2) defense of America and her democratic order against all totalitarian influences;

(3) defense of the complete independence and sovereignty of Poland, the integrity of her boundaries and her rights to a wide access to the sea;

(4) an organized effort directed toward the social, cultural, political and economic development of American Polonia.

Some officers of the coordinating Committee were elected by the conference in New York, with the remainder to be selected by an executive committee and a council. Besides the president, Wegrzynek, four vice presidents were elected, including Stanislaus Gutowski, defeated candidate for the office of Grand Censor at PNA's Boston convention last year.

The conference was attended by 177 delegates and scores of guests. Significant was the large representation of the Roman Catholic clergy, which had previously abstained from KNAPP-influenced gatherings. This may be regarded as another success for Wegrzynek. Present as guests were Colonel Ignacy Matuszewski, Henryk F. Rajchman, and other prominent Polish refugees who are political advisers to KNAPP.

*The United Front
Builds Up*

Press comments on the New York conference make it clear that the new developments among Polish-Americans result from the precarious position in which the Polish Government in London has been placed by the boundary dispute with the Soviets, a situation which has strengthened the hand of the groups led by KNAPP, justifying in the eyes of the Polish immigrants their criticism of the moderates in Chicago. This is pointed out in an editorial of the New York *Nowy Swiat* 14 March which states that the unity achieved at the New York conference is a victory for adherents of action. "Mr. Rozmarek," the editorial says, "was convinced that the New York conference was not a self-appointed clique but a real representation of the active, patriotic and energetic Polonia of the East."

A further example of the apparent unification of the New York KNAPPist group with that of Chicago was a full page signed Declaration published 21 and 25 March in the *Nowy Swiat*. The Declaration outlined the reasons for which Americans of Polish descent should take definite action in Poland's defense and welcomed "with recognition the initiative of calling the Congress of Americans of Polish Extraction which must eradicate all uncertain differences among the separate groups of Polonia and must help to find and announce a common confession of faith in the necessity of victory of the principles of the Atlantic Charter—without which there is no true victory for the United States or for Poland."

DECLASSIFIED
SECRETED

NUMBER 179

— 12 —

1 APRIL 1944

Both the Chicago and the New York conferences have been criticized by some sections of the Polish press. The Catholic weekly *Przewodnik Katolicki* of New Britain, Connecticut, which had vigorously supported the Chicago conference published 24 March a communication asserting that it was unfortunate that the greatest strength of American Polonia, that is, the Polish parishes and clergy, had not taken part in the Chicago conference. Thousands of priests were represented only by three delegates. The author asserted that nothing could be accomplished without the aid of the clergy and the parishes, whose rightful place was taken by organizations having nothing to do with the Catholic Church, organizations which were subversive, which harmed the cause, and which had as their aim their own ambitions. Before the present war, the communication continued, these same organizations or their leaders had been in the services not of Poland but of the Sanacja and the Pilsudski groups, which had become the ruin and misfortune of Poland. "It is difficult to believe that such disrupters of American Polonia as Yolles, Wegrzynek, Matuszewski, Januszewski, Lukaszewicz, Gawronski, Dybowski, Bitner, should suddenly, without any motives, burn with disinterested love for the Polish cause. For this reason so many of the present leaders of KNAPP, seeing that the future Poland will no longer be that of the Sanacja, that they will not have a monopoly of hams, or free trips, and that they are losing the ground under their feet, are trying to save themselves by joining the ranks of national and Catholic leaders."

The leftist *Nasz Swiat* (25 March), supporter of the pro-Russian Kosciuszko League, criticized Rozmarek's action in trying to effect a unified front with the New York KNAPPists regardless of the fact that the last conference of the PNA had gone on record as objecting to KNAPPist policies. Today, the paper said, President Rozmarek was taking Wegrzynek by one arm and Januszewski by the other and was thus parading with them before the forum of American Polonia, claiming that this was necessary for the welfare of Poland. Rozmarek was effecting an alliance with the leaders of KNAPP who, as was known, were connected with the blackest American reactionaries, the enemies of President Roosevelt. It was fortunate that Censor Swietlik was taking a different stand than Rozmarek. Swietlik deserved recognition for the courage displayed at the conference in Chicago, where he had given warning that the Congress of Polonia in Buffalo would do more harm than good to the Polish cause.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

DECLASSIFIED
SECRET

NUMBER 179

— 13 —

1 APRIL 1944

Ukrainian Nationalists Complain An interesting sidelight is the attitude of Ukrainian-American nationalists always interested in Polish-American activity. The Ukrainian nationalist daily *Svoboda* of Jersey City, in an article 23 March on "Polish-Americans and the Defense of Poland," commented at length on *Nowy Swiat's* display of 21 March. It was no business of the Ukrainian-Americans, said *Svoboda*, to tell Polish-Americans how to run their internal affairs. But this was a different matter, concerning Poland in Europe, and the borders which Polish-Americans were undertaking to defend. In this question Ukrainian-Americans were rightly interested.

Following the last war, *Svoboda* added, Polish-Americans had supported the Polish Government in its successful effort to overthrow the Western Ukrainian Republic, and to seize Ukrainian territories. It was absurd for Polish-Americans to talk now about the old borders of Poland and about American ideals of democracy, rights, and justice. This was pure comedy. "And in this spirit of comedy the Poles want to fight, as they say against 'Muscovite thievery.' Whom does Poland hope to have on her side?"

PSF: Poland folder 1-44

May 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Attention: Mr. Brown

Here is the letter addressed by the President to the Prime Minister of Poland in London to be forwarded by pouch. This is the invitation which, because of the shortness of the time, I requested you to cable to the Prime Minister. Thank you.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

May 23, 1944

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

With further reference to your letter of March 18 suggesting that you would like to pay a short visit to Washington for the purpose of discussing the Polish and European situation with me, I find that it will be most convenient to see you on or about June 6.

I hope this arrangement will fit in with your plans, and I am looking forward with real pleasure to the opportunity of seeing and talking with you again.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

His Excellency

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk,

Prime Minister of Poland,

London.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

You will find attached a letter addressed to Premier Mikolajczyk inviting him to come to Washington on June 6.

If you approve of the letter as drafted, I will see that it is dispatched to him.

Attachment:

Letter to
Premier Mikolajczyk.



ctt.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Answered verbally. *PSF: Poland folder* *file personally* *1-44*

The Polish Ambassador, when he called the other day, brought up the question of the visit of Premier Mikolajczyk to Washington and reminded me that in your last letter to the Polish Prime Minister you had indicated that you would be free to see him in the early part of May. I told the Ambassador I would discuss this question with you and submit the following points for your consideration.

