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FOR THE FREEDOM  
OF POLAND  
AND  
CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE

DOCUMENTS  
1946 — 1947



COUNCIL  
OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

LONDON

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OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

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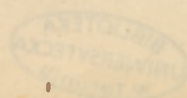
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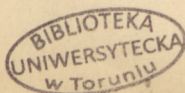
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## P R E F A C E

During the recent war Russia gained control of number of countries in Central-Eastern Europe containing about 120 million inhabitants. If during the next few years Moscow can succeed in making use of the economic riches of these countries conscripting their populations into her army, this will result in a doubling of Russian military strength.

In view of this threat no inhabitant of Europe can afford to remain indifferent to the length of time it will take Moscow to complete the Sovietisation of Central-Eastern Europe, and thus win the support of the people of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and so on for her military plans.

The material in this booklet throws light on the methods applied by Soviet agents and adherents of Russian Communism in their work of sovietising Central-Eastern Europe. Upon the result of this action will depend the size and strength of the armies which are now being prepared by Russia to attack Western Europe.

It is no secret to-day that, since the end of the war in 1945, Russia has not remained satisfied with her territorial gains, but has been supporting and organising Communist activities in Western Europe in order to help the local Communist Parties to gain political supremacy and then with their co-operation to make the Western European countries including Great Britain, into satellites of Russia.

For this reason the internal political situation in Poland and other countries of Central-Eastern Europe has ceased to be of merely theoretical interest to the people of England, France, Belgium and so on, but has become a vital personal problem. The important thing now is whether, in the offensive on Western Europe, Russia will command the same strength as in the recent war or whether her potential will be doubled. Under these circumstances all documents illustrating Soviet activities in Russian-occupied countries assume international significance.

*The Editors.*

# P R E F A C E

During the recent war Russia gained control of a number of countries in Central-Eastern Europe consisting about two million inhabitants. It being the first few years after the war it is not surprising that the economic rights of these countries were not fully restored and for many years this will result in a feeling of Russian military superiority.

In view of the fact that no substantial aid has been offered to these countries to the extent of what it will take to restore to them the government of Central-Eastern Europe and thus win the support of the people of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and so on for her military plans.

The material in this booklet throws light on the methods applied by Soviet agents and advisors of Russian Communism in their work of reorganizing Central-Eastern Europe. Upon the results of this work will depend the size and strength of the groups which are now being prepared by Russia to attack Western Europe.

It is an exact truth that since the end of the war in 1945, Russia has not revealed anything with her external gains, but has been supporting and organizing Communist activities in Western Europe in order to help the local Communist Parties to gain political supremacy and then with their co-operation to make the Western European countries including Great Britain into satellites of Russia.

For this reason the internal political situation in Poland and other countries of Central-Eastern Europe has ceased to be of nearly theoretical interest to the people of England, France, Belgium and so on, but has become a vital personal problem. The important thing now is whether in the absence of Western Europe, Russia will dominate the area through as in the case of war or whether her potential will be doubtful. Under these circumstances all democratic liberating Soviet activities in Europe and Central countries should be international in character.



## F O R E W O R D

Though more than two and a half years have passed since the final collapse of Germany and the victorious conclusion of the war in Europe, Poland — the first country to take up arms in the defence of her freedom and the freedom of Europe — has not yet recovered her independence, the restoration of which was solemnly pledged by the Allies; moreover, she is the victim of a new alien occupation, this time by the armed forces and the NKVD of Soviet Russia.

The people of Poland have remained faithful to their Allies, and throughout the whole war, from its first day until final victory, were in the thick of battle against Germany. In this relentless struggle, in the Underground at home, and outside Poland on every front, on land, at sea and in the air, the Polish people have suffered terrible losses in the common cause of the United Nations.

In spite of her important contribution to the Allied war effort, Poland was partitioned and enslaved at the conferences of Teheran and Yalta, where Russia was permitted to grab and annex one half of the Polish national territory and to set up a puppet regime in Poland through which she controls the fate of the Poles.

These decisions, which were taken without the cognizance and assent of the legal Polish Government, were never accepted and never will be, by the Polish nation.

From the moment she occupied Poland with her armed forces, Russia has pursued a policy of subordinating the whole political, economic and social life of the Polish people to her own imperialist ends; and she is carrying out this policy with the aid and through the medium of Soviet agents, who, acting under the cover of national and patriotic slogans, work ruthlessly for the inclusion of Poland into the Bolshevik system. These imposed and often imported Communist agents also work for the steady and permanent weakening and enfeebling of the Polish race.

To lull the Poles and foreign opinion into the belief that democracy still exists in Poland, four sham parties, claiming to be the heirs of the four main parties of pre-war and war-time Underground Poland, have been set up by the Communist Soviet agents who are now controlling and lording over our country.

The names and labels of the traditional, genuine and independent pre-war parties have been usurped by the present sham-parties, which actually are but small and insignificant groups of crypto-

Communists and fellow-travellers — in the hope that this will help in netting the politically uneducated part of the public.

To impose these sham parties on a public, whose vast majority is strongly anticommunist, all independent political parties and groups have been, on orders from Moscow and by means of terrorism, arrests and deportations, rigidly eliminated from the political life of Poland. Similarly, the elimination of every vestige of personal independence is now in progress. This action may be now regarded as brought to its successful conclusion since the remnants of the only legal opposition party — the Polish Peasant Party — have been recently liquidated. (It should be recalled that this Polish Peasant Party, for whose freedom of action some provisions were made at Yalta and the subsequent Moscow meeting, was the only important non-Communist group which accepted the Yalta dispensation).

Following the rigged elections, the representatives of the sham, crypto-Communist parties, plus the officially Communist Polish Workers Party (P.P.R.) have a majority of more than 90% in the so-called Polish Diet (Sejm).

The so-called Warsaw "Government" of the "Polish State" is also a body consisting exclusively of representatives of the Communist Party and its satellites, a body completely subservient and obedient to Moscow and whose sole support is Soviet bayonets.

As a result of the Yalta decisions, the Great Powers recognised this "Government", though they are fully aware that it was and is imposed upon Poland; neither are they ignorant that the Polish elections were falsified and rigged, and the Polish government-appointed M.P.'s have been forcibly imposed upon the Polish electorate.

The constitutional and legal holders of authority in the Republic of Poland, that is the President of the Republic and the Government appointed by him, remain at their post, though temporarily in exile. They are the mandatories of the Polish people, and they will only surrender their powers to the future Parliament of the Republic, freely elected by a free nation. As such they are still recognised by the Vatican and a number of other countries.

The legitimate Polish Government at once lodged strong protests against the decisions of the Yalta conference and the subsequent recognition by the Great Powers of the so-called "Government" which was forcibly imposed upon Poland by a foreign power.

All the independent political forces of the Polish people, whose common platform is the defence of the freedom, integrity and independence of Poland, stand by the side of the constitutional Polish President and the legitimate Polish Government.

To sustain the efforts of the Polish leaders in exile, a close understanding has been reached between the main independent Polish

parties and political groups, namely those which before the war won the largest number of seats in municipal and other free elections and under German occupation, formed the nucleus of the Polish Underground Parliament and led the Polish resistance movement in the most difficult circumstances. This understanding found its expression in the constitution of the Council of Polish Political Parties on the 17th of January, 1946. This Council consists of the representatives of five main political parties, namely the Polish Socialist Party, the Democratic Party, the Peasant Party "Freedom," the National Party and the Christian Labour Party.

The membership of the Council was at first naturally enough recruited exclusively from these political leaders who were living in exile abroad, and was subsequently enlarged by the co-optation of a delegation from Poland, consisting of these home leaders, who, under the German occupation, were members of the Underground Council of National Unity and the Underground Home Executive.

Thus, the Council of Polish Political Parties is the spokesman of Poland, who, in present political conditions, cannot speak for herself.

The main task of the Council is the preparation of appeals, memoranda etc. to the outside world in the defence of the rights and interests of the Polish people and state.

The present publication covers the main actions of the Council during the last 22 months, from the opening of the Council until December 1947. In these moves the Council attempted to convince the chief political organisations of the world, that is U.N. and the leaders of the Western Powers, that the Polish people will never cease protesting against the wrongs inflicted upon them and striving for redress until the Polish State recovers its freedom, independence and territorial integrity.

In particular the Council tried to bring the following points to the consciousness of the chief political leaders of the world.

That only the legal, constitutional President and Government of Poland and the independent Polish political parties represent the will of the Polish people, while the Warsaw administration is merely the tool of a foreign power.

That the Polish people are unflinchingly striving to recover their full freedom and the independence and territorial integrity of the Polish State.

That both the lawful Polish Government and the Council of Polish Political Parties, which voice the free will of the Polish people, are of the opinion that in the East the Polish frontier should be restored as it existed on the 1st of September 1939, while in the West, the Oder and Western Neisse should be maintained as the new Polish frontier line.

That the independence of a territorially undiminished Poland forms the foundation of a lasting peace, in Europe and in the world.

That liberation from Soviet occupation and the restoration of freedom not only to Poland but also to all the countries of Central-Eastern Europe, and the organisation of a close regional federation of nations in the middle zone between Russia and Germany is a necessary precondition of a lasting peace in Europe.

That the organisation by Russia of a bloc of Central-Eastern European countries, in the interests of Russian military plans, constitutes a threat to peace.

That the reconstruction of a centralised and united Germany would constitute another such threat.

And lastly that the Polish People should not be left out from international economic aid, in particular in respect of food and medical supplies. Obviously this international assistance to which Poland is rightly entitled should be adequately controlled so as to avoid that the present "protectors" of Poland use it for other purposes.

*S. Modrzewski*  
Secretary General  
of the Council of Polish  
Political Parties

London, November 1947.

London, July 5th, 1946.

## APPEAL OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES.

TO THE POLISH NATION

Fellow-countrymen in Poland and abroad.

A year has gone by since the cessation of hostilities. Notwithstanding this Poland is neither free nor independent. Simultaneously with our defeat, many other nations are in a very hard plight, and the whole world is pervaded by a sense of insecurity and danger. The whole of Eastern and Central Europe lies to-day beneath the yoke of the Soviet totalitarianism. Western Europe exists under the imminent threat of that same totalitarianism and faces the possibility of armed upheavals. The Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East, India and China are centres of a political as well as of a militant Communist offensive. The Western hemisphere is becoming aware of the danger created by the Soviet Fifth Column.

*The entire world to-day faces dangers which have to be overcome in order to avert a universal calamity.*

The powers of the free world, materially and spiritually great, though not yet properly organised, aim at the re-adjustment of that combination of forces which has deprived us and the whole Central Europe of freedom and threatens others as well. They desire that change, not solely for our sake, but first and foremost for their own.

*International conditions, though unfavourable to us, show every sign of being transient.*

Events are bound to occur which will completely transform the political situation of the world, and will open to us a vista of new possibilities.

The potential of the Polish Nation to-day is completely different from that after the fall of Poland in the XVIII-th century. Notwithstanding the terrible destruction we are now a better organised nation both socially and politically, than after the partitions. Political consciousness has spread to-day to the great mass of the people; as a nation we constitute a uniform bloc inspired by the same aims and the same unshaken faith, hope, and determination. We possess the constitutional authorities of the Polish State, though they are temporarily in exile. We possess the Polish Armed Forces, covered with glory. It is true that they face demobilisation, but demobilisation is not the equivalent of liquidation, as is proved by the way our Forces were reborn after the September defeat, underground in Poland, in France,

in England and in the Near East. The Polish soldier goes on feeling as a soldier even after he discards his uniform, and always in the moment of need he will come again to stand at his post.

Our task will consist of a new, responsible role in the historical conflict.

*What are we fighting for?*

We fight for the cause of freedom and independence, for the integrity of our country. We fight at the same time for the ideals and vital needs of the entire world. *A political as well as a spiritual contest is being waged to-day not only for the interests of individual countries and nations, but for a common aim, the foundations of collective life.*

A line dividing mankind into two fighting camps to-day cuts across all continents. On the side to which the Polish Nation belongs there is the will to defend the following principles:

*Firstly: we defend human rights.* It is a perennial truth, Christian as well as of modern humanism, that man and the human soul are valued highly. Nobody has the right to debase human dignity, lower moral standards, torture or murder, enslave, deprive of freedom, restrict the liberty of the spirit, thought, beliefs and affections, or destroy family life.

*Secondly: we defend the right of the nation to its own life. to preserve and develop its culture, its political rights and freedom.* In the name of so-called "security" or else "striving after living space," strong nations have no right to subjugate weaker ones, to trample on their freedom and to destroy their individual ways of living and their spiritual achievements.

*Thirdly: we defend European civilisation and the principles it has expressed for centuries.* Europe with her heritage of thousands of years of culture and common civilisation desires to remain unchanged and keep the possibility of further development. We must frustrate every attempt to destroy her acquisitions and to inflict upon her soulless, stereotyped formulae from outside.

*Fourthly: we defend the principles of universal order* without which human life and the intercourse of nations falls to pieces and disappears. First of all respect for principles must be restored, such as the right of asylum, the keeping of concluded treaties, the protection of prisoners-of-war. In addition international order must be founded on stronger and deeper principles than those in force hitherto, if it is to lead to peaceful and fair relations between nations.

The attitude to the four principles stated above divides the world into two camps struggling against each other. These principles are the ideal which shines before the Polish Nation. Whoever does not profess these principles is on the opposite side of the barricade.

*The Communist totalitarianism which tramples on all these principles, threatens not only Poland, but the entire world.* The victory of Communism would change the whole world into one vast prison.

Sooner or later the civilised world will be fighting against this effort to achieve a world dictatorship. The Polish Nation has entered this fight for the ideals of freedom and civilisation. Besides universal ideals and our own national aims, we strive for the independence and freedom of Europe as a whole, and especially of the family of Central European Nations threatened by either the German or the Russian tyranny.

