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a deterrent in affecting any great changes in Poland. 50X1 absolutely no changes. However, unusually high tension was widespread in all departments and throughout all government agencies. No one knew exactly what to say or what might happen after the death of Stalin. Fear, it seemed, gripped most of the officials. Every organization in Poland is subordinate to the Communist Party, i.e. PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party), not functionally but poliby any government agency tically. No moves are made 50X1 regardless of its level without the knowledge and approval of that Party. A member of the PZPR Executive works with the mass organizations such as the ZMP (Association of Polish Youths), LK (Women's League), LPZ (League of Soldiers' Friends), and the CRZZ (Central Council of Trade Unions). The Party, in maintaining contact with the various mass organizations, alleged that it does not dictate any policy or issue any directives but merely gives guidance. 50X1 the PZPR official pronouncements regarding its function as an advisor, everyone knows that it is really the top agency, the controlling force. 50X1 After Stalin's death the press devoted much space to the fact that 50X1 people requested admission into the Party. 50X1 situation was entirely different, however.

Of the 350 officials in the Ministry of had asked to be admitted into 50X1 even one not Power The 80 or 90 men were already Party memthe Party. 50X1 bers before Stalin's death. 50X1 A powerful whip wielded by the various agencies in Poland, from the ministries down to the lowest level, is the so-called Paragraph 32 of 50X1 the Code This Paragraph may be used and is used to keep employees in line. According to the provisions of Para-50X1 graph 32, an employer who for any reason whatsoever wants to get rid of an employee can easily do so. Some of the provisions of that Para-50X1 graph constituting grounds for dismissal are disloyalty, laziness, uncooperativeness, tardiness, and hundreds of other unimportant causes. The application of this Paragraph can cause quite a bit of discomfort and hardship to an employee. The employer can very easily discharge an employee. As a result the employee loses his right to the housing furnished by this or that ministry. It does not mean, however, that 50X1 50X1 he will lose his housing facilities completely, but it does mean that he may be moved out into the outskirts and receive comparatively bad living quarters. In addition to that, when applying for a job somewhere else he will find it difficult to get employment because the information concerning his past will be transferred to the new employer. Because of the check and double check from top to bottom and vice versa any suggestion of a change in the government would be readily known. Boleslaw BIERUT did not lose any power as a result 50X1 of the governmental reorganization following the October 1952 elections. Although his title had been changed from that of President of the Polish Peoples' Republic to that of Chairman of the Council of Ministers, 1.e. Prime Minister, he did not surrender any power; if anything, he became stronger. He is still the First Secretary of the PZPR. Incidentally, his name of BIERUT was, according to rumors, derived by combining the first syllable of two other Polish names -- Bie of Biernacki, his mother's name; and the rut of Rutkowski, his real family name. comprising the elite of the 50X1 the following men ruling group in Poland: ZAWADZKI (Chairman of the Council of State), Edward OCHAB, JEDRYCHOWSKI, SZYR, SKRZESZEWSKI, BERMAN, and Tadeusz GEDE. It is self-evident that BIERUT and ROKOSSOWSKI head 50X1 GEDE. It is self-evident this group. 50X1

	SECRET -3-
50X1	It appears that JEDRYCHOWSKI and GEDE are steadily growing in power.
50X1	
	; ·
50X1	Hilary MINC of the State Economic Planning Commission appears to be on the downgrade. The
50X1	in the fall of 1952 on the extent of the capital investments and the
	much-too-rapid tempo of collectivization of the village. Despite the reasonableness of his theory, the government condemned his statements as not being in line with the planned policy. For several months after making the pronouncements MINC was supposed to be ill. Rumors had it that he was ousted, that he was imprisoned, et cetera. However, he is back at the job but no longer is he the guiding light in the State
50X1	considers him as an outstanding economist but is retaining him only as an advisor.
	whereas GOMULKA was a somewhat fearless, self-assertive person who remained adamant in his decisions, MINC is tractable and willing to carry out the state and Party directives even though he personally objects to them. He is permitted to remain as the nominal head of the State Economic Planning Commission but without any voice in policy making. Moreover, if someone could be found who possesses MINC's know-how, MINC without doubt would be thrown out.
2.	Controls
50X1	
50X1	the Soviets
50X1	would come occasionally but only in an advisory capacity and at the invitation of the Minister. the older ministries had permanent Soviet advisors; however,
50X1	The Soviets try to be extremely discreet in those matters, realizing that they are not welcome in Poland.
50X1	As a rule, also, Soviet experts are present at the various sessions of the PKPG (State Economic Planning Commission) to help set up projects and plans in Poland; however, these experts are there at the invitation of one of the departments or ministries. Every director really welcomes the proposals, advice, and suggestions of the Soviets at the drafting table, not so much because he values their expert aid but
	comes the proposals, advice, and suggestions of the Soviets at the drafting table, not so much because he values their expert aid but simply because a Soviet signature affixed to the proposals and plant as

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or olive cloth material and that it was either lacquered or impregnated.

the pay was extremely low (amount not men-

there is no Pole now who does not have a personal

the ID card was made

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50X1 50X1 tioned)

identification card.