1. Since we have already put off the proposed visit of the Prime Minister on two previous occasions, and since he has been told that you hoped to be able to see him in the early part of May, another postponement would tend to give credence to the various rumors to the effect that we were planning to abandon Poland for the sake of placating the Soviet Union.
2. On the other hand, although Premier Mikolajczyk has indicated he would not contact Polish organizations in this country or make any speeches, the fact that he is to visit you would highlight the meeting and tend to indicate that we were championing the Polish cause as against the Soviets.

If you feel that it would be advisable to receive the Polish Prime Minister at any time this year, it would appear best to arrange for the meeting immediately rather than to have him come to Washington during the coming campaign.

If you will let me have your decision on this question, I will pass it on to the Ambassador.



Poland folder 1-44



*OK
Carbon initialed -
5/15/44 - returned to
Secy Dept 5/18/44*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 18, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

With reference to our conversation of May 16 concerning the question of the proposed visit of the Polish Prime Minister to Washington, it is my understanding that you desired to have him arrive in Washington in the early part of June. If you have definitely decided that June 6 would be a suitable date for you to receive him, I will see that an appropriate invitation is delivered.

CH

*Note: A copy of this memorandum has been handed to Miss Barrows.
hms.*



and Prime Minister

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*General Motors
on your
information*

January 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

In view of the fact that I will be away most of the time between the 22nd of January and the first of February, I hope Prime Minister Mikolajczyk can defer his arrival in Washington until after February 1st.

F.D.R.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 13, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

With reference to my memorandum of December 28, 1943 enclosing draft telegrams to Mr. Churchill and Prime Minister Mikolajczyk regarding the postponement of the latter's visit to Washington, the Polish Embassy has advised the Department that Mr. Mikolajczyk has had a talk with Mr. Churchill as was suggested and now desires to proceed to the United States to arrive here, if convenient to you, about January 23.

You will recall that Mr. Churchill in his telegram to you of December 27 suggested that he felt that it would be preferable to postpone the visit of Mr. Mikolajczyk until some sort of agreement had been reached regarding the Polish question. It may be that in view of the latest Soviet proposal for a rectification of the frontier Mr. Churchill may wish again to consult with Mr. Mikolajczyk.

I shall be glad to convey to the Polish Embassy your decision as to the time you will be ready to receive the Polish Prime Minister.

C. J. R.



~~DEPARTMENT~~
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

Poland folder 1-40
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

AMT-878
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (████████)

London

Dated May 27, 1944

Rec'd 3:20 p.m.

*file
Confidential*

Secretary of State,

Washington.

U.S. URGENT

48, May 27, 8 p.m.

POLES

FROM SCHOENFELD

~~SECRET~~

Premier Mikolajczyk plans to arrive in Washington by
June 6 and to stay less than a week (Your 15, May 23).

He will be accompanied by the following assistants:
Stanislaw Tabor, Witold Kulerski and Jozef Zaranski.
Tabor is an officer but will be in civilian clothes
(Kulerski is a member of the National Council and a
close adviser of Mikolajczyk.) Zaranski is Counselor
of Embassy London.

Because of the current travel ban, British hope
we will observe secrecy regarding travel of three
foregoing persons.

Mikolajczyk assures me he fully realizes that any
public contact with Polish groups in United States at
this time or public speechmaking might give rise to
misunderstanding.

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date

FEB 15 1972

-2- #48, May 27, 8 p.m., from London.

misunderstanding. He will, therefore, avoid all such contact and speechmaking and confine his visit to purely official contacts.

He asks me to reiterate his deep gratitude to the President for his invitation.

BUCKNELL

LMS
JRL

PSF: Poland folder
1-44

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
file
GENERAL SECRETARIAT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1944

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN *ML*
SUBJECT: POLISH PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

When Jonathan and I talked to you about Polish propoganda in the United States last week, you suggested that we make available to you materials that you could use as a basis for discussion with the Polish Prime Minister when he arrived. I note that the Prime Minister is now here.

I am attaching herewith a whole series of propoganda pamphlets all of which have been circulated through the Polish Government Information Center. You will note the various maps showing Poland in 1657 and 1793. I have also marked some of the anti-Russian statements, as well as certain statements which are critical of the policy being followed by the United States and Great Britain.

These are mere samples of a large collection of materials that I have in my office. It is my understanding that the Polish Government Information Center has in the past been financed with funds made available by the United States Government. The folks at the Treasury tell me that these funds have been drawn upon by the Polish Government representatives here in cash. They usually withdraw funds in \$20 and \$50 denominations.

I understand that the Department of Justice has some materials on the propoganda activities of the Polish Government in the United States. Jonathan is supposed to have some of their reports in his possession.

DECLASSIFIED

By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

By W. J. Stewart Date FEB 15 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION



*National Archives and Records Service
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, New York 12538*

The following pamphlets attached to Lubin's memorandum to the President, June 5, 1944, have been placed in the open file:

The Polish-Soviet Frontier by Stanislaw Grabski

The Truth About Poland

What Poland Wants by Ignacy Matuszewski

Polish Facts and Figures, No. 2, March 25, 1944

Polish Facts and Figures, No. 4, April 25, 1944

Toward Polish-Soviet Understanding by Wladyslaw R. Malinowski

R. H. P.

PSF: Poland folder
1-44

*file
Confidential*

June 6, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

Dear Grace:

Here are two confidential reports on the Polish situation.

I think we sort of handled the Buffalo conference so that we pulled some of the fangs out of it.

D. K. N.

DAVID K. NILES

May 24, 1944.

This is a comprehensive survey of the Polish situation. It is an unbiased, clear presentation of a serious matter embodying some very serious political consequences. It is based on numerous interviews - perusal of records and in some cases confidential data, conversations with some of the outstanding Polish leaders in both Republican and Democratic ranks. In this inquiry, I received splendid cooperation from Detective JOE KOCZUBA of the Hamtramack Police Department and Detectives MACK and BARRY of the Special Investigation Squad of the Detroit Police Department - all three of them being assigned on the matter in question to the F.B.I. where, I understand, they have rendered splendid service.

