

● PSF

Poland

1945

Dup file

file confidential

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Resolution of Polish American
Democratic Organization of Chicago

At the request of Congressman Gordon of Illinois, I today received a delegation representing the Polish American Democratic Organization of Chicago.

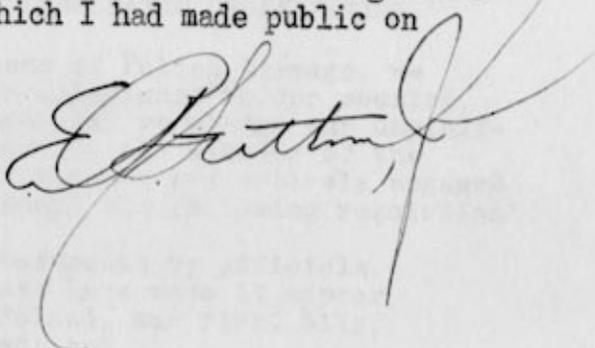
The spokesman of the group stated that, in view of the recent declaration made by Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons regarding Poland, the members of his organization had become apprehensive regarding the future of the Polish state, and therefore the executives of the organization felt it incumbent upon them to present a resolution to the United States Government outlining the hopes and desires of the members of their organization and the Polish Americans in Chicago. He explained that during the last campaign his organization had assured Polish American voters that the United States Government would not let the Polish people down and would restore Poland as a free sovereign nation. Because of these pledges, the officials of the organization felt that they must bring to the attention of the United States Government the wishes of the Polish American expressed in the resolution.

I thanked them for their courtesy in calling and told them I would see that the resolution was brought to your attention immediately. I added that I knew, from my contacts with you and Mr. Hull, that the United States

would

would not let the Polish people down and would bend every effort to restore a sovereign independent Poland.

The spokesman added that he and the members of his organization were very grateful for the strong statement regarding Poland which I had made public on December 18.



Enclosure:

Resolution presented by
Polish American Democratic
Organization of Chicago.

Resolved, we conceive it to be our paramount duty to concentrate all our energies upon the successful prosecution of the war.

Resolved, that we, the Polish American Democratic Organization, hereby express our sincere hope and trust that general military operations to be conducted as an independent and voluntary action shall be resolved upon the cessation of hostilities in Europe, in accordance with the policy of the United States Government, with the ultimate objective of preserving the territorial integrity of Poland as it existed September 1, 1939.

PSF: Poland

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

We the undersigned have the honor to transmit to you the following resolution unanimously adopted by the POLISH AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION.

As American citizens of Polish lineage, we earnestly re-affirm our allegiance to our country, the United States of America; we pledge our unyielding and ceaseless support in the winning of the World War, in which our kinsmen are actively engaged on all fronts; and we adopt the following resolution:

WHEREAS, recent statements by officials of other governments have made it appear that the fate of Poland, our first Ally, has been pre-judged; and

WHEREAS, the Secretary of State of the United States, has unequivocally reiterated the steadfast policy of the United States Government, to preserve, maintain and restore the independence of the the United Nations; and

WHEREAS, we conceive it to be of paramount importance to concentrate all our energies upon the successful prosecution of the war;

now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we, the Polish American Democratic Organization, hereby express our sincere hope and trust that controversial matters appertaining to Poland as an independent and sovereign nation, shall be resolved upon the cessation of hostilities in Europe, in accordance with the policy of the United States Government, with the ultimate objective of preserving the territorial integrity of Poland as it existed September 1, 1939.

Polish American Democratic Organization

Executive Committee,

(Signed)

John Prystoliki
Stephen Love
Peter H. Schwaba

Frank Bobjtzal, President

Victor L. Scheaeger
Ludwik Lesnicke
Leo Kociaskowski

Joseph H. Rostenkowski
Casmir Guglick
John A. Szumnanski

Chicago, December 20, 1944

PSF; Poland folder

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Jan. 5, 1945

MR. PRESIDENT:

The Secretary of State just telephoned to say that the Russians have recognized the Lublin Committee as the Government of Poland. The press are asking if we were informed.

He would like to say "We did receive advance notice".

Is this O.K.

djb

OK

PSF:Poland

January 10, 1945

My dear Mr. Shumeyko:

I have received, by reference from the White House, your letter of October 13, 1944, and I have noted the views which you expressed therein on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America with respect to the Polish question.

x463-A

Sincerely yours,

Elbridge Durbrow
Chief, Division of
Eastern European Affairs

Mr. Stephen Shumeyko,

President, Ukrainian Congress

Committee of America,

P.O. Box 721, Church Street Annex,

New York 8, New York.

January 10, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HASSETT

**Subject: Letter to the President from
the Ukrainian Congress Commit-
tee of America.**

There is returned herewith for the White House files, in accordance with the President's memorandum of December 30, 1944, a letter dated October 13, 1944, addressed to the President by Stephen Shumeyko, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and a copy of the acknowledgement made by the State Department in reply to this letter.

Enclosures:

**From Stephen Shumeyko,
October 13, 1944.**

To Stephen Shumeyko.

145.

Poland - 1944

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 30, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE STATE DEPARTMENT:

TO ACKNOWLEDGE AND RETURN

FOR MY FILES.

F.D.R.

Letter from Stephen Shumeyko, President,
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, P.O. Box 721,
Church St. Annex, New York 8, N.Y., 10/13/44, to the
President, in re future eastern boundaries of Poland
as they affect the Ukrainian population.

~~SECRET~~

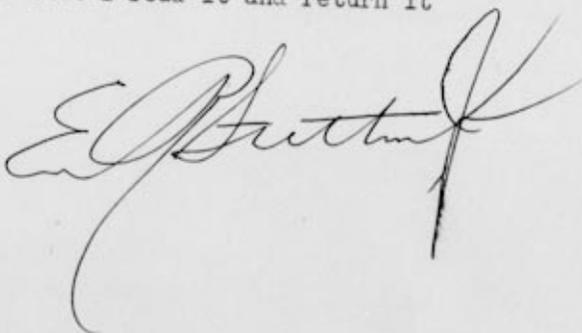
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Letter to the President from
the Ukrainian Congress
Committee of America.

I return herewith the letter dated October 13
addressed to the President by Stephen Shumeyko,
President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of
America. It was forwarded to me on December 12
with the request that I read it and return it
for your files.



DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date **FEB 13 1972**

220-A
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE: *x 20*

TO READ AND RETURN FOR
MY FILES.

F.D.R.

Letter from Stephen Shumeyko,^{*} President,
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America,
P.O. Box 721, Church St. Annex, New York 8,^{*}
N.Y., 10/13/44, to the President, as per the
attached brief.

x413-A
x220-A

Refers to the recent talk which the President had with the Memorial Committee of the Polish American Congress in regard to the future eastern boundaries of Poland. He states that the delegation failed to inform the President that the preponderant majority of the population involved in the Soviet-Polish border dispute is neither Polish nor Russian, but purely Ukrainian. The writer, on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, urges the President to recommend to the Allied conferences in Washington, London, and Moscow, on matters relating to the Soviet-Polish border dispute that, in order to promote peace and security in post-war Eastern Europe, a plebiscite be held in the territory involved in the dispute, namely, Western Ukraine, for the purpose of determining the true wishes of the population therein on the question of their future national allegiance.

STEPHEN SHUMAYKO
MAPLEWOOD, N. J.
PRESIDENT

DR. WALTER GALLAN
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VICE-PRESIDENT

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UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

ORIGINALLY ORGANIZED AT FIRST CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT
MAY 24, 1940 AND REORGANIZED AT SECOND CONGRESS, JANUARY 22, 1944

P. O. Box 721, CHURCH ST. ANNEX
NEW YORK 8, N. Y.
October 13, 1944

The President
White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

Deeply concerned as you are with securing peace in post-war Europe, you received last Wednesday, October 11, the Memorial Committee of the Polish American Congress and listened to its view on, among other things, the future eastern boundaries of Poland.

Since before the war, the eastern boundaries of Poland embraced Western Ukraine with its some seven million Ukrainian population, we believe that for the same reason that you heard the Polish American delegation you will likewise give heed to the Ukrainian-American view on those boundaries, as expressed below by the undersigned Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which represents communities, organizations

and parishes throughout the country composed of both older and younger generation Americans of Ukrainian descent, the older generation being born and raised in Western Ukraine and the younger generation here in America.

At the very outset we are obliged to call your attention to a very important fact which, judging by press reports, the Polish American delegation unconscionably and completely ignored in its inferential references to the current Soviet-Polish border dispute. That fact is

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UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

ORIGINALLY ORGANIZED AT FIRST CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT
MAY 24, 1940 AND REORGANIZED AT SECOND CONGRESS, JANUARY 22, 1944

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NEW YORK 8, N. Y.

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that the preponderant majority of the population involved in the Soviet-Polish border dispute is neither Polish, as the Polish delegation would have it appear, nor Russian, but purely Ukrainian, approximately seven million in number, and an integral part of the over 40 million Ukrainian nation which before the war was mostly under Soviet or Polish occupation.

Although it is their fate that hinges on the outcome of the border dispute and although actually they are a third and certainly the most important party to it, these seven million Western Ukrainians are denied, by those who rule them or, by those who pretend to speak for them, the slightest opportunity of freely expressing their will in the matter. Obviously that is contrary to the Atlantic Charter which clearly and unmistakably lays down as a principle the right of a people to determine their political destiny.

May we respectfully remind you, Mr. President, that this denial to the Western Ukrainian population involved in the Soviet-Polish border dispute, of the right to express their will concerning it, will make impossible any just and permanent settlement of the dispute.

Moreover, it will leave the post-war situation there fraught with considerable danger to peace, for a people who are bartered away by the powers that be without the slightest regard to their wishes and rights

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P. O. Box 721, Church St. Annex
NEW YORK 8, N. Y.

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are bound to be restive. Pre-war history of the Ukrainian people under both Soviet and Polish domination abounds with evidence of such restiveness, especially in times when the foreign occupants of their native land subjected the Ukrainians to oppression and "pacifications" in Western Ukraine and to purges, forced labor, and terrible man-made famines in Eastern Ukraine. Similar evidence can also be found during the recent period of Nazi occupation of Ukraine when the Ukrainian people constantly fought against and harassed their brutal occupants and did not produce from their midst even a single quisling.

Since, however, the Ukrainians over there are denied an opportunity to express their sentiments concerning their post-war fate, and since, moreover, Polish propaganda virtually ignores the very existence of the Ukrainians as such, while Communist propaganda would have the world believe that the Ukrainians under Soviet rule are a happy and contented lot, we, their American kinsmen, removed from them at most by one generation and in the great majority of cases bound to them by family ties, are conscience-bound to speak out in their behalf, as we have so often done in the past.

Accordingly we earnestly petition you, Mr. President, to recommend to the Allied conferences in Washington, London, and Moscow on matters relating to the Soviet-Polish border dispute that, in order to promote

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P. O. Box 721, CHURCH ST. ANNEX
NEW YORK 8, N. Y.

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peace and security in post-war Eastern Europe, a plebiscite be held in the territory involved in the dispute, namely, Western Ukraine, for the purpose of determining the true wishes of the population therein on the question of their future national allegiance.

In order, however, that the proposed plebiscite in Western Ukraine be fair and convincing, in order that, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, it constitute "the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned", we respectfully suggest that it be held without the presence of Soviet or Polish troops or police, and with local order to be maintained by a United Nations police force, recruited from nationals of countries that have no direct interest in the outcome of the vote.

It is our deep conviction, based on our intimate knowledge of our kinsmen and relatives in Western Ukraine, that the plebiscite we propose would clearly reveal that the Ukrainians there prefer neither Polish nor Soviet Russian rule, but only free and independent Ukrainian rule. And this they would attain only if they would be permitted to reassert their centuries-old freedom-loving traditions by invoking the historic Act of November 1, 1918 establishing the Western Ukrainian Republic, and the historic Act of January 22, 1919 uniting their republic with the Ukrainian National Republic, and proceed as then, twenty-

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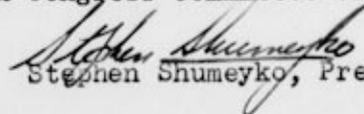
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five years ago, to unite themselves with their fellow kinsmen of Eastern Ukraine and establish, within Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries and embodying the entire 40 million Ukrainian nation, a free and independent and sovereign Ukrainian national state, founded on the traditionally Ukrainian democratic principles, and living in peace, security, and close economic collaboration with the neighboring states.

In a word, it is our sincere and well-founded conviction that the unbreakable and centuries-old will to control their own national destinies and live their own national life would be again clearly demonstrated by our Ukrainian kinsmen in their war-torn native, but foreign-occupied land if they would get the opportunity to express their will and wishes in the matter freely and without alien coercion or interference.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America


Stephen Shumeyko, President



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1945

File

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HASSETT

Subject: Letter to the President from
the Ukrainian Congress Commit-
tee of America.

There is returned herewith for the White House files, in accordance with the President's memorandum of December 30, 1944, a letter dated October 13, 1944, addressed to the President by Stephen Shumeyko, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and a copy of the acknowledgement made by the State Department in reply to this letter.

Enclosures:

From Stephen Shumeyko,
October 13, 1944.

To Stephen Shumeyko.



Handwritten mark

Polans - 1945



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 16, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LATTA, THE WHITE HOUSE.

Subject: Arciszewski letter, February 3, 1945.

There is enclosed ^x the original of Mr. Arciszewski's letter of February 3 addressed to the President, the text of which was telegraphed to the President by the Map Room on the same date.

Elbridge Durbrow
Chief, Division of
Eastern European Affairs

Enclosure:

From Mr. Arciszewski
to the President,
February 3, 1945.

8600.01/2-345

x20

x463



x4675 Limerick Conference

x220

x4675

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-1-77
By J. Schauble Date FEB 15 1972

February 3rd, 1945.

REPUBLIC OF POLAND
PRIME MINISTER

Mr. President,

At this time the fate of many nations rests in Your hands and in the hands of Prime Minister Churchill. The whole world expects that these important discussions in which You and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are taking part will result in the creation of foundations for a future peace, a peace which should bring to nations the freedom of conscience and speech and secure for them freedom from fear and want. I trust that these essential freedoms will also be granted to our nation which has been fighting unflinchingly for their realization at the side of the great American and British democracies.

In particular I trust You will not permit any decisions to be taken which might jeopardize the legitimate rights of Poland or her independence and that You will not recognize any faits accomplis with regard to Poland. If peace in Europe is to be durable it must be based on principles of justice on respect of law, on good neighbourly relations as well as honesty in international life.

While I am writing these words, the lives of many thousands of Poland's best sons are in danger. The so-called Provisional Government of Lublin

Franklin Delano Roosevelt ,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REPUBLIC OF POLAND
PRIME MINISTER

has openly declared its intention to try as traitors all soldiers of the Polish Home Army and members of the Polish Underground Movement. *Mass arrests and deportations have already taken place.* You are well aware that they have fought the Germans gallantly and regardless of sacrifice throughout the five years of occupation. You assisted them yourself with your aid and in the memorable days of the Warsaw rising the American and British Governments recognized the Home Army as part of the regular Polish forces fighting alongside the United Nations. Today the lives of these soldiers are in danger because they recognize the independent, legal Polish Government and because they firmly insist on their rights as men and citizens. Therefore I beg of You to urge upon the Soviet Government whose armies are at present in occupation of the territory of Poland to give proof that they genuinely desire understanding with Poland and to prevent the execution of the criminal plans of the Lublin men.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration

Tommasz Danuszewski

(Tomasz)

PSF: Poland folder 7-45
6 March 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached message from General McNarney's Headquarters on the attitude of the Polish troops in Italy will be of interest to you.


Chief of Staff.

TOP SECRET

file →

5 March 1945.
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

DECLASSIFIED

DDO DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/68)

Date- 7-14-66

Signature- *Chas L. Spicer*

From: General McNarney

To : General Marshall

Nr. : F 37952

Attitude and reaction of Polish soldiers in Italy to Yalta decisions regarding Poland has been one of extreme disappointment. They have however remained loyal to their officers and to their duties as soldiers. General Clark visited Eighth Army and II Polish Corps several days ago to determine what probable attitude of officers and soldiers would be in combat. As result of his visit he feels that their future attitude will depend largely on what General Anders has to say to them when he returns from London in the near future. Field Marshal Alexander, General McCreery and all senior American and British officers familiar with situation in II Polish Corps concur with General Clark's view.

The influence which General Anders has on the Polish troops in Italy cannot be overemphasized. Seldom have the personality and views of a commander dominated his troops so completely. General Anders has organized the Polish Corps from the beginning and has played the role of a father to his troops in handling their many national and domestic problems for them as well as being their military leader. The amount of inspiration and encouragement which General Anders will be able to give them on his return is a principal factor which will probably determine the future attitude of Polish troops in Italy.

In this connection the attitude of General Anders when he visited this Headquarters two weeks ago enroute to London may be of interest. In his conference with Field Marshal Alexander, General Anders stated that the Yalta conference constituted a major tragedy for Poland and that in spite of much thought he was completely at a loss to find a solution to his problem of what to tell his troops and how to maintain their morale. He felt that conference had sold Poland to the Soviet by putting his country almost entirely in their power. He stated that under their constitution Polish troops had given their oath of allegiance to the President and his Government. This President is the one who heads the Polish Government in London which is the only legal Government recognized by his troops. This Government he feels has now been displaced, the constitution annulled and all treaties made by the Allies with that Government have been abrogated. Impression is that General Anders was far more concerned with the composition of the Lublin Government, of which he took a very low view than he

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was with alteration of the eastern Polish frontier. He considered this the graver question for him and his troops because it affected their oath of allegiance and their honor. He felt that the agreement reached at Yalta legalized the Lublin Government which consists chiefly of naturalized Russians.

When the Yalta decision was first announced he wrote a letter to General McCreery, Eighth Army Commander, asking that Polish troops be taken out of the line. However, when he was told that there were no troops available to relieve them, he agreed to carry on and assured General McCreery that they would all do their duty. Before leaving Italy General Anders gave orders to his troops to carry on as they had been doing and to maintain complete calm and discipline.

It appears that the appointment of General Anders as acting Commander-in-Chief Polish forces signifies that he has decided to throw in his lot with London Polish Government as opposed to the Lublin Government. It also signifies the termination of his appointment as commander of II Polish Corps in Italy (see following paragraph).

Plans regarding General Anders return to Italy are not clear at present. Information just received from War Office indicates that they have had little contact with General Anders or with the London Polish Headquarters since the order was issued appointing him acting Polish Commander-in-Chief. It is believed that he will return to Italy shortly in capacity of acting Commander-in-Chief of all Polish armed forces. He is expected to explain Polish situation to his troops and to appoint successor to command II Polish Corps. Thereafter he is expected to return to London to set up his Headquarters as acting Polish Commander-in-Chief. It is hoped that his talks with Prime Minister Churchill and other officials in London will have raised his morale and altered the views he held before leaving Italy.

His return is awaited with interest in view of profound respect his visit will have on future morale of Polish forces here. The fighting capabilities of the Polish troops in Italy are extremely important to conduct of future operations in this theater. Fifteenth Army Group plans for future operations depend to a large extent on offensive capacity of Polish troops which has previously been excellent. Any marked deterioration in their offensive capacity as result of General Anders attitude and remarks on his return from London will make it necessary to recast those plans. The purpose of General Clark's recent visit to the Polish troops was to determine what their fighting capabilities were. As the result of that visit he estimates their capabilities in a defensive role as being satisfactory. He believes their capabilities in an offensive role are still to be determined and will depend to a large extent on attitude of General Anders when he returns here from London.

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MAR 6 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached message from General McNarney's Headquarters on the attitude of the Polish troops in Italy will be of interest to you.

(Sgd) G. C. MARSHALL

Chief of Staff.

1 Incl.
Message

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Date- 7-14-66

Signature- Carl L. Spicer

Return to Originating Office of War Department
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5 March 1945.

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DDO DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

From: General McNarney

To : General Marshall

Nr. : F 37952

Date- 7-14-66

Signature- *Carl L. Spicer*

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WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

20 March 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I have just received the attached letter from General McNarney, and I am sure you will be interested in the points made by General Anders on the occasion of his recent visit to Allied Force Headquarters.


Chief of Staff

20 March 1945

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(Sgd) G. C. MARSHALL

Chief of Staff

Enc.: Clear copy of ltr to CS
3/16/45 fr Gen. McNarney

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Headquarters
Mediterranean Theater of Operations
Office of the Commanding General
APO 512

Poland folder
1-45
file
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DDO DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

16 March 1945

Date- 7-14-66

Signature- Carl L. Spicer

Dear General Marshall:

General Anders, Commander of the Polish Forces, visited this Headquarters on 12 March 1945. General Anders explained to Field Marshal Alexander the position of the Polish Forces and the policy that he proposed to adopt for the future. This policy had gradually emerged as a result of various discussions in London, among others, with the Prime Minister, CIGS, CAS and the First Sea Lord. It was based on the fact that in 1939 Poland had entered the War to defeat Germany; that the War had already lasted six years and it was not yet finished; and that no one could foretell what the future might bring forth. Much could happen between now and the making of peace. General Anders stated that in these circumstances he felt that the only sound military policy for the Polish Forces was to continue to fight alongside their allies until Germany was finally beaten, and that the Field Marshal could rest assured that the Polish Corps would continue to play its part exactly as it had in the past.

The salient points made by General Anders were:

- a. The intention of the Polish Armed Forces to fight the Germans until the end of the present War.
- b. The first difficult situation will arise at the time of the recognition of the new Provisional Polish Government by the United States and Great Britain. Should they consider it to be unconstitutional, the Polish Armed Forces would be unable to recognize it. In such an event the Polish High Command believes the Armed Forces should be kept completely independent of such new government.
- c. The question of submission by the Polish Armed Forces to the new government will be governed by their military Oath of Allegiance and will depend upon whether the Polish Government is really free and sovereign.
- d. The House of Commons has stated that while the War was on help would be given to anyone who would kill Germans. Therefore, the Polish Armed Forces should be helped to keep their Oath of Allegiance, if only because they are fighting Germans. They are still fighting and determined to do so until the end.
- e. If the aforementioned fail, we will wish to and must remain on the side of Great Britain after the end of organized resistance and until a general peace. In such case, General Anders visualized the employment of the Polish Armed Forces as a part of the Anglo-American occupation forces in Germany. He stated that the Prime Minister had mentioned this question to him.

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Gen Marshall, 16 Mar 45 (cont'd)

f. Finally, the question of continuing payments to dependents, maintenance of schools and the protection of families remaining in Poland, would have to be settled.

General Anders' immediate intentions are to visit General Clark, General McCreery and the Polish Corps. In about a week he will return to AFHQ and complete the final arrangements for handing over command of the Polish Corps before returning to London. He stated that, subject to the Field Marshal's approval, he proposed to nominate General Szyszko-Bohusz as Acting Corps Commander and to leave with the Corps all present senior staff officers. In this way the least disturbance would be caused by his own departure. Moreover, he hoped that the Field Marshal would agree to his paying frequent visits to Italy to maintain close touch with the Polish Corps and other Polish establishments. The Field Marshal approved the nomination of General Anders' successor and added that he would be delighted to see General Anders at any time.

