



**THE CASE**  
of the  
**16 POLES**

**AND THE PLOT FOR WAR  
ON THE U.S.S.R. AS TOLD  
IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS**

**NATIONAL COUNCIL  
OF AMERICAN-SOVIET  
FRIENDSHIP** 10¢

THE CASE

of the

POLES

THE FIVE DOCUMENTS  
AS TOLD  
FOR WAR

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## INTRODUCTION

THE indictment which we publish herewith is an indictment of far wider circles than the sixteen agents of the Polish émigré government in London whom it accuses of terroristic acts against the Red Army that liberated Poland and of plotting for war against the U.S.S.R.

It is an indictment of the Polish émigré government itself, which directed their activities and which for years, while claiming to support the independence of the Polish people, has in fact betrayed the interests of Poland and was prepared to deliver it a second time into fascist bondage. It is an indictment of all those reactionary groups in the United States and in England who have utilized the Polish issue to stir up hatred against the Soviet Union and undermine the structure of the world security organization.

By this indictment all these groups stand convicted before the bar of democratic world opinion.

The facts set forth in this indictment make clear that not the Soviet Government delayed the fulfillment of the Yalta agreement on Poland, but those who were taken in by the propaganda of the London Poles and their supporters, who counted these accused Poles "democrats" and acceptable as leaders to the Polish people, who refused to honor the word of our staunch Soviet ally or their own obligations, and broke off negotiations on the Yalta agreement because of the arrest of this group of conspirators. They also make clear why, as Stalin had stated weeks before, such a group was not and could never have been invited by Soviet authorities for negotiations, as the London Poles had falsely claimed they were. The decisive action taken by President Truman in sending Joseph E. Davies to London and Harry Hopkins to Moscow, brought the discussions back in line with the terms of the Yalta agreement.

Every word set forth in the indictment was confirmed and amplified in the public trial which opened in Moscow on June 17. All but one of the accused (Stypulkowski) pleaded guilty of the charges. They admitted maintaining their "Armia Krajowa" (Home Army) in the underground for purposes of hostilities against the Red Army and the Warsaw Pro-



visional Government. They admitted plotting to form a bloc with Germany for war against the U.S.S.R.

It was not possible this time as in the former Moscow trials for the anti-Sovietees to set up the cry that the trials were faked and the confessions induced by Oriental drugs. The true meaning of the Moscow treason trials has been completely clarified by all that has happened since. But there has not yet been sufficient realization of the deadly seriousness of the threat of war against the Soviet Union revealed in the trial of these Polish conspirators.

Because there are numerous and powerful groups in our own country who likewise are engaged in trying to foment a new world war even before the present one is completed and who are ready to make common cause with our enemies in order to fight our great friend and ally, the Soviet Union, we cannot afford to be in ignorance of any detail of these plots.

In summing up the proceedings of the trial, the Soviet prosecutor, Major General Afanasiev, announced that he would not ask the death penalty for any of the defendants, since they were mere puppets of the Polish Government-in-Exile, and also because "we are now experiencing the joyful days of victory and they are no longer dangerous." He declared:

"This trial sums up the activities of the Polish reactionaries who for years have fought the Soviet Union. Their policy led to the occupation of Poland by the Germans. The Red Army fought for freedom and independence against barbarism. . . . The Soviet Union, with the help of the Allies, played the decisive role in Germany's defeat. But Okulicki and the others wanted to knife the Red Army in the back. . . . They prefer a cordon sanitaire around Russia to friendship with her . . ."

On June 21 sentence was pronounced by Colonel General Ulrich, President of the Soviet Military Tribunal. The heaviest sentence — ten years — was imposed upon the ringleader, Major General Okulicki, commander of the Home Army after the ill-fated Warsaw uprising, while an eight year sentence was imposed on Jankowski, leader of the Polish underground and deputy prime minister of the London Polish government. Bien and Jasiukowicz were given five year terms; Puzak, Zwierzynski, Czarnowski, Mierzwa, Urbanski, Hacinski and Stypulkowski received sen-



tences of from four to eighteen months. Michalowski, Stemler-Domski and Kobylanski were acquitted. Paidak, absent from the trial due to illness, will be tried later.

At this writing, announcement has just been made by Commissar Viacheslav Molotov, British Ambassador Sir Archibald Clark Kerr and United States Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, the commission authorized at the Crimea conference to settle the problem, that the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been agreed upon by the Polish representatives meeting in Moscow. Thus, in the closing days of the San Francisco Conference, the way is open for the inclusion of the new democratic Poland among the United Nations. It is a blot upon the conference that the Polish people, who made such tremendous sacrifices for the Allied cause, were not represented from the start, while fascist Argentina was given a seat. But we can now rejoice at the partial righting of this wrong.

The Warsaw Provisional Government forms the basis of the new government, as was agreed upon at Yalta, with the inclusion of five other Poles from London and within Poland. The Socialist, Peasant and Workers' Parties are represented, and the way is open for inclusion of other democratic parties. Edward Osobka-Morawski continues as Premier, with Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, whose resignation as premier of the London Polish government was forced by his associates' refusal to come to an agreement with the Warsaw regime, as vice-premier. (Mikolajczyk, incidentally, was entirely cleared of any complicity in the subversive activities revealed at the trial.) Boleslaw Bierut will retain his present post as President, and the presidium serving with him will be enlarged to include Wincenty Witos, Peasant Party leader, and twice Premier of Poland; and Dr. Stanislaw Grabski, speaker of the former Polish National Assembly. Jan Stanczyk, former minister of Social Welfare and Labor in the London Polish government is included, and Meczislaw Thugut, former Minister of the Interior, has been invited to participate.

According to the agreement, formal recognition by the United States, England and the Soviet Government will follow the setting up of the new regime, which will function until elections can be held. This will be a powerful impetus to the Polish people in the rebuilding of their country in which gigantic task they have so far been able to count only on their internal forces and the help of their great neighbor the U.S.S.R. They

have already made immense progress in restoring order from the chaos left by the Germans, instituting agrarian reforms, establishing an industrial base, reopening religious, social and cultural institutions. Against many handicaps, they have established the greatest degree of democracy Poland has ever known.

With the coming into being of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, the curtain goes down on the over-long and shabby act played by the London Poles, and they shuffle ignominiously from the stage. But the ugly divisions they fomented have not yet ceased to operate, and the propaganda they disseminated is still at the disposal of the unscrupulous.

