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## Concerning: fascist-guerilla, espionage, hostile, defeatist and terrorist activities of Polish Intelligence in the USSR

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Polityka i Społeczeństwo nr 5, 220-239

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

**CONCERNING: FASCIST-GUERILLA, ESPIONAGE,  
HOSTILE, DEFEATIST AND TERRORIST  
ACTIVITIES OF POLISH INTELLIGENCE  
IN THE USSR<sup>1</sup>**

**(based on an annotated translation from Russian by  
Aleksander Kochański)**

11 August 1937

Top secret

[Order no. 00485]

Attached to the present order, a secret document concerning fascist-guerilla, espionage, hostile, defeatist and terrorist activities of Polish intelligence services in the USSR as well as evidence related to an investigation into the PMO (Polish Military Organization) – prove that Polish intelligence has carried out long-term and relatively unobstructed sabotage-espionage work in the territory of the (Soviet) Union.

The collected evidence makes it clear that the hostile activities of Polish intelligence and their impunity could only be explained in terms of poor effectiveness of the highest organs of the State Security Directorate and of carelessness of the WCzK members.

The currently undertaken operations to get rid of local Polish guerilla-espionage units and to hinder activities of the Polish Military Organization have not succeeded fully. The pace and scale of the conducted investigations are extremely ineffective. Basic units of Polish intelligence have managed to escape being identified for operational purposes (out of the mass of Polish refugees, counting ca. 15 thousand people, in the whole Union only 9 thousand have been

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<sup>1</sup> The English translation is based on a Polish version of source documents edited and annotated by A. Kochański who used original Russian texts included in the publication: A. Sudopłatow, *Tajna żyźń gienierala Sudopłatowa*, vol. I, Moscow 1998. See also „Karta”, no. 11, 1993, pp. 27–29.

formally registered). In western Siberia, out of ca. 5 thousand of the refugees residing in the territory, not more than 1 thousand people have been registered. The same applies to the registry of political émigrés from Poland. As regards activities aimed at limiting espionage, they are almost non-existent. Moreover, existing rings of spies consist in principle of double agents, supplanted by Polish intelligence.

Not sufficiently consistent liquidation of cadres of Polish intelligence is all the more dangerous in the situation when the Moscow centre of the Polish Military Organization has been just destroyed and many of its most active members have been arrested. Polish intelligence, foreseeing further arrests, is trying to activate, and in some cases has already activated, its sabotage network implanted in the national economy of the USSR, especially in those of its elements which are connected with national defense.

The basic task of the OGPU<sup>2</sup> organs involves now blocking anti-Soviet activities by Polish intelligence and implementing a programme of total liquidation of the wide-spread sabotage-guerilla grassroots of the Polish Military Organization as well as of basic human resources of Polish intelligence in the USSR.

I order you to:

1) Begin on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, 1937 a large-scale operation whose aim is to totally liquidate local units of the Polish Military Organization and in particular their sabotage-espionage and guerilla cadres found in the economic sector, in transportation, in state farms and collectively owned farms. The whole operation should be executed within three months, i.e. by the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, 1937.

2) Arrest:

- a) the most active members of the Polish Military Organization, both identified during the current investigations and so far unidentified, according to the attached list<sup>3</sup>;
- b) all Polish prisoners of war remaining in the USSR;
- c) refugees from Poland, irrespective of the date of their entry into the territory of the USSR;
- d) political émigrés and individuals arrived in the USSR in the framework of political prisoner exchange programmes;
- e) former members of the Polish Socialist Party<sup>4</sup> and of other Polish anti-Soviet political parties;

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<sup>2</sup> Joint State Political Directorate.

<sup>3</sup> The mentioned list is not preserved.

<sup>4</sup> Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – PPS.

f) the most active local anti-Soviet nationalists in the Polish regions<sup>5</sup>.

3) Carry out the operation in two phases:

- a) First, to arrest the afore listed categories, employed in the organs of the NKVD<sup>6</sup>, in the Red Army, in military production units, in military departments of all of the other production units, in road, rail, sea and air transportation, in energy departments of all of the other industrial production units, in gas and oil refineries;
- b) Next, to arrest all others, working in industrial plants which have no military significance, in state farms and collectively owned farms and in administrative offices.

4) To proceed with investigations simultaneously with the arrests. During the investigations the most efforts should be devoted to identify organizers and leaders of the sabotage units in order to expose the intelligence network fully.

Any spies, enemies and guerilla fighters revealed during the investigations must be immediately arrested. A special group of fieldwork officers should be established to carry out the investigations.

- 5) All of the arrested, following identification of their crimes during the course of investigation, are to be divided into two categories:
- a) the first category, to be shot, includes all members of the espionage, sabotage, hostile and guerilla cadres of Polish intelligence;
  - b) the second category, including less active members of the cadres, is to be sent to prisons and labour camps for the period of 5 to 10 years.

6) Every 10 days lists must be compiled of those included in the first and second category comprising brief presentations of the investigation evidence and intelligence evidence to make clear the degree of guilt of the particular arrested individuals; the lists should be sent for final confirmation to the NKVD People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR. Basing on analyzes of the investigation evidence and the intelligence evidence, the arrested individuals are to be included in the first or second category by a People's Commissar of Internal Affairs

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<sup>5</sup> The first Polish national region in the USSR was created on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July in 1925. It was named after Julian Marchlewski. Initially, it spread over 650 km<sup>2</sup> and was located in the territory where the Polish national minority prevailed – in Ukraine, bordering with Poland. It was inhabited by slightly more than 40 thousand people, out of which 69% were constituted by Poles. The second Polish region was created in the territory of the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic – the Kojdanova Polish National Region (15<sup>th</sup> of March 1932 – 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1937) which was named after Feliks Dzierżyński since April of 1932.