Sincerely,

(sgd.) Joseph T. McNarney

JOSEPH T. McNARNEY
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

General of the Army George C. Marshall
Chief of Staff, War Department
Washington, D. C.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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BOD DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 7-14-66

Signature- *Carl L. Spicer*

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Carbon initialed "OK F.D.R." and
returned to the Secretary of
State 4/11/45, alb.

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Poland folder 1-45-

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

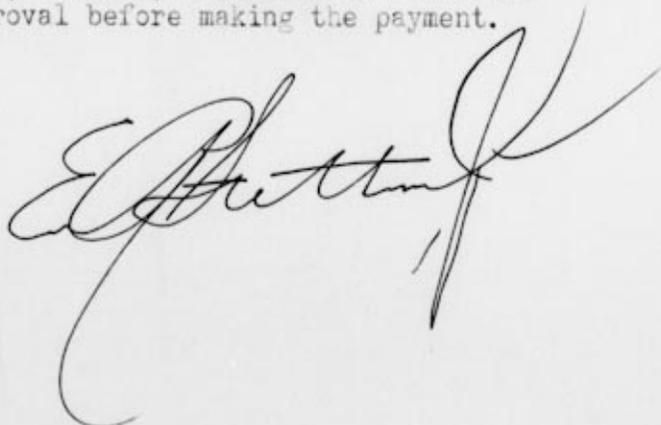
April 7, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Transfer of Funds to the Polish
Government.

You will recall that last year you allocated \$12,500,000 from your Emergency Fund to the Department for the use of the Polish Government, \$2,500,000 of this sum was for the maintenance of Polish missions and related expenses in the western hemisphere. Three quarterly payments have already been made and the Polish authorities have now applied for the final quarterly transfer of \$625,000.

Although circumstances have greatly changed since the allocation was originally made, I feel that for political reasons it would be inadvisable to refuse the transfer of the remainder of the sum agreed upon. In the circumstances, however, I believe it advisable to request your approval before making the payment.



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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
FEB 15 1972

By J. Schauble Date _____



*PSF
Poland*



THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

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THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Poland's Place in Europe

Poland is the sixth country in Europe both as regards area (150,470 square miles) and population (35,500,000). Among all the nations of the world, Poland ranks eleventh in population and twenty-sixth in area.

Poland's frontier is 2,250 miles long. Of this only forty-five miles is Baltic sea-coast. This 2% gateway to the world is totally inadequate for Poland's needs, compared to Germany's 21%, France's 60%, Spain's 65%, America's 71%, Great Britain's 100%.

In the 15th Century, Poland was the largest state in Europe, as the following table shows:

In the 11th Century, Poland's area was	130,888 s.m.
In the 15th Century, Poland's area was	430,502 "
In the 18th Cent., before the 1st partition	392,664 "
In the 18th Cent., before the 2nd partition	200,772 "
Contemporary Poland ..	150,470 "

2. Poland, a Democracy

After regaining her independence in 1918, Poland adopted a parliamentary form of Government. The first parliament of reborn Poland, elected by

universal suffrage of both sexes, established the Constitution in 1921. This Constitution made the Government and the President of the Republic responsible to parliament as the predominant power. In 1935, the Constitution of Poland was amended by a small majority, the power of the executive strengthened, that of parliament restricted. Even so the President of Poland had far less power than the President of the United States. Freedom of religion, of press and speech was granted and even in the days of greatest State interference with individual initiative, more than half the Polish press openly criticised the Polish Government, showing that constitutional rights were not impaired. Universal suffrage gave men and women above 21 the right to vote in secret ballot irrespective of race and creed.

3. Government of Poland

After the invasion of Poland by Germany and Russia, President Moscicki, in accordance with the Constitution, transmitted his powers to Władysław Raczewicz, then in Paris. In September, 1939, President Raczewicz took the oath of office at the Polish Embassy there, and appointed

THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

General Sikorski to be Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. In December 1939, the Polish National Council, an advisory body acting in the absence of an elected parliament, was appointed and Ignacy Paderewski elected as its chairman. When France collapsed in 1940, the Polish Government was transferred from Angers to London. The following year the Polish National Council was expanded to include representatives of all Polish political parties. The Government submits its budget to the National Council and consults it on all Major policies. The National Council has the right to make representations to the Government on all matters affecting the welfare of the Polish nation.

4. Composition of the Polish Government

After General Sikorski's tragic death on July 4th, 1943 President Raczkiewicz called upon Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, who had been acting as Prime Minister in General Sikorski's absence, to form a Government. Prime Minister Mikolajczyk's cabinet consists of Jan Kwapinski, deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Industry, Commerce and Shipping; Tadeusz Romer, Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Marian Kukiel, Minister of National Defense; Wladyslaw Banaczyk, Minister of Home Affairs; Stanislaw Kot, Minister of Information; Ludwik Grosfeld, Minister of Finance; Jan Stanczyk, Minister of Labor and Social Welfare; Waclaw Komarnicki, Minister of Justice; Marian Seyda, Minister of State (Peace Conference Planning); Karol Popiel, Minister of State (Polish Administrative Plan-

ning); the Rev. Zygmunt Kaczynski, Minister of Education; Henryk Strasburger, Polish Minister in the Middle East.

The Peasant and Labor parties each have one more member in this Government than they had in that of General Sikorski. The Peasant Party is represented by three members: Mikolajczyk, Banaczyk and Kot; the Polish Labor Party by three members: Kwapinski, Stanczyk and Grosfeld; the National Liberal Party by two members: Kaczynski and Popiel; the National Democratic Party by two members: Komarnicki and Seyda; three members belong to no party: Romer, Kukiel and Strasburger.

Of the thirteen members of the Government, two are peasants, two are labor men, three are professors, three are newspapermen; one is a lawyer, one is a soldier and one is a career diplomat as follows:

Two Peasants:

Prime Minister Mikolajczyk, the son of a small farmer, organizer of rural co-operatives and a prominent leader of agricultural labor; Minister of the Interior Banaczyk, a small farmer.

Two Labor Men:

Deputy Prime Minister Kwapinski, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Shipping, an agricultural laborer who fought the Czar and was exiled to Siberia; Minister of Labor and Social Welfare Stanczyk, a miner and labor leader.

Three Professors:

Minister of Information Kot, professor of the history of Polish civiliza-

THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

tion; Minister of Justice Komarnicki, son of a farmer, Professor of Law; Minister of Polish Affairs in the Middle-East Strasburger, Professor of Economics, protagonist of parliamentary union with Czechoslovakia.

Three Newspapermen:

Minister of State Popiel, son of a working man; Minister of State Seyda, son of a storekeeper, fought German imperialism for forty years and was exiled by Germany before the last war; Minister of Education, Rev. Kaczynski, head of the Polish Catholic Press Agency, very active in the Polish underground movement in 1939-1940.

One Lawyer:

Minister of Finance Grosfeld, counsel and financial adviser to Polish labor unions.

One Soldier:

Minister of National Defense General Kukiel, Professor of Military History.

One Diplomat:

Minister of Foreign Affairs Romer, career diplomat, former Ambassador to Japan and Russia.

5. Poland's Vitality

From 1920 to 1937, the average increase of Poland's population was 14.9 per thousand, the total increase 26.9 per cent. During the same period the population of Germany increased by 13.0 per cent. But for the war the population of Poland would have exceeded that of France before 1950 and equalled that of Germany by 1975.

6. Language and Religion in Poland

Language

Polish	69.0%
Ukrainian	13.8%
Yiddish and Hebrew	8.2%
White Ruthenian	3.2%
German	2.3%
Russian	0.4%
Other and not given	2.5%

Religion

Roman Catholic	64.9%
Greek-Orthodox	12.0%
Greek-Catholic	10.3%
Hebrew	9.5%
Protestant	2.7%
Not given	0.2%

After 1918, in independent Poland, political and civil rights were granted to all national minorities. They had their own representatives in parliament and in local-government, their own educational system and full freedom of cultural and religious development. In 1939 there were in Poland 3,000 Ukrainian schools maintained by the Government. Ukrainians in Poland differ greatly as regards religion and language from the Ukrainians in Soviet Russia. Among the White Ruthenians, national development is slow. Polish efforts to raise the national culture of White Ruthenians were successful only in part. For instance, a certain number of high schools, organized by Poles for White Ruthenians, had to be closed for lack of pupils.

7. Population of Polish Cities

Warsaw	1,289,000
Lodz	672,000
Lwow	318,000

THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

Poznan	272,000	In France	600,000
Krakow	259,000	In Brazil (some two-thirds in the State of Parana)	300,000
Wilno	200,000	In Lithuania (mostly around Kovno)	200,000
Bydgoszcz	141,000	In Canada	150,000
Czestochowa	138,000	In Rumania	80,000
Katowice	134,000	In Latvia	75,000
Sosnowiec	130,000	In Argentine	70,000
Lublin	122,000	In Paraguay	18,000
Gdynia	120,000		
Chorzow	110,000		
Bialystok	107,000		

8. Density of Rural Population

In Poland the density of gainfully occupied rural population per 100 acres of farmland compared as follows with other countries:

Year	Country	Persons per 1,000 acres of farmland
1931	Poland	154
1931	Yugoslavia	146
1933	Germany	132
1930	Czechoslovakia	129
1930	Hungary	120
1931	France	89
1931	Great Britain	26

9. Poles Abroad

Some nine million Poles and people of Polish descent are living abroad:

In the United States (ap- proximately)	4,500,000
In Germany (mostly in Si- lesia and East Prussia) ..	1,450,000
In Soviet Russia (approx- imately — not including 1,500,000 Polish citizens deported to Russia in 1939-1941)	1,000,000

10. How the Poles Voted

In Poland the number of voters had increased from 12,989,000 in 1922 to 14,907,000 in 1925. Then it rose to 15,791,000 out of a population of 35,500,000. This represents an electorate of 44.5%. In the United States with a population of 131,669,275 the vote cast in the last presidential election was 49,815,312 or 37.8% of the total population. The most striking thing about the Polish electorate was the very small number of extremists. The extreme right and communists combined, never amounted to more than 4% of the total votes cast in any election. Nearly half the votes (46.4%) were cast for liberal and progressive candidates. The Center, made up of middle-class democrats, polled 28.6% of the votes and the minorities (Jews, Ukrainian, White Ruthenians, etc.) 21%. In the last election under Marshal Pilsudski's administration the opposition parties polled 53% of the votes, but were so divided among themselves that they never had a working majority in the parliament.

POLISH HISTORY

11. First Two Dates in Polish History

Recorded Polish history began with two dates:

963, when German hordes, under Margrave Gero, invaded Poland:—Germany's first attempt to get "Lebensraum" by aggression;

966, when King Mieszko I, together with his people, adopted Christianity.

12. Poland—Defender of Christianity

At Lignica in 1241, Polish troops under Duke Henry the Pious stopped the invasion of Western Europe by Tartar hordes. Henry the Pious was killed. In this battle the Tartars used choking vapors that had an effect similar to that of poison gas.

13. Grunwald

In 1410 the united armies of Poland and Lithuania defeated the Teutonic Order of the Knights of the Cross in the Battle of Grunwald. By that victory the "Drang nach Osten" was stopped, but that great Polish success was unexploited and it was not before another war of 13 years, which Poland had to fight in the middle of the century, that she could enjoy three hundred years of almost uninterrupted peace from the German side. The lesson should not be forgotten: partial or unexploited victories over the Germans, give only short-lived and precarious peace.

14. Polish-Lithuanian Union and the Polish Commonwealth

In 1385 Poland entered into a union with her northeastern neighbor, Lithuania. This union was strengthened by the Act of Horodlo (1413) which proclaimed:

"Let those be united to us by love and made equal, who are bound to us by common faith and identical laws and privileges. We pledge our immutable and solemn word never to desert them."

In 1569 the complete union of Poland and Lithuania was achieved by the Act of Lublin, and the Commonwealth of Poland came into being. On the same occasion the constitutional position of the Ruthenian provinces including Volhynia and Ukraine, as parts of the Commonwealth, was definitely fixed. The principles of this union were virtually those of the United States. Under an elected King and one Parliament, local state government existed. Moreover, Poland and Lithuania kept separate armies under separate Commanders-in-Chief. Other provinces of the Polish Commonwealth were East Prussia, Livonia, Courland. They enjoyed wide autonomy. The Ruthenian and Lithuanian upper classes had the same rights as the Polish gentry.

15. Cracow University

Cracow University was founded in 1364 and in the fifteenth century became the great intellectual center of Central-Eastern Europe. The father of modern astronomy, Mikolaj Kopernik,

was its most famous student. Attracting distinguished scholars and thousands of students from many European countries, it prepared the Golden Age of Polish literature and culture.

16. Polish Democracy and the Polish "Habeas Corpus"

"The old Polish state"—writes the distinguished American historian, Robert H. Lord, Chief of the Polish Division of the American Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference—"was an experiment of a highly original and interesting character. It was a republic both in name and in fact, although nominally it had a king as its first magistrate. It was the largest and most ambitious experiment with a republican form of government that the world has seen since the days of the Romans. Moreover, it was the first experiment on a large scale with a federal republic down to the appearance of the United States. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this republic was the freest state in Europe, the state in which the greatest degree of constitutional, civic and intellectual liberty prevailed."

200 years before the English "Habeas Corpus" Act, Poland guaranteed liberty of the person by the "Neminem Captivabimus" Act of 1430, as well as personal property rights. No one could be arrested without a warrant from legal authority.

17. Freedom of Worship

In 1573, by the Confederation of Warsaw, Poland established freedom of conscience and worship at a time when religious persecution was rife. Ever since, Poland has been the refuge in Europe of oppressed religious minorities. Already in 1264 the Statute

of Kalisz had been granted to the Jews in Poland by Boleslaus the Pious. The only document of its kind in all Europe giving them cultural autonomy and their own coinage. From the 15th Century onward, Jewish religious schools flourished and won world-wide recognition.

18. Poland Saves Europe From Islam

In 1683, the Polish King, Jan Sobieski, ran the risk of Russian aggression to go to the assistance of Vienna, besieged by the Turks. By his victory, one of the world's decisive battles, Poland saved Europe for Christianity. A "Te Deum" was sung in the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna, and these words were uttered from the pulpit: "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." Later, Poland signed a pact of perpetual friendship with Turkey, the only State that never recognized the partitions of Poland, keeping an empty seat at all diplomatic receptions for the "temporarily absent" Polish ambassador.

19. Partitions of Poland

In 1772 occurred the first partition of Poland, by her three neighbors, Russia, Prussia and Austria: absolute monarchies unwilling to have on their frontiers a free and democratic Poland. In 1793, Russia and Prussia carried out a second, and in 1795, together with Austria, a third partition of Poland, which for 123 years disappeared from the map of Europe. Jefferson called the partitions of Poland "a crime"; Wilson, "one of the great crimes of history." It was also condemned spontaneously by the "Peoples Commissars" of the communist regime in 1919 in Mos-

cow. They termed it: "contemptible imperialism."

20. Constitution of the Third of May

On the Third of May, 1791, after the first partition, the Polish Parliament passed a Constitution inspired by the ideals of the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Men. It was the first written democratic Constitution in Europe establishing the rights of the middle classes and of the peasants. The absolute rulers of Prussia, Austria and Russia regarded this Constitution as a threat to their Divine Right to rule, and hastened to stifle Poland's democracy. The partitions of 1793 and 1795 resulted. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, on his return from America in 1794, led the first Polish insurrection which preceded the third partition. He was wounded and captured. Thanks to the rights granted by the Third of May Constitution to Polish peasants, they formed a large proportion of the insurgents.

21. 123-Year Struggle for Freedom

Poland had 12 million inhabitants at the time of the third partition. The country was devastated, the people terrorized by armies of occupation, representing three empires with a total population of 85 million. Despite this enormous disproportion of strength, the Poles time and again rose in arms against their oppressors. Risings took place in 1794, 1830, 1848, 1863, 1905. During all the 123 years of partition, Poles fought on the battlefield of Liberty all over the world for the freedom of other peoples. In the United States,

in Belgium, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, the Argentine, Bolivia, Peru Poles fought for the cause of human freedom under their war cry "For Our Freedom and For Yours." When Polish patriots put "your" liberty on a par with "ours," it was no mere gesture, but a forceful expression of their conviction that the only guarantee of freedom for any nation is the freedom of all nations.

22. "Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World"

In 1920, Russian Red armies attacked Poland and marched as far as the suburbs of Warsaw. Polish armies, without any assistance from the western powers, defeated the Red armies and single handedly saved Western Europe from communism. The importance of that victory was emphasized by Lord D'Abernon, who called the battle of Warsaw "The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World." The Polish-Russian war was ended by the Treaty of Riga, signed on March 17, 1921. This treaty definitely established Poland's eastern boundaries. The Treaty of Riga was a compromise between Poland's past and her present. Offered even more territory by Lenin, Poland exercised a statesmanlike restraint and Lenin, the dictator of Russia, called the Treaty of Riga "a voluntary and just agreement to stand for all time." Victorious Poland gave up to Russia nearly two-thirds of the pre-partition territories in the east. The frontier included the cities of Wilno (94% of Poles) and Lwow (87.8% of Poles) but nowhere did it extend to the frontiers of the 18th Century, not to speak of the 14th or 16th Centuries. 1,500,000 Poles

THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

were left in Russia and 134,000 Russians were left in Poland. Poland's eastern frontiers are the boundary of Western civilization, as witnessed by architectural styles, peasant costumes, folklore, music, dances, decorative art and literary taste.

23. What Is the "Curzon Line"?

Some of Poland's opponents claim that ethnographically the so-called "Curzon line" really constitutes Poland's eastern frontier. This line was proposed in 1920 by Lord Curzon, British Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, as an armistice line in the war with the Russians. When, in 1939, the Germans and Russians divided Poland, the frontier established by the two invaders, followed the "Curzon line," going beyond it to the West at several points. The claim that ethnographically this line is Poland's eastern frontier is absurd. The territories between the so-called "Curzon line" and the eastern frontier of Poland are inhabited by 6,396,000 Poles, 4,530,000 Ukrainians, 1,122,000 White Ruthenians, 134,000 Russians, 89,000 Germans and 84,000 Lithuanians.

POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

24. After the First World War

Poland was devastated during the first world war. The total number of buildings destroyed in Poland by all sorts of invaders was 1,785,305, including 6,586 schools, 1,969 churches, 40% of all the railway bridges and stations were destroyed. After the war Poland received very little financial assistance from abroad (about 15 cts. per inhabitant p.a., Germany received \$1.10 per inhabitant p.a.) yet, during the twenty years between the two wars, she achieved significant progress. Take the soil, a basic factor: 11,362,000 acres of fallow land were brought under cultivation, and 8,027,500 acres of large estates were parcelled into small farms. In 1918, Poland had 1,750 locomotives, 3,043 passenger cars and 30,000 freight cars. In 1939 she had well over 5,500 locomotives, 11,350 passenger cars and 164,000 freight cars. 1,250 miles of new railroad track

had been laid. In the same time the length of Polish highways had been increased by 30%. In 1918 Poland did not possess a single ship, in 1939 she had more than 500 merchant and passenger vessels sailing the seven seas.

25. Education in Poland

Between 1918 and 1937 there were opened in Poland 23,604 new primary schools for children from seven to fourteen years of age. All these schools had libraries as well as assembly rooms, lecture and recreation halls. In 1938-9, 5,402,300 children—ninety-one out of every hundred—attended school. Universal and compulsory education had brought illiteracy in the lower age brackets down to a fraction of one per cent. Just before the war, Poland had 27 Universities and other academic institutions, 74 teachers' training colleges, 2,230 High Schools, 103 technical training schools, 28,722 primary schools and 1,651 kindergartens.

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26. Poland, a Land of Small Holdings

A) Ownership of land in Poland.

According to the census of 1931 the entire area of cultivated land, orchards and gardens, meadows and pastures was 63,232,145 acres, of which 11,411,281 acres or 18.04% were larger holdings of 123.6 acres (50 hectares) each and more, and 48,198,207 acres or 76.22% were small holdings of less than 123.6 acres; the remaining 3,585,238 acres or 5.74% were owned by State and local governments. Peasant ownership of farm land in 1931 constituted three-fourths of the whole utilized area. Moreover, between 1931 and 1938, 1,799,095 acres of large holdings were parcelled, thus increasing the peas-

ant holdings to 50,007,303 acres, or 79.07% of all utilized land in Poland, and decreasing large holdings to 15.21%. In other words five-sixths of all agricultural holdings in Poland are in the hands of peasants and only one-sixth in the hands of large landowners. So Poland is predominantly a land of small and not of large holdings. In Great Britain, for instance, large estates of more than 123.6 acres (50ha.) constitute about 68%, and small estates of less than 123.6 acres only about 31% of the utilized land. By 1948 all large estates would have been parcelled.

B) Ownership of livestock by large and small holdings (1937) in thousands of heads:

	Horses	%	Cattle	%	Pigs	%	Sheep and Goats	%
Large holdings	396	10.69	736	7.20	436	5.96	435	12.49
Small holdings	3,309	89.31	9,491	92.80	6,983	94.04	3,048	87.51
Total	3,705	100	10,227	100	7,419	100	3,483	100

27. Poland's Share in World Agricultural Production

	Grain (Wheat, rye, barley, oats) (millions of tons)	Potatoes (millions of tons)	Sugar (thousands of tons)	Horned Cattle and Pigs (millions of heads)
United States	32.36	8.98	1,174	110.35
Great Britain	2.90	4.66	550	13.08
Poland	12.53	34.28	418	18.27
France	12.84	14.99	800	22.87
Germany	20.84	46.32	1,500	46.07

28. Poland's Industrial Progress

Despite the world economic crisis Poland's industrial progress was far from negligible. Between 1925 and 1938 the number of electric plants increased almost threefold; the installed power was doubled. Poland occupied

7th place in world coal output and 4th place in world coal exports. In zinc Poland held the 5th place in the world. For her 2,638,000 spindles and 69,000 looms Poland imported 128,000,000 lbs. of cotton and 68,000,000 lbs. of wool yearly. She exported textiles to



POLAND

- Frontiers of 1772
- ▨ Frontiers of 1939

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more than 30 countries. Among Poland's main industrial exports were: weaving and spinning machinery, woolen, linen, cotton textiles, plywood, wood articles, furniture, pianos, glass and china, leather and leather goods, gloves, electric appliances, chemicals, drugs, perfumery, canned meats, seed, medical herbs, liquors, etc. Some of these articles were exported to 42 countries.

29. Labor and Social Security

Assuming per capita production in 1928 as 100, the output rose to 129 in 1937. Polish labor was organized in 298 trade unions which in 1937 concluded 727 collective working agreements with employers. Polish labor managed to maintain the real value of wages, despite the economic crisis. Although in 1937 nominal wages dropped 34% from 1933 levels, the same period saw a decrease in industrial wholesale prices of 39%, and in agricultural prices of 46%. The general purchasing power of wages rose 6%. The Polish system of social security was based upon compulsory insurance of all working people. Health insurance covered 2,171,000 persons; accident insurance 2,183,000 persons; disability and old age pensions 2,523,000 persons; unemployment insurance 1,690,000 persons. Social insurance provided hospitals, child care, rest—maternity—anti-tubercular centers in every city, health control centers, etc. Social legislation restricted the employment of women and minors, and controlled the prevention of accidents, provided paid holidays for workers, etc. This social security legislation was one of the first steps taken by reborn Poland and labor

unions were recognized by act of Parliament in 1919. Some of the social measures adopted by the First Polish Parliament in 1921, were voted by the French Parliament in 1935 during the period of social reconstruction under the Premiership of Leon Blum.