That is why we urge that every word in this indictment be read with the greatest care. These facts will help us to a better understanding of the forces arrayed against the U.S.S.R., against the people of Poland, and against the democratic forces everywhere.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

June 25, 1945

# THE CASE OF THE 16 POLES

## *Indictment in the Case of Okulicki, Jankowski, Bien, Jasiukowicz and Others, Sixteen in All, Charged with Crimes Covered by Articles 58-6, 58-8, 58-9, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.*

### INDICTMENT

*In the case of:*

1. *Leopold Blazewicz Okulicki*
2. *Jan-Stanislaw Jozefowicz Jankowski*
3. *Adam Walentjewicz Bien*
4. *Stanislaw Ignatiewicz Jasiukowicz*

*accused of being organizers and leaders of the Polish underground in the Red Army's rear on the territory of the western districts of Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, in Lithuania and Poland and, acting upon instructions of the so-called Polish émigré "government" in London, directing subversive work against the Red Army and the Soviet Union, carrying out terroristic acts against officers and men of the Red Army, organizing diversion and raids of underground armed detachments, conducting propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union and the Red Army; and Okulicki is further accused of conducting intelligence and espionage work in the Red Army's rear.*

*And in the case of:*

5. *Antoni Jozefowicz Paidak*
6. *Kazimierz Woicchowicz Puzak*
7. *Alexander Kazimierowicz Zwierzynski*
8. *Kazimierz Stanislawowicz Baginski*
9. *Stanislaw Francewicz Mierzwa*
10. *Zbigniew Francewicz Stypulkowski*
11. *Eugeniusz Stanislawowicz Czarnowski*
12. *Jozef Antonowicz Hacinski*
13. *Franc Andreewicz Urbanski*
14. *Stanislaw Francewicz Michalowski*
15. *Kazimierz Samuilowicz Kobylanski*
16. *Jozef Henrihowicz Stemler-Domski*



*accused of participating in the subversive work of the Polish underground organizations on the territory of Poland in the Red Army's rear, of knowing that leaders of the underground failed to comply with orders of the Soviet Military Command on the surrendering of radio stations, printing shops, arms and ammunition and used them for criminal purposes.*

### **1. Organization of underground armed detachments of the "Armia Krajowa" (Home Army) in the Red Army's rear.**

During the German occupation, the Polish émigré "government" created on the territory of Poland, Lithuania and the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia, an underground military organization called "Armia Krajowa" (AK) which up to September, 1944, was headed by General "Bor"-Komorowski and, since October, 1944, after he had surrendered to the Germans, by his assistant, Brigadier General Okulicki. Together with the accused Okulicki, Jan-Stanislaw Jozefowicz Jankowski, who styled himself President of the underground "Council of Ministers" of Poland and his "ministers" Adam Walentjewicz Bien and Stanislaw Ignatiewicz Jasiukowicz directed the work of this illegal organization "AK".

Simultaneously the underground so-called "Rada Jednosci Narodowej" (Council of People's Unity) headed by the Secretary General of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) Kazimierz Woicchowicz Puzak, was created on the territory of Poland, and functioned there. The accused Okulicki and the underground "government" had at their disposal armed detachments, stores of arms and ammunition, radio transmitting and receiving stations, underground printing shops and secret places of rendezvous.

The accused Okulicki and the underground "government" slanderously designated the liberation from the German invaders by the Red Army of the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia and also of Lithuania and Poland, as Soviet occupation. Having preserved the underground status of their armed forces and organizations, on the instructions of the Polish émigré "government", they directed their activity against the Soviet Union and started active subversive work in the rear of the Soviet armies in the field. This took the form of acts of sabotage against Red Army communication lines, terroristic acts against officers and men, and propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union among the Polish population. Simultaneously, using radio transmitters for communication

with the Polish émigré "government" in London, the accused transmitted malicious and slanderous information about the Red Army.

To insure stricter secrecy on the activities of the underground, in December, 1944, the accused Okulicki, on instructions of the Polish émigré "government", with the participation of members of the underground "Council of Ministers" and "Rada Jednosci Narodowej", issued an order on the disbandment of the "Armia Krajowa". But simultaneously Okulicki secretly instructed district commandants of the "AK" to preserve the illegal status of the main cadres of officers and men of "Armia Krajowa", to set up carefully camouflaged headquarters in the districts, to preserve and hide arms and ammunition and to conceal the operating radio transmitters. (Vol. 1, pp. 40-42, 58-60.)

The accused Okulicki testified that in December, 1944, General Kopanski transmitted to him by radio a decision of the London Polish "government", to the effect that after the Red Army's entry into the territory of Poland, clandestine organizations of the "Armia Krajowa" should be used for setting up carefully concealed machinery with military and political functions. Okulicki further testified:

"The order of General Kopanski on the maintenance in Poland of concealed headquarters of 'Armia Krajowa', was issued with the aim of preserving the leadership and the command of 'Armia Krajowa', as well as arms, ammunition and money for armed struggle against the Provisional Polish Government and the Red Army. . . ." (Vol. 1, p. 42)

The testimony of the accused Okulicki on the formation of clandestine headquarters in the rear of the Red Army in the field was confirmed also by the accused Jankowski, Bien, Jasiukowicz and Paidak. On this point, Jankowski testified:

"Okulicki informed me and the ministers of the Polish underground government that 'Armia Krajowa' had been formally disbanded and that its participants preserved arms, ammunition and operating radio transmitters. . . ." (Vol. 2, pp. 42 and 43)

The accused Bien testified:

". . . In December, 1944, at a meeting of the Council of Ministers in Piotrkow attended by Jan-Stanislaw Jankowski, Stanislaw Jasiukowicz, Antoni Paidak and myself, Okulicki informed us that he had received an order from London on the disbandment of 'Armia Krajowa'. Okulicki told us that the order of the London government on the disbandment of



'Armia Krajowa' was a political maneuver intended to create the impression of liquidation of the underground armed forces while in reality he, Okulicki, was starting to build a new conspiratorial military organization. In the latter half of February, 1945, a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the underground Polish government was held in the township of Milianowek, attended besides myself by Jankowski, Stanislaw Jasiukowicz and Antoni Paidak. At that time Okulicki informed us of the order issued on the 'Armia Krajowa' providing for the setting up of a secret underground military formation in Poland. Okulicki told us that the creation of this military underground was a strictly secret measure, and that he was holding in readiness in the underground a staff of officers, army headquarters, stores of arms and radio transmitters. . . ." (Vol. 3, p. 87)

The accused Paidak also testified that Okulicki told him that he had issued an order for the disbandment of "Armia Krajowa" and that members of the "AK" were obliged carefully to hide arms, ammunition, radio stations and printing shops. Simultaneously the accused Okulicki informed him about instructions he had given to preserve existing headquarters of "Armia Krajowa". (Vol. 5, pp. 106-107.)

Similar testimony on this subject was given by leaders of the underground: Zwierzynski, president of the "Stronnictwo Narodowe" and vice-president of the "Rada Jednosci Narodowej"; Czarnowski, member of this "Rada" and president of the Board of the "Union of Democrats"; Urbanski, secretary of the "Rada Jednosci Narodowej"; Mierzwa and Kobylanski, members of the central committee of "Stronnictwo Ludowe" Party. (Vol. 7, p. 71), (Vol. 9, p. 70), (Vol. 10, pp. 78, 80), (Vol. 13, p. 94), (Vol. 15, p. 22).