	- 5-
	the exact size of the card
fe	stimated to be eight inches by five when opened. The front of the olded card was stamped with the seal of the Polish
ar	overnment. On page one of the inside was a photograph of the bearer; in important feature of the photograph was that it must show one ear. Inderneath the photograph was the signature of the bearer and below
th	nat were the personal data. The photograph was stamped with a raised eal. The second page of the inside contained fingerprints of the
in id	ndex and long finger (sic) of the right hand. The back cover of the dentity card had space provided for the notations and seal of the mployer.
Th	ne personal identification card must be carried at all times. The
Pa is	arty membership card is never to be shown as an identity card. It s not even used for gaining entry into the KCPZPR.
Tr	avel in Poland is not forbidden; any Pole can buy a ticket to any
tr	to the poland However, to enter a border area a raveller must meet one requirement; namely, he must procure a letter
ľľ	om his place of employment stating that the traveller is going to
th bo	me border area for a specified number of days. If the visit to the order area is for seven days or less, the letter from the employer is
th	be only requirement one has to safisfy: there is no reporting out of
on	ne's district and into the frontier. If the visit is to exceed
se th	even days, the prospective traveller must, in addition to procuring me letter, report his intended temporary absence to his local housing
of	fice, and upon arrival in the frontier zone he must report to that
ho	pusing office and to the militia. A visitor is permitted to remain
111	a frontier zone not more than 20 days.
	previous to the issuance of personal identifi-
af	tion cards rumors had it that travel would be restricted in Poland 'ter everyone had his identity document. This was only a rumor, howe
	Furthermore, if anything were stirring
al wo	ong this line only a very few people in the government hierarchy ould know about it; even the ministers are unaware of any impending
ch	langes. In this connection the example of a
cu	rrency reform which took place in October of 1950. Only a very
out	all clique knew of this impending change.
	everyone leaving Poland must leave the identity
mi	rd and other documents in Poland. Nothing but the passport is per- tted to be taken out of Poland.
	the passport office
bν	is under the supervision of the UB. Passports are not issued the foreign office but by the Ministry of Public Security.
~ y	one reference but by the Ministry of Public Security.
Che	ecking of travellers at control points throughout Poland is irregular wever, one must be prepared to be checked at all times.
	At frontiers the WOP
(M:	ilitary Frontier Guards) checks all railroad cars and compartments
ve:	ry thoroughly. Railroad trains leaving Poland have practically no
pa	ssengers

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SECRET -8-

6. Status of Jews

Immediately after the war in 1945 there was no antipathy toward the 50X1 the Poles were very sympathetic toward them and treated them as a group which deserved much consideration. They realized the extent of the suffering which the Jews experienced. However, in time this sympathy gradually began to change and now has grown to a point of bitter hatred toward the Jewry. reasons for this change of attitude of the Poles toward the Jews: 50X1 (a) according to general Polish opinion there is no Jew in Poland who does not occupy some sort of government job regardless of his qualifications, be he stupid or unusually clever; and (b) all the Jews seem to fare well economically. They exhibit a tremendous amount of clannishness. Almost all of the Jews are in the Party; membership in the Party enables them to know the ins and outs of the Party operations. and 50X1 they guide their behavior accordingly. 50X1 Because of the close connection with the workings of the Party and government they know when to praise and when to condemn. They are in a position to take advan-50X1 tage of every opportunity. 50X1 if all the Jews were arrested in Poland, no Poles 50X1 would now show any sympathy toward them. In fact the Poles would be very pleased. 50X1 50X1 50X1 There is no truth whatsoever to the rumors that the Jews are being discharged from offices in Poland, in fact, their lot is improving daily in comparison with that of the Poles. The Jews did most of the talking at meetings and appeared to be the 50X1 more ardent supporters of the regime, of the Party, and of the principles which are supposed to be advanced at those meetings. A great 50X1 number of Jews are in the UB. 50X1 50X1 Recovered Territories 50X1 50X1 in the 50X1 Pole is aware of the fact that the present borders in the West are not permanent and that corrections will be made. The Poles realize that 50X1 Poland does not have much to say in the matter of determining borders and that it is only a pawn of the world powers. 50X1 The Polish regime is making relatively few investments in the "Recovered Territories" in the West; perhaps the official opinion coincides with that of the Polish man in the street regarding the tenure 50X1 of that territory. The regime is not making any improvements or carrying on any building 50X1

