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UN Project
PolEx I/1

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Center for International Studies
50 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Subject: UN Project Political Exercise I--Plans and Arrangements

Date: September 10-11-12, 1958

Place: M.I.T.'s Endicott House Estate, Dedham, Massachusetts

To:

From: Lincoln P. Bloomfield

We are looking forward greatly to your presence at the Center's forthcoming experiment in political war-gaming at Endicott House, starting on Wednesday morning, September 10, and concluding at the close of business Friday, September 12. I know you are as intrigued as we are to learn more about the potentialities of this kind of spontaneous role-playing by highly qualified area specialists against the setting of a hypothetical international crisis.

The purpose of this memorandum is to furnish you with some of the administrative details of the exercise, and to place in your hands those papers which are to be made available in advance. In order to maximize the spontaneity of the players' reactions, the precise topic of the game is not to be revealed until the exercise actually starts (9:15 A.M., September 10.)

In order to avoid both actual and unexpected contemporary complications, the hypothetical time chosen for the exercise to begin is exactly one year hence, i.e. September 10, 1959. One of the enclosures sketches briefly the world environment that the players confront as they come together to start the exercise. Experience with some comparable real-life political crises in recent years suggests that, if the crisis is sufficiently exigent, a good

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deal usually happens in the first three days to reveal how various governments are going to react and interact. Thus, while a longer time period might be desirable in running the game beyond the initial moves and reactions, we believe that three days can be highly significant, even with real-time and game-time on a one-to-one ratio. (On the other hand, the exercise may actually unfold in such a way as to make it desirable that time should be speeded up and the succeeding moves made at a somewhat "later date." The Umpires will be free to "speed up time" if the developing situation so warrants.)

The general format of the exercise, as we see it, is as follows:

All participants convene at Endicott House Wednesday, September 10, by 9:15 A.M. At an initial briefing session the remaining papers will be given out, revealing the precise crisis that is presumed to have arisen. After raising any questions that may occur to them as to the ground rules, etc., the players, organized in nine teams of from one to four men each, will retire to their individual "team headquarters" in Endicott House.

Each team will represent a specific area of the world. The teams will internally synthesize the policy-making process of the areas concerned, acting both as the government authorities and the diplomatic representatives of the governments, in the UN and elsewhere. As policy makers of a country or area, each team will attempt to bring to bear on its decisions and moves the factors--political, military, economic, psychological, public opinion, etc.--which in reality enter into momentous national strategic decisions.

From the moment the exercise commences, each team is free to make its moves. Following on internal consideration these moves can take the form of consultations with allies and other similar diplomatic negotiations;

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public pronouncements; calls for UN meetings; action at UN and other meetings; military or economic moves, etc. In other words, each team is free to take the kinds of actions the governments in question would be likely to take under comparable circumstances.

To preserve operational order and also to maintain a summary record of the whole exercise, all external moves will be made in writing (appropriate secretarial assistance will be available). However, for simplicity each such move, whether in the form of a team decision, diplomatic communication, public statement, UN resolution, etc. will be reduced to one paragraph giving the basic substance. A copy of each such move will be retained by the teams, and another will in all cases be given to the Umpires. When appropriate, teams will stamp such moves "Game Classified." Each team's papers will be numbered consecutively following the team symbol (see list below).

The Umpires, who will review each written move as it is made, are technically empowered to question moves on the basis of plausibility. However, the Umpires are expected to be very permissive. Their principal function in addition to reviewing moves is to act as "Nature," introducing new "objective" elements into the scene, "leaking" any team's confidential moves when that customary contretemps seems appropriate and realistic, and, as indicated above, speeding up the clock if necessary.

It is assumed that a UN meeting or meetings will be held in the course of the exercise. There will be a player who will assume the combined role of "UN Secretary General" and "UN Parliamentarian." He will negotiate as befits the role of Secretary General, will preside over any UN sessions, and will render all necessary rulings as to UN procedures, etc.

Since neither all countries nor indeed all areas of the world are represented, area teams must represent not only the leading nations of the area but

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also, when appropriate, the area as a whole, e.g. when it comes to acting as a bloc in the UN. When it does come to action in a UN body, voting can of course only be estimated. However, the focus of the exercise is primarily in the realm of strategic action and interaction as among the total foreign policies of nations--including the thrust of these policies in the UN setting--rather than as a "mock General Assembly." Thus the more formal and technical aspects of UN procedures, speeches, and to some extent votes will, in the language of the law, be largely "stipulated," in order that we can concentrate on the essentials.

Day #1 will include cocktails and dinner, plus a brief after-dinner session if this seems in order. Days 2 and 3 (Thursday and Friday, September 11 and 12) will run from 9:15 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Lunch will of course be served at Endicott House on all three days as well as refreshments appropriate to diplomatic intercourse.

Clearly, the success of the operation depends, far more than with the usual conference, on the continuous presence of all participants. One unscheduled absence could derange the entire scheme. Your cooperation on this point is wholeheartedly solicited. (In addition, remember the trouble the Russians got into by being absent from the Security Council in June, 1950!)

Endicott House is approximately 13 miles from M.I.T. and can be reached most conveniently by car, although it is not far by taxi from the Route 128 New Haven Railroad Station in Dedham. A brochure is attached hereto describing Endicott House and the routes for reaching it. Those without their own transportation from Boston can arrange with the Center's Administrative Officer, Mr. Arthur Singer (UN 4-6900, Extension 3131) to share rides to and from Cambridge. (Forty minutes should be allowed each way in heavy traffic.)

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It will be appreciated if you would bring this memorandum and attachments with you to the exercise. All other materials will be furnished you at the beginning of the exercise. See you at 9:15 A.M. on Wednesday, September 10th.

Enclosures: 1. List of Participants
2. World Situation Paper
3. Brief Guide to Standard UN Procedures
4. Brochure and maps of Endicott House

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The following is the list of participants:

PLAYERS

US Team: Francis M. Bator (MIT)
Daniel S. Cheever (Harvard)
Max F. Millikan (MIT)
Ithiel de S. Pool (MIT)

Symbol: US

Western European Team: (including UK and "Old Commonwealth," France, W. Germany, Benelux, Austria, Italy, Spain, Ireland, Portugal, Turkey, Greece)

Karl W. Deutsch (Yale)
Stanley H. Hoffman (Harvard)
William L. Letwin (MIT)

Symbol: WE

Soviet Bloc Team:

Alexander Dallin (Columbia)
David B. Gleicher (MIT)
Alexander G. Korol (MIT)
Marshall D. Shulman (Harvard)

Symbol: RU

Poland: Zygmunt J. Gasiorowski (Harvard)

Symbol: PO

Yugoslavia: Adam B. Ulam (Harvard)

Symbol: YU

Near and Middle East Team: (including Arab League states plus Tunisia, and Morocco, Iran, Pakistan, Israel)

Daniel S. Lerner (MIT)
Albert J. Meyer (Harvard)
William R. Polk (Harvard)

Symbol: ME

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Asia and Africa Team: (including all Asian and African states from Indonesia and Japan west to West Africa, except Arab States, Israel, Iran and Pakistan)

Sudershan Chawla ~~(Ohio)~~ (Muskingum)
Rupert Emerson (Harvard)
Benjamin H. Higgins (MIT)

Symbol: AS

Latin America: Juan de Zengotita (Foreign Service Institute)

Symbol: LA

Scandinavia: (including Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden)

Norman J. Padelford (MIT)

Symbol: SC

UN Secretary General-UN Parliamentarian: Oscar Schachter (United Nations)

Symbol: UN

STAFF

Umpires: Lincoln P. Bloomfield (MIT)
Paul Kecskemeti (RAND Corporation)

Recording Secretaries: Donald L. M. Blackmer (MIT)
Edgar H. Schein (MIT)
Seth Tillman (MIT)

Administrative Officer: Arthur L. Singer (MIT)

Staff Assistant: Elizabeth S. Park (MIT)

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UN Project
PolEx I/3

THE WORLD AT A GLANCE: SEPTEMBER 1959

The world scene is relatively stable in September 1959. There have been no great international crises since the upheavals in the Middle East in July 1958, and in the Formosa Straits in August and September of that year. The Cold War continues its interminable course but hostilities are confined to desultory propaganda sallies by both sides aimed at winning friends among the uncommitted nations. The failure to reach any concrete East-West agreements in the wake of the summit meeting last autumn has dulled both official and popular enthusiasm for further parleys for the time being.

The United States

The nation is in a non-political mood, preoccupied with baseball, the mysterious disappearance of "fins" from the early 1960 model automobiles, and forthcoming return to school and work. The economic recession is all but over. Unemployment has fallen almost to pre-recession levels; retail purchases are at a high level and rising; the cost-of-living index continues to rise slowly.