The fact that the accused Okulicki received radiograms from London, with instructions to preserve the headquarters, arms, ammunition and radio equipment of "Armia Krajowa" is confirmed by deciphered radiograms of the Polish émigré "government" and of the leaders of "Armia Krajowa". One of these radiograms (No. 11869 of Dec. 8, 1944) gives the full text of a decision of the émigré "government" of October 14, 1944. This decision points to the necessity of conducting extensive clandestine work in Poland and instructs that the following measures be taken: camouflaging of "Armia Krajowa", careful concealment of arms, the organization of leading underground organs and liaison and the preservation of personnel. In conclusion the radiogram says: "Persons who divulge this decision will be severely punished. The present decision has really been issued by the 'Warta' Government". The accused Okulicki admitted



that the word "Warta" was code designation of the General Staff of Polish troops in London. (Vol. 1, p. 132.)

## 2. On the setting up of the underground military-political organization "Niepodlegloc" ("NE")

In pursuance of the above instructions of the London émigré "government", the accused Okulicki, in an effort to deceive the Red Army command by issuing the order for the disbandment of "Armia Krajowa", actually preserved the main cadres of this army, as well as the radio stations, arms and ammunition.

This underground organization was named by Okulicki, "Niepodlegloc" ("Independence"), in abbreviated form, "NE". The "NE" organization was headed by the accused Okulicki (aliases: "Niedzwiadek," "Termit").

At a meeting of the underground "Council of Ministers" in the township Milianowek (near Warsaw) in February, 1945, the accused Okulicki suggested that a "political center" to direct this organization, be formed from representatives of the parties "Stronnictwo Ludowe," "Stronnictwo Narodowe," PPS (Polish Socialist Party) and "Union of Democrats."

The "Council of Ministers" approved this suggestion and instructed the accused Jankowski to start negotiations with representatives of the above-mentioned parties for the formation of such a political center. On the subject of the organization of underground armed detachments for struggle against the Red Army, the accused Okulicki testified:

"... In March, 1944, when I was received by General Sosnkowski, before flying to Poland, he said that in the near future we could expect a Red Army offensive which would result in routing the Germans in Poland. In that case, Sosnkowski said, the Red Army would occupy Poland and would not permit the existence of 'Armia Krajowa' on Polish territory as a military organization subordinated to the London Polish government. The Soviet military command would insist on the disarmament of 'Armia Krajowa' or its complete subordination and merging with Berling's Polish Army. Sosnkowski pointed out that this situation was intolerable and that 'Armia Krajowa' must be preserved at any cost.

"In accordance with instructions which Sosnkowski gave me, after the Red Army's entry into Poland, certain units of the 'Armia Krajowa' with their command, were to establish contact with the Soviet military command, remaining simultaneously subordinated to the London Polish government and to the chief command of Polish troops. The main forces of the 'Armia Krajowa', however, were to remain underground to fight for Poland's

independence, which, according to Sosnkowski, would be threatened by the Soviet Union in the event that the Red Army Command should disarm the legal units of the 'Armia Krajowa'.

"Sosnkowski suggested that reserve district headquarters of the 'Armia Krajowa' be set up in advance in the event that the 'Armia Krajowa' should be interned or arrested by Soviet military authorities for insubordination to orders of the Red Army command.

"Sosnkowski stated that these reserve headquarters would have to direct the struggle of the 'Armia Krajowa' against the Red Army.

"Sosnkowski asked that these instructions be conveyed to the commander of the 'Armia Krajowa' in Poland, General Bor-Komorowski, which I did during my first meeting with Bor-Komorowski."

The accused Okulicki testified that in July, 1944, Bor-Komorowski ordered him, in accordance with Sosnkowski's instructions, to set up and head the military-political organization "NE" ("Independence"). (Vol. 1, pp. 145-147)

The investigation established that the underground organization "NE" had the following tasks:

1. To build up cadres of the organization, to preserve arms for underground activities and for the preparation of an uprising against the U.S.S.R.;

2. To create armed combat detachments, of not more than sixty men each;

3. To create terroristic, so-called liquidation groups and to carry out terroristic acts against the enemies of "AK" and the representatives of the Soviet military command;

4. To prepare cadres of saboteurs to carry out acts of sabotage only in the period when the uprising was imminent;

5. To engage in military intelligence and counter-espionage in the rear of the Red Army;

6. To preserve radio stations and to maintain radio communications with the chief command of "AK" through London;

7. To conduct printed and oral propaganda against the U.S.S.R. (Vol. 20, pp. 15-16)

In its first stages the "Niepodleglosc" organization was to have a military-political nature and subsequently it was to act as a purely military organization, to which effect a special order was to be issued by the chief command of the "Armia Krajowa."



At the confrontation with the accused Okulicki, former commandant of Lvov district, Janson, testified:

"... I must say that in Warsaw I also received special instructions to the effect that terroristic acts against the officers and men of the Red Army, and also against representatives of Soviet authorities should be carried out with special caution and that these assassinations should be laid at the door of Ukrainian nationalists." (Vol. 1, p. 212)

Asked whether he knew about these instructions, the accused Okulicki confirmed that he did. (Vol. 1, pp. 212-213)

On the subject of his participation in the underground organization "NE," the accused Jankowski testified:

"... Okulicki informed me and the ministers of the underground Polish government that 'Armia Krajowa' had been disbanded formally and that its members preserved the arms, ammunition and operating transmitters. . . . This was done in order to set up a new, deeply-concealed military-political organization in the rear of the Red Army in the field. . .

"This question was discussed in January, 1945, at a conference in Cracow attended by Okulicki, my assistant Jasiukowicz, Colonel Nil of the 'Armia Krajowa' and myself. Okulicki informed us that he had received from the commander-in-chief of the Polish army or from the London Polish government (I do not remember exactly which) a directive instructing him, in view of the changed political situation in Poland after the Red Army's arrival, to start building a new deeply-hidden organization with military-political functions on the basis of the 'Armia Krajowa'.

"The task of this organization was to fight for the independence of Poland which, in our opinion was threatened by the Soviet Union. Okulicki asked me as president of the underground Council of Ministers, to assume temporary political leadership of the organization pending the creation of the leading center. . .

"For the second time this question was discussed after my return from Cracow at a meeting of the underground Council of Ministers in the latter half of February, 1945.

"The meeting of the Council of Ministers took note of Okulicki's information on the setting up of a new organization. Simultaneously Okulicki suggested that representatives of the underground political parties belonging to the 'Rada Jednosci Narodowej' be invited to take part in the leadership of the organization. . .

"Considering the possibility of the liquidation of the underground Polish government I headed, it was suggested that I meet with representatives of the underground political parties and discuss with them the appointment of their responsible representatives to the political center of this organization. . . ." (Vol. 2, pp. 42-45)



The accused Jasiukowicz testified:

"The setting up of this organization had a twofold purpose. Firstly, it was necessary to have a skeleton on the base of which, in case of need, larger military forces could have been swiftly deployed, and, secondly, to have in this organization an organ capable of replacing the underground institute of delegates at a moment's notice. . .

"Okulicki carried out the reorganization of the 'Armia Krajowa' and started building on its basis a new conspiratorial military organization which in his opinion was to have been assigned political functions as well so that this organization could become the main underground center of the London Polish government in the country. . .

"In this connection, Okulicki suggested that the leading political center composed of representatives of underground political parties be formed under him right then."

