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ADAM WOLMAR

THE CRIMEAN DIKTAT MUST BE ANNULLED

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A MATTER THAT DOES NOT CONCERN ONLY POLAND!

Poles who are able to express their thoughts freely look upon the decisions affecting the future of their country taken at the Crimea Conference as representing the *liquidation of the sovereign Polish State*.

Why?

Do not these decisions, announced on the 12th of February, speak of a „Strong and independent Poland”?

Do not these decisions envisage the imminent formation of a Polish Government, described as a “Provisional Government of National Unity”?

Why, then, should Poles who are not under foreign domination, — those in free and democratic countries — declare openly, and those in Polish territory express secretly, their opinion that the decisions taken by the Big Three are tantamount to a *fifth partition* of their country?

You who read these lines, pray consider the following facts: Try to be objective in your appreciation of this turn of events, which the unfortunate Polish nation in its sixth year of suffering has taken as the supreme tragedy of its chequered history. To you we say: This supreme tragedy of the Polish nation, sanctioned by the signatures of the two powerful Anglo-Saxon democracies, at the behest of Soviet might, is not a matter that concerns only Poland. For, if such a policy of injustice, of abrogating solemn international undertakings, of the submission of right to might, is to triumph after five years of the bloodiest struggle in history — the application of such policy will not be confined to dealings with the Polish nation alone, nor will it be limited to actions affecting the disposal solely of Polish territory. The moral is obvious: if pursued further this policy will engulf other nations, other states and will eventually bring about a situation in which noone will continue to place any value in noble ethical pronouncements and solemn declarations, a situation in which noone will trust any longer in the honouring of international undertakings and in the respecting by the great empires of the sovereign rights of the small nations.

But, dear reader, it is not to your emotions that we want to appeal. We want you take the trouble to study the facts objectively — facts that speak for themselves, facts that accuse...

THE WORLD WOULD NOT LOOK AS IT DOES TO-DAY

This war is being waged by the Allies against Germany. The first country to stand up to the Germans and thereby to force a decision about a war to be waged against the totalitarian structure of Germany, was Poland.

On 1st September 1939 Poland took up arms against Nazi aggression. Three days later Great Britain and France decided on the same step.

Nearly two years later, as the result of German aggression, Soviet Russia entered the war. A proposal to wage a preventive war against the Third Reich was first made to the democracies by Poland in 1936, soon after Hitler climbed into power. It was proposed a second time in 1936 after the re-militarisation of the Rhineland. Had the western democracies acted on this Polish initiative in 1933 or even in 1936, the world would not look as it does to-day. The as yet incompletely armed Germany could not then have exterminated tens of millions of European inhabitants. Unfortunately for the whole world Poland's initiative was not taken up. As late as October 1938 endeavours were made to pacify Hitler. This short-sighted policy led to Munich... Prior to September 1939, without aid of any of the mighty democratic nations, Poland was unable to wage a preventive war on Germany. *Prior to 1939 in her initiative to wage a preventive war on Nazi Germany Poland stood alone!* Only as late as August 25, 1939, i. e. six days before the outbreak of German-Polish war, an agreement was signed in London between the Polish Republic and Great Britain guaranteeing support and assistance in the event of aggression. It ought to be stated however, that in official Polish statements preceding the outbreak of the Polish-German war, it was quite clearly underlined that in the event of aggression on the part of Germany, the Polish nation would have to resist even if no help would be forthcoming from the mighty western democracies.

POLAND — A VICTIM OF LOYALTY TO THE U.S.S.R.

In relating the facts it must be stressed that in the period between 1935 and 1939, the German Government proposed to the Polish Government on several occasions a joint war expedition against the Soviets. The Polish Government consistently rejected these proposals. It is an established fact that the Polish attitude opposed to German proposals for a joint attack on the Soviets became the direct cause of the German attack on Poland. Poland was a natural barrier in the path of German efforts of aggression against the Soviets. *Poland fell victim to the German assault as the result of her loyalty to the Soviet Union and as the result of her not giving up when faced with pressure on the part of Nazi Germany.* The English political writer, H. W. Henderson states: "The best proof of the good will which animated Poland in her attitude towards Soviet Russia is the fact that from 1935 onwards Poland repeatedly rejected German proposals for common attack against the USSR. The rejection of those propositions in conjunction with the firm opposition of the entire Polish nation to all German plans of aggression became one of the principal causes of the German attack of September 1st 1939, since Poland's attitude made it impossible for the Third Reich to carry out the attack she was planning against Soviet Russia". It is thus an obvious and undeniable fact, that *Poland was the first to draw the attention of the world to the necessity of preventive war against Germany, that Poland was the first to reply to German demands and aggressions by arms, that Poland over a number of years was opposed to plans for*

a joint expedition against USSR, that Poland because of the attitude she had taken became the first victim of the war.