The Administration, although not currently under fire, is in a precarious political position. The polls show a drop in the President's popularity. The departure of Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams failed to forestall the smashing victory of the Democrats in the Congressional

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1959

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elections last November. Although the large Democratic majorities are sharply divided over proposed social and civil rights legislation, the party seems unanimously behind the conclusion reached by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in its investigation of the conduct of foreign policy that the policy of the Administration is lacking in "clearly defined long-range objectives" and that American policy, especially in the Middle East, has failed to come to grips with the rising forces of nationalism.

The military establishment appears to be in good condition. Little has been heard of inter-service rivalries since the reorganization of the Defense Department. Recent successes of the Atlas missile, and especially the successful firing of a rocket around the moon last February, almost two months ahead of the Soviet Union, have effectively dispelled the doubts and fears of the Sputnik era. No changes have been made in the disposition of American military forces abroad, except for the withdrawal from the Mid-East.

Although there were the usual rumblings of opposition, the President's foreign aid proposals were gotten through Congress without major alteration, despite the relatively greater emphasis on non-military assistance to underdeveloped countries.

Europe

The only major changes in Europe have been in France. The new

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Constitution, greatly enhancing the powers of the Executive, was accepted by the French people last September by a large majority. While the composition of the Assembly elected last December scarcely dffers from that of its predecessors, Guy Mollet enjoys increased powers as Premier and seems firmly entrenched after six months in office. The economy of France continues to boom. All is not well, however, under the still fluid Constitution. The lines of authority between Premier and President have not been clearly established. While Mollet speaks of the "advisory powers" of the Presidency, General Charles de Gaulle as first President of the Fifth Republic seeks to take an active hand in the formation of Government policy. In addition to constitutional difficulties, France is still beset by rebellion in Algeria. Negotiations with the rebels were conducted last winter but were broken off when the rebels adamantly refused any settlement short of complete independence. Neither de Gaulle nor Mollet has come up with any new proposals in recent months while the rebellion continues and the colons show increasing restiveness.

The posture of the two military coalitions facing each other at the Elbe has been altered slightly in favor of the West by the slow growth of the West German Army. Besides 225,000 American troops, 63,000 British, and 30,000 French, there are now almost 150,000 German troops in combat readiness. The Soviet Union continues to maintain a force of almost 330,000 in East Germany, 60,000 in Hungary, and 30,000 in Poland.

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Both sides are continuing to equip their forces with tactical nuclear weapons. American missile bases are now established in France and Germany as well as Great Britain, while the Soviet Union has announced the establishment of missile launching sites in East Germany. Nothing has been heard of the Rapacki Plan for nuclear disengagement since the summit meeting last fall.

Economic conditions are good. British and French dollar reserves are up and industrial expansion is proceeding at a brisk pace, especially in France and West Germany. The Soviet and satellite governments continue to announce increases in production although exact figures cannot be obtained.

In Eastern Europe the process of tightening up has continued. Student protest rallies against current government policies last March in Czechoslovakia and East Germany were broken up by the authorities without further incident. The Kadar regime in Hungary continues to survive with the support of the 60,000 Soviet troops in the country. In Poland, the Gomulka Government acceded in April to the demands for significantly increased representation on the Central Committee by the Natolin group of Stalinists, and church-state relations have appreciably deteriorated to the point where, after negotiations were broken off in July, 1959, Cardinal Wyszynski is believed to have been placed under house arrest. Yugoslavia has rejected Soviet overtures for a rapprochement and continues to pursue its semi-independent course.

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The Middle East

The Middle East has been calmer, if not stable, since the great crisis of last summer. The emergency session of the General Assembly last summer adopted the Arab resolution and followed it up with an increase in the strength of the UN Observation Group in Lebanon and the establishment of a similar group in Jordan. (In the 13th regular session a further resolution was passed approving the arrangements made by Mr. Hammarskjold, although the Assembly made clear that the UN "presence" in Jordan was not to be regarded as a "police force." Despite Soviet and some neutralist opposition to any resolution on additional UN personnel in the Middle East, the necessary two-thirds majority was mustered.) Britain and the United States withdrew their forces from Lebanon and Jordan last September and Observation Groups are still operating and have experienced few incidents in recent months.

Lebanon and Jordan are now the only Mid-Eastern states outside of the sphere of influence of President Nasser. Lebanon seems fairly stable but Jordan is tottering. Several plots against King Hussein have been thwarted but it seems probable that the regime will soon fall and that Jordan will be drawn into the U.A.R. orbit. Saudi Arabia is wavering toward Nasser. Iraq, while it has thus far declined to join the United Arab Republic, has nationalized its oil industries, and served notice of its withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact. It has also entered a defensive military alliance with the U.A.R. In the face of

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Iraq's promises for full compensation to the displaced oil companies, the West accepted the nationalization with resignation if not good grace, and negotiations with the Western companies for compensation are now in progress.

There have been no incidents along the borders of Israel in recent months but there is mounting concern in the West that Israel will seize the Jordanian territories west of the Jordan River in the event of Jordan joining the U.A.R.

On balance, there is, for the moment, a precarious tranquillity in the Middle East, although the fundamental problems arising from the interplay of Western and Soviet interests, Arab nationalism, and the Arab-Israeli situation are no nearer solution than at the time of last summer's crisis and in some ways even more volatile.

Asia and the Far East

Since the Quemoy war scare, no events of crisis proportions have occurred in South Asia and the Far East during the past year. India's flagging program of economic development has been partially revived by Western and, to a lesser degree, Soviet assistance. Prime Minister Nehru continues to pursue his policy of neutrality although increased American assistance has generated greater cordiality between New Delhi and Washington.

Despite Mao Tse-Tung's offer to negotiate the status of Formosa and the off shore islands in either a summit conference or in the UN

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Security Council, the United States still refuses to accord diplomatic recognition to the Peking regime and it seems unlikely that Peking will win China's seat in the UN at the forthcoming regular session of the General Assembly.

Guerilla resistance to the Jakarta Government has all but ceased in Indonesia. Indonesia continues to pursue her neutral foreign policy although receiving increased economic assistance from both the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Cold War

The familiar impasse between the West and the Communist bloc remains unbroken. Preparatory talks for a summit conference were resumed in Moscow last October. Tedious negotiations produced an agreed agenda, which included questions relating to the Middle East, disarmament, and the unification of Germany. The United States refused to consider Peiping's offer to negotiate at the same summit so no Far Eastern question appeared on the agenda.

The summit meeting, held in Geneva in December, lacked the conspicuous cordiality of the meeting of July 1955, although Premier Krushchev displayed effusive charm at all public occasions. It was agreed that the Great Powers should respect the political independence and territorial integrity of all states great and small, and lend "friendly assistance" to the Arab peoples in the achievement of their "legitimate aspirations";

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that "renewed efforts" should be made to reach agreement by a UN Disarmament Commission with broadened representation; and that the Foreign Ministers should meet to consider what measures might be taken to bring about the unification of Germany. The Soviet Union declined to discuss the status of the states of Eastern Europe; the West refused to discuss an all-European security pact to replace the NATO and Warsaw alliances.

The meeting of Foreign Ministers held in March broke up in disagreement. There are some signs that a mutual atomic inspection plan will be agreed upon in the UN Disarmament Commission but there is nothing conclusive yet.

In summary, the Cold War continues as of September 1959, especially in the propaganda arena. There are, however, no fresh or acute issues and the struggle is generally muted by worldwide preoccupation with domestic issues.

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POLAND: BACKGROUND PAPER

The Land

Poland emerged from World War II minus 45 per cent of its former area in the east, but compensated in the west by the former German territories of German Silesia, Pomerania, southern East Prussia, and the former Free City of Danzig, a net loss of one-fifth of its pre-war area and two-sevenths of its population. Poland's industrial potential, however, was substantially increased by the acquisitions from Germany, and its coast line lengthened by some 220 miles. In brief, the war transformed Poland into a different economic-geographical unit, shifting its territory some 150 miles to the west, with relatively higher economic potential.

With its new compact form and reduced frontiers, Poland now borders on only three countries, the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. It is thus completely encircled by Russian-dominated areas. The new Poland has an area of 121,130 square miles, with 1,905 miles of frontiers and 309 miles of Baltic coast. The largest of the Soviet satellites and the fourth largest state in Europe, Poland is bounded on the east approximately by the Curzon line, on the west by the Oder and Neisse rivers. The Baltic Sea and the Carpathian Mountains mark the northern and southern limits of the Polish portion of the European plain, which extends from the Atlantic to the Urals, an area easily crossed by military forces and migrating peoples. With no natural frontiers on either east or west, the existence and location of Polish borders during the past two centuries have depended on the political decisions of non-Polish governments.

The People

The population of Poland was estimated at approximately 28 million in late 1956. About 10.7 million of the pre-war population of over 30 million were lost in the disasters that befell Poland and Europe between 1939 and 1949. A great internal westward migration of the Polish people occurred after World War II. By 1947, some 3 million Poles from the congested central regions and 1 million from the territories ceded to the Soviet Union had moved to the former German territories whence the Germans had fled or been expelled.