The life of the Polish Nation in the present difficult periods must, alas, flow in two different channels: within the country and in our compulsory exile.

It is the task of the Country: to preserve the vital forces of the nation as well as its traditions and culture; to protect the younger generation against the decomposing influence of the Eastern totalitarianism; to preserve the economic reserves of the Nation as intact as possible.

The country should abstain from any action which would not help to improve the position of the Nation but might draw annihilating reprisals into it.

On of the most valuable and the most diminished assets of our Nation is our numerical strength.

It must be the main principle of our state policy to save every drop of blood.

In the period to come, the hardest in the history of our nation, the nerves and the will of our country will be exposed to the most terrible trial. Not to yield to provocations, from whatever source they come, not allow unreasoned impulses to take the upper hand, this is the order of the day.

It is on the Poles in foreign countries that the chief duty of leading the independent policy of Poland falls.

A compulsory emigration is not a branch cut off from the Nation; it maintains a living bond with Poland, draws from her its moral courage and strength, is the executor of the will of the nation as a whole.

It is the task of the Polish emigration to:

1. Make the world realise that the independence of Poland is the cornerstone of a lasting, universal peace.
2. Spread the comprehension that Communist totalitarianism aims at overpowering Europe and the entire world.
3. Utter warnings against the illusion of a "good German" and his inclination to revenge.
4. Help the people in Poland.
5. Multiply and develop Polish achievements in the fields of culture and civilisation.
6. Together with our country preserve the basis for the legal authorities of the Polish State.

Fellow-countrymen!

The present moment demands that we should gather all our

powers together. Our struggle must be waged under one leadership.

Polish solidarity and a uniform political leadership will provide the guarantee of our victory.

THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES.

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LETTER OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH  
POLITICAL PARTIES SENT TO THE HEADS OF THE  
DELEGATIONS OF THE U.N. ASSEMBLY, TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY, TO THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO MR. JEBB,  
THE ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL OF U.N.

*London, 25th January, 1946.*

Sir,

The preamble of the Charter of the United Nations states that a new international organisation has been established "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." The United Nations had determined "to reaffirm (their) faith in... the dignity and worth of the human person in the equal rights... of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained..."

But, notwithstanding these solemn declarations, and in violation of all principles on which the postwar order and the peaceful relations between nations were to be built, the Polish nation—after the victory over the common enemy—is again enslaved.

In Poland lawlessness rules supreme. Human dignity is trampled upon. There is no true freedom of religion, of conscience or of opinion. There is no independent judicature. There is no freedom of speech, of the press, of association or of meetings. There is no security for the individual. The whole of Poland suffers under the totalitarian yoke which has been imposed upon the Polish nation by foreign intervention, and this regime does not totter only because the country is occupied by a foreign army and is ruled by a ruthless police regime.

The worthiest sons of Poland—the men who had built the underground Polish state and had fought the Germans for five long years in the ranks of the Polish Home Army—and every class of her population: peasants, workers, the middle class and the intellectuals, the very core of Polish democracy—are subjected to systematic persecution. The education of the younger generation, based on models which are alien to Polish traditions and her national spirit, aims clearly at remoulding our youth into soulless robots of the present regime.

Economically Poland is subjected to a system of ruthless exploitation in the interests of the war potential of an alien power. Her people live in wretched poverty which is in striking and



irritating contrast with the comparatively high standards of life allotted to those who agree to serve as the tools of the present regime. The inclusion of Poland into the orbit of the U.S.S.R. has made her a mere province in the vast area of Soviet closed economy and severed all her links with the free markets of the world. A similar fate has been meted out to many other countries of Central Europe.

Fear and hatred have become the guiding principles of the present system of government in Poland. The men who are in control of our destinies keep themselves in power by means of a rule of terror, which takes the form of mass arrests, confinement of thousands of people in prisons and concentration camps, executions and "mysterious disappearance" of many men and women who are inconvenient to the regime.

The Provisional Government imposed on Poland has renounced—against the clear will of the Polish nation—almost one half of her national territory, with eleven millions of population, and it has agreed to recognise her Eastern frontier as final at a time when the postwar territorial settlement in Europe is not determined yet.

Thus, on the morrow of common victory, Poland, the staunchest and most faithful ally, has been given a very raw deal, actually much worse than that which has been given to defeated enemy powers. As a result of the war Poland has lost not only half of her pre-war territory which for centuries had formed a part of her national home—she has also lost her very independence. This, in spite of the immense and well-known sacrifices which she has borne in the common struggle and the fate meted out to her is the crowning proof that all the ideals for which the war was fought have been betrayed and brushed aside.

Poland fought at first alone her battle for her independence and very existence and later by the side of her Allies. She never wavered, irrespective of whether her Allies were in a position to come to her assistance or not. When the whole of Poland was occupied by the enemy forces the Polish soldiers fought on in France and Norway. After the collapse of France, when Britain was left alone to resist German might, the Polish armed forces made their way to the British Isles, to continue the battle by the side of the only free country which was still at war against Germany. This was at a time when some powers who later found themselves in the camp of the United Nations were still neutral, while others were even giving every aid and assistance to the German aggressors.

At that time, too, the Polish Home Army, the largest underground force in the world, acting under the direction and guidance of the Polish Government in London, was continuing its sacrificial struggle in Poland itself, and immobilised large enemy forces there, fighting the aggressor simultaneously with the Polish Armed Forces in Africa, Italy and Western Europe.

To enslave Poland or to concur in her enslavement is obviously a gross violation of all the principles of international morality and law, and of all the solemn declarations and treaties in force. The enslavement of Poland and of the whole of Central-Eastern Europe creates a vast centre of unrest and discontent which ultimately threatens the peace of the world. It would be an ill-omen for the start of the United Nations if conditions in direct contradiction to their pledged principles were permitted to be perpetuated.

An iron curtain now severs Poland from the world. It separates East and West, and bars the free exchange of news, cultural values and material goods.

The undersigned duly authorised representatives of the Chief Polish Political Parties, acting as spokesmen for the people of Poland, who in the present conditions are not free to speak for themselves, are thus forced to lodge a direct appeal to the United Nations. These are the main points:—

1) The so-called Provisional Government of National Unity in Warsaw and its delegation to the United Nations General Assembly do not represent Poland at all.

2) Poland will never renounce her will to independence, political, spiritual and economic, and her people will never relent in their efforts to recover their full independence and to decide their own fate.

3) No lasting peace will be secured unless moral principles, the respect for the dignity of the individual and of the nation, justice and freedom are duly safeguarded and applied in practice, not merely in solemn declarations. The principles of democracy should be enforced both in the internal life of the various countries and in international relations.

No new world order can be built on the old foundations of violence, brute force and enslavement. No lasting peace can be built on the shifting basis of Great Powers politics.

Poland, which to-day is enslaved and occupied by foreign forces, demands the restoration of her independence, in the name of the very principles on which the United Nations are built. Poland believes that the United Nations will not find it possible to pass over in silence her loss of independence and the enslavement of the country which was first to resist German aggression in the defence of her own freedom and of the liberty of the world.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

- (—) *Tadeusz Tomaszewski*, for the Polish Socialist Party (Committee abroad). (—) *Dr. Stanislaw Olszewski*, for the Democratic Party (Committee abroad). (—) *Hugon Hanke*, for the Christian Labour Party (Committee abroad). (—) *Jerzy Kuncewicz*, for the Peasant Party "Freedom." (—) *Dr. Tadeusz Bielecki*, for the National Democratic Party.

LETTER OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH  
POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS, MR. H. E. TRYGVE LIE,  
PROTESTING AGAINST THE CHARGES OF THE  
SOVIET DELEGATE, MR. VISHINSKY, ABOUT THE  
POLISH TROOPS IN ITALY

*London, 28th February, 1946.*

Sir,

On February 15th, 1946, the Soviet Delegate to the U.N., Mr. Vishinsky, has forwarded to you a memorandum of the Yugoslav Govt. which raised a number of charges against the Polish troops now stationed in Italy. The purpose of this move was to convince the public opinion of the world that the Polish Army in Italy constitutes a threat to the peace of the world. Though the British Foreign Secretary has already conclusively shown, in his reply to the Delegate of the U.S.S.R., that the charges made by Yugoslavia are absolutely groundless, the Council of the Polish Political Parties feels it to be their duty to call your attention, Mr. Secretary General, to the following facts—in the hope that after becoming acquainted with them you will take advantage of the rights which you have in accordance with art. 99 of the Charter of the United Nations.

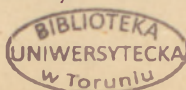
These are the facts:

1) The case of Poland is a typical illustration of the methods by which Russia is securing and tightening her control of the whole of Soviet-occupied Central and Eastern Europe, a control ultimately aiming at the complete sovietisation of that area and the total mobilisation of its man-power and resources for military ends.

2) To obtain complete control over Poland and her people and make of her a passive tool of Soviet policy, the Soviet Union keeps in Poland a large occupation army which garrisons every province of that country, and numerous N.K.V.D. (or Soviet Secret Police) Force part of which acts overtly, another part of which is thinly camouflaged by the wearing of uniforms of the "Polish" security police.

3) Furthermore, with the aid of this Soviet occupation army and N.K.V.D. Force, the Soviet Union maintains and upholds the dictatorship of the Communist Party in Poland.

4) Lastly, through their puppets, the so-called Provisional Government of National Unity, the Soviet authorities uphold a reign of terror and a regime of provocation which make all free, honest and independent political activity impossible. Only the Communist Party and the fictitious groups entirely subservient to it and led by men selected and imposed by the Communists are free to develop any political activity at all.



5) Russia has also set up in Poland a "Polish" army, which actually is however, but an integral part of the Soviet Armed Forces, commanded by Soviet officers dressed in Polish uniforms and controlled by the Soviet High Command.

6) Russia is destroying the existing Polish economic system and forced Poland to enter into commercial treaty with Russia, which make her an appendage to the Soviet economic system.

7) Finally, by impoverishing and looting the land and lowering the standard of the life of its people, by destroying the traditional national Polish culture and sovietising every form of public and private life, Russia is attempting to make Poles into a nation of slaves "passively submissive" to the will of their Soviet-appointed and Soviet-controlled masters.

The fate of Poland is no exception. The fate of all the nations inhabiting that part of Central and Eastern Europe which is occupied by the Red Army is very similar. All of them are being turned into cogs in the machine of aggressive Soviet imperialism.

The situation now obtained in Poland undoubtedly constitutes a threat to the peace of the world.

We are of opinion that the raising of groundless charges against the Polish Forces in Italy, such as that they may "constitute" a future threat to the peace and also the raising of similar charges against the presence of British troops in Greece and Indonesia, aims primarily at diverting the attention of the world from Soviet aggressive moves directed against Poland, Central-Eastern Europe, the Middle and the Far East.

We shall be obliged to you, Mr. Secretary General, for circulating the text of this letter to the members of the Security Council, in accordance with the powers conferred upon you by the art. 99 of the United Nations Charter.

Your obedient servants,  
For the Council of the Polish Political Parties

Secretary:

Chairman:

(—) *Tytus Filipowicz,*

(—) *Franciszek Haluch.*

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TELEGRAM SENT BY THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO MR. ERNEST BEVIN, M. P., PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND TO MR. JAMES BYRNES, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.A., ABOUT POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER.

*London, 18th May, 1946.*

Re your proposal May sixteenth Paris Conference of Ministers concerning German frontiers. Fixing Germany's eastern frontier means fixing Poland's western frontier. Proper solving of Polish-German frontier demands earlier or simultaneous solution of Poland's political status which can be achieved only by international peace conference recognising Teheran and Yalta agreements as temporary only.

Council of Polish Political Parties asks you to include this point in agenda of next meeting of ministers and of Peace Conference and prepare it through diplomatic channels.

Chairman *T. Filipowicz*  
Secretary *S. Modrzewski*

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TELEGRAM SENT BY THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO MR. ERNEST BEVIN, M. P., PRINCIPAL SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN, TO MR. JAMES BYRNES, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.A., AND TO MR. GEORGES BIDAULT, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE, ABOUT TERRORISM IN POLAND.

*London, 28th June, 1946.*

Information recently received from Poland reveals intensified political oppression and increasing number of arrests among members of late anti-Nazi underground as well as among members of independent democratic parties and in particular among peasants. Public opinion of free democratic world should not remain indifferent to these crimes perpetrated systematically on innocent people.

The Council of Polish Political Parties feel it their duty to draw attention of H. M. Government (U.S.A. Government, Government of France) to criminal activities carried out by the administration which has been forced upon Poland. The Council

of Polish Political Parties state that terror and oppression prevailing in Poland aim at destruction of all Polish independent elements. The Council of Polish Political Parties appeals to H. M. Government (U.S.A. Government, Government of France) to raise their voice in defence of personal safety of the Polish population.

COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES,  
PRAESIDIUM.

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TELEGRAM TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF  
GREAT BRITAIN, USA, AND FRANCE ABOUT THE  
TERRORISM DURING THE REFERENDUM VOTING  
IN POLAND.

*London, 17 July, 1946.*

Latest reports from Poland confirm the following facts:

1. falsification of the popular will by means of acts of terror and abuse committed by the administration imposed upon Poland;
2. killing or injuring of more than a thousand people by members of the security police during voting;
3. victimisation of people who voted against the regime;
4. threat of mass deportation of the population of Cracow in reprisal for the overwhelming majority of votes in that city having been cast against the regime;
5. anti-Semitic excesses in Kielce staged by the security agents of the so-called government of Warsaw.

This state of affairs cannot be tolerated any longer. The Council of Polish Political Parties requests for intervention by Western Democratic Governments and for delegation of an Allied Commission to put an end to crimes and licentiousness of Soviet agents in Poland.

COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

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TELEGRAM FROM THE COUNCIL OF POLISH  
POLITICAL PARTIES  
TO  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE  
MONSIEUR GEORGES BIDAULT

*London, August 2nd, 1946.*

The Council of Polish Political Parties comprising the Polish Socialist Party, Labour Party and Democratic Party as well as the National Democrats and the Peasant Party "Freedom" and

representing the independent opinion of the Polish Nation which is in fact deprived of freedom and independence, has the honour to address the Delegates of Countries participating in the Paris Conference with the following statement:

1. The Polish Nation has not and will not recognise the so-called Provisional Government of Warsaw imposed upon Poland by foreign Powers in violation of international commitments and of the principles laid down in the Atlantic-Charter, and without regard for principles named in the opening paragraphs of the United Nations Organisation's Charter. In the circumstances the delegation of the so-called Provisional Government of Warsaw does not represent the Polish Nation.

2. The Council of Polish Political Parties supports to the full extent the memorandum of the legal Polish Government in London addressed to the Delegates to the Paris Conference and puts forward the following desiderata:

- a) the withdrawal from Poland of Soviet troops and of the political police (NKVD),
  - b) the withdrawal of recognition from the so-called Provisional Government of Warsaw,
  - c) the restitution of recognition to the legal constitutional Polish authorities,
  - d) the establishment of peace in Europe on the basis of her integrity and the independence of her nations and not on the division of her territory into spheres of influence.
3. The Polish people desire a peace based on law, justice and genuine freedom. For such a peace it shed its blood just as did the Nations of the Western World.

4. The withdrawal of Soviet troops of occupation and restoration of independence to Poland and to all Central and Eastern-European countries is essential to the interest of world peace, whereas the approval of the division of Europe into spheres of influence would be equal to recognition of the unlawful Soviet occupation of her Central and Eastern regions, which state would inevitably lead to the extinction of independence of 12 nations with a population of 120 millions.

The fate of world's peace rests now with the Representatives of Democratic Nations. For this reason the Council of Polish Political Parties appeals to the Delegates to the Paris Conference to take the above desiderata into their earnest consideration.

PRAESIDIUM OF THE COUNCIL  
OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

Copies of the above telegram have been sent to the Chairmen of the following delegations: United States of America, Great Britain, China, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Brazil, Australia, Canada, Union of South Africa, New Zealand, Norway and Abyssinia.

LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. REFERRING TO THEIR  
NOTES TO THE POLISH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT  
IN WARSAW ABOUT THE ELECTIONS IN POLAND

11th September, 1946.

Sir,

On August 19th, 1946, H.M.'s Ambassador (resp. United States Ambassador) to the Polish Provisional Government of "National Unity," presented in Warsaw a note with regard to elections to the Polish Sejm.

The Note stresses H.M.'s Government (resp. the U.S. Government's) responsibility resulting from Yalta and Potsdam agreements, for the free and unfettered elections in Poland.

It expresses anxiety arising out of "serious irregularities" which took place in connection with the referendum.

The Note demands—in accordance with commitments made at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences—that all the democratic and anti-Hitlerite parties be given in the approaching electoral period full rights to put up candidates and to conduct and fight the elections on terms of equality.

The Council of Polish Political Parties, defending the case of the Polish People who are forced to silence in Poland, expresses its opinion with regard to the problems mentioned in the Note:

1. The Note proves that H.M.'s Government (resp. U. S. Government) feels responsible for the present state of affairs in Poland. It is probably also an expression of anxiety about the existing conditions in Poland, which threaten vital interests of the Polish Nation and impede a lasting peace in Europe.

2. The Council on the Polish Political Parties is seriously alarmed by the fact that H. M.'s Government (resp. U. S. Government) acknowledge in their Note the Referendum as a preliminary step to elections, in spite of the fact that this Referendum was a measure taken against the Polish Constitution and its results were falsified.

3. The Council read with amazement of H. M.'s Government's (resp. U. S. Government's) acknowledgement of the six parties enumerated in the Note, as democratic and anti-Hitlerite authorised to take part in the elections.

Granting of concessions to political parties by the temporary Communist administration is, in fact, a denial of democratic



principles. The Council refuses to believe that observations in Poland lead H. M.'s Government (resp. U. S. Government) to accept the six mentioned parties as deserving the name of democratic and anti-Hitlerite.

It is commonly known that the main political parties in Poland: the Polish Socialist Party, Peasant Party, National Party and Labour Party had the biggest representation in parliament and the municipalities at the time when there were no doubts as to the freedom of elections.

Of these four main parties, together with several others, non-Communist, consisted the Polish under-ground parliament, which under the German occupation and under most difficult conditions, directed the Resistance Movement. To-day, these parties are deprived of all honour and declared undemocratic; their leaders were seized by the Soviet Army and illegally imprisoned in Moscow; their good name and influence used for purposes of immoral and fraudulent Communist propaganda in the interest of the Soviet Fascism.

4. The Council of Polish Political Parties expresses its deep conviction that under the present unlawful political conditions existing in Poland, it is impossible to conduct free and unfettered elections in which the Polish Nation could express its will and choose the desired form of government.

5. Should H. M.'s Government (resp. the U. S. Government's) even succeed in exacting from the Warsaw Administration their consent to admit all the six "legal" political parties to the elections—i.e. their consent to allow all parties to put up their candidates and to be represented in the Polling Commissions, to have the votes counted immediately after closing the polls, and to assure them of the right to appeal to independent courts should the results be questioned—even then the reign of terrorism in that country would prevent the Polish People from expressing their will freely.

The Council has no doubt that H. M.'s Government (resp. the U. S. Government's) observers in Poland, considering the situation with objectivity, fully realize that free and unfettered elections in Poland can be conducted only on condition that a change of the present regime will occur prior to the elections.

6. As long as Poland is governed by a small number of Communist usurpers who are supported by a foreign army and a foreign police-force, and as long as one half of the Polish territory is unlawfully annexed to a foreign power—there can be no free expression of the Polish People, and elections conducted under such circumstances will be only a tragic parody of democracy.

7. Therefore it is essential that the Soviet Army and the NKVD should be removed from the whole of the country and that the authority should be passed to constitutional bodies of the Polish Republic, who would represent the real will of the Nation.

8. It is the duty of the Western Democratic Powers to secure these conditions of liberty to the Polish Nation.

We are,

Sir,

yours faithfully,

COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

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LETTER SENT TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
ERNEST BEVIN, M. P., PRINCIPAL SECRETARY FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN, ABOUT  
THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

*London, 16th October, 1946.*

Sir,

The Council of Polish Political Parties comprising five political parties which existed in Poland prior to the late war, and which represent the independent Polish opinion—have the honour of drawing your attention to the plight of new refugees from Poland.

The urgency of this problem increases along with the development of political events in that country. During the late war when Poland remained under German occupation and under the ruthless rule of the Gestapo—many Poles unable to reconcile themselves with the loss of freedom and their country's independence sought safety from terror and persecution in Allied and Neutral countries, where they were given protection. To-day Poland lives under Soviet occupation and is ruled by the so-called Provisional Government which carries out its policy by police methods and with the assistance of the Soviet NKVD. And again many Poles refusing to reconcile themselves with the loss of independence and freedom, seek refuge from terror and oppression abroad. These new post-war refugees escape by sea and arrive in Great Britain without proper authorisation while others make their way westwards through Germany.

In the eyes of all nations this country has always been a sanctuary where political fugitives from all over the world could live without fear of being delivered into the hands of their persecutors. In the years preceding the outbreak of the late war, His Majesty's Government and the British people admitted to this country about 70,000 refugees of German and Austrian nationality who fled from Nazi persecution. A similar question arises now with regard to Poles who leave their homeland in search of safety from political persecution.

The flight of Poles across the German frontier assumes, especially of late, increasing proportions. Those refugees who

are allowed to remain temporarily in Germany live under the shadow of danger of being deprived of official protection and of being handed over to local German administration.

It is only natural that the Poles look upon the future with apprehension and bitterness.

Poles who are now forced to leave their homeland are victims of the political situation which had been created in Poland. The political conditions in which the Polish people are now living are generally only too well known. It is also common knowledge that the principles of law, justice, personal freedom of individuals and respect for human dignity—for the re-establishment of which the late war had been fought—have not been so far realized in Poland. Thus not by reprisals against refugees escaping from oppression of a totalitarian regime but by elimination of the very source of evil i.e. by a radical change of conditions prevailing now in Poland and by restoration of freedom and independence to that country, can the problem of new refugees from Poland be satisfactorily solved.

The Council of Polish Political Parties express their hope that His Majesty's Government who by their participation together with the United States Government in the formation of the so-called Provisional Government in Poland, as well as on the basis of their declaration on the subject of liberated Europe of February 11th, 1945, share responsibility for the present situation in Poland—will take into consideration the above-mentioned question and, following this country's centuries old tradition, will accord the right of asylum to Polish victims of political oppression in the British Isles as well as in the British possessions and in the British zone of occupation in Germany.

Believe us, Sir, to be

yours faithfully,

THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

Secretary General

*S. Modrzewski*

Chairman

*J. Kuncewicz*

Similar letters have been sent to the Foreign Ministers of the following countries: Argentine, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Ireland, Italy, Iraq, Liban, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United States of America.

TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO H.E. P.H. SPAAK,  
PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, UNITED  
NATIONS

25th November, 1946.

The undersigned Council of Polish Political Parties represents the independent opinion of the Polish People who under the present conditions in Poland are unable to give a free and unfettered expression of their will. This Council consisting of members of a Nation which consistingly fought in defence of freedom and human rights has the honour to submit the following petition to the United Nations Assembly through the kind offices of Your Excellency.

We address the General Assembly on the grounds of the following dispositions of the United Nations Charter:

a. the provisions of Art. 10 empowering the General Assembly to discuss any questions or matters within the scope of the Charter and to make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations;

b. the specific provisions contained in Article 13 empowering the General Assembly to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of "assisting in the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all";

c. the provisions of Article 56 whereby all Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action for the achievement of universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

d. the specific provisions of Article 14 giving the General-Assembly the authority to "recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations";

e. the statements made during the preparatory discussions at the San Francisco Conference and relating to the powers bestowed upon the General Assembly in matters connected with the maintenance of peace and a universal welfare of nations.

We address the General Assembly after a profound consideration and imbued with a sense of responsibility towards the general principles of the UNO and towards our countrymen in Poland.

We hereby state that:

1. Poland is occupied by troops of a foreign power which exercise pressure on the internal conditions in that country,

2. fundamental human rights and the four freedoms are not respected,

3. under the existing conditions of terror and denial of civic freedoms there cannot be any chance for the Polish Nation to express freely its genuine will,

4. clashes increasing in strength and frequency and fomented by agencies of the existing regime and the occupying forces create a danger of outbreak of a civil war,

5. the state of affairs in Poland is a flagrant infringement of the right of the Polish Nation to independence and integrity and may result in serious complications and endanger international peace.

These are the reasons which prompt us to request the General Assembly to take into consideration the situation prevailing now in Poland in the light of the principles of the United Nations Charter and in the light of commitments undertaken by the United Nations and to devise means and make recommendations for the purpose of realisation of the said principles and commitments.

We further request that this submission be dealt with under Article 14 of the Charter which provides for the powers of the General Assembly to act for "the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin."

COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES	Chairman
Secretary General	(—) <i>Ostojanowicz</i>
(—) <i>Modrzewski</i>	

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LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. WITH AN ATTACHED  
LEGAL REVIEW ON THE POLISH ELECTORAL LAW  
OF 2nd SEPTEMBER, 1946

*December 4th 1946.*

Sir,

In their memorandum of September 11th, the Council of Polish Political Parties had the honour of submitting to you the analysis of the political situation in Poland in connection with the forthcoming general elections in that country.

This Council expressed then their conviction that under the political conditions existing now in Poland, it is impossible to hold really free and unfettered elections, which would enable the Polish Nation to express its will and to elect the form of Government it desires.

With reference to the above mentioned letter, the Council of Polish Political Parties takes this opportunity to present to you a legal view of the Electoral Law published by the so-called Provisional Government of National Unity on October 11th, 1946 in the official Gazette (*Dziennik Ustaw* No. 48). It will be seen from this analysis that the Electoral Law had been conceived with the sole purpose in view of the present Communist regime in Poland.

The analysis of the Electoral Law in force corroborates moreover, the conclusions contained in our letter of September 11th, and especially that as long as Poland is governed by a small group of Communist usurpers supported by a foreign army and a foreign police force, and as long as half of her territory remains annexed by a neighbouring state, there can be no free expression of the will of the Polish People, and elections conducted under such circumstances will be but a tragic mockery of democracy.

I am, Sir,  
yours faithfully,  
FOR THE PRAESIDIUM,  
Secretary General  
(—) *S. Modrzewski*

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THE ELECTORAL LAW OF 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1946  
TO THE POLISH CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.  
A LEGAL REVIEW.

*I. The legal Machinery.*

The integrity and independence from administrative pressure of all persons—office holders or not—who are to supervise the course of the elections, is a necessary precondition of free elections. To secure this independence, numerous electoral laws prescribe that the electoral process is to be controlled by the judiciary and that electoral colleges are to be presided by judges.

In the Polish Electoral Law of 22nd September, 1946, the judiciary is represented by one person only, namely by the "General Commissioner for the Elections" and even in this case the form of his selection does not give any guarantee of his impartiality. Under the electoral law which was in force in Poland before the war, the General Commissioner for the Elections was appointed by the President of the Republic from among three Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeal, who were presented for that post by a secret ballot of all members of that Court.

In the present electoral law the General Commissioner is appointed by the "Praesidium of the National Home Council" on the presentation of the Prime Minister, and his only link with the judiciary is that he must be a member of the Supreme Court of Appeal or of the Supreme Administrative Tribunal or of a District Court of Appeal (Article 12).