Finally the Polish death-rate was steadily decreasing, from 16.7 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1925, it fell to 15.5 in 1930, and to 14.0 in 1937.

30. Poland's Occupational Structure

Manual and skilled wage earners constitute 28.6% and white collar workers 4.3% of the total population. In the various occupation groups the percentage of non-salaried "independents" is as follows: agriculture, 85.2%; industry 32.7%; commerce 72.8%; communications 15%; other occupations 8.3%. This proves that Poland was a land of small and medium individual enterprise, an essential characteristic of liberal economy.

31. Poland's Cooperative System

Poland had 11,720 cooperative societies with more than 3,000,000 members, divided into Agricultural, Consumers and Credit Unions. During the 20 years of Poland's independent existence the number of cooperatives trebled. In 1928 for instance 24% of cheese exports was handled through cooperatives, in 1938 this percentage had risen to 99.4%.

32. Poland's Progress on the Sea

Poland's most striking achievement was the construction and development of the port of Gdynia on the Baltic

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Sea. In 1924, the number of incoming and outgoing vessels was 58 with a total tonnage of 10,167. In 1938, it was 12,990 with a total tonnage of 9,174,000 tons. Together with Danzig, which was smaller, the total tonnage exceeded 17,800,000, constituting the 5th port in Europe and the largest on the Baltic. The shift of exports and imports by land to exports and imports

by sea is most significant. The value of Polish imports by sea increased from 27.4% in 1928 to 65.5% in 1937; similarly the value of Polish exports by sea rose from 25.2% in 1928 to 66.27% in 1937. This was due to the establishment of maritime connections with more than forty countries. Polish merchant vessels called at more than 200 ports.

POLISH CULTURE

33. *Poland's Contribution to World Culture and Civilization*

Some idea of Poland's contribution to world culture and civilization may be gathered from this much too brief list of famous Poles:

Mikolaj Kopernik (Copernicus) (1473-1543) the discoverer of the solar system, of the earth's rotation about the sun and father of modern astronomy; Jan Dlugosz (1413-1480), distinguished historian; Jan Sniadecki (1756-1830), astronomer and famous mathematician who worked with Oxford University; Jozef Hoene-Wronski (1778-1853), philosopher and famous mathematician, discoverer of differential equations; August Cieszkowski (1814-1894), famous philosopher; Zygmunt Wroblewski (1845-1888) and Karol Olszewski (1846-1915), scientists who first liquefied air; Ignacy Lukasiewicz (1822-1882), philosopher and mathematician, inventor of the petroleum lamp; Stefan Kopec (murdered by the Germans), discovered the hormone of insects; Maria Sklodowska-Curie (1867-1934), Nobel prize winner, discovered radium and polonium;

R. Waigiel, discovered anti-typhoid serum; Dr. Kazimierz Funk (b. 1884), first introduced the term "Vitamin" (his book on the subject published in New York is a recognized authority); Baudouin de Courtenay (1845-), Jan Rozwadowski (1867-), and Tadeusz Zieliński (1859-), world-famous philologists; Dr. L. Zamenhof (1859-1917), created Esperanto; Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861) and Oswald Balcer (1858-), famous historians. Jan Kucharczyński (1876) is Poland's most distinguished contemporary historian.

34. *Painters*

Piotr Michalowski (1801-1855) and Aleksander Orłowski (1777-1832), excellent painters and draughtsmen; Jan Matejko (1838-1893), creator of a series of monumental visions of Poland's glorious past; Artur Grottger (1837-1867), painter of tragic insurrection of 1863 and the Siberian deportees; Juliusz Kossak (1824-1899), famous battle painter; Jozef Chelmonski (1850-1914), realist painter; Leon Wyczolkowski (1852-1937), greatest Polish impressionist; Jacek Malczewski (1855-1929), the Polish

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Rubens; Julian Falat (1855-1929), landscape painter and aquarellist; Stanislaw Wyspianski (1869-1907), leading painter of "Young Poland"; Professor Stanislaw Noakowski (1867-), distinguished architect; J. Mehoffer (b. 1869), famous designer of stained glass windows; Wladyslaw Skoczylas (1883-1934), illustrator of Polish folklore. School of St. Luke, eleven painters under a modernized spell of El Greco, responsible for the seven historical paintings in the Polish Pavillion at the New York World's Fair. Jan Rosen (b. 1891), the painter of frescos in Poland, Italy and U.S.A., Feliks Topolski, the Rembranditian draughtsman.

35. Sculptors

Wit Stwosz (1438-1533), great master of the XV century, who carved the altar in St. Mary's Church, Cracow, removed by the Germans to Nuremberg; Ksawery Dunikowski (b. 1876) and Edward Witting (b. 1877), whose monuments to aviators stand in Warsaw and Paris; Stanislaw Ostrowski (b. 1878), sculptor of the equestrian statue of King Jagiello before his victory over the Prussians at Grunwald, at the World's Fair in New York, 1938.

36. Composers and Musicians

Fryderyk Chopin (1810-1849), one of the greatest composers, whose music is essentially Polish; Stanislaw Moniuszko (1819-1872), the father of the Polish opera; Ignacy Paderewski (1860-1941), who earned fame as a pianist before he rose to symbolize Polish patriotism and Statesmanship; Henryk Wieniawski (1835-1880), and Karol Szymanowski (1883-1937), distinguished composers of modern sym-

phonies. Barcewicz, Bronislaw Huberman, Zygmunt Stojowski, Pawel Kochanski, Wanda Landowska, Artur Rubinstein, Jozef Hoffman, Witold Malcuzyński, J. Michalowski and Jozef Sliwinski are Polish performers whose names are familiar to music-lovers in Europe and America. Emil Mlynarski and Artur Rodzinski are well-known Polish conductors, while among Polish singers of international repute Ada Sari, Sembrich-Kochanska, the de Reszke brothers, Adam Didur and Jan Kiepura deserve mention.

37. Literature

Mikolaj Rey (1505-1569), founder of Poland's national literature; Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), the great Polish lyrical poet; A. Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572), political thinker and social reformer; L. Gornicki (1527-1603), distinguished writer; Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), Jesuit writer and greatest Polish orator; Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801), distinguished fabulist; Aleksander Fredro (1793-1876), greatest Polish dramatist; Adam Mickiewicz (1799-1855), Juliusz Slowacki (1809-1849) and Zygmunt Krasinski (1812-1859), Polish national bards; Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1916), Poland's great historical novelist, Nobel prize winner; Boleslaw Prus (1847-1912), distinguished novelist; Zofia Nalkowska (1885-), distinguished writer and dramatist; Stanislaw Wyspianski (1869-1907), poet, dramatist, painter; Stefan Zeromski (1864-1925), modern novelist on social problems; Wladyslaw Reymont (1868-1925), author of "The Peasants," a monumental rural epic, Nobel prize winner; Tadeusz-Boy Zelenski (1874-1942),

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murdered by the Germans, famous writer and translator of French literature; Karol Hubert Rostworowski (1877-1938), dramatist and poet; Zofia Kossak-Szczucka (b. 1890), famous historical novelist; Joseph Wittlin, novelist and poet. Among contemporary Polish poets mention should be made of Stanislaw Balinski, Jan Lechon, Kazimierz Wierzynski, Julian Tuwim, Antoni Slonimski and I. K. Galczynski.

38. *The Theatre*

Modern Polish dramatic art dates from the XVIth Century and in 1765 the actor-manager Boguslawski founded the first national theatre in Warsaw. The most popular plays of the Polish stage are those by Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Slowacki, Zygmunt Krasinski, Stanislaw Wyspianski, Aleksander Fredro, Stefan Zeromski. Contemporary writers are Gabriela Zapolska, Adolf Nowaczynski, Waclaw Grubinski, Zygmunt Nowakowski, Antoni Cwojdzinski, Hubert Rostworowski. The plays of Shakespeare, Shaw, Sheriff and Chesterton are also popular in Poland. During the 20 years of Polish independence there were no less than 652 performances of Shakespeare's tragedies and comedies. G. B. Shaw was acted 569 times and three of his plays were produced in Poland before

being acted in Great Britain. "Pygmalion" beat all records, running for 179 performances.

39. *Architecture*

Architecture in old Poland developed under Gothic influences, the Polish style being known as Vistula Gothic. In the 16th century, Renaissance, and later a sedate Baroque style predominated. Modern Polish architecture was moulded by national reconstruction and urban and industrial planning. The schools of architecture in Warsaw and Lwow became centres of progressive architectural thought, based on the national style evolved during the later half of the 19th century. In the planning of new and the modernizing of old urban areas, special regard was had for the rest and recreation of children, and an effort was made to preserve natural beauties and buildings of historic interest. Thus the old Market Place of Warsaw was rennovated and repainted in its original pattern of color. The Renaissance town of Zamosc was rebuilt around its beautiful Town Hall, not unlike Williamsburg, Va., in U. S. A. A score of other old towns were thus restored, including three most beautiful and dear to all the Poles: Cracow, Wilno and Lwow, where Polish culture was born and whence it radiated.

HOW THE WAR CAME TO POLAND

40. *Why Hitler Attacked Poland?*

From 1934 to 1939 Hitler repeatedly urged Poland to join Germany in an attack on Soviet Russia, promising her large territorial gains in Eastern Europe. Poland rejected all of Hit-

ler's proposals. Furthermore, Poland's vitality and the decline of the German population made it obvious that by 1975 the Poles would have become equal to the Germans and that time was working against German suprem-

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acy. Indeed 1939 was the year in which the strength of the German manpower in relation to the Polish manpower was at its maximum. That year was chosen long before for aggression against Poland.

41. September 1, 1939

At dawn on September 1, 1939, German land and air armies attacked Poland without any declaration of war,

crossing the frontier at 14 points from East Prussia, West Prussia, Silesia, Moravia and Slovakia. Germany bombed all Polish airfields and 61 towns within the first few hours.

42. Unequal Forces

The relative strength of Polish and German forces in September, 1939, was as follows:

	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Germany</i>
Infantry	31 divisions	70 divisions
Panzer units	1 division	14 divisions
Planes	443	4320
Fire power ratio	1	72

43. 35 Days of Polish-German War

The German-Polish war lasted 35 days, from September 1 to October 5, 1939. At Kock the last of the major engagements of the war was fought on October 5th. The siege of Warsaw, capital of Poland, lasted 19 days in spite of heavy air and artillery bombardment. Warsaw surrendered on September 27, when the armies had exhausted all ammunition, the water supply was cut, and 200 large fires were raging in the city.

On September 14, German panzer units had been stopped thanks to the resistance of the Polish armies and to the extension of German supply lines. The Poles began to organize effective resistance along the marshes of Polesie and in Galicia. But at dawn on September 17, without any declaration of war, Soviet Russia despite her non-aggression treaty with Poland attacked the rear of the Polish armies fighting Germany. On September 28, Germany and Russia signed an agreement dividing Poland between themselves for "all times," along the Ribbentrop-Molotov line.

44. Sept. 17, 1939—the Critical Day

September 17, 1939, was the most critical day of the German-Polish war.

POLISH ARMY IN EXILE

45. Polish Army in France

Very shortly after the cessation of organized fighting by Polish forces against the German invaders, a Polish army was formed in France by General Sikorski. This army consisted of 4½

infantry divisions, an armored brigade and the Carpathian brigade, some 100,000 men in all. The first and second divisions took part in the battle of France; the Carpathian Brigade fought in Norway and was the first to enter Narvik.

46. Polish Army in England

After the collapse of France, General Sikorski succeeded in evacuating a large part of the Polish troops to England, where Poland now has an army corps including an armored division, a rifle brigade, a parachute brigade and other units.

47. Polish Army in the Middle East

When the Polish-Russian Treaty was signed in July, 1941, a number of Polish prisoners of war in Russia were released, and a new army was organized on Russian soil under General Anders. Before being equipped it was transferred to the Middle East at the request of the Soviet Government. With the Carpathian Brigade now expanded to a Division, it forms a separate army corps. Polish ground forces in the Middle East number some 75,000 men, fully trained and equipped with the most modern American and British armament.

48. Polish Air Force

After the fall of Poland, Polish fighter squadrons were set up in France, while bomber crews were training in Britain. When Hitler attacked in the West, 133 Polish fighter pilots, fighting with the British and French Air Forces faced his air armada. They won 55 victories, losing 15 men. Yet the most glorious achievement of the Polish Air Force was in the Battle of Britain, when it destroyed 195 enemy machines out of the total of 2,366 brought down by the Royal Air Force. Since then, Polish fighter and bomber squadrons have been continually engaged and up to March, 1943, had destroyed more than 526 enemy aircraft, 7 U-boats and dropped more

than 6,000 tons of bombs on 42 targets in Germany and German occupied territories. In Tunisia, Polish airmen brought down 79 enemy planes as compared with 527 downed by the American air forces. Since 1939 Polish pilots have shot down more than 1,000 German planes. A considerable number of Polish airmen also serve as pilots in the Allied armies. The Polish Air Force now numbers more than 12,000 men.

49. The Polish Navy

The Polish Navy has been fighting since the outbreak of the war alongside of the British Royal Navy. Polish sailors have taken part in many important naval actions, including the evacuation of Dunkirk, the spirited attack on the "Bismarck," the landing at Dieppe, and the recent operations off the North African coast. They have played their full part in the Battle of the Atlantic and carry on an unceasing vigil with the fleets of the United Nations in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Thus the destroyer "Garland" fought a 6-day battle against Nazi planes and U-boats in convoying American and British munitions to Russia. The officers and crew of this "Very Gallant Ship" were saluted by the officers and crew of the flagship of the convoy and received high British and Polish decorations. Poland has to its credit a sizable bag of U-boats. The "Slazak" (Silesian) of the Polish Navy, has shot down more enemy planes than any other war vessel of its class in all Allied fleets. Poland's Merchant Navy is also in constant service on all seas and has carried much lend-lease material in convoys to Russia and elsewhere.

POLAND FIGHTS ON

50. *German Reign of Terror*

In his message to Poland, broadcast on May 3, 1941, Prime Minister Churchill said:

"Every day Hitler's firing parties are busy in a dozen lands. Monday he shoots Dutchmen, Tuesday Norwegians, Wednesday French and Belgians stand against the wall, Thursday it is the Czechs who must suffer, and now there are the Serbs and the Greeks to fill his repulsive bill of execution. But always, all of the days, there are the Poles."

51. *8,000,000 Poles Sacrificed for Freedom*

The struggle of the Polish Nation for freedom and integrity of Poland cost the Nation 8,000,000 victims. During that time:

3,200,000 Poles were murdered by the Germans.

2,000,000 Poles were sent to forced labor in Germany.

1,600,000 Poles were deported from Western Poland to the Government General.

1,500,000 Poles were deported by Soviets to Russia.

In 1942 alone 348 villages were burned to the ground and ploughed under like Lidice; 1,080 villages evacuated and all the inhabitants either killed or deported.

52. *Directorate of Civilian Resistance*

Underground resistance on the Polish Home Front is directed by the

Polish Government in London, through its representative in Poland who conveys its instructions to the Directorate of Civilian Resistance responsible for the organization of sabotage, the trial and execution of German criminals.

53. *Religious and Cultural Persecution in Poland*

Seven Polish dioceses have been suppressed: Poznan, Gniezno, Wloclawek, Plock, Pelplin, Lodz, Katowice; seven Bishops deported or imprisoned, ninety per cent of the clergy thrown into concentration camps. A large number of priests have been executed by the Gestapo. In Oswiecim alone 1,500 priests have died of maltreatment; churches are closed and many millions of Catholics are entirely deprived of religious services, in a country where more than 70% of the people are Catholics. Polish Universities, professional and technical institutions, high schools and all private schools are closed. Libraries, museums, scientific collections and laboratory equipments have been looted and taken to Germany. All books dealing with Polish culture were burned. German specialists, mostly university professors, who had been received in Poland as cherished guests, supervised the looting of Polish universities, academies, research institutes and museums. The Germans consider that Poles do not require learning . . . Governor General Frank said: "The Poles do not need universities or secondary schools, the Polish territories are to be transformed into an intellectual desert."

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Forster, Gauleiter of the "Wartheland," the western provinces of Poland illegally incorporated in the Reich, said: "I promise you that in ten years from now not so much as a single sheaf of wheat will grow on Polish soil." Werner Best, in "Zeitschrift fuer Politik" of June 2nd, 1942, wrote: "Historical experience has shown that the destruction and elimination of a foreign nationality is not in the least against the laws of life, provided that destruction and elimination are complete."

54. Economic Pillage

The confiscation of public and private property in Poland has been complete. The Germans not only took all real estate away from the Poles, they confiscated all stores and workshops, even household furniture and personal effects, furs, jewelry, clothing, etc. The eviction of the small farmers is continuing apace. Poles are replaced by German colonists, imported from Russia and the Baltic States. The Poles, who are only used as slave labor, are exploited by the Germans; they receive less pay and the "Polenabzug," a flat 15% on their gross earning is deducted in addition to taxes, social insurance, dues and contributions to the Arbeitsfront, from which they derive no benefits. Their pay on the average is half of what Germans get for the same work, but their hours are longer and no holidays are allowed. Food rations are less than half the German rations and no fuel is sold to Poles. When slow-downs—an essential feature of underground resistance—occur ration cards are withdrawn. Workers, whose output falls to 60% of the normal German production, receive no

ration cards and must starve with their families. Workers whose output is 68% receive $\frac{1}{3}$ of the concentration camp ration; those whose production is 80% receive 50% of the German ration.

55. More Than 110 Underground Newspapers

Although the publication, circulation and possession of a secret newspaper is punishable by death, more than 110 underground newspapers are read by at least 3,000,000 people. Some have four editions daily, and news broadcasts from London and New York are printed within an hour. Even photographs are smuggled into Poland and published in the secret press. In spite of the danger most of the distribution is done by women and children.

56. Resistance and Sabotage

Pending the opening of an allied offensive in Europe, the home front in Poland keeps up a continuous warfare. In the course of a single month in 1943, 100 locomotives were damaged, 17 trains derailed, 340 trucks destroyed, 7 oil wells rendered useless, 18 military transports attacked, more than 500 Germans killed, including Wilhelm Krueger, the Polish Heydrich. Poland also maintains two underground universities and several hundred schools.

57. Secret Courts in Poland

Poland, the only occupied nation that has no Quisling, Hacha or Vlasov, administers justice under enemy

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occupation by secret courts. A recent communication of the Directorate of Civilian Resistance printed in No. 464 of the underground daily Information

Bulletin, announces the execution of 59 sentences on German Gestapo officers in the single month of May, 1943.

POLAND'S POST-WAR PLANS

58. *General Principles*

The present war is a struggle for Christian civilization. The people of Poland believe that the postwar organization of the world should be based on Christian morality, international democracy, and political and economic collaboration. This order should be established and enforced throughout the world by international institutions and an international force, and cannot be the prerogative of a few powerful nations. Poland, the first real democracy in Europe, is deeply attached to her parliamentary system, based on broad democratic representation of the people. Recognition will be given to private property and free enterprise, but "jungle" economy will not be tolerated. The "average man" will be at home in Poland. Poland will be a land of the middle class, of workers and farmers, an average man's approximation to the ideal of the Four Freedoms. Racial minorities will be given full liberty of cultural development and will exercise the equality of rights and of obligations.

59. *Central and Eastern European Federation*

Poland expects the Nations of Central and Eastern Europe to form a commonwealth sufficiently strong to withstand German aggression, which

has plagued it for centuries. Such a commonwealth would facilitate the economic development of Central and Eastern Europe, promote neighborly trade-exchanges with Russia and act as a stabilizing element on the continent. It would be a potent factor of Russia's security in the west. The Governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Greece have formed a Central-Eastern European Planning Board, the nucleus of cooperation along these lines. The Board has various committees working on the agricultural, industrial, financial, educational and social problems involved. Other committees will be organized as need arises to deal with every aspect of the mutual advantages to be derived from the close collaboration of 110 million people, who will become a first class power in the World Council. This power will be used solely for the preservation of peace and raising of the standard of living of its peoples. It will serve European culture and Christian civilization for which that culture stands. It is democratic and in the terms of the Polish-Czech declaration of November 11, 1940, the Constitution of the individual States included in the Confederation will guarantee to citizens of those States the following rights:

- a. Religious Freedom.
- b. Personal Liberty.

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- c. Freedom of Learning.
- d. Freedom of Speech and of the Press.
- e. Freedom of Organization and Association.
- f. Equality of all citizens before the Law.
- g. Free admission of all citizens to all State functions.
- h. Independence of courts of law, control of government by representative national bodies elected by means of free elections.

There are 15 million Americans who are descendents of the peoples constituting the proposed commonwealth. They will link the Eastern European Commonwealth to the United States in a bond of mutual understanding and identical ideology.

60. Polish-Youth Manifesto

"Manifesto of Young Poles," under the heading "Character":

"Every Polish youth must have as the inmost passion of his soul an aspiration for spiritual growth. He must cultivate his inner life, steadfastly lifting up his heart to those imperishable values, human and divine, which teach us the way of life: 'He that would save his life must lose it.' This inner life, well ruled, but ardent as a living flame, must find expression in our outward life. Let us not forget the words of that great Pole, Stanislaw Szczepanowski: 'Our regeneration begins within our heart, not within our mind. It depends, not on the degree of our culture and enlightenment, but on our growth in character. Changed lives, not changed opinions are the witnesses of regeneration.'"

PSF: Poland

1944



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POLISH FACTS and FIGURES

will seek to acquaint the American public with Polish political and social problems, and to give a true presentation of the struggle that the Polish Nation has carried on for its integrity and independence since September 1, 1939

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Early in January 1944, their victorious offensive against the Germans carried the Soviet forces across the Polish-Russian frontier and they advanced on a narrow sector into Polish territory.

In connection with this the Polish Government on January 5, 1944 issued a Declaration, to which the Soviets replied on January 11th by proposing the "Curzon Line" as a boundary. This the Polish Government answered on January 15th and these documents together with the Soviet rejoinder of January 17th are appended.

This exchange of declarations is sufficiently revealing to enable political conclusions to be drawn with regard to Polish-Russian relations. It seems fair to emphasize that:

- 1) the initiative to resume conversations concerning mutual collaboration came from the Poles (Declaration of January 5, 1944), and that
- 2) all attempts to come to an understanding have been defeated temporarily by the unyielding attitude and intransigence of the Soviets.

However, the Soviet Government realized that public opinion in the United Nations would not approve its refusal to collaborate with one of their oldest members. Poland enjoys a very high moral standing in the public opinion of the United Nations, because Poland was the first to resist Germany and has never ceased to fight her on land, at sea and in the air, and despite the cruel terrorism of German occupation, she has never collaborated with the invader. So in their declarations the Soviets bolstered their refusal to cooperate with Poland by a number of arguments neither accurate nor well founded.