FROM RIGA TO... MUNICH

It is obvious that Poland had reasons for warning the world of German danger and had no reason to take part in any action whatsoever directed against the interests of the Soviets. The relations between Poland and the Soviet Union were, both formally and in fact, — friendly. After the October Revolution the Council of People's Commissars announced the annulment of all legislation concerning the partitions of Poland. (Announcement of the Council of People's Commissars dated 22.8.1918). In a treaty signed on 18th March 1921 in Riga between the Polish Republic and the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics, the definitive frontiers between the parties to the treaty were determined. Article 2 of the Treaty of Riga states that the border had been drawn in accordance with the principle of „National self-determination". The borderline drawn then did not tally with the then Polish possibilities.

The borderline left on the Russian side about one million Polish inhabitants. Under the Treaty of Riga Poland renounced her rights to nearly 300,000 sq. kilometres of territory which belonged to her before the partitions. The Soviet Government itself suggested to Poland in April 1920 the shifting of the frontier eastwards by tens of kilometres thus making it much more favourable to Poland. In the Great Russian Encyclopaedia even in its edition of 1940 (published by the State Institute, Moscow) vol. XLVI page 247, in a paragraph dedicated to the Treaty of Riga, we read: "The new Polish-Soviet border is less favourable to Poles than that proposed to Poland by the Soviet Government in April 1920. The frontier drawn after the Polish-Soviet war runs 50 to 100 kms. to the west of the line which Russia offered to Poland at the beginning of the war. This means that Soviet Russia emerged victoriously from that struggle..." In order to dispel all doubts concerning the existence of any claims whatsoever on the part of Russia against Poland in the territorial sphere before the German-Soviet understanding of September 1939, it is worth while to quote the words of the Chairman of the Soviet delegation to the Riga Conference, Joffe: The Soviet delegate declared verbatim: "Here in Riga we have been negotiating peace in peace. None of the peace treaties concluded by Russia contains the elements of a new war, for none of them leaves any problems unsolved, or solved on the basis of the supremacy of one contracting party, as used to be done before at the expense of certain nations concluding such treaties". *In accordance with an official Soviet statement there were no unsolved problems between Poland and the USSR. The relations between the two countries, based on the principles of the Treaty of Riga, were developing to the satisfaction of both parties.* For the Polish Republic was one of the first states to recognise the Soviet Government de jure. For Poland was one of the first to conclude a mutual pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union. That treaty, con-

cluded on 25th July 1932 was renewed in 1934 for a further period of ten years, i. e. until 31st December 1945! The Polish nation aimed at and strove consistently to maintain friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the Russian people. After the treaty concluded by the Western democracies with Nazi Germany in October 1938 at Munich, Poland strengthened — thereby demonstrating against the Munich concessions — her pact of non-aggression with the Soviets by a special document signed by the Governments of both states in November 1938.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CURZON LINE

If however — the reader may well ask — both the frontier and political relations between Poland and the Soviets were developing harmoniously, what then is the meaning of the famous Curzon line? In point of fact the Curzon Line never existed as an actual borderline. It was never even a proposal for a definitive frontier. The Curzon Line was a proposal for a temporary line to be in force during the armistice period. But what is more important, the Government of the USSR in its Notes of 18th July and 5th August 1920 to the British Government *rejected* the proposal for a temporary Curzon Line for, as it stated in the Notes, the line was „unfair to Poland”. Politicians who to-day speak in the name of the Western democracies use the proposal for the Curzon Line as grounds for robbing Poland of 47% of her territory. They forget — or rely on others having forgotten — that *the Curzon Line was never an actual frontier; that the Curzon Line was accepted neither by Poland nor by Russia; that the Curzon Line was a proposal on the part of a third party, rejected by the Soviets for the reason that it was "detrimental to Poland"*.

