

THE COMMON CAUSE

FORTNIGHTLY OF THE POLISH SECTION OF "THE SWORD OF THE SPIRIT"

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

Cardinal Hinsley
(August 31st, 1941)

IS IT FAREWELL?

ELSEWHERE WE ARE PUBLISHING a communication from the British Ministry of Information which suspends the issue of our paper. The *Common Cause* has been for over three years one of the ties between Catholics of Poland and Britain. Today that tie, or rather one of the links, is being broken, for nothing can sever the bond of friendship and mutual understanding so firmly established between Catholics of both our nations.

The future of our country, for the freedom of which our sailors, soldiers and airmen have been fighting side by side with those of Britain, has been decided by the three Powers. What is happening now and what the near future will bring is only the consequence of that most immoral decision.

Poles are realizing that their task to bring real freedom to their country will not be an easy one, and that their path will be paved with obstacles, but they will follow that road because—as the President of Poland has said in his declaration—"they cherish freedom above all else," there is no life, no happiness, no peace without it.

In this grave moment in Poland's history there is one consoling fact, that after all, Poles are not quite alone although they are being smitten by those with whom they have shared the dark days of war. The Catholic press of Great Britain, to which we are grateful for its honest attitude, is one of the best examples that truth has not been entirely wiped from the face of the earth and this encourages us to believe that although the mouths of Poles are being gagged, the true facts concerning Poland will still in the future reach those who seek for truth.

It will not be an easy task, as those whose interests are best served by suppression of truth will lose no opportunity to mislead world opinion. There will be still a rising campaign of lies against that part of the Polish nation still forced to live in exile, against those who still have possibilities, although limited, of expressing their judgments.

While being compelled to suspend the issue of the *Common Cause* we want our readers to realize these facts. An independent Polish Catholic paper is being closed down. The paper which over three years ago began its task with the following (we quote from the leading article written for the first number by Mr. Jan Rembieliński, then Editor of the *Common Cause*):

"It may well be that the world, fed throughout the war on superficial slogans and ideas simplified for mass consumption, will find itself unable to build a creative peace, or to understand the underlying conditions of such a peace.

"The part to be played in this respect by Catholic thought can be very important. On the one hand, a Christian attitude brings courage in the search for Truth, which cannot be in divergence from Good and cannot be altered to serve any interests whatever, but has to be sought for its own sake.

"On the other hand Catholic thought, trained in the discipline of dogma, is well aware of the fact that there cannot be many truths, but only one, which is the expression of an objectively existing order which must be respected by man. That is why this thought has a solid framework, which does not allow it to stray into the regions of utopia and whimsical fantasy.

"Freedom of thought without licence, the search for absolute truth and the respect for the intellectual discipline of a trained mind are necessary requisites for understanding the present and for planning the future.

"That is the CAUSE which we desire to serve—in however small a measure—by our work."

Today we are unable to continue our work, but there are others—let us mention one of them, the Anglo-Polish Catholic Association—which will con-

sider it their duty to seek for Truth, and fight for a better future for nations, for freedom of the individual in a free state and for the principles of Christian Civilization.

We believe that it will be a victorious struggle.

DECLARATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF POLAND

The President of the Polish Republic, M. Władysław Raczkiewicz, issued the following message to the Polish people on June 29th:

"On assuming the office of President of the Polish Republic I took the solemn oath that I would 'defend the sovereign rights of the Polish State, guard its dignity, respect its Constitution, apply the same justice to all its citizens, protect it from evil and dangers and consider it my first and foremost duty to devote all my energy to its well-being.'

"During this long war, the most terrible in the annals of history, in which Poland fought the German invaders with unparalleled heroism, I have devoted all my strength to fulfilling the duties to which I am pledged by Oath of Office.

"The indomitable fight which the Poles have put up is a sufficient proof that they cherish freedom above all else. This passion for freedom is the age-old tradition of our people, a living torch which is passed from one generation to another.

"It was this love of freedom which animated us during the desperate September Campaign and which, after its conclusion, led so many Poles to serve in the Polish armed forces abroad or to swell the ranks of the heroic Home Army and the Underground Organization under the cruel German yoke.

