(C 16761/761/G) MOST SECRET.

Introductory note.

On November 25th at 1100 hrs Lt.-Col. H.B. Perkins acting on behalf of the S.O.E. and according to instructions from the British Foreign Office has seen Maj.-Gen. S. Tabor C.B. Deputy-British Government feel bound to withdraw facilities which have been granted to the Polish portion with been granted to the Polish authorities in connexion with assisting the Polish Underground.

At 1600 hrs. the VIth Bureau, Polish G.H.O. has been informed that instructions have been forwarded to Italy withholding the departure of the British Military Mission to

Maj.-Gen. Tabor has been further informed on November 26th (letter from Lt.-Col. Perkins Nr. HBP/PD/6487) that the operations to Poland have been cancelled until further notice. At 1600 hrs. in the course of the same day Lt.-Col. Perkins told Lt.-Col. M. Utnik, Chief of the VIth Bureau Polish G.H.Q., that these orders do not apply to the operation "Wildhorn".

On November 30th the Polish VIth Bureau have been informed that starting from midnight November 29th a censorship is introduced on all communications with Poland and ciphers have to be surrendered (Letter from Lt.-Col. Perkins Nr. HPB/PD/6496 of November 30th).

Finally on November 30th Maj.-Gen. Tabor has been informed by Lt.-Col. Perkins about the decision communicated to the latter in the Foreign Office on November 30th at 1300 hrs., namely that "no flights are allowed to Poland until the clarification of the situation, with the exception of "Wildhorn"", Moreover no passengers can be taken with the "Wildhorn" operation. The British Military Mission is stopped in Italy. Decisions concerning the censorship of all communications and the surrender of ciphers are maintained. No reasons for all these measures have been given and Maj. -Gen. Tabor considers them as temporary and subject to changes.

Thus the following state of things has been created: a. all flying operations to Poland have been cancelled from November 26th,

b. the departure of the British Military Mission to Poland has been withheld,

sending of officers and couriers by the "Wildhorn" operation has been forbidden,

d. restrictions on communications with Poland have been introduced.

The effect of these measures is as follows:

a. the Polish Underground Army will be deprived of supplies (ammunition, arms, W/T equipment, medical supplies etc.),

the Polish Underground Army and the entire Resistance Movement will not be supplied with money,

c. no specialists (staff officers, military technicians, instructors, radio-operators etc.) will be sent to the Polish Home Army,

the essential exchange of the military personnel and delivery of more voluminous correspondence (instructions, detailed orders, general information etc.) will have to stop,

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e. no couriers-operators allowed, f. censorship of all communications will cause a considerable

delay in communication with the Field.

The above decisions have been taken inspite of assurances given by Prime Minister Churchill to M.S. Mikolajczyk (then Acting Prime Minister) on November 29th, that no restrictions on assistance to the Polish Home Army will be introduced.

It is difficult to appreciate the extent of the moral damage caused by these decisions - if they are maintained - to the Polish Home Army and to the Polish Nation as a whole. These measures amount practically to the withdrawal of assistance to a Nation which is fighting relentlessly and in most difficult conditions against the common enemy. Allied leaders have publicly stated several times that anybody fighting the Germans deserves and will receive assistance.

It is an established fact that no Underground activities can be carried on in an enemy occupied country without a regular assistance from outside under the form of equipment and money, or without the maintenance of personal contact through military couriers (operators).

No military Underground activities can be carried on without the help of instructors and military specialists sent from outside (foreign equipment).

No radio-communication can be maintained without a steady supply of W/T equipment, which cannot be fabricated on the spot and needs frequent replacement in the very difficult conditions of underground fighting.

The Polish Home Army, cut off from its sources of supplies, is bound to restrict its activities and finally to stop them Thus the armed resistance against the Germans, sabotage and diversive operations in occupied Poland could come to an end.

Once the hugh structure of the Polish Underground, built-up at tremendous cost during the last 5 years, will be dislocated, - it will be hardly possible to rebuild it again.

The intelligence work carried on efficiently by the Polish Home Army in the whole area of the Eastern Front and in Eastern Germany for the use of the Allies will be bound to cease.

The fact that the eagerly expected British Military Mission is not going to Poland will cause a bitter disappointment to the Forces fighting in Poland. The Polish General Staff and the High Command of the Home Army in Poland were hoping for a great improvement in military co-operation of the Underground Forces with the Allied armies in the final stages of the war, which would certainly have resulted from the sending of the British Military Mission.

Lastly - the censorship applied to the complicated system of communications with Poland will restrict drastically its efficiency and is at the same time a proof of lack of confidence.

It is therefore suggested:

1. to lift the ban on dropping operations to Poland,

- 2. to authorise the sending of the British Military Mission to Poland,
- 3. to leave the matter of W/T communications with Poland in the hands of the Polish authorities, co-operating closely with the British authorities, granting to the former permission to use the procedure as established during the last 4 years.

December 2nd, 1944.