

POLES IN FRANCE

A Survey of the Activities of
Selected Polish Communist Organizations in France

January 1956

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POLES IN FRANCE

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF POLISH EMIGRATION

A. Size of Polish Population in France

The Polish emigres in France, one of the most important foreign ethnic groups in the world, are the largest Polish colony in Europe and numerically rank second to the Polish colony in the United States. In France the Poles numerically occupy third place after the Italians and Spaniards, but their social and political impact is greater than that of the other two groups.

There are varied estimates as to the number of Poles in France, the highest being 1,000,000 and the lowest 400,000. The consensus is that 750,000 Poles live in France.

B. Location in France

Poles are settled in France in the following three main strategic areas:

1. In the Departments of Nord and Pas de Calais. There are reportedly about 200,000 Poles in such coal mining centers as Bruay, Lens, Marles-les-Mines, Barlin and Douai; in the center of the metallurgical industry at Valenciennes; and in the textile industry areas of Roubaux, Tourcoing and Lille.

2. The second area of Polish settlement is in the Department of Moselle with its steel mills at Thionville, Hayange, Pont-a-Mousson and Wendel. Other small settlements are scattered in the areas of Mulhouse and Strasbourg.

3. The third region with Polish settlements is the coal basin of St. Etienne and Firminy in the Department of Loire,

and centers of metallurgical industry at Montceau-les-Mines and Le Creusot in the Department of Saone-et-Loire.

Smaller groups of Polish emigrants live in the industrial periphery of Paris and in the agricultural region of Toulouse in the south. Paris also may be regarded as the center of the new emigration for Polish refugees and intellectuals following World War II.

C. Composition

1. Waves of Polish Emigration

Polish emigres, composed chiefly of Polish settlers after World War I and their descendants, may be divided into three distinct groups:

a. The first homogeneous group came to France after World War I from Westphalia, Germany. Because of poor post-war living conditions in Germany and lacking the opportunity to re-settle in war-ruined Poland, they accepted the invitation of the French Government to migrate to France, which needed man-power.

b. The second influx to France occurred during the first decade of Poland's independence and was caused by economic depression and growing unemployment. In the early thirties, however, deteriorating economic conditions in France causing unemployment resulted in a wave of remigration to Poland.

c. The third migratory movement of Poles to France was

political in character as a result of World War II and included demobilized soldiers of the Polish Army, former political prisoners, escapees from Poland, former prisoners of war in Germany, forced labor deported by the Nazis and other civilian refugees. Intellectuals and those partly dependent upon manual labor constitute a large part of the last emigre movement.

Those emigrating in the third group as a result of World War II are referred to as "new emigrants" who work in various light industries, while those comprising the first two groups or "old emigrants" are employed mostly in coal mines and in the coal and textile industries. The third group, which comprises about 10 per cent of the "old emigration," includes some 30,000 political refugees, although of the Poles in France, only five per cent can be considered political refugees from Communist oppression. The third group is considered particularly active and dynamic.

The division between the "old" and "new" emigration is not only limited to time of arrival and settlement in Polish communities but is also reflected in the mentality, attitudes and social composition of the two groups. The "old emigrants" were by profession mostly miners. They were homogeneous, stable, highly conservative, and retained their traditions, religion and customs. The "new emigrants," however, form a heterogeneous social group, composed to a large extent of unmarried persons not yet stabilized in their profession and often discontented with their situation and prospects in France. It is in this latter group that the danger of Communist subversion is greatest.

An indication of the composition of the Polish labor breakdown including both "old" and "new" emigration, is reflected in the 269,000 adult Poles in France reported working professionally in the following fields:

Farmers and agricultural workers	91,000
Miners	79,000
Processing industry	58,000
Domestic servants	17,000
Transport	11,000
Trade	8,000
Professional people	<u>5,000</u>
	269,000

2. Citizenship and Naturalization

In the absence of exact statistics, it is estimated that 275,000-300,000 Poles have become French citizens through naturalization and birth in French territory. About 450,000, however, have retained Polish citizenship, which permits this group a freedom of choice in deciding whether to accept Polish Communist consular jurisdiction.

Naturalization appears to be increasing. While formerly the assumption of French citizenship was undertaken with reluctance, naturalization by Polish emigres is now regarded as a prudent measure compatible with devotion to Poland.

Irrespective of citizenship and a high degree of assimilation, the Poles in France are reported to form a distinct cul-

tural group, conscious of origin and extraordinarily faithful to its mother tongue, national and religious traditions.

D. Political Influence and Orientation

National and naturalized Poles, who constitute about 1.7 per cent of the French population, and Frenchmen of Polish descent, who comprise about 0.7 per cent of the French population, appear on the surface to exert little influence on French life. Because, however, Poles living in France are grouped in certain regions (in some towns and cities they constitute 40-50 per cent of the inhabitants) their influence is in fact considerable. Twenty Poles hold municipal posts, ten are factory workers' council leaders and a son of a Polish emigrant is highly situated in the Ministry of Interior. Gaston Palewski, of Polish ancestry, was formerly Minister Delegate to the President of the Conseil in the cabinet of Edgar Faure. Furthermore, certain political and intellectual Polish emigres represent an important sector in French labor and have succeeded in establishing close ties with influential French in intellectual, social and political circles.

Polish emigres also affect labor impact and potential in France by their employment in such strategic and sensitive industries as mining and metallurgy. Their influence is also felt in French agriculture.

The existence of Polish emigres in France is evidence of their opposition to the present Warsaw regime. Other than an

estimated 5-10 per cent Communists or fellow travelers, most of the Poles are vigorously patriotic and resolutely anti-Communist. Nevertheless, they represent a group susceptible to Communist propaganda and subversion, especially those disillusioned with their present status who have little hope for improved status in the future.

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 national 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.

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

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.

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.

The Warsaw regime's approach to 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 the specific interests of the regime:

a. Scientists, because of their specialized and technical knowledge are needed for the scientific development of Poland.

b. Former diplomats, writers, intellectuals and artists, for any intelligence information they

might provide as well as for their propaganda potential.

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

III. SOME POLISH COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN FRANCE

A. Background and Development of Present Repatriation-Redefection Program

In the years following the liberation of France, the Polish Government began a vigorous propaganda campaign to persuade all Poles in France to return to Poland. Official recognition of the Warsaw regime aided their campaign as well as the favorable status which Communist enterprises enjoyed in France.

Political events in 1947-1948, such as the French Communist ministers being forced out of the French Government and the collapse within Poland of collaboration of Mikolajczyk with the Warsaw Government, represented a change in trend. Unfavorable letters from Poland to Polish friends in France concerning conditions under the Communist system and liquidation of the repatriation bureau also contributed to a decreasing emphasis on the campaign.

From 1948 until early 1954, the organized repatriation campaign waned until the Polish diplomatic representative ordered the functionaires of the "consulates," "volunteer" workers of the Polish Red Cross and militants of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) to resume the repatriation program. This move by the Warsaw regime conformed to the Soviet-Satellite pattern of increased interest in early 1954 in refugees of Western Europe. Two complementary elements are considered basic to Soviet-Satellite strategy in this

regard: the attempt to "popularize" the regime internally and the encouragement of "coexistence" externally--both on Communist terms.

To gain good will among refugees in France, a change in propaganda emphasis occurred during 1954, when political polemics were replaced by a program of social contact and cultural development.

Two recent offers by the Warsaw regime have proved significant in developing an increasing interest in the repatriation program. The first was a speech on 23 July 1955 by Boleslaw Bierut, ex-President of the Polish Peoples Republic and present First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, who affirmed that Poland forgave the crimes of emigre oppositionists and that they would be welcomed on their return to Poland with the aid and protection of the Government. The second was the announcement on 21 September 1955 by the Polish Government of an offer of extensive assistance to all Polish emigres wishing to return home, including payment of returnees' traveling expenses, providing professional training and pensions, etc.

At the present time the Polish regime is reportedly exerting its greatest effort in France, where it is spending an estimated \$8,500 (3 million francs) per day to incite subversion, redefection and repatriation by using every means at its disposition including politics, education, sports, dancing, movies, theater, art, music and literature.

Of all the Satellites, the Warsaw Government is the most completely engaged in influencing the emigres, notwithstanding the fact that Poland entered the Soviet Bloc redefection campaign later and with less acclaim than the other Satellites.