This inquiry covers the left and the reactionary factions of American Poles and it is predicated on fact not rumors. This writer has purposely disregarded rumors and has also disregarded the series of stories run by Philip Adler in the Detroit Daily News. It is my understanding that Adler on one of his trips to the Soviet Union as a newspaper correspondent ran some stories of unfavorable nature to the Soviets and that since then has been endeavoring to reenter Russian without any success. Hence the reason for his present attitude, which is more or less one sided to reestablish his standing with the Soviet Government. At any rate his stories were primarily of a pro-Soviet nature and created a terrific resentment among the Poles in Detroit and the Detroit Daily News has been and still is being bombarded by thousands of letters of protest. Being a Jew, Adlers' stories are being utilized by professional Jew-baiters as an example of Jewish sentiment on the Polish question.

In this inquiry the writer has devoted some attention to the allegations that this Polish question is being injected as a political issue and it is being financed by monies granted to the Polish Government under the lend-lease arrangements.

Some attention was also paid to the accusation that the liberal Polish Movement is being fostered and financed by the Soviet Government through an organization set up in Moscow, known as "The COMINSLAV" aimed to link millions of Americans of Slav extraction to Soviet Russia. It is the writers understanding that the Dies Committee is coming out sometime in the middle of June with some sensational data directed against the Cominslav and its' American agency known as the AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS.

In dealing with the liberal movement among the American Poles one and only one organization can be singled out and that is the KOSCIUSZKO LEAGUE. This league was formed in the late Fall of last year and Father ORLEMANSKI is being credited with its founding. On this particular league this writer approached a number of outstanding liberal Poles, who while being in opposition to the formation of a National Polish Congress, are skeptical in their attitude toward the Kosciuszko League. They motivate their skepticism to several outstanding facts----. One is that the League is not representative, does not possess any standing whatsoever among the broad masses of the American Poles, and two, that the League is the Brain-child of the American Communists, whose tactics are similar to the ones used in the American Labor Party, the League for Peace and Democracy and the American Slav Congress. Those liberals insist that the top-ranking leaders of the League are honest, sincere patriots. The machinery of the organization particularly its propoganda and agitation departments as well as the organizational apparatus is definitely controlled by the Commies. They insist

that the same tactics which were employed by the Communist International have been transferred to the Moscow Cominslav which, apparently directs this work in this country, based on their experiences in Russia, without any fundamental understanding of American life and psychology. The result is that this league is packed with well known Commies who represent organizations with astronomical figures as to membership but who actually do not represent anybody but themselves. Several illustrations were cited wherein individuals who happened to be members of the C.I.O. Union, claiming to be representatives of that Union - actually - no mandates of representation were ever issued to them. Those Polish liberals whom this writer interviewed insist that the League is more or less of a paper organization and further cite, based on reliable source, the fact that Father Orlemanski upon his return was faced with some impressive data accumulated by his superiors and it was this data that forced him to ~~bow~~ bow to the mandates and orders of his church. They insist that Father Orlemanski is the victim of Communist machination and was forced to repent when he was ready and could render tremendous service to the cause of Democracy.

In the membership of the League in Detroit are elements that are not even Poles. Some possessing Polish names and some distant Polish ancestors. They insist that the man who actually organized the League and was responsible for its formation was BILL GEBERT, former National Secretary of the Polish Federation of the Communist Party of America and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. On the other hand the Poles who are holding the highest positions in the League are fine outstanding men with unquestionable integrity and standing, sincere and honest in their purposes, but men who have never taken any part in the organizational activities of the American Poles, but who achieved a certain prominence by their contributions to science and education. The President of the League is ANTHONY KORCZMARZYK. He was born in Lublin, Poland, came to Detroit in 1925. He holds Bachelor and Masters degrees from the University of Detroit. He attended the University of Warsaw on a scholarship in 1932-33 and now is employed by the City of Hamtramack in its Board of Education. The City of Hamtramack is predominately Polish. The resentment against him among the people is so terrific that the Board of Education was forced to serve notice on him that he would be replaced as of July 1, of this year. He was the victim of several physical assaults. His life has been threatened and his position, generally speaking is very precarious.

Other leaders of the League are (1) DR. OSCAR LANGE, Professor of Economics of the University of Chicago since 1937. He is a scholar of international repute. He taught at the University of Michigan, University of California, Stanford and Columbia University. He came to the U. S. in 1934 as a Fellow of Mr. Rockefeller's Foundation. He is a typical scholar and at no time did he have any Polish organizational affiliations. He is now on his way back from Moscow.

(2) JOSEPH A VEDDA - considered as being one of the most brilliant men in the League, an educator and politician - with 42 years of service in the City affairs. He enjoys the respect of the Community, but again his standing in the Polish organizations is zero.

(3) WACLAW SOYDA - managing editor of a Polish weekly - NACZ SWIAT. He is a liberal with a contention that the Polish Government in exile did not live up to its democratic professions and commitments. Neither of the above named men are or have been affiliated with the Communist Movement. It appears that they have entered the League either in complete ignorance of the League's origin or motivated by a burning desire to serve the cause of Democracy, irrespective of with whom they are to collaborate. It is a tragic situa-

ation that is doomed to failure as far as the broad masses of the Poles in America are concerned.

The League was incorporated under the laws of the State of Michigan.

The following persons are officers of the KOSCIUSZKO LEAGUE:

Anthony Karczmarczyk, president, (very friendly with Thomas X. Dombrowski) Detroit correspondent of the Daily Worker.
Harry Kijowski, secretary, (part owner of the Glos Ludowy)
Antoino Sojtowski, vice-president.
John Rozyclesi, 1st vice-president.
Marion Jciskowicz, 2nd vice-president
Leon Chocceanowicz, financial secretary
Apolinary Wondolowski, treasurer.

This league was incorporated in Michigan, in February, 1944.
The following individuals are listed as incorporators:

Joseph Wodda, 18984 Muirland
Anthony Krczmaczyk, 9454 Charest, Hamtramck
Apolinary Wondolowski, 17191 Caldwell
Marion Jackowicz, 13276 Bloom
Leon Chaceanowicz, 13157 Moenart
Antonette Saikowski, 13670 Nadine, Royal Oak.

The board of directors listed in the papers of incorporation are:

Anthony Karczmarzyk, 9454 Charest, Hamtramck
Frank Niescierenek, 4511 Sobieski
Walter Golauski, 5412 Chene
Vincent Klein, 13708 Gable (active member of Plymouth unit of Com. Party)
Adam Nowicki, 3242 Evaline -

May 26, 1944.

The coming American Polish Congress, which will take place on May 28th, in Buffalo, will go down in history as the most colossal piece of organizational work. There is really something to learn from the Poles in the manner this congress was created. It is, FRANK JANUCZEWSKI, publisher of the Polish Daily News, who is being given the credit for perfecting this tremendous piece of organizational machinery.