When Poland was attacked by Germany on September 1st, 1939 it had, in the eyes of the entire civilised world, a secure Eastern frontier. The security of Poland's Eastern border was also a conclusion of the conviction prevailing in the whole civilised world that an extreme ideological enmity existed between Nazi fascism and Soviet communism. The safeguarding of Poland's Eastern border resulted not only from the faith which despite everything the whole civilised world had held in the anti-fascist slogans voiced loudly by the Soviets, but also from the fact that just before Germany's attack on Poland, military negotiations had taken place between the Soviet Government and the representatives of Great Britain and France. The security of her Eastern border was also assured to Poland by law itself. *Poland then had a pact of non-aggression with Soviet Russia, which was to be in force until 31st December 1945! A pact still legally binding to-day!* The Polish-Soviet border, covered by the Treaty of Riga was approved by all international instances. In accordance with Article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles which empowered the great powers to ratify Poland's borders, the Ambassadors' Conference recognised on 15th March 1923 a border line resulting from the Treaty of Riga as the definite and final political boundary between the Polish state and the USSR.

THE CURZON LINE WAS CROSSED OUT BY... LORD CURZON!

There is a certain piquancy in the fact that at the time the Ambassadors' Conference ratified the Polish-Soviet border in accordance with the Treaty of Riga — naturally with the participation of the Ambassador of Great Britain — the British Foreign Secretary was then none other than Lord Curzon! Thus no one but Lord Curzon himself annulled his own proposal for a temporary demarcation line between Poland and Soviet Russia, approving the signature of his Britannic Majesty's own Ambassador on an act which recognised the line of the Treaty of Riga. In these circumstances, the Polish nation believed — and with it the entire civilised world — that its Eastern frontier was the one most secure against foreign aggression. But on 23rd August 1939 the Soviets concluded a pact of non-aggression with Nazi Germany; on September 17th 1939 the Soviet Army attacked the rear of the Polish Army fighting the Germans. The Soviets, when concluding on 23rd August 1939, to the amazement of the whole world, their treaty with Nazi Germany, decided simultaneously to break off unilaterally treaties linking them with Poland. Simultaneously, too, the Soviets broke off negotiations with the Western democracies. In the division of powers then taking shape, the Soviets declared themselves on the side of Germany. *The treaty between the Soviets and Nazi Germany of 23rd August 1939, decided the outbreak of the world war.* Without securing an ally for herself from the East, Germany would not have decided on throwing down a challenge to the democracies. Without the Soviet's contribution, there would have been none of this most terrible conflagration. When the Polish Army was left alone fighting the Nazi avalanche, the Soviets attacked that army from the rear and in that manner aided the Nazi Reich to accomplish the bloody subjugation of the Polish people.

THE GIFT OF EIGHT MONTHS

These are historic facts that are common knowledge. Please bear them in mind, reader, and recall them when you are told that Poland was or is pro-fascist and anti-democratic. Please bear them in mind, reader, if only because the war waged by the Polish armies in September 1939 gave the Western democracies and in particular Great Britain the necessary time to complete their armaments. The occupation of the entire night of the German forces in the September campaign precluded the German armies for the next eight months from taking the offensive in the West. These precious eight months were a gift from the Polish people to the people of Western Europe! *But these eight months were also a gift from the Polish people to the Soviets!* For during that respite purchased at the price of the lives of hundreds of thousands of Poland's best sons, at the price of the enslavement and humiliation of the entire Polish nation — the Western democracies and the Soviets too, were enabled to make preparations for the successful defence of their countries against the Nazi invader. Please therefore bear in mind, Reader, this undisputed historical fact:

When the Polish people in September 1939 fought, unsupported by the Allies, the entire might of Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, by attacking Poland from the rear, aided Nazi Germany, while by concluding the Soviet-German treaty of 28th September 1939, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty — Soviet Russia drove a line of partition through the living body of the Polish nation. And it is that line that *the Big Three at the conference in the Crimea considered as the rightful border between Polish territory and Russian territory*. From the areas taken away by her from Poland, in agreement with Germany, the Soviet authorities deported millions of innocent civilians to compulsory labour camps, in the distant taigas of Siberia. Those unfortunate people included Polish citizens of all nationalities and creeds: There were Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians. Large number of those innocent deportees perished in the sinister prisons and bleak camps of the Asiatic steppes. And at that time when millions of Poles — soldiers who had fought the Germans, and innocent civilians were being rounded up for deportation, *the USSR authorities were energetically supplying the German forces with the most important strategic raw materials*. German shells, manufactured with the aid of mass supplies of Soviet manganese were pounding to pieces the armies of France. German aircraft, fed with Soviet fuel, were bombing London...