B. Propaganda Appeals of the Warsaw Government

To achieve maximum impact upon Polish emigres in France, the Warsaw regime stresses the following major propaganda appeals in its repatriation-redefection programs:

1. Cultural Heritage and National Consciousness

The appeal to cultural heritage and national consciousness stresses the longing for homeland and families, and the recognition and encouragement of patriotism as a natural right belonging to the Polish emigre heritage and national aspirations. This appeal also exploits emigre disillusionment and disappointment in failing to achieve security and status. The long separation from homeland and family ties makes the emigre Poles especially vulnerable to this form of propaganda. Unsuccessful Poles in France are urged to return to Poland while those who remain are assured of Communist support for their cultural and social needs. Furthermore, the latter are encouraged to become naturalized citizens of France to promote the creation of a bloc of pro-Warsaw Poles whose full citizenship might give them more power in promoting Communist interests in Europe.

2. Advantages of Repatriation

The appeal to the advantages of repatriation stresses professional security, the guarantee of employment and the return of property. Emigres are "guaranteed" the right to practice their professions and skills. Warsaw propaganda attempts to show how miserable life in the West is and exploits the fact that many professional and skilled Poles in France are faced with vocational dislocations caused by exile. It promises them opportunities and openings in their respective professions. Training is also promised to the non-skilled to prepare them for professions or skills.

3. Post-War Changes in Poland

This appeal emphasizes the "great changes" which have taken place in Poland, particularly the economic and educational advantages of life in the homeland and the extraordinary recovery from war devastation. A fervent plea is made to the emigre to return and participate in Polish reconstruction. Warsaw propaganda contrasts the present freedom and opportunity in Poland with the class stratification, struggle and feudal system of the pre-war period. Poland is represented as a country where the former exploitation of peasants and workers by the "landlords" has been abolished and where everyone is happily building a better future under the Communist aegis.

4. Insincerity of Free World's Concern for Plight of Eastern European Peoples

Warsaw explains to Poles at home that they can no longer expect help from the West, and uses political emigres returning to Poland from the West as examples to prove that resistance to the regime is in vain. Because resistance is futile, refugees are urged to avail themselves of the regime's favorable provisions and return to Poland. Warsaw propaganda attempts to interpret the Geneva Conference as implying Western recognition of the status quo and utilizes the theme of coexistence to persuade exiles to that effect.

5. Exploitation of French and Polish Fears of a Reunited Germany

Warsaw propaganda attempts to enlist French support of Polish rights to the Oder-Neisse area, and suggests that a Polish-French alliance would be a corner stone of a truly peaceful Europe as a first step toward peaceful existence with the USSR. Warsaw broadcasts indirectly appeal to French sympathy by describing the happy experiences of repatriates and alleging that emigre leaders in France are lying about oppression in Poland. This appeal is supplemented by attempts to strengthen ties between Poles at home and Poles in France, particularly the intellectuals who are influential among moulders of public opinion and policy-forming circles in France. The Polish Government has established friendship committees

with naturalized Frenchmen as officers through which a coordinated program of social, cultural and propaganda events is presented at the same time to both French and Polish audiences.

C. Methods of Action

The Warsaw regime utilizes the following methods of action to achieve the repatriation, redefection and subversion of Polish emigres in France:

1. Polish Schools and Teachers in France*

Polish school teachers and schools in France are important because they provide the means by which the Polish Government can win over emigre youth and exploit Polish teachers for repatriation propaganda purposes.

The pre-war Polish-French agreement which gave the Polish Government the right to conduct cultural and educational activities among the Polish emigrants in France was renewed on 19 February 1947. It provided for the instruction of children of Polish origin residing in France, as well as for the teaching of Polish language, literature, history and geography. Thus Poles in France are permitted to have their own teachers and extra-curricular schools. Traditionally the teachers for these schools were supplied by the Polish Government.

* For information on specific relationships between Polish schools and the Polish Embassy, see Section VI, D, 1.

The Lycee Polonais in Paris, under the control of the Warsaw regime, prepares young Poles of Western Europe for Polish baccalaureate examinations. Its 130 students, instructed in the Marxian dialectic, exercise a deep influence on their parents, friends and acquaintances, and act as agitators in the repatriation campaigns and propaganda programs.

The Polish Embassy utilized Polish teachers in its pay to resume the repatriation campaign in early 1954. Despite the fact the French Government took over the payrolls of 60 Polish teachers and replaced a number of Communist teachers, the Warsaw regime still controls a system of educational posts employing 160 teachers. Although the French educational authorities feel that the schools are no longer a dangerous source of Communist influence, the Free Polish representatives state that considerable Communist influence remains and flourishes in these schools.

2. The Youth Vacation Colonies*

The Polish Communists regard the so-called vacation colonies as an effective means of influencing Polish emigres to return to Poland and of selecting personnel to conduct activities in France. Polish youth aged 14 to 16 of emigre parents attend vacation camps in France and Poland where Komsomol courses are taught.

* For information on specific relationships between vacation colonies and the Polish Embassy, see Section VI, D, 2.

The Polish Red Cross and "Embassy" teachers sponsor the organization of these vacation colonies. In 1954 the Red Cross sent 4,000-5,000 children to these summer camps. About one thousand youth of Polish emigre parents in France went to Poland; the remainder attended Communist-organized camps in France. Upon returning to France, some of the children who went to Poland persuaded their families to go back to Poland.

In 1955 a more intensive and selective drive for enrollment concentrated on children of the most impressionable ages (11-16) and from groups considered most susceptible to Communist influence. Enrollments increased in the mining areas of Nord and Pas de Calais during 1955. Aided by posters and tracts, "Embassy" teachers and Polish Red Cross representatives carried on the organization of this campaign.

3. Pardon and Assistance to Repatriates

Two appeals to attract repatriates in France and Western Europe were made by the Polish regime, one on 23 July 1955 and the other on 21 September 1955.

a. Pardon

In the first appeal made on 23 July 1955, Boleslaw Bierut, ex-President of Poland and present First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, told a delegation including Poles from abroad that Polish citizens were welcome to return and that Poland generously pardoned

any of these who returned now. He stated further that the Polish nation does not desire to remember the offenses and errors of the past.

b. Assistance to Repatriates

The second appeal--one of the most positive yet made to any Soviet Bloc emigres since the inception of the redefection campaign--was the resolution of 21 September 1955 in which the Polish Government offered extensive assistance to all Polish emigres wishing to return home. Although relatively few Poles have been repatriated so far, this offer may attract some who lack security in the West or increase the disillusionment of others remaining abroad.

The resolution offers the following to potential returnees:

(1) The Polish Government will assist repatriates in paying travel expenses incurred on the return journey; furnish free food and medical aid until employment is secured; assist repatriates in procuring housing; give them one lump-sum cash payment; and exempt from customs duties any possessions brought back to Poland.

(2) The government promises to provide professional training if necessary; to give full educational opportunities to young people; and to provide farmers with

buildings and help them to purchase livestock, or employ them on state farms.

(3) The government commits itself to provide pensions for the aged and for invalids. Periods of employment outside Poland will be considered in computing pensions, and persons with physical disabilities arising from military service will receive pensions regardless of the state for which military service was performed. The promise to recognize service-connected disabilities as pensionable is considered by some to be almost the same as an amnesty.

(4) In addition, returnees may keep the rank they held in the Polish or Allied military units up to the end of the war with Germany.

4. Press

The Communist Polish language press aimed at Polish emigrants in France originates both in Poland and in France. Redefection propaganda began to appear in the Polish Communist press in France at the end of March and early April 1955. The Polish language Communist daily in Paris is now responsible for presenting new arguments to its readers to persuade them to return to Poland. The repatriation campaign dominated its news coverage in July and August 1955. Articles contained either official declarations, such as Poland's offer to pardon returnees, or the statements of "happy"

returnees. Warsaw propaganda described the "brilliant progress" of the Polish economy and the improved status of workers.

5. Letters from Poland

Another method which the Warsaw regime uses to implement its repatriation program is that of personal letters which are mailed to Polish refugees in France inviting them to return to Poland. Some letters, written in the form of a manifesto, are sent from different Polish towns and are signed by forty persons, none of whom are Communists. Those signing are well-known pre-war university professors, writers and prominent priests who cooperate with the regime. These letters are sent to emigre leaders, intellectuals, writers and politicians.

