

MUN 24 6 SEPT 68  
TO: YARROW COPY BROWN ALEXANDER  
FM: PENN COPY HAZELHOFF

081738.

REFER BACK TO NYC 64 OF 22 AUGUST, AND YOUR WELCOME SUGGESTION THAT THE TIME MIGHT BE RIGHT TO TRY FOR A COMMENTARY ON ODRA-NYSSA. THE DELAY IN GETTING THE PROPOSED COMMENT TO YOU WAS DUE NOT ONLY TO ILLNESS ON PART OF NOWAK'S DEPUTY BUT MAINLY TO OUR DESIRE TO COME UP WITH THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND UN-EMOTIONAL ANALYSIS AS POSSIBLE. WE APPROACHED THE ASSIGNMENT BY HAVING A LOOK AT PAST AND PRESENT POSITIONS OF WHAT WE CONSIDER THE FOUR MAJOR GROUPS WHOSE INTERESTS BEAR MOST HEAVILY ON THE ISSUE. THESE ARE 1) SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE COMMUNIST REGIME OF POLAND, 2) THE POLISH PEOPLE BOTH IN AND OUT OF POLAND, 3) THE GERMAN EXPELLEES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF WEST GERMANY, AND FINALLY 4) THE WESTERN ALLIES UNDER U.S. LEADERSHIP. WE THINK THE POSITIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN EXAMINED IN THE FOLLOWING SCRIPTS JUST ABOUT AS FACTUALLY AND FAIRLY AS WE CAN DO IT AND STILL NOT JEOPARDIZE OUR CHANCES OF CLEARANCE.

NATURALLY, THE SCRIPTS ARE NOWAK'S PRODUCT, BUT HE HAS CONSULTED WITH THIS OFFICE ALMOST EVERY STEP OF THE WAY AND HAS ENDURED VERY CONSIDERABLE BLUE PENCILLING IN GOOD GRACE.

YOU WILL NOTE THAT REFERENCE IS MADE ABOVE TO SCRIPTS. ACTUALLY IT WAS WRITTEN AS A SINGLE SCRIPT, BUT IN COVERING ALL THE BASES MENTIONED ABOVE AND PUTTING THE WHOLE IN GOOD PERSPECTIVE IT OBVIOUSLY RAN OVER TIME AND ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS ESSENTIALLY A SINGLE SCRIPT, IT WILL HAVE TO BE CUT INTO TWO INSTALLMENTS FOR BROADCAST.

THE TEXT HAS BEEN CAREFULLY CHECKED HERE BY ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING LANGENDORF.

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YOU WILL NOTE THAT WE HAVE DELIBERATELY NOT PEGGED THIS EFFORT TO ANY ONE OF THE SEVERAL RECENT EVENTS WHICH, SINGLY, WOULD JUSTIFY IT--SUCH AS THE RECENT IRREDENTIST SPEECHES BY WEST EUROPE OFFICIALS, THE NATO NOTES TO PLAND, ETC., NOR TO THE REPEATED CHIDING WE TAKE FROM THE REGIME MEDIA. FOR OUR SILENCE ON ODRA-NYSSA. WE FEEL THAT TO EMPHASIZE ANY ONE OF THESE PEGS WOULD DETRACT FROM THE BALANCED UPDATING OF THE ISSUE WE ARE ATTEMPTING.

REALIZE IT WOULD BE ASKING A LOT BUT, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, WOULD HOPE FOR CLEARANCE BY FRIDAY NIGHT, WHEN NOWAK SCHEDULED TO LEAVE FOR BRIEF VACATION. HOWEVER THIS IS NOT IMPERATIVE.