About 43 per cent of the people live in urban areas, making Poland the most urbanized of the satellite countries except for Czechoslovakia. The movement to the cities has accelerated in conjunction with industrial expansion since 1946, thereby largely restoring the great urban

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population losses of the war. The densest areas of population are the agricultural and industrial region of the southern borderlands, the central cities of Warsaw and Lodz, and the ports at the mouths of the Vistula and the Oder.

History

1. The Rise of Poland

Of the scattered Slavic tribes who, in the middle of the tenth century, lived between the Oder and Vistula rivers, the Polanie, or "dwellers of the plain," proved to be the strongest and politically best organized. Uniting with neighboring tribes to resist German invaders, they produced the able Piast dynasty, which ruled the land until 1370. The Polish princes formed ties with the Holy Roman Empire and adopted the Roman Catholic faith. Poland was thus drawn into the orbit of western civilization while the Eastern Slavs embraced the Greek rite and fell under Byzantine influence. Thus began the deep estrangement between the two principal Slavic nations.

After a period of notable expansion to the east, Poland, in the thirteenth century, entered a period of disintegration, largely due to the appanage system of inheritance, whereby the ruler divided his lands among his sons. Tatar forces swept over Poland as far as Silesia. The decline was brief and in the fourteenth century Poland enjoyed a revival of unity and renewal of eastward expansion under Casimir the Great. The royal houses of Poland and Lithuania were united by marriage in the late fourteenth century, laying the foundation of a great commonwealth. Under pressure from the Teutonic Order, the union grew in strength. In the sixteenth century Poland and Lithuania bound themselves together by an organic and permanent political union under a common king.

2. The Decline of Poland

An impressive development of national culture made the sixteenth century a "golden age" in Polish history. Social and political decay set in, however, as the authority of the Crown became increasingly dependent on the support of a powerful landed nobility which thwarted the development of a commercial middle class and reduced the peasantry to serfdom. The Polish nobility never developed a concept of service to the Crown and in their assembly, the Sejm, exercised irresponsible legislative license, securing the right to elect the monarch, who was therefore bound to transfer most of his perogatives to the Sejm. An extraordinary practice, the liberum veto, allowed any single deputy to the Sejm to block a measure indefinitely.

Wars with Russians, Swedes, and Turks drained the nation's strength. Incessant wars and invasions marked the seventeenth century as "The Deluge." Internal anarchy frustrated all efforts to resist the mounting

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external pressures. Eighteen foreign candidates competed for the Polish throne in 1697; Russia, Prussia, and Austria imposed Augustus II of Saxony. Russia extracted the right of free military passage across Poland and the nation was deprived of an independent foreign policy, while the gentry, jealous of their prerogatives, thwarted all effective measures through the use of the liberum veto. Merchants and peasants were oppressed and the Church alone survived as an element of national unity and cohesion.

The eighteenth century was marked by mounting internal chaos and foreign incursions. Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia united to win certain "rights" for Orthodox and Lutheran minorities in Poland and Polish armed resistance was crushed. In 1772 it was agreed among Russia, Prussia, and Austria that none would acquire Polish territory to the exclusion of the others. The first partition, in 1772, deprived Poland of one-third of its territory and one-half of its population. This disaster shocked the Polish nobility into belated efforts to restore national cohesion. In 1791, the Sejm abolished the liberum veto and established an hereditary monarchy. In 1792, Russian troops invaded to defend the "golden liberties" of the Polish nobles and in 1793 a second partition was agreed upon with Prussia. This led to insurrection which culminated in the third and final partition of 1795, by which Russia, Prussia, and Austria wiped the Polish state off the map.

3. The Extinction of Poland

After 1795, the nobility either lost their privileges or transferred allegience to the conquerors, while emigré officers, political leaders, and intellectuals gave birth to "Poland in exile" in revolutionary Paris. A Polish Legion fought valiantly with France in the Napoleonic Wars, for which their reward was the creation by Napoleon in 1807 of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a puppet state which served as a French military outpost in the east.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 swept away the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and left Poland partitioned in the interests of a "just equilibrium" in Europe. Out of the remnants of the Duchy, Tsar Alexander I, who was having a fling with liberalism, created the "Congress Kingdom" of Poland with a Constitution modelled on that of Napoleon's Grand Duchy. Polish extremists thereafter demanded the resurrection of the lands lost by the partitions and an insurrection broke out in 1830. The new Tsar, Nicholas I, unbemused by the vagaries of Alexander, revoked the Constitution, made the Congress Kingdom an integral part of the Russian Empire, and imposed a ruthless Russification.

Thousands of Polish intellectuals fled the country in the "Great Emigration" and in the course of the nineteenth century such emigrés helped to keep alive the Polish national spirit. In 1863, the

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conscription of Poles into the Russian Army led to a bitter, bloody, and unsuccessful insurrection, the last Polish attempt at armed opposition until 1914. Meanwhile, important internal changes occurred: the partitioning Powers liberated the serfs, the Polish gentry declined, and a commercial middle class began to flourish. Civic institutions arose in Russian Poland; limited political rights were won in Austrian Galicia; Prussian Poland was perhaps the most severely ruled but notable economic progress was made and the Poznan area became the most economically developed part of Poland.

4. The Resurrection of Poland

The collapse of all three partitioning empires in World War I and the inclusion among the war aims of the Allies of Wilson's Fourteen Points, of which the thirteenth called for an independent Polish national state guaranteed by international covenant, led to the restoration of Poland in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles. Poland recovered the lands which Germany had ruled and access to the sea through a narrow corridor between German territories. Austrian Galicia was restored to Poland. The eastern frontier was not settled by the Peace Conference of 1919, and the Poles, refusing the suggested Curzon Line, attacked Bolshevik Russia to regain the "historic" frontier of 1772. The Red Army counterattacked and was only stopped at the gates of Warsaw. The Treaty of Riga in 1921 divided the contested Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories between Poland and Russia.

The Constitution of 1921 established a parliamentary republic which failed to achieve stability and culminated in a military coup in 1926 and the authoritarian regime of Pilsudski, which lasted until his death in 1935. A new constitution in 1935 institutionalized authoritarian rule and virtually abolished the rights of opposition.

Poland sought security in the interwar years through the League of Nations and the military alliance of 1921 with France. As the German threat mounted in the 1930's, Poland lost faith in the League and the French Alliance and Foreign Minister Beck sought to pursue an "independent" policy toward Germany. Treaties between Germany and Poland were signed in 1934 and 1935, ending the diplomatic isolation of Germany under Hitler and binding the two nations to mutual non-aggression. In early 1939, Poland joined Germany in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by the seizure of Teschen. The final destruction of Czechoslovakia, however, frightened Beck into a military alliance with Britain in April 1939. Hitler's pact with Stalin in August 1939 was followed by the German-Russian attack of September. Poland was quickly overrun and partitioned along a frontier roughly corresponding to the Curzon Line. The eastern section of the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union. Part of the Western section was incorporated into the Reich

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and the remainder run as a German dependency under a "Government General."

5. World War II and After

The Polish Republic survived during World War II as a government-in-exile in London. It included the hitherto suppressed opposition parties and proclaimed future adherence to democratic principles. Meanwhile, the Nazis set out upon the methodical extermination of the Poles as a national group. In 1941, the government-in-exile resumed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and arranged for a Polish army in Russia. But Soviet diplomacy sought to discredit the London government. The Communists in Poland, their party insignificant in influence and illegal before the war and purged by Moscow in 1939, resumed organized existence in 1941 as the Polish Workers' Party, struggling against both the Germans and the "Home Army," the "official" underground of the London government. When the London Poles in 1943 asked for a Red Cross investigation of the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers in the Kayny forest in 1940, the Soviet Union severed relations.

In November 1943, Wladyslaw Gomulka assumed leadership of the Polish Workers' Party and organized an underground Communist government. With the Red Army well into Poland, the Polish Communists gathered at Lublin in July 1944 and declared the "Lublin Committee" to be the sole legal authority in Poland. Meanwhile, the Red Army haleed outside Warsaw while a rebellion in the city directed from London was crushed by the Germans. In January 1945, the Soviet Government recognized the Lublin Committee as the Provisional Government of Poland.

At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the United States and Great Britain agreed with the Soviet Union to a "Provisional Polish Government of National Unity," the Lublin Committee to be broadened to include "democratic" leaders from Poland and abroad. This government would be pledged to hold free elections as soon as possible with universal suffrage and secret ballot. The three Powers recognized the eastern boundary of Poland as approximately the Curzon Line, with Poland to be compensated by German territories in the north and west. Despite the apparent agreement, a delegation of London Poles was arrested in Moscow soon after the Yalta meeting.