Jasiukowicz further stated:

". . . Having formally announced disbandment of the 'Armia Krajowa' we actually preserved it, camouflaged it and tried to conceal this fact from the Soviet Union.

"This army was destined for struggle against the Soviet Union and actually conducted diversionist and terroristic activities in the Red Army's rear. Measures of the Soviet military command in the zone of hostilities were sabotaged. Our press and radio stations engaged in slanderous propaganda. The Polish people were being incited against the Russians." (Vol. 4, pp. 34, 40, 85)

The accused Bien testified:

"The new clandestine military organization which Okulicki was building was to carry on subversive work in the rear of the Red Army in the field. . .

"Okulicki carried out the consolidation of the underground armed forces in order, on instructions of Raczkiewicz and Arciszewski, to organize an armed uprising against the Red Army in Poland when the time came. . .

"The Council of Ministers decided that the leadership of the new underground should consist of representatives of Polish underground parties PPS, 'Stronnictwo Ludowe,' 'Stronnictwo Narodowe' and 'Party of Labor' (Vol. 3, pp. 88, 89)

Similar testimony was given by the accused Paidak, Czarnowski, Zwierzynski. (Vol. 5, pp. 107-8; Vol. 9, pp. 71-75; Vol. 7, p. 173)

### 3. Terroristic, diversionary and espionage activities of underground armed detachments of "Armia Krajowa" and "NE."

The investigation has revealed that in the course of 1944 and early in 1945, underground armed detachments of "Armia Krajowa" on the territory of the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia, in Lithuania and in Poland, in the rear of the Red Army in the field, systematically committed terroristic acts against officers and men of the Red Army, sabotage against Red Army communication lines, and armed raids on Soviet military and civil institutions. Along with this, members of the "Armia Krajowa" also gathered intelligence on the Red Army.

Diversions groups and detachments of the "Armia Krajowa" acted not only in regions of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia, which the Polish underground regarded as "seized" from Poland by the Soviet Union, but also in the Red Army's rear all over the territory of Poland.

According to incomplete data, during the period from June 28 to December 31, 1944 alone, as a result of the terroristic activities of the "Armia Krajowa" detachments, 277 Red Army officers and men were killed and 94 wounded. This number included 77 killed or wounded officers, 67 sergeants, 207 Red Army men. From January 1 to May 30, 1945, 317 Red Army officers and men were killed and 125 wounded (see list of names, Vol. 25, pp. 1-84)

Following are some details of the subversive activities of "AK" detachments in the Red Army's rear.

1. Up until recently diversionist "AK" detachments of the "Ragner," "Krys," "Sibiryak," "German," and other groups were active on the territory of Baranovichi and Grodno regions. The "Ragner" detachment was about 300 strong and committed numerous terroristic and diversionary acts in the Red Army's rear, plundered the local population, engaged in arson, caused explosions, etc.;

(a.) On September 10, 1944, in the vicinity of the villege Vorniszki of the Opolje Rural Soviet, in the Lida District of the Grodno region of the Byelo-Russian Republic, part of this detachment under Sergeant Waclaw Stepanowicz Pawlowski (alias "Zawieja") engaged a Red Army unit in open combat.

Arrested on January 22, 1945, Pawlowski testified that he was a member of the "Armia Krajowa," and as such directed combat operations against Red Army units by order of the "AK" command. For this he was dec-



orated and promoted by the latter. This is confirmed by the order of the detachment "Yug," No. 50, of September 15, 1944, which said:

"I thank Senior Sergeant 'Zawieja', commander of the 311th conspiratorial detachment and the soldiers of the 311th detachment for the initiative displayed in routing the Soviet raiding party. Simultaneously I announce that Senior Sergeant 'Zawieja', has been recommended for a decoration by 'Kryz Walecznych' and for promotion." (Vol. 30, pp. 141-143)

(b.) In October and November 1944, in the village of Lyubary, the "Ragner" detachment killed Red Army Lieutenant Kruglyak, opened fire on a car driving along the highway, killing two Red Army servicemen. One Soviet citizen was hanged in the village of Ditriki, of Lida District, and another one shot in the village of Klyukowiczi.

(c.) In October, 1944, the "Ragner" detachment robbed Svirid, a resident of the village of Maruliny, and in September, shot Urbanowicz and Kostiuszin, residents of the village of Kotlowa.

(d.) The detachment fired the pumping station at Bastuny Station of the Bialystok Railway and committed a series of other crimes. This has been confirmed by members of the detachment Urbanowicz, Newerowski, Szumski and by a number of documents. (Vol. 21, pp. 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 94, 95, 170, 171)

2. The commander of the "AK" detachment, "Sibiryak," Lubikowski, had a special school for diversionists on the "Ditriki" estate in Zeludowo District where some two hundred diversionists were trained under his guidance and subsequently distributed to the "Ragner," "Krys," "Sibiryak," and other detachments. (Vol. 31, pp. 13, 17, 39, 40, 47)

Lubikowski called on all diversionists to commit acts of sabotage against railway transport on the anniversary of the incorporation of the western regions of Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine into the Soviet Union. On this subject Lubikowski himself testified:

". . . September 3, 1944 I wrote an order to the commanders of the 'Ragner', 'Krys', 'Orkan', detachments instructing them to carry out acts of diversion on the night of September 17 to 18, 1944, as a demonstration of protest against the Red Army's entry into Polish territory." (Vol. 31, pp. 46)

And further:

". . . I received a written report on the execution of my order . . . from 'Ragner' who informed me that he carried out twelve acts of sabotage,



derailed two trains, blew up two bridges and damaged a railway track in 8 places." (Vol. 31, p. 46)

Describing in detail the subversive activity of Lubikowski's detachment, members of the detachment Kolendo and Lukaszewicz stated:

Kolendo:

". . . On the night of September 17 to 18, 1944 on the order of detachment commander Jagelski, by way of protest, as he explained, against the Red Army's entry on that date in 1939 into the territory of Western Byelorussia, I, together with a group of members of our detachment, blew up the railway track between the stations Nieman and Nowowo-Yelnya." (Vol. 31, p. 10)

Lukaszewicz stated:

". . . As a member of the 'Sibiryak' detachment I participated twice in the blowing-up of freight trains on the Lida-Vilnius sector." (Vol. 31, p. 32)

In the course of the liquidation of the detachment and Lubikowski's arrest, there were recovered two stores of mines, explosives and other accessories for subversive acts. (Vol. 31, pp. 59-61)

3. An order almost identical to that given by Lubikowski was issued also by the commandant of the Nowogrodek sector of "AK," nicknamed "Trud," on September 9, 1944, in which he instructed his subordinates to carry out a series of acts of sabotage in all districts on September 17.