ACCOUNT OF FORGOTTEN WRONGS...

Forgetting all the wrongs done her, Poland was the first to express through the mouth of her Prime Minister, General Sikorski, in June 1941, after Germany's assault on Russia, a desire to renew friendly relations with the Soviets. On 30th July 1941, a treaty was signed between the Poles and the Soviets. In that treaty the pact concluded between the Soviets and Germany in 1939 was considered null and void, clearly and beyond any shadow of doubt. In this way, in the eyes of all right thinking people, the Ribbentrop-Molotov conspiracy was annulled and the agreement which gave the Eastern half of Poland to Russia was abrogated. However, after the collapse of the German offensive at the gates of Moscow, the Soviet interpretation of the new treaty began to waver in a manner which caused deep anxiety to Poland. The general feeling, not only of the Poles but of the Allies as well being in accordance with all rules of legal interpretation, was that by the annulment of the Nazi-Soviet pact, the Polish-Soviet treaty of 30th July 1941 caused a reversion to the status quo prior to 1st September 1939, i. e. to the situation laid down by the Treaty of Riga. At the beginning the Soviets did not take any definite stand in the matter for they were not anxious that the civilised world, the Allies, should know that Soviet Russia still held the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty to be binding. But already during 1942, and in January of the following year, the Soviets announced that all Polish nationals who had found themselves under Soviet authority as the result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact were to be considered as citizens of the USSR. The Soviets did not hesitate to justify

publicly this expatriation of millions of Polish citizens by promulgating the decree of November 1939 by which Polish territory was incorporated into the USSR on the strength of the alleged will of the population. From that time onwards there began a Soviet action, contrary to all decency, of depriving undisputed citizens of the Polish Republic of their Polish citizenship and on the other hand of granting Polish citizenship to various persons enjoying the backing of the N.K.W.D.

There begins a second period in which defenceless citizens of the Polish State were maltreated. Among the innumerable acts of violence perpetrated against Polish citizens the brutal murder of the two Jewish Socialist leaders, Alter and Ehrlich, echoed the loudest. Even death did not protect these two martyrs from having their names besmirched and their honour attacked: they were called Hitler's agents.

PARODY OF DEMOCRACY.

In this manner the Soviets were preparing a state of affairs wherein false Polish citizens, nominated by them, were to attempt to establish a "Polish" Government and institutions and to appear in the name of the Polish people. The "elections" conducted by the Soviet authorities on Polish soil in the autumn of 1939, which were subsequently used by the Soviet authorities as a justification for other moves, and which had such a tragic echo for Poland at the Crimea Conference, were probably the most extreme denial of the principle of democratic expression in history. The so-called "election campaign" on Polish soil was carried out with the participation of elements of the Soviet Army of occupation. "Izvestia" of 2nd February 1940 admitted without constraint that "during the period of preparation for the elections the Soviet soldier — agitator was everywhere... Red Army helped to determine electoral districts... to draw up the registers of voters..." in each so-called electoral district one could, and in fact one *was obliged to vote for only one candidate officially approved by the authorities*. In this manner „elected delegates" among whom were many Soviet citizens as well as officers and men of the Red Army — decided on the incorporation of half of Polish territory in the Soviet Union. The Soviet paper "Pravda" of 29th October 1939 described in brief and unmistakable terms the taking of the solemn decisions regarding the incorporation of Polish territory into the framework of the Soviet Union: "Are there any objectors?" — asked the Chairman. — There are none and there will be none — cried all present with one voice, — if there will be one, we shall soon dispose of him! It was in this highly "democratic" manner that the Soviets legalised as early as 1939 the plunder of Polish territory.