**TEXT FOLLOWS:**

**JAN NOWAK, DIRECTOR OF THE POLISH STATION OF RADIO FREE EUROPE, WILL SPEAK ABOUT THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER.**

**"THERE IS NO PROBLEM WHICH IS OF GREATER AND MORE DIRECT CONCERN TO ALL POLES THAN OUR ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER. THE WESTERN TERRITORIES COMPRISE ONE-THIRD OF THE WHOLE OF OUR COUNTRY'S TERRITORY. SEVEN-AND-A-HALF MILLION PEOPLE, MORE THAN ONE-FOURTH OF THE WHOLE NATION, LIVE THERE.**

**"IT IS NOT SURPRISING THEREFORE THAT POLES ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO EVERYTHING WHICH CONCERNS THIS PROBLEM. AND THAT IS WHY NO OTHER FACTOR IS BEING AS CYNICALLY OBLITERATED AND EXPLOITED BY THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.**

**"THE PRINCIPAL THESIS OF THE PARTY PROPAGANDA RUNS MORE OR LESS LIKE THIS: THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE THE ONLY DEFENDER AND GUARANTOR OF POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER. HENCE THE SIMPLE CONCLUSION: WHOEVER DOES NOT STAND WITH RUSSIA, WHOEVER DOES NOT STAND WITH THE PARTY, IS ACTING TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE MOST VITAL INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY AND THE NATION. IN THE INTENTIONS OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDISTS, THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER IS TO BE THE CHAIN WHICH FOR EVER AND EVER, THROUGH LIFE AND DEATH, BINDS POLAND TO THE SOVIET CHARIOT, BINDS HER TO THE PARTY AND TO COMMUNISM WITHOUT GIVING HER PEOPLE ANY OTHER CHOICE.**

**"THE PROBLEM OF THE WESTERN FRONTIER IS USED AS A WEAPON AGAINST THE PARTY'S ENEMIES WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE COUNTRY. FOR THIS PURPOSE THE GERMAN GROUPS DEMANDING REVISION OF FRONTIERS ARE EQUATED WITH THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES LED BY THE UNITED STATES. ATTEMPTS ARE ALSO MADE TO EXTEND THIS EQUATION TO THE VATICAN, THE EMIGRANTS, THEIR GROUPS STRIVING FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, OUR RADIO, AND EVERYBODY WHOM THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN POLAND REGARDS AS ITS ENEMY.**

**"I AM NOT GOING TO COUNTER PROPAGANDA WITH PROPAGANDA. NOR IS THERE ANY NEED FOR ME TO EXPRESS MY OWN PERSONAL VIEWS. I KNOW ONLY TOO WELL HOW THE ENTIRE POLISH NATION THINKS AND FEELS ABOUT THE WESTERN TERRITORIES. I AM SIMPLY TRYING TO PRESENT A FAITHFUL PICTURE OF THE SITUATION. LET THE LISTENER JUDGE FOR HIMSELF ON THE BASIS OF FACTS, WHERE THE FAKE EQUATIONS AND THE FAKE SIGNS OF DIVISION ARE  
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**IN THE ARITHMETIC OF THE PARTY PROPAGANDA.**

**"I SHALL BEGIN WITH A REMINDER. AS WE ALL KNOW, OUR PRESENT FRONTIER IN THE WEST IS THE RESULT OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN AND RUSSIA IN POTSDAM IN 1945. ARTICLE NINE OF THIS AGREEMENT RULED THAT THE TERRITORIES EAST OF ODRA AND NYSSA WERE TO BE DETACHED FROM THE AREA OF GERMANY AND TURNED OVER TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POLISH STATE, THE FINAL DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER BEING PUT OFF UNTIL THE SIGNING OF A PEACE TREATY. ON THE OTHER HAND, ARTICLE THIRTEEN OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT WENT FURTHER, ORDERING THE TRANSFER OF THE WHOLE GERMAN POPULATION FROM POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY. FOLLOWING THIS DECISION, FOR WHICH ALL THE THREE SIGNATORIES ARE EQUALLY RESPONSIBLE, SEVERAL MILLION GERMANS WHO STILL REMAINED WITHIN THE TERRITORIES EAST OF THE ODRA AND NYSSA WERE TRANSFERRED TO GERMANY. THEIR PLACE WAS TAKEN BY POLISH POPULATION, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO HAD BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE THE EASTERN TERRITORIES SEIZED BY RUSSIA.**