D. Number of Repatriates

The returnees to Poland reportedly averaged about 30-50 each month during the first half of 1955. The number, at present, appears relatively insignificant in comparison to the Polish emigre population in France and to the Communist effort. However, each repatriated individual and family is being exploited to the limit for any possible advantage. The reasons for returning to Poland are usually personal and economic rather than political, such as an unfavorable economic status, professional and language deficiencies, dismal prospects of emigration overseas, old age, reunion with family, and desire for land

and security. No prominent individuals have redefected from France. Those who have redefected have been older people, the indigent, farm workers and ex-legionnaires. However, there is always a danger of the redefection and subversion of the "elite," a primary target of the Warsaw regime.

Even a small number of repatriates to Poland constitutes a setback for the Free World because it is of immense propaganda value to the Soviets, it contributes to the creation of anti-Western sentiment within Poland, and it supports Warsaw's claims that the existence of the Iron Curtain is fictitious and that new conditions prevail which enable emigres to return.

Although about 36,000 emigres returned to Poland before 1947, and about 7,000 between 1947-49, only about 100 have emigrated to Poland in each subsequent year from 1949-1954. The figure reportedly rose to 263 during the first half of 1955, two-thirds of whom were agricultural laborers. There have been many and varying estimates of probable repatriation for 1955. In view of Warsaw's intensification of its repatriation program and the establishment of organizations such as "Polonia" with its program of "grass roots" contacts between the Poles at home and the Poles abroad, 1956 figures will be a more significant index to Polish repatriation capability than studies of any previous results.

France ranks second after Belgium in the number of returnees to Poland. Sixty-five per cent of those who have returned to Poland thus far have come from Belgium.

IV. LISTS OF POLISH COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS
ACTIVE AMONG POLISH EMIGRES IN FRANCE

LIST A - Official Polish Government and Party Organizations

- I. Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (PZPR) - Polish Communist Party (elements in France)
- II. Repatriation Organizations in Poland
 - A. Government Plenipotentiary for Repatriation Affairs
 - B. Association for Liaison with Poles Abroad ("Polonia")
- III. Ministries and Agencies
 - A. Committee for State Security (KBP)
 - B. Ministry of Defence
 - 1. 2nd Department of General Staff (O.II) - (elements in France)
 - 2. Main Department for Information of General Staff (GZI) - (elements in France)
 - C. Ministry of Foreign Trade - (its representatives in France)
 - D. Ministry of Education - (its representatives in the Paris Embassy)
 - E. Ministry of Health - (supports the Polish Red Cross in France)
 - F. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - 1. Polish Embassy - Paris
 - a. Ambassador
 - b. First Secretary
 - c. Second Secretary
 - d. Press Attaché
 - (1) Bureau d'Informations Polonaise (BIP)

- (2) Polska Agencja Prasowa (PAP)
- (3) Gazeta Polska and successors - (official Embassy news organ)
 - (a) Les Amid de la Gazeta Polska (suppressed in 1950)

e. Emigration

- (1) Education Section
 - (a) Polish Lycee in Paris
 - (b) University in Paris (located in Polish House)
 - (c) University in Lille
 - (d) Embassy Farm at La Presle-en-Brie
 - (e) Polish "Gymnasium" in Paris
 - (f) Sunday Schools in Paris
- (2) TUR - (Society of Workers Universities - Ignace DASZYNSKI)
 - (a) OMTUR - (Youth Organization of TUR)

f. Military Attaché

- g. Commercial Department - (was responsible for commercial operations of Polish Government and firms in France)
- (1) Official Polish Commercial Firms in France
 - (a) La Compagnie LOT - (Polish Airline)
 - (b) Bank "Polska Kasa Opieki" (PKO)
 - (c) TRANSTOURS - (formerly POLORBIS; Agence Maritime et Bureau de Voyages, Transports et Tourisme)
 - (d) Film Polski
 - (1) SIRIUS - (represents Film Polski in France)

(e) BOT - (Bureau de Reception et de
Transport des Surplus Americains)

(1) BOTRANS - (replaced BOT)

h. Consulates

(1) Paris

(a) Nasze Pisemko - (Children's publi-
cation sponsored by the consulate)

(2) Lille

(3) Lyons

(4) Strasbourg

(5) Toulon

(6) Marseilles

(7) Metz (consular agency under Strasbourg)

(8) St. Etienne (consular agency under Lyon)

i. Polish House (Dom Polski)

j. Polish Book (Ksiazka Polska)

k. Union of Embassy Employees

G. Radio Stations

1. Radio Warsaw

2. Radio Kraj

a. Bulletin of Radio Kraj

H. Polish Red Cross - Polski Czerwony Krzyz (PCK)

1. Dispensary - Paris

2. Dispensary - Lens

3. Rest Home - Biarritz

4. RKL - Council of Summer Camps

5. Polish Student Summer Camps in Western Europe

LIST B - Polish Communist Front Groups and their Publications in France

I. Organizations with their Publications

- A. Parti Communist Francais (PCF) - Polish section
 - 1. JEDNOSC - (Polish language publication of PCF)
 - 2. PORADNIK
 - 3. LISTY Z WOLWOSCI - (secret organ of Polish section of the Action Council, Central Committee, PCF)
- B. Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) - Polish section
 - 1. Le Sous-sol Lorraine - (CGT publication carrying articles in Polish)
 - 2. Prawo Ludu - (paper published by CGT)
 - 3. Centre des Journalistes Professionnels - (affiliated with CGT)
 - 4. Commission Administrative de la Federation Regionale du Syndicat de Mineurs du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais
- C. Association of Protectors of the Border on the Oder and Neisse
- D. Amitie Franco-Polonaise
 - 1. Les Amis de la Juenesse Polonaise - (suppressed in 1950)
 - 2. Amitie Franco-Polonaise des Jeunes
- E. Progressive Catholic Movement
 - 1. Pax Christi
- F. Union of the Women of "Maria Konopnicka" (ZKMK) - (suppressed in 1950)
 - 1. l'Union des Femmes Francaises - Polish section
- G. Union of War Invalids (ZIW)
 - 1. Polish Association of War Invalids

- H. Association des Combattants Polonais
- I. Aide Mutuelle Aux Militaires Polonais
- J. Armee Ouvriere Polonaise (Polska Armia Robotnicza)
- K. Unite Ouvrier (Workers' Unity) - (lending library)
- L. Organization of Polish Jews (ZZP)
 - 1. Polish-Jews Communist Association at Toulouse
 - 2. Jewish Communist Youth 2^e Arrondissement
- M. Comite d'Aide et de Defense des Immigres (CADI)
 - 1. Comite Francais de la Defense des Immigres (CFDI, same as CADI)
 - 2. UNIS - (newspaper of CADI/CFDI)
- N. Union of Polish Teachers in France (ZNP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- O. Union of Polish Engineers and Technicians (ZIT)
- P. Union of Polish Cattle Breeders in France
- Q. Federation des Emigres Polonais (FEP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- R. Union of Settlers and Agriculture Workers (ZORR)
- S. Union of Polish Youth "Grunwald" (ZMP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- T. Union of Polish Scouts and Guides (ZHP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- U. Union of Former Members of the Resistance (ZPBUR0) - (suppressed in 1950)
- V. Aid to the Homeland (OPO) - (suppressed in 1950)
 - 1. The Independence-(organ published by OPO)
- W. Polish Union of Former Members of the International Brigade in Spain
- X. Parti Socialiste Unitaire (PSU)

- Y. Congress of Foreign Resistants and Volunteers
- Z. Engages Volontaires et Combattants de la Resistance
- AA. Union Generale des Engages Volontaires Etrangeres (UGEVE)
- BB. Amicale des Socialistes Polonais en France
- CC. RNPF (National Council of Poles in France) - (suppressed in 1950)
- DD. Union of Soviet Patriots in France
- EE. Polska Partia Robotnicza (PPR) - (existed officially as "Les Amis du PPR")
 - 1. Jednosce Polska - (organ published by PPR)
- FF. Central Children's Commission - (Jewish Communist organization working with Polish war orphans)
- GG. Union des Juifs pour la Resistance et l'Entraide (UJRE)
- HH. Comite pour la Solution Pacifique du Probleme Allemand - Polish section
- II. Polish Football Union (PZPN) - (Communist wing)

II. Other Communist Publications

- A. Nasz Dziennik
- B. Dziennik Wychodzcy
- C. Kurier Polski
- D. Glos Polski we Francji
- E. Polska I Swiat
- F. Zycie Polskie
- G. Echa Polskie (one of successors to Gazeta Polska)
- H. Naje Presse (la Presse Nouvelle) - (Jewish Communist daily subsidized by Poland)
- I. Nowiny Polskie - (banned January 1954)

- J. Przegląd Polski we Francji - (La Revue Polonaise en France; replaced Nowiny Polskie)
- K. Zycie Uchodźcze - (replaced Przegląd Polski)
- L. Polski Świat - (banned November 1952)
- M. Tygodnik Polaków we Francji - (banned June 1953)
- N. Świat w Ilustracjach - (successor to Polski Świat and Tygodnik Polaków we Francji)

V. REPATRIATION ORGANIZATIONS IN POLAND

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers, Prezydium Rady Ministrow (PRM), the supreme ruling body of the Warsaw Government, has appointed a Government Plenipotentiary for Repatriation Affairs to coordinate the implementation of the resolution on care for repatriates returning to Poland. It reportedly has also opened a special center devoted to persuading emigres to return home.

