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Copy of the letter sent to the Heads of Delegations to
the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization.

POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

(Former Polish League of Nations Association founded in Warsaw in 1921)

28, BEAUFORT GARDENS, S.W.3



London, January 21st, 1946.

Sir,

The representatives of the United Nations are assembled in London in order to decide upon the final establishment of an International Organization. It is they who have to begin the great work of establishing a just and lasting peace which will guarantee the security and the freedom of nations and individuals.

The first General Assembly of the United Nations Organization is meeting at a historical moment of exceptional importance and will face many difficulties.

The war which has just ended was undertaken to defend the world from the tyranny of Hitlerism and Fascism. Today, when Hitler's might has been smashed, all Nations claim the restitution of freedom, because Peace without Freedom would result in a new war.

When the League of Nations was established, at first it commanded considerable prestige in view of the moral and political principles on which it was based. However, the League proved unable to prevent war. This inability to prevent war was not due to any structural fault, but resulted from two fundamental causes: (1) the unwillingness of the Great Powers to strengthen the organization of the League and to endow it with the means of taking action when necessary, and (2) the inability of these same Great Powers to take firm decisions at moments when peace was threatened. At the present time there appears to be an unjustified tendency to lay the blame on the smaller States. It is sufficient to recall such moments in the history of the League as the failure of the Geneva Protocol, the Japanese aggression against China, the Italian aggression against Abyssinia, the German aggressions against Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The League did, however, in spite of its weakness, condemn the aggressor in a number of cases.

The aims of the United Nations Organization according to its Charter, are: to protect the coming generations from the calamities of war, to adopt effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats of aggression and other breaches of peace, to develop amongst Nations friendly relations based upon equality of rights and the self-determination of Peoples. The Organization has to reaffirm faith in the fundamental rights of Peoples and of individuals, respect for human dignity and belief in the fundamental freedoms of all men, irrespective of race, language or religion.

As the supreme political authority in all matters of war and peace, the United Nations Organization will be called upon to decide whether the treaties and arrangements made during the war are really based on justice and equity and, in particular, whether they comply with the principles proclaimed in the Charter.

Above all, it will have to decide whether, in the relations between the United Nations:

"international disputes have been settled or adjusted by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law" /Art. 1, para. 1/;

Poland, a faithful Ally, the first victim of German aggression, is treated despite the victory of the Allies, in a worse manner than some enemy countries.

The much advertised and far-reaching social reforms are being carried out by means of decrees of the illegal Provisional Government without any public discussion, and in the absence of any freely elected parliamentary representation. These reforms are being carried out in haste, with complete disregard for the interests of the peasants, workers and intellectuals, and without any concern for the general welfare of the people.

The agrarian reform introduced many years ago by Acts of the Polish Parliament of 1920 and 1925 and systematically carried into effect before the war, is now being executed in a new form in such a way that it causes a general dissatisfaction among the peasant population and condemns the peasant to misery. Russia is removing from Poland industrial installations, harbour equipment, rolling stock, livestock from the farms, tools and machinery. Poland has to sell her products to Russia at a very low price, to the detriment of the home consumer who is systematically reduced to the low Soviet standard of life.

Complete enslavement of the Press, the distortion of the educational system, a systematic fight against national tradition, isolation of the Polish territory from the outside world, the control of the Polish Army by Soviet officers—all these are manifestations of the sham independence and democracy of this Poland which Russia puts before the eyes of the world. A new totalitarian tyranny is beginning to raise its head and to preclude the renaissance of freedom.

After the attack on Poland in 1939, Russia occupied Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In all these countries, as well as in Eastern Poland, so-called plebiscites were carried out under the control and pressure of the Russian Army. The results of these plebiscites are presented by Moscow as the freely expressed will of the people for the inclusion of these territories in the Soviet Union. The plebiscite organized by Hitler in Austria was justly considered by the Allies as an illegal act without any legal or political significance.

Now, when the United Nations Organization is succeeding to the League of Nations, it has to begin its existence by an act manifesting its faithfulness to the principles proclaimed in its Charter. It has to raise its voice and condemn those deeds of international injustice which occurred during the war and which are now being invested with a semblance of law and justice. The United Nations' Organization can command general respect only if it has the courage to correct the political mistakes made by the powerful States during the period of mutual striving for military assistance.

Should the United Nations' Organization slur over the political facts mentioned above, this would mean that many nations would be doomed to a life of slavery. It would also mean giving sanction to acts of violence, the very violence against which the war with Germany and Japan was undertaken. It would mean the destruction of faith in international co-operation.