The Poles in exile split over the Yalta agreements. Some joined the Lublin Committee and a coalition government was formed in July 1945, which the United States and Britain recognized. The Big Three at Potsdam in August 1945 agreed to place the eastern part of Germany to the Oder-Neisse line under "Polish administration," pending a peace treaty. The USSR held this frontier to be final. By creating permanent tension between Poles and Germans, the new frontier helped to reinforce Soviet domination.

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The first stage in the subsequent Sovietization of Poland was a period of moderation. The coalition government was retained and non-Communist parties enjoyed considerable latitude. The Church was not disturbed. The Communist Party leader, Gomulka, declared in 1947 that Poland would follow its own evolutionary road to socialism. Within the coalition, however, the Communists entrenched themselves in key posts in the administration, the police, and the army. The Party then slowly broke the opposition parties through intimidation and purges. By the end of 1947, the only important "independent" party left was the Socialist Party. It was purged and merged with the Communist Party in December 1948 to form the Polish United Workers' Party.

The creation of the Cominform in September 1947 foreshadowed the hardening of Soviet control in the satellites. Gomulka, however, continued to appeal to national sentiment and took a conciliatory attitude in 1948 toward the deviate Tito. The Polish Politburo removed him from all party posts in July 1948. The Party leadership was assumed by the Moscow-trained Bierut, under whose leadership the pattern of Sovietization was forcibly advanced. The Church was now attacked with legislative curbs and spectacular trials. Gomulka was imprisoned in 1950 and was not released until 1953.

When Stalin died in 1953, his successors embarked cautiously to reform the stringently centralized controls over the satellites. Polish intellectuals, Party theoreticians, and the press began to criticize past theories and practices. Early in 1955, the Party announced that it would "democratize" and restrict the powers of the security police. Communist writers began to express bitter disillusion. The movement toward qualified independence gathered momentum as the Soviet leaders unleashed their anti-Stalin campaign in early 1956. The restiveness grew in the spring and summer of 1956 as intellectuals demanded freedom in art, contact with the West, and government reforms. In April, the Sejm for the first time since 1947 discussed important economic and social reforms.

Bierut died in Moscow in March 1956 and a factional struggle for leadership developed within the Party and the Government. Popular restiveness grew. Riots by the workers broke out in Poznan on June 28, 1956. The disorders were put down by the police but the regime chose to meet the danger with concessions. Gomulka was reinstated in the Party in August.

On October 19-21, 1956, a showdown occurred between the Polish leaders and the Soviet Union. When the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party convened to elect a new leadership, a Soviet "delegation" headed by Nikita Khrushchev hastened to Warsaw to intervene in the proceedings and prevent the election of Gomulka as Party leader. The Russians were advised by the Polish leaders that the removal from the Polish Politburo of the Soviet

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Marshal Rokossovsky, Polish Minister of Defense since 1949, was essential to the maintenance of Communist power in Poland. The Russians threatened military intervention and ominous movements of Soviet troops from East Germany into Poland were reported. The workers of Warsaw thereupon demonstrated in support of Gomulka and the internal security police arrayed to defend Warsaw against Soviet troops.

Under these circumstances, the pleas or threats of the Soviet delegation were ignored and the Central Committee of the Party elected Gomulka as First Secretary on a program of economic reform and independence in internal affairs. Marshal Rokossovsky was removed from the Polish Politburo and soon thereafter from the Defense Ministry. The Soviet leaders accepted the situation rather than risk open rebellion and returned to Moscow, accepting assurances by Gomulka that there would be no revolution and that Poland would remain Communist and loyal to the Soviet alliance.

In late 1956, Gomulka consolidated his power. Within the Party opinion was allowed free expression. Gomulka effected a rapprochement with the Church and won its support. The Primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, who had been kept in forced residence in a monastery, was released along with other ecclesiastics.

In January 1957, an election of a new Sejm was held, allowing a limited freedom of choice. The voters, responding to an urgent warning by Gomulka that failure to elect the official slate would mean the destruction of Poland, endorsed the official list of candidates. Despite the limited freedom of choice, the enormous threat which overhung the election, and its results, made it clear that there would be no real democracy in Poland.

After the election, Gomulka outlined a program of reform: "workers' control" over industry, democratization of party and government, the end of enforced agricultural collectivization, and "mutual confidence and equality of rights" in Polish-Soviet relations. Gomulka's hand was further strengthened in January 1957 by the visit to Warsaw of Premier Chou-en-lai of Communist China, who endorsed the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty among socialist states.

After the repression of the Hungarian revolt, Gomulka, who condemned the first Soviet intervention in Hungary but supported the second as an unfortunate but necessary step, undertook to make the Polish people aware that "independence" could only be worked out within the limits of Soviet toleration, thereby giving rise to some popular feeling that the Government had "retreated from October." Caught between the pressure of the people and the need to placate the Soviet Union, Gomulka pursued a policy of "recompression," seeking to suppress "revisionist"

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tendencies by restoring the monolithic power of the Party. In Moscow in November 1957, Gomulka emphasized the need for the unity and solidarity of the Soviet bloc. In April 1958, in deference to the Soviet Union, he declined to send an official delegation to the Yugoslav Party Congress. Addressing the Polish Trade Union Congress in April, Gomulka attacked the workers' councils, which had provided mass support in his own battle against Stalinism, as having attempted to pre-empt the functions of trade unions and party committees in the factories. These events constitute a steady "retreat from October" by Gomulka and an evolution back toward Communist orthodoxy.

But the achievements of October 1956 have not been completely destroyed: Party dictatorship has been mitigated; mass police terror has disappeared; the peasants have received back most of the land; the press retains a measure of freedom; religious instruction has returned to the schools. Pledges to better the lot of the people, however, have been pushed into the background, and the reform of prices and wages has been postponed until 1959. Barring basic changes in either Soviet or Polish policy, the ultimate limits of Polish decompression are entirely set by the bounds of Soviet toleration.

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THE ARMED FORCES OF POLAND AND SOVIET FORCES IN POLAND

A treaty of mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Poland, as with the other satellites, was signed soon after World War II. The admission of West Germany to NATO was answered in November 1954 by a Soviet "invitation" to the Eastern European states to join a rival organization guaranteeing them against German aggression. The result was the inclusion of all eight satellites in the Warsaw Pact in May 1955. The pact unified the military forces of all the satellites and established a joint military command in Moscow under Soviet Marshall Ivan S. Konev. The military dependence of Poland on the USSR is greatly enhanced by the fact that the Soviet Union alone recognizes and has committed itself to defend the Oder-Neisse frontier with Germany.

1. The Armed Forces of Poland

Poland's armed forces total about 280,000 to 300,000 men in 19 or 20 divisions, more than half armored and mechanized, supported by about 500 Polish aircraft. Included in the total Polish military establishment are a naval force of 10,000 and a 60,000-man air force. The air force consists largely of jet-propelled planes, but they are not as modern as Soviet aircraft and there is no strategic air force. Polish security forces consist of the Corps of Internal Security (KBW) and the troops for the protection of the frontier (WOP), about 100,000 in strength.

Poland, whose industrial capacity has grown greatly since the war due to expansion and the acquisition of German industrial areas, produces a substantial share of her own armaments, including trucks, tractors, explosive materials, machine guns, tanks, and even jet aircraft. Poland depends on the USSR, however, for such vital materials as mineral ores and oil, and her armaments industry is still far behind that of Czechoslovakia.

Conscription and pre-induction military training in the schools are universal in Poland. Conscripted youth are examined and the "politically unreliable" are usually placed in labor units. Military Study Centers attached to the universities train students as reserve officers. The General Staff Academy in Warsaw for graduate officers, formerly headed by Soviet officers, has been taken over by Poles under the Gomulka regime.

The term of compulsory service in the Army is two years. Defense Minister Spychalski's plans to reduce the term have thus far not been implemented. Training and discipline are rigorous; the living conditions and pay of the private soldier are wretched, although probably

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not much worse than in civilian life. The Polish conscript is tired by excessive duties and bored by incessant propaganda. The morale of the ordinary enlisted man, it is speculated, can hardly be high under these conditions. The pay and living conditions of Polish officers are markedly better than those of enlisted men but not comparable to the conditions of their counterparts in Western armies. Nor are the officers equal in status to members of the Party bureaucracy.

2. Soviet Forces in Poland

There are, according to reliable western sources, about 30,000 Soviet soldiers in Poland, organized into three armored and motorized divisions. They may be quickly supplemented by forces from the Soviet Union and the Soviet garrisons of about 22 divisions--380,000 troops--in East Germany and Hungary.

The headquarters of the Soviet forces in Poland is at Legnica in the southwest. Most of the Russian soldiers in Poland are stationed in the western part of the country. There are formations of Soviet forces at Reichenbach, Waldenburg, Grunberg, Glatz, Stettin, and Poznan in western Poland and in strategic positions along the frontiers with East Germany and Czechoslovakia. There are other detachments in about forty localities through Poland, e.g., Danzig, Warsaw, and Lodz. The chief training area of the Soviet forces in Poland is in the area of Reichenau (Bogatynia) along the Neisse River. There are Soviet air force units near Schweidnitz and Sagan. Most of the important towns in Silesia have Soviet garrisons. Soviet infantry and naval units are stationed at Stettin, Danzig, and the smaller Baltic ports.