<sup>6</sup> Narodny Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del – People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

of the given Soviet Republic, Head of the Main Directorate of the NKVD in a given region or province, acting in co-operation with a relevant prosecutor of the given Republic, region or province. The lists are to be sent to the Main Directorate of the NKVD signed by the relevant People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the given Republic, Head of the Main Directorate of the NKVD in the given region or province in co-operation with the relevant prosecutors. When approved by the Main Directorate of the NKVD and the Main Prosecutor of the USSR, the ordered sentence is to be immediately executed: the convicted belonging to the first category are to be shot, while those belonging to the second category are to be directed to prisons and labour camps in accordance with the directives of the Main Directorate of the NKVD of the USSR.

7) Stop releasing from prisons and camps those who were sentenced earlier as a result of charges related to participating in espionage to the benefit of Poland. A report on each of the prisoners must be reviewed by the Extraordinary Unit at the Main Directorate of the NKVD of the USSR.

8) The operation aimed at the destruction of the Polish Military Organization and the liquidation of the other elements of the Polish intelligence system is to be simultaneously used to recruit new agents on the Polish side. While recruiting, special care must be taken to safeguard the NKVD organs from being infiltrated by a ring of double agents implanted by Polish intelligence. Lists of agents to be recruited, including their thorough evaluation, are to be sent for approval to Head of the Main Directorate of the State Security Department, Commissar Frinovsky<sup>7</sup>.

9) Every 5 days, that is on the 1<sup>st</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of each month, a report is to be sent by telegraph as regards the proceedings of the ordered operation.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, General  
Commissar of the State Security Department N. Jezhov

Verified with the original by the operational secretary of the  
OGPU Brigade Commissar Ulmer<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Michail Frinovsky (born in 1896) arrested on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April in 1939, shot on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February in 1940.

<sup>8</sup> Valdemar Ulmer, born in 1896, arrested on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April in 1939, sentenced on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February in 1940 to 15 years of camp, died in the camp on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March in 1945.

Top secret

To People's Commissars of Internal Affairs in the Union Republics,  
to Heads of the NKVD Directorates in the autonomous republics,  
regions and provinces

The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs has detected and ordered liquidation of the biggest, judging by the collected evidence, basic sabotage-espionage network of Polish Intelligence in the USSR, acting in the framework of the so called Polish Military Organization (PMO).

Just before the October Revolution and immediately after the Revolution, Piłsudski implanted in the Soviet territory his biggest political espionage network which has been managed by the PMO. Year after year he systematically transferred to the USSR – under the guise of political émigrés, exchanged political prisoners and refugees – numerous cadres of spies and saboteurs who strengthened the basic structure of the espionage organization which had already functioned in the USSR, drawing on recruitment of local Polish residents.

The organization, which was directed from a centre located in Moscow, including Unszlicht<sup>9</sup>, Muklewicz<sup>10</sup>, Olski<sup>11</sup> and others, had powerful branches in Byelorussia and in Ukraine, predominantly in regions near the border but also in other locations across the USSR.

Now, when top leadership and activists of the espionage structure are being liquidated, it has become clear that anti-Soviet activities have also been carried out within the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs itself, in the Workers'-Peasants' Red Army (RKKA), Directorate of the

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<sup>9</sup> Józef Unszlicht (born in 1879) – used to be an activist of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL – Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy), vice-Chairman of WCzK – GPU (Vecheka: an acronym for All-Russian Extraordinary Committee to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage – State Political Directorate) (1921–1923), since 1935 Secretary of the Soviet Council of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. Arrested on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, executed on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July in 1938.

<sup>10</sup> Romuald Muklewicz (born in 1890) – Commander-in-chief of the Navy of the USSR (1926–1933), since 1936 deputy People's Commissar at the Department of Military Industry of the USSR. Arrested on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May in 1937, shot on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February in 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Jan Kulikowski-Olski (born in 1898) – formerly Commander of Border Troops, Head of the Special Department of GPU (1923–1931). Subsequently, Head of the Main Directorate of Canteens in Moscow. Arrested in 1937, shot on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February in 1938.

RKKA Intelligence Division, and in the Comintern apparatus – predominantly in the Polish Section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the People's Commissariat's Department of Foreign Affairs, military industry plants and in the system of transportation – especially in the departments to do with strategic roads in the western theatre of war, and in agriculture.

The anti-Soviet activities of the Polish espionage organization were related to the following fields:

1) collaboration with left-wing socialists – revolutionaries and supporters of Bukharin<sup>12</sup> to bring about the collapse of the Soviet government, to break the Brest peace agreement<sup>13</sup>, to provoke a war between the Russian Federation and Germany and to create units to support the military intervention of 1918.

2) wide-spread sabotage in the western front and in the south-western front during the Russian-Polish war, directly aimed at the defeat of the Red Army and secession of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics from the USSR.

3) mass fascist-nationalist propaganda spread among Polish population living in the USSR carried out in order to create a local basis and cadres to continue sabotage-espionage and guerilla actions.

4) professional espionage in the field of the military, economic and political life of the USSR, carried out by strategic intelligence units and a wide-spread ring of medium and lower rank espionage personnel.

5) sabotage operations carried out in the major branches of the military industry, aimed at subverting the current and long-term planning, destabilizing transportation and agriculture, which were accompanied by the formation of a wide-spread sabotage network to be used in war, involving both Poles and non-Poles.

6) Establishing contacts and carrying out sabotage-guerilla collaboration with active centres of anti-Soviet activities, such as the Trotskyist centre<sup>14</sup> and its peripheral associates, an organization of right-wing traitors, Byelorussian and Ukrainian nationalists, all premised on undertaking joint preparations towards the overturning of the Soviet authorities and the partitioning of the USSR.