In the present Polish regime the Praesidium of the National Home Council is the seat and centre of political power, and it is invested with far reaching powers in the legislative, governmental and administrative fields. This Praesidium is also a supervisory body in respect of the lower or provincial National

Councils; it coordinates their action and sends them political instructions; it is entitled to dissolve them, prorogate them and expel their members and it has the right to annul any resolutions or decisions of these Lower National Councils if it deems them to be contrary to the laws in force. At the present day the membership of this Praesidium consists of Messers. Bierut (Chairman), Szwalbe and Stanislas Grabski (Deputy Chairmen), Rola Zymierski, Barcikowski and Zambrowski. It will be seen that, with the single exception of Mr. Grabski, all the other members of that body are either Communists or crypto-Communists, masquerading as members of puppet parties which are actually led and controlled by Communists.

The General Commissioner for the Elections is appointed on the submission of the Prime Minister who is not limited in his choice by the vote of any judicial body. He (the Prime Minister) can select his candidates from a panel of several hundred judges (members of the Supreme Court of Appeal, or the Supreme Administrative Tribunal or District Courts of Appeal throughout Poland). In these circumstances it is indeed easy to find a suitable candidate who would be the obedient stooge of the regime.

The appointment of the Deputy General Commissioner is effected in the same manner, but in this case he need not be a judge at all.

The General Commissioner for the Elections appoints the chairman of the district electoral commissions, who in turn appoint the chairman of the local electoral commissions. In their choice neither the General Commissioner nor the chairman of the District commissions are bound by the necessity to select candidates from a panel or from among people having any defined standing of integrity and judiciary or other qualifications; they can select and appoint anyone at their discretion. Furthermore, in every district and local commission sit three members elected for that purpose by the Provincial National Councils, that is by institutions which, as a rule are controlled all over the country by Communists and which are, moreover, even formally subjected to the Praesidium and its political instructions. Incidentally, these Provincial Councils are unknown to the Constitution of March 1921, which the Warsaw regime professes to regard as being in force. In practice these provincial councils are an instrument in the hands of the regime to supervise the local administration and exercise pressure on it in keeping with Communist policy.

Thus the electoral law ensures that the process of elections will be throughout directed and controlled by men who are trustworthy agents of the Government and strictly subjected to it.

It can be regarded as a certainty that the whole electoral machinery will be one hundred per cent in the hands of Communists and Communist stooges. It is probably for that reason that the Polish Peasant Party (M. Mikolajczyk's party) advocated a

scheme, strange at first sight, under which the electoral commissions were to be composed of all the political parties officially recognized in Poland, that one member of each of these parties sat on the electoral commissions. M. Mikolajczyk was probably of the opinion that only in that case he could be certain of having a representative in every electoral commission, and that failing this, these commissions would be composed exclusively of Communists. The absence of representatives of the opposition among the members of the electoral commissions cannot be made good by the existence of the "hommes de confiance" of the individual electoral lists (parties) (for whom there are provisions in the electoral law), because under that law (Article 36) they enjoy no rights or privileges, except the right of admission to the premises of the local electoral commission.

## *II. The Franchise and the right to stand as candidate.*

The electoral commissions thus constituted have far reaching rights greatly exceeding those which are usually bestowed upon the bodies constituting the electoral machinery. They are entitled to take decisions in matters reserved, as a rule, all over the world to the judiciary, to wit, they are entitled to decide on the spot, without any formalities or regulations, who has the right to vote and who has the right to stand as a candidate. These far reaching rights belong not merely to the electoral commissions as a collective body but also to the chairman of the district electoral colleges who are entitled, on their own responsibility, to strike out any one from the list of electors and (or insert) anybody's name in that list.

Under Article 2 of the Electoral Law, the men and women who during the German occupation of Poland took advantage, to the obvious detriment of the Polish People, from their economic cooperation with the occupation authorities and (or) who cooperated with the Underground Fascist Organisations or with bands aiming at the overthrow of the democratic regime, are deprived of the right to vote. The decision as to who are the people who benefitted from economic collaboration with the German authorities or cooperated with Fascism rests not with the judiciary but with the local electoral commissions, which can strike out the name of any voter either on their own initiative when checking the list of electors, or as a result of any individual protest (Articles 24 and 25). Everyone is entitled to lodge such a protest and the law does not forbid the lodging of anonymous protests. Thus even an anonymous accusation can lead to the deprivation of an elector of his right to vote. The electoral commission is not duty bound to give a hearing to the person thus deprived of his constitutional rights or to abide by any form of procedure. All it has to do is to inform the would-be voter who is entitled to



appeal through the chairman of the district electoral commission to the Praesidium of the provincial national council; and that Praesidium has the final say in that matter, again without having to abide by any fixed procedure.

No judicial means are available to redress the wrong inflicted on a would-be voter by libellous or unfounded accusation. If we remember how often and unscrupulously the charge of "Fascism" is raised against all and sundry and particularly against every member of the opposition parties, it is easy to imagine the abuses in compiling the electoral register which may be committed.

Under Article 3 of the Electoral Law, the persons who held leading positions either in Poland or in exile during the period of German occupation and opposed or hampered in any way the armed struggle against the occupying Germans can be deprived of the right to stand as candidates at the polls. In this case again no objective criteria are set forth as to how this provision is to be interpreted. It is the State Electoral College, on which there is only one representative of the opposition among its seven members, which deprives would-be candidates of the right to stand, and the men thus barred from the elections can appeal only to the Praesidium of the Home National Council, whose decision is final.

The wording of Articles 2 and 3 of the Electoral Law under which everybody can be deprived of his right to vote and (or to stand at the polls) is so elastic and so arbitrary that, even if interpreted by an experienced judge, it could result in unjust or doubtful decisions. When the application of the Articles is entrusted to Electoral College and Commissions, which undoubtedly will be completely controlled by Communists, they constitute merely a rather crude instrument in the hands of the Government to eliminate all potential adversaries even before the day of polling.

In addition to all these provisions which alone suffice to ensure an electoral victory for the party in power, the electoral law lays open other possibilities of pressure to the authorities in control of the electoral procedure.

In fact the electoral law opens the way to every sort of abuse not merely by its provisions but also by the absence of provisions which would safeguard the rights of the elector during polling itself.

### *III. Voting districts and polling booths.*

There are no provisions in the electoral law concerning the division of the constituencies into voting districts and about the geographical distribution of polling booths. A polling booth may be set up in an outlying part of the voting district or in its centre, in a settlement which may have easy communication with the adjoining area or which may have no transport facilities; in fixing the place of polling booths the authorities may be guided

by the convenience of all the electors of the district, or only of those who are likely to vote for the government. The absence of any regulations in this respect enables the authorities in charge of the elections to influence the results of the poll, if only by setting up the polling booths in places to which the voters would not have easy access, a circumstance which may substantially lower the number of votes cast in districts which the government would regard as unsafe.

Nor does the electoral law forbid to carve voting districts out of several "communes" or their parts. This enables the government to set up voting districts in accordance with the needs of the so-called "electoral geometry."

#### *IV. Electoral Registers.*

The electoral law is silent on the subject of the preparation of electoral registers. As a rule, in large towns, the registers are compiled street by street according to the alphabetical order of the streets; within the limits of the streets according to the numeration of the houses, and in the case of block of flats according to the numbers of the flats and alphabetical order of tenants. In small towns and villages where there are no streets but houses have numbers, the register should be compiled according to the numbers of these houses, and where the houses are not numbered, in the alphabetical order of the names of their residents. The absence of any provisions in this respect may bring chaos into the registers and make it almost or wholly impossible for the voter to check his name on them. This again may lead to great difficulties in lodging complaints about the omission of one's name in the register, and on polling day itself the finding of the voter's name in the register may be so difficult and take up so much time that not all the voters be admitted to cast their votes before 7 p.m. (under Article 51 of the Electoral Law polling closes at 7 p.m.).

Electoral registers should contain the Christian name, surname occupation and date of birth of the elector and also the date since which he lives in the voting district. The Polish electoral law remains silent on this subject and the absence of provisions to that effect may lead to abuses or difficulties in identifying the elector when he comes to cast his vote.

Article 25 of the Electoral Law provides that the registers will be publicly displayed for seven days and for seven hours on each of these days. This period is too short for practical purposes, and if the registers will be opened to the public during working hours only and in premises not easily accessible to the electors many people will be compelled to give up the opportunity of checking their names on the registers and, eventually, of lodging a complaint.

#### V. *Lists of Candidates.*

Under Article 34 the lists of candidates are nominated by at least 100 electors. An amendment of the Polish Peasant Party to that Article (which was duly rejected) proposed that this right to nominate candidates, or, rather, lists of them (since there are no one-seat constituencies in Poland), should also be vested in the political parties. Obviously, the Polish Peasant Party feared lest in present conditions the signatories of such lists be terrorized by the security authorities into withdrawing, post factum, their signatures, which would give the electoral lists invalid.

Furthermore, there are no provisions which would entitle the electoral agent of such lists to demand an official confirmation that such a list has been duly deposited and nominated, and that it has been officially annexed to the state list (under which a certain percentage of the total number of seats is to be divided according to the number of votes cast in the whole country for that and that list). In the present conditions, errors and mistakes in regard to the various electoral lists will be easy, and the agent of a list will not be in a position to prove that he had accomplished all the formalities prescribed by law if the electoral authorities choose to deny that his list had not been properly submitted and declared to be complementary to a given state list.

There are no provisions setting forth what ought to be done in case a list of candidates is called after the name of a party, in spite of the opposition and protests of the official authorities of that party; and the absence of provisions in this respect makes it possible to submit fictitious lists of candidates of that party, to have several lists of candidates, all pretending to represent one party, or to introduce lists of candidates under names which may confuse the electors.

There are no provisions ordering the constituency lists to be designated by the same number which was given to the state list, to which the constituency lists claim to be affiliated. Thus the constituency lists may have a different number in every constituency and these numbers may in turn differ from the number of the state lists. This, obviously, may confuse the electors who may vote in error for a different list from that for which they originally intended to cast their votes.

#### VI. *The Soldier's vote.*

Notwithstanding the clear provision of the Constitution, now allegedly still in force, the electoral law entitles servicemen to vote. Servicemen are voting in special constituency set up by the military authorities (it is not quite clear which authorities). The whole procedure concerning the servicemen's vote is still to be determined by the General Commissioner for the Elections at his own discretion. There are, however, no provisions that the procedure in the servicemen's vote should conform with the provisions of the Electoral Law.

### VII. *The Counting of Votes.*

There are no provisions instructing the district electoral commissions to set apart and keep apart the vote bulletins, which have been declared invalid (Article 59). The keeping of invalid vote bulletins together with those declared valid makes it impossible or at least difficult, to check the invalid votes in order to ascertain the reasons for their invalidity.

And under Article 58 a full stop put inadvertently by the number of the list for which the vote is cast (and which must be written down on the voting card) suffices to nullify the vote thus cast.

Under Article 66 the result of the poll is declared only by the General Commissioner for the Elections at a plenary meeting of the State Electoral College, which is convoked twelve days after the polling. The results of the poll cannot be revealed or even intimated either by local or district commissions. These twelve days between the day of polling and the date when the polling results are to be made public, during which period the voting bulletins, the counts, and the minutes of the local and district electoral commissions are en route to the General Commissioner for the Elections, gives rise to many temptations as well as opportunities to correct the result of the poll if, despite all precautions, it would happen to be unsatisfactory.

### VIII. *Protests.*

Protests against the election of a deputy or against the declared results of the polling—are heard by the Supreme Court of Appeal. But this Court can deprive a deputy of his seat or declare the results of the poll in a constituency or in a local district null and void, only if it finds that the irregularities committed during the elections have decisively affected the results of the poll. The stress is on the word decisively. For it is not sufficient to prove that the irregularities committed have affected the results of the poll, it is necessary to prove that they have affected them in a decisive way. The accepted rule is that the elections in a district or constituency must be annulled if the irregularities committed affect at least one seat. But in this case the Supreme Court of Appeal will be in a position to reject almost every protest, be it best founded, by claiming that the fate of one or even several seats could not decisively affect the results of the poll, because it could not affect the basic relation of strength between the various groups in parliament, for instance, would not lead to the loss of their majority by the PPR (Communists) and so forth. The wording of Article 78 thus renders the right to lodge protests against the results of the poll purely fictitious.

### IX. *Electoral Geometry.*

The division of the country into electoral constituencies shows great inequalities. The Western Provinces (i.e. those which did

not belong to Poland before 1939) are clearly favoured in comparison with the territories of pre-war Poland. The privileged position of these territories is probably due to the fact that they are not under the general state administration but are controlled by a special ministry headed by the first Deputy Prime Minister, M. Gomulka, the most prominent and the most active Communist member of the Government. Moreover, it is likely that in these Western territories the parties will not nominate separate lists but that there will be an electoral bloc which, obviously, will give a substantial majority to the Communists. The figures of the table below show clearly the extent to which the constituencies in Western Poland are favoured in comparison with the rest of the country.

Number of constituency	Name of constituency	Total population	Number of seats	Number of electors to 1 seat
38 (West Poland)	Lignica	365.000	11	33.000
35 (Central Poland)	Kalisz	878.000	11	80.000
30 (West Poland)	Lobez	228.000	6	38.000
40 (Southern " )	Katowice	775.000	12	64.000
28 (West Poland)	Szczecinek	187.000	5	37.000
4 (Central " )	Przasnysz	440.000	6	73.000
44 (West Poland)	Kozle	325.000	8	40.000
19 (Northen " )	Bialystok	565.000	8	70.000
29 (West Poland)	Szczecin	225.000	6	37.000
52 (East " )	Przemysl	460.000	6	76.000
37 (West Poland)	Wroclaw II	403.000	10	40.000
2 (Central " )	Pruszkow	661.000	9	73.000
21 (West Poland)	Olsztyn	200.000	5	40.000
7 (Central " )	Piotrkow	665.000	9	74.000
24 (West Poland)	Gdynia	349.000	9	38.000
16 (East " )	Zamosc	461.000	6	77.000
45 (West Poland)	Opole	317.000	8	39.000
46 (Central " )	Krakow	430.000	7	61.000

It is clear from this table that—as a rule—there will be one seat per 33—40,000 electors in Western Poland, while in the remaining parts of Poland every member of Parliament will represent some 70—80,000 electors.