The idea of this Congress was originated and proposed at an intimate conference held on March 4, 1944, at 1309 N. Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. There were exactly 38 men present at this conference. The list of those present will be incorporated in the latter part of this report. At this conference a decision was reached to organize a country wide movement that would embrace within it every Polish known organization and parish. On March 12, 1944, coordinating committees were formed in Detroit, Chicago, New York and other parts of the country and machinery was perfected for the election of delegates to this Congress. Since that date, the work of those various coordinating committees was devoted toward the election of delegates and based on my perusal of reports from various parts of the country at this date, which is only a couple of days before the Congress, this will be the most representative assembly that was ever called together in the history of the American Poles.

There will be over 4,000 delegates and each delegate is to deposit a sum of \$25.00 at the time of his registration, which money will be used to render the cause of Poland as effective as possible. In addition to the monies which will be collected at the Congress, (sum amounting possibly to \$125,000.00) pledges are being received from actually thousands of localities that will considerably augment the financial resources of this body.

This writer interviewed some of the outstanding Polish leaders and politicians in the City of Detroit and can testify to the most unprecedented burning enthusiasm to this country-wide Polish outburst. I have secured assurances from responsible Polish leaders to the effect that political issues will be scrupulously avoided. That nothing will be permitted to be injected that would have any reference to the forthcoming election---at least as far as the official records of the Congress are concerned. But in talking to those leaders, one cannot help in detecting a terrific resentment against the Administration, which will eventually crystalize in some unfriendly form. One thing that this writer can state affirmatively is, that the official Catholic Church is taking a very positive position on the matter and through its' affiliated bodies is urging the Poles to take off the gloves. In this field, the Association of Catholic Trade Unions, a powerful body within the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. is most militant, urging the Poles at the instigation of the Clergy, to be more aggressive, to fight and to use every means within their command to exercise in this fight. They urge to abandon "quietism".

Conspicuous in approving militant action is PAUL WEBER, the head of the Associated Catholic Trade Unions. It is Paul Weber who is injecting the forthcoming election campaign in the Polish issue. Positive evidence is available to the effect that plans are under way to utilize voting blocs, as a threat to foreign policy decisions of our Government.

There is no evidence to the effect that lend-lease money is being used to propagate the cause of the Polish Government-in-exile. The financial response on the part of the Polish-American citizenry is so big that it can amply take care of any monetary outlays or commitments. There is no evidence to the effect that the Polish information center of New York City is in any way involved, directly or indirectly, in the propaganda outpouring in connection with the forthcoming Congress. This information center, however, is the source of a widespread distribution of various literature in connection with the Polish question. This literature is being printed in this country and a large amount of it is being shipped from England and distributed here by the center.

Polish Consular officials throughout the country are keenly watching the developments of the work of the Congress and are in touch with the situation in some sort of a consultative capacity. Daily conferences and consultations between the Consulate officials and the Polish leadership are taking place quite frequently.

The backbone of this Congress is the Polish-American Press who have been devoting pages of publicity material to further its success. The main aim of this Congress according to various pronouncements made in the Polish newspapers is to save Poland from a new partition. It proposes to unite Polish-Americans in common action and complete support of the Polish Government-in-Exile. Some of these newspapers advance an outright accusation that the American Government has forgotten about its pledges, alleging repudiation of the principle slogans of the Atlantic Charter. Other newspapers are advocating the creation of a black-list which would include the names of Government officials, newspapers who are known to be favorable to the Russian views on the Polish question. One accusation stands out particularly and that is that Russia aims to Communize Poland and later on the rest of Europe.

Ample evidence is available to the effect that this forthcoming Congress is receiving impressive backing from isolationist members of both houses of Congress. Some of those Congressmen later on will take on the Polish cause more effectively.

The topnotch leaders whose prestige and tireless work made this Congress possible are ROZMAREK, WEGRZYNEK and JANUSZEWSKI, all of whom were and are very active in the Republican Party.

Januszewski was honored recently by the Republican Party of Michigan with an affair in the Book-Cadillac Hotel in which 1300 Poles participated. Senator Vandenberg and Governor Kelly of Michigan were the principle speakers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

file →
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 6, 1944

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MR. LUBIN
SUBJECT: POLISH PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

Further information for your conversation with the Polish Prime Minister has been turned over to me by Jonathan Daniels. The attached memorandum from him is based upon information that he received from the Office of Strategic Services and the Department of Justice.

You will note that the newly created Polish American Congress is closely tied up with the Polish Government through one of the Congress's principal leaders who is Dewey's leader among the Poles.

The information thus far secured shows a close relationship between the Polish Information Center, which has been using funds made available for underground work by the United States Government, and KNAPP, which is an ultra-nationalistic and anti-Soviet Polish organization in the United States.

There is enough information available now to indict some of the Polish leaders who have been working with the Polish Information Center (a Polish Government agency) under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

DECLASSIFIED
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
By W. J. Stewart Date FEB 15 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Jonathan Daniels

The formation in Buffalo on May 28th of the Polish American Congress, with Charles Rozmarek of the Polish National Alliance as President, means that a sounding board has been established by which an alliance of certain American Poles and certain European Poles can make themselves heard in American as well as international politics.

Some of the American Polish leaders are anti-Administration Republicans who hope to swing some votes to the Republican camp by agitating the Polish boundary issue. One of their principal leaders, Maximilian Wegrzynek, president of the KNAPP (National Committee of Citizens of Polish Descent) and editor of the ultra-nationalistic daily "Nowy Swiat", is Dewey's leader among the Poles. He was elected one of the vice presidents of the Congress.

The European Poles are reactionary ultra-Nationalist colonels and politicians who hope to influence American and Polish foreign policy by propaganda, pressure, and the threat of weaning Polish-American voters from their traditional Democratic voting habits. Obviously these European Poles seek a Poland not only shaped in terms of old boundaries but also in terms of old economic and social patterns.

The Congress was created by the combined efforts of a group from the Polish-American Council, (the main coordinating agency for the Polish-American fraternal organizations) and the so-called Coordinating Committee for Polish Organizations in the East. This group in the Polish-American Council first called the Buffalo Congress when the Council was asked by the Department of Justice to cease issuing pro-Polish propaganda or register as a foreign agent. The Coordinating Committee is sponsored by KNAPP, which is the principal ultra-nationalist group among American Poles. The ideological leaders of KNAPP are three Polish Reserve Army Officers, who formerly held high positions in the Pilsudski government. A founder and former treasurer of KNAPP, and now also a vice president of the Congress, is Frank Januszewski, the editor of an ultra-nationalist Polish newspaper in Detroit and a member of the Michigan State Republican Committee. KNAPP's president, as pointed out above, is Dewey's chief Polish political supporter. Before the war he had a monopoly on the import of Polish ham to the United States. Another KNAPP man, Stanislaus Gutowski, is secretary of the Congress.

