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**ABOUT  
THE CURZON  
LINE  
AND OTHER LINES**

By CASIMIR SMOGORZEWSKI

**Free Europe Pamphlet**

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By

CASIMIR SMOGORZEWSKI

With a Map

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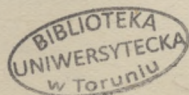
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## ABOUT THE CURZON LINE AND OTHER LINES

### I.—THE FIRST TEST

NO territorial issue existed between Poland and the Soviet Union from the time the Riga Treaty was signed on March 18, 1921, until September 17, 1939. Neither side raised territorial claims against the other during those eighteen years and the Soviet Government never complained of the frontier settlement. To-day, however, Moscow speaks of "the injustice committed by the Riga Treaty". The Polish Government, while upholding the principle that "no unilateral decisions or accomplished facts can be recognised," does not reject the possibility of a negotiated new settlement based on the real wishes of the populations concerned. There can, however, be no question of unconditional acceptance of an ultimatum. It is now clear that frontiers are no longer the main issue in the Polish-Soviet dispute. By denouncing the Polish Government in London, Moscow is implicitly criticising Britain and the United States for continuing to recognise that Government. We are now witnessing the first great test of the Grand Alliance since the Moscow and Teheran Declarations. Are these two Declarations only empty phrases to the Soviet Government? Does Moscow propose to apply in Europe autocratic methods differing but little from the Nazi ones? These questions are now being asked by the invaded and neutral countries.

\* \* \*

On January 5, a day after advance patrols of the Red Army had crossed the Polish-Soviet frontier, the Polish Government in London, as the only steward and spokesman of the Polish nation, expressed the hope that the Soviet Government would respect the rights and interests of the Polish Republic and its citizens. It considered the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries and a close collaboration of the Polish underground army with the Soviet military authorities as "highly desirable."

To this conciliatory statement the Soviet Government replied on January 11, suggesting that the "emigré" Polish Government was "isolated from its people," that it had proved "incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union," and even insinuating that it was "incapable of organising an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself." The "Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R." was held up as embodying all those virtues



which the Polish Government was said to be lacking. The declaration, however, reiterated earlier Moscow statements that the Soviet Government stood "for the re-establishment of a strong and independent Poland," though adding that such a Poland could not claim an eastern frontier based on the "injustice committed by the Riga Treaty of 1921." The declaration did not say that the line agreed upon by Molotov and Ribbentrop on September 28, 1939, was a just frontier, and suggested that the frontier could pass "approximately along the so-called Curzon Line." In the west, however, in the opinion of the Soviet Government, Poland's border "must be extended through the incorporation in Poland of ancient Polish lands previously wrested by Germany, and without which it is impossible to unite the whole Polish people in its State, which thereby will receive the necessary outlet to the Baltic sea."

On January 15 the Polish Government replied to the Soviet declaration. In its desire to safeguard "the complete solidarity of the United Nations," it considered it to be preferable to refrain now from further public discussions. The Polish Government reaffirmed its "sincere desire for a Polish-Soviet agreement on terms which would be just and acceptable to both sides," and suggested that "all outstanding questions" should be discussed between the two countries. Great Britain and the United States were asked to act as intermediaries.

The Polish suggestion for a round table conference to discuss the whole complex of problems on which the future relations of the two countries depend evoked from the Soviet Government on January 17 a statement which, in the words of a leading British periodical, was "brief and brutal." In it Poland was accused of having rejected the offer of the Curzon line. The U.S.S.R., it said, could not enter into "official negotiations" with a Government with which they had broken relations, and the "present Polish Government" did not wish to establish good neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union.

The meaning of this declaration is plain. *The Spectator* (January 21) suggests "that M. Molotov purposes to secure the overthrow of the Polish Government in London and substitute one, composed perhaps of the 'Union of Polish Patriots' in Moscow, more accordant with his own ideas." Lest any doubt should exist on that point, the Moscow correspondent of the *News Chronicle* has taken pains to dispel it. "The differences between the London Poles," he writes, "are not such as can be smoothed over. Russia believes that these Poles are aggressive Nationalists. . . . It is impossible to forecast what would be Moscow's reaction to a really radical reconstruction of the Polish Government in London. But time is getting short. . . . If agreement is not reached then the Red Army will march into Poland, restore order, hold elections, and recognise the new Government thus formed."



How this is to be reconciled with Marshal Stalin's repeatedly expressed desire for the existence of an "independent" Poland remains to be explained. This certainly does not exhibit the spirit of the Moscow Declaration, in which the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and China stated that "they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." In particular, it is not in keeping with Point 6 of the Moscow Declaration, which reassured the small countries that the Great Powers do not intend to use their armies to force their own creatures upon the liberated peoples. Nor does it speak the language of the Teheran Declaration, in which the world was told that the three Great Powers were seeking "the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

The Soviet statement of January 11 invited Poland to join the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship and mutual assistance of December 12, 1943. Clause 4 of that treaty pledges the signatories to "action which will conform to the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other." What is the world to think of the real worth of this asseveration of lofty principles in the light of the recent Soviet statements?

\* \* \*

The British press, like the British public, always sensitive to issues in which principles are at stake, reacted in a manner which revealed independence of judgment and courage.

As *The Observer* (January 23) puts it, "the parallel between the episode of Czechoslovakia in 1938 has been widely noticed." Then, too, an apparent frontier dispute was, in fact, a crisis of international confidence and security. And *The Observer* adds: "Let us be frank. If this deed is done, if the rights of Poland and the Polish Government are forcibly thrust aside, then the Declarations of Moscow and Teheran become scraps of paper."

The editors of *Tribune* (January 21) also speak out plainly. "The fact," they state, "that the Governmental coalition, which includes the Peasant Party and the Socialists, represent the Polish people cannot be seriously questioned. Nor can its close contact with the Polish underground movement be doubted." On the contrary, "Every informed student of Polish affairs knows that the 'Union of Polish Patriots' in Moscow is a completely unrepresentative body. It does not even represent Polish Communism, since the Polish Communist Party was disbanded by the Komintern some years ago." *The Tribune* concludes: "Have the ghosts of



Suvorov and Kutuzov, the heroes of Tsarist Russia, been conjured up in order that the past with its reactionary ideals of expansion at the cost of other nations should be revived, too? If so, then Russia cannot even hope ever to establish a really friendly Polish Government in Warsaw. If so, then Russian diplomacy would inevitably blot the heroic record of the Russian people—their record in war as well as in the Socialist construction before the war. As Socialists we fight the reactionary ambitions and claims of the Poles; but we must also defend Poland's right to self-determination and independence, just as we defend the rights of any other nation oppressed or threatened by oppression."