"PATRIOTS" OR AGENTS?

Later on the Soviets attempted to sanction this plunder by demonstrating to the world the existence of Polish citizens who were satisfied with such acts directed at the existence of the Polish state. Thus men were mobilised in

Soviet territory who in the main had either long before given up their Polish citizenship at the hands of a Soviet passport, or else had received Polish citizenship at the hands and by the grace of the NKWD in the period after 1939, and these men were entrusted with the creation in Moscow of the so-called "Union of Polish Patriots" — the Union of Polish Patriots which in everybody's eyes was from its inception an open Soviet agency and which was not embarrassed to stand openly on the grounds of Poland's partition in accordance with the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. This Union of Polish Patriots which was composed of persons who had opposed Poland's war with Germany and had been friendly to the pro-Nazi policy of the Communist Party in Europe up to the middle of 1941, was in due course to become the instrument that later deprived the second half of Poland of its independence. The Union of Polish Patriots, together with a second puppet organisation, the so-called Home National Council created by the Soviet citizen and agent of the Komintern, Bierut, gave birth in the course of time to the so-called "Lublin Committee", whereas the Lublin Committee in turn changed itself in time into the so-called "Provisional Government", taking advantage of the absence of any reaction on the part of the Anglo-Saxon allies. And whatever the politicians of the democratic powers may say, they cannot conscientiously deny that the „Provisional Government" installed by the Soviets has as its aim the subordination to Russia also of that part of Poland which lying to the West of the Molotov-Ribbentrop line, cannot be formally swallowed up by the Soviets.

POLES FIGHT ON ALL FRONTS

At the time when the Soviets were striving to liquidate the Polish state and nation, the Polish Army was fighting in the underground of its own country and on all visible fronts of the world. The Polish Army rendered great services not only to the Western Allies but also to the Soviets. The Polish Army has a splendid record of action at Narvik, the Vosges, Maginot Line, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, Ancona, Falaise, Breda, Arnhem. The Polish Air Force took part in the Battle of Britain, rendering — and this is readily admitted by the British themselves — decisive service to the threatened British Isles. The Polish Air Force participated in thousands of raids on Germany, occupied France, Belgium, Holland, the Polish Navy and Merchant Marine fought on all seas, participating inter alia in convoys carrying equipment and food to the Soviets. At the same time the Home Army carried out thousands of acts of sabotage against the German Army and German war industries.

63 DAYS AND 63 NIGHTS...

The best known event in the history of the struggle of the Polish Home Army is the *Warsaw Rising*. In its strategical importance the Rising of Warsaw meant the tying up of a German Army half a million strong and severance of its communications with a second German Army and with its

supply bases. Thus in its strategical importance the Warsaw Rising rendered immeasurable service to the Soviet Army which during these events was only a few miles before gates of the city.

But for sixty-three days and for sixty-three nights Warsaw fought alone. The Soviet Army did not consider the Polish Underground Army, fighting against Hitler's forces, as its natural ally. The Soviet Army waited quietly until the superior and constantly replenished German forces finished off the heroic Polish Army which, without supplies from outside, left to itself, grew weaker and weaker. What is more, the Soviet authorities refused to allow the Royal Air Force to use Soviet bases in order to bring aid to the Polish Home Army.

The Soviets aimed at the destruction of the Polish Home Army fighting the Germans in 1944 just as in Autumn 1939 they helped Germany in their war against the hardly-pressed Polish Army. But everybody must admit that the Polish Home Army rendered enormous services to the Allies. That Army kept on informing the Allies of the plans and movements of the German Armies. That Army gave the first information to the Allies concerning flying bombs. As a reward for this activity the soldiers and officers of the Polish Home Army are now being sent by the Soviet authorities to concentration camps and are often shot.