KNAPP and the Polish Information Center, an agency of the Government-In-Exile, have been working together for some time. The

Center has been subsidized by KNAPP by buying copies of its publications, and by paying fees to some of its employees for information services. There are indications that policies have been pursued by the Center which have been concealed from the Department of Justice. It is significant that the PIC spent a half a million dollars in 1943 and is spending this year at twice that rate. Its spendings do not cover propaganda funds spent by consuls and other diplomatic officials which are believed to be large. Though Poland now has gold of its own in the United States, some of these funds, in effect, came out of the \$12,000,000 which Poland has received from Presidential funds, presumably for work in the Polish underground, and taken in \$20 bills by Polish officials.

Two months ago Drohojowski, secretary-general of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Government-in-Exile, came to this country reportedly to step up the program of Polish propaganda in the United States because of the alleged feeling in Polish circles in London that the Government-in-Exile will stand or fall on support among U. S. Poles in the next three months.

The connections between KNAPP and the Polish Information Center on the one hand, and KNAPP and the Polish-American Congress on the other, are intimate enough so that steps should be taken to separate them. There are people in the Polish Government-in-Exile who are deeply disturbed by this situation and intercepts indicate that in this country Drohojowski and the Ambassador are at odds over the situation. Certainly any connection between U. S. funds for Poland and the use of such funds for anti-Administration propaganda in the United States deserves attention.

I believe that if the Polish Government-in-Exile cannot be prevailed upon to clean up this situation that it can be effectively dealt with under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

File

June 6, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I am enclosing for your information before you see the Polish Prime Minister a summary of his review to me of the Polish situation, Polish-Soviet relations and the attitude of the Polish Government.

Enclosure:

Summary of remarks.

DECLASSIFIED





REPRODUCTION OF THIS
DOCUMENT IS PROHIBITED
WITHOUT THE WRITTEN PERMISSION OF
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Published in

Foreign Relations of the United States

1944 Vol. 111 The British Common-
wealth
Europe

Pages 1274-1276

~~SECRET~~

SUMMARY OF REMARKS OF THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER
MR. MIKOLAJCZYK TO THE UNDERSECRETARY CONCERNING
THE POLISH SITUATION AND POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS.

Polish-Soviet Relations.

Whereas previously the Soviet position was that the Polish Government must accept the Curzon Line as the Polish-Soviet frontier before a resumption of relations, there have recently been indications that the Soviet Government now considers the resumption of relations to be the first step; and a definite frontier settlement to await the end of the war. This change in emphasis in the Soviet position is probably due to the Soviet realization of the strength of the Polish Underground and the Soviet failure to obtain any appreciable support within Poland by by-passing the Polish Government and official Underground.

Informal contacts on the political level through an intermediary in London have led to nothing since Soviet officials, although without definite instructions from Moscow, insist upon reorganization of the Polish Government to an extent which would be impossible for the Polish Government to accept. These Russian officials had mentioned specifically the Polish President, Commander-in-Chief, and Ministers of War and Information as unacceptable individuals to the Soviet Government.

While it is not entirely clear on what basis the Soviet Government would consider a resumption of relations the general atmosphere is somewhat more propitious than at any time since the rupture.

Underground Relations with the Soviet Armies.

On entering Polish territory the Soviet Armies had refused to recognize any Underground and had subsequently attempted to induce Polish resistance groups to join General Berling's divisions. Upon realization of the strength of the Polish Underground organization, even east of the Curzon Line, the Soviet Commander in Volhynia established contact the beginning of April with members of the Underground. However, as the result of a German counter-attack these contacts had been broken off, and since then the only contacts have been between Soviet partisans and the Polish Underground. The Polish Underground was highly organized and prepared to take its part as an army in the

decisive

decisive battles to come but needed more supplies and the establishment of coordinated contact on a centralized basis with the Soviet Armies. The Prime Minister has with him a General recently arrived from Poland who was a strategic staff officer of the Underground Army, and he felt that it was very important that this General should be brought into contact while he is here with the appropriate American military officers.

The Prime Minister gave the following summary of the attitudes and views of the Polish Government and the Polish people towards present and postwar problems.

1. All Poles desired good and neighborly relations with the Soviet Union but not that Poland should become a satellite in any sense.
2. No settlement, territorial or otherwise, could be accepted which would leave the Polish people with the sense that injustice had been done to them.
3. Poland should not emerge from the war with diminished territory. The Polish people, who had endured frightful hardships for five years in fighting Germany, would not understand why Poland should be asked to sacrifice territory. Frontier adjustments in the east could be made a part of the general settlement. The Polish Government did not desire to discuss now any general territorial compensation in the west for losses in the east since the shifts of population proposed by Churchill might well be unacceptable to British and American public opinion at the end of the war. The only territorial acquisitions which the Polish Government envisaged are East Prussia and Silesia: the first, for the purpose of providing Poland with a free and broad access to the sea which would also serve as an outlet for eastern and other countries in central Europe; and Silesia, not only for ethnic reasons but also to deprive Germany of a most important industrial base.
4. There should be absolutely no interference in the internal life of Poland by any outside power.
5. The Polish Government favored the idea of economic federations in Europe in order to counteract German economic supremacy.

supremacy. Without such economic associations Germany, although defeated, will have, by organizational economic measures effected during the war, a completely dominant position in Europe, many of which measures it might prove impossible to disentangle. The Polish Government considered it of great importance that the occupied countries of Europe should at least be given every opportunity to start on an economic level with Germany and utilize for the good of all the most acceptable economic measures which the Germans have introduced. This could only be done by strong economic ties between non-German states. The Polish Government did not in any sense regard such federation or association as a cordon sanitaire against Russia.

6. The Polish Government and people felt themselves at the present time isolated and that matters of direct concern to Poland were being discussed by the three great powers without Polish participation. Furthermore, because of the hostile attitude of one of the powers Poland's interests in general were being adversely affected since there seems to be a tendency because of the Soviet attitude to exclude Polish representatives from consideration of questions in which as an independent state Poland was interested.

7. The Polish Government desired to discuss the question of relief supplies, Lend-Lease assistance and matters affecting the economic reconstruction of the Polish State with the Government of the United States and in particular the question of the administration of Poland as the country was liberated. There exists an organized, secret administration of the Polish State which numbers 30,000 people, but as yet there has been no agreement with any country as to the administration of Poland by this organization.