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<sup>12</sup> I.e. supporters of Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), in 1918 representing the so called fraction of left-wing communists, opposing – unlike Lenin – the peace treaty.

<sup>13</sup> A treaty signed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March in 1918 between Soviet Russia and Germany.

<sup>14</sup> Members of the Bolshevik party sentenced (in most cases) to death on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August in 1936 who were charged with belonging to a „Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre” are alluded to in the passage.

7) Establishing a direct contact and forging an agreement with Tukhachevsky<sup>15</sup>, the leader of a military-fascist plot aimed at obstructing the preparation of the Red Army to war and at surrendering of the front to the Poles during the war.

8) The infiltration of the Communist Party of Poland<sup>16</sup> by members of the espionage organization, taking over the leadership of its organs and of the Polish Section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; staging provocations aimed at erosion and demoralization of the party, destruction of the unified front and the unity of the peasant movement in Poland, taking advantage of the party channels to implant spies and saboteurs in the USSR, undertaking attempts at transforming the Communist Party into a backdrop to Piłsudski's camp in order to use the Party's influence to carry out anti-Soviet activities during the Polish military attack against the USSR.

9) Taking full control and paralyzing our intelligence and counter-intelligence focused on Poland as well as systematically infiltrating the WCzK<sup>17</sup>-OGPU-NKVD and Directorate of the Intelligence Division of the RKKA in order to carry out anti-Soviet actions.

The basic reason why those anti-Soviet actions of the Polish espionage organization have remained unpunished for almost 20 years is the fact that almost since the beginning the most important operations of anti-Polish intelligence units have been supervised by prominent Polish spies implanted at the WCzK – Unszlicht, Messing<sup>18</sup>, Pilar<sup>19</sup>, Miedwied'<sup>20</sup>,

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<sup>15</sup> Michail Tukhachevsky (born in 1893) – the Soviet Union Marshal, deputy People's Commissar at the Department of Defense of the USSR, arrested under false charges, sentenced to death and executed on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937.

<sup>16</sup> Komunistyczna Partia Polski – KPP.

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 8.

<sup>18</sup> Stanisław Messing (born in 1890) – in the past an activist of SDKPiL, Chairman of the Moscow CzK (1920–1922), deputy Chairman of the GPU in Leningrad (1922–1929), deputy Chairman of the All Soviet GPU (1929–1931). Subsequently, holding top positions in foreign trade. Arrested on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July in 1937, shot on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October in 1937.

<sup>19</sup> Roman Pilar (born in 1890) – top officer of the WCzK-GPU, since 1920 Head of the Directorate of the NKVD in the Saratov region (1935–1937), second rank Commissar at the Department of State Security. Arrested on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May in 1937, shot on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>20</sup> Filip Miedwied' (born in 1890) – Byelorussian, in the past active in the SDKPiL, for many years a top officer of the WCzK-GPU in Byelorussia and elsewhere, Head of the Directorate of the NKVD in Leningrad in 1934. Arrested in December of 1934, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November in 1937.



Olski, Sosnowski<sup>21</sup>, Łoganowski<sup>22</sup>, Makowski<sup>23</sup>, Barański<sup>24</sup> and many others who totally controlled the functioning of the intelligence and counter-intelligence units in the WCzK-OGPU-NKVD.

### **The creation of a Polish espionage organization and methods of infiltration of the USSR used by the Polish espionage apparatus**

The Polish Military Organization was created in 1914 by the initiative and under leadership of Piłsudski as a nationalist organization to gather active supporters of a struggle for the freedom of bourgeois Poland, trained in military units of the Polish Socialist Party on which Piłsudski leaned, and trained in special military schools created by Piłsudski with a view to preparing core cadres for the future Polish Army.

The schools were created by Piłsudski in the period of 1910–1914 in Galicia where they functioned half-legally, taking advantage of subsidies and practical support offered by an intelligence department of the Austro-Hungarian Headquarters. Already before the imperialist war<sup>25</sup> Piłsudski was able to use several of Austro-Hungarian intelligence officers to teach his supporters the military craft, techniques of intelligence and sabotage, because the cadres transformed later into the Polish Military Organization were to be trained to collaborate with the Austro-Hungarian army during operations to be carried out at the back of the Russian troops; they were also to complement the cadres of the Polish Legions in view of the coming war with Russia.

This is why already at an early stage the organization members were sent not only to the territories of the tsarist partition of Poland<sup>26</sup>, but also to Russia where they were to recruit new members so as the organization's local units could be created wherever possible,

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<sup>21</sup> Ignacy Dobrzyński-Sosnowski (born in 1897) – in 1920 led Polish intelligence in Russia. Subsequently in the WCzK-GPU. Arrested in November of 1936. Shot on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November in 1937.

<sup>22</sup> Mieczysław Łoganowski (born in 1895) – a Soviet diplomat, since 1921 deputy People's Commissar at the Department of Foreign Trade of the USSR. Shot in 1937.

<sup>23</sup> Jerzy Franciszek Makowski (born in 1889) – a functionary of GPU-NKVD. Arrested and shot in 1937.

<sup>24</sup> See further in the text.

<sup>25</sup> The First World War is alluded at in the passage.

<sup>26</sup> The name of the Polish lands contained within the Russian partition.

especially in big cities to facilitate mobilization of the organization membership for the purposes of the Polish secret communication and intelligence services.

At the same time the Polish Military Organization was an instrument used by Piłsudski to mobilize politically forces which fought under his leadership for Poland's independence. Members of the Polish Military Organization were secretly implanted in all of the Polish political parties – both in the parties of the extreme left and of the extreme right – all the time recruiting activists of the parties basing on unquestioned recognition of Piłsudski's authority and support for his conception of the struggle for independent Poland to be reborn within the borders of 1772.