The new organization presumably directs a secret institution concerned with the repatriation campaign and known to the public as the Department of Affairs of Polonia Abroad. Situated in the building housing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it maintains a front of respectability, yet it reportedly is a branch of the secret police.

To implement the official program and announcements, unofficial groups have established organizations, the most important of which is the high-level Association for Liaison with Poles Abroad, "Polonia."

"Polonia" was organized in Warsaw by a group of persons representing various cultural, social, and scientific organizations and several former organizers in Polish emigre centers abroad. It was first publicized in October 1955 and is one of the latest moves in the Polish intensified repatriation campaign. The announced objectives of the Association are to consolidate the bonds linking Poles abroad with the homeland

and to strengthen the ties of "friendship and brotherhood" with the nations in which the emigrants reside.

The organization has the task of maintaining contact with and aiding the repatriation of Poles abroad. It considers the issue of the Oder-Neisse frontier to be of common interest to all Poles and a strong bond between those at home and abroad.

The organization's program calls for the establishment of Polish language schools throughout the emigre populations abroad and envisages the teaching of various subjects concerning the homeland, such as history, geography and culture. School books and texts will be supplied from Poland and close contacts will be maintained with all existing emigre organizations.

The organization of the "Polonia" comprises the following offices which have been filled by "election:"

Chairman:	Prof. Stanislaw KULCZYNSKI (Deputy Marshal of the Sejm)
Deputy Chairmen:	Hugo HANKE Prof. Tadasz LEHR-SPLAWINSKI Dr. Zofia WASILKOWSKA Deputy Czeslaw WYCECH (former Mikolajczyk man)
Secretary:	Szczepan STEC, director of the central institute for the training of educational cadres and former chairman of the National Council for Free Poles in France.

Executives:

Father Dr. Boleslaw KULAWIK, former priest, returnee from France
Dr. Prof. Andrzej BIERNACKI, member of the Medical Sciences of the Polish Academy (PAN)
Mme. Irene DOMANSKA, Deputy
Arcady FIEDLER, writer
Boleslaw GEBERT, chief editor of Voix du Travail
Dominik HORODYNSKI, Deputy, editor in chief of Dzis I Jutro
Edward KOWALSKI, general manager of Polonia.
Stanislaw KOWALEWSKI, former member of the Swiatpol, returnee from Argentina
Dr. Roman KOZLOWSKI, professor
Prof. Oskar LANGE, member of the Council of State, Deputy
Czeslaw MONDRZYK, journalist, former collaborator of Narodowiec
Edmund OSMANCZYK, Deputy
Antoni SLONIMSKI, writer
Dr. Wojciech SWIETOSLAWSKI, professor

Executive Deputies:

Number of members unknown.

Audit Committee:

Number of members unknown.

VI. POLISH EMBASSY IN FRANCE AND
AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The Polish Embassy in France is located at 57 rue St. Dominique and 1 rue Talleyrand, Paris. Since 1949, the importance of the Embassy as an instrument of Polish policy has been indirectly enhanced by French security police action against Polish Communist front organizations. As a reaction to known Polish Communist subversive activities in France, and in retaliation for Warsaw's actions against French representatives in Poland, the French suppressed such Polish Communist front organizations as the Aid to the Homeland (OPO), the Union of Polish Youth "Grunwald" (ZMP), and the Gazeta Polska. They restricted Polish social aid and financial activities by outlawing the school program and some activities of the Polish Red Cross, and by harassing the Party's commercial ventures. These French repressive measures resulted in the transfer of some of these activities to the Embassy itself.

The Polish Embassy possesses two inherent qualities which make it indispensable to the Soviet and Polish strategy in France:

(1) Recognized by the French Government as the official representation of Poland in France, the Embassy is automatically clothed with authority and prestige which give it a front of respectability and at the same time provide it with enormous propaganda resources.

This front conceals Polish and Soviet subversive activities and provides a haven for those individuals who disdain meeting openly with the Soviets.

(2) The popular image of the Embassy among some Polish emigres as the symbol of the "beloved homeland" makes it a powerful platform for psychological action among and against the Poles in France.

The subversive campaign of the Polish Embassy is designed to encourage and direct political and cultural activities of the pro-regime Poles and to exploit their energies and aspirations for action against anti-regime Poles, those Poles who are politically uncommitted, and even France itself. Control of the pro-regime Poles provides the Embassy with a two-edged weapon. Propaganda disseminated by the unnaturalized group conveys the impression that its tenets are accepted by and reflect the opinions and aspirations of all Poles away from home. Propaganda distributed by the naturalized Poles, on the other hand, gives the impression that the tenets are acceptable to major segments of the French population. These vigorous Embassy-directed campaigns are launched on the theory that they will have a telling impact upon the "uncommitted" Pole, who, living in an alien land and having no desire to jeopardize his security in a foreign community, is equally impressed by the pressure of the Embassy organization and by the implied authority of its pronouncements. These Embassy campaigns, conducted with equal pressure both on high official and "grass roots"

levels, are designed not only to influence the Polish colony and the ordinary French citizen but also to exert maximum pressure upon the stability of French politics. The Embassy attempts to use the potential influence on public opinion suggested by Polish pro-regime propaganda as leverage in dealing with individual French Deputies courting popular support. The Polish Embassy seeks to direct or control members of the French Assembly and thereby influence French legislation according to the objectives of Moscow.

The Polish Embassy also conducts a subversive campaign directed against Polish anti-regime organizations and their key personalities. Activities against this sector of the emigration are carried on with all resources available to the Embassy. The primary aims are either to destroy the organizations by infiltration and subversion or to gain control and reorient their direction along lines favorable to Warsaw. Campaign tactics are designed to create defection in the ranks or to destroy the personal reputations of anti-regime leaders. The ultimate aims of this campaign are to protect Poland against infiltration and subversion from the West and to prevent externally-induced stresses and strains within Poland.

The third objective of the Embassy's campaign among Polish emigres is the conversion of the "uncommitted" Poles to the Communist fold. It is among this great mass of the politically unattached that the Embassy-directed campaigns expend the

most diverse effort. This is the group which is attacked by all political methods. It is examined for weakness and exploited for advantage. All social levels are flattered, bribed or pressured as each circumstance dictates. Pensions, medical care and winter relief are offered to the aged and infirm. Free trips to Poland and cheap summer camps in France attract the children. The intelligentsia and professionals are flattered with memberships in expertly organized study groups and associations. The youth are invited to athletic clubs and attractive, well-organized events. The worker is pressured by his labor union. Prominent personalities are duped into lending their names to ostensibly well-meaning organizations, drives and movements. This third and by far the largest sector of the Polish colony in France--the "uncommitted" group--promises the highest political dividend to the organization, whether Communist or free, most capable of exercising public opinion leadership.

The Embassy organization comprises:

- Ambassador
- First Secretary - Political Affairs
- Second Secretary - Administration
- Press Attaché
- Emigration Affairs
- Military Attaché
- Commercial Councillor
- Various functional sections

A. Ambassador's Office

The present Ambassador, Stanislaw Gajewski, received his appointment in early 1954. A lawyer by profession, he has a long background of participation in leftist organizations.

He has gained diplomatic experience through participation in various international conferences including East-West negotiations when he was a member of the Polish delegation to the Neutral Repatriation Commission in Korea and an alternate representative to the UN General Assembly.