POLAND TREATED MUCH WORSE THAN GERMANY

The decision of the Big Three taken at the Crimea Conference disregards not only all Polish rights to a free national existence, but also all Polish achievements before and during the war. The decision of the Big Three admits without reservation that the Soviets are right in everything they are doing with Polish territory and in everything they have already done and will do to the Polish People. The Crimean decision treats Poland far worse than Nazi Germany, for it deprives Poland of 47% of her territory. Germany, however, in the opinion of the same powers whose leaders signed the Crimean decision, are to be deprived of no more than twelve to fifteen percent of their territory. That Poland is to be deprived of almost half of her territory was a definite decision of the Big Three, with immediate effect. The decision regarding the deprivation of Germany of even a small part of the territory held by her has not yet been taken, having been postponed until the holding of the Peace Conference. The decision of the Big Three provides for the occupation of Nazi Germany after her defeat by Britain, USA, France and the Soviets, while Poland who is fighting Nazi Germany, is to be subjected after a victorious war to only one occupation: that of the Soviets. Already in the course of this war, even now, a considerable part of Poland has been given not to occupation but to definite Soviet ownership. The rest of Polish territory is, in accordance with the Crimean *Diktat* being changed into a vassal Soviet State.

The so-called independent Polish state, created by the Crimean *Diktat* without the participation of the Polish people, is to be a European counter-

part of the Asiatic Manchukuo. The sense of justice of the great Anglo-Saxon democracies did not suffer when as the result of the signatures placed on the Crimean Act, it was decided that when the German war criminal would be in a position to move from under a heavy Soviet occupation to a lighter one — British or American, — Polish soldiers who had fought not for Poland only, but also in the cause of the Western Democracies, will not find a single corner in their fatherland where conditions of lighter occupation would prevail. *The Diktat of the Big Three treats Allied Poland much more sharply and unconditionally than it treats hostile Nazi Germany.* For the penalty to be meted out to Germany is the nomination of a joint administration in the shape of a Commission of the three great powers. The proposals of the Polish Government, providing for an inter-allied military commission of the three great powers to supervise the administration until the legal Polish Government takes over, have not been accepted. The Crimean *Diktat* penalises an Ally much more than criminal Germany...

ATLANTIC CHARTER TORN TO PIECES.

The *Diktat* of the Big Three treats the Polish case both theoretically and practically in a manner which has no analogy in the history of mankind. The *Dikat* is a palpable violation and denial of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. For the Atlantic Charter — to which is likewise affixed the signature of the USSR — deprecates from any and all territorial changes which do not correspond to the freely expressed will of the peoples concerned. For the Atlantic Charter declares that the rights of every nation to choose the form of government that it desires, shall be respected. For the Atlantic Charter binds those who signed it to respect existing obligations. And the Atlantic Charter was signed not only by the three powers whose leaders also put their signatures under the Crimean decision which annuls the principles of the Charter, but also (1st January 1942) the signatures of other United Nations, then numbering twenty-six, which made and are still making efforts and sacrifices for victory, freedom and justice. Even the British-Soviet agreement of 26th May, 1942, which is the starting point and the foundation of the close cooperation of the two powers, is based on and quotes the principles of the Atlantic Charter... Does not the tearing up of the Charter at the hands of the Big Three in Crimea thus constitute an endangering of all hitherto completed and signed international agreements?

FROM FINLAND TO GREECE

It would be sheer shortsightedness or self-deception to take it that the penalising of Poland by the Crimean *Diktat* and the public tearing off from her of nearly half of her territory is a purely internal Polish matter. The area of the Polish Republic torn away from her and incorporated into the Soviet Union, is a territorial link of the whole of Eastern and Central Europe.

For in the North, on the Dvina, it cements the Polish border with the

Baltic States. In the South, by the Carpathian block, it creates joint borders between Poland and Rumania and Hungary. Therefore the tearing off of this region from Poland breaks into parts and in fact deprives of their independent existence all states stretching from the Black Sea to the Baltic. *Fifteen nations from Finland to Greece are subjected to possible enslavement by one decision.* Will these nations agree to it? Has not the *Diktat* of the Big Three, taking no account of the ideological notions of this war, become the beginning of a new, even more terrible war?

A BLUSH OF SHAME

The "Daily Mail" of 23rd February 1945 writes on this subject inter alia that one could, after what has happened now blush because of Great Britain's honour, but what causes us deeper anxiety has nothing to do with personal attitude to Poland, or to groups of Poles in exile. Our anxiety grows because of Europe for it proposes solutions which sooner or later *history will reject.* The British writer using words that after what had happened in the Crimea, one could blush because of Britain's honour, thinks that Great Britain as Poland's ally, did not keep her obligations. Let us determine what are Great Britain's obligations towards her first ally, Poland.