Already before the war the Polish Military Organization acted according to this logic providing training in techniques of internal party provocation as well as preparing provocations to be staged between particular parties. Those techniques were to be used as basic methods by the Piłsudski camp in its fight against the revolutionary movement.

The PMO was then steered by central headquarters, known as Head Commandership<sup>27</sup> (KN), which planned and supervised activities of local units. The local units were all identified by the same acronym of KN, differentiated by the consecutive ordinal number added to the acronym – KN-1 in Byelorussia, KN-3 in Ukraine etc. Each of the local commanderships constituted a territorial PMO region, divided further into more local commanderships, their number within a given territory depending on local conditions and tasks to be performed by Piłsudski forces there.

Towards the end of 1918, when Poland was recreated as a state with Piłsudski as a one-person dictatorial Head of the State (Naczelnik Państwa), the chief PMO commandership was incorporated into the Military Headquarters of Poland and co-constituted its Intelligence Division.

When Piłsudski was temporarily deprived of political power in Poland (1922–1926), the chief PMO commandership was excluded by National Democrats from the government organs of Poland and only partially preserved its influence in the country's intelligence units linked to Headquarters. However, it continued to act in the field of intelligence and sabotage in the USSR territories irrespective of the strategy implemented by the official organs of Polish intelligence. It also worked towards Piłsudski's seizure of political power in the Polish state.

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<sup>27</sup> Komenda Naczelna – KN.

Following the so called May Coup in 1926, which resulted in Piłsudski's political come-back, top leadership and activists of the Polish Military Organization controlled the whole of the fascist state governmental apparatus in Poland. Significant human resources of the PMO continued to act in conspiracy to fight the revolutionary movement in Poland by means of provocation and revolutionary instigation. One of their aims included illegal infiltration – by various methods – of the USSR.

The espionage activities by the Piłsudski organization in our territory intensified in 1917 in connection with the imperialist war. In various locations across our country, a considerable number of highly qualified cadres close to Piłsudski were implanted. Those were people originating both from the milieu of war prisoners who were members of the Legions formed by Piłsudski on the basis of the PMO to become part of the Austro-Hungarian army and refugees who had left the territory of tsarist part of Poland, occupied at the time by Germans.

In this manner, already during the October Revolution, Piłsudski had implanted in Russia significant cadres of his PMO militants, recruited both from local Polish residents and, predominantly, from the milieu of Poles who had been evacuated from Poland.

The basic PMO cadres were at the time of the imperialist war composed of people who were more or less known for their Polish patriotic views. Taking into account that the victorious Bolshevik party increased its sphere of influence, in the summer of 1917 Piłsudski recommended special methods to infiltrate the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks). To this end, in accordance with his personal order, his supporters developed a wider-spread recruitment network in the milieu of Polish social democrats and the Polish Socialist Party – the Left<sup>28</sup>, which were subsequently united in the Communist Party of Poland (KPP).

Over 1917, the members of the leadership of the Polish Military Organization, staying then in Moscow and Petersburg – Prystor<sup>29</sup> (later Polish Prime Minister), Pużak<sup>30</sup> (Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party), Makowski (Member of the Moscow Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, later deputy Head of the Counter-Intelligence Unit of the OGPU and a resident of the Foreign

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<sup>28</sup> Polska Partia Socjalistyczna-Lewica – PPS-L.

<sup>29</sup> Aleksander Prystor (1874–1941) – a Piłsudski follower, unlike the decisive majority of the individuals listed in the document an active member of the PMO. Prime Minister of the Polish Republic government (1931–1936). Arrested in Lithuania in 1940, died in a Soviet prison.

<sup>30</sup> Kazimierz Pużak (1883–1950) – General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party (1921–1939).

Department of the OGPU in Poland), Hołówko<sup>31</sup>, Józewski<sup>32</sup> (Volhynia Voivod), Matuszewski<sup>33</sup> (later Head of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters) – attracted many Polish social democrats and members of PPS-L to the PMO who were subsequently implanted at top positions within the Soviet state apparatus. There were among them: Unszticht (former deputy Chairman of the OGPU and former deputy Chairman of the Military-Revolutionary Council of the USSR), Leszczyński<sup>34</sup> (Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland), Dolecki<sup>35</sup> (Head of the TASS Press Agency), Bronkowski<sup>36</sup> (deputy Head of the Directorate of Intelligence Division of the RKKA), Muklewicz (Head of the Navy of the RKKA, deputy People's Commissar at the Department of Military Industry), Łągwa<sup>37</sup> (*comcor*<sup>38</sup>, Head of the Directorate at the Communication Division of the RKKA) as well as many others who created the so called Moscow centre of the PMO in 1918 and subsequently supervised the PMO activities in the whole territory of the USSR.

At the same time, at the beginning of 1918, Piłsudski issued a personal directive<sup>39</sup> addressed at selected members of the PMO who belonged also to the Polish Socialist Party and were at the time residing in the USSR, ordering them to infiltrate the Soviet state apparatus by an orchestrated departure from the Polish Socialist Party and to embrace top positions in the Soviet state apparatus.

The group of Polish agents, introduced in this manner in the Soviet system, included for example: former Member of the Moscow

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<sup>31</sup> Tadeusz Hołówko (born in 1889) – a PPS activist, later sent to a camp. Killed by a Ukrainian nationalist on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August in 1931.

<sup>32</sup> Henryk Józewski (1892–1981) – a commander of the PMO Headquarters in Ukraine (1919–1920), a Volhynia Voivod (1930–1938).

<sup>33</sup> Ignacy Matuszewski (1891–1946) – a commander of the II Division of the Headquarters in the period of 1920–1923.

