

declares that the integrity of the territory of the Polish Republic within its frontiers of the 1st September, 1939, and its sovereignty, are inviolable and indivisible.

"No unilateral acts or illegal activities, from any quarter whatever, directed against either the territory and sovereignty of the Polish Republic or the rights of its citizens residing in Poland or outside her territorial boundaries, can in any way alter this state of affairs."

10. On reading this I went at once to see Count Raczynski. I told him that I came without any instructions from you, Sir; and only in order to let him know what impression this announcement had made on me, as a friendly but inexperienced observer with no more, so far, than a general idea of Polish affairs. I could not prejudge how you would read the resolution of the National Council, but to me it seemed in the highest degree injudicious from the international point of view to peg out such an uncompromising claim to the Riga frontiers with Russia. The implications of the fact that this was a resolution of the National Council, whereas yesterday's announcement was of a resolution of the Council of Ministers, would not be fully grasped by British public opinion; the two would be read together by the ordinary reader, and the more far-reaching of the two declaring the 1939 frontiers of Poland to be "inviolable and indivisible" would very likely be interpreted as an authoritative description of Polish national feeling. I explained on lines which you can easily imagine how such a categorical claim might seem at once provocative to the Russians and unreasonable to important sections of British opinion; and said that it came as a shock to those like myself who were predisposed to warm friendship and sympathy with his country.

11. The Minister for Foreign Affairs told me in reply that the resolution of the National Council had been passed as long ago as the 17th February, and that the Polish Government had dissuaded the National Council from publishing it at once both on more general grounds and particularly because they did not wish to prejudice the conversations which the Polish Ambassador in Moscow was due to have with M. Stalin immediately on his return to that capital. The Tass broadcast had, however, inflamed Polish sentiments and made members of the National Council feel that only publication would preserve their influence with Poles in Poland.

12. Count Raczynski went on to defend the words "inviolable and indivisible" with a number of, as it seemed to me, unconvincing arguments, but I told him that these did not alter my view. Nor did they. When I took leave of him, however, he thanked me warmly for my remonstrances; and the conclusion may fairly be drawn that he was not sorry to receive in this way some ammunition for use against the more impetuous members of the Polish National Council. At any rate, he said he would be glad if I would come to a small party at the embassy next week, where I could meet the rest of the Polish Government and others concerned and give them directly my own views of what would and what would not prove consistent with the main trend of British opinion about Polish affairs. This is not an invitation which I could easily refuse, but I should be grateful for some general guidance from you before any such meeting took place.

13. In paying my official call on the United States Ambassador to Poland the topics covered by this despatch inevitably came into the conversation. Though Mr. Biddle did not say what advice, if any, he was giving to his own Government, he recommended me to remember that a presidential election was impending in the United States, where there were some 5 million electors of Polish origin and sympathies and many more originating in other Central and South-East European countries who would sooner or later share Polish apprehensions.

I have, &c.

OWEN O'MALLEY.