

the Former Deputies and Senators of the Polish Parliament.

Dear Sir, London, 2nd June, 1945.

You know, of course, that M. Jan Jankowski, the Polish Vice Premier and Delegate of the Polish Government in Poland, and fourteen other Polish underground leaders are still jailed by the Soviet authorities. On their behalf we, the under-signed late deputies and senators to the successive Polish Parliaments, appeal to you, as to the representatives of free public opinion and of the free nations of the world.

Here are the facts established beyond doubt:

1. The Polish Vice Premier and Delegate to the Polish Government, M. Jankowski, three Polish Cabinet Ministers residing in Poland, M. Kazimierz Puzak, the President of the Polish Underground Parliament, the leaders of the four democratic parties in this underground parliament and General Leopold Okulicki, the last Commander of the Polish Home Army disbanded by the Polish Government on January 19th, 1945, 14 men in all, who have directed the Polish Resistance Movement and the Polish Underground Administration for over 5 years under German occupation, enjoyed the respect and commanded the willing obedience of the whole Polish people.

2. For 5 years the Polish Home Army ceaselessly fought the German occupying forces, and the Warsaw Rising of August and September 1944 was the culmination of their action. Under instructions from the London Government this Polish Home Army co-operated with the Red Army from the moment it entered Polish territory. The best known instances of this co-operation were the joint struggle against the Germans in Volhynia (February and March 1944), in Wilno and its province (July 1944) and in the province of Kielce (August 1944).

3. In spite of this joint struggle against Germany the Soviet Government refused to grant combatant rights to officers and men of the Polish Underground Army, though such rights were granted them not only by Britain and the U.S.A., but even by Germany.

On the initiative of the Polish Underground Authorities transmitted by the Polish Government, the British and American Governments communicated the names of M. Jankowski and other Polish leaders to the Government of the U.S.S.R. This was one more proof of Polish good will towards Russia.

Colonel Pimemov invited M. Jankowski, General Okulicki and other Polish underground leaders to visit Colonel General Ivanov for conversations aiming at the 'cleansing of the atmosphere, the emergence of the parties from hiding and their association with other democratic forces in an independent Poland'.

Though Marshal Stalin has stated in his letter of May 19th 1945, to the "Times" correspondent in Moscow that "it is not true that the arrested Poles were invited to enter into any negotiations with the Soviet authorities", the Polish Government is in possession of the text of the letters which Colonel Pimemov wrote to M. Jankowski and General Okulicki in which he invited them to political conversations. He addressed his invitation on behalf of Colonel General Ivanov, who represented the High Command on the First White Russian front. On March 27th and 28th M. Jankowski and the other Polish underground leaders arrived at the Headquarters of Colonel General Ivanov in Pruszkow near Warsaw. Since then nothing has been heard from them. For many weeks the Soviet authorities refused to give any information about their whereabouts and it was only on May 6th 1945, that Foreign Commissar Molotov informed Mr. Eden and Mr. Stettinius in San Francisco that these Polish leaders had been imprisoned and that the Soviet authorities interned them.

The arrest of these men who, representing all the important Polish political parties and invited to political conversations under safe-conduct, is an occurrence unthinkable in democratic countries and in orderly international relations. The arrest and trial of the leaders of an underground movement in an Allied country who for 5 years directed the armed struggle against the common foe and had given every assistance to the power now jailing them is an injustice which would not happen in any part of the civilised world.

Public opinion in the West has not yet forgotten former Soviet political trials, such as those of the veterans of the Communist Party, Kamieniev, Rykov, Bukharin and others, in the years 1936-1938. These trials were

particularly noticeable for one peculiarity unknown in the rest of the world: all the accused not only eagerly admitted all the charges of the Soviet public prosecutor, but even vied with each other in accusing themselves of yet other crimes and sins. It was difficult to avoid the impression that the Soviet judicial apparatus is too efficient a machine and that such results were obtained by methods unknown in the lawcourts of Western Europe.

We raise our voices in a loud protest against the imprisonment of these leaders of the Polish Underground Resistance Movement against the German invaders. We demand that the Soviet authorities keep their pledges, set M. Jankowski and his companions free and make it possible for them to travel to London for consultations with the Polish Government. The Western democracies should press this case not only on general humanitarian grounds, but also because they bear a direct responsibility in the matter; indeed the identity of these men was revealed to the Soviet authorities through the good offices of the Governments of Britain and the U.S.A.