<sup>34</sup> Julian Leszczyński-Leński (born in 1889) – General Secretary of the Central Committee of the KPP since 1929. Arrested in Moscow on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937. Shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>35</sup> Jakub Dolecki (born in 1888) – in the past an activist of the SDKPiL. He managed TASS Press Agency. Committed suicide on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937.

<sup>36</sup> Bronisław Bortnowski-Bronkowski (born in 1894). A SDKPiL activist, holding top positions in KPP and the Communist International. Arrested on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November in 1937.

<sup>37</sup> Roman Łągwa (born in 1891). Arrested on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 8<sup>th</sup> of February in 1938.

<sup>38</sup> A military degree equivalent to the degree of the general of division.

<sup>39</sup> J. Piłsudski was at the time kept in a German prison in Magdeburg.

Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, M. Łoganowski (before he was arrested, he held the position of deputy People's Commissar at the Department of Food Industry), Makowski and Wojtyga<sup>40</sup> (who had infiltrated the Department of Counter-Intelligence and the Foreign Department of the OGPU-NKVD), Barański (Head of the Foreign Department of the OGPU-NKVD) and many others.

Intending to take control of our intelligence and counter-intelligence activities which covered Poland and having implanted the afore listed PMO members in the structures of the WCzK, in the following period of 1919–1920 and the subsequent years, Piłsudski continued to use various methods to implant in the WCzK still more of his highly qualified spies – officers of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters, who – assisted by Unslicht, Pilar, Messing, Miedwied' and other prominent Polish agents – were implanted at top positions in the Soviet intelligence and counter-intelligence units.

I. Sosnowski for instance (before he was arrested, he held the position of deputy Head of the Directorate of the NKVD in Saratov region) was in 1919 a Piłsudski envoy and a resident of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters. He was ordered by Major Matuszewski to infiltrate the apparatus of the WCzK. Taking advantage of the fact that he had been arrested by the Special Department of the WCzK, Sosnowski, assisted by Pilar and instructed by the II Division of the Polish Headquarters, pretended that he had left the Polish Intelligence unit and the PMO (in which he had held top positions). He betrayed a minor ring of his collaborators to be subsequently employed in the central structures of the WCzK. In a short time, Sosnowski managed to introduce to the WCzK a whole group of other prominent officers linked to Polish intelligence: Witkowski, Colonel of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters (who obtained the position of Head of the Polish Unit at the Special Department of the WCzK and then was moved to the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry), Klakowski<sup>41</sup> (Head of the Anglo-Roman Unit of the Counter-Intelligence Department of the WCzK, Roller<sup>42</sup> (before he was arrested, he held the position of Head of the Special Department in Stalingrad region), Brzozowski<sup>43</sup> (deputy Head of the Special Department in Ukraine) and others.

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<sup>40</sup> Jan Wojtyga (born in 1894) – an officer of the GPU-NKVD in the years of 1926–1937. Arrested on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May in 1937, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>41</sup> Details impossible to verify.

<sup>42</sup> Karol Roller (born in 1896), executed in 1937.

<sup>43</sup> Henryk Brzozowski (born in 1899), executed in 1937.

Many other members of the Polish Military Organization, starting from Bronkowski, who – assisted by Unszlicht – was implanted at the position of the deputy Head of the Directorate of the Intelligence Division of the RKKa, infiltrated the whole structure of the Directorate, taking control of and paralyzing all of our intelligence activities covering Poland. Other traitors included: Budkiewicz<sup>44</sup> (Head of the Department and a resident abroad), Żbikowski<sup>45</sup>, Szeryński<sup>46</sup>, Firin<sup>47</sup>, Jodłowski<sup>48</sup>, Uzdański<sup>49</sup>, Maksimow<sup>50</sup> and others.

One of the operations in which those prominent Polish spies were used against the Foreign Department and the Directorate of Intelligence included implantation of several double agents in our intelligence cells abroad. Subsequently, by means of orchestrated betrayals, those double agents, implanted by Polish intelligence, were transferred back to the USSR to carry out espionage-sabotage activities.

Key positions in the Red Army were, in different periods, occupied by such Polish agents as Unszlicht – deputy Chairman of the Military-Revolutionary Council, Muklewicz – Commander of the Naval Forces, Łagwa – Head of the Directorate of the Communication Division of the RKKa, Kochański<sup>51</sup> – *comcor*, Kozłowski<sup>52</sup> – a Commissar, and many other Polish agents who infiltrated various departments of the RKKa.

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<sup>44</sup> Stanisław Budkiewicz born in 1887) – in the past an active member of PPS-L, holding top positions at the Directorate of the Intelligence Division of the RKKa in the period of 1921–1928. Arrested on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>45</sup> Stefan Żbikowski (born in 1891) – active at the Directorate of Intelligence of the RKKa in the period of 1921–1929 and then since 1931. Arrested on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, executed on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October in 1937.

<sup>46</sup> Zdzisław Szeryński (born in 1888) – in the past an activist of the SDKPiL. Probably active in military intelligence at the beginning of the 1930s. Killed in 1936.

<sup>47</sup> Semyon Pupko Firin (born in 1898) – deputy Head of the Directorate of Gulags. Arrested on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>48</sup> Aleksander Jodłowski (born in 1902) – active in intelligence in Germany in the period of 1935–1937. Arrested in Moscow on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July in 1937, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>49</sup> Stefan Uzdański (born in 1898) – active in the Intelligence Division of the RKKa since 1923. Arrested in Moscow in 1936 (according to alternative sources – on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937), shot on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>50</sup> Maks Maksimow (Friedman) (born in 1894) – an army commissar. Executed in the summer of 1937.