Poland folder 1-44

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

*file
confidential*

June 14, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In a conversation this morning with the Under Secretary, Prime Minister Mikolajczyk expressed a natural desire to be sure that he clearly understood your offer to lend him moral support in any efforts he might be able to make to reach a mutually satisfactory understanding with the Soviet Government.

The Prime Minister foresees that the need for such moral support might arise under the following possible circumstances:

"For instance, if there should be a possibility of establishing direct conversations between the Polish and Soviet Governments, Premier Mikolajczyk would appreciate it if the President could lend his moral support to the Polish Government by an expression of hope to the Soviet Government that such conversations might be successful provided he felt it opportune to do so at that time. In the event that such conversations take place and a stalemate should ensue therefrom, Premier Mikolajczyk expresses the hope that, if in the prevailing circumstances the President should feel it to be opportune, he might again lend his moral support in an effort to overcome the stalemate.

"Since it is the sincere desire of Premier Mikolajczyk to make every effort to reach a mutually satisfactory understanding with the Soviet Government, he hopes

that



that in the event that such conversations should not take place, or if such conversations should be broken off, he could still count upon the moral support of the United States Government for a free and independent Poland."

The Prime Minister would appreciate any observations or corrections you might care to make in regard to his understanding of this matter when he calls to take leave of you today.

It is felt that in discussing this question with the Polish Prime Minister, it would be advisable to reiterate to him that such moral support as we may be in a position to give will, of necessity, fall within the framework of our tender of good offices.

CH



file Personnel Poland folder 1-44

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The attached despatch, no. 18090 of June 7, 1944, transmits a copy of a letter addressed to Ambassador Messersmith by the Polish Minister of Labor and Social Welfare who recently visited Mexico. The letter requests the Ambassador to convey a message of appreciation from the Polish refugees at Santa Rosa to the President.

The situation at the Santa Rosa refugee camp under Polish Administration has been, according to reports received, bad. Sanitary and health conditions are reported as poor; the morale of the refugees is low; and the morals of the camp are said to be very poor. LIFE magazine has sent photographers and a reporter to Mexico and is planning a story on the camp. LIFE is given to sensational approaches to such stories and it has not been very friendly to Mexico. Presumably their story on the camp will be unpleasant.

This background may be of help in considering any publicity that may be desired regarding this message.

Enclosure:
Despatch, no. 18090,
June 7, 1944.

(Copy of entire corres. filed - Mexico folder, 1-44)

CH

México, D.F., June 7, 1944.

No. 18090

Subject: With reference to the visit of Mr. Jan Stanczyk, Polish Minister of Labor and Social Welfare to Mexico.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that the Polish Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, Mr. JAN STANCZYK, has recently made a visit to Mexico for the purpose of visiting the refugee camp at Santa Rosa in the State of Guanajuato, at which are lodged some Polish refugees who have been brought into Mexico for a temporary stay during the period of the War as a result of arrangements entered into between the Polish Government, the British Government and our Government and as a result of an exchange of notes, I believe, between the Foreign Office here and the Polish Legation. The Department is familiar with these arrangements and with regard to the procedure thereunder, in view of the voluminous reports of this Embassy thereon.

Mr. Stanczyk came to Mexico in view of the fact that certain difficulties have arisen in the administration and conduct of the camp at Santa Rosa, and he came here personally to inform himself on this matter, and while he was here, I understand, he consulted with the Polish Minister in Mexico. He was also in contact with Mr. O'Donoghue, one of the Secretaries of this Embassy, who has been following this matter very closely and also with Mr. Ransom, the head of our Procurement and Development Office in Mexico City, and who is the F.E.A. Representative here.

I did not have an opportunity to see Mr. Stanczyk during his stay in Mexico City as on the occasions which he wished to see me, I was occupied with unavoidable duties, but he received from Mr. O'Donoghue, the Secretary of the Embassy with whom he had constant contact, all the information which he needed from us.

I have received today a letter from Mr. Stanczyk, dated June 5, in which he asks that a message be conveyed from the Polish refugees at Santa Rosa to President Roosevelt. A copy of his letter is transmitted with this despatch.

I am not able to determine why the Polish Minister of Labor and Social Welfare asked me to transmit this message instead of transmitting it through the Polish Embassy in Washington in view of the fact that I understand he has returned or is returning from Mexico City to Washington.

I am,

Respectfully yours,

Enclosure: George S. Messersmith
From Mr. Stanczyk,
June 5, 1944.

(To the Department in quintuplicate)

File No. 800 - Refugees - Polish refugees

GSM/eas

ENCLOSURE TO DESPATCH NO. 18090 DATED JUNE 7, 1944.

COPY

POSZYSTWO RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ

Mexico City, June 5th, 1944.

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I should be very grateful if you would be good enough to convey the following message from Polish refugees at Santa Rosa to the President of the United States of America Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt:

"Polish refugees at Santa Rosa assembled to greet Polish Minister of Labour and Social Welfare Mr. Jan Stanczyk, have the honour to convey to you, Mr. President, assurances of their deepest gratitude for your generous help owing to which they have found a haven in Mexico, after their long and tragic experiences.

The Polish refugees and with them the entire Polish nation will never forget what you did for them, Mr. President. We are firmly convinced that your magnanimity is fully appreciated also by all American of Polish descent."

With the assurance of my highest consideration, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(signed)
Jan Stanczyk
Polish Minister of Labour and
Social Welfare

His Excellency
Mr. George S. Messersmith,
Ambassador of the United States
of America,
Mexico City, D.F.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
copy*

July 5, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ADMIRAL LEAHY:

FOR RECOMMENDATION.

F.D.R.

Poland folder
1-44

[REDACTED]

July 6, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Director of The Bureau
of The Budget:

The attached memorandum from the Secretary of State recommending that a credit of approximately \$20,000,000 be given to the Polish Government for the support of the Polish Underground forces under certain conditions, and for the maintenance of Polish Missions in the Western Hemisphere, is approved for \$10,000,000 conditional upon the Polish Underground forces activities being closely coordinated with the military operations of the Soviet Army, and is forwarded for appropriate action in the Bureau of the Budget.

/s/ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

DECLASSIFIED

By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

By W. J. Stewart Date

[REDACTED]

FEB 14 1972

Copy for The Secretary of State

June 28, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Reference is made to Premier Mikolajczyk's request for additional financial aid for the use of the Polish Underground forces and for the maintenance of Polish missions in the western hemisphere. A copy of Premier Mikolajczyk's memorandum on this subject was transmitted to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ascertain, from the military point of view, whether it was felt that it would be useful to the general war effort if we made available to the Polish Government all or part of the sum requested.