These concern the following problems:

- 1) the Polish-Soviet frontier as established by the Treaty of Riga in 1921,
- 2) Curzon Line,
- 3) ethnography of Eastern Poland,
- 4) Soviet "plebiscite" in Eastern areas,
- 5) massacre of the Polish officers at Katyn,
- 6) organization of the Underground Movement in Poland, and its identity with the Polish Government,
- 7) attitude of the Polish Government toward the Soviet Union.

Each of these arguments is discussed separately below to enable the reader to form his own opinion on these matters and to discriminate between fact and fiction.

Treaty of Riga 1921

"... Injustice caused by the Treaty of Riga in 1921, that was forced on the Soviet Union ..."

(From the Soviet Declaration of January 11, 1944.)

The Peace Treaty signed at Riga on March 18, 1921, gave real expression to Poland's sincere desire for a lasting agreement with Russia; it was not a dictated peace imposed by victor upon vanquished, but a treaty freely negotiated by men who sought a just solution that would afford equal protection to the interests of both Poland and Russia, and once for all liquidate the age-old conflict between the two countries. This spirit found its official expression in the preamble to the treaty itself, which stated explicitly:

"Poland on the one hand, Russia and the Ukraine on the other, desiring to put an end to the war in which they had been involved, and desiring to conclude a definite, lasting and honorable peace based on mutual understanding, decided to enter upon negotiations with each other."

Mr. Joffe, Head of the Soviet Delegation to the Peace Conference of Riga in 1921, said in his speech after the signature of the treaty:

"... I am glad to be able to state, that although the international situation has changed several times in the course of the Russian-Ukrainian-Polish peace negotiations in Riga, the atmosphere of these conversations has remained invariably favorable and this facilitated the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement.

"... We have been calmly negotiating a peace here in Riga, and not only have we not displayed any aggressiveness, but we have concluded a peace treaty giving full satisfaction to the vital, legitimate and necessary interests of the Polish nation."

It is important to emphasize that the instructions given by the Polish Government and Diet to the Polish delegation when it went to Riga after Poland's military victory, were virtually the same as those it had received for the preliminary conference at Minsk in August, 1920, when the Soviet armies were at the gates of Warsaw.¹ The Polish people did not want their relations with Russia to be dependent on a temporary state of affairs or on the military situation. The Polish delegation did not go to Riga with instructions to secure for Poland the greatest possible extent of territory, and a frontier as far to the east as possible, it was sent with instructions to "establish a basis for good neighborly relations" between the two nations, by making a peace "without victors and vanquished" based on "a just harmonization of the vital interests of both parties."

In order to achieve such a compromise, Poland consented to great sacrifices

¹ *The Polish-Soviet Frontier* by S. Grabski. Keliher, Hudson & Kearns, Ltd., pp. 24, 26, 28. Hatfields, London.

and showed herself more conciliatory than either of the two other signatories, in particular as regards territorial provisions of the Treaty.

By this Treaty Poland abandoned her claims to territory of some 120,000 square miles that had been hers before the partitions at the close of the XVIII century, almost one-half of her territory at that time. She relinquished to Russia the provinces of Minsk, Mohylev, Polock, Witebsk, the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper, half of Volhynia, and the whole of Podolia, except those parts of it which prior to 1918 had formed part of Austria.

It should not be forgotten that the Russian Government itself had formally admitted Poland's right to the restitution of her pre-partitions frontiers. By its decree of August 28, 1918, the Soviet Government annulled all the treaties partitioning Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795 and also all the subsequent treaties concerning Poland up to 1833. This decree signed by Lenin and Karachan, was published officially on September 9, 1918, and communicated to the German Government on October 3, 1918.²

The Treaty of Riga moved the frontier between Poland and the Soviet Union westward, even farther than the line proposed by the Polish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris. The Soviet Government itself suggested to Poland—in private conversations in the autumn of 1919 and in an official declaration of the Council of People's Commissars of January 28, 1920—a frontier which was more favorable to Poland than the final line agreed upon at Riga.³

The Treaty of Riga fixed not only the frontiers between Poland and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, but also the frontier with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, a delegation from which took a direct part in the peace negotiations, and the White Ruthenian Republic, represented by the Soviet Russian Delegation.

Sincerely desiring a peace that would lay the foundations of permanent good relations between Poland and Russia, the Polish delegation decided not to push the southernmost sector of the frontier further east than the old eastern frontier of Galicia, which had belonged to Poland from the middle of the XIV century, and had never at any time belonged to Russia. Even in the peace conditions proposed at Minsk the Soviet Union had laid no claim to Galicia whose population, irrespective of nationality, was mostly Catholic.⁴

The best proof that the Treaty of Riga was far from being an extorted and unjust peace, is an article in the "*Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*," official publication of the Soviet Government published in Moscow in 1940, i.e. after the invasion of Poland and the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty partitioning Polish territories.⁵

Under the heading "Polish-Soviet War 1920" the Encyclopaedia states that

² & ³ *The Red Book*. Compilation of diplomatic documents concerning Russian-Polish relations from 1918-20. The Peoples Comm. for Foreign Affairs.

⁴ *The Polish-Soviet Frontier* by S. Grabski. Keliher, Hudson & Kearns, Ltd., pp. 24, 26, 28. Hatfields, London.

⁵ *Bolsbaya Sovietskaya Enceeklopedya* 1940, Gosudarstviennyi Institute, Moscow, 1940, vol. 46, p. 247.

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скажем, в области военного дела? Когда люди не ограничиваются огульным продвижением вперед, а стараются вместе с тем закрепить захваченные позиции, перегруппировать свои силы сообразно с изменяющейся обстановкой, подтянуть тылы, подвести резервы. Для чего все это нужно? Для того, чтобы гарантировать себе от неожиданностей, ликвидировать отдельные провалы, от которых не гарантировано ни одно наступление, и подготовить, таким образом, полную ликвидацию врага. Ошибка польских войск в 1920 г., если взять только военную сторону дела, состоит в том, что они пренебрегли этим правилом. Этим, между прочим, и объясняется, что, докатившись огулом до Киева, они вынуждены были потом так же огулом откатиться до Варшавы. Ошибка советских войск в 1920 г., если взять опять-таки только военную сторону дела, состоит в том, что они повторили ошибку поляков при своем наступлении на Варшаву» (Сталин, Вопросы ленинизма, 11 изд., стр. 313—314).

Передв в середине августа в контр наступление, белополяки были, тем не менее, бессильны продолжать войну. Экономическое положение Польши было в это время весьма плачевным, а внутреннее политическое положение, несмотря на успехи на фронте, крайне напряженным (результативный рост недовольства трудящихся масс, буржуазный террор). В этой обстановке главарь польского государства больше всего боялись затян timer войны и нового наступления советских войск. Поэтому белополяки пошли на переговоры о мире. Советской республикой и вынуждены были отказаться от своих широких планов насчет Украины и Белоруссии. 21/IX возобновились русско-польские мирные переговоры в Риге. 27/IX был подписан договор о перемирии и при определенных условиях мира Советской России, а 20/X заключено перемирие на территории Польши. 17/XI в Риге начала работать Руско-польская конференция по заключению окончательного мира; 18/III 1921 мирный договор был подписан. По условиям этого мира Польша сохранила за собой Галицию и часть Белоруссии. Однако новая советско-польская граница представляла собой для белополяков значительное ухудшение условий, к-рые Советское правительство, в целях сохранения мира, предлагало Польше в апреле 1920: граница, установленная после П.-с. в., проходила на 50—100 км западнее той, к-рая предлагалась до начала войны. Это означало, что Советская Россия и из этого военного столкновения с силами контрреволюции вышла победительницей.

Гор. Вильно, к-рый в июле 1920 был отбит советскими войсками у поляков, в октябре был передан Литве, но 9/X 1920 захвачен частями ген. Желитовского и насильственно присоединен к Польше. В 1939 после распада панской Польши СССР вновь передал Вильно Литве.

Непосредственным результатом мира с Польшей для Советской Республики явилась возможность ускорить разгром Врангеля, что и было блестяще осуществлено войсками Южного фронта в ноябре 1920. Крушение завоевательных планов белополяков и полное поражение Врангеля означало конец периода иностранной интервенции против молодой Советской страны. В этом заключалась основная политич. итог войны с панской Польшей. 20/XI 1920, выступая на Московской губернской партконферен-

ции, Ленин говорил: «Мы получаем теперь уже нечто более существенное, чем простое перемирие... особенно велико значение победы, которую в конечном итоге одержала Красная армия, несмотря на поражение под Варшавой, так как она поставила Польшу в такое положение, что она не имеет совершенно сил продолжать войну... Мы оказались в таком положении, что, не приобретя международной победы, единственной и прочной победы для нас, мы отвоевали себе условия, при которых нам существовать рядом с капиталистическими державами... В процессе этой борьбы мы отвоевали себе право на самостоятельное существование» (Ленин, Сочинения, т. XXV, стр. 482, 483 и 484).

ПОЛЬСКО-ШВЕДСКАЯ ИНТЕРВЕНЦИЯ В МОСКОВСКОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВО НАЧАЛЕ 17 ВЕКА.

В период образования государства русского национального государства, немецкие, шведские, а затем литовские и польские феодалы, являясь врагами Московского государства, делали неоднократные попытки захватить русское население и завоевать русские земли; они всячески мешали культурным и политическим связям Москвы с Западной Европой. Русский народ в героической борьбе отстаивал свою национальную независимость. По подсчетам историка П. О. Ключевского, за период с 1492 по 1595 было 3 войны со Швецией и 7 войн с Литвой, Польшей, Ливонией. В течение этих 103 лет рус. государству приходилось в среднем год воевать и год отдыхать. — В конце 16 и начале 17 вв. обострились противоречия между различными группами рус. феодалов и резко ухудшилось положение крестьян. Оформление крепостничества, отнесенный в царствование Федора Ивановича и Бориса Федоровича Годунова усилило эксплуатацию крестьянства, а неурожай и голод 1601—03 сделали положение трудящихся масс еще более невыносимым. Начались и усиливались крестьянские восстания (восстание Хлопка Косогола в 1603, восстание монастырских крестьян). — Обострением социальных, классовых противоречий внутри Московского государства решили воспользоваться польские паны, эти старые враги русского государства; они сделали еще одну попытку завоевать русские земли. Заговорив смерть царевича Дмитрия и ходившие в народе слухи о том, что царевич жив и сейчас находится где-то в тайном месте, — все это польские феодалы ловко использовали в своих целях — борьбе с Московским государством. Польские паны выставили в лице авантюриста — Лжедмитрия I — претендента на московский престол и организовали интервенционный поход против Московского государства.

Лжедмитрий I (см.) впервые (в 1602—03) объявил себя царевичем, находясь в услужении у польского князя Адама Вишневецкого. Польские князья Вишневецкие, владения к-рых к концу 16 в. граничили с землями Московского государства, являлись яркими сторонниками интервенции против Московского государства; они не раз пытались захватывать русские земли, что приводило к пограничным конфликтам. Адам Вишневецкий доставил самозванца к своему брату Константину Вишневецкому, к-рый, в свою очередь, немедленно направил Лжедмитрия к своему тестю пану Юрию Мишнев. Мишнев ухватился за самозванца как за средство, могущее поправить его личные дела. Он договорился выдать за него дочь Марину, если тот сделается московским царем. Будущий

THE GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA

As late as 1940 this official publication of the Soviet Government did not consider Poland's eastern frontier, established by the Treaty of Riga in 1921 as unfair to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it stated that in April, 1920, the Soviet Government had suggested to Poland a frontier from thirty to sixty miles east of the boundary agreed upon in the Treaty of Riga.

Literal translation of the excerpts on page 5.

at the time of the peace treaty in Riga the Soviet Government wanted to give Poland a frontier much further East.

"On March 18th, 1921, the Peace Treaty was signed. In accordance with its provisions Poland kept Galicia and part of White-Ruthenia. However, the new Polish-Soviet frontier meant for the White Poles much worse conditions in comparison to those which the Soviet Government suggested to Poland in order to maintain peace in April, 1920. The frontier determined after the Polish-Soviet War runs 50-100 kilometers to the West of the line which was suggested at the beginning of the war. This means that Soviet Russia emerged victorious also from this struggle against the forces of counter-revolution."

On March 15, 1923, the Conference of the Ambassadors, representing the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" (Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan) referring to art. 87 of the Versailles Treaty, recognized the boundary line determined in Riga as the eastern frontier of Poland. Three weeks later (April 5, 1923), this frontier was recognized by the United States of America. Thus the matter was definitely settled from the point of view of international law and a basis found for the establishment between the two countries of normal neighborly relations.⁶

When the new Soviet Constitution of July 6, 1923, called into being the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Soviet Government in its Note of December 14, 1923, addressed to the Polish Government, again confirmed all the treaties concluded by the various Soviet Republics before the creation of the Union, including the Treaty of Riga, and pledged itself solemnly to observe and fulfill them.

It is also worthy of note that never in the past eighteen years has Russia questioned the justice of the Treaty of Riga, and has never regarded the frontier as unfair to herself. She always considered it permanent and advantageous.

The passage from the official Great Soviet Encyclopaedia of 1940, quoted above, is only one instance. In the same Encyclopaedia⁷ a quotation from Lenin's "Works," Vol. XXV, pp. 482, 483 and 484, says:

"We found ourselves in such a position that without achieving international victory—the only permanent victory from our point of view—we have attained conditions in which we can exist at the side of the capitalist powers . . . During this war we have won the right to independent existence."

The preamble of the non-aggression pact, signed in Moscow between Poland and Soviet-Russia on July 25, 1932, says:

"Considering that the Treaty of Peace of March 18, 1921, constitutes now as in the past, the basis of their reciprocal relations and undertakings . . . have decided to conclude the present Pact . . ."

⁶ *Polish White Book*. Hutchinson, London, 1940.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. 46, p. 248.

On May 5, 1934, this pact was prolonged until December 31, 1945 (and is therefore still in force).

On this occasion Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, delivered a speech in which he underlined the friendly and cordial relations existing between the two largest countries of Eastern Europe. Finally, on November 26, 1938, a joint communiqué was issued by the Polish and Soviet Governments, the first paragraph of which reads as follows:

"Relations between the Polish Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are and will continue to be based to the fullest extent on all existing Agreements, including the Polish-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression dated July 25, 1932. This pact . . . has a basis wide enough to guarantee the inviolability of peaceful relations between the two States."

Only after Hitler's unprovoked aggression, when Poland was overwhelmed by superior German forces, did Russia decide that she was not bound by any treaties, and on September 17, 1939, the Red Army entered Polish territory.

From that moment Russia began to complain about the Treaty of Riga, which had existed for 18 years to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

Was the "Curzon Line" Proposed as a Frontier?

"The so-called Curzon Line was adopted in 1919 by the Supreme Council of Allied Powers and provided for the incorporation of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia into the Soviet Union."

(From the Soviet Declaration of January 11, 1944.)

The so-called Curzon Line never constituted a boundary line between Poland and the U.S.S.R., and was never proposed as such. The term was used for the first time during the Spa Conference in 1920 (not in 1919), to designate a line suggested by the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers on December 8, 1919, in the following declaration:

"The Principal Allied and Associated Powers, recognizing that it is important as soon as possible to put a stop to the existing conditions of political uncertainty, in which the Polish nation is placed, and without prejudging the provisions which must in the future define the eastern frontiers of Poland, hereby declare that they recognize the right of the Polish Government to proceed, according to the conditions previously provided by the Treaty with Poland of June 28, 1919, to organize a regular administration of the territories of the former Russian Empire situated to the West of the line described below."

(The detailed description of the line follows.)

"The rights that Poland may be able to establish over the territories situated to the East of the said line are expressly reserved."

So it is quite clear that this line had been proposed in 1919 only for administrative purposes. The Supreme Council did not contemplate its adoption as a permanent frontier; on the contrary, it explicitly reserved Poland's right to territories situated to the east.

When this same line was put forward by Lord Curzon at the Spa Conference in 1920, again it was not in any way proposed as a frontier. Poland had appealed to the Allied and Associated Powers to intervene in the Polish-Russian war, and they declared their readiness to do so, provided Poland signed an agreement submitted to her Government on July 10, 1920, under which Poland agreed to promote and to sign without any delay an armistice, the first condition of which would be the withdrawal of the Polish army from the line of battle to the line indicated by the Peace Conference on December 8, 1919.

Thus, the Curzon line was proposed by the Allies exclusively as an armistice line, and at no time was there even a suggestion that it was a frontier line, nor was any attempt made to settle the frontier problem.

It is most important to note that the Declaration of December 8, 1919, and Lord Curzon's proposal of July 10, 1920, concerned only territories which in 1914 were under Russian rule, having been annexed by her in the partitions of Poland in the XVIII century (see Map on page 9). They *never* concerned the South-Eastern Polish territories (Galicia), which at no time in history had ever been under Russian rule. (The term Western Ukraine as applied to these territories was coined by Russia after her aggression of 1939).¹

Polish administration in Eastern Galicia was based on decisions of the Supreme Council of June 25 and December 22, 1919. In relation to this territory, both in accordance with the agreement of July 10, 1920, between Poland and the Powers which met in Spa, and in compliance with the conditions of the armistice proposed by Lord Curzon, the Polish and Soviet armies were to stand on the line which they occupied on the day of the proposed armistice.

It must be emphasized that on July 11, 1920, the Soviet army had not at any point entered the territory of Eastern Galicia. Even at the time of the deepest penetration of the Soviet army to the West, Lwow was never occupied by the Soviets.

The so-called Curzon Line:

- (1) was never proposed as a Polish-Soviet frontier by any Allied Power,
- (2) was never advanced as a legal basis for the incorporation of Polish territories into the Soviet Union, and therefore
- (3) cannot be used to justify any such attempts in the future.

¹ British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. 112, p. 971.

Ethnographic Survey of Eastern Poland

"... The territories of Western Ukraine populated in an overwhelming majority by Ukrainians ..."

"... The territories of Western White Russia populated in an overwhelming majority by White Russians ..."

(From the Soviet Declaration of January 11, 1944.)

Nowhere in Europe are ethnographic frontiers clearly delineated and at any point where two neighboring countries meet there are always territories inhabited by mixed population. This is true also of the Franco-German frontier (Alsace and Lorraine), of the Danish-German frontier (Schleswig), of the Balkan peninsula (Macedonia), of the Italian-Yugoslav frontier (Fiume), of the Austrian-Italian frontier (Tirol), of the Czechoslovak-German frontier (Sudetenland), etc. So it is virtually impossible to find a nationally uniform population in any border territory. On either side of the frontier one finds mixed groups, in which one nationality is only slightly stronger than the other.

Eastern Poland is an instance of such a mixed population where two different cultures and two civilizations meet and penetrate each other. All through history the influence from the West (Roman culture) has here been opposed to that of the East (Byzantine influences).

With the exception of the partition period these territories have of their own accord formed part of Poland ever since the XIVth Century. Christianity, modern civilization, literature and arts came to them from Poland and they were saturated with Western influences. This process was temporarily halted during the partition of Poland (1772-1918) which President Wilson called "one of the great crimes of history," an opinion unanimously endorsed by the whole civilized world of today.

What is at Stake? Polish territory, occupied temporarily by the Soviets in September, 1939, under the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, comprised 77,606 square miles, i.e. an area greater than the whole of Czechoslovakia or of Greece, greater indeed than Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Hungary combined. So according to European standards, this territory is quite large. Indeed, it is more than half of Poland, 51.6% to be accurate. This territory is inhabited by 13,199,000 people (1939), or 37.3% of the whole population of the Polish Republic. This is more than the entire population of the Argentine.

Historical and political conditions in northern Poland are different from those in southern Poland. So when discussing the ethnographic problem of Eastern Poland it is necessary to analyze separately:



Poland as partitioned between Germany and Soviet Russia, under the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement of September 28, 1939.

Polish Republic: area 150,470 square miles, population 35,339,000.

Eastern Poland (occupied in 1939 by Soviet Union) inhabited by 13,199,000 people—more than the entire population of the Argentine—has an area of 77,606 square miles and is larger than Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Hungary combined.

- (1) the northern territory annexed by Russia during the partitions, and
- (2) the southern territory, which *never* at any time belonged to Russia.

Statistical data concerning all the Polish territory occupied by the Soviets in September, 1939, is appended.

North-Eastern Poland The north-eastern territory of Poland, between the boundary defined in the Treaty of Riga and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line (marked on the map with the letter "A") comprises 53,732 square miles and has 5,803,900 inhabitants.¹

Classified according to the mother tongue of the population, there were:

Poles	1,867,700	32.1%
Jews	623,800	10.6%
Ukrainians and Ruthenians...	1,324,700	22.8%
White Ruthenians	993,000	17.1%
Russians	118,900	2.4%
Lithuanians	75,800	1.3%
Germans	53,500	0.9%
Others and not given.....	746,500	12.8%
Total	5,803,900	100.0%

Wilno is the largest city and the cultural center of this area. The population of *Wilno* (195,100 inhabitants) was divided as follows:

Poles	128,600	65.9%
Jews	54,600	28.0%
Ukrainians and Ruthenians...	200	0.1%
White Ruthenians	1,700	0.9%
Russians	7,400	3.8%
Lithuanians	1,600	0.8%
Germans	600	0.3%
Others and not given.....	400	0.2%
Total	195,100	100.0%

South-Eastern Poland South-eastern Poland, otherwise known as "Eastern Galicia" (marked on the map with the letter "B") comprises 23,874 square miles and had 6,208,000 inhabitants. This population was divided as follows:

Poles	2,926,300	47.1%
Jews	421,200	6.8%
Ukrainians and Ruthenians...	2,814,300	45.3%
Russians	1,100	0.0%
Germans	31,500	0.5%
Others and not given.....	13,700	0.3%
Total	6,208,100	100.0%

¹ All data are quoted—unless otherwise stated—from the last Polish census in 1931.

Lwow is the largest city of this territory and the center of its tradition and culture. It has 312,200 inhabitants, divided as follows:

Poles	198,200	63.5%
Jews	75,300	24.1%
Ukrainians and Ruthenians...	35,100	11.2%
Russians	500	0.2%
Germans	2,500	0.8%
Others and not given.....	600	0.2%
Total	312,200	100.0%

Eastern Poland as a Whole Covering the whole territory occupied by the Soviets in September, 1939, under the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement (77,606 square miles), the figures according to the 1931

census, are:

Poles	4,794,000	39.9%
Jews	1,045,000	8.7%
Ukrainians and Ruthenians...	4,139,000	34.5%
White Ruthenians	993,000	8.3%
Russians	120,000	1.0%
Lithuanians	76,000	0.6%
Germans	85,000	0.7%
Czechs	32,000	0.3%
Others and not given.....	728,000	6.0%
Total	12,012,000	100.0%

It is estimated that eight years later, i. e. on August 31, 1939, that the number of Polish citizens on this same territory was 13,199,000.