#### X. *The Constitution of March 1921.*

Whether the Electoral Law is or is not in accordance with the Constitution of March 1921 is a purely theoretical question, because the regime, despite its repeated declarations, does not observe this Constitution in practice. It may be worth recalling that in its Manifesto of 22nd July 1944 the Lublin Committee announced that “the principles of the Constitution of 17th March 1921 will be in force until the Assembly of a new Constituent Parliament elected by universal, equal, direct, secret and proportional suffrage—as a representative of the will the nation—will adopt a new Constitution.”

Now the Electoral Law of 22nd September 1946 is a striking violation of the Constitution of March 1921. It limits the principle of universal franchise (Article 2 and 3 of the Electoral Law and Article 11 of the Constitution), it gives a vote to servicemen notwithstanding the clear provisions of the Constitution (Article 12 of the Constitution), it gives the right to stand as a candidate to men and women under 25 (Article 13 of the Constitution), it violates the principle of the incompatibility of a seat in Parliament with the holding of a post of a civil servant (Article 15, 16 and 17 of the Constitution) and it closes the way to judicial redress in the event of electoral irregularities (Article 98 of the Constitution).

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#### TELEGRAM SENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ABOUT THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF POLAND.

12th December, 1946.

The Council of Polish Political Parties has the honour to draw Your Excellency's attention to the fact that Poland is the only allied country which continues to be occupied militarily by the Soviet Forces to this day eighteen months after the end of the war in Europe. Thus under the thin pretext of guarding communication lines with the Soviet occupation zone in Germany Poland is treated on a level with ex-enemy countries. The Soviets take advantage of their military occupation of Poland to keep a network of Soviet agents in our country through whom they control the Polish political economic and social life. Poland can be free and independent only if all Soviet occupation

forces are withdrawn and removed from Poland since their presence constitutes a violation of Polish sovereignty and a dire threat to Polish freedom. We are simultaneously sending a memorandum this matter by post.

For the Council of Polish Political Parties

*Modrzewski* Secretary General.

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MEMORANDUM OF DECEMBER 12th, 1946 SENT TO  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF  
THE U.N. ABOUT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE  
OF SOVIET TROOPS ON POLISH TERRITORY

*December 12th, 1946.*

Sir,

The Council of Polish Political Parties follows up its telegram of 25-th November 1946 by drawing Your Excellency's attention to the statement made by Mr. Molotov—the Vice-premier and Foreign Secretary of the Soviet Union at the Political and Security Commissions of the United Nations (Committee No. 1) at their meeting of 20th November 1946, in which he (the Soviet Foreign Minister) justified the continued presence of Soviet forces on Polish territory by the necessity to protect the military communication lines from the USSR to the Soviet occupation zone in Germany

Through Your Excellency's good offices we should like to bring to the notice of the General Assembly of the United Nations—the fact that Mr. Molotov's arguments are but a smoke-screen to conceal the real purpose of the continued military occupation of Poland by the Soviet Union. The real purpose may be briefly described as the control of the whole Polish political, economic and social life. Mr. Molotov's claim that "some Soviet military detachments are at present stationed on Polish territory to protect communication lines with Germany" and that "this situation is causing no misunderstanding whatever between the Soviet Union and Poland and, in fact, is fully understood by our other Allies" (Moscow "Pravda" of 21st November 1946)—does not correspond with reality and with the true state of affairs in Poland.

Here is a true presentation of the situation existing now in Poland:

1) Protection of Soviet military communication lines with Germany cannot justify the continuation of the occupation of Poland, since neither Britain nor the United States, who are in a position analogous to that of the Soviet Union inasmuch as their lines of communication with their occupation zones in Germany are concerned, do not find it necessary and even refrain from occupying France, Belgium and Holland to protect their communica-

ation lines with Germany. The Soviet Union has the same facilities as Britain or the United States to maintain its sea routes connecting it with its zone of occupation in Germany.

The maintenance of Soviet troops in Poland, be it, even in reduced numbers, under the pretext of guarding communications, means in practice that Poland is and will continue to be treated not as an allied but as an ex-enemy country.

No approval should be given so that Soviet troops may remain in Poland, be it even with the consent of the so-called Provisional Government of Warsaw, because that "government" is merely a Soviet agency.

2) Both the character and the number of Soviet troops now occupying Poland cannot—by any means—be explained away by the necessity of guarding communication lines. The Soviet Union is not merely keeping in Poland a large number of divisions whose strength and dislocation greatly exceed the hypothetical needs of guarding communication lines, but it also exercises full control over internal conditions in Poland.

This control is exercised through the medium of a very large number of functionaries of the Soviet political administration imported into Poland—namely of officials of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior (known as NKVD) and the Soviet Ministry of Public Security (known as MGB). These Soviet institutions are working in Poland partly overtly and in this case, their presence is a clear violation of the sovereign rights of Poland, and partly in a more masked and surreptitious form to wit by delegating their functionaries to various departments of the Polish civilian and military administration in which they hold key positions.

3) Even the purely military Soviet occupation is not in the least limited to Soviet communication lines; in fact, there are large concentrations of Soviet forces occupying considerable portions of Polish territory in the North (Pomerania), in the South (Upper Silesia) and in the West, where a large belt along the new Polish-German frontier is thickly garrisoned by Soviet troops.

The upkeep of these forces is a great burden on the resources of Poland, the more so that hundreds of thousands of acres of arable land have been put aside for their exclusive use and exempted from the legislation concerning the agrarian reform and breaking up of large estates.

4) Soviet forces in Poland are stationed there not merely to guard communication lines. This is apparent from the text of the treaty concluded between the Warsaw administration and the Government of the Soviet Union in October 1945, under which the Soviet Government is entitled to use its troops to "combat Polish banditism" and indeed to use them for the purpose of throttling all Polish attempts at regaining freedom as well as for terrorising the Polish population.



5) This Soviet military occupation of Poland is further strengthened by the fact that key positions in the Polish Army are held by Soviet officers. Owing to these arrangements these Polish troops are strictly subordinated to the Soviet Command and are, in fact, but one more instrument of Soviet domination.

The following key positions in the Polish Army are held at present by Soviet officers:

the Chief of the Polish General Staff—General W. Korchitz,  
 the 1st Deputy of the General Staff—Gen. Jan Rotkievitch,  
 the Chief of the 2nd Division (Mil. Intelligence) of the General Staff—General Piotr Kozushko, an officer of the NKVD,  
 the Commander of the Armoured Forces—General Mostovenko,  
 the Commander of the Airforce—General Fedor Palynin,  
 the Commander of Military Communications—General Ruymentsev.

The former Commander of the International Brigade in Spain—General Sviertchevsky holds the position of 2nd Deputy to the Minister of National Defence. Many other key positions at various levels, including almost all positions of Corps Commanders, are also held by Soviet officers or NKVD men dressed up as Polish officers or generals. In addition, some detachments of the Soviet NKVD shock troops are camouflaged as special technical units of the Polish Army.

The administration of Polish airfields is in Soviet hands. It should be added here that the network of these airfields has been substantially increased by numerous Russian built aerodromes in Western Poland.

6) The Soviet occupation, is by no means restricted to the presence of Soviet troops and to the full control of the Polish Army, which is—to all practical purposes—a mere para-Soviet military formation. As had previously been said the most unpleasant aspect of that occupation is the presence of a wide-spread network of Soviet agents who control the whole Polish political, economic and social life. The majority of these agents have been posted to key positions in all departments of the civilian administration. The backbone of the Soviet occupational civilian system is the vast "Polish" security system set up and directed by agents of the NKVD. Thus a Soviet citizen and agent of the NKVD is Minister of Public Security (General S. Radkievitch), and another NKVD trained Soviet officer, General B. Kyenyevitch is Commander of the Special Corps of Internal Security shock troops. All in all some 380,000 men are employed in this security or police force, which is strictly controlled by the Soviet occupiers and their Warsaw puppets.

Of these 380,000 men in the security service, 130,000 are directly employed by the Ministry of Public Security, 100,000 in the shock troops of the Internal Security Corps, 100,000 in the volunteer

reserve of the Citizen's Militia (specially set up for terrorizing electors during the period of elections), and lastly 50,000 men are used in various additional police formations.

7) Under the pressure of Soviet occupation, system alien to Polish tradition and ideas is being imposed upon Poland, and her people are prevented from expressing their own free will. A reign of terror has been unleashed with the unavowed purpose of creating a state of unrest which would provide some sort of justification for the continued presence of Soviet troops of occupation.

Meanwhile, Mr. Molotov himself, said at the meeting of the Committee No. 1 on 22nd November, 1946: "One cannot deny, however, that the presence of foreign troops within the territory of a country provides impermissible means of exerting pressure upon the domestic affairs of that state... An end should be put to this situation."

And Mr. Gromyko said at the meeting of the Security Council on 22nd November 1946: "After the war, presence of these "Allied" troops on territories of countries of the United Nations and other non-enemy states, is no longer necessitated by war conditions... The presence of foreign troops on the territory of these countries leads to both international and internal complications in these countries, since the foreign troops often intervene in the domestic affairs of these states and support anti-democratic forces there."

To this we must add that the continued illegal Soviet occupation and the presence of Soviet troops, officials and numerous Soviet agents "provides impermissible means of exerting pressure upon the domestic affairs" of Poland and gives support without which the insignificant group of Polish Communists who are now in power could not impose their rule nor succeed in preventing the people from freely expressing their will.

It should be also recalled that at the Moscow Conference of November 1943, the four Powers (Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China)—and here the participation of Russia should be especially stressed—clearly pledged themselves to withdraw their forces from all allied territories by issuing the following statement:

"United in the determination, in accordance with the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1st 1942 and subsequent declaration (they i. e. the Four Powers), jointly declare:

... (6) that after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purpose envisaged in this Declaration, and after joint consultations."

In spite of all these statements and clear Soviet pledges the occupation of Poland by the armies, police and administrative officials, and the agents of the Soviet Union is still continuing

and as time goes by it becomes deeper, penetrating into all fields of Polish life and all-embracing, especially in its camouflaged forms.

8) Lastly, we emphatically declare that it is absolutely essential to put an end to and remove every vestige of the military political and economic occupation of Poland by the USSR, in order that freedom may be fully restored to her and to make it possible to set up a representative Polish Government deriving its power from the will of the people, and to restore to the Polish people their civic rights and freedom.

To achieve these ends the Soviet Union must withdraw from Poland not merely its military formations but also all its NKVD forces and MGB officials as well as all its agents through whom it controls every aspect of Polish life.

We are, Sir,

yours faithfully,

THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES,	Chairman
Secretary General	(—) J. Ostojanowicz
(—) S. Modrzewski,	

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#### LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. — ABOUT THE ELECTIONS IN POLAND HELD IN JANUARY 1947.

29th January, 1947.

Sir,

The so-called "elections" which were held in Poland on the 19th January, 1947 were falsified by police terrorism and irregularities in the tabulation of returns; thus they deprived the Yalta Agreement of every shred of sense and showed conclusively the final bankruptcy of the policy of appeasement.

The Yalta decisions arrived at by the Three Great Powers without the knowledge and concurrence of the legal Polish Government were supposed to lead to the reconstruction of a "strong, free, independent and democratic Poland," and to the setting up of a democratic regime for her through the medium of "free and unfettered elections." Under the Yalta decisions one half of the territory of the Polish Republic was ceded to Russia, and Poland was deprived of her sovereign rights.

In accordance with the real will of the Polish people the legal Government of the Polish Republic refused to admit the validity of these decisions.

The results of the Yalta policy, so catastrophic for Poland, may be summarised under the following heads:

1. The incorporation of 200,000 square kilometres of Polish territory into Russia.

2. The imposition by the Three Powers of the rule in the remaining Polish territory of the so-called Provisional Government which in spite of all efforts to present it in a different light, was and remains a puppet regime controlled from Moscow.

3. The holding of so-called elections which are actually but a new attempt at sanctioning the Communist dictatorship in Poland.

To the cost of this disastrous policy should be added the further sacrifices made by Poles. Tens of thousand of Polish citizens have paid with their lives or freedom their belief, when they thought for the implementation of the Yalta decisions against the arbitrariness of the Polish Provisional Regime supported by Soviet armed forces and the NKVD reign of terror.

The Yalta policy has proved to be unrealistic. It has only succeeded in bringing new disasters to Poland and her people. The attempt of those Poles in Poland who, at the behest of the Western Powers, have decided to try to reach an understanding with Soviet Russia and its Communist agency in Warsaw, have proved to be useless and even tragic in their results.

With regard to the "elections" held lately in Poland we state that:

1. The so-called Provisional Government, which was pledged to hold free and unfettered elections, has broken the Yalta Agreement (under which it was set up by the signatories of that agreement) by its policy of terrorism and the falsification of the election returns.

2. The so-called Provisional Government has violated its duties resulting from its membership in the United Nations organisation. It has also violated the libertarian principles and human and civic rights which form the corner-stone of the United Nations' Charter.

3. By grossly falsifying electoral returns to the advantage of the Communist Party the so-called Provisional Government has proved beyond doubt that its object is to set up a Communist dictatorship in Poland, against the will of the Polish people.

In these circumstances the only proper and logical policy would be a return to the pre-Yalta state of affairs:

In any case:

1. We regard as inadmissible any moral or legal sanctioning of the order which is being proclaimed in Poland now by the Moscow puppets as a sequence to the so-called elections; the sanctioning of the Government, Parliament or the elections themselves would be tantamount to a voluntary sapping of the principles on which the Western world is basing its own existence; it would be also a final prove, not merely for Poland but for all Central Europe as well, that the Great Democracies are definitely abandoning the hundred odd million Europeans who are now severed by the iron curtain from the rest of Europe.