It is my understanding that you indicated to the Polish Prime Minister that if it should not prove possible to grant the entire sum now, we might give them, as an initial installment, a credit of approximately \$20,000,000.

There is attached for your information a copy of the reply received from the Joint Chiefs of Staff indicating that, from a military point of view, they favor giving an initial credit of \$20,000,000 provided that the activities of the Polish Underground Army are closely coordinated with the military operations of the Red Army. The Department concurs with the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

If you approve of this recommendation, it is suggested that the American Chargé d'Affaires near the Polish Government so inform the Polish Government and request from Premier Mikolajczyk written assurances that the Polish Underground Army will cooperate fully with the Red Army forces against the Germans. With such assurances in hand, we could then instruct Ambassador Harriman to inform Marshal Stalin of these assurances and advise him that we are making this credit available.

Since, during the past two years, you have made available from your Emergency Fund \$2,500,000 for the upkeep of Polish missions and consulates in the western hemisphere, and since the same amount is requested for the coming year,

DECLASSIFIED

State Department, 1-11-72

By J. Schaubie Date [REDACTED]

it is

FEB 14 1972

it is recommended that approval be given for this additional sum as requested.

If you approve these recommendations and so inform the Budget Bureau, I will see that the necessary arrangements are made.

Enclosure:

Copy of letter from
Joint Chiefs of Staff,
June 24, 1944.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date [REDACTED]

FEB 14 1972

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Washington 25, D. C.

[REDACTED]
24 June 1944.

The Honorable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In reply to your letter of June 15, 1944, enclosing a copy of the memorandum to the President from the Polish Prime Minister, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are of the opinion that, from a military point of view, continued financial support of the Polish Underground Army will be useful to the general war effort, provided that the activities of the Polish forces are closely coordinated with the military operations of the Russian Army. The usefulness of such coordinated activities has been amply demonstrated in France. For this reason it is believed that provision of funds for the upkeep, maintenance, and operations of the Underground Army and Administration in Poland should be favorably considered. An initial installment of \$20,000,000 with further assistance conditioned upon permanent and effective collaboration with the Red Army is considered advisable.

However, the further development of the Underground Army and the proposed manufacture of arms and ammunition are believed to be quite impracticable at this time. In fact, if any great increase in the activities in the Polish Underground is to occur, it would seem that supplies and materials are what is required in Poland rather than funds. The non-availability of additional heavy bombers, which provide the only means of transporting supplies and materials to Poland, prevents any material increase in the present scale of such operations.

Sincerely yours,

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY,
Admiral, U.S. Navy,
Chief of Staff to the
Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

[REDACTED] DECLASSIFIED

JCS memo, 1-4-74
By RHP, NLR, Date [REDACTED]

FEB 19 1974

SECRET

July 6, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Director of The Bureau
of The Budget:

The attached memorandum from the Secretary of State recommending that a credit of approximately \$20,000,000 be given to the Polish Government for the support of the Polish Underground forces under certain conditions, and for the maintenance of Polish Missions in the Western Hemisphere, is approved for \$10,000,000 conditional upon the Polish Underground forces activities being closely coordinated with the military operations of the Soviet Army, and is forwarded for appropriate action in the Bureau of the Budget.

DECLASSIFIED

By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

By W. J. Stewart Date FEB 14 1972

Copy for The Secretary of State

SECRET

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Director of The Bureau of
The Budget:

The attached memorandum from the Secretary of State recommending that a credit of approximately ~~200,000,000~~ *10,000,000* be given to the Polish Government for the support of the Polish Underground forces under certain conditions, and for the maintenance of Polish Missions in the Western Hemisphere, is approved and forwarded for appropriate action in the Bureau of the Budget.

Conditional

etc

For \$10,000,000

*conditional upon the Polish
Underground forces activities
being closely coordinated with
the military operations of the
Soviet Army,*

Copy for The Secretary of State

DECLASSIFIED

By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

By W. J. Stewart Date FEB 14 1972

Poland folder
1-44

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 7, 1944.

~~SECRET~~

file

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

It is noted that your memorandum to the Director of the Budget, dated July 6, concerning the allocation of \$10,000,000 to the Polish Underground forces upon their fulfillment of the conditions stated therein, does not make any reference to the recommendation contained in my memorandum of June 28 for the allocation of \$2,500,000 for the upkeep of Polish missions and consulates in the Western Hemisphere which is quite apart from the recommendation for the Polish Underground.

Am I correct in assuming that you approve this additional \$2,500,000 for Polish missions in the Western Hemisphere, thus making the total approved \$12,500,000? If this is correct I assume you will inform the Director of the Budget of your approval of this additional sum of \$2,500,000.

C H

C.H.
This is 10,000,000
plus 2,500,000
12,500,000

F.D.R.



DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date FEB 15 1972

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PSF: Poland
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

BJR - 35
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. ~~██████████~~

London

Dated July 9, 1944

Rec'd 5:25 a.m. 10th.

*file
secret*

Secretary of State,
Washington.

62, July 9, 8 p.m.

POLES

FROM SCHOENFELD

~~██████████~~ FOR THE SECRETARY AND THE UNDERSECRETARY

No distribution.

Premier Mikolajczyk has given me the following
account of recent conversations regarding possible
resumption of Polish-Soviet relations. He requests
that the fact of such conversations as well as their
substance be kept completely secret.

Since his return from Washington he has had
three conversations with Ambassador Lebedev. These
talks started out with a certain amount of promise
but the early hopes were not fulfilled. The talks
have been broken off.

I understand that Mikolajczyk when in Washington
reported tenor of certain preliminary conversations
between

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 10 1972

-2- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

between Grabski and Lebedev and between Benes and himself. I shall therefore not review them.

Grabski and Lebedev had a further meeting on June 10. L. inquired as to the results of the Benes-Mikolajczyk meeting. G. said that as far as he knew it concerned the problem of Polish Government personalities which was an internal problem. L. concurred but said that if those problems were settled on Polish initiative all controversial problems between Russia and Poland could be settled later very easily and favorably for Poland and M's visit to Moscow could take place very soon.

G replied that when the principle of collaboration should be agreed upon the problem of personalities would be no obstacle. L said, if, however, M made any changes after his visit to Moscow this would create a bad impression in the world, for this should be Poland's internal question. Hence it would be well if he would settle this problem now. It was agreed to have a meeting with M on his return from Washington.