"Polish blood has flowed freely in the defence of freedom, on every front in this war, on land, at sea and in the air. It was for freedom that we sacrificed our dearest treasures and that we have made the greatest sacrifices in blood and property ever to be recorded in our history.

"Freedom is the very essence of Polish ideals and national will; to defend it and safeguard it was the main goal of the policy of the Polish nation and the main object of its struggle in this war.

"Today, when the war waged by the United Nations against German aggression has been victoriously concluded,

our country has not, alas, recovered true freedom yet. The Polish nation and State are still in great danger. The great task of reconstruction and the peace of freedom for which we fought have not yet been achieved as far as Poland is concerned. To reach our goal further sacrifices and further efforts will still be needed.

"The Constitution of the Polish Republic imposes on me the duty of transferring the office of President of the Polish Republic, after the conclusion of the war, into the hands of my successor, chosen by the nation in democratic elections, free from violence or threats of any kind. I shall do so as soon as our nation is in a position to hold such an election.

"For the time being I remain at my post in accordance with both the provisions of the Constitution now in force and also, I think, with the will of the immense majority of the Polish people. I am confident that this decision of mine will be understood throughout the world by those who hold freedom, justice and law in higher esteem and regard than brute force or the temporary victory of violence.

"It will be the duty of the citizens of the Polish Republic, grievously suffering under so many blows, to see to it that the great traditions of our national culture are not lost, that our links with our past are not severed, that our ideals of freedom are not betrayed: it will be their duty to maintain their allegiance to the lawful authorities of the Polish Republic and not to weaken in striving for the restoration to the Polish Republic of its rights and of the place due to it among the free nations of the world.

"We are living through a period of great dangers and difficulties for our nation and our State, but I firmly believe that Almighty God will bless our efforts and will cause Poland to emerge from this new ordeal victorious, secure and with undiminished rights."

THE LAST ISSUE OF "THE COMMON CAUSE"

WHEN THE PRESENT ISSUE OF "The Common Cause" was in the printer's hands the Ministry of Information sent us a letter which has ended the publication of this paper: as from August 1st, 1945, the paper licence has been withdrawn. Similar letters have been sent by the Ministry of Information to two other Polish papers—"Myśl Polska," the organ of the National Democratic Party, and "Robotnik," the organ of the Polish Socialist Party.

This decision of the British Ministry of Information has caused us no surprise. After the administration of foreign agents has been forced upon Poland, we, the part of the Polish nation in exile, could expect every pressure; one of the signs of that pressure is the closing down of our paper.

Below is the full text of the letter received by the Editors of "The Common Cause":

SPRAWA
Ministry of Information,
Russell Square House,
Russell Square,
London, W.C.1.
July 18th, 1945.

Sir,
I am directed by the Minister of Information to refer to my letter of July 20th, 1943, setting out the conditions governing the release of paper by the Ministry for the publication of SPRAWA and to state that the production limits set out in the paragraph numbered 3 Clause (ii) are now amended to read as follows:

"Not more than 750 copies each of not more than 4 pp. 15in. x 20in. are to be printed of any issue which in the ordinary

course is due to be, and will be, published on or before July 31st, 1945."

I am also to state that it is proposed on August 1st, 1945, to countermand entirely the arrangements set out in paragraph numbered 3 of my letter of July 20th, 1943, and to instruct the printers of SPRAWA, Messrs. Letchworth Printers Ltd., to hold, pending the Ministry's further directions, any balance then remaining of the paper released by the Ministry. The Ministry of Supply would be asked to cancel, on the same date, the licence required under the Control of Paper (No. 48) Order, for the publication of this periodical.

I am to add that, in considering applications for the renewal of these facilities, or for the granting of facilities for similar purposes, account will be taken of H.M. Government's relations with the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and of the total quantity of paper which can be made available by this Ministry for Polish publications in the United Kingdom.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
J. M. JUDD,

Director: Production and Supply Division.

