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Poland is the test of our sincerity in accepting the challenge of this war.

Cardinal Hinsley
(August 31st, 1941)

A. PŁODOWSKI

AT THE DICTATES OF OTHERS

THE EYES OF THE WORLD ARE again focussed on recent events without precedence in the history of mankind. Three Powers, among them one linked with Poland from August 1939 by a treaty of mutual assistance, have created in Moscow a body which they have been pleased to call the Polish Government of National Unity.

At the same time while the three foreign powers called to Moscow persons specially selected by themselves who by the will of the mighty ones were to take part in the new Polish Government, a symbolic show has been staged in a Moscow theatre, a show designed to end Polish democracy; this show was intended to be a warning for some, a slap in the face for others and for Poland one more tragedy which the Lord did not spare us.

Sixteen Polish leaders, who for over five years led the underground struggle against Germany and who Mr. Anthony Eden not more than two months ago described as true democrats without whom nobody could imagine a true Polish Government, stood on trial before a Soviet tribunal.

In this manner, so characteristic of Soviet methods, men who were really representing the Polish Nation and were loyal to Poland's western allies, fighting with extreme sacrifice the German enemy, disappeared from the political scene.

There were no protests made by the West against that lawlessness. Once again a brutal outrage has triumphed. Two days after the conclusion of events putting Polish democracy on trial for its life, news was disseminated throughout the world that the foreign diplomats had completed their task of forming a new Government for Poland, or rather of a slight broadening of the group of Soviet agents imposed on that country long ago.

We do not intend to cite a long list of statements given by the Anglo-Saxon politicians on that subject, statements so contrary to what is now the lot of Poland, neither do we intend to picture the process of events which have led to the present state of Poland. We intend to restrict ourselves to judging the Moscow dictate from the moral point of view.

The Moscow sin takes its origin directly from the Crimea Conference because there three foreign powers concluded decisions which were followed by the happenings of recent days. The credulous West seemed yet to believe that although Poland was injured then by dividing her territory, there would be a possibility for Poles to govern themselves without any foreign interference in the remaining part. Today the powers have resigned themselves to put aside even that hope.

For us Poles and with us those who do not yet call violence law, crime virtue, oppression democracy, the situation is clear, tragically clear. No matter who besides Mr. Bierut, who is not Polish but Soviet Citizen, takes part in the Lublin Government, the fact is that the so-called provisional government is a body created by foreigners and forced upon Poland without the consent of the lawful Polish authorities which were given the power to represent and to carry on state affairs by the Polish Nation itself and have now been ignored by the Powers.

Especially today after the Moscow trial against Polish democratic leaders and after the confinement to prison of those who really did represent Poland, no person of sound judgment can recognize

APPEAL OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO THE POLISH NATION

POLES! CONTRARY TO ALL expectations, the Polish problem has been settled not according to the principles of justice and the pledges made in international treaties, but by *faits accomplis* imposed from outside. A self-appointed political body composed of Communists and foreign agents is to become the "Polish Government." A few Poles have been discovered who have found it possible to take a hand in this. They did so at a moment when all the political and military leaders of Poland's five years of heroic struggle against Germany were being charged before a Moscow Tribunal and tried in accordance with familiar Soviet methods.

The Allied Governments of Britain and the United States are to recognize this "Provincial Government" which calls itself (as if to add insult to injury) "a Government of National Unity," and are to withdraw their recognition from the lawful Government of the Polish Republic, their faithful ally during the five years of war for the freedom of nations. At this moment it is our duty to review once more the path which we have followed so far and the road which we must take in the future.

Throughout the war the Polish nation has fought with exceptional activity and has shrunk from no sacrifice. Its attitude was chosen voluntarily and consciously with one aim in view: to restore full independence to Poland within pre-war frontiers. To live life in freedom—this for Poles is the highest goal on earth. We have consistently worked to smash the tyranny which threatened us and the whole world.

The Polish nation has paid the highest possible price for the decision which it

took of its free will. No other member of the United Nations has borne such heavy sacrifices or contributed so much to the common cause in relation to its resources and possibilities.

One of the principles of our civilization is that a government is the expression and servant of the will of a nation. When it finds itself at variance with the will of the nation, it ceases to be a government since it affects the very basis of national life.