Classified according to the mother tongue there were:

Poles	39.9%	Lithuanians	0.6%
Jews	8.4%	Germans	0.7%
Ukrainians and Ruthenians.	34.4%	Czechs	0.3%
White Ruthenians	8.5%	Others and not given.....	6.2%
Russians	1.0%		

Religion Religious statistics for Eastern Poland are as follows:

Catholics	7,066,000	58.8%
Rom. Cath. (Latin rite)	4,016,000	33.4%
Greek Cath. (Uniats)	3,050,000	25.4%
Greek Orthodox	3,529,000	29.3%
Protestants	99,000	0.8%
Other Christians	81,000	0.7%
Hebrew	1,222,000	10.2%
Other non-Christians	7,000	0.1%
Unknown and not given.....	8,000	0.1%
Total	12,012,000	100.0%

The Russians In connection with Russian claims to these territories, the Russian population is as follows:

North-eastern part (A)	—118,900	Russians, i.e. 2.4%	of whole population
South-eastern " (B)	— 1,110	" " 0.01%	" " "
Whole territory	—120,000	" " 1.0%	" " "

Because the number of Russians is so insignificant, the Soviets are seeking to make the world believe that any non-Polish inhabitant whether Ukrainian, White Ruthenian or Jew, must *ipso facto* desire to be a Russian and live under the Soviet régime. This is absolutely contrary to the true state of affairs, which fact had been sufficiently demonstrated during the temporary occupation of Eastern Poland by the Red Army from September, 1939, till June, 1941.

It is surely more logical to assume that the relative ethnographic majority of Poles in the area between the Riga boundary and the Ribbentrop-Molotov line constitutes the political nucleus of an absolute majority in favor of leaving these territories to Poland. Besides in these Eastern provinces of Poland other demographic groups are seeking the solution of their national problems in democratic institutions; and in this part of Europe, these can be fostered only by democratic Poland.

Especially as regards the Jews it is noteworthy that on January 24, 1944, the Representation of Polish Jewry in America cabled to Polish Prime Minister Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, that

"at the present crucial moment our Representation wish to assure you of the solidarity on the part of Polish Jewry with the Polish nation and with the Government of the Polish Republic in the defense of Poland's cause."

Conclusions (1) Everywhere in Eastern Poland, a territory of mixed population, Poles form a relative majority of the population.

(2) The largest cities in this area, Lwow and Wilno, have an overwhelming Polish majority.

(3) Eastern Poland is the borderland of Western culture, civilization and humanitarian ideology. East of the Polish border stretch lands where Byzantine influence was predominant.

(4) In the Eastern provinces, as everywhere in Poland, the people desires to live under republican form of government in which, as in all Western democracies, authority is vested in the elected representatives of the people. This applies to local self-governing bodies (rural and municipal administrations), as well as to the parliamentary organization of the central Government. The totalitarian one-party concept of government is completely alien to the thirteen million inhabitants of eastern Poland, imbued with traditions of individual freedom. It would have been unbearable to them irrespective of creed or nationality.

Individual ownership of their farms, houses, workshops and other means of production created in the predominantly peasant and lower-middle-class population of eastern Poland, a profound distrust of state ownership or collectivism which the Soviet authorities had endeavored to force upon them during the period of occupation.

Soviet "plebiscite" in Eastern Poland

"... The Soviet Constitution established a Soviet-Polish frontier corresponding with the desires of the population of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, expressed in a plebiscite carried out on broad democratic principles in the year 1939."

(From the Soviet Declaration of January 11, 1944.)

To understand the value and meaning of the so-called "plebiscite" in Eastern Poland one must realize the reasons why the referendum was held and the conditions in which it took place.

In its note of September 17, seeking to explain and justify:

- (a) the breach of neutrality by the USSR in the Polish-German war;
- (b) the violation of treaty of non-aggression with Poland, and
- (c) its unprovoked attack against Poland from the East,

the Soviet Government adopted the German thesis that the Polish State and its Government had in fact ceased to exist.

Putting this theory into practice, the Soviet armies did not treat Polish territory invaded after September 17, 1939, as occupied during military operations. They did not apply to it the provisions of the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, concerning the military occupation, but considered it as a no-man's land into which they introduced the Soviet régime, without delay.

Pre-plebiscite Atmosphere All Polish authorities, administration officials, judges, prosecuting attorneys, policemen and other employees of the Polish State were immediately arrested and charged with criminal counter-revolutionary activities (Article 58 and the following of the Penal Code of the USSR).

The same fate awaited members of local municipal or rural boards, whose offer to collaborate with the Soviets was rejected, while they themselves were jailed.

This "purge" included not only Polish officials, but also all "enemies of the people." Among the latter were:

- (a) commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Polish Army or reserve;
- (b) the constabulary, erroneously thought by the Soviets to be similar to the former Czarist "gendarmes" connected with the political police ("ochrana");
- (c) all men who since 1918 had enlisted in the Polish army as volunteers;
- (d) the so-called military settlers, i.e. veterans of the 1918-1920 wars, who had obtained farmsteads under the Agricultural Reform Act;

- (e) persons suspected of collaboration with the Polish police;
- (f) owners of landed estates, of factories and commercial enterprises;
- (g) all active members of non-communistic Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish and other parties (leftist labor parties such as the Polish Socialist Party, the "Bund," etc., being considered the most dangerous);
- (h) active social workers, trade-union leaders, directors of educational and cultural organizations, of co-operative societies, economic associations, religious brotherhoods and societies; in short, all elements active in a given community or which in the opinion of Russian authorities could play a role in organizing the local population.

Tens of thousands of people were arrested on the basis of reports of "local residents" and "labor guards" of the temporary administration. Inasmuch as abuses and the settling of personal accounts were rife, virtually no one could feel safe. Thus the population of the occupied territories was terrorized.

Why a Plebiscite? The Soviet-German agreement for the partition of Poland concluded on September 28, 1939, stipulated that the partition of the Polish State between the two Contracting Powers excluded "any interference with this decision on the part of the other Powers."

Had the partitioning States succeeded in carrying through the above claim, the USSR would—under accepted international law—have been released from its legal international responsibility for the violation of its treaties with Poland (especially the treaty of Non-Aggression of May 5, 1934), and the obligations resulting therefrom, and have acquired legal title to its annexation of Polish territories conquered together with the Germans.

This explains the pressing appeal of the Soviet Government and press (September, 1939) to England and France, demanding that they stop further military operations against Germany and agree to consider the partition of Poland as the conclusion of the war.

The two Western Democracies, however, kept their pledges to Poland. That deprived the Soviet Government of any possibility of sanction in international law for its acts on the territory of the "conquered" Polish State.

When it became clear that the theory of the non-existence of the Polish State and its partition could not be upheld, the Soviet Government looked for new arguments which might at least confer some semblance of legality in international law to Soviet activities in Eastern Poland. It was then that the Soviets struck upon the idea of a "free expression of the will of the population" inhabiting the territories occupied by the Red Army, in favor of joining the Soviet Union.

Having doubts as to the eventual reaction of the local population, should annexation be put squarely and plainly before them, the Soviet authorities refrained from organizing a plebiscite but resorted to "camouflage" and called instead for an "election" to the so-called National Assemblies of "Western Ukraine" and of "Western White Ruthenia."

It should be emphasized that the terms "Western Ukraine" and "Western White Ruthenia" had never before been used nor were they even known to the local population. They were arbitrarily introduced by the Soviet authorities which, following their illegal occupation, had divided Eastern Poland into two parts: "Western White Ruthenia" to the north and "Western Ukraine" to the south.

On October 6, 1939, Soviet Army commanders and military councils of the southern (Ukrainian) and northern (White Ruthenian) front, announced their decision that the election to the so-called People's Assemblies would take place on October 22, 1939. The elected Assemblies met a few days later in Lwow and Bialystok. The same authorities published simultaneously election rules, patterned after those in force in the Soviet Union. The elections were to be held in Lwow and Bialystok, under the supervision of special committees consisting of citizens and officials of the Soviet Union, and representatives of the Supreme Councils of the White Ruthenian and the Ukrainian Soviet Republics.

In the Wilno territory, which at first had been included in the so-called "Western White Ruthenia," similar measures were taken to induce the population to vote in the election of delegates to the National Assembly in Bialystok. This electoral campaign was suddenly interrupted, and the announcement made that the city of Wilno and the Wilno district had been ceded by the Soviets to Lithuania.

This was done without ascertaining the views or wishes of the population of Wilno. Had it been consulted it would never have agreed. This was confirmed by Mr. Molotov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs in his speech before the Supreme Council of the USSR, on October 31, 1939. Mr. Molotov declared that

"... the Soviet Union had decided to transfer Wilno to the Lithuanian Republic not because the city's population had a Lithuanian majority. No, that majority was not Lithuanian."

Organization of Plebiscite The so-called "plebiscite" was recently described by a British writer, F. A. Voigt, in an article "Poland," that appeared in the "Nineteenth Century and After" (Vol. CXXXV, No. 804, of February, 1944. Pp. 53-56). He says:

"The elections for 'Popular Assemblies' to represent the Polish White Ruthenian and Ukrainian territories were held on October 22, 1939.

"Space does not allow us to describe in detail the complicated procedure by which elections of a type unknown in Poland, were organized in about a fortnight. Only a few days were allowed for dividing a population of 12,662,000 people¹ in 2,424 constituencies.

"The electorate was not made really aware what the 'Popular Assemblies' were for. The Municipal Council of Lemberg (Lwow) did issue a statement that the Assemblies were to decide upon the future national status of the Polish Ukraine. A similar statement was published in the

¹ Those residing in the region ceded to Lithuania being excluded.

Russian newspaper *Izvestia*. But the population as a whole cannot have known what really was afoot. The citizens of Lemberg probably knew. Perhaps that is why, when the elections came, they produced such a meagre poll. It is hardly conceivable that the primitive peasants of remote villages in White Ruthenia could have known.

"The *Election Committees* were composed of persons who were, for the most part, strangers. It may be that local Communists had a share in them, but it must at best have been a very humble share. The elections were organized by the Russian military and civil administration under the superintendence of the Russian higher authorities. Many Russian officials—including members of the NKVD (Secret Police)—arrived from Moscow as organizers.

"The candidates were not chosen by the electorate. They were appointed by the Russian authorities and were, as a rule, persons quite unknown in the constituency. Many, if not most, were *Politruks* (Political Officers) who had been sent from Russia. Some factories tried to put forward their own candidates, but were invariably overruled by the '*Politruks*.' In some constituencies the candidates were Mr. Molotov and Marshal Voroshilov.² In some of the rural constituencies the candidates were illiterate.

"While multitudes of the electorate—Polish, Polish Ukrainian and White Ruthenian political leaders and organizers—were being deported to Russia, many persons arrived from Russia not only to organize but also to vote as 'permanent or temporary residents.' Agitators were also imported from Russia.³ Speeches and lectures, and propagandist plays (some of them with well-known Russian casts) were given. 'Propaganda trains' of the kind used in Russia during the revolution, were sent to Poland. Russian troops took part in the canvassing—the soldier agitator was here and there and everywhere.⁴

"The propaganda was directed against imperialism and capitalism, against the Polish land-owning class,⁵ in particular, against Ukrainian nationalism, and, of course, for the Soviet Union and its achievements.

"The polling was as follows:—

Only One Name to Vote For! "There was only one name—the name of the one candidate—on the ballot paper. There was a screen, behind which voters could retire to mark their papers. Some did so, crossing out the name of the candidate, or scribbling some comment of

² Constituency IV, Krzemieniec (*Pravda*, October 19, 1939). It does not appear that Mr. Molotov and the Marshal ever showed themselves in this constituency.

³ 100,000 agitators were drafted into White Ruthenia (*Pravda*, October 22, 1939). In Zolkiev there were 600 agitators for 11,000 inhabitants (*Pravda*, October 15).

⁴ *Izvestia*, February 2, 1940.

⁵ 'Polish landlords' and 'British imperialists' were sometimes classed together: 'Is there another people in the world, with the only exception to the peasants of India, groaning under the boot of British imperialists, which has gone through such a tragedy as the Ukrainians and White Russian people under the yoke of the Polish landlords?' *Pravda*, October 2, 1939.

their own on the paper. But they were observed, and a mark would often be put against their names in the register. In some polling stations, voters were 'advised' by the officials present—Russian militiamen, soldiers, agents of the NKVD, or an occasional local Communist—to drop their papers into the ballot without going behind the screen. Many persons arrived who had no identity card and were not on the register, and were yet allowed to vote. Their names were entered in the register subsequently. Many Russian soldiers voted.

"The voting, though theoretically free, was in practice compulsory. Agents of the NKVD would call on persons who did not appear, and warn them. They feared that if they did not vote they would be deported to Russia.

"The votes were counted by 'Regional Committees' appointed by the Russian authorities. The 'Regional Committees' forwarded their returns to the 'Central Committees' similarly appointed. The electorate had no means of checking the counts. The published results were:

	Electorate	Votes
"Western Ukraine	4,776,275	4,433,997 or 92.83 per cent.
"Western White Ruthenia	2,763,191	2,672,280 or 96.71 per cent. ⁶

"In some localities, when noon approached, and none or few turned up to vote, Russian troops or militiamen rounded up the constituents and escorted them to the polling station. In some districts the polling was preceded by numerous arrests. In some, many of the younger men fled and disappeared in the forests.

"Returns were published for regions made up of several constituencies and for some of the larger towns, but none for individual constituencies.

"In some villages there was much abstention, but it was not to be traced in the returns. In Lemberg the poll amounted to only 43.48 per cent. The Russian authorities ordered a new election—it was never held.⁷

"Out of 1,495 candidates for all Eastern Poland, 1,484, were returned. Many of them—especially those from White Ruthenia—were illiterate.

"Unanimous"—by a Show of Hands! "The returned candidates formed the two National Assemblies—the White Ruthenian and the Ukrainian—which met on the end of October.⁸ The latter was attended by Marshal Timoshenko. Both Assemblies passed the following resolutions—not by ballot, but by a show of hands, and unanimously.

"1. That 'Western White Russia' and 'Western Ukraine' pass into the hands of the working class.

"2. That 'Western White Russia' and 'Western Ukraine' be 'admitted' to the Soviet Union.

⁶ *Pravda*, October 25, 1939.

⁷ *Pravda*, October 25, 1939.

⁸ In Lwow on October 26, in Bialystok on October 28, 1939.

- "3. That the big estates be confiscated.
 "4. That the banks and industries be nationalized.

"5. That homage be paid to 'the great Stalin.'⁹

"This was the plebiscite referred to in the Russian *Declaration* of January 11, 1944. In this way Eastern Poland was annexed to Russia."

That is the story as told by an impartial British writer.

Some Legal Remarks To conclude this account of the saddest "plebiscite" in modern history:—

On November 1st and 2nd, 1939, the fifth special session of the Supreme Council of the USSR decided to grant the aforesaid request, and thereby "legalizing" the status of the provinces, that had existed for the past six weeks.

To furnish further proof of the "legality" of the incorporation of these Polish Eastern provinces in the Soviet Union, the Constitutions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Soviet Republics were changed and new maps and atlases published, showing these Polish territories as forming part of Soviet Russia.

In defending Russia's territorial acquisitions of 1940, the Soviet declaration of January 11, 1944, refers to these territorial changes in the Constitution.

While the Soviet Government maintained that the constitutional amendments of November, 1939, definitely established the western frontier of the USSR, it later took the Curzon Line (which does not correspond to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line), as a basis for frontier negotiations with Poland.

Obviously the Soviet Constitution can no more create international law than any other state constitution.

By its declaration of January 11, 1944, the Soviet Government has shown that in practice if not in theory, it shares this point of view.

⁹ *Pravda*, October 28, 29, 30, 1939.

Murders in Katyn

"Soviet circles wish that it should be borne in mind that diplomatic relations with the Polish Government were broken off through the fault of that Government because of its active participation in the hostile anti-Soviet slanderous campaign of the German invaders in connection with the alleged murders in Katyn."

(From the Soviet Statement of January 17, 1944.)

On September 17, 1940 the first anniversary of the invasion of Poland by the Soviet armies, the official newspaper of the Russian Army Red Star¹ published a report on that campaign, stressing the capture of 181,000 Polish prisoners, among them some 10,000 officers.

The latter were first (1939) quartered in three camps on Soviet territory: in Kozielsk (about 4,500 officers); in Starobielsk (about 4,800 officers) and in Ostaszkw (380 officers). On April 5, 1940, the Soviet authorities began to evacuate these camps transferring several scores of officers daily to an unknown destination. A few of them (some four hundred or so) were transferred in a northerly direction to Griazovec in the Vologda district.

After the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, the Polish Government began to organize on Soviet territory a Polish army recruited from Poles in Russia (deported civilians and prisoners of war). Officers taken prisoner by the Red Army, among whom fourteen generals, were to form the cadres of that army.

However, only a small group of army officers, who had been interned in Griazovec, reported to the Polish base, while not one of the officers who had been transferred from the above mentioned camps in the direction of Smolensk, appeared.

Greatly concerned by such a state of affairs, the Polish Embassy in Moscow and the Polish High Command appealed to the proper Soviet authorities for information about these officers.

Polish Ambassador Kot in conversations with Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov and Vice-Commissar Wyszynski (and General Anders in conversations with Soviet military authorities) repeatedly raised the question of the lost Polish officers, insisting that they be furnished a list of all war prisoners, that had been compiled in 1939 by the Soviet authorities. General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, during his visit to the Kremlin in December 1941, also sought to obtain the liberation of all Polish prisoners of war. To facilitate research, he handed Premier Stalin an incomplete list of missing army officers. The list contained the names of 3,843 Polish army officers.

Premier Stalin gave the same answer as had previously been made to all

¹ *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 17, 1940.

Polish inquiries, namely the amnesty had been of a general nature, and the Soviet Government had set all Polish army officers free.

Simultaneously with these efforts in Russia, diplomatic measures were taken in London. On January 28, 1942, the then Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Edward Raczynski, delivered a note to Mr. Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador, calling the latter's attention to the fact that number of Polish army officers, prisoners of war, had not been traced or released as yet. Ambassador Bogomolov's answer was the same as that made by Premier Stalin—all of them had been set free.

In April 1943, the German radio and press announced the discovery of a mass cemetery of Polish army officers in the forest of Katyn, near Smolensk.

Despite its origin the announcement caused a sensation throughout the world and its effect on Poles everywhere was tremendous. It was the first reply to the question what had become of the army officers who had all disappeared without leaving a trace. To understand the tragic impression created, one must realize that every man in the Government, every officer in the army, all the leaders of the Polish underground and many Polish refugees had friends or relatives among the lost officers, whose number exceeded 8,000.

The Polish Government could not possibly ignore the German reports. The fate of the officers of its army was a matter of supreme importance to its war effort. Despair and indignation among Poles at home and abroad reached a critical pitch. The disappearance of the elite of the Polish army was not only a great blow to Poland's military effort, it deprived the Polish State of a large number of her intellectuals. Among the prisoners, besides regular army officers, were many reserve officers, civil engineers, scientists, doctors, lawyers, etc.—to mention only the camp of Starobielsk, four hundred Polish army doctors were interned, men who would have been invaluable in the reconstruction of a country devastated by war.

Under these circumstances, the Polish Government asked the International Red Cross to make an investigation and establish the facts on the spot. In doing so the Polish Government made it clear that it was appealing to an institution that enjoyed the respect and confidence of the civilized world, and that it placed no reliance on German political propaganda reports.²

There was no other way to get at the truth. The city of Smolensk was under German occupation, and neither the Polish nor any other United Nations Government could make an investigation there. The International Red Cross in Geneva is the official institution for the settlement of all matters connected with prisoners of war. The Board of the International Red Cross is composed of representatives of all civilized countries without regard to politics.

That is why it was not only the most suitable, but the *only* institution that could undertake the difficult task and perform it with complete impartiality.

Moreover, international precedents existed. In 1942, Great Britain had asked the International Red Cross to investigate cruelties committed by the Japanese in Shanghai and Hongkong.

² Communiqué of the Polish Ministry of National Defense of April 16, 1943.

This was the only action taken by the Polish Government concerning the murder of its officers at Katyn. The Soviets, who asserted that the Polish Government lent itself to "active participation in the hostile anti-Soviet slanderous campaign" were unable to give a single instance of such a campaign. The fact is that in this difficult position, the Polish Government showed great restraint.

On April 16, 1943 the Soviet official news agency TASS published a communiqué concerning the disappearance of the Polish army officers. The Polish Government had waited in vain for more than eighteen months for such a communiqué. According to this statement the Polish prisoners of war, who had been doing construction work west of Smolensk, were captured by the Germans during the Soviet retreat in the summer of 1941. The assumption was that they had been murdered by the Germans.

Had this explanation of the capture of the Polish officers by the Germans near Smolensk been given to the Polish authorities at any time during the many conversations and diplomatic exchanges in 1941, 1942 and 1943, Poland's appeal to the International Red Cross would not have been made. Moreover had the civilized world known about the seizure by the Germans of the prisoners—it is probable that the Germans would not have dared to exploit this tragedy for the benefit of their propaganda.

The Polish Government's effort to establish the truth of and responsibility for the mass murder of defenseless prisoners of war met with a violent reaction on the part of the Soviet authorities and the official Soviet press. The Soviet Government considered it sufficient ground for breaking off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government (Note of the Soviet Foreign Office of April 25, 1943). At the same time the Soviets went as far as to charge that the Government and army of the Nation which had been the first to fight Hitler and had never for a moment ceased to do so, was in league with the Germans. Such an accusation was so improbable and monstrous, that it found no credence anywhere.

The Red Cross refused to undertake the investigation on the ground that as an international institution it would have to have the agreement of all interested parties. As the Soviet Union opposed any investigation by a commission, the Polish Government on May 1, 1943, withdrew its appeal to the International Red Cross.

In September 1943, after the Katyn district was reoccupied by the Red Army, the Soviet Government appointed a special Commission to conduct an investigation of the Katyn murders. No representatives of any Allied institution, not even of the Red Cross, were invited to participate in the investigation of the Soviet Commission.

Upon the conclusion of this investigation, Soviet correspondents and representatives of the American and British press in the U.S.S.R. were invited to go to Katyn to see the graves, where the final report of the Commission was made known to them. It was to the effect that 11,000 Polish officers had been murdered in August 1941 by the Germans.

Polish Underground

"The emigré Polish Government, cut off from its people, proved incapable of organizing an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself."

(From the Soviet Declaration of January 11, 1944.)

The underground movement in Poland is by far the best of its kind in any occupied country and works with the Polish Government in London, which has its full support. How close the contact and collaboration is between the people in Poland and the Polish Government in London is well known to the governments of the United States and Great Britain. Only a few days ago, the London press reported that British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, heard a report from an Underground leader, who had recently arrived from Poland.

On August 15, 1943, the four largest Polish political parties in Poland—the Christian Democrat Labor Party, the National Party, the Peasant Party, the Polish Socialist Party—issued a joint manifesto setting forth their political views and their relations with the Polish Government. The Declaration asserted that until such time as democratic elections could be held in Poland, they would collaborate with each other on the basis of the declaration made by the Polish Government in London on July 27, 1943.