In view of the last paragraph of the above letter we have decided not to apply for renewal of the paper licence through the London representatives of the Administration forced upon Poland. In accordance with the instructions given by the British Ministry of Information we now suspend the issue of our paper. Meantime we would warn our readers that if "The Common Cause" should be published in the near future edited by persons unknown to us, it will, openly or secretly, be under the auspices of the Communist Administration of Poland.

POLISH AMBASSADOR'S NOTE TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Following is the text of a Note sent by the Polish Ambassador to the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden on July 6th, 1945.

Sir,

In view of the recognition on July 6th, 1945, by the British Government of the so-called Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, I have the honour to declare that I was accredited as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James's by the constitutional President and Government of the Polish Republic, to whom I owe allegiance and that, consequently, I am not in a position to delegate my functions, powers and office to anyone, without appropriate instructions from the President and Government of the Polish Republic, who continue to be the sole constitutional and independent representative of Poland.

Acting on the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to bring to your knowledge that:

1. The authority of the President and Government of Poland, to whom I owe allegiance, derives from the constitutional laws of the Polish Republic enacted by the nation through a freely elected Parliament which remain of unimpaired legal validity and which could not be changed in conditions of duress under which the nation exists today. Under this authority, the President and Government of Poland maintained normal diplomatic relations with the British Government and concluded with that Government a number of agreements, including the Agreement of Mutual Assistance of August 25th, 1939, which I had the honour to sign in London on behalf of the Polish Government, as well as agreements between Poland and other Powers, including all the bilateral undertakings entered into during the war and concerning military, naval, aviation, financial, economic and shipping matters, of which I would mention specifically:

- (a) The Polish-French Protocol, signed at Paris on September 4th, 1939, concerning the execution of the Polish-French Alliance.
- (b) The Agreement between Poland and the U.S.S.R. signed at London on July 30th, 1941.
- (c) The Agreement concluded at Washington between the Polish Government and the Government of the United States on July 1st, 1942, concerning Lease and Lend.

Furthermore, multilateral agreements to which the Polish Government is a party, include:

- (1) Declaration of the United Nations, signed at Washington on January 1st, 1942, called the "Atlantic Charter."
- (2) Inter-Allied Declaration against acts of dispossession committed in territories under enemy occupation or control, signed at London on January 5th, 1943.
- (3) The final Act of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Conference, signed at Hot Springs on June 3rd, 1943.
- (4) Agreement to set up a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, signed at Washington on November 9th, 1943.
- (5) Final Act of the Monetary and Financial Conference of the United Nations, signed at Bretton Woods on July 22nd, 1944.
- (6) Agreement on Principles having reference to the Continuance of Co-ordinate Control of Merchant Shipping, signed at London on August 5th, 1944.
- (7) International Sanitary Conventions, signed at Washington on January 5th, 1945.
- (8) The International Agreement and the Final Act of the International Civil Aviation Conference, signed at Chicago on December 7th, 1944.

When all the said agreements were being concluded not one constitutional State questioned the validity of the

Polish Constitution or of the powers of the Polish President and the Governments appointed by him. Neither was any doubt ever raised by such States as to the right of the Polish President and Government to lead the Polish Nation in the struggle against the German aggressor and to exercise supreme command over the Polish Armed Forces fighting at the side of the Allied Nations.

Throughout the war the Polish Nation made immense sacrifices for the common cause of the United Nations. The Resistance Movement in the Homeland, as well as the Polish Armed Forces on all fronts—on land, on sea and in the air—never ceased, until the day of victory, to struggle against the enemy, under the leadership of the constitutional President and Government of the Republic, which they recognize as the sole constitutional authority of the Polish State.

2. The territories of the Polish Republic remain under a foreign military occupation and under the ruthless control of foreign military and police forces. The accomplished facts which have taken place in Poland since the outbreak of war are not the result of the will of the Polish people expressed either by constitutional or revolutionary means. The war which began in defence of the integrity and independence of Poland, ended in depriving her of that independence and in placing the country under the control of an alien Power.

3. In these circumstances, neither I myself, nor any Government are in a position to recognize the accomplished facts unilaterally enacted in Poland.