The Communists have cited Gajewski's appointment as an indication of a change in policy at the Polish Embassy from the "militant" to the "diplomatic." He has been presented as a "non-Party" official and as one who considers himself a representative of all Poles regardless of their political orientation.

B. Political Affairs

Jerzy Wiechecki, First Secretary, is responsible for political matters related to the Embassy's mission in France. Because political matters are sensitive to public relations, there is a close relationship between the activities of the political secretary and the Press Attaché.

The Press Attaché, presently Stanislaw Klos, is responsible for public relations and for control and direction of press propaganda campaigns. He directs the activities of BIP (Bureau d'Informations Polonaises) and has close contact with and interest in the Polish Press Agency (PAP).

Prior to its suppression by French authorities in 1952, Gazeta Polska was the mouthpiece of the Embassy and the press vehicle of the Polish Communist Party (PZPR) in France. It was under the direct control of the Press Attaché.

Since French authorities have instituted suppressive measures against the Polish Communist publications, the Communists have adopted a tactic whereby a suppressed publication is revived almost immediately under another name but with policy direction remaining under the same personalities.

All propaganda programs directed against France are formulated in Warsaw and are implemented by the Press Attaché and the Emigration Division. A close working relationship probably exists between the Press Attaché and the Polish Red Cross which presently maintains direct contact with the emigration in matters of education, vacation camps, child visits to Poland, winter relief and old age pensions, all of which are key activities in the Communist propaganda and repatriation campaign.

Over-all control of the political and propaganda activities of the Polish diplomatic missions and consulates abroad rests with the Office of Foreign Affairs of the PZPR Central Committee. Actual direction of propaganda in foreign countries, however, is handled by two departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Department of Press and Information and the Office for Poles Abroad.

The Department of Press Information directs and controls the activities of press and cultural officers attached to the diplomatic and cultural agencies of the Warsaw regime. It also controls the special information and propaganda centers abroad.

The Office for Poles Abroad is attached to the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and deals exclusively in cultural and propaganda activities among Polish emigres. This agency works through the channels of Polish diplomatic and consular representations, but it restricts activities to those countries where there are large groups of Polish or Polish-born emigrants. In addition to direct propaganda, it is engaged in educational and cultural activities conducted in behalf of the regime. All plans elaborated by this office are intended primarily for France, where, because of special cultural agreements with the French government, educational activities on a large scale can be conducted among Polish miners and other labor groups. In recent years the French government has somewhat limited these activities, but Polish officials can still work there more freely than in any other country. For this reason most of the instructions and plans sent to the diplomatic and consular posts abroad are based and modeled on the experiences acquired in France.

1. BIP (Bureau d'Informations Polonaises), 23 rue Taitbout, Paris,

This key propaganda unit, directed by Press Attaché Stanislaw Klos, is charged with publicizing in France developments in Poland under the Warsaw regime. For this purpose, it publishes the weekly Bulletin du B.I.P. in the French language. It also seeks to have published in the French press information prepared in Warsaw concerning the political, social and economic aspects of Polish life. It organizes cultural events

to publicize Polish literature, music and art. Some of its writers prepare articles for insertion in the French left wing press.

The Warsaw propaganda line transmitted to the French Press through BIP seeks to bring the emigre under a continuous flood of inducements to return to the homeland. In persuasive French, through organs not publicly identified with the interests of the Polish Embassy, the emigre is presented with vivid descriptions of the reconstruction and rehabilitation programs going on in Poland and with glowing pictures of the prosperity and contentment of the workers. Thus a strong appeal is made to his patriotism and he is urged to return and become an active participant in the reconstruction of his homeland.

2. PAP (Polska Agencja Prasowa - Polish Press Agency),
23 rue Taitbout, Paris

A press service similar to TASS, PAP is the successor to the prewar Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT) and is controlled by the Warsaw regime. Its functions are those of news gathering and transmission.

C. Administration

Mieczyslaw Gumkowski, Second Secretary, is responsible for the administration of the Embassy and, through sections under his control, supports various activities carried on by the consulates.

D. Emigration Affairs

Wieslaw Gajda, as chief of the division, is responsible for all matters concerning the Polish emigration in France and for

normal diplomatic assistance to the colony. This office controls and directs all Embassy-sponsored activities connected with the emigration, which on the surface have the appearance of being purely cultural and humanitarian in character but in fact serve as instruments of propaganda and political action.

Promotion of the repatriation campaign is a primary concern of the division. This program is implemented through front organizations, promotion of summer camps and children's expense-paid vacations in Poland, and through "aid" activities in association with the Polish Red Cross. Legal aspects of repatriation--visas and exit permits--are dealt with by the consulates, while transport matters are handled by TRANSTOURS.

1. Education

Controlled educational institutions provide the Warsaw regime with a direct instrument for contacting and converting Polish youth and for gaining indirect entree into the Polish home and family. The activities of the Embassy in the educational field as well as the activities of its organizations and schools give an indication of the importance which this propaganda medium occupies in Warsaw's over-all program. Following the French recognition of the Warsaw regime, Polish schools in France were directed by

the Education Section of the Embassy under an attaché. The schools were under the immediate control of the consulate in whose jurisdiction they were situated.

In 1949, an investigation by French authorities revealed that the Polish school system, as directed by the Embassy, was being operated as an adjunct to other Polish Communist political organizations. These investigations resulted in the expulsion of key diplomatic personnel connected with the school system and many of the pro-regime teachers.

The Polish educational system remains active but with less freedom than in the past. French authorities take a stronger interest in school activities and anti-Communist forces constantly demand greater alertness to the Communist danger and more careful screening of the teaching personnel by the French Government. Nevertheless, the current acceleration of Warsaw's repatriation program will probably cause its educational activities in France to increase in vigor and scope.

- a. TUR (Society of Workers' Universities),
7 rue Crillon, Paris

TUR was founded in Poland before the war by the Polish Socialist Party for the purpose of completing the education of Polish workers. Its branch in France was created in 1928 and operated until 1939. After the libera-

tion in 1945, the Paris branch was reopened, but immediately became a victim of pro-Warsaw influences and was penetrated throughout by the Communists. In order to differentiate this association from the original organization, the Communists added the patronymic "Ignace Daszynski."

In February 1948, the anti-regime wing of the Polish Socialist Party recreated non-Communist TUR-"Antoine Zdanowski." Its headquarters are at 23 rue du 14 Juillet, Lens, Pas-de-Calais. It is charged with the reorganization of libraries and the acquisition of Polish and French books.

The Youth Organization of TUR (OMTUR), which in 1948 had its headquarters at 23 rue Taitbout, Paris, was an organization of students and young workers. It advertised itself as publicizing the work, aims and ideology of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), but it was in fact a pro-Warsaw organization. It was engaged chiefly in academic and library activities.

b. Lycee Polonais,
15 rue Lamade, Paris

Lycee Polonais, a coeducational school, is officially recognized by the French educational authorities. The school's curriculum which conforms to Warsaw directives emphasizes political history.

Teachers receive a two-year course near the Lycee. Resident students are entirely under Communist influence. Even during their school days, they are useful servants of the propaganda apparatus. Instruction in Marxist dialectics enables

the students to wield a telling influence on their parents, families and associates and they often act as monitors in vacation camps. After receiving their certificates, about half of the students go to Poland for higher studies. The remaining graduates join, often secretly, the Polish educational system in France.

A study of the Lycee account in the PKO Bank reveals, when compared with the estimated cost of maintaining the school, that the withdrawals cannot meet the costs. The subsidy of 20,000 francs per student paid by the Ambassador cannot be traced through the PKO and it is, therefore, believed that the PKO account covers only funds contributed by parents and that the other subsidies are passed hand-to-hand. Withdrawals from the bank are made by one Mlle Pszenica in the name of the Lycee.

The Communists have been making an effort to recruit students among the children of Polish farm workers. A study of student lists indicates that farm workers' children already comprise about 10 per cent of the enrollment.

2. Polish Red Cross (PCK)

After the Communists had gained control of the Polish Government, the PCK became an instrument of the Party and as such began to play an important role in the propaganda program within the Polish emigration and in subversive activities against France.

The PCK and the Embassy became closely connected through the Embassy-sponsored programs dealing with the emigration.