And a journal representing a totally different outlook, the *Catholic Tablet* (January 22), writes: "It is certain that Britain must stand by the Polish Government here in London now. This is the first test, in the eyes of the world, since Teheran; the example and the proof, whether the West has not surrendered eastern Europe—Greece, Jugoslavia, the satellite States, but above all Poland—to the Soviet. No such surrender was made at Teheran. The strength of the Polish diplomatic position is precisely here, that Britain cannot afford to see the Polish Government, which it recognises and respects and deals with, set aside by Stalin for such Poles as are prepared to be his servants and tools. Were we to agree, the whole world would say that the Germans were justified in their propaganda, and that we had made war on the Germans for no other ultimate, if undesired, end than to hand over Europe to the Bolsheviks."

## II.—THE SO-CALLED CURZON LINE

THE world press is referring to the so-called Curzon Line as a more or less equitable frontier between Poland and Russia, based on ethnographical principles. It is therefore worth recalling the conditions in which this line was first drawn.

\* \* \*

When the Peace Conference met in Paris in January 1919, Poland took part in it as one of those Allied Powers which the Supreme Council regarded as *puissances à intérêts limités*. The Polish Government had then established its authority in Warsaw, Poznań and Cracow, although the Polish State had no recognised frontiers. The delimitation of these frontiers was among the tasks of the Peace Conference.

In the east Poland appeared to have a good case from the legal point of view. On March 30, 1917, the provisional Russian



Government, headed by Prince Lvov and with Paul Miljukov as Foreign Minister, stated in a proclamation to the Polish nation that the Tsarist régime had been making to the Poles "hypocritical promises which it could, but would not, keep"; the new Russia, however, considered that "the creation of an independent Polish State controlling all the territories where the majority of the population consists of Poles, is a pledge of lasting peace in the renovated Europe of the future."

The Soviet Government went even further than that. On August 29, 1918, a decree signed by Lenin, Chairman of the Council of the Peoples' Commissars, and by Karakhan, Acting Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs, "annulled for ever" all the treaties concluded by Russia with Prussia and Austria in connection with the partitions of Poland. The reason given for this annulment was that the partitions were "contrary to the principles of self-determination of peoples and the revolutionary legal conception of the Russian nation, which recognises the inalienable right of the Polish nation to decide its own fate to become united".

Thus in theory Poland had a lawful claim to her historic frontiers of 1772, for Russia was voluntarily renouncing all the acts on which the partitions were based. Of course the Polish delegation to the Peace Conference did not make such demands. Already on January 29, 1918, Roman Dmowski, the principal Polish delegate, submitted to the Supreme Council the Polish views on the eastern frontiers, set out in greater detail in a note presented on March 3 to M. Jules Cambon, Chairman of the Commission on Polish Affairs. In his note Dmowski elaborated the reasons in support of his line which left with Russia an area of 120,000 square miles west of the 1772 frontier. The Dmowski Line incorporated with Poland towns like Polotsk, Borisov, Mozyr, Proskurov (Płoskirów) and Kamenets-Podolsk, leaving on the Russian side Vitebsk, Mogilev, Ovruch and Novograd-Volynsk (Zwiahel). In defining his line (*line 5 on the map*) Dmowski—as he then told me in Paris—was actuated by the desire that the future Polish State should not have more than one-third of national minorities. But he wanted to see within Poland's frontiers those lands on which Polish civilisation continued to exert a strong influence in spite of the policy of ruthless russification by the Tsarist régime. An example will illustrate this: The first parliamentary elections in the Russian Empire were held in 1906. The provinces (*gubernias*) of Wilno, Grodno and Minsk, which the Tsarist Government declared to have been Russian from time immemorial, returned to the *Duma* 17 Poles out of a total of 23 members.

\* \* \*

The Supreme Council was in no haste to decide Poland's eastern frontiers. Great Britain and France reckoned with the pos-



sibility of a Tsarist restoration and were unwilling to create difficulties by fixing a frontier which might prove inconvenient to such a régime. In fact, the representatives of old Russia, which in those days many people in Western Europe wished to see restored, were present in Paris and were even given a hearing by the Commission on Polish Affairs on the question of the future Polish-Russian frontier.\* That delegation was headed by Serge D. Sazonov, formerly Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, who, in an interview he gave me at the time, expressed himself categorically in favour of Poland's independence, but within strictly ethnographic frontiers, which in his opinion ran along the Grodno-Brześć-Bug line. The Baltic States, however, he thought should remain part of Russia. Sazonov had an ally in the Commission on Polish Affairs in the person of the Italian delegate, the Marquis della Torretta, former Ambassador in Petrograd, married to a Russified Balt baroness, Miss Barbi-Wulf.

The Versailles Treaty, signed on June 28, 1919, left Poland's eastern frontiers unsettled, but Art. 87 reserved the right of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to determine at a later date those "Polish frontiers which remain undefined in the Treaty". To obviate to some extent the inconvenience of this provisional state of affairs the Supreme Council authorised the Polish Government on December 8, 1919, to organise a regular administration within a temporary line of demarcation (*line 2 on map*) "on the territories of the former Russian Empire".

The declaration of December 8, 1919—signed by Georges Clemenceau as President of the Supreme Council—stated explicitly that the line fixed by it was a provisional minimum frontier, "without prejudice to later terms which may be designed to fix the final eastern frontier of Poland".

A detailed description of this line begins with the words: "From the point where the former frontier between Russia and Austria-Hungary meets the River Bug. . . ." Thence the line runs north to a point where the administrative limit of the district of Suwałki meets the former frontier between Russia and East Prussia. It is clear from this description that the line of December 8, 1919, did not encroach upon the territory of Galicia which before the First World War was part of the Austrian Empire.

The declaration concluded: "The eventual rights of Poland to

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\*At the beginning of 1919, a *Conférence Politique Russe* was set up in Paris by Prince Lvov, Serge D. Sazonov, Basil Maklakov, General Zěnkěvič and others. On April 9, 1919, the *Conférence* sent a Note to the President of the Peace Conference protesting against the attribution of "Russian lands" to Poland, and on May 14 all the members of the *Conférence* attended a meeting of the Commission on Polish Affairs.



territories situated east of the above-mentioned line are expressly reserved."