In view of the present state of things, it is to be feared that some members of the Security Council might sanction unilateral decisions and *faits accomplis* made during the war, and try to get a general recognition of these facts as an element of the LEGAL STRUCTURE of the New World Order. They may endeavour to reduce the Assembly of the United Nations Organization to the role of a political academy discussing problems of peace and security and to reserve practically all the decisions for the Security Council which will either be unable to take any decisions, or, in view of the right of veto bestowed on permanent members, be only able for the sake of convenience to carry through decisions corresponding to the interests and the will of the least scrupulous State.

From the very first moment of its existence, the Assembly must either begin a courageous struggle to put right the wrongs enacted during the war by the Great Powers, or lose its historic opportunity. If it fails in this great task it will undermine the very existence of the new International Organization as

whether respect has been shown for:

“the principle of equal rights of self-determination of the peoples”
/Art. 1, para. 2/;

whether there has been assured:

“the respect of human rights and fundamental freedom for all” /Art. 1,
para. 3/.

The United Nations Organization will have to consider whether, in order to achieve or to strengthen their present position, some members of the Organization have not already broken the obligations of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, i.e., whether they have not threatened, or used, force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other nations who are members of the Organization.

The United Nations finally will have to consider whether treaties and agreements of a strictly military nature, concluded during hostilities, can be maintained in the light of the principles on which the Organization is founded, and, in particular, whether these treaties can promote peaceful co-operation amongst Nations.

What matters supremely is the translation into practical politics of the high principles laid down in the Charter.

The Assembly will have to face difficulties and dangers resulting from the fact that military operations and political activities of some countries, as well as the decisions of some conferences held during the war, have created a situation of *faits accomplis* which is contrary to the principles of the Charter and to the principles solemnly proclaimed in various declarations by the Great Powers.

We feel it to be our international duty as well as our national right, to draw your attention to the act of political violence committed against our country—Poland—by the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939 when Poland was partitioned between Germany and Russia and her eastern territories subsequently, in accordance with this Pact, annexed by Russia. These territorial acquisitions of the Soviet Union appear to have been agreed to by Great Britain and the United States at the Conferences of Teheran and Yalta, in which Poland did not participate and where decisions were adopted against her will and to the detriment of her most basic rights and vital interests.

In spite of all principles of justice and international law, the U.S.S.R. enforced on Poland the so-called Lublin Committee. This Committee was later recognized by Great Britain and the United States as the Provisional Government of Poland in order to appease Russia and subsequently the President and the Constitutional Government of Poland were derecognized by these Powers. The inclusion in this Provisional Government of some personalities from abroad did not change the communistic-totalitarian character of that government, nor its dependence on Moscow.

Russian troops occupied the entire Polish territory and they did not leave in spite of the fact that hostilities had ended. To-day, under the camouflage of the so-called Provisional Polish Government, the country is controlled by Russian political agents, by the Russian Secret Police and by the Russian Garrison Commanders. The most fully developed and most costly administrative department in Warsaw is the Ministry of Security, which is a branch of the Russian N.K.V.D. and controls by well-known police methods all aspects of political life and all private activities, checking at the very root all manifestations of independent Polish life. Soldiers of the Polish Home Army who, during the whole of the German occupation, fought the Germans against overwhelming odds, are now persecuted by Russian agents to the same extent as are all the political leaders who co-operated with the lawful Polish Government and its Western Allies. Representatives of all classes are arrested, many of them deported to Russia. Even high ranking clergy of the Roman and the Greek Catholic Churches are not spared. The kidnapping of members of the Government who were acting in Poland, and leaders of democratic parties, as well as their trial in Moscow are practical illustrations of the pledges to respect international law and the freedom of Nations and individuals.

the supreme political tribunal of the world and the conscience of the community of nations.

Let us recall article 11 of the Charter:

"The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member of the United Nations."

and article 14:

"The General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth purposes and principles of the United Nations."

The situation created in Poland and in the whole of East Central Europe contains a threat to the peace and security of the whole of Europe.

In the face of these dangers we appeal to all the Delegations to avail themselves of their right and to raise in the Assembly the case of Poland and the other nations which are in a similar position, as demanding the immediate application of measures of peaceful adjustment.

We make this appeal to all Delegations of the freedom-loving countries, because the Delegation which occupies the seats allotted to Poland in the Assembly does not express the will and the interests of the Polish nation, nor can its activities go beyond the limits determined by the policy of the U.S.S.R., which it is compelled to follow. The lawful Polish Government is prevented from representing Poland at the Assembly.

Bitter experience has taught humanity that peace is indivisible and that, if it is disturbed anywhere, it results in a general war from which all the nations suffer.

Freedom is as indivisible as Peace; its violation in one geographical area is a threat to the freedom of all the peoples of the world. The defence of Freedom, wherever it is threatened, should be the main task of the United Nations Organization. It must not fail to live up to this task.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

JAN BALINSKI-JUNDZILL

STEFAN LUBOMIRSKI

ALEKSANDER BREGMAN

ZYGMUNT NAGÓRSKI

WITOLD CZERWINSKI

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