<sup>51</sup> Władysław Kochański (born in 1897) – Head of the 5<sup>th</sup> Corpus of Heavy Bombing Air Forces since the 31<sup>st</sup> of January of 1937. Arrested on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, executed on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July in 1938.

<sup>52</sup> Details impossible to verify.

The basic cadre of Polish agents who penetrated the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs had been formed in the period of 1925–1931 by Łoganowski. The Polish agents focused specifically on the Department of Foreign Affairs of the People's Commissariat which dealt with Poland. Its officers included spies, such as Morsztyn<sup>53</sup> and Konic<sup>54</sup>, while others were employed at other important departments: Brodowski<sup>55</sup>, Gajkis<sup>56</sup> and Karski<sup>57</sup> worked for instance as legal plenipotentiaries of the USSR abroad.

The PMO, which long ago took control of the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland and of the Polish Section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, systematically transferred its members – spies and saboteurs to the USSR in the guise of political émigrés and exchanged prisoners, staging arrests and court sentences of the PMO members who infiltrated the Communist Party of Poland.

Independently of the PMO, similar methods of transferring spies to the USSR in the guise of political émigrés were widely used by the Polish political police („the defensive”) which had implanted in the Communist Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the Communist Party of Western Byelorussia<sup>58</sup> a significant cadre of its provocateurs and agents coming from the milieu of Polish, Byelorussian and Ukrainian nationalists who penetrated various revolutionary organizations.

At the same time, various organs of Polish intelligence (mainly the local units of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters – its departments in Vilnius and Lviv, border intelligence units and borderland political police units systematically transferred to the USSR their spies and saboteurs disguised as refugees.

Criminal intentions of those „refugees” arriving in the USSR were kept secret and masked with motives and appearances, such as

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<sup>53</sup> Hieronim Morsztyn (born in 1905) – shot on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>54</sup> Eugeniusz Garfinkel (Salomon Konic) (born in 1897) – arrested on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>55</sup> Stefan Brodowski (born in 1880) – a Soviet diplomat since 1920, a plenipotentiary of the USSR in Latvia since 1933. Arrested on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June in 1937, executed on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October in 1937.

<sup>56</sup> Lew J. Gajkis (born in 1898) – a plenipotentiary of the USSR in Turkey and Spain. Executed in 1937.

<sup>57</sup> Michail A. Karski (born in 1900) – a plenipotentiary of the USSR in Turkey since 1937. Arrested and executed in 1937.

<sup>58</sup> KPZU and KPZB were autonomous organizations affiliated at the KPP, functioning in the period of 1923–1937.

desertion from the army, flight from persecution by the political police, emigration caused by unemployment, family unification etc.

As is now being clarified, all those Polish spies and saboteurs, transferred to the USSR as refugees, in addition to maintaining individual channels of communication with Poland, in many cases came into touch with members of the Polish Military Organization in our territory and subsequently acted under their supervision. In sum, the mass of refugees as a whole turned out to be a source of active human resources for the PMO.

Many qualified Polish spies transferred to the USSR under the guise of refugees – soldiers deserting from the Polish army, settled down in the Saratov region where Polish agents Pilar and Sosnowski were long active.

Political emigrés and refugees constituted a core of the Polish sabotage network implanted in Soviet industry and transportation. The saboteurs were assisted by local Polish nationalists and, what is most important, they took also advantage of non-Polish, anti-Soviet elements which acted undercover. Łazowert<sup>59</sup> (a State Referee in the Ukrainian SSR) monitored for instance the creation of the PMO structure in Ukraine. In 1933 the Ukrainian PMO was partly liquidated (Skarbak<sup>60</sup>, Politur<sup>61</sup>, Wiszniewski<sup>62</sup>). Bieniek<sup>63</sup> (People's Commissar of Agriculture in the Byelorussian SSR) was his counterpart in Byelorussia. Both were members of the Moscow PMO center in 1918.

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<sup>59</sup> Samuel Łazowert (born in 1885) – in the past an activist of the SDKPiL, a state referee at the Council of the People's Commissars in the Ukrainian SSR (1931–1935), subsequently Director of the Institute of Polish Culture at the Proletariat Academy of Sciences in the Ukrainian SSR. Arrested on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March in 1937, shot on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>60</sup> Bolesław Skarbak-Szacki (born in 1883) – held various top positions in Ukraine. Arrested on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August in 1933, shot on the 9<sup>th</sup> of March in 1934.

<sup>61</sup> Henryk Politur-Radziejowski (born in 1899) – a Polish education activist in Ukraine. Arrested on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September in 1933, shot on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October in 1937.

<sup>62</sup> Konstanty Wiszniewski (born in 1893) – an employee of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture in the Ukrainian SSR, pro-Rector of the Higher Communist School of Agriculture in Smolensk. Arrested on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December in 1933, shot on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>63</sup> Kazimierz Bieniek (born in 1895) – deputy Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars in the Byelorussian SRR (1930–1934), a People's Commissar of Agriculture in the Byelorussian SRR (1934–1937). Arrested on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May in 1937, shot in February of 1938.



## **Provocations carried out by Polish intelligence within the Communist Party of Poland<sup>64</sup>**

The interpenetration of the Communist Party of Poland, of the Polish Section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Comintern apparatus by the Polish spies and agents was from the beginning facilitated by the fact that when the Communist Party of Poland was being created at the end of 1918, its leadership automatically included many eminent members of the PMO who used to be members of the Polish Socialist Party – the Left<sup>65</sup> and of the milieu of Polish social democrats<sup>66</sup> which were merged in the Communist Party<sup>67</sup>.

Irrespective of those circumstances, the leadership of the PMO within the course of the subsequent years systematically introduced its agents into the echelons of the Communist Party to stage provocations. They simultaneously recruited those members of the Polish intelligentsia who joined the Communist movement and were known for their nationalist bias. Such individuals were then implanted at top organs of the party in order to disintegrate it and use it in pursuit of the PMO interests. The organization frequently acted through political émigrés and exchanged prisoners to supplant its agents in the USSR.