The persecutions, which thousands of Poles are enduring in Poland today and which afflict with particular severity all those citizens of the Republic who have actively demonstrated their devotion to the cause of freedom and independence by the implacable struggle against the German invader, prove beyond any doubt that the so-called Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in no way represents the will of the Nation, but constitutes a subservient body imposed on Poland by force from without.

4. The first attribution of the independence of a State is its freedom to choose a Government. In the present circumstances, the source of the authority of the Government headed by Mr. Osóbka-Morawski is a decision made not by the Polish Nation, but by three foreign Powers, one of which controls *de facto* the whole administration of Poland through its army and police forces. The legal basis of the authority of that Government can be compared with the legal basis of the authority of the so-called governments set up in occupied countries during the war by Germany. In both cases they are based on the will of a foreign Power.

5. In such circumstances and acting on instructions from my Government, I most solemnly protest against the recognition by the British Government of a Government imposed on Poland by force by an alien power, which amounts to the recognition of the suppression of Poland's independence. Once more in history, the Polish Nation is being deprived of its independence, though this time not as a result of events which took place in Eastern Europe alone, but after a war which the United Nations waged in defence of law and justice. Notwithstanding the recognition by other powers of its present subjection, the Polish Nation will never give up its right to independent existence and will never cease to struggle for it.

6. As a protest against acts of violence inflicted on the Polish Nation, I am obliged to refuse to delegate my functions, without the approval of the constitutional Government of Poland, and to regard as an imposter any person pretending to be authorized to claim my office.

I have the honour to be, sir,
With the highest consideration,
Your obedient Servant,
EDWARD RACZYNSKI
(Polish Ambassador).

M. WIEKO

WHAT NEXT?

THE TRAGIC SITUATION IN which Poland finds herself, despite the end of military operations in Europe, faces every Pole with the question: What next? The Poles who are abroad will shortly be called upon to give their answer. They will have to decide whether they have to return to Poland in the present circumstances. They must realize that the decision they make will have a much greater significance than would first appear. It will not, indeed, be only the simple settlement of a personal problem. It will be of far wider interest since, at the same time, they will have the opportunity to express their feelings towards the political regime forced upon their country, and to give the answer of those who are still free to express an opinion on the "solution" sponsored by the Big Powers. Therefore, before coming to a final decision, every Pole will have to consider not only his personal affairs, but also, and perhaps above all, the present political situation of his country as a whole. Only such an appreciation will enable him to take sides in the dilemma which faces him.

The Soviet victory in the Polish question, which has enabled the Russians to impose their will, their government and their policy on Poland, seems to be complete. The failure of the Western Powers to support the most fundamental political requirements of Poland (as, for instance, that her Government should be chosen by the nation and not by a committee of foreign diplomats) gives the impression that Poland has suffered a great political defeat and might lead to the conclusion that she will never be able to recover from it. It has been suggested, accordingly that the only course open, once political independence has gone, is to save at least the physical existence of the nation. This is termed the biological salvation of the Polish population.

But is this not tantamount to the full capitulation of Poland? In the long run there can indeed be no question of biological safety for a nation which puts itself completely at the mercy of a stronger totalitarian nation.