3. Polish-Soviet Military Relations

After the events of October 1956, a Soviet-Polish agreement was signed governing the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. It provided that the "temporary stationing" of Soviet forces in Poland should in no way infringe on Polish sovereignty; that the movement of Soviet forces outside the area of their stationing would require the consent of the Polish Government; and that Soviet military personnel must observe Polish law.

Before the events of October, Poland's armed forces were completely dominated by the USSR. Marshal Rokossovsky, appointed Minister of Defense and Deputy Premier in November 1949, had vigorously reorganized and modernized Polish forces and integrated them into the Soviet system. Polish forces were armed and trained in accordance with Soviet patterns and staffed with Russian offiers.

After October 1956, the Gomulka regime removed large numbers of Russian officers from the Polish armed forces. Marshal Rokossovsky

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resigned as Polish Minister of Defense in November 1956. The new Minister, Marian Spychalski, had been imprisoned with Gomulka and was his close friend. Soviet commanders of the Air Force and the Warsaw Military District were replaced by Polish officers. The Army Chief-of-Staff, however, is still a Russian General, although his two deputies are now Poles.

Perhaps the most notable change has been the improvement in the public manners of Soviet officers in dealing with their Polish counterparts. But Soviet troops are still permitted little contact with the Polish people and there is little fraternizing between Soviet and Polish troops. There is the language barrier to hamper such contacts, and they are in any case strongly discouraged by Soviet Army commanders.

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PolEx I/5

BASIC NEWS DISPATCHES

Warsaw, August 10, 1959: FLASH Radio Warsaw announced today that Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Poland, passed away late last night after a short illness.

Warsaw, August 12: A Special Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party today elected Zenon Kliszko as First Secretary of the party, replacing the late W. Gomulka. (Ed. note: Kliszko, known chiefly as a party functionary, has been a close associate of Gomulka's, and is known to have recently been a particular target of criticism by the "revisionist" wing of the Polish Communist Party.)

London, September 9, 1959: A broadcast by Warsaw Radio, monitored here by the BBC at 2 A.M. New York time (8 A.M. September 9, Warsaw time) has announced the issuance by the Gomulka Government of a drastic new economic decree. The official Government statement declared that "temporary austerity measures" had been necessitated by flagging productivity. The decree announced that the working-hours of employees in most industries would be increased by one hour a day and that all workers would be expected to show a marked increase in productivity per man-hour. It was further declared that "codes of factory discipline" would be issued setting out rewards for workers who fulfilled and exceeded work norms and disciplinary measures against "laggards." Declaring that "additional measures" would be announced, the Government emphasized that these steps were essential to effect "a significant improvement in living standards" and called upon all workers to comply with "socialist discipline."

London, September 9: A broadcast by Warsaw Radio announcing additional Government decrees was heard here at 3 A.M., NY time (9 A.M. Warsaw time). The Polish Government declared that the workers' councils, subordinated since 1958 to the so-called "production councils"--run by the Party organization--are to be wholly eliminated, and that government-appointed managers, "specially trained in techniques of productive efficiency," would replace workers' management in many plants. It was further announced that additional "Party advisers" would be assigned to the trade unions and that representatives of the workers in the unions would hereafter be appointed by factory managers. At the same time, it was announced that because of the "disappointingly poor" harvests this year, the collectivization program would be resumed in the field of agriculture, including a significantly greater quota of so-called forced deliveries. It is assumed in diplomatic circles in London that these stringent moves are the result of persistent pressures from Moscow and, it is speculated, Peiping.

Vienna, September 9: The Austrian Radio at 6 A.M. NY time (12 noon Warsaw time) announced that reports have been received here from an undisclosed source in Poland indicating that leaders of the displaced workers' councils in Warsaw have called for mass meetings to protest the Government's economic decrees announced earlier today. It is reported that workers have been dispatched on bicycles to factories in and around Warsaw to summon the employees to a protest rally in the heart of the capital. MORE.

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Vienna, September 9: A broadcast believed to originate from Warsaw reporting a mass protest meeting was monitored here at 8 A.M. NY time (2 P.M. Warsaw time). The broadcast reported that a vast throng of workers and citizens had congregated before the PZ PR Building in Warsaw and were clamoring for Kliszko to appear before them. The report said that large numbers of people from the industrial sections of the city were still converging on the heart of the city. Diplomatic sources in Vienna recalled that the final breakdown of Church-State negotiations and the house arrest of Polish Cardinal Wyszynski two months ago created a state of tension which, in their judgment, would not take much to bring to a boil.

West Berlin, September 9: Reports received here at 8:45 A.M. NY time (2:45 P.M. Warsaw time) indicate that Polish authorities have called out the full Warsaw police force to cope with the vast throng of workers gathered before various government buildings. The West Berlin Radio announced that it has received an additional but unconfirmed report that the Warsaw garrison has been called out to assist in preserving order in the city. Meanwhile, it is reported, the crowd is becoming more restive and is chanting in unison: "Down with austerity! Where is Kliszko? Kliszko, come out and explain!" MORE.

West Berlin, September 9: A broadcast has been picked up here from a source in Warsaw identifying itself as "the voice of the workers' councils of Warsaw." The source reported that the Warsaw police and elements of the Warsaw garrison have attempted to break up the workers' protest rally but that the throng repulsed their assault. The source said that large numbers of police and soldiers broke ranks and have gone over to the crowd and joined the mass protest rally. The broadcast was heard here at 9:15 A.M. NY time (3:15 P.M. Warsaw time).

London, September 9: FLASH Radio Warsaw has announced that Zenon Kliszko has been removed by the Polish Politburo as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Poland and has been replaced by Marian Spychalski, the "nationalist" who staunchly supported Gomulka during the "October days" of 1956 and who since then has been Minister of Defense. W. Bienkowski, formerly Minister of Education and often called "the ideologue" of the October 1956 upheaval, is apparently to replace Jozef Cyrankiewicz as Premier. The announcement by the Politburo declared that Kliszko had "betrayed the spirit of October" and that Bienkowski would form a provisional government dedicated to "a Polish people's democracy and the welfare of the workers of Poland." The broadcast was monitored by the BBC at 10:30 A.M. NY time (4:30 P.M. Warsaw time.)

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Paris, September 9: An unnamed French Communist party official said tonight according to "highly reliable sources" Zenon Kliszko has been "liquidated" by the disgruntled left-wing and "liberal" elements in the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party leadership, against whom Kliszko has been moving with increasing severity during the past year's "anti-revisionism" drive. According to the same source, ex-Premier Cyrankiwicz has met the same fate as Kliszko. No confirmation has been obtainable for these reports.

Warsaw, September 9: Radio Warsaw announced at 2 P.M. today NY time (8 P.M. Warsaw time) that Marian Spychalski, newly elected leader of the Polish Communist Party, and Premier-designate Bienkowski have proclaimed the formation of a new Provisional Government. Bienkowski appeared before the throng of angry workers gathered in downtown Warsaw and declared: "Your wishes will be met!" He announced that the decrees issued this morning by "the discredited Kliszko clique" were "unconditionally cancelled." The crowd, says Radio Warsaw, responded with an enormous roar of enthusiasm. Saying that the "Kliszko formula" had failed, the new Premier asserted that "the only real and lasting resource of the Polish Government is the patriotism of the Polish people." Thunderous applause almost drowned out the last remark. Bienkowski announced that the Provisional Government would summon a conference of "leading Polish patriots" to agree on slates of candidates and make arrangements for the Polish people to elect a national constituent assembly as soon as possible. No reference was made to the present Sejm (or Parliament). Bienkowski declared to the crowd that while Poland was embarking upon "a great new program of democracy," the Provisional Government contemplated no major changes in foreign policy. Poland, he said, would continue its policy of "warm friendship" with the Soviet Union. Upon the conclusion of Bienkowski's address, the crowd gathered in downtown Warsaw dispersed quietly and returned to their homes. (According to a Reuters dispatch, Bienkowski was flanked as he spoke by Spychalski, Brig. General Jan Frey-Bielecki, Commander of the Polish Air Force, Brig. General Josef Kuropieska, Commander of the Warsaw Military District, and a General Komar. Ed. note: General Komar is head of the Corps of Internal Security (KBW).)

Warsaw, September 10: 8:15 P.M. The Provisional Government of Wladyslaw Bienkowski has just announced the recall of Poland's Ambassadors to Washington, London, Paris, and the United Nations and their replacement by representatives of the new "nationalist" regime. The Government explained this action as designed "to make certain that the peaceful and democratic policy of the Provisional Government will be clearly understood abroad and in the United Nations." The official pronouncement further declared the Government's willingness to enter any form of negotiations with the USSR which the Soviet Government might desire. The

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statement said that the policy of the new regime was to bring about "internal reforms only." It said that the change of governments in Poland would in no way injure the interests of the USSR, that Poland "counted on continued Soviet friendship," and that the Provisional Government was prepared to give official assurances to the Soviet Union, "if such assurances are thought necessary."