2. In the hope that the free nations of the world will refuse to condone the destruction of Polish independence, we beg your Excellency to lodge an appeal to the United Nations and demand that the situation in Poland be debated by both the Security Council and the United Nations' Assembly.

3. No sanctions whose burden would fall on the shoulders of the Polish people, should be pronounced by the United Nations as a result of the falsifying of elections and of the tightening Communist grip on Poland.

In their present ordeal the Polish people are entitled to demand that they be not wholly deserted by the Western Powers and left helpless in the clutches of the destructive forces of the East.

We are, Sir,

yours faithfully,

THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

Secretary General

Chairman

(—) *S. Modrzewski*,

*J. Ostoja-Matlachowski.*

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LETTER AND ATTACHED SURVEY  
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF  
THE U.N. ABOUT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS  
HELD IN POLAND ON JANUARY 19th, 1947.

10th February, 1947.

Sir,

Following our memorandum of December 12th, 1946 which dealt with the Soviet occupation of Poland and with the political terror prevailing in that country, and which was addressed to the Chairman of the United Nations—the Council of Polish Political Parties takes this opportunity to acquaint you with a number of facts, it deems of importance, relating to the so-called elections held in Poland on the 19th January, 1947.

It is clear from the enclosed survey that these "elections" did not correspond with electoral laws usually adopted in democratic countries, and they gave no expression to the free and genuine will of the nation.

The progress of the electoral campaign in Poland indicated that:

1. only Communist or crypto-Communist (i.e. spurious groups led by Soviet agents) were allowed to stand at the polls except the Polish Peasant Party, which—in fact—was forbidden to or forcibly prevented from conducting its electoral campaign. All other parties had been banned altogether;

2. repressive measures and police terror accompanied the electoral campaign;

3. thus the elections were held in the atmosphere of fear; the secrecy ballot was not observed, while formations of the political police and government administration functionaries openly used pressure and violence on the electorate;

4. abuse was rampant during the polling and the polling result were falsified.

The United Nations Charter guarantees to all nations the observance and respect of fundamental human rights and lays down principles of an organisation of communal life in complete freedom for all.

To-day, after the Polish "elections," it is obvious to all that Poland has been deprived of political independence and that her people are denied the right of self-determination; that a system imposed on her by force and terror is maintained only owing to foreign interference in Polish domestic affairs.

Thus a government which will be formed as a result of these "elections" will not represent the will of the Polish People—and—as such, cannot be recognised as a government of Poland. Similarly, the delegation representing this established government will have neither legal nor moral title to represent Poland at the United Nations.

The situation created in Poland as a result of Soviet interference may become the source of danger to the international peace.

In view of what has been said above, the Council of Polish Political Parties has the honour of requesting you to use your kind office in order that:

1. it may be officially stated that the delegation of the present "government" of Warsaw does not represent the Polish State;

2. a presentation be submitted to the Security Council to the effect that the prolonged presence in Poland of Soviet troops and N.K.V.D. as well N.K.G.B. formations which exercise pressure on the domestic affairs of that country, and the whole aspect to the situation in Poland constitute a threat to the international peace.

We are, Sir,  
yours faithfully,

THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES  
Secretary General  
(—) *S. Modrzewski*

Chairman  
(—) *J. Ostoja-Matlachowski*

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## SURVEY OF POLISH ELECTIONS OF JANUARY 19th, 1947.

*February 10th, 1947.*

Under articles of the Yalta Agreement the so-called "Provisional Government of National Unity" formed by the Three Powers for the purpose of establishing a temporary administration in Poland against the will of the Polish people, and notwithstanding the protests of the legal Polish Government, was under obligation to hold, as soon as possible "free and unfettered elections" on the basis of "universal suffrage and secret ballot." In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties were to have the right to take part to put forward candidates.

The representatives of the so-called Provisional Government pledged themselves at Potsdam to carry out the stipulations of the Crimea Conference relating to the national elections in Poland.

This is a short survey of the activities of the "Provisional Government" connected with the progress of the elections, which were to ensure that power in Poland remained in the Communist hands of Soviet agents.

1. The so-called Provisional Government created in Moscow of members of the Communist party or its satellites from the beginning of its existence followed a policy of repression and terror, in order to crush all the independent political forces within Poland.

With this aim in view the date of elections was postponed under flimsy pretexts. The regime needed 18 months to put into operation a vast machinery of its secret police. That powerful force was to destroy all the main centres of resistance, it was to terrorise independent elements and to control the political, social and economic life of the country. As a safety-valve, in case some of the above measures failed it was to prepare means of a wholesale falsification of polling results.

2. Out of four main pre-war democratic parties (Polish Socialist Party, Peasant Party, National Democrats and the Christian Labour Party) which before the war possessed the largest parliamentary representation and during the German occupation were principal members of the Underground Parliament and directed the resistance movement—only the Peasant Party (under the name of the Polish Peasant Party or P.S.L.) was allowed political activity.

Names of pre-war parties were stolen and used to screen crypto-Communist groups, which are but agencies of the Communist party. These spurious parties including the Polish Workers' Party (Communist) took part in the elections as the so-called "democratic bloc."

None of the mentioned above genuine parties, which carried

a relentless struggle against the Germans and whose numerous leaders thereby lost their lives or were thrown into prisons or concentration camps, was allowed to participate in the elections.

3. While independent parties were being eliminated from the political arena a widespread terror was directed against all independent and social forces.

The first acts of terror took place immediately after the Red Army entered Poland. Members of the Underground Home Army and of the anti-German underground organisation were arrested en masse and imprisoned or sent to concentration camps without trial. In many cases they were deported to Russia, while their identity documents were taken away from them.

Even in those cases when the Home Army detachments came into the open of their own volition, they were victimised, notwithstanding repeated Soviet assurances that those who would reveal themselves would not be persecuted in any way.

News leaking out from behind the prison walls and from behind the barbed-wire fences of concentration camps tells of cases of executions of Home Army soldiers.

It should also be recalled here that the Soviet authorities set a trap for 16 leaders of the Polish Underground whom they subsequently deported to Russia and brought to trial before the Moscow military tribunal on the charge of having organised armed resistance against the Red Army. As a result of that trial 5 of these leaders are still in Soviet prisons.

Following the initial period of arrests and deportation which took place in 1944 and the early part of 1945 and which so far were applied to leaders of the Underground Poland, a wave of widespread persecution of all independent political forces took place. The smallest sign of opposition or even of criticism of Communist regime is tantamount to high treason.

Terror, used to intimidate the leading members of the community began to embrace large masses of the population—as the polling day drew nearer. For it had been found out that the opposition against the regime is the strongest in the large masses of the peasantry.

By means of surveillance, denunciation and provocation large numbers of arrests were carried out. Citizens vanished in a mysterious way, assassinations and political murders were perpetuated almost daily by the N.K.V.D. or "Polish Security" agents. Mass deportation to punitive camps in the interior of Russia of victims of the regime continued unabated.

The fact that the number of prisons had been considerably increased (even in comparison to the number used by the Germans) and the fact that over 48 concentration camps were set up excluding those which are under the supervision of the political department of the "Polish Army" to house political prisoners, indicates clearly the extent of arrests.



The "Polish Security" authorities have also at their disposal numerous punitive camps in Soviet Russia, where between 1944—46 they directed large numbers of prisoners.

The political terror in Poland is conducted by the Soviet N.K.V.D. and the N.K.G.B. as well as by the local Ministry of Public Security organised on Soviet pattern. Information on that organisation and its network was given in our memorandum of December 12th, 1946 to the Chairman of the United Nations General Assembly.

4. In the atmosphere of terror and intimidation, the "trial-voting," the referendum, was held at the end of June, 1946. The referendum was, in fact, intended to substitute national elections, but it produced unexpected results. In some districts when independent observers were present over 83 per cent of the voters cast their votes against the regime. The government, however, falsified the results of the referendum and declared that 68 per cent supported the government and its policy.

5. The Communist authorities had yet another plan in view, namely to create an electoral bloc which would enable them to gain control over the future parliament. To achieve this the leaders of the Communist party by every means of pressure exercised upon the Peasant party tried to obtain the latter's consent to join the bloc. But their efforts were of no avail. The P.S.L. was determined to put forward a separate list of candidates.

6. From the moment when the P.S.L.'s refusal to join the bloc had been declared final and irrevocable, a ruthless war was waged throughout the country on the entire Polish Peasant Party. It was decided to mobilise the extensive machinery of the Secret Police to crush the independent political forces of the country.

Throughout the whole of the 18 months, and especially during the last 7 months which elapsed since the referendum which spelt defeat for the Government, the following repressive measures were applied:

- a. many provincial branches of the Peasant Party were closed down, their leading members arrested and charged with collaboration with underground organisations;
- b. mass arrests of the P.S.L. members (and various independent elements) which embraced about 100,000 people; beating up and torture applied in prisons;
- c. the arrest of three principal members of the P.S.L. Executive Committee;
- d. the arrest of chief editors of the daily and weekly party press organs;
- e. the assassination of 200 members of the P.S.L.;
- f. the breaking up by force of public meetings of the P.S.L. carried out by armed toughs of the P.P.R. militia and by the functionaries of the Security Police;
- g. provocative planting of illegal leaflets and arms to justify

- arrests and the closing of the P.S.L. premises;
- h. the requisitioning of party premises by the military and civil authorities;
- i. raids on the party premises in order to destroy files and propaganda material;
- j. the discrimination in the allocation of paper for press purposes, and in granting of licence by the Government to publication.

During the period immediately preceding the elections terror intensified considerably, and beside measures described above new ones were devised:

- a. arrests of 135 candidates and of those who signed the P.S.L. candidates lists in order to force them by way of beating up and torture to withdraw their signatures;
  - b. preventing Polish Peasant Party members from delivering lists of candidates;
  - c. agitation and pressure on the electors for collective and open voting.
7. The so-called National Home Council issued a new Electoral Law which had been so conceived as to give full control of the entire electoral procedure to the Government and eventually to place complete power in the hands of the Communists. The Electoral Law eliminated any outside control which might have provided a safeguard against fraud and abuse. All suggestions moved by the P.S.L. and insisting on the inclusion of control were squashed outright by the Home National Council.

The entire electoral machinery was in the hands of Communists that fact which rendered falsification of results a mere trifle, and which resulted in the following:

- a. in 11 out of 52 densely populated districts where political consciousness is sharper than anywhere else lists of P.S.L. candidates were declared null and void;
- b. similarly other lists which included both P.S.L. and other candidates of the independent Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) were nullified;
- c. two million electors were struck off the electoral registers throughout the country and 246 candidates have been eliminated from the lists.

The annulment of lists of candidates in districts with a decided majority for the opposition, obviously pre-determined the allocation of all seats in these districts, numbering 76 to the Communist bloc.

The Communist electoral machinery paralysed moreover the chances of control by representatives of the opposition by a ruling that they could be admitted to electoral premises or to the polling stations only on the strength of written permits issued by the Security Police; needless to say, such a ruling was tantamount to a complete elimination of outside observers.

Finally, the Communist electoral machinery organised by Soviet agents struck off the state electoral list;

- a. 14 prominent members of the P.S.L. including 3 members of the Central Executive Committee (Messrs. Bagiński, Mierzwa and Prowecki) who were arrested and detained shortly before the polling day, and
- b. independent Socialists, among them Mr. Zdanowski, a prominent Socialist and Trade Union leader.

8. Abuses during voting:

According to information in our possession the following acts of abuse took place during the actual voting:

- a. the voting urns were not returned in the presence of outside witnesses;
  - b. at many polling stations the arriving electors were divided into two groups: those voting for and against the bloc which forced them to cast their votes openly;
  - c. in many localities the population was herded together to vote openly and collectively; elsewhere special "processions" were organized;
  - d. a variety of means of violence and intimidation were used with regard to those who declined to vote openly and for the Communist bloc. The most frequent was the threat of dismissal from employment or eviction from lodgings. Many cases of arrests of people who refused to vote as told had been reported;
  - e. in many premises of the district electoral commissions militiamen or members of the notorious Security Service were active distributing voting papers to the electors ordering them to vote in their presence for the bloc.
9. The falsification of final polling results was possible owing to the absence of any control at the time of the counting of votes. It must be pointed out that the votes were counted not in smaller electoral areas but by the district electoral commissions. Not one representative of the opposition was allowed to sit on the area or district electoral commissions. Independent observers were admitted without right to control in 296 areas but of the total of 6.726. Instructions published in the "electoral information" issued by the Central Electoral Committee of the Democratic Bloc in other words instructions issued by the Communist administration contained (on page 31) the following:

"The voting urns must be removed from the area polling stations to the district electoral commissions where counts will be carried out." This was contrary to the Electoral Law.

The farce of the so-called free and unfettered elections was concluded by the publication of voting results in all districts with a record speed within 3 days. Obviously the figures declared were falsified and the overwhelming majority of parliamentary seats was allocated to the Communist bloc.

LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT  
BRITAIN, THE U.S.A. AND FRANCE ABOUT THE  
PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

28th February, 1947.

Sir,

Inasmuch as the present administration of our country is a mere Soviet tool and cannot even pretend to have the right to speak in the name and on behalf of Poland, the Council of Polish Political Parties (in London) acting as the true and only free spokesman of the Polish People has the honour to bring to the attention of your Excellency the following considerations on the peace treaties with Germany and Austria which are to be framed at the Four Powers Conference in Moscow.

The basic pre-condition of peace is the reconstruction of Europe whose spiritual unity and political and economic organisation have been destroyed by German aggression. The present division of Europe is steadily widened by the policy of the Soviet Union which has brought about, against the will of the people of Europe, her factual partition into two spheres of influence. No real or lasting peace is possible as long as this partition will continue.