**MORE/**

"THUS ARTICLE NINE OF THE POTSDAM TREATY HANDED THE WESTERN TERRITORIES OVER TO ADMINISTRATION OF THE POLISH STATE, WHILE ARTICLE THIRTEEN TURNED THEM OVER TO THE POSSESSION OF THOSE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO, AFTER THE UNSPEAKABLE ANGUISH AND SUFFERINGS CAUSED BY WAR, GERMAN OCCUPATION, PERSECUTION AND DEPORTATIONS, WERE TOLD TO SETTLE IN THAT AREA AND BEGIN TO LIVE A NEW LIFE IN PEACE. BOTH THE PEOPLE IN THE HOMELAND AND THE WHOLE OF THE POLISH EMIGRATION, WITHOUT EXCEPTIONS, ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE FORCED TRANSFERS AND MIGRATION OF THE POPULATION WERE PERMANENT AND IRREVOCABLE. ANY STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE ARE ANY DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS AMONG THE POLES THEMSELVES IN THIS RESPECT, ARE A DELIBERATE FALSEHOOD OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. LET IT BE SAID ONCE AND FOR ALL, POLISH PUBLIC OPINION IS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS IN ITS STAND THAT WESTERN TERRITORIES SHALL REMAIN A PART OF POLAND.

"THIS IS THE POLISH POINT OF VIEW. THE GERMAN EXPELLEES ARE ON THE OPPOSITE EXTREME. THE ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE OF EXPELLEE ORGANISATIONS SHOULD NEITHER BE MINIMIZED NOR IGNORED. THERE ARE AT THIS MOMENT NINE MILLION GERMAN EXPELLEES FROM EASTERN EUROPE LIVING IN WEST GERMANY, NOT COUNTING THE REFUGEES FROM EAST GERMANY. OF THESE, TWO MILLION THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND ARE UNITED IN VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANISATIONS. AND WHILE THE POLISH EMIGRANTS AND AMERICAN POLES ARE CONSTANTLY STRIVING TO ACHIEVE A FINAL RECOGNITION BY THE WEST OF THE ODRANYSZA FRONTIER, IT SHOULD BE SURPRISING TO NO ONE THAT THE GERMAN EXPELLEES ARE SHOWING NO LESS ENERGY IN WORKING IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION. EFFORTS TOWARD RESTORATION OF OUR WESTERN TERRITORIES TO GERMANY IS THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF AND THE VERY REASON FOR THE EXISTENCE OF NUMEROUS EXPELLEE ORGANISATIONS. THESE ARE NOT MONOLITHIC FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW.

MORE!



"SIDE BY SIDE WITH SOME MORE MODERATE ELEMENTS, THERE ARE ALSO EXTREME ONES WHO DO NOT HESITATE TO REVIVE THE OLD AND DISCREDITED SLOGANS OF THE PAST.

"OF COURSE, THE EXTREME DEMANDS OF THE EXPELLEES AND THEIR ACTIVITIES COME UNDER HEAVY CRITICISM BY LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE GERMAN PRESS.

BUT EVEN ON THOSE RARE OCCASIONS IN THE PAST WHEN GERMAN VOICES WHICH LINKED WITH THE POSSIBLE RECOGNITION OF THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER THE HOPE OF OBTAINING FROM THE SOVIETS AGREEMENT TO GERMANY'S REUNIFICATION, WERE DEALT THE HEAVIEST BLOW BY KHRUSHCHEV HIMSELF, EVER SINCE IT BECAME CLEAR THAT AS FAR AS RUSSIA IS CONCERNED, REUNIFICATION IS ONLY POSSIBLE AT THE PRICE OF WEST GERMANY'S ADOPTING THE SYSTEM OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