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is that that area is not profitable either agriculturally or industrially.

in the East Prussian areas; the reason for that

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Ec	onomic and Social Cond	-9-	
		itions	
1.	Living Conditions		
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	The higher officials They have special med they do not have to w dispensaries.	of the government are driven lical dispensaries known as th ait in line as the average Po	to and from work. e "Omega", where le does at other
50X1		the members of the UB a	nd the enum again
60X1	COMP	still receive preferential traratively well-equipped store and the goods are somewhat be	eatment. They can
50X1		oblem in Poland nowadays.	cer.
0X1			of the courses
0X1 0X1	cost 17 zlotvs.	unobtainable most of the time ng because they contain no far It usually consisted of a bowleal cutlet, some boiled potato	The foods are tast
2. DX1	Medical Care	Tomo Polico polico	es, and cappage.
)X1	Medicine has been com	oletely socialized in Poland.	Private treatment
X1	private call only if a	the is a very good friend of the private practice for two real cost of their time and real cost of their time.	a doctor will make a ne patient's. The
	amount of bureaucratic stand why it is that a the people are not abl	n Poland is not successful. To many patients, and are occuping formalities. The Source saill the doctors are so unusual to receive the necessary mestic steadily increasing.	ed with an abnormal d he could not under-
	In case of illness a n	erson must first go to his di four, or more hours before he	strict doctor. There

Then again, the patient will have difficulty in having his prescription filled at the pharmacy. The doctor may prescribe only medication contained on the list approved by the state; he may not prescribe foreign brand medications.

Whenever a person goes to a pharmacy with a prescription, more often than not he will be given some substitute and will be told that the prescribed medication is unavailable at the time. Prescriptions are difficult to fill because, as a rule, a certain ingredient or two is always macking. Quite often the doctors recommend medication from abroad because it is unavailable in Poland; such recommendations. however, are made unofficially and confidentially.

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President Eisenhower was forced to utter those words under pressure of the growing "forces of peace".

-11-

The Polish regime is constantly sowing hatred toward the West, which in practice is strictly a warlike policy. On the other hand, it preaches peace.

in uttering inconsistencies.

50X1

the average Pole does not place any faith in any agreements contracted between the West and Moscow. Moscow's aim is world domination, and any agreements contracted by her are not worth the time and effort devoted to the drafting of those agreements. Moscow should never be trusted

The average Pole did not place much importance on President Eisenhower's speech because he is convinced that the West cannot get together with Moscow -- that Moscow and the West are just biding time.

reaction of the Poles to President Eisennower's reference to Poland's right of self-determination.

the official reply was that Poland is already an independent
and free country; the people, on the other hand, were extremely delighted
to hear and read about the President's comments on that point.

how the Polish soldiers would behave if war broke out. the soldiers' behavior would depend upon a given situation. If there were all-Polish units which did not have any Soviet troops immediately behind them, not one Polish soldier would fire on the Western armies, especially on the American army. However, if the Polish army is interspersed with Soviet soldiers, the soldiers would have no other recourse but to fire on the Western armies in order to "save their own hides".

if a war did break out, it can be taken for granted that the Polish units would be in the front lines, with the Russian officers and elements of the MVD closely behind them.

The Polish boy nowadays enters the army unwillingly. The civilians have no confidence in or respect for the army. They are all aware of the fact that the officers in the Polish army are political agents, be they Soviet or Polish officers. The Poles do not consider their army as Polish.

The Polish soldier stems from the peasantry or from the labor class; he knows that his family does not fare well economically, that he is fighting for the USSR, and that the USSR is responsible for the terrible fate of the Poles at present.

If and when the opportune moment arises, the Polish soldier will definitely attack the armies of the USSR. There is no love for the Soviets in Poland.

in Krakow in February 1945 when the Germans were evacuating and the Red Army was entering that city the Poles felt sad -- very sad, strange as it may seem -- to see the Germans leave. Under the Germans the Polish society remained a well-knit entity; one could talk freely in his group against the Germans and know that he would not be denounced. Under the German occupation the Poles did not have to exercise too much caution because they knew their enemies, the denouncers. The arrival of the Russians -- bitter, lifelong enemies of Poland -- was to usher in a period of cruel enslavement and a police state system under which one's enemies would not be known.

When elements of the Polish army were entering Krakow from the east, close on the heels of the Soviets, the people showed no enthusiasm whatsoever. The people were aware that those Polish soldiers represented not Poland but the USSR.