Thus, any Polish government must be at variance with its own people if it fails to defend the independence of Poland, the territory which forms the ultimate guarantee of that independence, and the moral and civilizing principles which have formed the nation and keep its spirit alive. There is, in this connection, a certain minimum which no Polish Government can afford to ignore or repudiate. We have often been told that ever-greater concessions were necessary; we have been charged with a lack of political acumen; we have been accused of being unintelligently stubborn. One could hardly expect, however, that the Polish nation should commit suicide in the name of alleged rationalism or, further, that it should besmirch its good name.

The present Polish Government was formed on November 29th, 1944, at a moment when Polish policy had reached the limit of its concessions and when any further step in that direction threatened to throw our country into the abyss. The leading Cabinet offices in this Government were assumed by prominent leaders of the Polish Underground Movement who were the best spokesmen of the will and aims of the people fighting in our

Home Country. This Government also enjoys the confidence and support of the Polish Armed Forces, which have written with their blood such a fine page in the history of the present war. This Government knows that it can speak on their behalf no less than on behalf of the many Poles now scattered throughout the world.

The present Polish Government has often been called sarcastically a Government of stubborn resistance. This appellation it accepts with pride. It is indeed a government of resistance—of resistance against all attempts to destroy the independence of Poland.

The Polish Government could not agree to the annexation of half the territory of the Polish nation, including towns so dear to the whole nation as Lwow and Wilno.

The Polish Government could not agree to the imposition on Poland of a social regime alien to her fundamental concepts of freedom, lawful order and moral traditions.

The Polish Government could not agree to grant any rights to a self-appointed Committee composed of members of a numerically weak Communist Party and subordinated to a foreign power.

The Polish Government could not agree to the destruction of the legal order on which the Polish State was based.

The Polish Government could not agree to the severing of the thousand-year-old links between Poland and the world of western culture and civilization.

These decisions were taken by the Polish Government in the full recognition of the responsibility it bore. It could not have acted otherwise if it had

known, when it took these decisions, of the present course of events. The Polish Government was not appointed by the President of the Polish Republic to take a hand in the liquidation of the independence of Poland.

Poland was the first to take up arms and fight the German bid for world domination. She always desired friendly co-existence with Russia and rejected all German suggestions of a joint attack on the Soviet Union. She fought at a time when other powers were still treating with Hitler. She never felt any misgivings in her fidelity to her Allies and in the crucial days of 1940 she stood by the side of Great Britain in her lonely fight. In the Battle of Britain, which decided the issue of the war, Polish airmen contributed their share to the Allied victory. The Poles have not abused the friendly hospitality and comradeship extended to them by the people of Britain. During the long and arduous years of war the Polish nation has endured, fought and kept its faith.

Today, over the charred remains of the Polish Republic, an entirely new body is to be constituted, without the frontiers which are due to Poland, without legal and constitutional continuity, deprived of the traditions in which Poland lived and thrived for a thousand years.

The lawful authorities of the Polish Republic cannot recognize such an imposed solution. The President and the Government of the Polish Republic are mandatories of the national will up to the moment when free and honest elections are held in Poland. It seems that the leading statesmen of the West are founding their hopes on the Yalta promise of the holding of "free and unfettered elections" in Poland. It is clear, however, that no such elections are possible as long as Soviet forces and Soviet political police remain in Poland, as long as there is no freedom in political life, no freedom of Press, meeting or association, and until the iron screen separating Poland from the world is removed.

Even when recognition is withdrawn from it, the Polish Government will not cease to be lawful Government of Poland. Its validity does not depend on the recognition of other Powers, but on the fact that it expresses the will of the Polish people and has been constituted in accordance with the laws of the Polish Republic.

While announcing these facts, we can promise you little in the immediate future. We would like to recall the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, pronounced when his country was in deadly peril. Today and tomorrow, we can promise you nothing but "toil, sweat and tears." Our efforts, however, will not be vain. The moral values of our civilization, which are now trampled underfoot, will be born again and will finally win. During this period, every Pole will have to face a particular task. His first duty will be to maintain the dignity of our people by his discipline and self-control, by his solidarity and by his blameless record in public and private life. At every post and in every field he must set an example of relentless toil and creative effort.

We well know that our words are addressed to men and women who have suffered deeply and are exhausted. The future fate of Poles will not be everywhere alike. While the greater number will suffer the cruel realities of a police regime in Poland, others will remain in the free world to be the spokesmen of those who keep silence.