After the defeat of Nazi Germany all the nations of Europe are striving not to the return to the uneasy pre-war state of affairs but, in keeping with the spirit of the times to build a Commonwealth of the free nations of Europe, based on unity, freedom and mutual respect for their political and economic rights which alone can safeguard their equality of status and their fruitful cooperation in the field of international relations.

In particular such a united Europe is the main hope of the nations of Central-Eastern Europe, which as a result of the last war, have been deprived of their freedom and independence.

Until all the nations of Europe recover their independence, all the decisions concerning the treaty with Germany, which is only a fragment of the problem of Europe, cannot bring about a lasting world peace nor create adequate conditions for the spiritual and economic progress of Europe.

*Disarmament.*

The German question is essentially the problem of securing Europe against new German crimes and aggressions.

Thus a first pre-condition of a lasting peace is the disarmament of Germany. This disarmament should be complete and should also cover the control of German industrial potential, of German scientific research and new technical devices, and eventually also of other field whose development may indirectly lead to the reconstruction of Germany's war potential.

Germany and the Germans should be deprived not merely

of all means of fighting but they should be also reeducated in this sense that their spirit of aggression and destruction should be curbed and the new generation brought up in a spirit of respect for the law, the moral code and justice.

To secure the peace, Germany should be deprived of her chief war arsenals: thus the Saar should go to France, and the Ruhr should not be included in the future German State but remain under the permanent control of the Western Powers.

#### *Occupation of Germany.*

The occupation of Germany should be maintained but the present system of occupation should be altered. Poland also demands that an end should be made to the maintenance of Soviet military and police garrisons in Poland, which are still stationed there under the pretext of guarding communication lines with Germany.

#### *The Western frontier of Poland.*

The next fundamental problem which the Four Powers Conference will have on its agenda is the problem of the territorial boundaries of Germany. The Polish-German frontier should be maintained on the present Oder and Western Neisse line. The maintaining of this frontier is of vital importance not only to the Polish People but also for the future of the whole Central-Eastern Europe. The decision of the Powers in this matter will provide a cue to the attitude of the Western Powers to the problem of this part of Europe; indeed, this frontier, by depriving Germany of her Silesian arsenal, makes it impossible for her to prepare new aggressions. Any changes in this frontier would also mean yet another tragedy for the Polish population settled there which has gone through terrible ordeals during the late war.

In addition to the problem of the Polish-German frontier, the opening up of the Baltic, and a free access from it to the open seas are of paramount interest both to Poland and other countries of Central Europe.

#### *The future constitution of Germany.*

The Polish Nation which has a thousand years experience in dealing with Germany demands that Germany should be treated, after two world wars, in such a way as to prevent her from preparing new aggressions.

In particular Polish postulates with regard to the future of Germany are as follows:

a. the regime of the future Federation of German States should be based on the principle of voluntary partnership and should give to the component states of that Federation the fullest

measure of political and economic independence. Prussia as a state should be entirely liquidated. A first step towards that object is the final transfer of East Prussia and the lands east of the Oder to Poland;

b. the German financial and economic life should be subjected to strict international control for many years, in order to counteract any attempts at German economic hegemony over other parts of Europe.

Poland must stress the danger of creating such economic conditions for Germany which would enable her to have a greater economic and higher standard of living than the rest of Europe, and thus continue to constitute a latent threat, not merely economic but also military to Europe.

#### *Reparations.*

Poland which, relatively, has suffered the greatest losses of all Allied Nations as a result of the war and German occupation is entitled to reparations corresponding to the magnitude of her losses. So far, in this matter of reparations Poland has been grievously wronged. Of all the Allied countries only Poland has been excluded from the international share-out in reparations and was left at the mercy of the Soviet Union. It is a well known fact that Poland has not actually received any reparations, and that she had to make heavy deliveries to Russia from her own current production in return for the dribbles of German materiel which was handed over to her by the Soviet Union as reparations.

Thus the peace treaty must find a new solution of the problem of reparations for Poland. Inasmuch as Poland is under the military and police occupation of the Soviet Union and lives under an administration which does not represent the Polish People it is essential that these reparations should be so devised as to guarantee that the Polish People will actually benefit from them.

In addition to reparations to Poland, Germany must be pledged by treaty to pay out indemnities and compensations to individual Polish citizens for the losses and wrongs inflicted upon them. For the reasons indicated above, the peace treaty should include a clause entitling Polish citizens having such claims to press them directly against the German State. The amount of such indemnities or compensations should be fixed by a special international tribunal.

In the hope that your Excellency will kindly take these postulates into consideration, we ask you to accept the assurances of our best esteem.

For THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

Secretary General

(—) S. Modrzewski,

Chairman

(—) J. Ostoja Matlachowski

TELEGRAM SENT TO MR. HARRY S. TRUMAN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WELCOMING  
THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION OF BACKING AMERICAN  
POLICY TO SUPPORT FREE PEOPLES RESISTING  
ARMED MINORITIES AND OUTSIDE PRESSURE.

*London, 22nd March, 1947.*

Council of Polish Political Parties representing opinion of free Poland welcomes your momentous decision to put in practice your principle that the United States policy must support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. The Polish people which fought the German totalitarian system with unequalled tenacity throughout the war now as a result of Allied victory is menaced in its very existence by the Russian Communist totalitarianism whose rule in Poland is supported by the police and occupying forces. As long as foreign agents rule Poland and Eastern and Central Europe the threat of expansion of Soviet imperialism will hang over the whole of Europe undermining the very foundation of the international peace.

Chairman: *Matlachowski*  
Secretary General: *Modrzewski*

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LETTER TO GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL,  
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE U.S.A. ABOUT THE  
WESTERN FRONTIER OF POLAND

*16th May, 1947.*

Sir,

We beg to bring to your attention the following notes on the subject of Poland's Western frontier:

1. While the future of Europe is being settled, the question of securing a durable peace as well as that of the economic collaboration of nations come to the fore. The first of the essential conditions for a lasting peace in Europe is genuine freedom and the political and economic independence of all European countries. As long as Poland and neighbouring states are not freed from Soviet domination, there can be no hope for a lasting peace in Europe.

As far as Germany is concerned, the new European settlement must aim at preventing her from embarking upon new aggressions; it must also aim at such an economic organisation of principal raw-material bases, as would serve the peaceful development of Europe.

To achieve that aim, Germany should be deprived of strategic bases for aggression and of territories, which represent the actual basis of their economic war potential.

Among such territories are:

- a. territories West of the Oder and Neisse, including Silesia and East Prussia;
- b. the Saar, and
- c. the Ruhr.

These territories comprise about 90 per cent of the coal, iron and steel output, which Germany produced in 1937. A disarmament of Germany based on depriving her of the above mentioned lands could be considered as effectively durable. A disarmament based on the principles adopted in 1918 would prove just as ineffective as the attempts to render Germany harmless after the First World War.

2. Silesia and the province of Breslau within Germany divide Poland from Czechoslovakia, extend considerably the Polish-German frontier and give Germany the rich and vast Silesian "place d'armes" from which she has often launched her aggression either Eastwards or South-Eastwards, thereby causing wider-scale conflagrations.

A frontier running along the Oder-Neisse line shortens the pre-war Polish-German frontier by half, thus making possible the organisation of an adequate defence system for Europe's Central-Eastern countries.

3. To regard the Western territories recovered by Poland as compensation for the alienation of her Eastern lands is contrary to the attitude of the whole Polish people. For they consider the return of Western territories as an act of historical justice, and as a partial reparation for the losses inflicted on them by Germany during the recent war. The Polish people, however, never agreed to cede Poland's Eastern provinces to Russia, for these lands are bound to Poland by an age-long history and tradition.

4. The fixing of a frontier on the Oder-Neisse line deprives Germany of 14 per cent of her coal production and of over 25 per cent of her iron and steel output, which thus become Poland's. This frontier as well as the cession of the Saar Basin and Allied control over the Ruhr, deprives Germany of her chief arsenals, thus providing the only effective guarantee of her future peaceful policy.

The argument that Germany needs a certain kind of agricultural products cannot decide the issue as to whom the territories providing them should belong, when reasons of security and future economic organisation of Europe indicate that the German state should be deprived of that territory. The food producing areas on the Oder were by no means Germany's chief larder. According to German statistics, they supplied other provinces



with only 2.5 to 3.2 per cent of the total consumption of agricultural products, and with 1.5 to 4.5 per cent of animal products. Germany's food requirements can be met by a peaceful trade and exchange between her and her neighbours.

5. At the end of 1947 the Polish population in former German territories, now under Polish administration, will reach 5 millions, whereas the number of Germans will be about 200,000. A fresh expulsion of these millions of Poles from provinces incorporated into Poland, would, indeed, be a new and extremely hard blow to the already severely tried Polish people.

6. The drawing of a new frontier line somewhere East of the Oder would not improve Polish-German relations. To leave the Breslau stretch and Western Pomerania, encircling Poland's territory would constitute a strategic menace to Poland. Furthermore, it would render impossible the steady industrial development of Silesia, deprived of her only waterway, the river Oder, connecting it with the port of Stettin.

7. The trend of policy initiated by the United States with regard to Russia gives hope and confidence to all Central—Eastern European peoples, now oppressed by Moscow-controlled governments. A decision which would disregard Poland's most vital interests as well as those of Central-Eastern Europe, may unfavourably affect that confidence, which the nations of that part of Europe place in the Western Democracies.

The Council of Polish Political Parties feel convinced that only the restriction of Russia and Germany to their natural frontiers in Europe will ensure a lasting peace in Europe and create for her peoples a proper basis for harmonious economic collaboration and general recovery.

Believe us, Sir,

Secretary General  
(—) *St. Modrzewski*,

to be yours truly,

Chairman  
(—) *F. Haluch*.

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TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF  
THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES  
SENT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U. N.  
AND TO THE CHAIRMEN OF 49 DELEGATIONS  
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE U. N., IN  
WHICH HE PROTESTS AGAINST A SPEECH RECENTLY  
DELIVERED BY MR. MODZELEWSKI

22nd September, 1947.

The Secretary General of the United Nations,  
Flushing Meadows,  
New York City.

*For the Chairmen of the following delegations to the General Assembly of the United Nations: Afganistan, Argentine, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iraq, Iran, Iceland, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherland, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Philippine Commonwealth, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Syria, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Turkey, Venezuela.*

In connection with the statement made by Mr. Modzelewski at the General Assembly on September 17th, I am referring to the previous declarations of the Council of Polish Political Parties. In these declarations the Council emphasized that the so-called Polish Delegation to the United Nations acting on behalf of the imposed Polish Government does not express the opinion of the Polish Nation as it is an obedient tool in the hands of the occupying power. This delegation has therefore no right to speak on behalf of Poland.

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL  
OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE  
COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U. N. AND TO THE  
CHAIRMEN OF 49 DELEGATIONS TO THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE U. N., IN WHICH HE CALLS  
ATTENTION TO THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE OF  
12 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS THE RESULT OF  
SOVIET DOMINATION

*3rd October, 1947.*

Excellency,

On behalf of the independent Polish Political Parties who represent free Polish public opinion I feel it to be my duty to draw the attention of the Delegates of the United Nations General Assembly that in their debates on the world political situation and on the means safeguarding world peace they did not pay sufficient attention to the menace which the present situation in Central Europe and particularly in Poland presents to the peace of the world.

As sequence to the war recently concluded twelve European countries with a total population of about 120 millions have lost their independence and are now militarily occupied by Soviet troops, while their puppet governments are mere obedient tools of their Soviet masters.

One of these countries, Poland, has not recovered her independence in spite of the fact that she was solemnly guaranteed by treaties of alliance and in spite of her splendid war record from the first to the last day of the war.

Under the pressure of Soviet bayonets a Communist and totalitarian state is now being built up in Poland by Soviet-appointed and Soviet-trained agents by means of terrorism and oppression; and the policy of that totalitarian regime is, against the will of the Polish people, clearly directed against the free Democracies of the West.

The four freedoms and the basic human rights on which the whole United Nations Organisation is built are a dead letter in Poland. The ever increasing persecution of all Opposition strikes in practice at every independent centre of thought and opinion in Poland. Mass arrests, carefully staged political trials before military courts, numerous death sentences, long terms of imprisonment, concentration camp and deportations—this is the real picture of Poland to-day.

A similar situation prevails to-day in all Soviet occupied countries east of the Iron Curtain, which divides the Soviet Union and her zone of influence from the rest of Europe and the world.

Peace in Europe (that is to-say world peace) cannot last unless the political status of Central Europe is fundamentally altered,

and until the principles of the United Nations' Charter become a reality in that vast and important area. To bring about these changes the wellmeant U.N. Secretary General's appeals to the Great Powers to show a willingness to compromise are clearly insufficient.

The Polish people hope and trust that the United Nations Organisation will not shrink from any step which might help to restore the sovereign rights of Poland and other Central European countries, and enable them to set up free governments formed on the basis of the freely expressed will of the electorate.

Lastly, on this as on every occasion, we feel it to be our duty to stress once more that the Polish people have never acquiesced in the violation of the territorial integrity of Poland by the Soviet seizure of almost one half of Polish national territory and that they will never stop demanding the return of these territories separated from their motherland against the will of their inhabitants.

I remain, Sir,  
your obedient servant,  
*S. Modrzewski,*  
Secretary General

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LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO : GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USA, RT. HON. ERNEST BEVIN, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND MONSIEUR GEORGES BIDAULT, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE, ABOUT THE PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

*20th November, 1947.*

Your Excellency,

Following the letter of the Council of Polish Political Parties of the 28th February, 1947, I have the honour to submit to Your Excellency, on behalf of the Independent Polish Political Parties, the Polish demands in connection with the peace Treaty with Germany which is on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London.

1. No settlement of the German problem is possible unless the situation of the other states of Central-Eastern Europe is

radically altered. Actually, it is the problem of Central-Eastern Europe which provides the key to the lasting peace of Europe. It is the control of these territories first by Germany, and now by Russia, which enabled these two aggressive powers to build up, in turn, a powerful springboard for attack on the peace and security of the Western world.