"AT THE SAME TIME, AS THE DATE OF THE ELECTIONS APPROACHES THE GERMAN PARTIES ARE BEGINNING TO COURT THE EXPELLEES FOR THEIR VOTES. AS WE KNOW, THE EXPELLEES' POLITICAL PARTY SUFFERED A DEFEAT IN THE LAST PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A MISTAKE AND ILLUSION TO CONCLUDE FROM THIS FACT THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE EXPELLEES IS VANISHING. IT ONLY MEANS THAT THEY PREFER TO FIGHT FOR THEIR DEMANDS WITHIN THE LARGE, ALL-GERMAN PARTIES, RATHER THAN ACT WITHIN A SEPARATE PARTY OF THEIR OWN. IT IS OBVIOUS TO ANY OBSERVER OF THE GERMAN POLITICAL SCENE THAT THE EXPELLEE MINORITY EXERT CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE. UNDOUBTEDLY, THE PRESENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS TAKING THIS INTO ACCOUNT, AND IT HAS FOUND EXPRESSION IN THE RECENT STATEMENTS OF ITS REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE EXPELLEES' MEETINGS AND RALLIES.

"IN ITS OFFICIAL STATEMENTS, THE GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TAKES AN ENTIRELY LEGALISTIC APPROACH. REFERRING TO THE POTSDAM RESOLUTIONS, IT DECLARES THAT UNTIL THE SIGNING OF A PEACE TREATY OUR WESTERN TERRITORIES ARE ONLY UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POLISH STATE. BUT THE POLISH INTERPRETATION OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT DIFFERS FROM THE GERMAN.

"POLISH LAWYERS POINT OUT THAT THE TERM "FINAL DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER" SIMPLY MEANS THE ACTUAL MARKING OUT OF A BORDER ALREADY ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. SO BY "FINAL DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER", ONE CANNOT UNDERSTAND ANY APPRECIABLE DEVIATIONS FROM THE ODRA-  
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NYSSA LINE ACCEPTED IN POTSDAM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, INTERPRETS THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT IN A WAY WHICH LEAVES THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE WESTERN TERRITORIES AN OPEN QUESTION UNTIL THE SIGNING OF A PEACE TREATY.

"THE OFFICIAL GERMAN STATEMENTS ARE ACCOMPANIED AS A RULE BY ASSURANCES THAT GERMANY WILL NEVER IN FUTURE SETTLE ANY TERRITORIAL DISPUTES BY FORCE. BUT - UNDERSTANDABLY - SUCH ASSURANCES CANNOT SUCCEED IN DISPELLING POLISH FEARS AND APPREHENSIONS.

"IN THIS SITUATION, THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE TURNING THEIR EYES TOWARDS THE WESTERN ALLIES, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED STATES, TO WHOM WE ARE LINKED BY BONDS OF CENTURIES' LONG FRIENDSHIP.

"AS WE KNOW, THE PARTY PROPAGANDA MAINTAINS THAT THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS ARE LENDING SUPPORT TO THE REVISIONISTIC ASPIRATIONS IN WEST GERMANY. THIS IS ANOTHER DELIBERATE FALSEHOOD TO SERVE A DEFINITE PURPOSE. I HAVE NEITHER THE AUTHORITY NOR THE INTENTION TO INTERPRET OFFICIAL AMERICAN STATEMENTS, BUT THE STAND OF THE US GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN DEFINED SO CLEARLY AS TO RENDER ANY INTERPRETATION SUPERFLUOUS. IN A RECENT NOTE TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED STATES HAS SIMPLY LIMITED HERSELF TO REPEATING THAT "THE FINAL DELIMITATION OF THE POLISH WESTERN FRONTIER SHOULD AWAIT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT."

THIS STATEMENT IS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY ONE SINGLE WORD WHICH MIGHT DETERMINE AND PREJUDICE IN ADVANCE AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TO POLAND'S DETRIMENT, OR SHOW THAT IN FUTURE THE US WOULD LIKE TO SHIFT OUR FRONTIERS AGAIN TO THE EAST. THERE IS NOT ONE SINGLE WORD WHICH MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS ENCOURAGEMENT OR SUPPORT OF REVISIONISTIC ASPIRATIONS.