The story of the deportation of millions of Ukrainians from the Soviet Ukraine is fresh in the memory of every Pole who has had to face the steppes of Siberia during this war. There is no doubt that once political rights are surrendered, a secure existence can no longer be enjoyed. And this brings us to the most confused part of the Polish political situation. Some foreigners claim that the Yalta solution, the full expression of which is found in the formation of the "Provisional Government of National Unity," assures the Poles sufficient political rights to safeguard their national existence. Poles, on the contrary, maintain that it is once again a case of a facade which conceals an utterly different state of affairs: that of enslavement. If we accept the optimistic claim of the first, we must conclude that something in Soviet policy has suddenly changed for the better; that their tendency to aggression has now been replaced by a desire for neighbourly co-operation. Unfortunately, the facts belie this argument. The Moscow trial of 16 Polish political leaders and heroes, which took place at the very time when talks about the so-called democratic broadening of the Lublin Committee were going on in the same capital, is clear proof that Soviet policy is far from friendly. And what of the continuous deportation of Poles from their own country to the east? And the transfer of industrial machinery from Poland to Russia? And the cutting off of Poland from the outside world? Do not all these things look more like the rule of an alien occupier than the helping hand of a neighbour? But if any doubts on the trend of Soviet policy still persist, let us turn to its manifestation in other countries in the Soviet sphere of influence. In Czechoslovakia and Rumania, in Rumania and Hungary, in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and recently even in Turkey and China, we meet with the same method of procedure: part of the territory of the country concerned is coveted, over the rest the imposition of a "friendly, democratic" government is aimed at. Nowhere do we find signs of withdrawal from this Soviet policy of aggression. Quite the contrary. The fact that Russia still seeks further aggrandisement points rather to the fact that her aggression has been intensified

THE REPORTS OF THE MOSCOW TRIAL OF 16 Polish national leaders have reached us in very abbreviated form. The world press only used part of the reports of the Moscow correspondents who were allowed to send out only the official Soviet version. It is thus difficult to form a final opinion on the course and unreported developments of the trial when the material at our disposal is incomplete and one-sided. The full explanation of the doubts raised by this dramatic chapter in Russo-Polish relations must be postponed until the voice of the other side can be heard.

From the official version we can, nevertheless, already draw some conclusion from the discrepancies in, and omissions from, the statements of the defendants. This will at least help to obtain a somewhat more truthful picture. It affords material for a legal and historical treatise beyond the limitations of the space accorded to a journalist. We think, at the same time, that it would be useful to reflect, however briefly, on some points which, for various reasons—some of them quite understandable—were not made clear in the British daily press.

This is the picture of the trial as presented by official Soviet publications. Let us run through the different parts of this picture: the indictment, the cross-examination, the speeches for the prosecution and for the defence, and finally the verdict.

The indictment is divided into the following parts: (a) general statement of the accusation; (b) description of the incriminating activities of the defendants; (c) report on the evidence for the indictment; (d) final defence of the legal basis for a trial of Polish citizens by Soviet authorities.

The defendants were classified in three categories. In the first, only General Okulicki was included. In the second, were included all the leaders of the Underground Movement. As such, General Okulicki was also included in this group, and together with him were the Vice-Premier of the Polish Government, Jankowski, and the other members of this same Government resident in Poland, Bien and Jaslukowicz. In the third, all the others were included.

General Okulicki was separated from the others owing to the fact that he was additionally accused of carrying out intelligence and espionage work in the rear of the Red Army. The second category was charged with being the organizers and leaders of the Polish Underground in the rear of the Red Army and with carrying out, according to the instructions of the so-called Polish Emigre Government in London, direct subversive work against the Red Army and the Soviet Union and, finally, with carrying out terrorist acts against officers and men of the Red Army, with organizing diversions and attacks by Underground armed detachments, with carrying on propaganda inimical to the Soviet Union and the Red Army.

The third group was charged with participating in subversive work of the Polish Underground organizations, with being cognizant of the non-fulfilment by the leaders of the Underground of the orders of the Soviet military command concerning the surrender of wireless transmitters, typographies, arms and ammunition, and of their use for criminal purposes.

From this statement one conclusion is clear: that the main reason for the trial was the loyalty of the Underground Movement in Poland to the legal Government in London. Since this Government was recognized by the other Powers, the loyalty could not be made the main issue of the trial. Hence the attempt to charge the Polish leaders with activities resulting from the practical application of their loyalty. To these activities were added other charges with the intention of discrediting the whole conduct of the accused. Another point is worth noting: the indictment made use of a special clause of the Soviet criminal code for

the prosecution of action which took place on Polish territory. The clause in point is that which makes it a criminal offence to carry on propaganda directed against the Soviet Union. It is not the first time that this clause of the Soviet criminal code has been applied to "criminals" regardless of their nationality and the territory where the actions took place. Much could be added on this subject by Poles who, in the years 1940 to 1941, appeared in Soviet courts, charged with similar "crimes" committed in Poland before 1939.