The two have mutual interest in such activities as the summer camps in France, children's vacations in Poland, old age pensions and winter relief. As a result of this close association, the PCK became involved in the affairs of Polish political organizations and actively participated in the miners' strikes of 1948. Its actions during those strikes drew the attention of the French authorities who discovered that PCK was engaged in subversive activities among the miners and was making illegal transfers of provisions which were imported from Poland ostensibly for summer camps. The authorities thereupon curtailed PCK activities by closing its provincial offices. The central office in Paris, however, was permitted to remain open.

PCK has now a central staff in Paris and maintains clinics in some of the large emigre centers. PCK is able to mobilize, on short notice, large groups of "volunteer workers" among the Polish emigration. These groups have been employed by PCK in such activities as the 1948 strikes, in the distribution of aid, and in the actual hand delivery of propaganda material. At present, PCK's main propaganda activities are the summer camps and the vacations in Poland which bring PCK in direct contact with parents, enjoy a strong propaganda appeal, and provide opportunity for indoctrination. Although the French authorities frown upon these PCK activities among children, their adverse reaction, if any, is quickly neutralized by concerted press campaigns which stress the "humanitarian" aspects of the projects.

The summer camp program is popular with the children and in general is passively accepted by the parents, who justify their attitude on the grounds that the camps are clean and well run, that they offer children a healthy outing in new and pleasant surroundings away from the unhealthy environment at home, and that children learn the songs, folk dances, history, geography and language of Poland. They believe that the time spent in camps is too short to indoctrinate the children, although the entire teaching program has been imbued with Marxist ideology. Priced at 3,000 francs for a three-week vacation, payable on easy and convenient terms, the PCK camps have been free of serious competition. Free Polish elements in France have been unable to cope with the problem because of lack of contributions and financial support.

The PCK, which is generally believed to be a charitable organization by virtue of its name, conducts its summer camp program under camouflage of respectability and is generally not suspected of political motivation. Recruitment is carried on by PCK "volunteer workers," political instructors maintained and paid by the Consulates, and by French front organizations.

In the past, in order to impress large numbers of emigres, any child who applied for admission was accepted regardless of nationality. In 1955, however, a new policy was adopted whereby those children who had not been to camp were given

priority, and children of parents "neutral" and "hostile" to the regime were sought. Because of the large number of applications the leaders have had little difficulty in making their selections.

The camps, their location, their physical property, and their administration receive the most careful attention in order not to arouse unfavorable reaction on the part of the French authorities, who, on the whole, look with disfavor on foreign activities among the youth. The camp sites use rented property and lie in areas distant from children's homes (at times even in departments without Polish population) in order to prevent parents from visiting the camps, to leave the operators in complete and uninterrupted control of the children, and to avoid suspicion of "Red" connections by the local populace. Every effort is made to impress the local civic leaders, the clergy and the French in general by the orderly administration of the camps, the discipline, the politeness and the regular attendance at local churches.

The camp administration is so planned that no excuses can arise for French Government intervention. The camp director is generally a school teacher and a political "neutral." The business manager is also untainted but is dependent upon the PCK which controls the money. Each camp director has a "collaborator" concerned with the camp program. The "collaborators" are political instructors or inspectors sent to observe and "advise" the camp directors.

The camp personnel are selected from school teachers and active members of Polish Communist organizations.

The success of the PCK summer camp program is indicated by the fact that 1,000 children were sent to Poland and 2,000-4,000 attended camps in France in 1954.

The subsidies which the PCK receives from Poland through the Embassy and the Consulates are supplemented by contributions collected locally in France. These contributions, collected from Poles and non-Poles alike, are obtained from a citizenry which in many cases is totally unaware of the true nature of the PCK.

The following individuals have been identified as key PCK personalities:

Headquarters:

Director:	Mme. Anastazja Sieff
Social Assistants:	Boleslaw Zelechowski Mme. Edwarda Szrajerowa Mikolaj Bacholnik (for the sick) Mme. Marguerite Gonnet
Cashier & Bookkeeper:	Mme. Renée Tartakowska
(Temporary) Secretary to the Director:	Mme. Kazimiera Szramka
Office Man & Chauffeur:	Stanislaw Cierlicki
Vacation Schools in Service:	
Chief:	Mme. Pola Duffau
Secretary:	Mme. Mirea Pszenica

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Accountant: de Neyman (Consulate employee-part time)

Staff members: Mme. Ludwika
Mme. Gliksztein
Szramski (Temporary)

Dispensary, rue Crillon, Paris:

Director: Dr. Jokiel

Administrative Director: Dr. Henryk Russak

Physicians: Jozef Fuzwerk
Samuel Danowski
Morek Folek
Szyja Szajnfeld
David Czamarka
Piotr Grynberg
Leon Perel

Dentist: Sylvia Bratman

Nurses: Hanna Fautanzzo
Krystyna Libermann
Aniela Ziemia
Helena Abramczyk

Social Assistant: Eugenia Swiecicka

Dispensary, Lens (P.de.C.):

Physician: Couck

Assistants: Mme. Jadwiga Mowszowicz
Mlle. Maria Brodzinska

Delegate of the PCK Headquarters: Marianna Dudzinska (very active in vacation schools)

Maison de Biarritz:

Director: Mme. Pola Bergue

Secretary: Mme. Birau

5 other persons who look after about 43 children.

Drs. Jokiel, Russak and Czamarka, Mr. Cierlicki and Miss Ziemia have received decorations for services rendered to the PCK.

E. Military Attaché

The present Military Attaché is Col. Dominik Pietrowski. Capt. Adam Rozowicz is Assistant Military Attaché for Air. There is very little official connection between the Military Attaché and the Embassy although the Attachés are nominally subordinated to the Ambassador. The Military Attaché uses the communication facilities of the Embassy.

F. Commercial Counsellor

The present Commercial Counsellor is Michael Ruzycki. The department is responsible for representing the interests of commercial firms in Poland and Polish commercial agencies in France.

This department has always played an important role in the activities of the Polish government and the party in France. The department has been used for other than commercial purposes in the past and is presumed to be so used at present.

1. Firms Under Indirect Control of the Commercial Department

a. TRANSTOURS - (Agence Maritime et Bureau de Voyages-Transports et Tourisme; formerly POLORBIS)

TRANSTOURS is ostensibly a typical French firm dealing with travel between France and Poland. Founded in 1946 and originally known as POLORBIS, it was controlled by the official government travel agency ORBIS in Warsaw.

TRANSTOURS handles travel matters incident to the repatriation of Polish emigres to Poland and group tours of children visiting Poland in connection with the "vacation in the homeland" program.

b. Bank PKO, 23 Taitbout, Paris

This organization was established before the war as an independent concern, though it was actually a subsidiary of the Warsaw Post Office Savings Bank (Pocztowa Kasa Oszczednosci - PKO). Branches were established in the main centers of Polish emigration throughout the world to provide assistance in the form of credits. These branches changed the name PKO to mean Polska Kasa Opieki (Polish Relief Bank).

The Warsaw regime took over the PKO branch in Paris after the liberation and changed it into an Embassy-controlled institution. PKO maintained close working relations with the Banque Commercial de l'Europe du Nord, and acted as a banker for Communist Party activities and organizations in France.

PKO was the instrument used in financing Polish Government-owned firms in France and handled credits of these concerns during their operation. In some cases it actually owned controlling shares in these concerns. The firm now acts as the disbursing office of funds forwarded by Warsaw to the Polish Government representations and firms in France, such as the Embassy, the Consulates, PAP, LOT and the Polish Red Cross. Government expenses incurred in the field of publications are also paid out through this bank.

G. Consulates

The Polish Consulates in France are located generally in the principal emigre and industrial centers. There are con-

ulates or consulate agencies in Paris, Lille, Strasbourg, Metz, Lyon, St. Etienne, Toulouse and Marseille. These offices, supported by sections of the Embassy, are, in fact, the provincial contacts of the Warsaw regime with the Polish population in France. In addition to ministering to the diplomatic needs of the emigre colonies, the consulates engage in propaganda campaigns and carry out Communist Party programs under the front of "humanitarian" activities.

The consulates subsidize the activities of the PCK and have at their disposal paid "political instructors" who, in concert with the PCK, act as contact agents in recruitment and propaganda drives.

The present repatriation campaign, although conducted on an international level, eventually resolves itself into actual person-to-person contact, which is the responsibility of diplomatic and consular personnel. Depending upon the importance of the individual, the consul-general may himself make a call, visit, or tender an invitation to an emigre. These visits and personal contacts not only afford the consul opportunities of making a direct repatriation appeal to highly-placed emigres, but afford him, in case of failure, the opportunity of throwing suspicion on these emigres, thereby weakening their position of leadership in the eyes of anti-regime Poles.