This manifesto signed by the representatives of the four most important political organizations in Poland promises full collaboration between the Political Representation in Poland and the Council of National Unity and the closest possible contact with the Delegate of the Polish Government.¹

On September 1, 1943 the Fourth Anniversary of Germany's unprovoked aggression, the underground organizations in Poland addressed themselves as follows to the Polish Government in London:

"We assure our President, the Polish Government and our British and American Allies that even the great sacrifices Poland is bearing to-day, will not hinder the nation in its struggle to restore an independent democratic Republic, within un-reduced boundaries."

These resolutions are unequivocal; they mean that the Polish Government in London is the actual leader and representative of the underground movement in Poland.

There even exists a "shadow parliament" which meets from time to time "somewhere in Poland," to discuss all political issues. It communicates its views to the Polish Government in London, thus maintaining unity between the people and their Government.

¹ The Polish underground paper "*Rzeczpospolita*," No. 15 (66), 1943; full text in "*Dziennik Polski*," London, October 22, 1943. English text in "*Polish Fortnightly Review*," No. 80, London, November 15, 1943.

Underground in Poland there exists a complete Polish State, fully organized in all phases of state administration, political, military, social and economic. The highest authorities of that State acting abroad on its behalf reside in London.² The Delegate of the Government in Poland is the representative of the Polish executive. He holds the position of the Deputy Prime Minister in the London Cabinet.

This organization has proved its efficiency during four and a half years of German occupation.

In spite of the most difficult living conditions, in spite of the systematic extermination of the nation, no Quisling has been found in Poland to collaborate with the Germans. Poland is the only occupied country of which this can be said.

Polish underground courts pass sentence upon German officials guilty of murder and other crimes. These sentences are regularly carried out by the Polish Underground as in the case of the Chief of Police in the Government General, Gen. Krüger, the Chief of the Gestapo in the Warsaw District, Gen. Fritz Kutschera, the Directors of the Labor Bureau (Arbeitsamt) in Warsaw—Hoffman, Werner and Lubberg and many other German criminals.

It is not possible to give a full picture of the many acts of sabotage and armed resistance of the underground. Several forms of fighting and sabotage cannot be mentioned because of the danger of the Germans discovering methods with which they are as yet unfamiliar, nor can any estimate be given of the results of industrial sabotage, the "Work slow!" campaign. Only a small part of the actual fighting and sabotage has been revealed by Polish sources or the German press.

As stated by Mr. Banaczyk, Polish Minister of Interior, at a press conference on March 2, 1944, the record of the Polish underground army in 1943 was as follows:

Armed encounters with Gestapo, Wehrmacht, Bahnschutz and Grenzschutz units	81
Attacks on prisons and convoys of prisoners (liberating 652 persons active in underground movement)	19
Germans killed in these operations	740

Death sentences passed by Polish courts and executed by the Polish underground:

Gestapo agents	1,163
German higher officials	18

Destruction of German communications and seizure of large amounts of military equipment, arms and ammunition:

Railroad derailments	81
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² For more details about organizations in Polish Underground and contacts with Government in London see "Polish Facts and Figures," No. 1 of March 10, 1944.

Attacks made on trains carrying war material	474
Ammunition trains blown up	3
Bridges blown up	6
Railway stations blown up	9
Petrol train burnt	1
Germans killed and wounded in above actions	393

Organized sabotage:

Locomotives damaged	2,013
Trucks destroyed	9,980
Tankers damaged	212
Gallons of petrol burnt	562,000

All of the above achievements of the underground army have received official German confirmation.

The Poles are proud of their underground movement, for no other underground organization in Europe has done as much.

The Attitude of the Polish Government toward the Soviet Union

"... The emigré Polish Government has proved incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union ..."

(From the Soviet Declaration of January 11, 1944.)

"... The present Polish Government does not desire to establish neighborly relations with the Soviet Union ..."

(From the Soviet Statement of January 17, 1944.)

On June 23, 1941, within forty-eight hours after Russia had been attacked by Germany, General Sikorski, then Prime Minister of the Polish Government in London, passing over the wrongs done to Poland by the Soviets in 1939-1941, held out the hand of conciliation.

After brief negotiations the Polish Government signed an agreement with the Soviet Union on July 30, 1941.¹ On this occasion General Sikorski broadcast to Poland, saying in part:

"... In 1795, in their pact for the third partition of Poland, the two Germanic Powers and Russia declared that Poland and the Polish name were to disappear forever. An identical agreement seeking the annihilation of Poland forever was entered into in September 1939. The former was wiped out by history, the latter has lived less than 2 years. Such pacts are but scraps of paper in the face of the vitality and dynamism of our nation. Poland is immortal!

¹ Full text of this agreement is quoted in "Polish-Soviet Relations 1918-1943," Polish Information Center, New York, (documents No. 30 and 31).

"Now, that this last pact has been obliterated, we stand on the threshold of a new era in Polish-Russian relations. The present agreement temporarily adjusts our ancient differences. It contains no suggestion of doubt about Poland's frontiers as they were before September 1939. It contains no suggestion that Poland might surrender part of her territory. It restores normal relations between the two nations and promises mutual and reciprocal assistance . . .

". . . When today Russia, in mortal combat with the German avalanche, takes the path of reconciliation with Poland and seeks common action against our common enemy, we approach this action ready to forget the bloody wrongs we have suffered at her hands. The future of the agreement just concluded will depend on the goodwill of the other party.

"Russia has her own social and state system entirely different from ours. We, Poles, belong in the camp represented by our ally Great Britain and a friendly United States of America. We fight German tyranny and cruel totalitarianism in the name of Christian ideals and principles of freedom and justice.

"God looks into our hearts and sees our absolute sincerity. Our nation bears up under the worst trials in history. To us, every Pole, especially everyone of those who survived the hardships of their life in Russia without breaking down, is enormously important for our future. This was one of the reasons why the Polish Government did not hesitate to assume responsibility for this historic decision and signed the pact with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And when by God's grace we regain our independence, we shall build our State on those principles for which we fight, side by side with our Allies. We shall strive for genuine social justice, in keeping with the principles of Christian morality.

"Poland is far from communism. And yet she has never allowed herself to be used for an anti-communist crusade, nor did she seek to interfere in Russia's internal affairs. She expects the same attitude on the part of her neighbor. A brotherhood in arms must be stimulated by respect for our sovereignty and for all that is and will be the countenance of Poland."

On August 14, 1941 a Polish-Soviet Military Agreement was signed which provided for the formation of a Polish Army in the USSR to embrace all Polish citizens fit for military service.

A few months later, on December 4, 1941, Polish Prime Minister Sikorski visited Moscow and signed with Marshal Stalin a Declaration concerning the cooperation of both nations in their fight against Germany.² On the same day General Sikorski broadcast as follows:

". . . Both sides have agreed to let bygones be bygones. We are confident that the Russian people will remember that we rallied to their side in their hour of trial, that they will appreciate the good will and friend-

² Full text in op. cit. (document No. 32).

ship of Poland; mutual respect for national sovereignty will make these relations durable. Recognizing realities and taking advantage of them, we shall do our best to fulfill our agreements of July and August 1941. Thus we shall demonstrate to the world at large, that international problems can be settled peacefully in the name of common sense and for the good of all."

When in winter of 1942-43 substantial differences developed between the Polish and the Soviet Governments, the Polish Ambassador T. Romer was sent to Moscow with a personal letter from Prime Minister Sikorski to Premier Stalin, expressing the Polish Government's desire for the settlement of all difficulties and close cooperation between both States.

However, despite Polish good will, the relations between Polish and Soviet Governments were severed on April 25, 1943, not by the Polish but by the Soviet Government. The pretext for this suspension of relations was the appeal of the Polish Government to the International Red Cross to conduct an impartial investigation into the mass murder of Polish officers at Katyn.

What has been the attitude of the Polish Government, since relations were broken off by the Soviets?

On May 4, 1943 Premier Sikorski broadcast to Poland as follows:

"... No one can reproach us if, after having accepted single-handed the challenge of Germany's whole military might, staking the entire heritage of a thousand years of our history in defense of the Polish Nation's integrity, sovereignty and honor, we do not want to sacrifice the same values in favor of one of our allies. We believe that our martyrdom and our struggle for the common cause will spare us untimely reproaches and render impossible the putting forward of claims to our land so painfully redeemed in blood. We are carrying on with our duties. It is beyond human strength to do more. We have given of ourselves all that materially and morally can be given for victory and solidarity. Accordingly the securing of friendly relations with Soviet Russia has been and continues to be one of the main guiding principles of the Polish Government and the whole Polish Nation. Therefore the facts that are separating us must be removed as soon as possible.

"We expect the Soviet authorities to allow the tens of thousands of Polish soldiers' families to leave the USSR as soon as possible, together with tens of thousands of Polish children and orphans. We also ask for the release of men fit to carry arms and, in conclusion, for the continuation of welfare and relief work for Polish citizens in Russia, deported after 1939 until they are able to return to their homes in Poland.

"After all these are not problems that affect allied unity. If they are solved it will perhaps facilitate the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and Russia. But there are limits to concessions which no one in the Polish nation will pass. We state calmly: do not waste your efforts. The Polish Nation, though bereft of the protective armor of its

own Statehood, has rallied to the Government composed of representatives of peasants, workers and professional classes; and in so doing it displayed maturity and strength of spirit. When the time comes for the Polish Nation to be judged by its actions, it will prove to be a solid nation of high assay, strong not only in moral but in true brotherly unity."

The next day General Sikorski gave a correspondent of the "*N. Y. Times*" the following statement ("*N. Y. Times*" of May 5, 1943):

". . . The Polish nation wants, of course, to continue its friendly relations with Soviet Russia and to base them on an alliance directed against Germany.

"However, it is difficult for me not to be reserved, even in the face of such a favorable declaration as that of Premier Stalin, at the very moment when the Polish Ambassador is leaving Russia and masses of the Polish population in the USSR are left without the assistance and care of their Government.

"Yet in spite of this and many other facts, the Polish Government is ready to give a positive answer to any Soviet initiative which will coincide with the interest of the Polish Republic as defined in the common Polish-Soviet declaration of December 4, 1941, and in my speech in London yesterday."

After the tragic death of General Sikorski in an airplane crash off Gibraltar on July 4, 1943, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk was appointed Prime Minister of Poland. In his first address to the Polish National Council on July 27, 1943, he declared:

". . . Understanding between Poland and Russia is an historic necessity for both our countries, but it is also an historic necessity for Europe as a whole, for on it will depend the consolidation of Europe. Europe regards the Polish question as a test case which will show what is to become of the European continent as a whole. Therefore Polish-Russian understanding must be honest, just and permanent. Poland is necessary to Europe, just as a consolidated Europe is necessary to Poland."

Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tadeusz Romer, addressed the Polish National Council on September 13, 1943 in the same tone:

"Our attitude towards Soviet Russia is quite simple. We look forward not backward, and we fully realize that any break in the harmony of the United Nations cannot but harm this cause. We do not wish to minimize in any way the position due the Soviet Union in the post-war world organization on account of the magnitude of its contribution, vastness of its territory and number of its population. We desire a full and just understanding with the Soviet Russia based on complete loyalty and recognition of mutual rights to independence and we look for the re-establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Union along these lines, not only for collaboration during the war and solidarity in the Allied camp but also

for peaceful neighborly cooperation between Poland and Russia in the future."

In his broadcast to Poland of September 30, 1943, Stanislaw Kot, Polish Minister of Information, outlined the Polish attitude towards Russia:

"... There was profound truth in his (General Sikorski's) unchanging statement that in her geographical position Poland could not afford the luxury of two enemies and must therefore transform her historic quarrel with one of them into "good neighborliness." Since Germans have always been and always will be Poland's mortal enemies, determined on the biological, economic and cultural extermination of the Polish nation, it follows that Polish relations with Russia must be placed on a basis of a lasting and straightforward understanding that will take into consideration the vital interest, honor and rights of the Polish nation."

These texts show that both the Government of General Sikorski and the present Polish Government sought and now seek to collaborate with the Soviet Government.

Official declarations of the Polish Government, printed in this issue of *Polish Facts and Figures*, are clear proof of the desire of the Polish Government to come to an understanding with Soviet Russia.

To facilitate this understanding the Polish Government proposed the mediation of the governments of the United States and Great Britain. This suggestion was declined by the Soviet Government.

That the attitude of the Polish Government is not influenced by the fortunes of war, is shown by the fact that the Polish Government sent its first Ambassador to Moscow in the early autumn of 1941, when German armies were hammering at the gates of the Russian capital. General Sikorski visited Premier Stalin in December 1941, although the situation of the Russian armies was still critical.

The solid front of the United Nations was broken by the Soviet note severing diplomatic relations with Poland. That solid front must be restored, because a fair agreement, safeguarding the vital interests of both countries, is a condition for lasting peace in Eastern Europe. Such peace existed on the territory in question for the eighteen years preceding the war.

Poland is still fighting the common enemy on land, at sea and in the air, and she wants to live in harmony with Soviet Russia. So far no friendly answer to the repeated overtures of the Polish Government has come from the other side.

Four Declarations

Early in January 1944, their victorious offensive against the Germans carried the Soviet forces across the Polish-Russian frontier and they advanced on a narrow sector into Polish territory.—When news of this reached London the Polish Government issued the following declaration:

Declaration of the Polish Government of January 5, 1944

"In their victorious struggle against the German invader, Soviet forces are reported to have crossed the frontier of Poland.

"This fact is another proof of the breaking-down of German resistance and it foreshadows the inevitable military defeat of Germany. It fills the Polish nation with hope that the hour of liberation is drawing near. Poland was the first nation to take up the German challenge and it has been fighting against the invaders for more than 4 years, at a cost of tremendous sacrifices and suffering, without producing a single Quisling and rejecting every form of compromise or collaboration with the aggressor.

"The underground movement, among its many activities, concentrated upon attacking the Germans in their most sensitive spots, upon sabotage in every possible form and upon carrying out of many death sentences on German officials whose conduct had been particularly outrageous.

"Polish forces, twice reorganized outside their country, have been fighting ceaselessly in the air, at sea and on land, side by side with our Allies, and there is no front on which Polish blood has not been mingled with the blood of other defenders of freedom.

"There is no country in the world where Poles have not contributed to furthering the common cause. The Polish nation, therefore, is entitled to expect full justice and redress as soon as it is set free from enemy occupation.

"The first condition of such justice is the earliest re-establishment of Polish sovereign administration in the liberated territories of the Polish Republic, and the protection of the lives and property of Polish citizens.

"The Polish Government, as the only legal steward and spokesman of the Polish nation, recognized by Poles at home and abroad as well as by the Allied and free governments, is conscious of the contribution of Poland to the war and is responsible for the fate of the nation. It affirms its indestructible right to independence, confirmed by the principles of the Atlantic

Charter common to all the United Nations and by binding international treaties.

"The provisions of those treaties, based on the free agreement of the parties, not on the enforcement of the will of one side to the detriment of the other, cannot be revised by accomplished facts. The conduct of the Polish nation in the course of the present war has proved that it has never recognized and will not recognize solutions imposed by force.

"The Polish government expects that the Soviet Union, sharing its view as to the importance of future friendly relations between the two countries, in the interests of peace and with the view of preventing German revenge, will not fail to respect the rights and interests of the Polish Republic and its citizens.

"Acting in that belief, the Polish Government instructed the underground authorities in Poland on October 27, 1943, to continue and to intensify their resistance to the German invaders, to avoid all conflicts with Soviet armies entering Poland in their battle against the Germans and to enter into cooperation with Soviet commanders in the event of resumption of Polish-Soviet relations.

"If a Polish-Soviet agreement, such as the Polish Government has declared itself willing to conclude, had preceded the crossing of the frontier of Poland by Soviet forces, such an agreement would have enabled the Polish underground army to coordinate its action against the Germans with Soviet military authorities.

"The Polish Government still considers such an arrangement highly desirable. At this crucial moment, the importance of which in relation to the outcome of the war in Europe is evident to everyone, the Polish Government issues the above declaration, confident in final victory and in the triumph of the just principles for which the United Nations stand.

"This declaration has been handed to all the United Nations with which the Polish Government had diplomatic relations."

Six days later came the answer of the Soviet Government.

*Declaration of the Soviet Government of January 11, 1944 **

"On January 5, a declaration of the exiled Polish Government on the question of Soviet-Polish relations was published in London. It contained a number of erroneous affirmations, including an erroneous affirmation concerning the Soviet-Polish frontier.

"As is known, the Soviet Constitution established a Soviet-Polish frontier corresponding with the desires of the population of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, expressed in a plebiscite carried out on broad democratic principles in the year 1939. The territories of the Western Ukraine, populated in an overwhelming majority by Ukrainians, were incorporated in the Soviet Ukraine, while the territories of Western White Russia, populated in an overwhelming majority by White Russians, were incorporated in Soviet White Russia.

"The injustice caused by the Riga Treaty in the year 1921, which was forced on the Soviet Union, with regard to Ukrainians inhabiting the Western Ukraine and White Russians inhabiting Western White Russia, was thus rectified. The entry of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia into the Soviet Union not only did not interfere with the interests of Poland but, on the contrary, created a reliable basis, for a firm and permanent friendship between the Polish people and the neighboring Ukrainian, White Russian and Russian peoples.

"The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared that it stands for the re-establishment of a strong and independent Poland and for friendship between the Soviet Union and Poland. The Soviet Government declares that it is striving toward the establishment of friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Poland on the basis of firm good-neighborly relations and mutual respect, and, should the Polish people so desire, on the basis of an alliance of mutual assistance against the Germans as the principal enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland. Poland's adherence to the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation could assist in the realization of this task.

"The successes of Soviet troops on the

Soviet-German front speed day by day the liberation of the occupied territories of the Soviet Union from the German invaders. The selfless struggle of the Red Army and the fighting operations of our Allies that are unfolding bring the rout of the Hitlerite war machine nearer and bring liberation to Poland and other nations from the yoke of the German invaders.

"In this war of liberation the Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R. and the Polish army corps created by it and operating on the front against the Germans hand in hand with the Red Army are already fulfilling their gallant tasks.

"Now an opportunity for the restoration of Poland as a strong and independent State is opening. But Poland must be reborn, not by the occupation of Ukrainian and White Russian territories, but by the return of territories seized from Poland by the Germans. Only thus can confidence and friendship among the Polish, Ukrainian, White Russian and Russian peoples be established. The eastern borders of Poland can be fixed by agreement with the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Government does not consider the frontiers of the year 1939 to be unchangeable. The borders can be corrected in favor of Poland on such lines that districts in which the Polish population predominates be handed over to Poland. In such case the Soviet-Polish border could approximately follow the so-called Curzon Line, which was adopted in the year 1919 by the Supreme Council of Allied Powers and which provided for the incorporation of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia into the Soviet Union.

"Poland's western borders must be extended through the joining to Poland of age-old Polish lands taken away from Poland by Germany, without which it is impossible to unite the whole of the Polish people in its own state, which thus will acquire a necessary outlet to the Baltic Sea.

"The just striving of the Polish people for complete unity in a strong and independent state must receive recognition and support. The émigré Polish Government, cut off from its people, proved incapable

* All texts of Soviet declarations are quoted from the *New York Times*.

of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. It has proved equally incapable of organizing an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself. Moreover, with its wrong policy, it frequently plays into the hands of the German invaders. At the same time, the

interests of Poland and the Soviet Union lie in the establishment of firm and friendly relations between our two countries and in the unity of the Soviet and Polish peoples in the struggle against the common outside enemy, as the common cause of all the Allies requires."

The Polish Government, anxious to avoid any aggravation of the conflict, refrained from public discussion with the Soviet Government and sought to negotiate through diplomatic channels, approaching the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain with the request for their participation and mediation in these negotiations.

Statement of the Polish Government of January 15, 1944

"The Polish Government have taken cognizance of the declaration of the Soviet Government contained in a TASS communiqué of the 11th of January, issued as a reply to the declaration of the Polish Government of January 5th.

"The Soviet communiqué contains a number of statements to which complete answer is afforded by the ceaseless struggle against the Germans waged at the heaviest cost by the Polish Nation under the direction of the Polish Government. In their earnest anxiety to safeguard complete solidarity of the United Nations, especially at this decisive stage of their struggle against the common enemy, the Polish Government consider it preferable now to refrain from further public discussion.

"While the Polish Government cannot recognize unilateral decisions or accom-

plished facts which have taken place or might take place on the territory of the Polish Republic, they have repeatedly expressed their sincere desire for the Polish-Soviet agreement on terms which would be just and acceptable to both sides.

"To this end the Polish Government are approaching the British and the United States Governments with a view to securing through their intermediary the discussion by the Polish and Soviet Governments with participation of the British and American Governments of all outstanding questions, the settlement of which should lead to friendly and permanent cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union.

"The Polish Government believes this to be desirable in the interest of victory, of the United Nations and harmonious relations in postwar Europe."

The Soviet Government's reply to this proposition was voiced in an official Soviet News Agency's (TASS) communiqué, in which it declined to negotiate over the points at issue.

Soviet "TASS" Statement of January 17, 1944

"In reply to the declaration made by the Polish Government in London on January 15, TASS is authorized to state:

"First, in the Polish declaration the question of the recognition of the Curzon Line as the Soviet-Polish frontier is entirely evaded and ignored. This can be interpreted only as a rejection of the Curzon Line.

"Second, as regards the Polish Government's proposal for the opening of official negotiations between it and the Soviet Government, the Soviet Government is of the opinion that this proposal aims at misleading public opinion, for it is easy to understand that the Soviet Government is

not in a position to enter into official negotiations with a government with which diplomatic relations have been severed.

"Soviet circles wish that it should be borne in mind that diplomatic relations with the Polish Government were broken off through the fault of that Government because of its active participation in the hostile anti-Soviet slanderous campaign of the German invaders in connection with the alleged murders in Katyn.

"Third, in the opinion of Soviet circles, the above-mentioned circumstances once again demonstrate that the present Polish Government does not desire to establish good neighborly relations with the Soviet Union."

On January 26, 1944, the Soviet Government rejected an offer of the United States' Government to mediate in Polish-Russian conversations asserting, that "the conditions have not yet ripened to a point where such good offices could be utilized to advantage."

Nevertheless the Polish Government decided to change their attitude and to order the Underground Forces to cooperate with the Red Army in the fight against the Germans, without any reservations whatsoever.

The following is the contents of the previous issue of POLISH FACTS AND FIGURES which appeared on March 10, 1944:

THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

ITS COMPOSITION,
PROGRAM AND
CHARACTER

THE POLISH UNDERGROUND STATE

ITS ORGANIZATION,
LEADERSHIP,
POLITICAL COUNCIL,
ARMY,
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WHAT POLAND WANTS

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Ignacy Matuszewski is a prominent Polish statesman. The beginning of the economic slump found him Minister of Finance, which office he held from 1929 until 1931. During this period Matuszewski skilfully guided the Polish financial and economic policy, his aim being to maintain the stability of the currency, while avoiding exchange control. This he achieved, and in doing so laid the firm foundations for the Polish monetary system.

In 1931 Matuszewski took over the editorship of the Gazeta Polska. His brilliant leading articles enhanced the reputation of this daily, which soon became the most influential in Poland.