The path ahead of us is a hard one. But at our journey's end we shall see the Poland for which we are all striving with all our hearts: a Poland free and independent, a Poland of liberty and justice, a Poland in which will prevail the love of God and man.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH
REPUBLIC.

June 26th, 1945.

DECLARATION MADE BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 25th, 1945

1. AFTER SEVERAL YEARS OF A POLICY of appeasement towards Hitlerite Germany on the part of large and smaller European countries—a policy which must invariably have led to war and only gave Germany time to pre-

pare herself for it—Poland, rejecting the German proposal for joint action against Russia, was the first to oppose the plans and pretensions of Germany by taking up arms in defence of her integrity and independence.

2. At the time the war broke out, Poland was in possession of British and French assurances of alliances. These assurances provided for immediate assistance from Great Britain and France in the event of German aggression. Furthermore, on the strength of Article 3 of the Protocol to the Agreement of Mutual Assistance between the United Kingdom and Poland, signed on August 25th, 1939, the British guarantee provided that:

"The Undertakings mentioned in Article 6 of the Agreement, should they be entered into by one of the Contracting Parties with a third State, would of necessity be so framed that their execution should at no time prejudice either the sovereignty or territorial inviolability of the other Contracting Party."

3. The Polish nation took up arms in defence of its own freedom and that of other nations. In September 1939, the Polish soldier saved the freedom of Europe—perhaps even of the world. Had Poland capitulated in 1939 without recourse to arms, or what would have been far worse, had she become a German satellite, the freedom of the people of Europe would have become a thing of the past, probably for many long years. Poland surrendered in the unequal battle against Germany's overwhelming odds supported by Soviet Russia, while the Western Powers were unable to fulfil their obligations by an immediate attack on Germany.

4. The Polish Government declared Poland's fidelity to all the obligations she had taken upon herself. She did not capitulate, nor did she attempt to make a separate truce or peace with Germany; she continued to wage relentless war against her, both inside the country and on other fronts, thus making an effective contribution to the victory of the United Nations.

5. Despite the stubborn attitude of the whole nation, also Poland's enormous sacrifices and her great contribution to the war effort, the Three Great Powers took decisions at the Yalta Conference affecting the territorial integrity of the Polish State and depriving the Polish nation of freedom in deciding its own fate, its own form of government and its relations with foreign States. In a declaration of February 13th, 1945, the Polish Government made emphatic protest against these decisions stating that they could not bind the Polish nation when deprived of the possibility freely to express its will.

6. Despite this protest by the Polish Government, and contrary to all the principles of international law, and also to the declaration solemnly signed by the United Nations, a Committee composed of the Foreign Minister of a country which has annexed nearly half the territory of Poland, and the Ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States of America, has been authorized to sanction a pseudo-government imposed on the Polish nation—at a time when Poland is under the occupation of an alien army and an alien political police force. Created by the agents of the so-called "Provisional Government of Poland," with the factual support of the Communist Party (to which but an insignificant number of the Polish people adhere), it is to be sanctioned by the United Nations and given the right to represent the Polish nation.

7. To preserve a semblance of freedom of speech for the Polish nation, in addition to members of the Communist administration imposed on Poland, a few Poles, with no right to speak on behalf of the Polish people, were taken to Moscow. Simultaneously with the subsequent discussions on the formation of an alleged "government of National Unity," an illegal trial took place in the Soviet capital of the treacherously arrested leaders of the Polish Underground Movement, in violation of the elementary principles of justice and law. As the leaders of the struggle of the Polish nation against Germany and as representatives of the democratic parties, these men, together with the legal Polish Government in London, are representative of the Polish nation until such time as genuinely free elections are held. Such elections, with the participation of all parties represented in the Underground Movement and of those Polish citizens who find themselves outside the confines of Poland as a result of war conditions can only take place after the departure of the Soviet Army and the Soviet political police from Polish soil.

8. The Polish Government, as the sole authorized and independent Government legally appointed by the President of the Republic and universally recognized, declares that the so-called "Polish Provisional Government of National Unity" is illegal and cannot voluntarily be recognized by the Polish nation. It has been created on the basis of an unprecedented procedure while the whole of Polish territory is occupied by the Soviet army, and at a time when the Poles are deprived of their elementary rights as men and citizens.

9. The Polish Government declares that it will hand over its authority only to a Government which has been formed on free Polish soil and one which reflects the will of the people as expressed in free elections.

