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POLAND.

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SECTION 1.

[AMENDED COPY.]

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Sir C. Dormer to Mr. Eden.—(Received January 15.)

(No. 5.)
Sir,

*British Embassy to Poland,
London, January 13, 1942.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith an interesting memorandum by Mr. Savery in which he tries to analyse the attitude towards the Polish-Soviet Agreement of the Poles in the U.S.S.R., in German-occupied Poland and in this country.

2. In connexion with the closing paragraph of Mr. Savery's memorandum, I may say that I have myself been struck by the inefficiency of the Polish propaganda. This inefficiency seems to be generally admitted by the Poles themselves, and I have more than once heard rumours of Professor Stroński's removal from his present post of Minister of Information. The Polish military authorities have in the past been insistent in that direction, but it did not seem to me that General Modelski, their candidate for the succession, would be any improvement—for one reason, because he does not speak English, or even French. I understand that there is now talk of suppressing the Ministry of Information altogether and dividing its functions between the Ministries for Foreign Affairs and of the Interior. In that case the former Ministry would take over Polish propaganda to foreign countries, including the United Kingdom, while the Ministry of the Interior would carry on the propaganda among the Polish communities in all parts of the world. The first part of this arrangement would almost certainly give improved results, but it remains to be seen whether the Ministry of the Interior would show the requisite tact and broad-mindedness in its approach to the Polish communities here and elsewhere.

I have, &c.
CECIL DORMER.

Enclosure.

Memorandum by Mr. Savery.

IN order to form an opinion as to the reactions of Polish public opinion towards the Polish-Soviet Agreement of the 31st July, 1941, and subsequent developments in that field, we must, I think, consider separately (a) the Poles in the U.S.S.R., (b) the Poles in the German occupation, and especially in the General Government, and (c) the Poles in this country.

Somewhere between one and two million Poles were uprooted by the Soviet Government between September 1939 and June 1941 and transported, often in conditions of great hardship, to distant parts of the U.S.S.R. Many of these Poles have spent many months—sometimes even the best part of two years—in internment camps, prisons and forced labour camps. They have been subjected to treatment which may not be worse than that accorded by the Soviet authorities to other citizens of the U.S.S.R., but is certainly much worse than anything experienced by Polish citizens, no matter of what creed or race, in Poland between 1919 and 1939. In so far as the deported Poles have had intercourse with Soviet citizens and have been able to see their conditions of life, they have found the latter to be infinitely lower than those which prevailed in pre-war Poland. As regards the whole of the middle and upper classes, beginning with the small shopkeepers and artisans, the difference of standard is, of course, enormous, but even the poorer peasants in Poland, let alone the "kulaks," lived better than do the rural mass in Soviet Russia. All inhabitants of Poland enjoyed personal freedom—freedom of movement, freedom to practise whatever religion they liked—and complete freedom from the danger of violent transplantation to

[25—48]