\* \* \*

While the Paris Peace Conference was discussing the frontiers, dramatic events were being enacted on the vast territories between the Baltic and the Black Sea. In November 1918, at the time of the collapse of the Reich in the west, German troops were still holding their front deep in Russia. They were in possession of all the Baltic States, Bělo-Russia as far as the Dnieper, the whole Ukraine, and the Caucasus. Under the terms of the armistice of November 11 the German armies had to evacuate Russia and Poland. Yet even at that dark hour of national disaster the German military commanders were doing all they could to prevent the restoration of Poland. Seeing that they had to evacuate Poland, they thought it preferable to ask the Russians to occupy the land instead of leaving it to the Poles, and as the Germans were withdrawing the Red army was advancing westward. The principles laid down in Lenin's decree of August 29, 1918, were forgotten. In November 1918, the Red army was still on the Dnieper, but by February 1919, it had moved to the gates of Brześć on the Bug. Meanwhile in Warsaw a Polish Government was formed under Joseph Piłsudski, who had just come back from the German prison in Magdeburg. Amid great enthusiasm a Polish army was organised and armed with the weapons taken from the Germans and Austrians, and the Polish forces, though small, opposed the advancing Red army. That was the beginning of the Polish-Russian war. Certain writers have repeatedly asserted that it was Poland who attacked Russia, but, as Sir Bernard Pares, who cannot be suspected of being anti-Russian, said in his *History of Russia* (third ed., p. 483): "Militant international Bolshevism urgently required contact with revolutionary Germany, and this could only be won over the body of Poland."

\* \* \*

Polish-Soviet fighting was complicated by the local Polish-Ukrainian war in Eastern Galicia. A few words must be said about this conflict to understand how the Galician extension of the Curzon Line came about.

Of the five and three-quarters of a million people of Eastern Galicia, the Poles form 36.3 per cent.; they are, however, a considerable majority in the town of Lwów itself. In the eastern districts along the Russian frontier the Poles formed a large percentage even in the villages. According to the Austrian census of 1910, the percentage of the Poles in these districts was as follows: Czortków, 39.1; Przemyślany, 39.5; Kamionka Strumiłowa, 40.3; Brzeżany,



40.9; Husiatyn, 44.2; Zbaraż, 46.7; Buczacz, 46.7; Tarnopol, 48; Tremblowla, 51; and Skalał, 52.

No wonder that the Poles were not inclined to give up these territories, with a pronounced Polish civilisation, either to Russia, Tsarist or Soviet, or to some mythical Ukraine.

Towards the end of 1918 the Austrians, though they knew that they would have to evacuate Polish territories, decided to render the restoration of a Polish State as difficult as possible by preparing an armed rising of the Ukrainian nationalists. The Austrian Governor, Count Huyn, and the Military Commander, General Pfeffer, armed the Ukrainians, who, during the night of October 31-November 1, 1918, seized Lwów and several other large towns of eastern Galicia and proclaimed an independent "Republic of the Western Ukraine". The Poles replied by organising the local Polish population into military fighting formations which at first drove the Ukrainians from part of Lwów and by November 22 freed the whole town. The fighting on the so-called Ukrainian front continued for six months. It was not until March 19, 1919, that the Supreme Council took an interest in the matter and suggested an armistice to both sides. A special armistice commission was formed under the chairmanship of General Botha of South Africa. In May General Botha suggested a demarcation line which gave most of Eastern Galicia, but *not* Lwów (*line 4 on map*), to the so-called Ukrainian Government of M. Eugene Petrušević, who had his headquarters at Stanisławów. Dmowski refused to accept this line and in May, 1919, the Polish army finally succeeded in occupying the whole province.

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers considered the following two alternatives regarding the future of Eastern Galicia:

(a) Return of the entire province to Poland, to whom it had belonged since 1340, with a kind of League of Nations' mandate for Eastern Galicia. This mandate provided for autonomy for the local Ukrainian population for twenty-five years and at the end of this term a final decision was to be taken.

(b) Division of Galicia between Poland and a small Galician-Ukrainian State.

There were two alternative demarcation lines in connection with these schemes: Line A (*see map*) running east of Przemyśl, should the whole of Eastern Galicia belong to Poland with a League of Nations' mandate; Line B running east of Lwów and Drohobycz, i.e., leaving both Lwów and the oilfields within Poland's frontiers, in the event of the creation of a Galician-Ukrainian State. The Commission on Polish Affairs in its report of April 26, 1919, and the Supreme Council at its sessions of June 18 and 25, 1919, declared themselves in favour of the first scheme. Subsequently, the resolution of the Supreme Council of June 25, 1919, authorised Poland to occupy the whole of Eastern Galicia as far as the river Zbrucz.



In the latter half of 1919, the Commission on Polish Affairs elaborated a draft of an autonomous statute for Eastern Galicia which was approved by the Supreme Council on November 21, 1919. As this draft assumed the provisional character of Polish sovereignty, the Polish Government insisted on its withdrawal. This was done by a decision of the Supreme Council of December 22, 1919.

Of the whole episode nothing remained save a memory of the three demarcation lines dividing Galicia into two parts, a Polish and an autonomous one. Mr. Lloyd George and his advisers remembered six months later that of the three lines which was the least favourable to Poland.

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At that time the Polish-Soviet front ran along the rivers Dvina and Berezina with Mozyr, and in the Ukraine the towns of Novograd-Volynsk and Starokonstantinov and Bar on the Polish side.

On January 28, 1919, the Council of Peoples' Commissars handed a peace proposal to the Polish Government. In this declaration, signed by Lenin, Čičerin and Trotski, the Soviet Government recognised "without reservation the independence and sovereignty of the Polish Republic". "The Red army," it said, "would not advance beyond the line of the front as it stands and which passes through the following points: Dryssa, Dzisna, Polotsk, Borisov, Pariči, the Ptíč railway station, Bielokoroviči, Tsudnov, Pilava, Deražnia and Bar" (*line 6 on the map*).

This peace offer meant that the Soviet Government was virtually ready to recognise the suggested armistice line as the frontier between Poland and Russia. "The Council of Peoples' Commissars," said the Moscow declaration, "considers that in so far as the real interests of Poland and Russia are concerned, there is no single question, territorial, economic or other, which could not be decided in a peaceful way by negotiation, concessions and mutual agreements."