For some years before the outbreak of war, Matuszewski had been in opposition to the Polish Government. During the September campaign Matuszewski was one of those entrusted with the task of transporting Polish gold to safety. The story of how it travelled through Rumania, on a British ship to Constantinople, and thence to Beirut in Syria, from which it finally left for Paris, is well known.

Ignacy Matuszewski is at present in New York.

WHAT POLAND WANTS

A CONVERSATION that I had some years ago sometimes still haunts my mind. I was talking in Warsaw to Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of the New York *Foreign Affairs*. I did not ask my guest then to allow me to publish his opinion, and I do not feel authorized to do so today. But I am free to recall my own side of the conversation, especially as after the interview I expressed my views—naturally in a more moderate form—in a signed article in the *Gazeta Polska*.

We talked about Pomorze. And the following is a fairly accurate résumé of the argument I put forward at the time.

"It is a misconception to look upon the problem of Pomorze as a minor matter, a territorial error or an injustice to Germany. It is an even more serious mistake to believe that the issue can be settled by a compromise, i.e. by Polish concessions in favor of Germany. As to the notion that the question could be solved by some League of Nations vote, under Article 19 of the Covenant, at some conference of statesmen sitting round a table—it is simply preposterous. Moreover, even the votes of such august institutions as the Westminster Parliament, the American Congress, or the French Chamber of Deputies, should they give their attention to the matter, cannot change anything or induce us to make any concessions. It is a peculiar fact that Mussolini and Paul-Boncour, the German Nationalists and the French Radicals are all unanimous in recommending an application of Article 19 to Poland. They want a treaty revision at the expense of Poland, so that their gains might be paid for by Polish losses. Nevertheless, neither Mussolini's Cæsarean frown, nor Senator Borah's booming voice, nor Mr. Lloyd

George's fiery oratory, nor even the mysterious whispers of Stalin himself can influence us. We shall not retreat—not even if all the newspapers in the world should persuade us every day that concessions are necessary, noble and righteous. We shall not flinch, even if all the cities of the globe organized demonstrations in favor of the badly treated Germans,' and even if—not an unlikely contingency—the Grand Fascist Council and the Third International should vote identical resolutions on the subject.

"Besides, isn't the world doing this already? Isn't it striving to weaken us and strengthen the Germans? Wasn't Locarno a Franco-British attempt to buy peace at the cost of the blood of peoples in 'second-class countries'? Don't the Americans lavish gold on Germany? Didn't Stalin offer hospitality to the German armament industry? Didn't Britain and France offer Germany a permanent seat on the League Council and refuse one to us? Are not American dollars, Bolshevik-German military co-operation, the Fascist League Commissioner in Danzig, Count Gravina and Mr. Montagu Norman of the Bank of England all helping the same cause? Is it not part of a general pressure exerted on Poland to make us submit to the German demands? Have we not to deal every day with actions far more dangerous than the strongest declarations, which prove the collaboration with Germany against Poland of large, often dominant, sections of British, French and American opinion and of the Italian and Russian Governments?

"But we did not surrender. We could and we can hold out, for justice is on our side. Pomorze is Polish. Without it we could not live as free men. In this world of lies and pretense we Poles know where to look for truth, for we touch it every day with our bruised hands. The truth is that Germany, not Poland, is the imperialist and aggressive nation. The truth is that whoever tries to ward off the wolf by throwing it a bone is not acting wisely, even if he

happens to hold the highest position in one of the greatest countries of the world.

"The Russian attitude is comprehensible: Soviet Russia wants to unleash war and realizes that a weakening of Poland is the first step towards this objective. The attitude of Italy is not unreasonable, for the Italians, afraid of German expansion themselves, are glad to divert it eastwards. The Russian attitude may be described as unethical, maybe Machiavellian—but it can be understood. The Italian policy is shortsighted, pusillanimous, but there is some logic in its human weakness. There is, on the contrary, little logic in the policy of those who are genuinely interested in maintaining peace and yet try to consolidate it by undermining its foundations.

"You, happy people of the outside world, are perfectly alive to the significance of such fortified points as Singapore and Panama. But you do not seem to understand that Poland's geographical and political position is at least as important and that her size and strength may have an even more vital influence on the course of world history.

"Poland is situated between two huge nations, both possessed by demons. Poland, by its very existence, counteracts two imperialisms whose power cannot be estimated by distant observers. There is the gloomy, grim Russian imperialism of negation and squalor, that morbidly seeks the abasement of others, an imperialism based on the worship of number and size, setting tremendous quantity and illimitable space against anything that has the stamp of quality. There is the predatory, slick, cunning and inhumanly efficient German imperialism of deified organization, the imperialism of model prisons and model barracks. . . . Poland knows them both.

"In 1920 Poland checked Russian imperialism which threatened to engulf Europe in an attempt that had at the time every chance of success. Nobody helped us then—

and few even understood. But we know, we know by direct experience, that this imperialism aims at world domination and will continue to covet it. The road to the rule of Moscow's men in Berlin, Paris and Madrid, perhaps in London and Washington as well, led through Wilno, Grodno and Warsaw. They were already in control of Budapest, Leipzig and Munich. Now the road to German world power leads through other towns whose names you have never heard, Chojnice, Wejherowo, Kartuzy,¹ sleeping amidst forests and lakes. There is no other way. A Poland cut off from the sea, a Poland forced to her knees or bullied into her grave, means the whole of Central and Eastern Europe in German hands. If the Germans should get back Pomorze, if they should defeat Poland or oblige her to surrender, the idea of 'Mitteleuropa' would become a fact. Then Germany would rule over lands extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea and a mass of over two hundred million people would be working for Germany.

"The road to German world hegemony leads through Pomorze.

"That is why we are serving your own cause when we disregard your advice and firmly maintain that we have nothing to give away. So long as Poland exists, both the German and the Russian imperialisms are kept in check. Poland is the first position that must be conquered if further progress is to be made possible.

"The problem of war or peace in Europe is not, as is often thought, one of Polish concessions of any kind in favor of one of Poland's ambitious neighbors. On the contrary, it rests on the alternative of a sufficiently strong or a weak Poland. A weak Poland means approaching war. A strong Poland immensely increases the chances of maintaining peace in Europe, for its existence must hinder or discourage the first step towards aggression of each of the two imperialist Powers. A strong Poland constitutes a

safeguard both by reason of her own power of resistance and because the opposition of others is only possible when it can rely on solid foundations. The Baltic countries, Bohemia, Hungary and Rumania can resist attack only with Polish support.

"No countries in Europe either want war, or will start a war, except Russia and Germany. But a war launched by one of them, or both, against Poland will be only a beginning. It will be a campaign for operational bases. And if Poland should lose the battle for her existence, death would soon knock with a bony hand at the doors of your now apparently so distant and peaceful homes.

"This is not megalomania on our part. It is our misfortune to live on the open roadway of history. This is not our fault, it is not our doing—but fate's. And fate has taught us by deadly trials to understand what others have not yet grasped. Through centuries we have seen at close quarters the birth and monstrous growth of these two totalitarian systems of universalism. By universalism I mean an imperialism that aims at overpowering the whole world and shaping it to its own pattern.

"This has become inevitable. Our planet is too small to allow limited hegemonies. Anyone who wants to rule by force cannot feel secure unless he controls the world. That is why Poland is placed today—by the hand of fate—in the vanguard of all those nations that have no wish to live in servitude.

"That is why we reject and have the right to reject all proposals that we should surrender any part of Pomorze. That is why, even if the League of Nations should unanimously decide a revision of Polish frontiers, even if an international expeditionary force should invade Poland, if the combined fleets of Britain and the United States were to attack our coast—we should still answer the fire of all your ships and fight your soldiers in every town. By so

doing we should be true to our duty to ourselves—and to humanity at large. It is our profound conviction that by such a protest we should be testifying to three truths: first, that Poland is no mere piece of merchandise and that no bargains can be struck over her soil; second, that freedom should be defended to the very last, even against the ignorance of the mighty of the world; third, that we should be free of responsibility for the cataclysm which would follow the unleashing of German imperialism."

At the time of this conversation I was a private person, without any official position. Today I am a simple refugee. May not such men as I express, on their own responsibility, plainly and frankly, thoughts that are doubtless shared by many others?

Today Mr. H. W. Dawson still advises us (*Contemporary Review*, April, 1941) to give Pomorze to the Germans. *The Times* of August 1st, 1941, stated that leadership in Eastern Europe must fall to the hands of either Germany or Russia, for there is no other alternative. It was also *The Times* which stated (July 14th, 1941) that: "Unless Poland is content to become the dependent of Germany—an unthinkable hypothesis whose implications have now been demonstrated beyond the possibility of misunderstanding—close co-operation and association with Russia are essential; and this is a matter of far more vital importance to her than any issue of disputed territorial claims. Russia on her side can afford to be generous." Influenced by such writings, almost every Englishman one talks to cordially recommends us to give to Russia the "Russian" territories of Poland, in order to secure Russian friendship and support after the war. And many are still inclined to return to the old problem of the "Corridor," without which life would be so hard for the future democratic Reich.

Recent events have caused so many British writers to declare the problem of our eastern frontiers open that the

official *Dziennik Polski*, published in London, had to make the following comment: "The fact that territorial problems will be discussed at the Peace Conference concerns, of course, all countries without any exception; it is clear, on the other hand, that Poland regards her frontiers as indisputable." The Vice-President of the Polish National Council, Mr. Mikołajczyk, stated that the Polish-Soviet Agreement implies a return to the legal status prior to September 1939, and added: "Only our enemies could possibly place any other interpretation on this point of the Agreement."

I do not charge with malice or ill will any of the British writers expressing such views. I know the British nation well enough not to doubt the mental honesty even of those whose words are most painful to us. But I discern in their opinions the results of ignorance and propaganda.

Propaganda. The British Parliament is devoting considerable attention to the use of this weapon of war, so freely wielded against Britain herself. The views of practically all Englishmen on the subject of Poland were formed, and could only be formed, under the influence of falsehoods hostile to Poland. Propaganda against Poland has been carried on for nearly two hundred years with hardly any break. It was started by Catherine of Russia and Frederick of Prussia and it is continued by the Third International and by all the Nazi fifth columns in the world.

What an array of mercenary or prejudiced slanderers: The idiotic discourse of that ignorant genius Rousseau, the malicious lies of Bakunin², the "*l'ordre règne à Varsovie*"³ of the ministers of France, scientific dissertations by Kautsky,⁴ the hysterical, shrill outbursts of Rosa Luxemburg⁵ ("Poland's independence is a bourgeois notion"), the daily mud-slinging of *L'Humanité* and the occasional abuse of the *Daily Worker*. The same idea is kept up throughout, a libel which, born in the boudoirs of the most cynical Em-

press in the world, charges Poland with reactionary Jesuitism, with being the seat of a Papist Inquisition, a hotbed of persecution directed against anyone who thinks or creates. There is another, just as consistent line of propaganda, a theory supported by Rousseau and Metternich, Bakunin and Count Benkendorf, Napoleon III and Bismarck, Kautsky and Ludendorff, Rosa Luxemburg and Alfred Rosenberg, *L'Humanité* and the *Volkischer Beobachter*. Though Bismarck's argument was different from Bakunin's, the practical upshot has been the same in both cases: that Poland cannot and should not exist.

For 170 years Germany and Russia, whether reactionary or revolutionary, have been steadily pouring forth a flood of falsehoods about Poland. Poland was deprived of freedom, of economic means, of her own voice, for 135 years. For 170 years into the ear of every Tory a German or Russian diehard whispered accusations of anarchy against Poland and represented her destruction as a victory for law and order; a Russian or German liberal or Socialist whispered into the ear of every Whig that Poland was the home of reaction and that her national demise was a victory for progress. Countless in number were, and still are, the sources of lying information about Poland that our enemies have always made available to any interested, unwary British mind.

Do people in Britain realize this? Do they know when they are expressing their own views and when those of others? Have they ever investigated the origin of current opinions about Poland? Have they tested these opinions? Have they satisfied themselves that what they think and say on this subject is their own considered and impartial opinion and not an unconscious repetition of lies which they have been absorbing, without knowing it, for generations?

I believe that a vast majority of British statements about Poland are, all unconsciously, a rehash of lies which have

been imperceptibly infiltrating into the public mind for many years. It would be interesting to peruse Parliamentary speeches on the subject of Poland since the Constitution of May 3rd (1791)⁶ until the present day. I cannot here undertake such a study, but even fragments recalled from memory would appear to suggest that there has been a gradual revision of views about Poland and a slow deterioration in the understanding of her affairs. For men of Burke's generation the partitions were simply a robbery; for contemporaries of Lord Curzon the return of the same lands to Poland was morally questionable. From the welcome which Kościuszko⁷ received in London after his release from the dungeons of St. Petersburg there is a long way to the anti-Polish strike of the British dockers who refused to load munitions for Poland when Russian armies, like Suvorov's⁸ long ago, were drawing close to Warsaw. It's a complete change, the result of the steady psychological work of German and Russian propaganda. How different was the value set on Poland by British members of Parliament in 1831, or even 1863, and that of 1918, or later days!

Each morning when he opened that magnificent newspaper *The Times*, the average educated Englishman stood a ten-to-one chance of finding some item of information about Poland distorted by either reactionary or revolutionary circles in St. Petersburg or Berlin. He was also fairly certain not to learn many important facts concerning Poland, for they were veiled by deliberate silence. This happened more frequently in the nineteenth than in the eighteenth century, and more often in the twentieth than in the nineteenth. During the years prior to the last war, Paris spoke sometimes as a genuine and sometimes as a corrupt mouthpiece of St. Petersburg, while Rome copied Berlin. There seemed to be unanimity throughout Europe on the subject. Before 1914, Mr. Wickham Steed, most eminent perhaps, among the correspondents who represented Britain

and *The Times* abroad, was probably the only one in that select group of men to have discovered Poland and the Polish problem, which later became one of the principal features of the reconstruction of Europe.

Only this absence of information, or fund of false information, can be held responsible for the peculiar views about Poland held by even the most friendly of Britons. What sort of country is one in which "German" territory begins about 70 miles north of the capital, "Russian" territory about 100 miles east, and "doubtful areas" 140 miles south, while there is another "German" belt 140 miles to the west of the same capital? It is rather odd that a country composed, in view of many men of good will, only of a capital and some "doubtful" territories still has, even after being defeated and completely occupied, an army larger than those of some Dominions, an air force far stronger than that of any other occupied country, and over 10 per cent. of all the German aircraft destroyed over Britain to its credit. One or the other must be a fiction: either the idea of a Poland confined to Warsaw suburbs, or the Polish army in Britain and the Polish R.A.F. squadrons.

Joseph Conrad, a man who knew and loved Britain like an Englishman and understood Poland like a Pole, once tried to dispel some British misconceptions about Poland. His words are now forgotten. And yet, if they had not been, history might have taken a different course.

The ironies of history are not the work of coincidence alone. There are always underlying causes. Is it not ironical to think that Britain declared war, that she had to—after Versailles, after Locarno—as an ally of Poland? Is it not strange that Danzig, which owed its autonomy to British statesmen and was first taken by them from Poland, then favored by British Commissioners, should have been the immediate cause of the outbreak? Is it not ironical that after years of "doubts" Britain unsheathed the sword when Polish Pomorze was attacked?

It was no coincidence. It was the truth suddenly revealed at a testing time. Conrad and Chesterton proved to have been better prophets than the British politicians. When Britain was faced by German imperialism it became evident that the only country in Central Europe that could stand up to threats, the only one to value freedom higher than peace, the only one to remain faithful to its historical mission, was Poland. Elsewhere high-sounding words melted away when danger loomed close. The shadow of Hacha hung over Central and Eastern Europe from Bucharest to Riga. In the days of crisis Britain realized that the soundest, the most united, the most courageous nation was the one that she had so long doubted and weakened. It was the country which, though occupied for two years by the two greatest Powers of the Continent, by the two most cruel systems of oppression, did not produce a single Quisling for either of them.

For two centuries, poisoned by propaganda, Britain denied Poland's strength. And yet, when the time of trial came, nowhere else was strength to be found. All the tenets of British policy towards Poland since 1918 proved false. The Anglo-Polish Treaty of August 25th, 1939, gainsaid them all.

But falsehood, which has found acceptance too long, can be cut away only by the sword.

I admire the British press for its candor. It is seldom equivocal or timid. The Polish-Soviet Agreement of July 30th, 1941, called forth two different interpretations, so far as frontiers are concerned. The official Polish comment was that, in accordance with the principle *pacta sunt servanda*, the first article of the agreement amounted to a return to the legal status prior to September 1939, that is, to the frontiers delimited under the Treaty of Riga.⁹ The Soviet official interpretation, according to an article published in the *Izvestia* of August 3rd, 1941, is that the problem of Polish-Russian frontiers is left open to discussion. In this

delicate situation, when on the morrow of the signature of the treaty a serious divergence of views on a point of vital importance had arisen between Britain's old and new ally, the British press showed no embarrassment at all. It favored, by a large majority and with complete frankness, the Soviet point of view. In some cases it even lavished on Poland advice to submit after a victorious war to friendly Russian leadership.

The candor of the British press deserves not only recognition, but also gratitude. It helps us to know where we stand—and by it we are forewarned. Such sincerity calls for a reciprocal frankness.

I will therefore say quite bluntly that I believe the attitude of the majority of the British press to be wrong. If that error of judgment on the part of the leader-writers were to influence a political decision, there would be reason to expect disastrous consequences for the future organization of Europe. I believe this attitude of the major part of the British press to be the outcome of its ignorance of the history of Central and Eastern Europe. It also displays a complete ignorance of Poland and the Polish character.

What has history to say? It shows us that in the last thousand years the vast area between the Baltic and the Carpathians lost its political individuality only for the 135 years between Poland's first partition and her renaissance. That independent character was lost only when Poland was torn in two by Germany and Russia. Throughout the remaining centuries, before the partition of Poland, the tribes, the peoples, and finally the nations, inhabiting that area stubbornly and effectively resisted absorption by either Russia or Germany.

How great is the reluctance of the peoples living in that region to form part of either German or Russian civilization was proved by the fact that after the 135 years of servitude, which were years of enslavement for other nations too,

those other nations regained their freedom as soon as Poland was independent again. They did so certainly not in consequence of decisions taken at distant conferences, but rather in defiance of such decisions. The epic struggle of Estonia and Latvia against *both Russia and Germany* in 1918 and 1919 was proof that in those parts the words "Russia" and "Germany" both stood for one thing: slavery. If we are to take history into account, it is impossible to concentrate on the last, or rather last but one, period of 135 years out of a millenium. Such a fixation on that period is all the less justified in view of the fact that, despite the lapse of 135 years, the first shock caused a return to political conditions which resembled far more the preceding centuries than the last 135 years of occupation.

As a consequence of the last war, a consequence unexpected and unsought by the instigators of the war or indeed by any belligerent, most of the territories of the old Polish Commonwealth returned to an independent life, breaking away from Germany and Russia. This was the desire only of those, then gagged and defenseless, who have been living for many centuries between the Baltic, the Carpathians and the Black Sea. They must have desired it vigorously if this was exactly what came about. The profound, unalterable spiritual division that had existed there since the dawn of history, between Slav and non-Slav nations nourished on Western Roman culture on the one hand, and the Byzantine Mongolian culture of Russia on the other, the complete and essential difference of race and character existing between those nations and the aggressive German breed—both these divergences found a political expression which few expected. It was an expression which differed in legal status from the conditions which had prevailed during the long years when the Polish Commonwealth was the Federation of all those peoples. But the actual situation was not very different from that of old. Practically speaking,

Poland became again, in the twentieth century, the nucleus of all those peoples' resistance against pressure from both west and east, just as she had been before, especially since the fifteenth century. When Poland fell, the freedom of the others vanished like a dream.

History proves that the peoples living between the Baltic and the Carpathians and the Black Sea have always resisted either German or Russian domination and that the only permanent political expression of their free will was associated with the existence of an independent Poland. But the history of those particular 135 years conveys another lesson also. It points the moral that only the united efforts of Germany and Russia can subdue and paralyze the dynamic racial, spiritual and cultural individualities of those free peoples. Only a brutal partition and a ruthless policy of extermination conducted by Germany and Russia together were capable of suppressing at least the outward manifestations of the free will of the peoples of that region. Yet no attempt at absorbing or subduing that not merely geographical but mainly historical obstacle by one of the imperialist Powers alone has ever succeeded. Russia could not achieve it, either under Catherine II, or under Alexander I, or under Lenin. Germany failed, too, both at the time of the crude attempts of Ludendorff and when Hitler made his bid, the boldest of them all, in 1936-1939.

In each case Poland, destined by history to be the champion of all the peoples of that region, led the resistance. This resistance against each of the aggressors was sufficiently effective to compel them to join forces to break it down.

That is why the verdict of *The Times*, which said that Eastern Europe must choose between German or Russian leadership, was from the historical point of view a pure absurdity.

The fact is that only collaborating with each other can Germany and Russia overpower the many millions of free

men living in the area between their respective boundaries. Domination over them was possible only through partition, for the people concerned did not want to submit either to German or to Russia rule. The alternative presented by *The Times* caused the same reaction of indignant anger—whether articulate or not—from Constantinople, Warsaw and Stockholm. For a thoughtful observer the September campaign fought by Poland against both Germany and Russia at the same time and the prolonged Turkish neutrality in the present war are but two different aspects of the same phenomenon. They are the positive and the negative of the same picture, two manifestations of the same desire—the will to remain truly independent from the expansionist ambitions of either Germany or Russia. They are the tragic and the more fortunate versions of the same age-old story. Truly it seems a pity that the British Ambassador's explanation, rightly denying the implications of *The Times* leader, was presented only in the capital which has not yet tasted the terrible bitterness of the alternative. Without prejudice to the Turks, I would suggest that Warsaw, pointing to heaven the gaunt pile of its ruins, was entitled in this respect to preference over still peaceful Ankara.¹⁰

It is quite amazing that the logical-minded author of *The Times* article did not pause to wonder why such a simple and inevitable choice as the option between "Russia or Germany" was not made before, although there had been the space of over a thousand years in which it could have been made. Why on earth did Poland never submit voluntarily to Russian or German leadership for one hour out of a thousand years? Why did she never enter into "close association" with one or the other of her neighbors? Why did she continue to resist them even during that most difficult period of 135 years of subjection? It would be really a little too superficial to ascribe this decision merely to the Poles' love of contradiction.

During all these centuries Poland did not join either the Russian or the German community because she could not do so. The reason why Poland could not join either of them is that she has belonged to another community from the very outset of her historical existence.

Although situated in the East, Poland belongs to the community of Western Europe. This paradoxical circumstance is doubtless responsible for her tragic destiny. But the epic resistance of that far-flung outpost gave to Western Europe—defended by Poles at Lignica, at Cecora, at Smolensk, at Vienna, at Warsaw and on so many other battlefields—opportunities for free development and growth.