Vienna, September 9: A broadcast from an undisclosed source in Poland was heard here at 6 P.M. NY time (midnight Warsaw time) purporting to be the voice of the "legitimate Polish Peoples Government."

Legnica, Poland, September 10: (Monitored by BBC, London) Starting at 5 A.M. today, Warsaw time, the radio voice of the "Polish Peoples Government" is now broadcasting continuously from this southwestern Polish city which is also the headquarters of the Soviet forces in Poland. The Legnica radio is repeating a recorded statement every fifteen minutes to the effect that an attempt has been made by "counter-revolutionary elements, abetted by Western imperialist agents," to "betray the peoples democracy" and to "destroy the revolution in Poland." The broadcast claims to speak for the "only legitimate government of Poland." The "counter-revolutionary putsch" has failed, according to Radio Legnica, and the legitimate Polish Government is making its temporary headquarters in Legnica pending the crushing of the "criminal counter-revolutionary agitation."

London, September 10: A spokesman of the British Foreign Office said early this morning that information has now been received to the effect that certain members of the Polish Politburo fled Warsaw at the height of yesterday morning's uprising and have succeeded in installing themselves behind the protection of Soviet army guns at Legnica. (The USSR maintains 30,000 troops in Poland.) The escaping leaders were not named in the broadcasts which are now being heard every fifteen minutes from Legnica, but they are believed to include members of the so-called Natolin group of Polish Stalinists. Sources at the Polish Embassy in London said that the three Russian divisions in Poland have apparently been moving since mid-morning yesterday to concentrate around Legnica in the southwest. These divisions are believed to be highly mobile.

London, September 10: In an early morning broadcast originating from Legnica monitored here by the BBC at 2 A.M. NY time, Zenon Nowak, hitherto a Polish Deputy Premier and leader of the Natolin faction of Stalinists on the Polish Politburo, has issued a proclamation to the Polish people. Nowak, speaking in the name of "the legitimate government of Poland," declared that a "traitorous clique" headed by Marian Spychalski and Wladyslaw Bienkowski had attempted what he referred to as an unsuccessful putsch in Warsaw. He called upon the Polish Army and people to rise against the "usurpers." Nowak declared that he had appealed to the USSR for assistance to the Polish people in restoring their legitimate government and crushing the "counter-revolutionary clique." Nowak called upon all loyal Polish Communists to guard and defend the Party as "the apple of your eye."

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Warsaw, September 10: FLASH Sporadic fighting is reported to have broken out at dawn this morning between Polish and Soviet troops in the perimeter around Legnica in southwestern Poland. It is not known how extensive the hostilities are. The Warsaw Government has just publicly called on all Soviet forces in Poland to remain in their agreed areas. (The agreement between the USSR and Poland governing the status of Soviet forces in Poland provides that the "temporary stationing" of Soviet forces in Poland should in no way infringe on Polish sovereignty; that the movement of Soviet forces outside the agreed areas of stationing requires Polish consent; and that Soviet personnel are subject to Polish law.) The statement concluded by warning that continued Soviet troop movements on Polish territory would constitute a "threat to the maintenance of international peace and security," and that while Polish troops were under orders to create no incidents with Soviet forces, "the Polish Government expects that similar orders will be issued to Soviet troops." (This statement is believed to refer to the military perimeter which Soviet forces in Poland have thrown around Legnica.)

West Berlin, September 10: Unconfirmed reports have been received here indicating that Soviet troops are moving in East Germany toward the Polish frontier. The West Berlin Radio announced at 3 A.M. NY time (9 A.M. Berlin time) that other reports have come in from unidentified sources reporting that Soviet Army garrisons have been alerted in Hungary, where 70,000 Russian troops are known to be stationed.

Moscow, September 10: (Report from an American correspondent--received at 4:30 A.M. NY time) The Soviet Government has announced that foreign tourists should avoid travel in Byelorussia and the Ukraine "for the time being." Unusual concentrations of military forces have been noted. (Editor: This report has been subjected to Soviet censorship. Reports received from another source indicate that major movements of Soviet military units westward toward the Polish border are underway.)

Warsaw, September 10: It is now known that no repeat no major hostilities have yet taken place between Polish forces and the Soviet troops protecting Legnica. The Provisional Government has alerted the Polish Army and Air Force to be prepared to meet "any contingency." The streets of this city are full of people this morning, reading newspapers and talking enthusiastically of the events of the day just past. There are no disorders. People are speculating on the whereabouts of Zenon Kliszko. It is rumored by some that he was among the group that fled to Legnica, by others that he is still in this city, but the most authentic report seems to be that he and former Premier Cyrankiewicz were killed by an angry mob as they attempted to flee from the city yesterday morning. Messages have been received here from workers' councils in Cracow, Poznan, Danzig and other cities registering their support of the new regime. The Bienkowski Government appears to be in full control of all areas except that around Legnica, and no support is discernible for the group now claiming legitimacy behind the perimeter of Soviet forces at Legnica.

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Paris, SHAPE Headquarters, September 10: FLASH At 8:30 this morning (NY time) General Lauris Norstad ordered all NATO forces in Europe put on a four-hour alert. General Norstad stated that there was "no military emergency" and that the alert was purely a precautionary measure against "eventualities which are not now foreseeable." The General expressed full confidence in the ability of the NATO forces to meet "any contingency."

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UN Project
PolEx I/4

POLAND: BACKGROUND PAPER

The Land

Poland emerged from World War II minus 45 per cent of its former area in the east, but compensated in the west by the former German territories of German Silesia, Pomerania, southern East Prussia, and the former Free City of Danzig, a net loss of one-fifth of its pre-war area and two-sevenths of its population. Poland's industrial potential, however, was substantially increased by the acquisitions from Germany, and its coast line lengthened by some 220 miles. In brief, the war transformed Poland into a different economic-geographical unit, shifting its territory some 150 miles to the west, with relatively higher economic potential.

With its new compact form and reduced frontiers, Poland now borders on only three countries, the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. It is thus completely encircled by Russian-dominated areas. The new Poland has an area of 121,130 square miles, with 1,905 miles of frontiers and 309 miles of Baltic coast. The largest of the Soviet satellites and the fourth largest state in Europe, Poland is bounded on the east approximately by the Curzon line, on the west by the Oder and Neisse rivers. The Baltic Sea and the Carpathian Mountains mark the northern and southern limits of the Polish portion of the European plain, which extends from the Atlantic to the Urals, an area easily crossed by military forces and migrating peoples. With no natural frontiers on either east or west, the existence and location of Polish borders during the past two centuries have depended on the political decisions of non-Polish governments.

The People

The population of Poland was estimated at approximately 28 million in late 1956. About 10.7 million of the pre-war population of over 30 million were lost in the disasters that befell Poland and Europe between 1939 and 1949. A great internal westward migration of the Polish people occurred after World War II. By 1947, some 3 million Poles from the congested central regions and 1 million from the territories ceded to the Soviet Union had moved to the former German territories whence the Germans had fled or been expelled.

About 43 per cent of the people live in urban areas, making Poland the most urbanized of the satellite countries except for Czechoslovakia. The movement to the cities has accelerated in conjunction with industrial expansion since 1946, thereby largely restoring the great urban

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population losses of the war. The densest areas of population are the agricultural and industrial region of the southern borderlands, the central cities of Warsaw and Lodz, and the ports at the mouths of the Vistula and the Oder.

History

1. The Rise of Poland

Of the scattered Slavic tribes who, in the middle of the tenth century, lived between the Oder and Vistula rivers, the Polanie, or "dwellers of the plain," proved to be the strongest and politically best organized. Uniting with neighboring tribes to resist German invaders, they produced the able Piast dynasty, which ruled the land until 1370. The Polish princes formed ties with the Holy Roman Empire and adopted the Roman Catholic faith. Poland was thus drawn into the orbit of western civilization while the Eastern Slavs embraced the Greek rite and fell under Byzantine influence. Thus began the deep estrangement between the two principal Slavic nations.

After a period of notable expansion to the east, Poland, in the thirteenth century, entered a period of disintegration, largely due to the appanage system of inheritance, whereby the ruler divided his lands among his sons. Tatar forces swept over Poland as far as Silesia. The decline was brief and in the fourteenth century Poland enjoyed a revival of unity and renewal of eastward expansion under Casimir the Great. The royal houses of Poland and Lithuania were united by marriage in the late fourteenth century, laying the foundation of a great commonwealth. Under pressure from the Teutonic Order, the union grew in strength. In the sixteenth century Poland and Lithuania bound themselves together by an organic and permanent political union under a common king.