The order said:

"The operations must be universal—blowing up military trains, trucks, railway tracks, burning of bridges, destruction of stores and village soviets. It must be carried out in secret." (Vol. 30, 31, pp. 117, 119-120)

4. On the territory of Lvov, Stanislaw, Drohobycz and Tarnopol regions, armed detachments acted under the commandant of Lvov district, Lt. Colonel Janson of the Polish army, (aliases "Carmen" and "Raigras"). These detachments also committed a number of assassinations and acts of sabotage in the course of 1944-1945. (Vol. 20, pp. 17-20)

One of Janson's subordinates, German, former commander of "AK" detachments in Stanislaw district, (aliases "Globus" and "Kudak"), gave a detailed account of the subversive activities of his detachments in the Red Army's rear, and stated that he had up to 3000 men, with the necessary arms, under his command.

The detachments were divided into groups of approximately 65 each for various assignments, including terroristic detachments specially for the assassinations of representatives of the Soviet military command.

At the time of German's arrest documents were found on him and confiscated which contained plans for diversionary acts against Soviet institutions and orders on organization of the activity of underground detachments. (Vol. 33, pp. 167-168)

5. On the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic in the Red Army's rear the underground organization of the Polish émigré 'government' "Delegatura Rzodu," was active and carried on subversive work. During the liquidation of this organization at the close of 1944 and early 1945, the Soviet military command confiscated in more than 30 secret places of rendezvous the files, correspondence and card index of the security department of "Delegatura Rzodu," stores of arms and ammunition, two operating radio transmitting stations and ten reserve radio stations, a store of radio equipment and a large quantity of literature hostile to the Soviet Union. The investigation of the case of the organization revealed that to coordinate the actions of "Delegatura Rzodu" and "Armia Krajowa" there was formed the so-called "Komitet Powstancy" composed of the delegate of "Rzodu," Fedorowicz, the commandant of "Armia Krajowa," Kulczicki (alias "Wilk") and the officer of the "AK" headquarters, Kokocinski (alias "Julian"). (Vol. 34, pp. 148-186)

6. The diversionary detachment "Grom," which acted in the area of Vilnius at the close of 1944, committed numerous assassinations of Soviet officers and men of the Red Army and plundered collective farms. Detailed testimony on the action of this detachment was given by the former aide of the commander of "Grom," Pawilun, who was detained when the detachment was being routed by Red Army units. (Vol. 20, pp. 167-170; 203-205)

7. In September 1944, the detachment under Stankiewicz shot the chairman of the Malaya Soleshnia rural Soviet, Vassilevsky and his wife and daughter of 18, the chairman of the Bolshaya Soleshnia rural Soviet, Novak, and secretary, Loik; in January 1945 it shot the secretary of the rural Soviet in the village of Kalitantsy.

In January 1945, the detachment under Stankiewicz twice went into action against Red Army units and killed over 50 Soviet servicemen. In February, Stankiewicz's detachment captured 7 Red Army men and



shot them. At the same time the detachment shot two employees of the Podvarany rural Soviet. (See Stankiewicz's testimony Vol. 20, pp. 245-266)

Questioned during the investigation about the diversionary and terroristic acts committed on Polish territory against Red Army officers and men, the accused Okulicki stated in his testimony of May 31 and June 4:

"Having acquainted myself with documents which have been presented to me relating to subversive activities of the 'Armia Krajowa' in the Red Army's rear, I recognize my responsibility for diversionary and terroristic acts committed by members of the 'Armia Krajowa'. (Vol. 1, p. 171)

"As commander of 'Armia Krajowa' I recognize my full responsibility for terroristic acts against Red Army officers and men committed by members of the 'Armia Krajowa' both on the territory of the Soviet Union, that is, in the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia and on Polish territory. . .

"I can say the same about the gathering of intelligence against the Red Army." (Vol. 1, pp. 192, 193)

Similar testimony was given by the accused Jankowski, Jasiukowicz, and Bien.

Jankowski testified:

". . . I did not issue orders for diversion and terroristic acts in the Red Army's rear. This was done on the orders of Bor-Komorowski, and then of Okulicki, as they acted independently of the government, but as the leader of the latter, I repeat I am responsible for the actions of the 'Armia Krajowa' and the 'Niepodleglosc'. . ." (Vol. 2, p. 152)

Bien testified:

". . . As minister of the underground Polish government I am responsible for the activities of the 'Armia Krajowa' including its terroristic and diversionary struggle on Polish territory against the Red Army." (Vol. 3, p. 181)

The accused Jasiukowicz admitted:

"I, too, am responsible for the terroristic and diversionary acts of the 'Armia Krajowa' against the Red Army of which I was accused at the investigation." (Vol. 4, p. 108)

Paidak, Zwierzynski and Czarnowski also admitted their responsibility for the diversionary and terroristic work of the "Armia Krajowa" in the Red Army's rear. (Vol. 5, p. 160; Vol. 7, pp. 259-260; Vol. 9, p. 112)

At the interrogation on June 13, the accused Okulicki fully confirmed that he was guilty of gathering intelligence against the Red Army.

The investigation revealed that on assignments of the Polish émigré "government" members of local organizations of the "Armia Krajowa" also gathered intelligence in the Red Army's rear. This is confirmed by the directive of the Polish émigré "government" addressed to Okulicki and to district commandants of the "AK" dated November 11, 1944, No. 7201-1-777.

Some excerpts from this directive follow:

"... After the liquidation of the Warsaw center, the intelligence service stopped sending exhaustive photographic monthly intelligence reports. Since the knowledge of the military intentions and possibilities . . . of the Soviets in the east is of basic importance for foreseeing and planning further developments in Poland, you must . . . fill the gap by transmitting intelligence reports in accordance with the instructions of the intelligence department of headquarters."

This is followed by detailed instructions concerning the nature of the intelligence to be gathered about military units, supply trains, fortifications, airdromes, armaments, situation on the front, war industry, etc. (Vol. 32, pp. 31A-34A)

Questioned about this document on June 13, the accused Okulicki admitted that he did receive this directive from the Polish "government" in London and proceeded to carry it out. Espionage activities conducted in the Red Army's rear by members of the "AK" were confirmed during the investigation also by a number of other persons.

Thus, formulating the tasks of the "Delegatura Rzondu" on territory liberated by the Red Army from the German invaders, one of its leaders, Fedorowicz, stated:

"... I preserved the underground organization—'Delegatura'—after the liberation of Vilnius by the Red Army, in order to inform the émigré government through the Warsaw center about the situation in Vilnius city and Vilnius district after the ejection of the Germans and the restoration of Soviet power. For this purpose I had people who gathered information on various branches of the economic, political and military activity of Soviet organs." (Vol. 34, p. 194)

An arrested member of the "AK," sub-Lieutenant Swieczkowski (alias "Klewenhagen") stated:

"... After the liberation of Lvov from the German invaders by the Red Army, on assignments of the chief command of the 'AK', in which I worked under the alias of 'Shtukas', I engaged in espionage and gathered intelligence in the Red Army's rear. . ."