After six years of German occupation of all the countries of Central-Eastern Europe—six years of ruthless exploitation of their manpower and material resources for the needs of the German war-machine—all this area, which includes also Poland has been occupied once more by Soviet Russia. It is now forcibly, rapidly and ever more thoroughly drawn into the orbit of the Bolshevik economic and political system.

2. The present state of affairs in Central-Eastern Europe is the direct result of the Teheran and Yalta war-time agreements between the "Big Three."

These agreements by which the Western Powers admitted all Soviet claims in respect of Central-Eastern Europe, gave the Soviet Union a preponderant political position and overlordship in all that area. Soviet Russia took advantage of these concessions for extending her exclusive influence in all this part of Europe, for turning it into a military advance base, and for spreading her tentacles throughout Western Europe.

In all, 12 countries (including Poland) with 120 million inhabitants, have been turned into a Soviet place d'armes. All this vast area has been politically severed from the European body and closed to every form of peaceful international intercourse.

3. The situation created by Soviet Russia in Poland and in Central-Western Europe is but a preamble to the execution of the vast Soviet schemes of world revolution. The present state of affairs in that area facilitates the work of the Communist agents in Western Europe, and in particular their efforts to spread the Communist gospel in Italy and France.

As long as this state of affairs prevails throughout Central-Eastern Europe, the economic reconstruction of Europe as a whole is impossible; and so is any lasting settlement of the German problem, the establishment of a secure and lasting peace in Europe, and the setting up of a world security system.

4. In order to secure the peace of Europe and of the world a revision of the present conditions under which Central-Eastern Europe and Poland live now, is urgently necessary: in other words all this area must be liberated from its present state of subjection and vassalage to Russia.

*A declaration by the Western Allies that all the decisions reached at Yalta are regarded as no longer binding and non-existent should be the first step taken in this direction.*

The Yalta Agreement covered the decisions concerning Poland

and other states of Central-Eastern Europe, which were taken at that meeting without the concurrence and the knowledge of the Polish Government then recognised by the Western Allies. The legal and constitutional Polish Government at once lodged a protest against the Yalta decisions, as a violation of the most vital rights and interests of Poland and as contrary to the Polish-British Treaty of Alliance of 1939 and the pledges of the Great Powers "to restore freedom and independence to the countries overrun by Germany in the course of the war."

It should be also recalled, that the Yalta decisions had merely the character of "war-time temporary measures." Furthermore these decisions were reached in the absence of the Fourth Great Power, France, who was not admitted to the Crimean Conference because she refused to recognise the Soviet appointed "Lublin Committee" as the lawful representation of Poland.

It should be also stressed that the factual situation created to-day by Soviet Russia in all countries of Central-Eastern Europe is completely at variance not merely with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter but even with the decisions and pledges entered into by the Big Three in the aforesaid agreements.

A clear proof that the Yalta agreements are a dead letter may be found in the present political trials on the Soviet model of opposition leaders in all the countries of the Soviet sphere of influence and in the judicial murders committed recently behind the Iron Curtain.

5. To save world peace the Western Powers should not hesitate to exercise the strongest pressure on Russia with a view to force her to withdraw her forces and all her police formations behind her frontiers of August 1939; and all other necessary steps should also be taken to permit the setting up of independent political regimes in the countries of Central-Eastern Europe.

6. To maintain a lasting peace in Europe, the peace conditions relating to Germany should make it impossible for her to prepare a new series of aggression, and also to take advantage of the rivalry between East and West. Both Germany and Russia should be prevented from exploiting Central-Eastern Europe for their schemes of military and economic domination.

To secure these aims, the true independence of Poland and other states of Central-Eastern Europe should be restored; only thus a true balance of power, peace and prosperity can be re-established in that part of Europe.

Further, to secure these aims and to insure the economic progress of that part of Europe within the bounds of a world economic organisation, the Western frontier of Poland should be maintained on the Oder and Western Neisse lines.

A lasting European peace can be secured only by strictly limiting the war potential of both Germany and Russia and by freeing

Poland and the other countries of Central-Eastern Europe from Russian yoke. It should be always borne in mind that Europe is and always will be threatened by the menace of a Russian-German alliance directed against the peace of the world and the security of Western Europe.

I beg to remain, Your Excellency's,  
obedient servant,

(—) *S. Modrzewski*,  
Secretary General.

LETTER SENT TO THE HON. MRS. ELEANOR  
ROOSEVELT, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION  
ON HUMAN RIGHTS, UNITED NATIONS, GENEVA.

*December 7th, 1947.*

Madam,

May I, on behalf of the independent Polish Political Parties, have the pleasure and privilege, to send you our best wishes for the successful outcome of the labours of the Commission over which you preside?

It is our earnest hope that the present session of the Commission will end in the proclamation of a Bill of Human Rights, which—with the Habeas Corpus Act, the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens at the time of the French Revolution—will become a Charter of Free Men in a Free World.

For the nations which now enjoy the blessings of Democratic Government this Bill of Human Rights will merely be an international codification of existing rights. But for the nations which like Poland live under the Eastern totalitarian regimes forcibly imposed on them, this Bill will be an enumeration of the rights of which they have been deprived.

For these nations groaning under the yoke of Soviet Russia the implementation of this Bill is by far the most important and precious problem. This is true not only of Poland but also of every other nation on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain, where, under the cover of progressive phraseology human dignity is being trampled upon and human rights most shamefully and ruthlessly violated by a reign of terror and oppression.

The only possible guarantee that this Bill of Human Rights will also be implemented in the unhappy countries behind the Iron Curtain, would be their liberation from Soviet occupation and totalitarian regimes; and then, the application of the B

should be strengthened by international control and the admission of the right of the individuals who believe themselves to be wronged to appeal for redress to the U.N. or its organs set up for this purpose.

The words which you have uttered on many occasions in the defense of human dignity and the rights to personal freedom are reflected through many millions of hearts throughout the world.

The men and women of Poland who have suffered so cruelly in the course of the war and who are still the victims of oppression and intolerance trust and hope that their lot will improve if the Bill is enacted and truly implemented.

I am, Madam,  
your obedient servant,

*St. Modrzewski,*  
Secretary General.

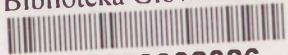


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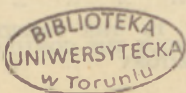
PREFACE .. .. .	5
FOREWORD .. .. .	7
APPEAL OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE POLISH NATION. .. .. .	11
LETTER OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES SENT TO THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE U.N. ASSEMBLY, TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY, TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO MR. JEBB, THE ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL OF U.N. .. .. .	14
LETTER OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, MR. H. E. TRYGVLE LIE, PROTESTING AGAINST THE CHARGES OF THE SOVIET DELEGATE, MR. VISHINSKY, ABOUT THE POLISH TROOPS IN ITALY .. .. .	17
TELEGRAM SENT BY THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO MR. ERNEST BEVIN, M. P., PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND TO MR. JAMES BYRNES, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.A., ABOUT POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER .. .. .	19
TELEGRAM SENT BY THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO MR. ERNEST BEVIN, M.P., PRINCIPAL SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN, TO MR. JAMES BYRNES, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.A., AND TO MR. GEORGES BIDAULT, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE, ABOUT TERRORISM IN POLAND .. .. .	19
TELEGRAM TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, U.S.A., AND FRANCE ABOUT THE TERRORISM DURING THE REFERENDUM VOTING IN POLAND .. .. .	20
TELEGRAM FROM THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE MONSIEUR GEORGES BIDAULT .. .. .	20
LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. REFERRING TO THEIR NOTES TO THE POLISH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN WARSAW ABOUT THE ELECTIONS IN POLAND .. .. .	22
LETTER SENT TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ERNEST BEVIN, M. P., PRINCIPAL SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN, ABOUT THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM .. .. .	24
TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO H.E. P.H. SPAAK, PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, UNITED NATIONS .. .. .	26
LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A., WITH AN ATTACHED LEGAL REVIEW ON THE POLISH ELECTORAL LAW OF 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1946 .. .. .	27
THE ELECTORAL LAW OF 22nd SEPTEMBER 1946 TO THE POLISH CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. A LEGAL REVIEW .. .. .	28
TELEGRAM SENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ABOUT THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF POLAND .. .. .	36
MEMORANDUM OF DECEMBER 12th, 1946 SENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE U.N. ABOUT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS ON POLISH TERRITORY .. .. .	37

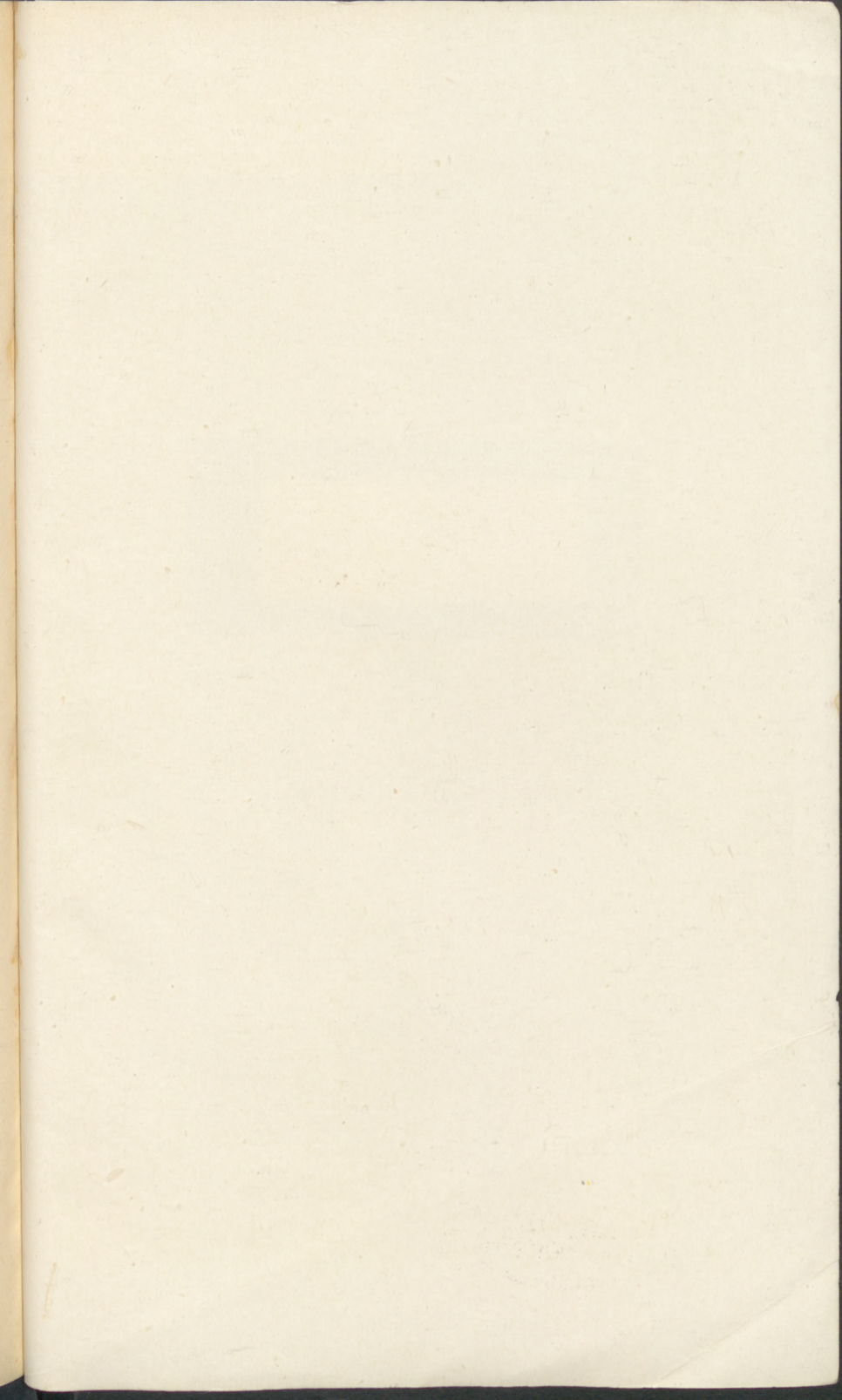
LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. — ABOUT ELECTIONS IN POLAND HELD IN JANUARY 19th 1947 .. .. .	41
LETTER AND ATTACHED SURVEY ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.N. ABOUT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS HELD IN POLAND ON JANUARY 19th, 1947 .. .. .	43
SURVEY OF POLISH ELECTIONS OF JANUARY 19th, 1947 .. .. .	45
LETTER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE U.S.A. AND FRANCE ABOUT THE PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY ..	50
TELEGRAM SENT TO MR. HARRY S. TRUMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WELCOMING THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION OF BACKING AMERICAN POLICY TO SUPPORT FREE PEOPLES RESISTING ARMED MINORITIES AND OUTSIDE PRESSURE .. .. .	53
LETTER TO GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE U.S.A. ABOUT THE WESTERN FRONTIER OF POLAND .. ..	53
TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES SENT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF U.N. AND TO THE CHAIRMEN OF 49 DELEGATIONS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE U.N., IN WHICH HE PROTESTS AGAINST A SPEECH RECENTLY DELIVERED BY MR. MODZELEWSKI .. .. .	56
LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.N. AND TO THE CHAIRMEN OF 49 DELEGATIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE U.N., IN WHICH HE CALLS ATTENTION TO THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE OF 12 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS THE RESULT OF SOVIET DOMINATION .. .. .	57
LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO: GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE U.S.A., RT. HON. ERNEST BEVIN, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND MONSIEUR GEORGES BIDAULT, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE, ABOUT THE PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY ..	58
LTTER SENT TO THE HON. MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, UNITED NATIONS, GENEVA	61

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