The creation of the so called opposition within the Polish Socialist Party in 1919 is an example of most daring political provocation of the kind. The opposition, led by Żarski<sup>68</sup>, Landy-Witkowski<sup>69</sup>, Witold

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<sup>64</sup> The following chapters have been omitted in translation: „Preparation of an anti-Soviet coup d’etat during the first phase of the Revolution”, „Defeatist activities in the period of the Soviet-Polish war”, „The use of Trotskyist and other anti-Soviet organizations by Polish Intelligence”, „Espionage activities of Polish Intelligence in the USSR”, „Harm and sabotage by Polish intelligence in the Soviet national economy”, „Terrorist activities of intelligence”, „Harm in the Soviet intelligence and counter-intelligence activities”.

<sup>65</sup> Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (1906–1918).

<sup>66</sup> Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy (1893–1918).

<sup>67</sup> SDKPiL and PPS-Lewica merged on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December in 1918 to create the KPRP.

<sup>68</sup> Tadeusz Żarski (born in 1896) – an activist of the PPS-Frakcja Rewolucyjna, PPS, PPS-Opozycja (1919–1920). Since 1920 a member of the KPRP/KPP, its top activist. Arrested in the USSR on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June in 1934, shot on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July in 1934.

<sup>69</sup> Adam Landy-Witkowski (born in 1891) – an activist of the PPS – Frakcja Rewolucyjna, PPS, PPS-Opozycja (1919–1920). Since 1920 a member of the KPRP/KPP, its top activist. Arrested in the USSR on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January in 1934, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

Szturm de Sztrem<sup>70</sup>, included prominent provocateurs-members of the PMO. Initially, their aim was to block the transfer of revolutionary elements from the Polish Socialist Party to the Communist Party. However, the „opposition” was unable to control the working masses who departed from the Polish Socialist Party in 1920. In consequence, following the transfer, it flowed into the Communist Party of Poland and took over several of top positions in this party.

Another daring act of a large-scale political provocation was performed by members of the Piłsudski camp already from within the Communist Party of Poland, after they had infiltrated its top structures. Namely, they used the influence exerted by the party over the masses during the May Coup in 1926 declaring the party's support for the *coup d'état* and the Piłsudski camp's political course<sup>71</sup>.

Being aware that the part of the PMO members who had infiltrated the top management of the Communist Party of Poland and worked directly to use the Party to collaborate with political cadres responsible for the *coup d'état* (Warski<sup>72</sup>, Kostrzewa<sup>73</sup>, Krajewski<sup>74</sup>, Landy-Witkowski) might soon be compromised and excluded from the top structures of the party, the PMO kept a reserve in the guise of backbenchers (led by Leszczyński) who seemingly distanced themselves from the May Coup and were to take over the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland in case the Warski group had been defeated.

Following the May *coup d'état*, to discourage the working class masses from protests against Piłsudski's introduction of fascist regime as well as to weaken and disintegrate the Communist Party from the

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<sup>70</sup> Witold Szturm de Sztrem (born in 1888) – an activist of the PPS-Frakcja Rewolucyjna, PPS, PPS-Opozycja (1919–1920). Since 1920 a member of the KPRP/KPP, a deputy member of the party's central committee (1921–1922). Left the party, died in ambiguous circumstances in 1929 or in 1930.

<sup>71</sup> Circumscribed by many conditions, the support of the KPP for Piłsudski's *coup d'état* was temporary and quickly recognized as a mistake (so called May error).

<sup>72</sup> Adolf Warszawski-Warski born in 1868) – a top activist of the SDKPiL and KPP. Arrested in the USSR on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>73</sup> Maria Koszutska-Kostrzewa (born in 1876) – a top activist of the PPS-L and KPP. Arrested in the USSR in July of 1937, died in prison on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July in 1939.

<sup>74</sup> Władysław Stein-Krajewski (born in 1886) – a top activist of the SDKPiL and KPP, Head of the Human Resources Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Arrested in the USSR on the 26<sup>th</sup> of May in 1937, shot on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September in 1937.

inside, the PMO designed and carried out a plan of a large-scale conflict between a fraction led by Leszczyński (the so called minority in the Communist Party of Poland) and a fraction supporting Warski-Kostrzewa (so called majority). Both groups animated by the PMO, managed to involve party masses in the fighting between the fractions, which paralyzed the functioning of the party for a long time.

As a result, the PMO group, which was led by Leszczyński – a member of the Moscow centre of the PMO, succeeded in taking full control of the party and continued activities aimed at its further disintegration and blockage of the revolutionary movement in Poland.

In recent years, all efforts by the Warsaw and Moscow centres of the PMO, related to their focus on internal disintegration of the Communist Party of Poland, were aimed at blocking unification of the worker and peasant fronts in Poland. They also included preparing the ground for anti-Soviet activities by the Communist Party in case Poland attacked the USSR.

Unszlicht and Leszczyński devised a plan whose objective was to take advantage of the party communication channels by the secret communication services of Polish intelligence during such military conflicts. In addition, a plan involving several more political provocations was elaborated. They included a presentation of an ultimatum at the Comintern and WKP(b)<sup>75</sup> on behalf of the Communist Party of Poland which demanded support for the „Polish independence”, addressing anti-Soviet appeals at working classes in Poland as well as creating internal cleavages in the party.