Swieczkowski's testimony has been confirmed by written materials on 71 sheets containing espionage data found on him during the arrest. (Vol. 32, pp. 4, 5, 10)

On November 20, 1944, at the Volkovyssk railway station a member of the "Armia Krajowa" Franc Szancilo was detained. In his possession was found and confiscated a package containing espionage information. At the interrogation on January 19, 1945, Szancilo stated:

"... I am a member of the illegal anti-Soviet Polish organization acting on the directives of the Polish government in London. . . . I was enlisted in this organization in March, 1944, by Boltrukiewicz. . . . On November 20, 1944, I was detained at the Volkovyssk Station by Sergeant Safarov just as I was receiving a package from the chief train guard Dionis Bogdanowicz. . . . This package contained espionage information on the condition of railway transport. On instructions of the leader of the organization in Volkovyssk, Boltrukiewicz, I used to bring packages with espionage materials to Bialystok where I delivered them to members of the organization . . . according to agreed pass words." (Vol. 32, pp. 104, 109, 110, 111)

For the transmission of intelligence the Polish underground organizations of the "AK" used radio stations at their disposal. Here are some radiograms intercepted and deciphered:

1. Radiogram of the Rzeszow district of the "AK" of October 11, 1944, addressed to the Cracow district "AK":

"... From Przetecza, the Dukielska Psianka front passes along the Polish-Slovak and Hungarian frontiers. On the Slovak frontier in the Jaswinska area the enemy has made insignificant territorial gains. The Soviets are preparing evacuation in the southward direction from Rzeszow." (Vol. 19, pp. 122-124)

2. Radiograms from Cracow addressed to the chief command. No. 621-2:

"In the latter half of March an average of 20 trains with troops and munitions (artillery, American tanks, infantry, of whom one third were women) were passing daily in a western direction. About 13 trains with coal and 1 with machinery being carried away from Poland passed in an eastern direction. An order on the urgent conscription of 1895-1925 age classes has been posted in Cracow. A ceremony of commissioning 800 officers brought from the east took place in Cracow with the participation of General Zymierski. The majority of the newly commissioned officers have an elementary education." (Vol. 32, pp. 35A-36A)

#### **4. Work of the illegal receiving and transmitting radio stations of the "Armia Krajowa" and of the underground Polish "government" in the rear of the Red Army.**

As revealed by the investigation, the "Armia Krajowa" and other Polish underground organizations active in the rear of the Red Army, had at their disposal a widely ramified network of illegal radio stations. In violation of orders of the Soviet military command on the surrender of receiving and transmitting radio equipment, the regional and lower underground organizations of the "Armia Krajowa" preserved such equipment and used their radio stations to transmit to the Polish émigré "government" and to the high command of the "AK," reports on the fulfillment by them of orders and instructions, espionage information about the Red Army, and slanderous and provocational fabrications concerning the Red Army's actions on the territory of Poland liberated from the German invaders.

The Polish underground "government" used the radio transmitters for sending tendentious and slanderous information to the Polish émigré "government" concerning the political situation in Poland. The accused Okulicki, Janowski, Bien, Paidak, Jasiukowicz, Puzak, Zwierzynski, Czarnowski, Baginski, Hacinski, Urbanski, and Michalowski, confirmed this at the investigation. During the period from August, 1944, to May, 1945, Soviet military authorities seized 25 illegal radio transmitters, of which 15 were on the territory of Poland (in the cities of Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, Kielce, Piotrkow, Siedlce, Bialystok, Chelm, Rzeszow, Tarnow, Minsk-Mazowiecki and Biala-Podliaska); 10 in the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia and in Lithuania (in Lvov, Lida, Vilnius and other cities). Radio operators, technicians and men in charge of underground radio stations, in particular, Switalski, Kujawinski, Oszmianski and Grolinska were arrested during the confiscation of wireless stations.

All the above persons, on being called to account, gave detailed testimony about the organization and use of the radio stations in the rear of the Red Army. (Vol. 17, pp. 9-23, 86-104, 218-231).

More detailed data about some clandestine radio stations follows:

1. On September 8, 1944, secret radio station No. 20 of the "Armia Krajowa" was confiscated in Zaleski hamlet (18 kilometers northwest of the town of Lida, Byelo-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic). During the liquidation of this wireless station there were confiscated: a portable



receiving and transmitting radio station, a radio set with spare parts, two note books containing the texts of transmitted and received coded radiograms and wireless codes.

Orenwo-Rylski, director of communications at the Nowogrudek-Lida district of the "Armia Krajowa", who worked at this radio station, said at the interrogation:

"As a member of the 'Armia Krajowa' I worked at first at the radio station of the headquarters of Nowogrudek district directly under the chief-of-staff of the 'Warta' . . . After the disarmament of the 'Armia Krajowa' upon 'Warta's' instructions, I went into hiding, having the assignment to organize and establish a clandestine radio station in the rear of the Red Army." (Vol. 17, p. 238).

2. On October 15, 1944, clandestine radio station No. 41 of the "Armia Krajowa," which maintained contact with the London Polish émigré "government," was confiscated in the town of Rzeszow (Poland). Then and there were also confiscated two operation ledgers containing records of communications (call signals, wave lengths, audibility) and a number of dispatches received and transmitted every day.

3. On February 19, 1945, clandestine radio No. 55 of the "Armia Krajowa," which maintained contact with the Polish émigré "government," was discovered and confiscated in the town of Piaseczno (Warsaw area).

4. On March 9, 1945, clandestine radio station No. 54 of the "Armia Krajowa," which maintained contact with the Polish émigré "government," was discovered and confiscated in the town of Piotrkow (Poland) as well as two portable receiving and transmitting radio stations, two ledgers of coded radiograms and radio codes.

The commander of the Lvov district of the "Armia Krajowa," Lieut. Col. Felix Alexandrovicz Janson (alias "Carmen"), who was arrested in April, 1945, in Lvov, testified concerning the use of radio communication by him:

"Since the arrival of the Red Army in Lvov until my arrest, I transmitted one dispatch nearly every day through the radio station of Lvov district or of Rzeszow sub-district to the high command of the 'Armia Krajowa'. In these dispatches I reported on the general situation in the Western Ukraine and political sentiments, about the Poles' attitude towards the Polish Provisional Government, towards the Polish government in London, and towards the Soviet authorities and about the attitude of the Soviet

authorities to the Poles. I also reported about the general organizational state of the 'AK' and the number of its members in one or another period." (Vol. 20, p. 50).

As commander of the Lvov district, Janson maintained personal contact over the radio with Okulicki, commander of the "Armia Krajowa." (Vol. 20, pp. 49-59)

## **5. Plan for the preparation of military action in a bloc with Germany against the USSR.**

In organizing the underground, preserving cadres and headquarters, arms and ammunition, the commander of the "Armia Krajowa" and the underground "government" drew up plans for the preparation of military action in a bloc with Germany against the U.S.S.R. A directive dated March 22, 1945, addressed to the commandant of the western district of the "Armia Krajowa," Colonel "Slavbor," by the commander of the "Armia Krajowa," Okulicki, and confiscated during the search, reads:

"In the event of the victory of the U.S.S.R. over Germany this will not only threaten Britain's interest in Europe but the whole of Europe will be frightened. . . . Considering their own interests in Europe, the British will have to proceed to the mobilization of the forces of Europe against the U.S.S.R. It is clear that we shall take a place in the front ranks of this European anti-Soviet bloc; it is also impossible to visualize this bloc without the participation of Germany which will be controlled by the British." (Vol. 33, pp. 35-36).