The consulates at present also play a key role in Warsaw's educational program. After its recognition by the Allies, the

Warsaw Government took over control of all Polish schools with some 150 Polish teachers in France. New rules and methods were prescribed by Warsaw and teachers were replaced by political agitators under the direction of School Inspectors stationed in the Consulates. French expulsions and cancellations of teaching licenses later caused some Communists to teach clandestinely in homes and rented rooms. The consulates are still permitted to name some of the monitors of recognized Polish courses. French abolition of these courses is not likely to remedy the situation, since the consulates employ scores of clandestine monitors with salaries varying between 20,000 and 40,000 francs per month in addition to allowances for propaganda expenses.

Polish consulates in France are located in the following cities:

Paris

Headquarters: 31 rue Jean Goujon, Paris
Consul: Casimir Dybilas

Lille

Headquarters: 45 Bd Carnot, Lille
Consul: Rudolf Larysz
Vice-Consul: Joseph Polak

Strasbourg

Headquarters: 10 rue du General Castelnau, Strasbourg
Consul: Stanislas Heresztyn

Metz

Headquarters: 18 rue des Augustine, Metz
(The Consular Agency of Metz functions under the Consulate of Strasbourg.)
Consular Agent: Marian Wirski

Lyon

Headquarters: 6 Quai du General Sarrail, Lyon
Consul: Jean Dorosz

Saint-Etienne

Headquarters: 31 rue du General de Gaulle, St. Etienne
(This Consular Agency functions under the Consulate of Lyon)
Consular Agent: An employee of the Lyon Consulate spends two days per week at this office.

Toulouse

Headquarters: 10 rue Ninan, Toulouse
Consul General: Kazimierz Fryda (former attaché at the Embassy; also supervises the consulate of Marseille)
Assistant: Franciszek Frasz

Marseille

Headquarters: 2 Place Felix Barret, Marseille
Vice-Consul: Joseph Skrzyniarz (supervised by Consul General Kazimierz Fryda)

VII. PROGRESSIVE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

In its program to Communize the country, the Polish Communist regime has from the very beginning of the post-war period faced the unbridgeable gap between Communist ideology and Catholic dogma. Attempts to impose Communist doctrine, eliminate Catholic traditions and to subjugate the Church have been difficult in Poland where the population is predominantly Catholic and where the bond with the Vatican has always been unusually strong.

The Warsaw regime has had to rely, therefore, on subtle persuasion rather than direct methods to achieve its objectives. It has had to convince both Church and laity that the differences between the Church and the regime are not irreconcilable and that cooperation between the two is not only possible but essential to the interest of the country as a whole. To represent this viewpoint, the Polish regime selected Boleslaw Piasecki, a man previously unidentified with Communist ideology who was formerly head of the National Radical Party (Oboz Narodowo Radykalny), a pre-war extreme right-wing organization.

Piasecki, who fought the Communists in Poland and was a Soviet prisoner during the War, agreed to work with the regime for the purpose of subverting the Church, and proposed the creation of a "progressive" Catholic movement which would enable the Church to "cooperate" with the Government. A defeated politician with a Machiavellian respect for power,

Piasecki was motivated partly by opportunism and partly by the conviction that the survival of the Church and the intelligentsia as instruments of Communist policy depended on the integration, if not of the Church itself, at least of the Catholic masses into the new economic and social system. The Church would retain control over the spiritual life of its members. He argued that the Polish regime must not alienate nor arouse the militant opposition of the vast majority of the Polish population by a direct assault on the Church. To the regime, he offered the Church's cooperation or at least the non-hostility of the Catholic masses. To the Catholics, especially the intelligentsia, he offered an opportunity for adaptation to the new system and the promise that violence would not be used against them.

Until October 1953, the movement had not developed any single form of organization. There were several lay and clerical groups, commissions and committees in addition to the Piasecki group, which was known as "Dzis i Jutro" (Today and Tomorrow), the name of its weekly publication. Caritas, a philanthropic organization which the Warsaw regime had seized from the Church, was placed under the Piasecki group.

Since 1953 all progressive Catholic activities have been conducted under the over-all auspices of the Commission of Clergymen and Lay Catholic Workers, an organization which represents the unity of the so-called Progressive Catholic Movement. The Commission, as presently organized, is a

monolithic organization under the aegis of the Piasecki group. However, the Warsaw regime actually controls the Commission through Department V of the Ministry of Public Security, whose mission is the control of all legal political organizations except the PZPR.

The Polish Government utilizes the Commission as an agency to assist it in propagandizing its economic and political programs at home and abroad, particularly its views on retention of the Oder-Neisse territories, in criticizing Vatican policies, and in attempting to redefect selected emigres abroad. During 1955, Polish Progressive Catholics were sent to France to persuade key intellectual exiles to return to Poland.

Recently, Polish Progressive Catholics have been discussing a mass pilgrimage of Poles living in the West to the Shrine of Our Lady of Jasna Gora in Poland, which has both religious and national significance symbolizing resistance to the enemy. The pilgrimage is to further Progressive Catholic propaganda by depicting Communist Poland as a country with complete freedom of religion and rapport between Catholics and Communist authorities in the interest of general welfare. This campaign is aimed principally at the pre-war emigration.

Father Kwasny of the Polish Catholic Mission in France (independent of the Polish Catholic Church) previously rejected an invitation of Jan Dobraczynski, a Progressive Catholic and a member of the Sejm in Poland, to organize a

pilgrimage from France to Czestochowa for the tercentary of the Holy Image. Dobraczynski stated as a member of parliament that Polish emigres from France participating in the pilgrimage would be free to return to the West and would not be subjected to coercion by the Polish authorities. He was expected to visit France in December, 1955, to conduct conversations with French Progressive Catholics and Polish emigre intellectuals, and to develop a closer relationship between emigre Catholics and progressive Catholics in Poland.

The Progressive Catholic Movement is probably the strongest ideological weapon available to the regime in its anti-emigre activity. It is cleverly designed to appeal to two major characteristics of virtually all Poles: identification with the homeland and identification with the faith. The Progressive Catholics offer to the emigre Pole reconciliation with the former without abandoning the latter--a compromise solution to a problem plaguing the consciences of many emigre Poles.

VIII. POLISH LANGUAGE GROUP IN THE CONFEDERATION
GENERALE DU TRAVAIL (CGT)

(Headquarters: Maison des Syndicats, 8 Avenue
Mathurin Moreau, Paris (XIX))

Large masses of Polish workers seeking employment in France after World War I, particularly in the North of France, were difficult to assimilate into the Confederation General du Travail (CGT) because of language barriers, social and cultural traditions, and a strong emphasis on Catholicism. Because of these factors, the CGT formed a special federation called "La Federation des Emigres Polonais." During the course of 1925, autonomous Polish sections within the CGT were organized in Department Nord of France.

As a result of French Government measures in 1948-1950 which forbade foreign pro-Communist political action in France, the PCF may have decided to shift its action to the Polish Language Group of the CGT. A vigorous reorganization of the Polish language sections in the CGT was initiated in the early part of 1949, which was characterized by intensive strengthening of the sub-sections of Polish workers. It was suggested that the delegate in charge of liaison with French sections ought to be a Frenchman of Polish origin, and that he should be a departmental and regional delegate responsible to the national echelon. This reform was designed to restore confidence in the militant Polish syndicalists and to provide impetus to increased activity.

Although the Poles operated their own language sections in the CGT, they had no freedom of action. They have enjoyed only a relative autonomy within the CGT.

At present, the Polish Language Group within the CGT receives its instructions from the "Commission Federale de la Main d'Oeuvre Immigre" (MOI), a CGT office directed by a Frenchman and including representatives of all foreign language groups. This office is primarily responsible for liaison between the CGT and the foreign language groups and for assuring that CGT instructions are implemented by these groups.

The strategic French mining industry presents a somewhat special problem, since in many French mines the Poles constitute the majority among the miners working underground, particularly in Pas-de-Calais and Nord Departments. Poles working in French mines are concentrated in the following departments:

Pas-de-Calais and Nord:	36,000
Ardennes, Meuse, Moselle, Meuse-et-Moselle:	14,000
Mulhouse-Belfort-Doubs:	5,000
Allier-Cher-Puy de Dome:	4,000
Other Districts:	<u>3,000</u>
	62,000

Fifteen per cent were members of the CGT, ten per cent were members of the Force Ouvriere (FO), while about eight per cent belonged to the Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs (CFTC). Two thirds of the Miners were not organized.