Poland always has been and still is a member of the Western European family. This means that, since its historical inception, Poland has known the same general problems which preoccupied the community of Western Europe. The Commonwealth of the Western European nations was not organized by the League of Nations for the first time. Before the Reformation, Western Europe had been—in spite of all regional differences—a far more homogeneous spiritual unity than ever since. Though remote, Poland lived the same life as England, France, Italy; Poland was brought up on the same books, the same examples, the same Bible and the same Plutarch. The fact that Cracow University was founded in the same period as those of Paris, Oxford and Padua—and many centuries before that of St. Petersburg—was no mere coincidence. Neither is it a simple coincidence that the visitor from the West encounters in Wilno or Lwów the familiar spectacle of Gothic, genuine Gothic and Renaissance architecture—which he would seek in vain in Byzantine Moscow or derivative St. Petersburg. Poland shared in the political and spiritual life of the Western European community. As in every other nation of that community the phenomena which we describe as the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Age of Enlighten-

ment, had there their own individual aspects. But they were the same phenomena. Polish brains and hearts had been stirred by every one of the great Western currents of thought—from the crusades and the teachings of St. Francis to the Reformation and the ideas of the modern era. Poland differed from the others, like England, more by the constitutional forms of its life than by its spiritual and intellectual background. For instance, Poland never had a period of enlightened absolutism.

Many of the shortcomings of Poland's present political life may be traced to the fact that the country can hardly be said to have known the periods of feudalism and liberal capitalism. The first formed the instinct of natural hierarchy and the second a sense of personal responsibility. Nevertheless, the broad line of development was parallel even in that respect to the general trend of evolution in Western Europe.

What could such a country have in common with Russia—with Russia, which throughout history has been living its own distant, primitive and peculiar life? How can there be any spiritual communion between Poland and a country which in the Middle Ages was a land of Tartars, which had no Renaissance, and achieved "enlightenment" by the process of Peter tugging at the boyars' beards? What political collaboration can there be between a country that had known freedom bordering on license and one that, from its very birth until the present day, has never known anything but "unenlightened absolutism"? Russia's was practically a theocratic absolutism, for the deification of the Tsar and the abolition of religion are in fact only two different expressions of a desire to force the masses to give unto Caesar even that which is God's own. Where could we find in the history of Western civilization figures comparable to Ivan the Terrible, False Dimitri, Peter I, Nicolas II, Rasputin, Savinkov,¹¹ Trotski, or Stalin? There are no analogies, for anywhere else

even the greatest of these figures would have been unthinkable. The cultured British public probably reads Dostoyevski and admires him, quite rightly. But to read him is not enough. One must realize that what he describes is the reality. It exists not only in the artistic but also in the political sphere. His "Devils" are true. Sometimes it seems to me that nobody in Western Europe can believe to this day that these are not exotic tales but a bare account of actual facts. It may be a beautiful, magnificent, tragic reality, but no member of the Western European community can live in it. I should like every British politician, especially one of those who urge a "close association with Russia," to try to imagin whether he could himself move to "Selo Stepančikovo," live in the St. Petersburg of *Crime and Punishment*, or lead a permanent existence in the midst of Stavrogins, Verkhovenskis, Myškins, Raskolnikovs.¹² How would he like to remain, not as a tourist, not as a spectator, but as a man, in the atmosphere of *The Brothers Karamazov*? Possibly the majority of the British politicians who lightheartedly advise a whole nation to plunge into this atmosphere for ever have not read Dostoyevski at all. But then their opinion on Russian affairs is worth about as much as the theories of a child of four about astronomy.

It is not my intention to assess comparative values or pass judgment on the differences between Poland and Russia, nor to apply to them any moral standards. I merely want to state that they are differences born through centuries, which only many centuries could reduce. A Polish-Russian "association" would be an act of suicide on the part of one of those nations. Four hundred years ago, when Polish armies held the Kremlin, Russia resisted the latinization which would have been the inevitable outcome of the rule of a Polish dynasty, although some of the boyars favored it for political reasons. This resistance produced the native dynasty of the Romanovs, which derived from

that origin its prestige and lasting power. In the course of succeeding centuries Poland has several times resisted the political endeavors of some Poles who attempted to organize a kind of Polish-Russian community. Its resistance was prompted by the same instinct of self-preservation. The tragic fate of Stanisław Poniąkowski,¹³ who met his death in the dingy gilded prison of St. Petersburg; the fate of Adam Czartoryski,¹⁴ who was forced to depose the brother of his royal friend during a war against Russia which set the seal on all his efforts; the fate of Wierpolski,¹⁵ a man of Cavour's stature, repudiated by his own countrymen—these three examples provide pathetic evidence that even the shrewdest political plans cannot run counter to the national instinct. In recent times the life of Dmowski, removed until his death, despite his merits and ability, from any influence in the Government of independent Poland, affords further proof that even an unrealized plan of association with Russia is a crushing liability for any Polish statesman. The splitting of the national movement into two branches and the numerous failures brought about by this division had their origin in this same problem. It took a generation to shake off the antagonisms of that division.

Polish-Russian neighborly relations can only be satisfactorily maintained by separation. When the national and spiritual boundary between the two countries is defined by a clear-cut demarcation line, when there is no mutual penetration and each lives a separate existence, springing from a different historical source and following its own course in worlds apart, then and only then will their peaceful neighborliness be possible. Any blurring of that line, any doubt cast on its family, must produce friction and therefore war.

The lesson of history is clear. It spells war. Politicians may dislike history, but they should not forget it.

In the crude minds of people who imagine that politics—

the art deciding the whole structure of human life—require less specialized knowledge than chemistry or veterinary surgery, the conclusion will be simple: "If not with Russia, then with Germany." There are no differences there: the Gothic churches of Cracow and Nuremberg are very similar, as are those of Wilno and Aachen, or the town halls of Zamość¹⁶ and Salzburg. The fact that Copernicus and Wit Stwosz¹⁷ are claimed by both Poles and Germans as their own seems to prove that the cultural and intellectual lives of the two countries must have had much in common.

Nothing could be more misleading than such a "logical conclusion." Poland has been carrying on the same struggle in the west as in the east.

Of course the Germans belong to the Western European community. No doubt they were among its builders. But they do not want to remain among its members.

A misinterpretation of that fact underlies the frequent and repeated errors of policy committed by the Western Powers. The West has grown so used to regarding the Germans as members of itself that it cannot grasp or believe what has happened. There is the recurrent supposition that it is only an evil clique—formerly the Junkers, now the Nazis—that has in some unaccountable manner overpowered eighty million Germans and compelled them to indulge in irrational crimes. If the "good Germans" could only be delivered from this dominant minority of maniacs, they would surely return to the European fold. And then—to satisfy their justifiable ambitions and their genuine needs—they might, or perhaps should, be appointed general representatives of the whole Western community for Eastern Europe.

The consciousness of community, which has been vanishing for reasons which seemed to Britain and France inexplicable, was at the bottom of the popularity of the Weimar Republic, of the credits to Germany, of the premature evacua-

tion of the Rhineland, of the Locarno treaties, of the welcoming of the Reich into the League, of the planned Four-Power Pact and of Munich. The same feeling of community was responsible for the manner in which the present war has been waged — from R.A.F. leaflet raids organized for the benefit of the “good Germans” to the French Armistice, based on the belief that the victor would be moderate and merciful in the interests of the community, and the British-Soviet agreement, which is a military alliance against the *National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei* and not against the German State.

There is a certain foundation of fact for all this. It is infinitesimal, but it is there. No doubt each of the movements stirring Western Europe has its adherents in Germany. No doubt every Briton, Frenchman, Italian or American can find “his own German” with whom he will be able to talk a common language. But events themselves: the fact that Germany has attacked Europe three times in less than a century, that she has started two world wars, broken scores of solemn pledges, rejected as unsatisfactory the most tempting offers—all this cannot be accidental. We Western Europeans living in the eastern part of the Continent have been aware of it for a long time.

The German nation rose in arms against the community of the West precisely because it has been a member of that community and wishes to be one no longer. The cruelty which shocked the world until it grew used to it must have other than purely pathological causes. The destruction of the Royal Castle of Warsaw was not dictated by savagery alone, and neither was the conversion of the royal chamber of Queen Jadwiga in Wawel Castle¹⁸ into a soldiers' latrine. It is a manifestation of the same spirit which found expression in the public burning of books and the encouragement of children to spy on their own parents. Hitler's talk of racial purity and the millennium is not mere boastfulness

or bluff. The German nation does not want to be a member of the Western European community, for it would have to belong to it on terms of equality with others. That is why it has set out to murder our whole family of nations. It cannot achieve power without committing matricide. If one admits the existence of a community, one also has to recognize a law binding all its members alike. Then only joint, not absolute, rule is possible. That is why the destruction of the whole of Western European culture, beginning with the tables of Moses, the Code of Justinian, including all the tenets of Christianity, all the years of common history, of common work, and even the visible signs of such a collaboration, is an imperative condition for a German victory, beginning the new millennium.

The struggle, before it became a battle for world power, was a struggle for the soul of the German people. It lasted a long time, before culminating in a breach with the West. We have watched this conflict since its very beginning. We know what our allies do not know or understand, for we have seen at close quarters the growth of the monster of many heads. Half a thousand years ago we cut off the first of the heads of that dragon.¹⁹

Over every town in Britain there hangs today a threat; the same sinister shadow hovers over every British woman and child. It is not the swastika, the impermanent emblem of a party, but the ancient black cross of conquest, the black cross of death on the wings that fly at night over the peaceful homes of England. It is the old symbol of war against the West. Cemeteries of Polabians, Lithuanians and Mazurs were dug under the shadow of that cross. It was the symbol of Teuton East Prussia, a mailed fist thrust into our entrails. It was the sign of the flags flown on the day when, in Versailles, Bismarck proclaimed the Second Reich. It was the mark on the missiles which fell on London a quarter of a century ago, as a mild foretaste of what was to come later.

It binds Germany today and represents her strength, that ancient historical emblem, rich in memories, glorified by victories and bathed in oceans of alien blood—the sinister sign of the black cross.

Britain has known it for two years. We have known it for over seven centuries.

Poland did not associate herself with Germany, because she could not. Racial differences were not the only reason, for other peoples, of different origin, such as the Lithuanians, have resisted association with Germany just as stubbornly. What did not happen in a thousand years was obviously not possible—because Germany has always been for the East what Nazidom has now become for the West.

I have not the space at my disposal to analyze the growth of a small monastic order into a power obsessed with world-wide ambitions. But there is no denying that the methods and principles which now shock the Western World have always been employed by the Germans in the East.

A strange mixture of virtue and crime, of cunning and heroism, of cruelty and order, of falsehood and discipline, of cynicism and enthusiasm, of endurance and madness, of perjury and piety—these were the characteristics of the Electors of Brandenburg, as they were also of Frederick the Great and his successors, Bismarck, Ludendorff and Hitler. The only difference was in the steady growth of the Teuton Order, which expanded and changed its form, permeating and shaping everything that is German. Finally it became Germany itself. The war *for* Germany has been definitely lost by Western Europe. Today it is a question of winning a war *against* Germany—a war for Europe, for the very survival of European culture.

There is no doubt that the Germans are the deadliest, because a deliberate, enemy of that civilization. They know where to strike. The matricide's knife more easily finds the mother's heart than does that of a stranger.

Western civilization is founded on the honoring of promises, on the sanctity of contract created by ancient Rome, the respect of obligations undertaken in good faith. In that simple, unique fact, that a man can trust another man's word—and be confirmed in his trust—lies the essence of Western civilization.

Christianity made that concept fuller, universal. The words "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's" marked the birth of free men on earth, men with a conscience of their own. Thus was mankind relieved of the omnipotence of authority and given instead a new responsibility towards something superior to human authority itself and ever present in each individual heart.

From that moment onwards one man's pledge given to another was endowed with a supernatural sanction that no mortal authority can alter. Respect for agreements made between free men became the basis of all human relations.

The attempt to confine to two main features our definition of such a vast phenomenon as Western civilization may seem futile. But such an attempt is confirmed by the fact that Germany's whole effort is aimed precisely against the moral value of obligations and against the sovereign freedom of conscience. By setting on the rights of the German nation a higher value than on the most solemn pledges, by suppressing the direct relations between man and God and returning to the pre-Christian belief in the omnipotence of the State, by denying the universal and absolute character of moral principles, Germany declared open war on the West. The revision of moral standards is both the cause of the German secession and one of its symptoms.

In September 1939, the easternmost stronghold of Western culture, attacked on two sides, was conquered after a desperate struggle. Hardly two years have passed since the September dawn which saw the first sacrifice of the present

war—and Western culture has already been reduced to clinging to the fringe of Europe, defended by the old naval fortress of Britain alone. Free life exists only outside Europe, in America, Africa and Australia. Elsewhere—in the huge area of land between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans—civilization has been practically suppressed. For the hundreds of millions who live in those lands provide proof by their own daily experience that no more than bare existence remains possible after the things which are as necessary to life as air, water and bread have been rejected, even after God has been expelled, the sanctity of human contracts ridiculed and conscience dismissed.

At such a moment a voice speaking from the ramparts of the last fortress of Europe declares that "in future the eastern bastion of our faith, where the present war started, shall be ruled either by strangers or by enemies." Such a statement displays not only ignorance of the issues at stake, but also moral weakness. To abandon distant brothers to their fate, to avoid any commitments beyond the most immediate necessities, to betray the community when its support requires an effort—this is worse than folly. It is weakness and egoism, amounting to treachery.

Those who, like the author of *The Times* article, condescend to offer Eastern Europe the alternative of "Russia or Germany" are defeatists. Australia, if she gave up Singapore "for the sake of peace," would be making a useless and fatal surrender. Great Britain would be cutting her own throat by relinquishing Suez. It is equally suicidal for Western Europe to abandon Poland.

That is the only view we can take. After all, it should not be forgotten that we Poles are also fighting in this war. We also have our war aims and we have not the slightest intention of renouncing them.

Every personal opinion is subject to debate and every statement can be queried. But beyond arguments and theories

there are hard facts. The will of the Poles to preserve their birthright is a fact.

I believe that I can clearly state, as any one of us could, what every Pole feels, what he thinks, what he wants, and what he will fight for.

We would regard it as monstrous and insufferable if, after victory over Germany, our country were to be reduced or mutilated, if rank injustice were to be our reward for years of combat and suffering.

There is no Polish land for sale; there is none to give away—not an acre, not a yard, whether for the sake of converting our enemies or for the love of our allies.

The Poland of 1939 was a small Poland, the smallest that had ever existed as an independent State. Delineated at a time when the criteria of language and ethnography were given an absurdly exaggerated preponderance over the dictates of history, of strategy and even of common sense, our frontiers are so narrow as hardly to leave breathing space for the Polish nation. They are frontiers drawn by compromise, not expansion. There was compromise in the West, for the British delegates at Versailles took good care not to give Poland too much of the land that had been won. There was voluntary compromise in the East, for the sake of peace, since, at the time of the negotiations culminating in the Treaty of Riga, Polish armies held a line far to the east of the frontier which Poland freely accepted. Poland accepted that compromise and Poland respected it. Others attacked and crossed those frontiers. They encountered a resistance which still continues and will continue to the end, be it either victory or the total extermination of the Polish State.

Poland withstood temptations. She refused to allow Soviet troops to pass through to Germany at a time when it seemed, after the Kapp putsch, that outside assistance might turn the scales for the German Communists. She refused to march with Germany against Russia, she refused to play the part

of an Eastern European Italy and to renounce independence for a bribe of ceded alien territory. And that is the very reason why Poland believes her own land to be inviolable and that her frontiers must be guarded not by treaties but also by her own good faith.

They are Polish lands. Many more Poles were killed by Tartar arrows, Turkish scimitars, Austrian bullets or Russian bayonets in the defense of Lwów than live in that city today. Wilno, with Our Lady of Ostra Brama²⁰ and Piłsudski's heart sleeping at Rossa, is Polish. Ours are the Polesian plains and marshes,²¹ from which Traugutt²² set out to fight, on a journey which ended on the tall gallows of Warsaw. The White Krzemieniec²³ of Słowacki and the Nowogródek²⁴ of Mickiewicz are Polish. The forests and cemeteries of those lands, their very breeze and contour, are Polish, and so are Poznań and Toruń. That is all that remained of a far larger Poland after 135 years of occupation. That is all—a small Poland, modestly, faithfully rebuilt after so many years of a hidden, persecuted existence. When she was being re-born, the mighty of this world lectured Poland on the need for humility and restraint, like a young girl. They laid down prim, humiliating rules, as if for a naughty child. . . .²⁵

But in the course of twenty years, through a war which we won without outside help and from the experiences of recent times, we have learnt a good deal. We know today that, grave as were the mistakes we made, the faults of others were perhaps even greater. We know that though many surpass us in numbers and wealth, we are second to none in courage and moral strength.

That is why present-day Poland will not bow to any tutelage. She will not agree to any limitation of her sovereignty in matters that concern herself alone and no other Power.

Still less can she permit any calling into question of her established frontiers. Polish soldiers, airmen and sailors are

today defending the integrity of the British Empire, irrespective of whether any or all of the Empire's frontiers meet with their personal approval. We expect full reciprocity in that respect.

Nor is that all. Poland will not surrender. So long as there is one Polish soldier left, he will resist all invaders, whether in Lwów or in Grudziądz, whether in Zbąszyn or in Stolpce,²⁶ no matter whether they wear the swastika badge or the hammer and sickle. We did not reject Nazi proposals for "a road across Pomorze" or a plebiscite in Pomorze to bend the knee now and enter into arguments with anyone else on such subjects, other than by machine-gun fire.

France was defeated because she admitted herself beaten. Britain will not be defeated, because she will not acknowledge defeat, not even if the war were to last a hundred years.

Poland, too, has not been defeated. What is more, we know from our own history that we can fight against any odds, for years without number, suffering reverse after reverse—and yet win in the end. There is only one way of compelling the Polish nation to surrender its freedom or its land—and that is to exterminate the Poles to the last man. There is no other way.

We fought during 135 years, unarmed, forgotten, and alone. On the morrow of our deliverance we again faced one of our aggressors single-handed—and won.²⁷ Twenty years later, fully aware of the meaning of our decision, unaided in that part of Europe, we took up the challenge of the greatest military Power in the world. Our history proves beyond doubt that it would be childish to expect to "persuade" the Polish nation to capitulate. There can be no capitulation of any kind.

Poland considers herself an equal ally of Britain. Poland, like Britain, has her own war aims and insists that they be respected. Her aims are moderate; we cannot be accused of greed. Poland demands freedom and sovereignty for *all her*

lands. Poland must claim future security through a revision of her frontier with Germany, mainly by amputating the mailed fist that clutches at her vitals—East Prussia. Poland cannot admit that the fates of neighboring peoples, now conquered or powerless, should be settled without consulting her, still less against her advice.

That is all. It is not much. But there is no room for concessions.

Such is the will of the Poles—of all the Poles. Moreover, it is simple justice.

Whoever has concluded an alliance with Poland has thereby recognized that will, which was never concealed.

A small Poland, the smallest of all Polands that ever existed, entered this war. She may emerge from it larger than before, or she may not survive at all. But she cannot end the war deprived of any part of her territory. In that event she would never lay down arms.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

1. Chojnice, Kartuzy and Wejherowo are three towns in Polish Pomerania.
2. Bakunin was a famous Russian anarchist of the middle of the nineteenth century.
3. *L'ordre règne à Varsovie*—Count Sebastiani, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, used these words to inform the French Chamber of Deputies of the fall of Warsaw in 1831.
4. Karl Kautsky was the theoretician of the German Social-Democratic Party in the nineteenth century.
5. Rosa Luxemburg was the leader of the "Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania" which opposed the Polish Socialist Party, while being closely linked with the extreme Leftist elements of the German Social-Democratic Party. She played a great part in the Spartacus movement and was killed with Liebknecht in Berlin in January 1919.
6. The Constitution of May 3, 1791, established the foundations of a democratic system in Poland. May 3 is celebrated every year as a national holiday.
7. Thaddeus Kościuszko was the leader of the Polish insurrection of 1794 and a hero of the American War of Independence. He was released by the Tsar Paul I from the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul in St. Petersburg in 1797, after being confined there for over two years. He left for America via London and Bristol in the same year.
8. Field-Marshal Suvorov commanded the Russian armies which crushed Kościuszko's insurrection and stormed Warsaw in 1794.
9. The Peace Treaty between Poland and the Soviet Union, which was signed at Riga on March 18, 1921, fixed the frontier between these two countries. Poland's eastern frontier, as fixed at Riga, was recognised by Great Britain and France by a decision of the Ambassador's Conference in Paris on March 15, 1923. On behalf of Britain that decision was signed by Lord Hardinge. It was also recognized by the United States in a note of April 5, 1923.
10. This pamphlet was written before Mr. Eden's speech at Leeds on August 30, 1941, in which the British Foreign Secretary stated that the assurances given to Turkey were equally valid for Poland.
11. Boris Savinkov was the leader of the Russian left-wing revolutionary socialists and a notorious terrorist in Tsarist times (he murdered the Grand Duke Serghey). After the Bolsheviks had seized power, he took a leading part in the armed resistance against them and in a number of terrorist attempts. In 1920 he returned to Soviet Russia and made a sensational confession. He disappeared soon afterwards and was probably executed.
12. These are names of famous characters in Dostoyevski's novels.
13. Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski was the last King of Poland. He died almost a prisoner in St. Petersburg in 1798. All his life he had pursued a policy of subservience to Russia.

14. Prince Adam Czartoryski was Russian Foreign Minister in 1804 and an intimate friend of Tsar Alexander I. During the Napoleonic wars he advocated the view that Poland's future lay in reaching an understanding with Russia. As Prime Minister of the revolutionary Polish Government in 1830, he dethroned the Tsar Nicholas I, brother of Alexander I, as King of Poland. He died, an exile in Paris, in 1861.
15. Marquis Wielopolski, Prime Minister of Poland from 1861-3, aimed at an understanding with Russia, from whom he obtained certain concessions. His efforts were thwarted by the Polish insurrection of 1863, and he died in exile in Dresden in 1877. He was strongly opposed by many of his countrymen, and only many years after his death was his statesmanship appreciated.
16. Cracow, Wilno, Zamość are Polish towns.
17. Wit Stwosz was a great artist of the fifteenth century, whose famous high altar in the Church of Our Lady in Cracow has been stolen by the Germans.
18. Wawel is the Royal Castle in Cracow.
19. The author is referring here to the Battle of Grunwald (1410) at which the Poles and Lithuanians inflicted a crushing defeat on the Teutonic Knights.
20. The Madonna of Ostra Brama is worshipped throughout Poland, as Nôtre-Dame de Lourdes is in France.
21. Polesie is better known in this country as the Pripet Marshes.
22. Romuald Traugutt, the leader of the Polish insurrection of 1863, was hanged by the Russians in the Warsaw citadel in 1864. His death marked the end of the rising.
23. Krzemieniec is a town in Polish Volhynia on the Ikwa river, and was famous as a centre of Polish learning in the nineteenth century. Słowacki, one of Poland's greatest poets, was born there.
24. Nowogródek is the chief town of Poland's easternmost province. It is the birthplace of Mickiewicz, Poland's national bard.
25. The author is referring here to the Treaty on the protection of minorities imposed on Poland at Versailles in 1919.
26. Frontier towns or stations of Poland in the West and in the East.
27. The author is referring to the Polish-Soviet war of 1920.