The question the Polish Government asked itself was, "Is the Soviet proposal sincere?" The note of January 29, 1920, suggested that Moscow really meant what it said. The Polish General Staff however had received information that new divisions of the Red army were arriving at the front. Major-General (as he then was) Ironside in an article on the Russo-Polish campaign in the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. XIX, p. 765) gave the following figures: "From seven divisions in January 1920 the Soviet had by March increased the number of their troops facing the Poles to twenty divisions, with three cavalry divisions." Moreover, the Polish Government knew that Leon Trotski, who with Lenin and Čičerin signed the peace offer to Poland, had written on September 1, 1919, to the



three French Communists (Loriot, Rosmer and Péricat) : " When we have finished with Denikin we are going to attack the Poles." (*Internationale Communiste*, December 15, 1919). Discussing the situation in the fifth volume of his *World's Crisis (The Aftermath)*, pp. 265-66), Mr. Winston Churchill said : " The Poles naturally assumed that the Soviet Government was only procrastinating, and was endeavouring to create a delay in which to undermine the morale of the Polish troops and population by propoganda, while preparing for the renewed offensive."

\* \* \*

Distrust was not the only reason why the Polish Government hesitated ; there were then two different trends among the Poles regarding their policy in the east. Some favoured the incorporation of only part of the former territory of the Polish Republic and opposed federal experiments. Others thought that the moment was favourable for reviving the old " Jagellonian " plan for federation in East-Central Europe. The first policy was supported by the National Party, led by Dmowski, while the policy of federation was advocated by the Polish Socialists and Left-wing intelligentsia, then led by Piłsudski. Dmowski's argument was that federation would " weaken and paralyse " Poland ; he maintained that there was no one to federate with, for Lithuania was not interested in the scheme and an independent Ukraine was a chimera. Piłsudski however saw in federation a means of strengthening Poland ; and he believed that he would manage to reach an agreement with Lithuania. As for the Ukraine, his idea was to help the Ukrainians to achieve liberation.

In the chaos of civil war which followed on the revolution in Russia, a weak independence movement under *Ataman* Semen Petlura arose in the Ukraine. In December 1919, Petlura went to Warsaw and asked Piłsudski for help ; he declared that he had no interest in Eastern Galicia and even offered to " hand over " to Poland the districts of Włodzimierz Wołyński, Kowel and Łuck. Dmowski, the chief opponent to the scheme was then convalescing in Algeria, but Professor Stanisław Grabski, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the *Sejm*, who was the chief advocate of incorporation, warned Piłsudski that Petlura's plan was unreal and that the *Ataman* was labouring under illusion if he hoped that the arrival of the Polish army in the Ukraine would lead to a rising of the Ukrainian people. Professor Grabski warned against entangling the young Polish State in a Ukrainian adventure and counselled negotiating peace with the Soviet Government. Grabski was supported by the majority of the Foreign Affairs Committee and on March 27, 1920, M. Stanisław Patek, Polish Foreign Minister, informed the Soviet Government of Poland's readiness to negotiate and of the pre-



liminary conditions of peace. He suggested that these negotiations should be conducted at the little town of Borisov, near the front. But Čičerin, apparently under pressure of the Soviet High Command, rejected Borisov as a meeting place because it was there that Tukhačevski was concentrating his reserves for a fresh offensive. Patek insisted on Borisov, but Čičerin repeated that they could be held at any town except Borisov. This refusal to allow the negotiations to be held at Borisov confirmed Piłsudski's suspicion that an offensive was in the offing, and he decided to act first. On April 23, 1920, Piłsudski signed a Treaty of Alliance with Petlura and three days later a Polish offensive started in the Ukraine. On May 7 the Poles occupied Kiev, but at the beginning of June Tukhačevski attacked north of the Borisov sector.\*

\* \* \*

By the beginning of July the military situation had become so critical for the Poles that the Prime Minister, Władysław Grabski (brother of Stanisław), went to Spa where the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers was assembled. At a meeting on July 10 he asked for immediate help in the shape of war supplies. With the assent of the representatives of France (M. Alexandre Millerand) and Italy (Count Sforza) Mr. Lloyd George agreed to act as mediator. He declared that the Allies would help Poland if she accepted a series of conditions, one of which was :

The Polish Government agrees to initiate and sign an immediate armistice on the basis that the Polish army retires to and stands on the line fixed by the Peace Conference on December 8, 1919, as the provisional boundary of Polish administration . . . In the case of Eastern Galicia the armies to stand on the line which they reached on the date of the armistice . . .

M. Grabski agreed, and the next day, on July 11, Lord Curzon, Britain's Foreign Secretary, sent to Mr. Leslie, the British Chargé d'Affaires at Reval, a telegram which was to be forwarded to M. Čičerin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Lord Curzon made the following proposal :

That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia whereby hostilities shall be suspended. The terms of the armistice should provide on the one hand that the Polish army shall

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\* In a highly interesting booklet (*The Polish-Soviet Frontier*, London, 1943) Professor Stanisław Grabski expresses his belief in the sincerity of Piłsudski. "I was decidedly opposed to Piłsudski's offensive against Kiev," he writes, "and afterwards, at the time of his *coup d'état* in 1926, I fought against him. But I must do justice to his memory. Piłsudski's doubts as to the sincerity of the Soviet peace proposals at that time were well-founded, and it is not right to accuse him of imperialist designs of conquest. He was in truth a chivalrous defender of 'our and your freedom'."



(1) Political frontiers before 1914.

(2) Demarcation line of December 8, 1919. This line was accepted by the Supreme Council in Spa on July 10, 1920, as a basis for a decision with regard to the Polish-Soviet Armistice ("Curzon Line").

(3) Two variants (A and B) of the demarcation lines between Poland and Eastern Galicia proposed by the Commission on Polish Affairs at the Peace Conference in June 1919.

(4) The Polish-Ukrainian Armistice line proposed by a special Commission under the chairmanship of General Botha in May 1919.

(5) Polish-Russian frontier suggested by Roman Dmowski on March 3, 1919.

(6) The Polish-Russian Armistice line proposed by Lenin, Čičerin and Trotski on January 29, 1920.

(7) The Polish frontiers established by the Peace Treaties of Versailles (June 28, 1919) in the West and of Riga (March 18, 1921) in the East.

(8) The Russian-German demarcation line fixed by a Treaty signed in Moscow on September 28, 1939, by M. Molotov and von Ribbentrop.





immediately withdraw to the line provisionally laid down last year (1919) by the Peace Conference as the eastern boundary within which Poland was entitled to establish a Polish administration. This line runs approximately as follows: Grodno, Wapówka, Niemirów, Brześć-nad-Bugiem (Brest-Litovsk), Dorohusk, Uściąg, east of Hrubieszów, Kryłów and thence west of Rawa Ruska, east of Przemyśl to the Carpathians . . . In Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line which they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice.

