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POLAND

December 22, 1942.

CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION 1.

[C 12841/464/55]

Copy No. 068(a)

The Polish Ambassador to Mr. Eden.—(Received December 22.)

(Confidential.)

Sir,

London, December 17, 1942.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a memorandum on the problem of Central and South-Eastern Europe outlining the views of the Polish Government, a copy of which has also been presented to President Roosevelt and to the Department of State at Washington by the Polish Prime Minister.

This memorandum is no more than a general outline of the views held by the Polish Government on the subject in question. In the light of the interest shown in the problem under review by His Majesty's Government and also by public opinion in this country, as is evidenced by your speech at Leamington on the 26th September, and by the question put forward by Mr. Mander in the House of Commons yesterday, His Majesty's Government might desire to have a more detailed and precise exposition of the views held by the Polish Government on this important problem. Should this be the case, the Polish Government would be glad to furnish any further information required.

I am, &c.

E. RACZYNSKI.

Enclosure.

The Problem of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

THE future international order which the United Nations will build up after the defeat of the "Axis" Powers can be lasting and permanent only if the problems of Central and South-Eastern Europe receive an adequate solution. Central and South-Eastern Europe comprises the territory between Germany and Russia, bordered by the Baltic in the North and by the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Adriatic in the South. It includes nine countries: Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece (possibly also Turkey). The combined area of these countries (without Turkey) is over 570,000 square miles and their total population about 110 millions.

2. This territory is bordered in the North by three Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Sweden and Norway; and by three Baltic countries: Latvia, Estonia and Finland. Although these countries have always maintained close relations with Central and South-Eastern Europe, and will certainly continue them in the future, their political and economic gravitation places them in many respects into a separate group.

3. Central and South-Eastern Europe has long been an area for German expansion. The imperialist plans of German politicians regard the domination of this territory as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a Colonial Empire in Europe and world hegemony. The possibility of conquering that territory is bound to inspire the German mind with aggressive ambitions reaching far beyond the boundaries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. That is why the attempts at appeasing the German spirit of expansion by giving it a free hand in that part of the continent were one of the major political and psychological errors committed after the first World War. The aggressive spirit of Germany and its military power can be broken only by definitely depriving the Germans of the possibility of conquering Central and South-Eastern Europe.

[36—67]

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 321, pages C221059-C221644

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