On 31st March 1939 the Government of Great Britain made a statement in the House of Commons from which it is clear beyond doubt that "in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence" and which the Polish Government accordingly considered it vital to resist with their national forces, His Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Polish Government all support in their power". There is no mention here of Britain's obligations being concerned with hostile action against Poland solely on the part of Germany. On April 9, 1939, the Governments of Great Britain and Poland formulated a guarantee of mutual assistance to be binding in the case of threat, direct or indirect, to the independence of either (Great Britain or Poland). On August 22, 1939, the British Prime Minister taking into consideration the then clearly drawn German-Soviet understanding, stated in a letter addressed to Hitler that "whatever may prove to be the nature of the German-Soviet Agreement — it cannot affect Great Britain's obligation to Poland, which His Majesty's Government have stated in public repeatedly and plainly and which they are determined to fulfil."

"THE FEEDING OF THE CROCODILE"

On 25th August, 1939, the Anglo-Polish Agreement of Mutual Assistance was signed. In Article 1 of this treaty it is clearly stated: "Should one of the Contracting Parties become engaged in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter against the Contracting Party, the other Contracting Party will at once give the Contracting Party engaged in hostilities all the support and assistance in its power". The responsibility of Great Britain resulting from the mutual guarantee of inde-

pendence of the Contracting Parties is not to be upset by any diplomatic phrases. No one in his senses will believe that a treaty of mutual assistance, armed or otherwise, signed by mature statesmen could have as its aim not to support the existence of one of the states concerned, but on the contrary, to support the claims of its adversaries and to help to destroy that "guaranteed" state. Although it is known from the Munich example that the Western democracies, contrary to their obligations concerning the defence of the Czechoslovak Republic against Hitler's aggression, at first gave their hands to the cutting off from Czechoslovakia of a part of her territory, and later to the inclusion of Czechoslovakia in the Reich, but the precedent called by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, "the feeding of the crocodile" — is not surely supposed to serve as a classical example for all future political activities of the Western Democracies.

BRITISH GUARANTEES.

If we were however to consider the Munich example, based on sacrificing a weaker ally to a stronger enemy, as a classical method of behaviour by diplomats of the democratic states, in the Polish case such behaviour would meet with a special difficulty. This difficulty is and will always remain the Polish-British Treaty of 25th August, 1939. There is no room here to quote the treaty in full. From Article 1, quoted above, it is clear that the British guarantee to Poland, is concerned with threatening as the result of aggression on the part of a "European power". From that and other articles of the treaty it is clear beyond doubt that a word given by Great Britain to Poland cannot be waived by any kind of phraseology added to the changed political situation! Article 3 of the Polish-British Treaty states: „Should a European Power attempt to undermine the independence of one of the Contracting Parties by process of economic penetration or in any other way, the Contracting Parties will support each other in resistance to such attempts”.

Thus the mutual guarantees of Great Britain and the Polish Republic apply not only to the security of the Contracting Parties, but even to such kinds of threat to their independence as "processes of economic penetration or any other ways".

Are not the imposition on Poland of a Government of foreign agents and the cutting off of nearly a half of her territory, some of the "other ways" of undermining independence, as so clearly discussed in the articles of the Polish-British Treaty?

Thus: from the course of negotiations preceding the Polish-British agreement of mutual assistance, from all documents accompanying that agreement, finally from the composition itself, it emanates clearly and unmistakably that Great Britain, giving a guarantee to the Polish Republic, took into consideration the threat both from Germany and Soviet Russia. *Great Britain guaranteed Poland's independence in the form that Poland had prior to September 1939.*

FOREIGN PASSPORT INSTEAD OF... OWN FATHERLAND.

Why did the Anglo-Saxon allies sacrifice Poland, break their treaty obligations, withdraw from the solemn declarations of the Atlantic Charter, in favour of Soviet interests? Why did the highest representatives of the two Anglo-Saxon democracies put their signatures to the Crimean document which not only awards to the Soviets *that part of Poland which Russia had already received at the hands of Ribbentrop*, but decides also *that the Polish Government is to be formed by Molotov* with the active aid of the British and American Ambassadors?