There is an obvious disparity between the text of the Declaration of December 8, 1919 and the text of the Agreement concluded with Poland in Spa on July 10, 1920 on the one hand, and the telegram sent to Moscow by Lord Curzon on the other hand. It is unexplained why this telegram, differing from the above-mentioned documents, extended the original demarcation line of December 8, 1919, through Galicia "west of Rawa Ruska, east of Przemyśl, to the Carpathians". This mistake could not, however, have any practical bearing since the final passage of Lord Curzon's telegram stated that "in Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line which they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice". Yet, at that time, the Polish-Russian front was beyond the river Zbrucz, that is not east of Przemyśl, but outside of Eastern Galicia.

How are we to explain this discrepancy in Lord Curzon's telegram? The official who drafted the despatch must have been familiar with the discussions on the future of Eastern Galicia which took place throughout 1919 in the Commission on Polish affairs of the Peace Conference and in the Supreme Council. He revived the Line A (*see Line 3 on the map*), and, in violation of the agreement signed with M. Grabski, added it on to the Demarcation line of December 8, 1919. That was the origin of the so-called Curzon Line and of the fiction, which still persists, that the "Curzon Line" extended into Galicia.

Moscow rejected the British proposal and insisted that Poland should negotiate direct with the Soviet Government. However, in his note of July 18, 1920, Čičerin, the Foreign Commissar, expressed his Government's "willingness to agree to a territorial frontier more favourable for the Polish people than the one indicated by the Supreme Council in December 1919."

Speaking of this note in the House of Commons, on July 21, Mr. Lloyd George said :

"As far as I can understand . . . they say they are willing to negotiate with Poland. . . . Far from complaining of the boundaries which we fixed for Poland, they say we have treated Poland very badly. They want to give more to Poland than we indicated, and they are prepared to consider an armistice in a friendly spirit."

On August 10 Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons that Britain was in no position to help Poland and had



advised the Polish Government to negotiate direct with Moscow. Mr. Lloyd George had heard of the Soviet terms from the two Soviet delegates in London, MM. Kamenev and Krassin. These were some of the conditions :—

Art. IV.—Poland will demobilise her army to 50,000 men. For the maintenance of order a citizens' militia of workmen will be formed.

Art. VII.—The manufacture of arms and war material in Poland is prohibited.

Art. XVI.—Poland undertakes to give land for the families of her citizens killed, wounded or incapacitated in the war.

“ Thus,” writes Mr. Churchill in *The Aftermath* (p. 270), “ under a fair seeming front of paper concessions about independence, frontiers and no indemnities, the Soviets claimed nothing less than the means to carry out a Bolshevik revolution in a disarmed Poland.”

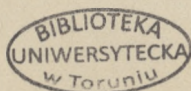
Meanwhile the front had changed completely. The Polish army was victorious before Warsaw and compelled the Red army to retreat. Poland was saved. But not only Poland. “ By attacking Poland,” said Lenin in Moscow on October 8, 1920 (*Sobranje Sočinenij*, XVII, p. 334), “ we are attacking also the Allies. By destroying the Polish army we are destroying the Versailles Peace upon which rests the whole system of present international relations.”

\* \* \*

On September 21, 1920, the Polish-Soviet Peace Conference opened at Riga. On October 5 an agreement was reached between MM. Jan Dąbski and Adolf Joffe, the Chairmen of the two delegations, on the future Polish-Soviet frontier (*line 7 on the map*) and on October 12 a preliminary peace was signed. The final peace treaty was concluded on March 18, 1921. Joffe, the leader of the Soviet delegation, then said that it gave “ full satisfaction to the vital, legitimate and necessary interests of the Polish nation ”.

*Bołšaja Sovietskaja Entsiklopedija* (The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia), an official publication of the Soviet State Institute in Moscow, contains in the 1940 edition (vol. 46, p. 247) an article on the Polish-Soviet War of 1920. That article says that when the Riga Peace Treaty was being negotiated the Soviet Government wanted to give Poland a frontier drawn much further east, but Poland declined that offer.

“ On March 18, 1921, the Treaty of Peace was signed,” says the Soviet Encyclopaedia. “ In accordance with its provisions, Poland kept Galicia and a part of White Ruthenia. However, the new Soviet-Polish frontier was far less advantageous for the White Poles than the one which was proposed to Poland by the Soviet Government in January 1920 ; the frontier determined after the Polish-Soviet war runs 50 to 100 kilometres to the west of the line





which was suggested at the beginning of the war. This means that Soviet Russia emerged victorious even from this struggle against the forces of counter-revolution."

Poland's eastern frontier as fixed at Riga was recognised by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan by a decision of the Ambassador's Conference in Paris on March 15, 1923. The decision was signed by Mr. (now Sir) Eric Phipps, M. Raymond Poincaré, Baron Romano Avezana and Mr. Matsuda. It was also recognised by the United States on April 5, 1923.

\* \* \*

Summing up, the position is as follows:

(1) The demarcation line of December 8, 1919, as fixed by the Supreme Council, applied only to territories of the former Russian Empire. The Supreme Council then authorised Poland to establish a regular civil administration west of that line, at the same time reserving Poland's right to the territories east of it.

(2) Neither the so-called Curzon Line of July 11, 1920, nor its prototype of December 8, 1919, prejudged the future of Eastern Galicia, which never formed part of Russia.

(3) Lord Curzon's suggestion was rejected by the Soviet Government who, in a telegram of July 18, 1920, expressed "its willingness to agree to a territorial frontier more favourable for the Polish people than the frontier indicated by the Supreme Council in December 1919."

(4) The question of Poland's Eastern frontiers was finally settled by the Polish-Russian Peace Treaty signed in Riga on March 18, 1921. The frontier fixed in that treaty was recognised by Great Britain and France on March 15, 1923, and by the United States on April 5, 1923.

### III.—THE SO-CALLED PLEBISCITE IN EASTERN POLAND

THE Red army occupied the Eastern provinces of Poland between September 17 and 21, 1939, when the whole Polish army was still engaging the German invader. On September 28, 1939, an agreement was concluded between the German and the Soviet Governments proclaiming "the collapse of the former Polish State" and partitioning the country between Russia and Germany. Three weeks after the entry of the Soviet forces into Poland, on October 6, 1939, the Soviet Government ordered elections to



“People’s Assemblies” in “Western White Ruthenia and Western Ukraine”. Three weeks later these Assemblies voted the incorporation of Eastern Poland in the U.S.S.R.

By means of these elections, which were described as “plebiscites” only later, the Soviet Government attempted to justify its aggression and the violation of its freely contracted pledges to Poland, contained in a number of international treaties. Over a period of several years in several declarations the Soviet Government expressed its desire to maintain good neighbourly relations with Poland and its *attitude bienviellante* in the event of a German-Polish war. Assurances to that effect were repeated during the last few months before the war and even in the first days of the war. They were given by M. Potëmkin, Soviet Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, during his visit to Warsaw on May 10, 1939, by M. Molotov on May 31, 1939, by M. Šaronov, the Soviet Ambassador to Poland, on September 3, 1939.