2. The Decline of Poland

An impressive development of national culture made the sixteenth century a "golden age" in Polish history. Social and political decay set in, however, as the authority of the Crown became increasingly dependent on the support of a powerful landed nobility which thwarted the development of a commercial middle class and reduced the peasantry to serfdom. The Polish nobility never developed a concept of service to the Crown and in their assembly, the Sejm, exercised irresponsible legislative license, securing the right to elect the monarch, who was therefore bound to transfer most of his perogatives to the Sejm. An extraordinary practice, the liberum veto, allowed any single deputy to the Sejm to block a measure indefinitely.

Wars with Russians, Swedes, and Turks drained the nation's strength. Incessant wars and invasions marked the seventeenth century as "The Deluge." Internal anarchy frustrated all efforts to resist the mounting

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external pressures. Eighteen foreign candidates competed for the Polish throne in 1697; Russia, Prussia, and Austria imposed Augustus II of Saxony. Russia extracted the right of free military passage across Poland and the nation was deprived of an independent foreign policy, while the gentry, jealous of their prerogatives, thwarted all effective measures through the use of the liberum veto. Merchants and peasants were oppressed and the Church alone survived as an element of national unity and cohesion.

The eighteenth century was marked by mounting internal chaos and foreign incursions. Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia united to win certain "rights" for Orthodox and Lutheran minorities in Poland and Polish armed resistance was crushed. In 1772 it was agreed among Russia, Prussia, and Austria that none would acquire Polish territory to the exclusion of the others. The first partition, in 1772, deprived Poland of one-third of its territory and one-half of its population. This disaster shocked the Polish nobility into belated efforts to restore national cohesion. In 1791, the Sejm abolished the liberum veto and established an hereditary monarchy. In 1792, Russian troops invaded to defend the "golden liberties" of the Polish nobles and in 1793 a second partition was agreed upon with Prussia. This led to insurrection which culminated in the third and final partition of 1795, by which Russia, Prussia, and Austria wiped the Polish state off the map.

3. The Extinction of Poland

After 1795, the nobility either lost their privileges or transferred allegience to the conquerors, while emigré officers, political leaders, and intellectuals gave birth to "Poland in exile" in revolutionary Paris. A Polish Legion fought valiantly with France in the Napoleonic Wars, for which their reward was the creation by Napoleon in 1807 of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a puppet state which served as a French military outpost in the east.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 swept away the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and left Poland partitioned in the interests of a "just equilibrium" in Europe. Out of the remnants of the Duchy, Tsar Alexander I, who was having a fling with liberalism, created the "Congress Kingdom" of Poland with a Constitution modelled on that of Napoleon's Grand Duchy. Polish extremists thereafter demanded the resurrection of the lands lost by the partitions and an insurrection broke out in 1830. The new Tsar, Nicholas I, unbemused by the vagaries of Alexander, revoked the Constitution, made the Congress Kingdom an integral part of the Russian Empire, and imposed a ruthless Russification.

Thousands of Polish intellectuals fled the country in the "Great Emigration" and in the course of the nineteenth century such emigrés helped to keep alive the Polish national spirit. In 1863, the

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conscription of Poles into the Russian Army led to a bitter, bloody, and unsuccessful insurrection, the last Polish attempt at armed opposition until 1914. Meanwhile, important internal changes occurred: the partitioning Powers liberated the serfs, the Polish gentry declined, and a commercial middle class began to flourish. Civic institutions arose in Russian Poland; limited political rights were won in Austrian Galicia; Prussian Poland was perhaps the most severely ruled but notable economic progress was made and the Poznan area became the most economically developed part of Poland.

4. The Resurrection of Poland

The collapse of all three partitioning empires in World War I and the inclusion among the war aims of the Allies of Wilson's Fourteen Points, of which the thirteenth called for an independent Polish national state guaranteed by international covenant, led to the restoration of Poland in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles. Poland recovered the lands which Germany had ruled and access to the sea through a narrow corridor between German territories. Austrian Galicia was restored to Poland. The eastern frontier was not settled by the Peace Conference of 1919, and the Poles, refusing the suggested Curzon Line, attacked Bolshevik Russia to regain the "historic" frontier of 1772. The Red Army counterattacked and was only stopped at the gates of Warsaw. The Treaty of Riga in 1921 divided the contested Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories between Poland and Russia.

The Constitution of 1921 established a parliamentary republic which failed to achieve stability and culminated in a military coup in 1926 and the authoritarian regime of Pilsudski, which lasted until his death in 1935. A new constitution in 1935 institutionalized authoritarian rule and virtually abolished the rights of opposition.

Poland sought security in the interwar years through the League of Nations and the military alliance of 1921 with France. As the German threat mounted in the 1930's, Poland lost faith in the League and the French Alliance and Foreign Minister Beck sought to pursue an "independent" policy toward Germany. Treaties between Germany and Poland were signed in 1934 and 1935, ending the diplomatic isolation of Germany under Hitler and binding the two nations to mutual non-aggression. In early 1939, Poland joined Germany in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by the seizure of Teschen. The final destruction of Czechoslovakia, however, frightened Beck into a military alliance with Britain in April 1939. Hitler's pact with Stalin in August 1939 was followed by the German-Russian attack of September. Poland was quickly overrun and partitioned along a frontier roughly corresponding to the Curzon Line. The eastern section of the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union. Part of the Western section was incorporated into the Reich

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and the remainder run as a German dependency under a "Government General."

5. World War II and After

The Polish Republic survived during World War II as a government-in-exile in London. It included the hitherto suppressed opposition parties and proclaimed future adherence to democratic principles. Meanwhile, the Nazis set out upon the methodical extermination of the Poles as a national group. In 1941, the government-in-exile resumed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and arranged for a Polish army in Russia. But Soviet diplomacy sought to discredit the London government. The Communists in Poland, their party insignificant in influence and illegal before the war and purged by Moscow in 1939, resumed organized existence in 1941 as the Polish Workers' Party, struggling against both the Germans and the "Home Army," the "official" underground of the London government. When the London Poles in 1943 asked for a Red Cross investigation of the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers in the Kayny forest in 1940, the Soviet Union severed relations.

In November 1943, Wladyslaw Gomulka assumed leadership of the Polish Workers' Party and organized an underground Communist government. With the Red Army well into Poland, the Polish Communists gathered at Lublin in July 1944 and declared the "Lublin Committee" to be the sole legal authority in Poland. Meanwhile, the Red Army haleed outside Warsaw while a rebellion in the city directed from London was crushed by the Germans. In January 1945, the Soviet Government recognized the Lublin Committee as the Provisional Government of Poland.

At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the United States and Great Britain agreed with the Soviet Union to a "Provisional Polish Government of National Unity," the Lublin Committee to be broadened to include "democratic" leaders from Poland and abroad. This government would be pledged to hold free elections as soon as possible with universal suffrage and secret ballot. The three Powers recognized the eastern boundary of Poland as approximately the Curzon Line, with Poland to be compensated by German territories in the north and west. Despite the apparent agreement, a delegation of London Poles was arrested in Moscow soon after the Yalta meeting.

The Poles in exile split over the Yalta agreements. Some joined the Lublin Committee and a coalition government was formed in July 1945, which the United States and Britain recognized. The Big Three at Potsdam in August 1945 agreed to place the eastern part of Germany to the Oder-Neisse line under "Polish administration," pending a peace treaty. The USSR held this frontier to be final. By creating permanent tension between Poles and Germans, the new frontier helped to reinforce Soviet domination.

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The first stage in the subsequent Sovietization of Poland was a period of moderation. The coalition government was retained and non-Communist parties enjoyed considerable latitude. The Church was not disturbed. The Communist Party leader, Gomulka, declared in 1947 that Poland would follow its own evolutionary road to socialism. Within the coalition, however, the Communists entrenched themselves in key posts in the administration, the police, and the army. The Party then slowly broke the opposition parties through intimidation and purges. By the end of 1947, the only important "independent" party left was the Socialist Party. It was purged and merged with the Communist Party in December 1948 to form the Polish United Workers' Party.

The creation of the Cominform in September 1947 foreshadowed the hardening of Soviet control in the satellites. Gomulka, however, continued to appeal to national sentiment and took a conciliatory attitude in 1948 toward the deviate Tito. The Polish Politburo removed him from all party posts in July 1948. The Party leadership was assumed by the Moscow-trained Bierut, under whose leadership the pattern of Sovietization was forcibly advanced. The Church was now attacked with legislative curbs and spectacular trials. Gomulka was imprisoned in 1950 and was not released until 1953.

When Stalin died in 1953, his successors embarked cautiously to reform the stringently centralized controls over the satellites. Polish intellectuals, Party theoreticians, and the press began to criticize past theories and practices. Early in 1955, the Party announced that it would "democratize" and restrict the powers of the security police. Communist writers began to express bitter disillusion. The movement toward qualified independence gathered momentum as the Soviet leaders unleashed their anti-Stalin campaign in early 1956. The restiveness grew in the spring and summer of 1956 as intellectuals demanded freedom in art, contact with the West, and government reforms. In April, the Sejm for the first time since 1947 discussed important economic and social reforms.