Did there ever exist anywhere a government of an independent state, that came into being from the enslavement of its own people, and nominated by the decisions of others? Will anybody ever believe that a Polish Government nominated by the Soviet Commissar Molotov is a Government composed of true representatives of the Polish people and that such Government heads a free state? (Of Molotov's attitude to the Polish state the following quotation from his official pronouncement at the meeting of the Supreme Council of the USSR of 31st October, 1939, will serve as a proof. Molotov then said: "It appears that only one short blow was sufficient from the German Army, and later from the Red Army, to leave nothing of the awkward child of the Treaty of Versailles. As it is known, neither the British nor the French guarantees availed Poland...").

Molotov who jeered at the English guarantees to Poland in 1939 can rightly jeer at these guarantees in 1945. But will history forgive politicians who in return for millions of lives sacrificed by the Polish people, in return for their pioneer struggle with the Nazi hydra, liquidated the Polish state, cynically left the Polish people to be consumed by *Eastern Barbarism*? Will history forgive politicians who did not hesitate in the course of the most terrible war in history to throw overboard their ideological principles, leave their allies in the lurch and offer to the heroic soldiers of an allied army in place of the fatherland taken away from them... foreign passports?

MAY 1939 — FEBRUARY 1945.

At the conclusion of our deliberations we shall give you, dear Reader, one more very characteristic quotation from a major policy speech by one of the most competent statesmen of Great Britain. Please read the following sentences in quotation marks, read who is their author and judge, dear Reader, whether the present phase of international politics did not enter into a period of open and cynical annihilation of all achievements of human civilisation, a phase in which politicians have the right to deny their own opinions, and to announce ideological slogans in accordance with the changing situation. And here are sentences quoted from a major policy speech delivered by the most competent statesman of Great Britain:

These sentences are verbatim quotations from a speech by the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, delivered in May 1939 when he appeared in the House of Commons as leader of the par-

liamentary opposition, and spoke on the Palestine White Paper. In May 1939 Winston Churchill put his name down with honour on the protest against the breaking by Great Britain of solemn promises given to the Jewish people. In February 1945 Winston Churchill put his name on a dishonourable document having at its aim the breaking of solemn promises given by Great Britain to the Polish people.

THE POLISH NATION WILL NOT ACCEPT THE CRIMEAN DIKTAT.

All that we have written above are cold facts. Facts deliberately left unadorned by empty phrases. Facts deliberately left unpainted with pathos. Reader of these words, if you are objective you must admit that in the above list of facts concerning the struggle and disappointments of the Polish nation, no effort was made to gain your sympathy by appealing to your feelings. In the facts submitted for your consideration, which are known to you anyhow, an effort was made to show that in the light of objective truth the decision of the Big Three taken in the Crimea amounts to 1) THE SANCTIONING OF THE TREATY CONCLUDED BY NAZI GERMANY WITH SOVIET RUSSIA CONCERNING THE PARTITION OF POLAND'S TERRITORY; 2) AN OPEN ATTEMPT TO PUT INTO PRACTICE A SYSTEM OF NOMINATING PUPPET GOVERNMENTS, CONVENIENT TO IMPERIALISTIC AIMS BUT INSULTING TO THE ELEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS OF THE FREEDOM OF NATIONS; 3) THE LIQUIDATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE POLISH STATE; 4) THE SENTENCING OF THE POLISH PEOPLE TO EXTINCTION; 5) OPEN BREAKING OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES; 6) OPEN DENIAL OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER; 7) OPEN VIOLATION OF THE ELEMENTARY DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES; 8) OBVIOUS DISREGARDING OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN ETHICS.

Reader of these lines, if you consider the above objectively, you will appreciate why the POLISH PEOPLE, demonstrating as it does continually and consistently, by word and deed, even to-day, its desire for good relations with its neighbour — Russia, WILL NEVER VOLUNTARILY ACCEPT THE CRIMEAN DECISION imposed upon it against its will and in the absence of its legal Government and dictated by the Soviet ruler to the representatives of the Anglo-Saxon democracies.

The CRIMEAN DIKTAT, which destroys Poland and holds out a mortal threat to the other Allied Nations not admitted to the Yalta Conference, MUST BE ANNULLED.



Arch. Emigracji

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