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rightly so far as I can judge—that the guerrilla bands, into the doubtful nature of whose activities I need not enter here, are operating, apparently in considerable numbers, to the west of the Bug over a considerable part of the Lublin voivodeship including the notorious Chelm district.

10. On such occasions as have presented themselves up to now, Mr. Savery and I have generally replied to Polish arguments of this sort by appealing to political expediency. We have taken up the line that, if, as the Poles themselves believe, there is practically no hope of their ever having friendly relations with Germany, they must try to be on good terms with their other powerful neighbour. To this they reply in their turn that they are quite ready to be on friendly terms with the Soviet Union, provided that the Riga frontier is respected and that the Soviet Government do not interfere in the internal affairs of Poland. It is, however, quite clear that in the light of past experience, especially that of the last four years, they regard the Soviet Government as both unscrupulous and incalculable. They see that that Government is at present claiming everything up to the Ribbentrop-Molotov line and is even taking action, which seems to them suspect, to the west of that line in the heart of ethnographic Poland. They feel no confidence that even this claim which they regard as quite unacceptable represents the maximum of Soviet territorial aspirations in respect of their country.

11. The consistently depressing news which has come through from Moscow and Kuibyshev during the last three months—and even earlier—as to the treatment of the Poles in the Soviet Union, unfortunately contributes to confirm the Poles in their belief that the Soviet Government cannot be regarded as a normal civilised Government. Poles—even those who have themselves had very unpleasant experiences in Russia—are, it is true, often willing to recognise that their countrymen in the Soviet Union are not necessarily being treated worse than Soviet citizens, but unfortunately the recognition of this fact—and it is very creditable to them that they can in many cases recognise it without bitterness—only strengthens their conviction that the Soviet Government is essentially un-European not only in its attitude towards the individual but also in its relations to other Powers.

12. My personal intercourse with the Poles here only dates from the middle of February and in comparing their present attitude with their attitude at various periods of the last four years I rely on Mr. Savery's great knowledge of the subject. For the first twelve months after the signature of the Polish Soviet Agreement in July 1941 General Sikorski's policy towards Russia found increasing support among the Poles in this country. The reports from Poland showed that it was approved by the mass of the Poles there, who were prepared to subordinate all other considerations to the necessity of crushing Germany. Latterly, however, there has been a change, at any rate in the Polish emigration. There is not as yet any widespread tendency to make a scapegoat of General Sikorski but there is a general feeling that the moment is at hand when, as a good Polish patriot, and very few Poles question his right to be so described, he will have publicly to ask the British and American Governments whether they are prepared to live up to their promises and to see that the smaller nations are not sacrificed to the bigger. If he does so, he will know that he has behind him the whole Polish nation—our first ally, than whom no other has been more hardly tried or more unswervingly loyal.

I have, &c.
OWEN O'MALLEY.

Enclosure.

Communiqué of the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist Party.

The Polish Socialist Party and Soviet Pretensions.

(Translation.)

At a meeting of the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist party held on the 5th March the following resolution was taken:—

In view of the repeatedly proclaimed aggressive intentions of Soviet Russia in respect of the eastern half of Poland the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist party affirms that in the war which had been imposed on it the Polish nation is defending its freedom, independence and territorial integrity.