The Soviet Government attempted to create a legal basis to justify the annexation of Eastern Poland by the resolution of the “People’s Assemblies”, demanding the incorporation of Eastern Poland in the U.S.S.R.

M. Molotov in his note to the Polish Government of September 17, 1939, gave three reasons why his Government decided to march into Poland. They were: (1) the collapse of the Polish state and its Government; (2) the necessity of protecting White Ruthenia and Ukraine, and (3) the desire to free the Polish people from the horrors of war, and assure to it a peaceful existence. All three were glaring violations of the Pact on the Definition of the Aggressor, signed in London on July 3, 1933, on the initiative of the Soviet Government. Article 3 of that pact reads: “No political, military, economic or other considerations may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression.”

The argument that the Polish State had collapsed was untrue, for at the time the Soviet note was handed to the Polish Ambassador, the President and Government of the Polish Republic were still on Polish territory, the Polish administration was still enforcing law and order in that part of Poland not yet occupied by Germany and the Polish forces continued to resist the German advance. The Soviet Union recognised the legality of the Polish Government when it entered into negotiations with it and concluded the Treaty of July 30, 1941.

The second argument that it was necessary to protect the Polish, White Ruthenian and Ukrainian populations was contrary not only to the actual facts, but also to the Soviet political theory, which says that “aggression could never be justified by racial affinity”.\*

\* *History of the All-Union Communist Party*, Moscow, 1938, chapter on the Austrian *Anschluss*, p. 317.



Thus the arguments used in Molotov's note provided no legal basis for the elections to the People's Assemblies which were to decide the incorporation of Eastern Poland in the Soviet Union. By ordering elections the Soviet Government also violated the laws defining the rights of occupying Powers. The *Great Soviet State Encyclopedia* of 1939 admits that these rights are based on the Hague Convention of 1907 about war on land, and they are limited to the right of administering occupied territory and do not entail the right to alter its legal status. The occupying Power is not entitled to violate the sovereign rights of the State owning the occupied territory, nor is it permitted to force the inhabitants of this territory to act contrary to their duties as subjects of the country whose territory has been occupied. It may be added that the Soviet Government in its note on German atrocities quoted the Hague Convention, thus recognising its binding force.

The elections were not free. The preparatory work to them consisted in breaking up all the independent political parties and suppressing the free press. Every centre of potential opposition was "liquidated". Thousands of men and women were arrested and deported to the interior of Russia. Among them were people of every political group and representatives of the non-Polish minorities, including Ukrainians.

In addition to these measures, the presence of 700,000 Soviet soldiers, making a proportion of one soldier to every eighteen inhabitants, could not fail to affect the vote. The Red army took a prominent part in the administration of the country and the organisation of the elections. The polling was controlled by the Soviet authorities and the G.P.U. The Soviet régime is a dictatorship, theoretically of the proletariat, but in actual fact of the leaders of the Communist Party, the only recognised party. In Russia there can be no opposition at the elections, and the result is decided beforehand by the Party machine. Stalin himself described the Soviet electoral procedure as a "series of tricks by which delegates are appointed by a small clique in power afraid to lose its own position".\*

Polling day was fixed by the commanders of the White Ruthenian (Kovalev) and Ukrainian (Timošenko) fronts on October 22; these orders were posted on October 6, and the People's Assemblies were to meet on October 26.

On October 21, 1939, the Polish Government sent a note of protest to all Allied and neutral countries, stating that plebiscites carried out by an occupying Power are contrary to international law. The note added that the Polish Government considered the plebiscite null and void and would not recognise it.

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\* I. V. STALIN: *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1933, p. 164. In this case all the candidates were appointed by the authorities and no opposition was tolerated.



The "law" on the election to the Ukrainian National Assembly and a similar one for "Western White Ruthenia" were doubly illegal: first, the occupying Power had no right to issue them, and secondly, the authority under which these "laws" were promulgated was not revealed. Moreover, the purpose of convening the People's Assembly was not revealed in the decree ordering the election or in the "law" of this Assembly. During the elections the electors were not officially told that they were supposed to show whether they agreed to or rejected incorporation in the U.S.S.R. Thus the People's Assemblies had never obtained a mandate from the people to demand the incorporation of Eastern Poland into the U.S.S.R.

Furthermore, the "law" contained a number of practical provisions which greatly facilitated the achievement of the result desired by its sponsors:

(1) If we assume that these elections were a plebiscite then it was a plebiscite in three stages:

(a) The candidates to the town and rural councils were selected by the administrative authorities.

(b) The people voted for these candidates.

(c) These candidates voted for incorporation in the U.S.S.R.

(2) The single party principle excluded the possibility of putting up opposition candidates.

(3) The "law" did not specify how the electoral colleges should be constituted.

(4) The short notice at which the elections were to be held—in practice twelve days—made it impossible to prepare registers of electors, divide the country into electoral districts, and select electoral colleges.

It should be added that the right to vote was not restricted to residents in a district only; people from other parts of the country were allowed to vote.

The electoral colleges, whether central or district, consisted mostly of Soviet citizens, soldiers as well as civilians. Thus, for example, M. S. Hrečukha, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R., and A. J. Kornijčuk, just appointed Ukrainian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, were members of the central electoral college of "Western Ukraine"; and N. J. Natalevič, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bělo-Russian Soviet Republic, Mrs. N. G. Grekova, another member of that party, and A. T. Pankov were members of the central electoral college for "White Ruthenia". (*Izvestia*, October 11 and 12, 1939). Reports of Russian citizens who took part in these elections in 27 counties show that Soviet citizens, often in uniform, sat on the electoral colleges. Reports from other countries give details of the methods employed during the elections. They show that a good deal of terrorist pressure was used when the registers of



electors were compiled. Soviet policemen made a round of the houses, ordering people to enter their names on the electoral register, and threatening reprisals for those who would not obey them.

With a few exceptions, there was only one candidate in every constituency, and the voters could show their dissent only by crossing out the name of the candidate printed on their voting card. But to cross out a candidate's name was to court reprisals, for the voting cards were numbered and it was easy to identify the dissenter.