This "directive" also states that subsequently the Polish underground would be included "in the anti-Soviet bloc organized by the British." "And meanwhile," the directive continues, "we must make full use of their material aid." (Vol. 33, p. 36)

Having acknowledged that this directive was issued by him as commander of the "Armia Krajowa," Okulicki testified that the idea of the possibility of the creation of a Polish-German bloc against the U.S.S.R. occurred to him at the time of the Warsaw uprising.

". . . At the close of September, 1944, the commander of the 'Armia Krajowa', General Bor-Komorowski, negotiated regarding surrender with the commander of the German troops in Warsaw — SS. Obergruppenfuehrer von Den-Bach. Bor-Komorowski appointed the deputy chief of the second (intelligence) department of headquarters, Colonel Boguslawski,



to conduct negotiations as representative of the chief of staff of the 'Armia Krajowa'. Reporting to Bor-Komorowski in my presence on the terms of surrender advanced by the Germans, Boguslawski said that von Den-Bach thought it necessary by the Poles to cease armed struggle against the Germans because it was the Soviet Union that was the common enemy of Poland and Germany. On meeting Bor-Komorowski on the day of the surrender I told him that von Den-Bach was possibly right and Bor-Komorowski agreed with me on this." (From the testimony of Okulicki, Vol. 1, pp. 94, 95).

Okulicki's orientation on building up a military bloc of Poland and Germany against the Soviet state was also confirmed by German, former commandant of the Stanislaw district of "Armia Krajowa," arrested on another charge. He testified:

"The last time I met Janson, between December, 1944 and early February, 1945, he told me that he had received information from the commander-in-chief of the 'AK'. The commander-in-chief of the 'AK' (I do not know his name, or nickname) told Janson that both Germany and Poland regarded the U.S.S.R. as their enemy. Germany will strive for revenge against the U.S.S.R. and Poland will strive to restore territories which she does not recognize as belonging to the Soviet Union. Poland and Germany having common interests may become allies in the coming war against the U.S.S.R." (Vol. 20, pp. 69-70)

The command of the "AK" and the underground "government" through their directives and leaflets, circulated among the population slanderous fabrications in regard to the Soviet Union and the Red Army. The accused Okulicki testified:

"In my instructions to district commandants of the 'Armia Krajowa' I pointed out that the Red Army is an army of occupationists which came to replace the Germans. The Polish underground government conducted similar subversive work against the Red Army . . ." (Vol. 1, p. 96)

The accused Urbanski testified on this subject:

". . . At the beginning of the liberation of Polish territory by the Red Army . . . illegal organizations, through their press, conducted active propaganda among the Polish population to the effect that the Red Army is an army of occupation. . . . Particularly active in spreading this propaganda was the press of the Polish Socialist Party, in particular, the newspaper 'Robotnik', also the press of the underground government, the newspaper 'Rzeczpospolita'." (Vol. 10, p. 56)

This was also confirmed by Paidak, Mierzwa, Czarnowski, Michalowski and Stemler-Domski.

“ . . . The illegal press of the information department, especially the newspaper ‘Rzeczpospolita Polska’, conducted hostile propaganda against the Red Army and the Soviet Union. The substance of this propaganda was that we presented the Soviet Union as an annexationist state, the Red Army was presented by the press as an army of occupation coming to replace the German occupation.” (From the testimony of Stemler-Domski, Vol. 16, p. 28)

Similar testimony on propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union conducted in the rear of the Red Army is given by Jankowski, Paidak, Czarnowski, Michalowski, Zwierzynski, Bien and Jasiukowicz. The investigation produced vast documentary material irrefutably confirming that calumnious fabrications of the Polish underground under the leadership of persons prosecuted in the present case, were used by the latter also for the purpose of calling for sabotage of measures of the Soviet military command. They were also used to supply London with deliberately false information, making it possible for the Polish émigré “government” to misinform the British Government concerning the real situation in Poland. In acknowledging this, the accused Jasiukowicz testified:

“In order to misinform the British Government in the hope that it would render more active support to the London Polish government — we supplied London with tendentious and slanderous information. We held that if we ourselves did not strive for international intervention in the Polish problem — its solution would be delayed. Some impetus was required. We considered that the type of information which I have mentioned would provide such an impetus.” (Vol. 4, pp. 85-86)

The Polish underground newspaper “Warszawski Glos Narodowy” in its issue No. 3-131 of February 21, 1945, wrote:

“The results of the conference (Crimean), regarded from the viewpoint of Poland’s interests, can cause pessimism indeed. The general situation is as follows: The whole of Poland is in the hands of the Soviets, there are no signs on earth or in the sky which would foreshadow any concessions or even ejection of the Bolsheviki from the territory of Rzeczpospolita. Finally, the ‘Leaders of the Three Allied Governments’ decided that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the ‘Curzon’ line (with small deviations from the ‘Curzon’ line in certain districts of 5 to 8 kilometers, in favor of Poland). Thus, an end to deception and an end to Poland!



But where is the word of the Allies? And where is the conflict predicted between the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians?

"We have presented the actual situation as it looks today, and now let us turn to the prospects. The Anglo-Saxons have already led us astray several times. We have long known that their relations with Russia are a beautiful game in which we watch with bated breath. Every conference is a new deception. Churchill's every speech is a new and even prettier deception. The Crimean conference is the greatest deception of all. When will this nerve-wracking, terrible game at last come to an end? When will the Allies at last seize Russia by the throat?" (Vol. 33, pp. 81-98)

Zwierzynski, vice president of the underground "Rada Jednosci Narodowej," currently president of the National Democratic Party "Stronnictwo Narodowe" confirmed that the above newspaper was published by the underground of which he, too, was a leader. As regards its issue of February 21, this year, a copy that belonged to him was confiscated from Zwierzynski at his secret residence. (Vol. 7, pp. 311, 312).

## FORMULATION OF THE CHARGE

The investigating authorities consider it established that:

1. The accused in the present case, Okulicki, Jankowski, Bien and Jasiukowicz, after the liberation of territory of the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia, also Lithuania and Poland, were the organizers and leaders of Polish underground organizations on that territory and conducted active subversive work in the rear of the Red Army;

2. The accused Okulicki, with the complicity of the accused Jankowski, Bien and Jasiukowicz, acting on the instructions of the Polish émigré "government," falsely informed the Soviet military command about the dissolution of the "Armia Krajowa," while in reality preserving its headquarters and officer cadres and on this base built up a new conspiratorial military-political organization under the name of "NE"—"Niepodleglosc" ("Independence"), with a view to continuing subversive work in the rear of the Red Army and preparing military action in a bloc with Germany against the U.S.S.R.;

3. They guided the subversive activities of the underground organizations they had created, directed them towards the perpetration of terrorist acts against soldiers and officers of the Red Army, and diversionary acts against the communications of the Red Army, thus bearing the whole

moral and political responsibility for diversions and terrorist acts committed in the rear of the Red Army;

4. Contrary to the order of the Soviet military command on the compulsory surrender of receiving and transmitting wireless stations, arms and ammunition, they hid and utilized them for subversive work against the Red Army in the field;

5. The accused Okulicki engaged in intelligence-espionage work in the rear of the Red Army;

6. The accused Paidak, Puzak, Zwierzynski, Baginski, Mierzwa, Stypulowski, Czarnowski, Hacinski, Urbanski, Michalowski, Kobylanski and Stemler-Domski took part in subversive activities of the Polish underground on Polish territory in the rear of the Red Army in the field, and were aware of the failure of the leaders of the underground to comply with the orders of the Soviet military command on the surrender of receiving and transmitting wireless stations, arms and ammunition and utilized them for criminal aims. The accused Okulicki, Jankowski, Jasiukowicz, Bien, Paidak, Zwierzynski, Czarnowski, Kobylanski, Mierzwa, Urbanski, Michalowski and Stemler-Domski have fully pleaded guilty of the charges presented and their guilt is established by the documents of the case, the material evidence and the testimony of witnesses.