The description of the incriminating activities is based on "statements" made by the defendants before the trial, on documents obtained in the Underground organization at the time the arrests were made, on "deciphered" telegrams to and from the Polish Government in London, on the statements of witnesses, on extracts from the Polish Underground Press and, finally, on so-called "investigations." These investigations are used to fill the gaps left by other factors in the indictment.

The description starts with the alleged organization of underground armed detachments of the "Armia Krajowa" (Home Army) in the rear of the Red Army. In this part, the indictment mentions the orders given by the London Government to disband the Polish Home Army. We should recall, here, that these orders were evidence to the world of the sincere intention of the London Government to reach an agreement with Russia and to avoid any cause for a clash. The indictment tried to cancel the value of this act of goodwill. It claimed that there was another order given by London in direct contradiction to the first. A telegram, alleged to have been sent from London, was produced. As a further proof of bad will, the indictment cites the setting up of the underground politico-military organization named "Niepodleglosc" (Independence), known by the abbreviation: "Nie." We are told that the principal evidence for the setting up of the organization is given in the "statements" of Okulicki and Jankowski which were made before the trial. In the indictment, the following statement of Jankowski is quoted: "The task of this organization was to fight for the independence of Poland which, in our opinion, was threatened by the Soviet Union."

It is obvious that this statement is vague enough and therefore we are told that "investigation" has established that the underground organization, "Nie," had seven tasks. Naturally, all seven tasks were strongly anti-Russian and the organization was accordingly condemned as being subversive.

Having thus "established" the existence of this organization, the indictment passed to the description of "terrorist, diversionist and espionage activities of underground armed detachments of 'Armia Krajowa' and 'Nie.'" This description is mainly based on the evidence given by witnesses. Amongst them, prominent places were assigned to the Commandant of the Lwow district, Lieutenant Colonel Jansen of the Polish Army, and his subordinate, Herman, the former commander of detachments in the Stanislawow district. This latter, we are told, had under his command up to 3,000 men with corresponding arms.

The detachments were divided into groups which included terrorist liquidation units specially formed for the assassination of representatives of the Soviet military command. It should be noted that these witnesses, as, indeed, all the witnesses called throughout the proceedings, were not free men but under arrest on similar charges to those of the defendants.

A special section of the indictment deals with the work of clandestine receiving and transmitting radio stations of "Armia Krajowa" and of the Underground Polish Government in the rear of the Red Army. No such charge was ever brought by the British or American Armies against, for instance, the French Maquis for

the use of similar wireless stations.

The last section of the indictment is concerned with the charge that a plan for the preparation of military action in concert with Germany against the U.S.S.R. was drawn up by command of the Underground Army. This accusation opens with a quotation from a statement which the commander of the German troops in Warsaw, S.S. Obergruppenfuhrer von den Bach was alleged to have made to Colonel Boguslawski, who conducted with him negotiations for the surrender of Warsaw. Von den Bach is alleged to have said: "It was necessary for the Poles to cease armed struggle against the Germans because it was the Soviet Union that was the common enemy of Poland and Germany." The indictment claimed that, on meeting General Bor-Komorowski on the day of surrender, Okulicki told him that von den Bach was possibly right. Okulicki stated in evidence: "Bor-Komorowski agreed with my opinion." It is scarcely possible to build substantial proof of the existence of a Polono-German plan against Russia from this exchange of opinion, but the indictment passes over this point and immediately concludes that Okulicki was, in fact, building up a Polono-German military bloc against the Soviet State. Equally unsubstantiated is the next statement alleged to have been made by Okulicki: "In my directives to district commandants of the 'Armia Krajowa,' I pointed out that the Red Army is an army of occupiers which came to replace the Germans." In an attempt to substitute quantity for quality, this charge of anti-Russian military preparation is supported by further allegations. Even the Polish Underground Press is mentioned. The newspaper, "Warszawski Glos Narodowy" is quoted from its Issue No. 3-131, of February 21st, 1945:

"The whole of Poland is in the hands of the Soviets, there are no signs on earth or above it which would foreshadow any concessions or even the ejection of the Bolsheviks from the territory of the Rzecz Pospolita. Lastly, the leaders of the three Allied Governments have decided that the Eastern frontier of Poland should pass along the 'Curzon' Line (with a small deviation from the 'Curzon' Line in certain districts, of three to five miles in favour of Poland).