Senators:—

Ignacy BALINSKI, Croft House, Sudbury, Suffolk.

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J. IWANOWSKI, 55, Prince's Gate, S.W.7.

Tadeusz KATELBACH, 112, Eton Hall, Eton College Road, N.W.8.

Adam KOC, 46 East 76th Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Wanda Norwid NEUGEBAUER, Eton Hall, Chalk Farm, N.W.3.

Karol NIEZABYTOWSKI, Hay Lodge, Peebles, Scotland.

Gen. Alexander OSINSKI, Englefield Lodge, Englefield Green, Egham, Surrey.

Konstanty RDULTOWSKI, Polish Red Cross, Cairo.

Jan REMBIELINSKI, 27, Grosvenor Street, W.1.

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Deputies:—

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Bronislaw WANKE, Rockcliffe by Dalbeattie, Scotland.

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APPENDIX

Jan Stanislaw JANKOWSKI, Deputy Premier of the Polish Government and Government Delegate in Poland. He is a representative of the Polish Labour Party. During the years 1919-1926 he was several times Under Secretary of State, and afterwards for a certain time Minister of Labour and Social Welfare in Poland. He is about 60 years of age.

Mr. Jankowski was the third Delegate in Poland appointed by the Polish Government in London. The first was Mr. Cyril Ratajski, of the Polish Labour Party, former Lord Mayor of Poznan, whom General Sikorski appointed in the autumn of 1940. He held this post for two years; when taken severely ill, he resigned, and died late in 1942. He was replaced by his assistant, Dr. Jan Piekalkiewicz, a member of the Polish Peasant Party, who used to be Vice Director of the Warsaw Statistical institute. In the spring of 1943, he was discovered by the

Germans, who arrested and killed him in prison. His assistant, Engineer Jankowski, replaced him.

The task of this Government Delegate was a very arduous one. He had to keep in hand the Underground Administration of the country and was responsible for the moral and political attitude of the Polish masses. It took an exceptional character to execute these functions for any length of time. Each Delegate was at the same time Deputy Premier of the Polish Government. In view of the dangers attached to his position, each Delegate had a "double" known as an Assistant, who took over automatically if the Delegate came to grief.

Beside him, there were three Ministers of the Polish Government inside the country, each of whom conducted one branch of the civil administration. The Delegate and the three Ministers between them represented the four main political parties on which the Polish Government in London was based. These three Ministers were also in the party invited to take part in the conversations and arrested during their course.

Antoni PAJDAK, a barrister. Before the war, Deputy Lord Mayor of Cracow. Representative of the Polish Socialist Party/P.P.S./, and Minister of the Polish Government, residing in Poland.

Adam BIEN, about 46 years of age, the son of a farmer. While still at school he was an active organiser of country youth clubs. Studied law and took his LL.B. at Warsaw University. Appointed a judge, he continued to take an active part in organising the country youth association "Wici", a Peasant Party Youth organisation.

Stanislaw JASIUKOWICZ, about 63 years of age. An engineer and economist. A Minister of the Polish Government, residing in Poland. Before the war, a member of the Sejm/Parliament/ and a member of the Budget Commission, an eminent expert on industrial and agricultural affairs. A member of the Central Directive Committee of the Polish National Democratic Party.

Leopold OKULICKI, Brigadier General, acting Commander of the Polish Home Army in the place of General Bor-Komorowski, 47 years of age. During the first world war he joined the Polish Legions, and went through the whole campaign until they were dissolved. In 1925 he passed out from the Higher Military School.

The outbreak of the Polish-German war in 1939 found him at Supreme Command. Subsequently, as Delegate of the Commander-in-Chief, he remained with General Rommell during the defence of Warsaw in September, 1939. After military operations had ended, he remained in Poland and took active part in resistance activity as Commandant of a district. In this office he was nominated Colonel in July 1940. In January, 1941, he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and deported to Russia. As a result of the Polish-Soviet agreement, he was set free in August, 1941, and was nominated Chief of Staff of the Polish Armed Forces in Russia, and, in March, 1942, became a Divisional Commander.

In May, 1944, on the order of the Polish Government, he returned to Poland and took active part in the activities of the Home Army. He was nominated Brigadier General as from his arrival in Poland. He was decorated with the "Virtuti Militari" and the "Cross of Valour" and has been four times wounded.