In "Western Ukraine" there were 1,500 candidates for 1,495 constituencies, and in "Western White Ruthenia" only 921 (*sic*!) candidates for 927 constituencies. (*Pravda*, October 22, 1939.) Neither Polish citizenship nor domicile were the required qualification of a candidate. M. Molotov and Marshal Vorošilov, for example, were candidates in Krzemieniec. In other constituencies the Secretary of the Soviet Bělo-Russian Communist Party, the Commander of the Bělo-Russian front, the chairman of the Bělo-Russian Soviet Republic and other Soviet officials were the candidates. There were very few candidates of Polish nationality. The *Pravda* of October 22 stated that out of a total of 921 candidates in "Western White Ruthenia" there were 110 Poles, i.e. 11.9 per cent., while the Polish population of that area represented 49 per cent. of the total; in "Western Ukraine," where Poles formed 36.2 per cent. of the total population, there were 402 Polish candidates, i.e. 27.1 per cent. of the total population (*Izvestia*, November 21, 1939). In the province of Nowogródek, where the Polish population represented 52.4 per cent. of the total, there were only 5 Poles out of a total of 225 candidates, i.e. 2.2 per cent. In the province of Stanisławów there were 4 Poles out of a total of 313 candidates, although the Poles represented 22.1 per cent. of the total population. This shows to what an extent the delegates were unrepresentative of the local population.

The election campaign was carried out by a whole army of agents from the U.S.S.R. A prominent part in this campaign was taken by high officials of Soviet Ukraine and Bělo-Russia, for instance by M. Khruščev and M. Ponomarenko, the Secretaries of the Ukrainian and Bělo-Russian Communist parties.

In spite of terrorism and pressure the Polish people carried on an underground propaganda urging abstention from the polls. Indeed the Soviet Press often complained of it.

According to *Pravda*, the official Soviet organ (October 25, 1939) more than 9 per cent. voted against the candidates, that is to say, some 600,000 people. The paper admitted that in thirteen constituencies no delegates were chosen because they failed to receive more than 50 per cent. of the votes. A British press agency on November 7, 1939, reported that only 25 per cent. of the population



voted in the villages and in the towns less than 50 per cent. But according to official Soviet figures 92.83 per cent. of the electorate of Western Ukraine took part in the election, and 90.93 per cent. of these voted for the candidates. The respective figures in "Western White Ruthenia" were 96.71 and 90.67 per cent.

The Communist character of these two People's Assemblies was obvious from the first meeting which took place in Lwów on October 26 and in Białystok on October 28. It was expressed in the speeches of the delegates and in the four declarations accepted in both Assemblies unanimously. The first introduced the Communist system, the second voted the incorporation in the U.S.S.R., and the two others decreed the confiscation of land, property, town houses, banks, industries and mines. The question of seceding from Poland was not debated by these Assemblies. The unanimity with which these Assemblies voted was proof that their decisions were not the expression of the free will of the people of Eastern Poland. For the local people were strongly anti-Communist, while the delegates were Communists.

To sum up, the position was this: The elections were not free, but carried out under very strong pressure by the Soviet police during the registration of the electors. The electoral colleges were appointed by the Soviet authorities, and the local population was not represented on them. The candidates, too, were appointed by the authorities and not by the peoples' representatives. During the polling all votes were checked. People considered hostile could not vote because they were imprisoned or deported. Some 2,000,000 people were thus deprived of the opportunity to vote. The Assemblies were forced to carry unanimously important decisions. There was no free press and no foreign correspondents were allowed to go to Eastern Poland during the Soviet occupation.

#### IV.—DOCUMENTS

*The Polish Government issued the following declaration on January 5, 1944:*

In their victorious struggle against the German invader the Soviet forces are reported to have crossed the frontier of Poland. This fact is another proof of the breaking down of the German resistance and it foreshadows the inevitable military defeat of Germany.

It fills the Polish nation with the hope that the hour of liberation is drawing near. Poland was the first nation to take up the German challenge, and it has been fighting against the invaders for over four years at the cost of tremendous sacrifices and sufferings without producing a single quisling, and rejecting any form of compromise or collaboration with the aggressor.

The underground movement, among its many activities, concentrated upon attacking the Germans in their most sensitive spots, upon sabotage



in every possible form, and on the carrying out of many death sentences on German officials whose conduct had been particularly outrageous.

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

There is no country in the world where Poles have not contributed to furthering the common cause. The Polish nation, therefore, is entitled to expect full justice and redress as soon as it is set free from enemy occupation. The first condition of such justice is the earliest re-establishment of Polish sovereign administration in the liberated territories of the Republic of Poland and the protection of life and property of Polish citizens.

The Polish Government as the only legal steward and spokesman of the Polish nation recognised by Poles at home and abroad, as well as by allied and free Governments, is conscious of the contribution of Poland to the war, and is responsible for the fate of the nation. It affirms its indestructible right to independence, confirmed by the principles of the Atlantic Charter, common to all the United Nations, and by binding international treaties. The provisions of those treaties, based on the free agreement of the parties, not on the enforcement of the will of one side to the detriment of the other, cannot be revised by accomplished facts.

The conduct of the Polish nation in the course of the present war has proved that it has never recognised, and will not recognise, solutions imposed by force. The Polish Government expects that the Soviet Union, sharing its views as to the importance of future friendly relations between the two countries in the interests of peace, and with a view to preventing German revenge, will not fail to respect the rights and interests of the Polish Republic and its citizens.

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

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

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

\* \* \*

*On January 11, T.A.S.S. (the Soviet News Agency) published the following statement on behalf of the Soviet Government :*

A declaration of the émigré Polish Government in London on the



question of Soviet-Polish relations was published on January 5. It contains a number of incorrect assertions, including one about the Soviet-Polish frontier.

As is known, the Soviet constitution established the Soviet-Polish border in accordance with the will of the population of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, expressed in a plebiscite which was carried out on a wide democratic basis in 1939. The territories of Western Ukraine, in which Ukrainians constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, were incorporated in Soviet Ukraine, and the territories of Western White Russia, in which White Russians constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, were incorporated in Soviet White Russia.

The injustice committed by the Riga Treaty of 1921, which was imposed upon the Soviet Union in regard to the Ukrainians inhabiting Western Ukraine, and the White Russians inhabiting Western White Russia, was in this way rectified. The incorporation of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia in the Soviet Union not only did not violate the interests of Poland, but, on the contrary, created a reliable basis for a solid and permanent friendship between the Polish people and the neighbouring Ukrainian, White Russian, and Russian peoples.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared that it stands for the re-establishment of a strong and independent Poland and for friendship between the Soviet Union and Poland. The Soviet Government once again declares that it is seeking to establish friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Poland on the basis of solid good neighbourly relations and mutual respect, and—if the Polish people so desire—on the basis of an alliance of mutual assistance against the Germans as the main enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland. The realisation of this task could be served by Poland's joining the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war collaboration.