"Thus an end to deception and an end to Poland! But where is the world of the Allies? And where is the predicted conflict between the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians? We have presented the actual situation as it looks today, and now let us turn to the prospects. The Anglo-Saxons have already led us astray several times. We have long known that their attitude towards Russia is a brilliant game which we watch with bated breath. Every conference is a new deception. Churchill's every speech is a new and even greater deception. The Crimea Conference is the greatest deception of all. When will this enervating, terrible game at last come to an end? When will the Allies at last seize Russia by the throat?"

We cannot check if this article really appeared or give its context. The fact that it got such an important place in the indictment proves only to what lengths the prosecutors had to go in an effort to make their case. One thing is, however, clear: this particular charge was in no way substantiated.

In the final summing up of the charges against each defendant it should be noted that the principal accused (Okulicki, Jankowski, Jaslukowicz and Pajdak) are stated as having "an illegal status before arrest." Lawyers are perhaps able to explain what this statement means. Our supposition is that it was made to give a legal basis for the arrest of Polish citizens by Soviet authorities. It is true that such a legal basis is to be found in the last paragraph of the indictment:

"In accordance with paragraph 7 of the Agreement concluded on July 26th, 1944, between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and

the Polish Committee of National Liberation 'On Relations between the Soviet Commander-in-Chief and the Polish Administration after the entry of Soviet Troops into the Territory of Poland,' subsequently confirmed by the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic, all the accused enumerated above, falling under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Military authorities, are to be tried by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R."

In the limits of this article it is impossible to give to the rest of the trial as much attention as we have given to the indictment. Here, we will only mention a few details which are linked with our previous remarks.

The examination of the defendants and witnesses is actually a repetition of the indictment. As we have already pointed out, all eleven witnesses gave evidence while under arrest. This perhaps explains the self-accusatory character of the evidence, so similar in tone to the answers made by the accused. The desire expressed by General Okulicki that three more witnesses be called was not acceded to for "technical" reasons. This is all the more regrettable since these three witnesses would have been the only ones to have appeared in court as free men.

Certainly no impartial observer could but feel astonishment that men such as these who had given proofs of high courage in the fight against the Germans and who had risen to the height of patriotism expressed in the battle of Warsaw, could make statements of the following type.

Could it have been the true voice of Jaslukowicz which declared: "The information of the Polish Underground was slanderous and tendentious, so that the London Polish Government should misinform the British Government concerning the situation in Poland." Asked by the prosecutor why this was necessary, he replied: "We believed that the intervention of the British Government in Polish affairs required an impetus. Our slanderous information, which we supplied to the London Polish Government, served as such an impetus."

Was Bien, political comrade of Mikolajczyk in the Peasant Party, really speaking freely when he said: "The Polish Home Army passed death sentences and under the guise of struggle against alleged traitors, took reprisals against Polish patriots."

Was General Okulicki really expressing his own free opinion when he declared: "I also do not deny the fact that subversive work in the rear of the Red Army in the field was directed to the detriment of the struggle of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany."

During the defence, only a few of the accused "asked" to speak in their own defence. For the others, lawyers were provided and their speeches consisted almost entirely of pleas for a lenient sentence because their clients had pleaded guilty to the charges. It was thus that the defending counsels were changed into witnesses for the prosecutor.

Neither the prosecutor's speech nor the verdict bring any new elements to light, with the exception of the magnanimous leniency of the verdict.

In spite of this magnanimity, the official newspaper "Pravda" saw fit to publish the following statement on the very day that the verdict was returned:

"In the dock they lost the haughtiness of the Polish gentry. Like cowards they repudiated their ideological fellows, the Polish fascists in London. They blamed them for their own crimes, for their own dirty tricks. Okulicki, Sosnkowski, Jankowski blamed Arciszewski."