Bierut died in Moscow in March 1956 and a factional struggle for leadership developed within the Party and the Government. Popular restiveness grew. Riots by the workers broke out in Poznan on June 28, 1956. The disorders were put down by the police but the regime chose to meet the danger with concessions. Gomulka was reinstated in the Party in August.

On October 19-21, 1956, a showdown occurred between the Polish leaders and the Soviet Union. When the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party convened to elect a new leadership, a Soviet "delegation" headed by Nikita Krushchev hastened to Warsaw to intervene in the proceedings and prevent the election of Gomulka as Party leader. The Russians were advised by the Polish leaders that the removal from the Polish Politburo of the Soviet

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Marshal Rokossovsky, Polish Minister of Defense since 1949, was essential to the maintenance of Communist power in Poland. The Russians threatened military intervention and ominous movements of Soviet troops from East Germany into Poland were reported. The workers of Warsaw thereupon demonstrated in support of Gomulka and the internal security police arrayed to defend Warsaw against Soviet troops.

Under these circumstances, the pleas or threats of the Soviet delegation were ignored and the Central Committee of the Party elected Gomulka as First Secretary on a program of economic reform and independence in internal affairs. Marshal Rokossovsky was removed from the Polish Politburo and soon thereafter from the Defense Ministry. The Soviet leaders accepted the situation rather than risk open rebellion and returned to Moscow, accepting assurances by Gomulka that there would be no revolution and that Poland would remain Communist and loyal to the Soviet alliance.

In late 1956, Gomulka consolidated his power. Within the Party opinion was allowed free expression. Gomulka effected a rapprochement with the Church and won its support. The Primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, who had been kept in forced residence in a monastery, was released along with other ecclesiastics.

In January 1957, an election of a new Sejm was held, allowing a limited freedom of choice. The voters, responding to an urgent warning by Gomulka that failure to elect the official slate would mean the destruction of Poland, endorsed the official list of candidates. Despite the limited freedom of choice, the enormous threat which overhung the election, and its results, made it clear that there would be no real democracy in Poland.

After the election, Gomulka outlined a program of reform: "workers' control" over industry, democratization of party and government, the end of enforced agricultural collectivization, and "mutual confidence and equality of rights" in Polish-Soviet relations. Gomulka's hand was further strengthened in January 1957 by the visit to Warsaw of Premier Chou-en-lai of Communist China, who endorsed the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty among socialist states.

After the repression of the Hungarian revolt, Gomulka, who condemned the first Soviet intervention in Hungary but supported the second as an unfortunate but necessary step, undertook to make the Polish people aware that "independence" could only be worked out within the limits of Soviet toleration, thereby giving rise to some popular feeling that the Government had "retreated from October." Caught between the pressure of the people and the need to placate the Soviet Union, Gomulka pursued a policy of "recompression," seeking to suppress "revisionist"

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tendencies by restoring the monolithic power of the Party. In Moscow in November 1957, Gomulka emphasized the need for the unity and solidarity of the Soviet bloc. In April 1958, in deference to the Soviet Union, he declined to send an official delegation to the Yugoslav Party Congress. Addressing the Polish Trade Union Congress in April, Gomulka attacked the workers' councils, which had provided mass support in his own battle against Stalinism, as having attempted to pre-empt the functions of trade unions and party committees in the factories. These events constitute a steady "retreat from October" by Gomulka and an evolution back toward Communist orthodoxy.

But the achievements of October 1956 have not been completely destroyed: Party dictatorship has been mitigated; mass police terror has disappeared; the peasants have received back most of the land; the press retains a measure of freedom; religious instruction has returned to the schools. Pledges to better the lot of the people, however, have been pushed into the background, and the reform of prices and wages has been postponed until 1959. Barring basic changes in either Soviet or Polish policy, the ultimate limits of Polish decompression are entirely set by the bounds of Soviet toleration.

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THE ARMED FORCES OF POLAND AND SOVIET FORCES IN POLAND

A treaty of mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Poland, as with the other satellites, was signed soon after World War II. The admission of West Germany to NATO was answered in November 1954 by a Soviet "invitation" to the Eastern European states to join a rival organization guaranteeing them against German aggression. The result was the inclusion of all eight satellites in the Warsaw Pact in May 1955. The pact unified the military forces of all the satellites and established a joint military command in Moscow under Soviet Marshall Ivan S. Konev. The military dependence of Poland on the USSR is greatly enhanced by the fact that the Soviet Union alone recognizes and has committed itself to defend the Oder-Neisse frontier with Germany.

1. The Armed Forces of Poland

Poland's armed forces total about 280,000 to 300,000 men in 19 or 20 divisions, more than half armored and mechanized, supported by about 500 Polish aircraft. Included in the total Polish military establishment are a naval force of 10,000 and a 60,000-man air force. The air force consists largely of jet-propelled planes, but they are not as modern as Soviet aircraft and there is no strategic air force. Polish security forces consist of the Corps of Internal Security (KBW) and the troops for the protection of the frontier (WOP), about 100,000 in strength.

Poland, whose industrial capacity has grown greatly since the war due to expansion and the acquisition of German industrial areas, produces a substantial share of her own armaments, including trucks, tractors, explosive materials, machine guns, tanks, and even jet aircraft. Poland depends on the USSR, however, for such vital materials as mineral ores and oil, and her armaments industry is still far behind that of Czechoslovakia.

Conscription and pre-induction military training in the schools are universal in Poland. Conscripted youth are examined and the "politically unreliable" are usually placed in labor units. Military Study Centers attached to the universities train students as reserve officers. The General Staff Academy in Warsaw for graduate officers, formerly headed by Soviet officers, has been taken over by Poles under the Gomulka regime.

The term of compulsory service in the Army is two years. Defense Minister Spychalski's plans to reduce the term have thus far not been implemented. Training and discipline are rigorous; the living conditions and pay of the private soldier are wretched, although probably

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not much worse than in civilian life. The Polish conscript is tired by excessive duties and bored by incessant propaganda. The morale of the ordinary enlisted man, it is speculated, can hardly be high under these conditions. The pay and living conditions of Polish officers are markedly better than those of enlisted men but not comparable to the conditions of their counterparts in Western armies. Nor are the officers equal in status to members of the Party bureaucracy.

2. Soviet Forces in Poland

There are, according to reliable western sources, about 30,000 Soviet soldiers in Poland, organized into three armored and motorized divisions. They may be quickly supplemented by forces from the Soviet Union and the Soviet garrisons of about 22 divisions--380,000 troops--in East Germany and Hungary.

The headquarters of the Soviet forces in Poland is at Legnica in the southwest. Most of the Russian soldiers in Poland are stationed in the western part of the country. There are formations of Soviet forces at Reichenbach, Waldenburg, Grunberg, Glatz, Stettin, and Poznan in western Poland and in strategic positions along the frontiers with East Germany and Czechoslovakia. There are other detachments in about forty localities through Poland, e.g., Danzig, Warsaw, and Lodz. The chief training area of the Soviet forces in Poland is in the area of Reichenau (Bogatynia) along the Neisse River. There are Soviet air force units near Schweidnitz and Sagan. Most of the important towns in Silesia have Soviet garrisons. Soviet infantry and naval units are stationed at Stettin, Danzig, and the smaller Baltic ports.

3. Polish-Soviet Military Relations

After the events of October 1956, a Soviet-Polish agreement was signed governing the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. It provided that the "temporary stationing" of Soviet forces in Poland should in no way infringe on Polish sovereignty; that the movement of Soviet forces outside the area of their stationing would require the consent of the Polish Government; and that Soviet military personnel must observe Polish law.

Before the events of October, Poland's armed forces were completely dominated by the USSR. Marshal Rokossovsky, appointed Minister of Defense and Deputy Premier in November 1949, had vigorously reorganized and modernized Polish forces and integrated them into the Soviet system. Polish forces were armed and trained in accordance with Soviet patterns and staffed with Russian offiers.

After October 1956, the Gomulka regime removed large numbers of Russian officers from the Polish armed forces. Marshal Rokossovsky

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resigned as Polish Minister of Defense in November 1956. The new Minister, Marian Spychalski, had been imprisoned with Gomulka and was his close friend. Soviet commanders of the Air Force and the Warsaw Military District were replaced by Polish officers. The Army Chief-of-Staff, however, is still a Russian General, although his two deputies are now Poles.

Perhaps the most notable change has been the improvement in the public manners of Soviet officers in dealing with their Polish counterparts. But Soviet troops are still permitted little contact with the Polish people and there is little fraternizing between Soviet and Polish troops. There is the language barrier to hamper such contacts, and they are in any case strongly discouraged by Soviet Army commanders.

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