Such a meeting took place on June 20. G was also present. M inquired as to what L thought should be

done to

-3- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

done to reestablish diplomatic relations. L said he had no instructions but he could state that Stalin intends to come to an agreement with a Polish Government friendly towards Russia. If the Polish Government would drop those persons concerning whom Russia had reservations and thus guarantee a friendly collaboration in the future, all controversial problems could be easily settled in direct negotiations between Stalin and M.

M said a change of the President was out of the question and all problems of changes of personalities had to remain Poland's internal problem. It was necessary first of all to agree on the principles of collaboration and then to adjust the composition of the Cabinet accordingly, so that the agreed obligations could be carried out loyally and exactly.

L inquired as to those principles and M said they were (A) resumption of normal diplomatic relations; (B) a common plan of action for the Polish home forces and the Soviet armies; (C) cooperation between the home authorities of the Polish Government in their administrative capacity with the Soviet military authorities

-4- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London:

authorities entering Poland; (D) possible changes of frontier to be postponed until the end of the war.

L said he did not think there would be any difficulties regarding the problem of administration. The Czech-Soviet agreement provides that the Czechoslovak authorities should take over administration immediately and unlike some other treaties, it had been published. He was convinced a Polish-Soviet agreement on administration would not be less favorable.

L suggested that when Moscow's replies to the four points were received, they should be kept secret and that certain changes in the Polish Government should then be made so that M would go to Moscow as the Prime Minister of this new government. All decisions concerning the four points would be announced in Moscow during his visit. As to Moscow's reply to those four points, L felt confident it would be rather favorable.

On June 22 L proposed a further meeting to take place that day. He and M arranged to meet at six that evening. L indicated he did now see difficulties regarding resumption of diplomatic relations and an agreement

-5- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

agreement concerning administration on Polish territories: He desired elucidation, however, as to what was meant by postponing the problem of the future Polish-Soviet frontier until the end of the war.

M explained that constitutionally the Polish Government was not empowered to cede any part of Poland's territory and therefore could not enter now into any agreement that would change the hitherto existing frontier between Poland and Russia. The Polish Government, however, had already declared its readiness to enter into discussions on problems of frontiers in conjunction with the whole of future territorial problems. At the present moment it was important to establish a demarcation line, to the west of which there would be Polish state administration. This demarcation line should assure the maximum war effort on the part of the Polish nation and should leave under the administration of the Polish state those territories with the greatest concentration of Poles. Yet the ethnographic frontier was not simple. In the north and in the south the main concentrations of Poles were more to the east than in the center and therefore

-6- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

therefore the demarcation line could not be identical with any future frontier. They had to be treated separately and differently.

L said the Soviet Government standpoint was still that in principle the Curzon line should be the future frontier and that here the discussions should start.

M said a frontier drawn along this line would deprive Poland of half its territory and of eleven millions of its population, including at least five million Poles. Therefore a frontier drawn along this line was unacceptable and would wrong the Polish nation so grievously as to make a friendly Polish-Russian cooperation afterwards impossible.

L said Poland would have far more favorable frontier in the west.

M said that at present there was only one frontier between Poland and Russia, namely, the one existing in 1921. The Ribbentrop-Molotov line was a Russo-German frontier and had been abolished by the Polish-Soviet agreement of 1941 and neither the Soviet Union nor Poland had ever legally recognized the

Curzon line

-7- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

Curzon line nor had this line ever existed in southern Galicia. If the Soviet Government desired to enter into negotiations on frontiers, Poland was ready to negotiate a change of its eastern frontiers only in conjunction with discussions on the problem of assuring better frontiers in the west and in the north. The principle that Poland could not emerge from this war wronged and diminished had to be upheld, whereas all that was now being proposed to Poland represented only one third of what it would lose by accepting a frontier along the Curzon line.

L asked whether this meant that the territory of Poland, including gains in the west and the north, could not be smaller than the territory Poland had before 1939. M answered: Yes.

L asked for an approximate description of the demarcation line and proposed a continuation of the discussion next day.

On June 23, M, L, and G met again. At this meeting L said he had had no instructions from Moscow regarding the demarcation line of which he had never heard anything before the preceding day. As to the future

-8- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

future frontier, the Soviet Government's standpoint was that it should be run along the Curzon line. To the west of that line Polish administration would be established as soon as the Soviet Armies crossed it. L asked what was the Polish viewpoint.

M said the Government had no right to cede any part of Polish territory. It could not discuss a revision of the Riga treaty, not knowing what would happen regarding Polish frontiers in the west and north. The best thing would be to postpone discussions on the Polish Soviet frontier until the end of the war and to agree now on the principles of future negotiations only. These principles were: Poland cannot emerge from the war with diminished territory; Poland does not wish to retain within its frontiers those who would not wish to remain there; thus if the Soviet Government should wish to discuss the whole problem of frontiers the Polish Government would not evade such discussions.

L said he could inform M of the Soviet standpoint. This was as follows: before the resumption of diplomatic relations, the following conditions had to be fulfilled.

-9- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

fulfilled. President Raczkiewicz, General Sosnkowski, Minister Kukiel and Minister Kot had to resign the posts enabling them to influence the policy of the Polish Government. A reconstruction of the Government had to take place and the new cabinet had to include representatives of Poles from London the USSR the U.S.A. and the National Council in Poland. The reconstructed government would condemn the previous government for its mistake in the Katyn affair. The Curzon line was to be the new frontier.

After the foregoing conditions had been fulfilled it would be possible to resume diplomatic relations and an agreement on Polish administration on Polish territories would be signed.

L asked M whether there was anything he could transmit to the Soviet Government. M replied that he had nothing to say. As to the conditions, he merely wished to stress that they did not seem to denote either good intentions with respect to renewing diplomatic relations or the wish not to wrong Poland in the interest of future friendly Polish-Soviet relations and collaboration.

M tells

-10- #62, July 9, 8 p.m., from London.

M tells me that the conversations were thus broken off and there has been no contact since. He expressed the opinion that the Soviet Government, as its recent propaganda suggests, would renew its efforts to develop pro-Soviet support among different Polish elements. He thought if it failed, it might later be disposed to enter upon discussions again.

He asked me whether I had had any word from Washington regarding a recent message from the President to Premier Stalin regarding him. I told him I had not. He said he understood such a message had been sent.

I inquired whether Washington had been informed of developments through Ambassador Ciechanowski. M said Ciechanowski had not been informed. He did not desire this information to pass through too many hands. It was known to only a very few persons.

WINANT

CSB