If any still harbour doubts, this "Pravda" article should certainly open their eyes to the truth of the Moscow trial of 1945.

since the conclusion of the war against Germany.

This must be clearly borne in mind by those Poles who have to decide about returning to their country. And they must not be surprised if they are subjected to external pressure directed by those who seek to enslave their will. They must rather expect that every means and every argument will be employed to this end. Their natural nostalgia for their country will be played upon; so will the bonds linking them with their families still in Poland. Doubts as to whether the present political crisis can be overcome and sufficient political strength saved will be put to them. Their solidarity will be attacked in the hope that an easier victory may be achieved over individuals. They will be urged to cease their opposition to the experiment which is being started in Poland. They will be told that any further struggle is hopeless because Poles abroad are deprived of leaders, organization and funds.

It is true that in this profound confusion the Polish community has not yet produced a leader capable of directing its fate abroad. Although this may seem to be an important factor, yet it is by no means a decisive one. This is a time for the mobilization of forces for the defence of Polish interests. No general decision can be taken in these matters. Each one must decide for himself, by

himself. And for this decision it is not a leader which is needed, but a leading idea. This they have. It has been passed on to them by the thousands of Poles who have given their lives in previous battles for the same cause. It has been confirmed by the whole history of Poland and is linked with the national traditions and religious principles to which Poles have always staunchly adhered. No Pole can doubt that the immediate future holds anything for him but hardship, suffering, unfulfilled longing, separation from his family, delay in the accomplishment of his dreams, political isolation, and perhaps a stateless passport. This is the question facing each one: whether the chance of carrying on an unhampered fight for the salvation of his country, the maintenance of faith in the justice of his ideals and the preservation of hope in a complete future victory for the cause are sufficient reasons for choosing the thorny path ahead. Each one must ask his conscience if he is right in contributing to the disappearance of Polish problems from the international scene by continued compromise. He must ask himself if he has the right to give up the struggle for complete political liberty.

Those who decide to stay abroad and carry on the struggle for these rights believe, of course, that the fight will not be hopeless. They know that Poles have

not lost all the resources needed for such a task, and that they still have a political status. Although recognition of the powers of their President and their legal Government has been withdrawn, these authorities have not ceased to exist. They draw their validity, not from the goodwill of other countries, but from the Constitution and the will of the Polish nation. This link in state continuity will exist as long as the faintest spark of political life lights the Polish community. There will also be the possibility of collecting material support for the fight.

It will be the privilege of the Poles abroad to improve their education in trades, science and economics—of which those at home will probably be deprived. It will be their duty to take full advantage of this opportunity. The Poles at home will hardly expect them to return finally with empty, helpless hands ready to be manacled. It is the duty of those still enjoying freedom of movement to increase their knowledge, develop their contacts and earn the means for the reconstruction of a Poland ravaged by consecutive occupations.

Another help—this time on the moral side—will be given by all those nations whose countries suffer, like Poland, from Russian domination. Other allies in this effort to withstand Soviet influence will be found in countries which have the same Christian ideology of the rights

of free men and who oppose the doctrine of open or secret political dictatorships. Friends and allies will be found in countries whose citizens are members of the Catholic Church and who stand for the rights of the individual and the family and for freedom of religious worship.

Summing up all these remarks, there is but one answer to the question: What next?

The place of Poles abroad is in the ranks of those who will be able to carry on, with good effect and without hindrance, the fight for morality, law and justice in international agreements.

Their duty is to remain faithful to every moral principle. No one can release them from this obligation—least of all a government at whose head is an alien.

Heavy is the responsibility which lies on the shoulders of the Poles who are still free to make a profession of political faith in the face of world opinion. They will not fail to reply to the hopes of their countrymen at home deprived of this freedom, who count on them not to abandon their liberty of action. They must assume the task initiated by those who have already fallen in the battle; they must preserve a position for Poland worthy of this sacrifice. On this position true independence can still be built.