The success of Soviet troops on the Soviet-German front every day hasten the liberation of the occupied territories of the Soviet Union from the German invaders. The self-sacrificing struggle of the Red army and the developing military operations of our allies bring nearer the utter defeat of the Hitlerite war-machine and the liberation of Poland and other peoples from the yoke of the German invaders.

The "Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R." and the Polish army corps, formed by them, which is operating at the front against the Germans hand-in-hand with the Red army, are already in this struggle for liberation. There opens up at present the possibility of the regeneration of Poland as a strong and independent State. But Poland must be reborn, not by means of the seizure of Ukrainian and White Russian lands, but through the restoration to Poland of lands which belonged to her from time immemorial and which were wrested from Poland by the Germans. Only in this way would it be possible to establish trust and friendship between the Polish, Ukrainian, White Russian and Russian peoples.

Poland's eastern frontiers can be established by agreement with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government does not regard the 1939 frontiers as immutable. These frontiers can be modified in Poland's favour so that areas in which the Polish population forms the majority can be turned over to Poland.



In this case the Soviet-Polish frontier could pass approximately along the so-called Curzon Line, which was adopted in 1919 by the Supreme Council of Allied Powers and which provides for the inclusion of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia in the Soviet Union.

Poland's western borders must be extended through the incorporation in Poland of ancient Polish land previously wrested by Germany and without which it is impossible to unite the whole Polish people in its State, which thereby will receive the necessary outlet to the Baltic Sea. The just aspirations of the Polish people for their reunion in a strong and independent State must receive recognition and support.

The émigré Polish Government, isolated from its people, has proved incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. It has also proved incapable of organising an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself. Furthermore, by its incorrect policy it not infrequently plays into the hands of the German invaders.

However, the interests of Poland and the Soviet Union lie in the establishment of solid friendly relations between our countries, and in the people of Poland and the Soviet Union uniting in the struggle against the common external enemy, as is demanded by the common cause of all the Allies.

\* \* \*

*In reply to the Soviet Government statement, the Polish Government published the following declaration on January 15:*

(1) The Polish Government have taken cognisance of the declaration of the Soviet Government contained in the Tass communiqué of January 11, which was issued as a reply to the declaration of the Polish Government of January 5.

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

(3) While the Polish Government cannot recognise unilateral decisions or accomplished facts which have taken place or might take place on the territory of the Polish Republic, they have repeatedly expressed their sincere desire for a Polish-Soviet agreement on terms which would be just and acceptable to both sides.

(4) To this end the Polish Government are approaching the British and United States Governments with a view to securing through their intermediacy the discussion by the Polish and Soviet Governments, with the participation of the British and American Governments, of all outstanding questions, the settlement of which should lead to friendly and permanent co-operation between Poland and the Soviet Union. The Polish Government believes this to be desirable in the interest of the victory of the United Nations and harmonious relations in post-war Europe.

\* \* \*

*On January 17 the Government of the U.S.S.R. published the following rebuff:*

(1) In the Polish declaration the question of the recognition of the



“Curzon Line” as the Soviet-Polish frontier is entirely evaded and ignored; which can only be interpreted as a rejection of the “Curzon line”.

(2) As regards the Polish Government's proposal for the opening of official negotiations between it and the Soviet Government, the Soviet Government is of opinion that this proposal aims at misleading public opinion, for it is easy to understand that the Soviet Government is not in a position to enter into official recognitions with a Government with which diplomatic relations have been broken. Soviet circles wish that it should be borne in mind that diplomatic relations with the Polish Government were broken off through the fault of that Government because of its active participation in the hostile, anti-Soviet, slanderous campaign of the German invaders in connection with the alleged murders in Katyn.

(3) In the opinion of Soviet circles the above-mentioned circumstances once again demonstrate that the present Polish Government does not desire to establish good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union.

## V.—STATISTICAL APPENDIX

(Figures based on the Polish census of 1931)

### (1) TERRITORY BETWEEN THE FRONTIER OF RIGA AND THE RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV LINE :

*Area* : 77,600 sq. miles.

<i>Population</i>	..	..	..	..	13,220,000.
Poles	..	..	..	..	5,274,000 (40 per cent.).
Ukrainians	..	..	..	..	4,530,000 (36.7 per cent.).
White-Ruthenians	..	..	..	..	1,624,000 (12.4 per cent.).
Jews	..	..	..	..	1,109,000 (8.4 per cent.).

### (2) TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV LINE AND THE SO-CALLED CURZON LINE (approximately) :

*Area* : 9,800 sq. miles.

<i>Population</i>	..	..	..	..	1,250,000.
Poles	..	..	..	..	1,000,000 (80 per cent.).
Ukrainians	..	..	..	..	40,000 (3.2 per cent.).
White-Ruthenians	..	..	..	..	60,000 (4.8 per cent.).
Jews	..	..	..	..	150,000 (12 per cent.).

### (3) TERRITORY OF AUTONOMOUS EASTERN GALICIA AS SUGGESTED BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL IN 1919 (approximately) :

*Area* : 12,800 sq. miles.

<i>Population</i>	..	..	..	..	5,750,000.
Poles	..	..	..	..	2,074,000 (36.3 per cent.).
Ukrainians	..	..	..	..	2,910,000 (51 per cent.).
Jews	..	..	..	..	519,000 (9 per cent.).



(4) TERRITORY BETWEEN THE CURZON LINE AND THE FRONTIER OF RIGA  
(without Eastern Galicia) :*Area* : 55,000 sq. miles.

<i>Population</i>	.. .. .	6,220,000.
Poles	.. .. .	2,200,000 (35.5 per cent.).
Ukrainians	.. .. .	1,580,000 (28.7 per cent.).
White-Ruthenians	.. .. .	1,564,000 (28.4 per cent.).
Jews..	.. .. .	440,000 (8 per cent.).

Out of 1,263,300 inhabitants in the province of Wilno, 845,700 (66.9 per cent.) are Poles. In the town of Wilno, out of the 195,100 inhabitants 128,600 (67.3 per cent.) are Poles, 54,600 (29.4 per cent.) Jews, and only 2,000 Lithuanians.

Out of 312,200 inhabitants of Lwów, 198,200 (64 per cent.) are Poles, 75,300 (24 per cent.) Jews, and 35,100 (11 per cent.) Ukrainians.

Most of the Ukrainians in the territory (3) are Greek-Catholics ; all the Ukrainians in (4) are Orthodox.



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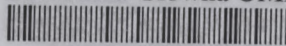
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