Beginning in 1920 and intensifying after the May Coup, the PMO used channels of the Communist Party and of the Polish Section of the Comintern in which such prominent members of the PMO were implanted as Sochacki-Bratkowski<sup>76</sup>, Leszczyński, Próchniak<sup>77</sup>,

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<sup>75</sup> The Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

<sup>76</sup> Jerzy Czeszejko-Sochacki-Bratkowski (born in 1892) – an activist of the PPS, its general secretary (1919–1920), since 1921 in the KPRP/KPP, its top activist. Since 1930 in the USSR. A deputy member of the Chair of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, a deputy member of the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Arrested on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August in 1933, committed suicide in prison on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September in 1933.

<sup>77</sup> Edward Próchniak (born in 1888) – an activist of the SDKPiL, a top activist of the KPP. A member of the Chair of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Recalled to Moscow, arrested on the 19<sup>th</sup> (?) of July in 1937, shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

Bertyński<sup>78</sup>, Bronkowski and many others. It aimed at a systematic, large scale transfer of its agents to the USSR under the guise of political émigrés and (exchanged) political prisoners. As political prisoners such Polish spies were thus transferred to the USSR as Pilar, Budzyński, Naujokaitis<sup>79</sup>, Wysocki<sup>80</sup>, Dąbal, Bielewski<sup>81</sup>. Others were transferred as political émigrés – Wiślak<sup>82</sup>, Henryk Lauer<sup>83</sup> (headed the metallurgy sector in the Planning Committee of the USSR), Zdziarski<sup>84</sup>, Henrykowski<sup>85</sup>, Brzozowski and several tens and hundreds of other spies who penetrated various units of the state apparatus, industry and agriculture in the USSR.

Not only the Communist Party of Poland was used as a cover for spies and saboteurs. Polish intelligence transferred its agents to the USSR also under cover of membership in the Communist Party of

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<sup>78</sup> Wiktor Żytlowski-Bertyński, known as Albert (born in 1900) – an activist of the KPRP, since 1924 in the USSR, an employee of the Special Department of GPU in Moscow, then a secretary of the Security Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the KPP, the author of a brochure entitled „Origins of the PMO’s provocation in the Communist Party of Poland” (1934). Arrested in 1937 (?), shot in 1938.

<sup>79</sup> Kazimierz Naujokaitis – a commander of a militia school in Saratov. Shot on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>80</sup> Kazimierz Cichowski-Wysocki (born in 1887) – an activist of the SDKPiL, a top activist of the KPP. Transferred to the USSR in the framework of an exchange of prisoners in 1932. In 1937 Head of the human resources department at the International Brigade in republican Spain. Recalled to Moscow, arrested on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August in 1937, shot on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October in 1937. A date of 1940, given in some publications, is not verified.

<sup>81</sup> Jan Paszyn-Bielewski (born in 1892.) – an activist of the SDKPiL, a top activist of the KPP. Transferred to the USSR in the framework of an exchange of prisoners in 1932, Head of the KPP representation at the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Arrested on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September in 1937, shot shortly afterwards.

<sup>82</sup> Jan Hempel-Wiślak (born in 1877) – an activist of the PPS-L. Since 1921 a member of the KPP, active in co-operative and atheist movement. Since 1932 in the USSR. Arrested on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January in 1937, shot on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September in 1937.

<sup>83</sup> Henryk Lauer (born in 1890) – an activist of the KPP. Transferred to the USSR in the framework of an exchange of prisoners in 1923. Arrested on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May in 1937, probably died on his way to a labour camp in January of 1939.

<sup>84</sup> Mirosław Zdziarski (born in 1892) – an activist of the PPS-L and KPP. Since 1927 in the USSR. Active in the Red International of the Trade Unions. Arrested on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August in 1937.

<sup>85</sup> Saul Amsterdam-Henrykowski (born in 1898) – an activist of Poalei-Zion. Since 1921 in the KPRP/KPP, its top activist. Recalled to Moscow. Arrested on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June in 1937, shot on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November in 1937.

Western Byelorussia and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine as well as of other revolutionary organizations whose creation had been stimulated by Polish intelligence as part of its plan of provocations.

For example the so called Byelorussian Community existing at the time<sup>86</sup> – a mass peasant organization in Western Byelorussia – was actively used by Polish Intelligence and a fascist organization of Byelorussian nationalists existing in Vilnius to disintegrate the peasant movement in Western Byelorussia and to transfer spies to the USSR.

A similar mass organization – Independent Peasant Party<sup>87</sup> was created in the core territory of Poland by a prominent political provocateur and an officer of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters – Wojewódzki<sup>88</sup> specially to take advantage of the revolutionizing Polish peasantry and use it to transfer spies to the USSR disguised as peasant activists supposedly saving their lives and escaping persecution by the police. All of the investigation evidence in the presented case prove beyond any doubt that an overwhelming majority of the so called political émigrés from Poland included either members of the Polish Military Organization (refugees from the core Polish territory, including Polish Jews) or agents of the II Division of the Polish Headquarters or officers of the political police (Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and others)<sup>89</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> Byelorussian Peasant-Worker Community (June 1925 – March 1927). A legal revolutionary party, counted ca. 120 thousand members.

<sup>87</sup> Niezależna Partia Chłopska (November 1924 – March 1927), a legal revolutionary party, counted ca. 20 thousand members.

<sup>88</sup> Sylwester Wojewódzki (born in 1892) – an officer of the II Division of the Headquarters (1921–1922). A deputy to the Sejm, elected from the list of PSL Wyzwolenie (1922–1927). In the years of 1924–1927 a co-founder and top activist of the Independent Peasant Party. Since 1927 (?) a member of the KPP. Arrested at the moment of his arrival in the USSR on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June in 1931, shot on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April in 1938.

<sup>89</sup> The last chapter of the document, entitled „Anti-Soviet activities of Polish Intelligence in Byelorussia and in other locations in the USSR” has been omitted in the translation.