50X1 In 50X1 In 50X1 In 50X1 In 50X1 In 50X1 In 50X1 St Lieuten Edition 50X1 On 50X1 Ja 50X1 Un 50X1 In 60X1	Poland does not border a free, promerican country. Were that the case, Poland would have been free and adependent immediately after the war or soon thereafter. As it is, to les are steadily losing hope of liberation. In discussing the chances of the USSR and the United States at the next war, felt that time was playing on the side of the USSR. the intelligentsia were of the opinion that the USSR would strike as soon as it was certain that the tates off guard. The USSR is working feverishly and sacrificing ten tallion or more people in an attempt to develop these atomic weapons. Ithough the USSR will have a smaller stockpile of these weapons and though these weapons will have been more crudely made than those of the United States.—and in the next war the first move may be the decisive one. Comments concerning Statements made by former Polish MIG Pilot, mant Jarecki, and Printed in the New York Herald Tribune, Paris, on September 1, 1953. November 3, 1953,
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Po a ' "In wer 2. Des	
ve:	owever, this action of creating a Polish army should be linked with e organization of the future United States of Europe; then, every le would be convinced that this army will speed up the building of new, really good life within the framework of those states.
	n the event of war such an army would without the slightest doubt aken the spirit of the armies of the satellite countries."
	STROY THE PRESTIGE OF THE PRESENT SATELLITE GOVERNMENT
	t is difficult to talk about the prestige of the 'Polish
tas	vernment' in present Poland in view of the fact that everyone knows at it is a Soviet agency. However, the propaganda that Poland is
COI	mpletely subservient to Russia that it really is the 'eighteenth'
wh:	viet republic should be so intensified in the other countries in ich Poles reside as to make that fact perfectly obvious."
.**	ARANTEE FREEDOM TO ALL COMMUNIST ESCAPEES
"Th Par cor of	his point is certainly justified especially since 90% of the rty members are hypocrites; they are in the Party not because of expediency. There is no doubt that the escar each Party member would reverberate a thousandfold and would evoke avalanche of comments not to mention the fact that an escape of

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4. OFFER THOSE WHO DESERT AN ATTRACTIVE POLITICAL ASYLUM

"This is a very fine point. It is the general opinion in Poland that only highly skilled men -- and engineers at that -- have the best chance of making good after escaping from Poland. Other professional men, especially those from the field of humanities, do not have the same opportunities. Refugee medical doctors, for example, must first undergo nostrification of their degrees. This question is of especial importance with respect to degrees from academic achools.

"The idea of nostrification is an archaic remnant. It arose as a measure of defense against the influx of specialists from other countries and as a means of discouraging its people from studying in foreign countries; monetary considerations were also involved.

"There is no doubt that a Pole's stay in either Germany or France does not offer any special attraction. As far as Germany is concerned, the feeling of the Poles is rather hostile, especially taking recent history into account.

50X1

50X1

The sole aim of every Pole is to get well. It is known, however, that it is not easy to get to the United States. It is also well known in Poland that thousands of Poles are waiting in Germany for the moment when they will emigrate to the United States, i.e. waiting for the permission to emigrate; before they can get that permission they must have plenty of ready cash both for transportation to the United States and for the carry-over period between their landing and their first pay envelope.

"In the light of the foregoing, a Pole's escape to the West is like a plunge into the deep; he does not know whether or not he will be able to swim to safety."

5. RADIO PROPAGANDA MUST STRESS DETAILS OF LIBERATION

"This point has its merits and ties in very closely with the preceding one. The radio should devote series of broadcasts to acquainting the Poles with the manner in which the human being is treated in the United States; it should contrast the treatment he receives in the States and the treatment he receives in the Communist countries. This theme is also a very fertile field for the general type of propaganda. The earning power, purchasing power, and the general working and living conditions of the American worker should be contrasted with that of the worker in Communist countries. Comparisons like the ones made by Mr. Dulles should be a subject of regular broadcasts."

6. AMERICANS SHOULD SEND AS MANY PACKAGES TO IRON CURTAIN PEOPLE AS THEY POSSIBLY CAN

"This is a good point. The articles which manage to get through to Poland are unusually popular. The regime is aware of this popularity of the United States and is doing its utmost to offset it. Many satirical plays use the 'cheap junk' sent from the States as a theme; the press devotes many articles to the subject. Despite these efforts on the part of the regime, the 'cheap junk' is welcomed by everyone in Poland."

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50X1		Comments
50X1 50X1	1.	Hilary MINC's position in the government at present is weak and uncertain. This view, apparently shared by the average Pole, is based mainly on rumor.
50X1	2.	
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50X1 50X1	3.	the inner operations of the satellite countries despite the fact that much has been and is being written on that subject.

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