The accused Puzak, Hacinski and Baginski have pleaded guilty in part; Puzak and Hacinski — of being aware of the existence of the illegal wireless station of the underground "government" and of using it to communicate with the émigré "government" in London. Baginski — of negotiating with Okulicki and Jankowski about taking part in the under-session of the underground "Council of Ministers." The accused Stypulowski pleaded not guilty. However, the guilt of all of them is established by the documents in the case, the material evidence, the testimony of witnesses and of the other accused.

On the basis of the above, the following persons are accused:

1. Leopold Blazewicz Okulicki: born 1898 in the village of Okulice, Cracow province; Pole; Polish citizen; brigadier general of the Polish Army; graduated from the Academy of the Polish General Staff in 1925; appointed in 1943 by the London Polish "government" deputy commandant of the "Armia Krajowa" for operational work; commander of the "Armia Krajowa" in Poland after the suppression by the Germans of the Warsaw uprising and the surrender of Bor-Komorowski to the



Germans; before arrest held illegal status as the leader of the Polish underground, which carried out subversive work in the rear of the Red Army, of having committed crimes listed in paragraphs 1-5 of the Formulation of the Charge, i.e. crimes covered by articles 58-6, 58-8, 58-9, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

2. Jan-Stanislaw Jozefowicz Jankowski: born 1882, a native of Wysokomazowieck district (Poland); Pole; Polish citizen; university education, graduated from the Agricultural Department of Cracow University, as an agricultural engineer; deputy prime minister of the Polish London "government" since April 1943; remained in Poland and headed the underground Polish "government"; was on illegal status in Poland before arrest.

3. Adam Walentjewicz Bien: born 1899 in the village of Assalja of Sandomir district; Pole; Polish citizen; university education, lawyer; member of the presidium of the Peasant Party "Stronnictwo Ludowe"; vice president of the underground "Council of Ministers" since January, 1944; was on illegal status in Poland before arrest.

4. Stanislaw Ignatiewicz Jasiukowicz: born in 1882 in Leningrad; Pole; Polish citizen; graduate of Munich University, doctor of political economy; member of the presidium of the party of National Democrats "Stronnictwo Narodowe"; was minister of the Polish underground "government" since 1943; was on illegal status in Poland before arrest, as leader of the aforesaid underground which carried on subversive work in the rear of the Red Army.

The above are accused that as leaders of the aforesaid underground which carried on subversive activities in the rear of the Red Army, they committed crimes listed in paragraphs 1-4 of the Formulation of the Charge, i.e., crimes covered by articles 58-8, 58-9, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

5. Antoni Jozefowicz Paidak: born 1894 in the village of Biskupica in Cracow province; Pole; Polish citizen; university education, lawyer; member of the Cracow district committee of the Polish Socialist Party; Minister in the Polish underground "government" since 1943 and was on illegal status in Poland before arrest.

6. Kazimir Woichechowicz Puzak: born 1883 in Tarnopol; graduated from the law department of Lodz University; was secretary-general of the Polish Socialist Party since 1921, and president of the underground parliament "Rada Jednosci Narodowej" since January, 1944.

7. Alexander Kazimierowicz Zwierzynski: born 1880, native of the town-

ship Tuszyn in Lodz province; Pole; Polish citizen; university education, lawyer; journalist by profession; president of the party of National Democrats, "Stronnictwo Narodowe" and vice president of the "Rada Jednosci Narodowej."

8. Kazimir Stanislawowicz Baginski: born 1890 in Warsaw; Pole; Polish citizen; university education; journalist; deputy chairman of the presidium of the Polish Peasant Party "Stronnictwo Ludowe" and vice president of the underground parliament "Rada Jednosci Narodowej."

9. Stanislaw Francewicz Mierzwa: born 1905 in the village of Biskupica of Cracow province; Pole; Polish citizen; university education; lawyer; member of the central committee and secretary of the Cracow organization of the Peasant Party "Stronnictwo Ludowe."

10. Zbigniew Francewicz Stypulkowski: born 1904 in Warsaw; Pole; Polish citizen; member of the presidium of the party "Stronnictwo Narodowe."

11. Eugeniusz Stanislawowicz Czarnowski: born 1904 in Lodz; Pole; Polish citizen; university education, economist; president of the board of the Association of Democratic Organizations "Union of Democrats" and member of the underground parliament "Rada Jednosci Narodowej."

12. Jozef Antonowicz Hacinski: born 1889 in Warsaw; Pole; Polish citizen; university education, lawyer; president of the "Labor Party" ("Stronnictwo Pracy") since 1937.

13. Franc Andrejewicz Urbanski: born 1891, native of Kutno district of Warsaw province; Pole; Polish citizen; responsible secretary of the "Labor Party" and secretary of the chief commission of the "Rada Jednosci Narodowej."

14. Stanislaw Francewicz Michalowski: born 1903, native of the township Kurni in Poznan province; Pole; Polish citizen; university education, lawyer; vice president of the Association of Democratic Organizations "Union of Democrats."

15. Kazimierz Samuilowicz Kobylanski: born 1892 in Warsaw; Pole; Polish citizen; member of the Party of National Democrats "Stronnictwo Narodowe."

16. Jozef Henrihowicz Stemler-Domski: born 1888 in Dallin, Lvov province; Pole; Polish citizen; university education; vice director of the information department of the Polish underground "government" and director of the book publishing section of the same department.



The above are accused, as participants of the Polish underground which carried on subversive work in the rear of the Red Army, of having committed crimes listed in paragraph 6 of the Formulation of the Charge, i.e., crimes covered by articles 17-58-8, 58-9, 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

In view of the above, in accordance with paragraph 7 of the agreement concluded on July 26, 1944, between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Polish Committee of National Liberation "On Relations Between the Soviet Commander-in-Chief and the Polish Administration After the Entry of Soviet Troops into the Territory of Poland," subsequently confirmed by the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic, all of the accused enumerated above, falling under the jurisdiction of Soviet military authorities, are to be tried by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Drawn up in Moscow, June 14, 1945.

*Chief Military Procurator of the Red Army*

MAJOR-GENERAL AFANASIEV.