Kazimierz PUZAK, about 60 years of age, Secretary-General of the Polish Socialist Party/P.P.S./ from 1921 onwards. Took a degree in law at the University of Lwow. Joined the Polish Socialist Party in 1904.

In April, 1911, he was imprisoned and condemned by the Russian Czarist authorities to 8 years of forced labour, this sentence to be served in Schüsselburg prison. He was set free during the Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and then proceeded to organise the Polish Socialist Party among Poles in Russia, and was also the editor of "The Worker's and Soldier's Voice".

After his return to Poland he was elected to the Polish Sejm/Parliament/ as a Socialist member, and was secretary to the Presidium. He was also elected to following Sejms, and remained a member until the autumn of 1935. In the Sejm he worked in the Law, Administrative and Regulations Commissions.

During the war he remained constantly in Warsaw, and worked in the secret workers' movement and in the Polish state Underground organisation. At the first sitting of the

Council of National Unity/the Underground Parliament/ he was elected Chairman of this body.

Kazimierz BAGINSKI, about 50 years of age, Secretary-General of the Peasant Party from 1932 onwards, a Cavalier of the Order of the "Virtuti Militari", and a member of the Sejm from 1919-1930. He subsequently left Poland as a political emigrant and thereafter lived in Czechoslovakia with Witos, the Chairman of the Peasant Party.

During the present war he took part in the underground struggle against the Germans in Poland, and represented his party in the Council of National Unity.

Stanislaw MIERZWA, the son of a small farmer, took his degree in the Law Department of the Jagiellonian University at Cracow. In 1933, he began to practise as a barrister.

During the years 1928-1933 he was elected Chairman of the Union of Peasant Academic Youth, and subsequently became a member of "Wici", the Peasant Party Youth organisation.

From 1934, he held the office of member of the District Committee of the Peasant Party in Cracow, and subsequently entered the Supreme Council and the Supreme Executive Committee of the Party.

He was also co-editor of "Piast" the Peasant Party paper in Cracow. During the present war he took part in the Polish Underground Movement and represented his party in the Council of National Unity.

Jozef CHACINSKI, about 55 years of age, Chairman of the Christian Democrat Party which later joined with the National Workers' Party to form the present Labour Party.

While still at school he took part in youth organisations, and as a result was arrested in 1909 by the Russian Czarist authorities: after his release he went to Switzerland.

After his return to Poland, he undertook educational work among the Christian Trades Unions. In January, 1919, he became Secretary-General of the Christian Trades Unions and Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party. In 1922, he was elected to the Sejm, and became Chairman of the Christian Democrat Club.

During the German occupation, he took part in the Polish Underground Movement, and represented his party in the Council of National Unity.

Franciszek URBANSKI, about 54 years of age. In 1921, became Secretary-General of the League of Christian Agricultural Workers. In 1922 was elected to the Sejm. Was one of the authors of the Christian Democrats' agricultural programme. From 1935 onwards, he was Chairman of the Christian Trades Union.

During the period of the German occupation he took part in the Polish Underground Movement, and represented his party in the Council of National Unity.

Zbigniew STYPULKOWSKI, about 40 years of age. A Warsaw barrister. A member of the Sejm. Representative of the National Democratic Party.

During the German occupation, he took part in the Polish Underground Movement, and was a member of the Council of National Unity.

Kazimierz KOBYLANSKI, about 50 years of age, an engineer, a member of the National Democratic Party.

During the German occupation, he took part in the Polish Underground Movement and was a member of the Council of National Unity.

Piotr CZERNIK, born in 1905, was at school in Warsaw and took his degree in law and economics at the University of Poznan. A political agent of the Central Union of Country Youth, a social and professional organisation active in rural districts, and independent of the Peasant Party. A representative of the Democratic Party.

In the group of persons delegated by the Polish Underground Movement to undertake conversations with the Soviet authorities, there was also the representative of the Democratic Party, Mr. Michalowski, whose personal details have so far not been ascertained. The group was accompanied by a Polish-Russian interpreter, Mr. Stemler.

In speaking of a sixteenth person, the Soviet authorities probably have in mind Dr. Wladyslaw Kiernik, Vice President of the Peasant Party, several times Minister, and member of the Sejm/Polish Parliament/. He was arrested, it appears, at the end of April of this year.

