

~~SECRET~~

## II. OBJECTIVES OF WARSAW GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The motivation underlining Warsaw's current campaign in France can, to some extent, be explained in terms of emotional irritation over the emigre problem in general. The existence of a large number of national Poles outside Poland's borders constitutes in the eyes of Polish authorities a sort of minority problem in reverse, and since minority problems of any kind have always been a source of trouble and instability in Poland, members of the Polish elite are unlikely ever to reconcile themselves to such a status quo. One of the principal characteristics of national Polish psychology is a fixation on the ethnic distribution of population. To most Polish leaders a utopia would necessarily include a situation in which all Poles resided in Poland, all Germans in Germany and all Jews in Israel. Although few members of the Polish regime would admit it, even to themselves, many of them are irrationally fascinated by the thought of a Poland to which all Poles would return and in which no ethnic minorities would exist. As long as a large body of national Poles reside outside Poland, this problem will remain an idée fixe of the Polish authorities.\*

---

\*This attitude is reflected in the remarks made by Ambassador R. Spasowski to Mr. Murphy, Department of State, on 7 November 1955. 1/

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

The rational decision of the Polish Government to seek the return of Poles in France is based on several sound reasons which probably outweigh the emotional motivation. The campaign of the Warsaw regime is primarily directed toward achieving the following objectives: 2/

1. To disrupt the political exile organizations by discrediting their leadership, splitting the rank and file from its leadership and by creating dissension among exile groups. The achievement of this objective would:

- a. Neutralize the exiles as a source of effective anti-Communist and anti-Warsaw propaganda; encourage mass emigre disillusionment with Western values and reduce or destroy their confidence in the Free World and its concern for their welfare;

- b. Reduce emigre influence on French public opinion and on the official policy of the French Government;

- c. Disarm the potential threat of the government-in-exile to the legitimacy of the Warsaw regime;

SECRET

d. Reduce a potential source of support to resisters in Poland and resign the Communist-ruled to the status quo, thereby creating loss of hope for the liberation of Poland.

2. To develop a long-range political fifth column potential by exploiting interest in homeland, family ties and general national consciousness among exiles in France, and by reestablishing cultural ties between France and Poland in which the emigres would play an important role.

The long-term aim of Communist policy is to control the gradual integration of the Polish population in France. In the short-term view, the Communists elicit support of the Polish population in France for the benefit of the Polish Communist regime, the French Communist Party and Soviet policy. Thus to the Communists, a Pole who obtains French citizenship should become a member of the French Communist Party; a Pole who does not seek French citizenship should become a Polish Communist.

SECRET

The Warsaw regime's approach toward Polish emigres having permanently settled in France with no intention of returning to Poland is to champion their cultural and professional interests and to call for a realignment of allegiance rather than a return to Poland. The regime attempts to persuade them to maintain their ties with Poland and their contacts with Polish diplomatic and consular missions in France.

3. To secure the return of the following professions and skills needed for general Polish welfare and specific interests of the regime:

a. Scientists, because of their specialized and technical knowledge are vitally necessary in the development of Poland.

b. Former diplomats, writers, intellectuals and artists, for any intelligence information they might provide as well as for their propaganda potential.

SECRET

c. Skilled labor such as miners and metal workers are vital to the achievement of Polish economic plans. Farm laborers are needed to occupy and farm the Oder-Neisse territory, which the Polish Government has been attempting to settle in the past decade.

SECRET