Of the 62 Polish sections affiliated with the CGT in the district of Pas-de-Calais in 1947, only six still existed in 1952.

In the 1952 elections of mine delegates, the influence of the Communist CGT declined but it maintained its majority. Many Poles among the miners abstained, while others, although non-Communists, voted for the Communist CGT largely because CGT delegates were able and efficient trade union representatives and the CGT, unlike the FO, was represented everywhere. Communist CGT and CFTC trade unionists argued that the French Socialist Party, the parliamentary representative of FO, presented to the French Parliament a bill which would have deprived foreign workers of their right to participate in electing miner delegates. Many Polish workers did not vote for FO because its leadership did not protest the bill. Actually foreign worker rights were already restricted, since they were entitled to vote only after having lived ten years in France or after having worked at least six years in the French industry. Only a French citizen could be elected delegate.

The activity of the Polish Language Group was supported until the end of 1953 by a press organ of the CGT, the Polish-language Prawo Ludu (The Right of the People). Since then the CGT has published an internal information bulletin in the Polish language, and the central organ of the mine workers of Pas-de-Calais and Nord, La Tribune des Mineurs, has devoted a page to articles in the Polish language.

IX. L'AMITIE FRANCO-POLONAISE

(Headquarters: 12 bis Avenue Elyssee-Reclus,
Paris (VII), France)

L'Amitie Franco-Polonaise (AFP), a French association founded in June 1944 by Communist intellectuals, has a carefully selected membership and is financially supported by the Warsaw regime. As in the case of the French-USSR Society, it has liaison with the Central Committee of the French Communist Party (PCF).

The AFP claimed a membership of approximately 12,000 throughout France in 1954. It publishes a monthly review, Peuples Amis, which draws upon the columns of the extreme-left press.

The threat of the AFP stems from the fact it ensnares many non-Communist French persons, usually either highly placed neutrals or so-called progressive liberals, who are anti-Communist but friendly toward the concept of coexistence with the USSR and the Satellites. Many Frenchmen fail to distinguish between Communist and true Polish interests and are duped by appeals to traditional Franco-Polish friendship.

The main activists are Maurice Baquet, former director of "Institut National des Sports," active in youth sports organizations; Paul Chevallier, Professor of Medicine who works in the Comite Francais des Defense des Immigres; Georges Fournier, Professor of Chemistry, one of the leaders of "Paix et Democratie" (a clandestine Communist organization

penetrating the ranks of religious orders), and a member of considerable influence in the "Union des Intellectuals Francais pour la Justice et la Liberte"; Emil Tersen, Professor of History, who maintains contacts with Polish and French intellectuals; Henri Wallon, Chairman of the "Centre Laigne de Formation du Personnel d'Encaudrement des Oeuvres pour l'Enfance," who has charge of the training of teachers and instructors for Polish children and youth summer camps.

Key personnel of local committees which are established in communities with a substantial Polish population are drawn from such groups as the Polish Red Cross and the Polish language groups of PCF and CGT. The most active committees are those in the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

Blatant support of Communist policies was reflected in the AFP-sponsored "L'Exposition d'Arts Graphiques Polonais," which opened on 4 May 1954 in the fashionable Elysee district of Paris. Polish Communist posters were brought especially from Warsaw for this event. Special printed post-cards addressed to the President of the French Republic were distributed to the visitors.

The AFP has campaigned against the Paris agreements and in defense of the Oder-Neisse frontier. Last year it praised the Polish Government's decision to reduce the strength of its armed forces as a contribution toward peace. The AFP called on the French people to demand that the Foreign Minis-

ters' Conference at Geneva achieve positive results. It officially resolved to support all efforts in that direction and to work for a peaceful settlement of the German problem.

It is significant that the major part of the Polish Communist activities in France has been carried on through the AFP association. Although it is a non-mass organization with selected membership, it is effective in its appeal to traditional Franco-Polish friendship among key French individuals who make no distinction between Communist and true Polish interests. Themes such as the concept of coexistence and the danger of resurgent German militarism appeal to both Frenchmen and Polish emigres. The fact that the AFP champions the cause of Polish emigres against discrimination also aids its cause.

X. APON

(Association of People of Polish Origin for the Respect of the Oder-Neisse Frontiers--Association des Originaires de Pologne Pour le Respect des Frontiers sur L'Oder et la Neisse--Stowarzyszenie Obroncow Granicy na Odrze)

(Headquarters: 9 Cite du Retiro, Paris (VIII), France)

A. Activities

The Association of People of Polish Origin for the Respect of the Oder-Neisse Frontiers (APON) was organized in France by the Warsaw Government on 22 December 1950, to propagandize for the retention of its western frontiers with Germany, provisionally ceded to Poland after World War II, and to attract into this Communist-dominated organization emigres to whom such propaganda appealed. While it functions primarily among French citizens of Polish extraction, APON does not neglect those Poles who for various reasons have not applied for French citizenship. It represents itself as a purely patriotic association and stresses its apolitical character, but actually is dependent upon the Polish Embassy in France.

The psychological basis for APON's existence is French and Polish fears of German rearmament. APON exploits Polish patriotism by creating determination to defend the Oder-Neisse border; it exploits French and Polish fears of Germany by creating opposition to the rearmament of Germany. APON propaganda claims that the preservation of the Oder-Neisse frontier is the best guarantee against the threat of German militarism.

The official purpose of APON is to convince the French that the present Polish-German frontier serves not only the interests of Poland but also those of France. Any attempts to revise it, according to APON, would result in war.

Along with the Polish Embassy in France, the Polish Red Cross and the French-Polish Friendship Society, APON has been used as an instrument in the redefection and repatriation program. It actively engages in selecting youth for vacation holiday camps and it assists Polish parents in France to send their children to Poland for holidays by assuming their expenses. The apparent non-party character of APON has helped win the confidence of parents who distrust the Communists.

Another effective means employed by APON among Polish emigres is the so-called "Odra-Nyssa Solidarity Cards" which it distributes in large numbers to create good-will within the emigration. These cards are supposed to grant priority in applications for French naturalization. For holders who do not choose to take advantage of this opportunity, the Polish Embassy will presumably secure particularly advantageous conditions of return to and resettlement in Poland.

APON worked actively for the limitation of German rearmament and the preservation of the Oder-Neisse border following the victory of Chancellor Adenauer in the West German elections of 1953.

The Political atmosphere of 1954 contributed to the development of APON. The USSR strove to use for its own propa-

ganda purposes the so-called "pro-German policy of the United States" by trying to persuade Frenchmen that only the USSR and its Satellites can successfully counterbalance the danger of renascent German militarism and nationalism.

Furthermore, the issue of French ratification of the EDC provided APON with an excuse to increase its activities. It distributed 110,000 propaganda leaflets and sent 42 activists to the provinces on special propaganda missions.

APON was partly instrumental in organizing visits to Poland for members of the French Parliament in 1953 and for leading French personalities during the Holy Week in 1954.

B. Organization

APON is registered as a French organization. Its National Council includes the President, the Directors Bureau, the officers of departmental and local committees, and all political activists.

The President of APON is Dr. Irene Strozeka, former Vice-President, who replaced the late Henri de Korab-Kucharski. The remaining posts are filled by French naturalized Poles. All APON directors have been "militant Communists" with long histories of pro-Warsaw activity. Political activity is directed by Michael Grojnowski.

The Directors Bureau comprises of the following members:

President:

Dr. Irene Strozeka, succeeding the late Henri de Korab-Kucharski who died on 28 December 1954.

Secretary General: Moise Michael Grojnowski

Treasurer-Administrator: Ester Begot (1954)

The scope of APON's organization was indicated in 1953, when it had branched out into 59 French departments and 380 communes. The assistants of the late Henri de Korab-Kucharski, regularly visited the provinces, especially the mining centers of Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

In February 1954, the Youth Department of APON had seven cells and a monthly financial income of 130,000 francs derived from the Polish Red Cross. In February 1955, the Youth Department had 96 cells and monthly funds totalling 480,000 francs. It worked vigorously and quite successfully on the project of selecting Polish children for vacation trips to Poland.

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