"BUT ANY, EVEN THE SMALLEST QUESTION MARK, HANGING OVER A PROBLEM WHICH IS OF SUCH VITAL IMPORTANCE TO US, AROUSES IN US A FEELING OF PROFOUND DISCONTENT. THE AMERICAN NOTE STRESSES THAT THE US GOVERNMENT UNDERSTANDS THE DESIRE OF POLES TO HAVE THE PROBLEM OF THE FRONTIER FINALLY SETTLED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. WHY THEN ARE AMERICA AND HER ALLIES PUTTING OFF THE RECOGNITION OF OUR WESTERN FRONTIERS AS FINAL? WHY HAVE THEY LEFT THE MATTER IN ABEYANCE SINCE THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE IN 1945?

"I SHALL TRY TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION IN THE NEXT PROGRAMME DEVOTED TO THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER."

JAN NOWAK, DIRECTOR OF THE POLISH STATION OF RADIO FREE EUROPE, SPOKE ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER. YOU WILL HEAR THE NEXT COMMENTARY ON THIS SUBJECT AT (SUCH AND SUCH A TIME).  
(MORE)



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SCRIPT NO 2 FOLLOWS:

YOU WILL NOW HEAR THE SECOND SUCCESSIVE COMMENTARY BY JAN NOWAK,  
DIRECTOR OF THE POLISH STATION OF RADIO FREE EUROPE, DEVOTED TO  
THE PROBLEM OF THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER.

"IN MY PREVIOUS PROGRAMME I TRIED TO PRESENT AS FACTUALLY AND  
SUCCINCTLY AS POSSIBLE THE ATTITUDE OF THE FOLLOWING FOUR ELEMENTS,  
TOWARDS THE PROBLEM OF OUR WESTERN FRONTIER: SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE  
COMMUNIST REGIME IN POLAND, THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THE EMIGRANTS,  
THE GERMAN EXPELLEES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF WEST GERMANY, AND  
FINALLY THE WESTERN ALLIES WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE LEAD.

"WE STRESSED THAT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA SAW THE PROBLEM OF OUR FRONTIER  
PRIMARILY AS A CONVENIENT PROPAGANDIST WEAPON, SERVING ITS OWN PARTY  
ENDS. IT IS EMPLOYING THIS WEAPON IN ITS ATTACKS ON THE WESTERN  
POWERS, THE CHURCH AND THE BISHOPS, THE EMIGRANTS AND THEIR  
LEADERS AND OUR RADIO STATION; BRIEFLY, EVERYONE WHOM IT CONSIDERS  
AS AN ENEMY. WHOEVER IS NOT WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PARTY,  
IS AGAINST THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER.

"WE HAVE TRIED TO SHOW YOU THE FALSEHOOD OF THIS PROPAGANDA.  
FIRST OF ALL, CONTRARY TO THE INSINUATIONS OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA,  
BOTH THE PEOPLE IN THE HOMELAND AND THE EMIGRANTS ARE UNANIMOUS  
AND SOLID IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROBLEM OF THE WESTERN  
TERRITORIES, DEMANDING A FINAL RECOGNITION OF THE ODRA-NYSSA  
FRONTIER. IN THIS RESPECT THERE ARE NO EXCEPTIONS WORTH MENTIONING.

"THE SECOND BASIC FALSEHOOD OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IS THEIR  
EFFORT TO EQUATE THE ATTITUDE OF GERMAN GROUPS DEMANDING A RE-  
VISION OF THE FRONTIERS, WITH THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE WESTERN  
ALLIES. THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE RECENTLY DEFINED FOR A SECOND TIME  
THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROBLEM IN REPLY TO THE POLISH NOTE,  
BY SIMPLY QUOTING A SENTENCE TAKEN FROM THE POTSDAM TREATY, TO THE  
EFFECT THAT THE FINAL DELIMITATION OF THE POLISH-GERMAN FRONTIER  
SHOULD AWAIT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THIS STATEMENT DOES NOT PREJUDICE THE CASE AGAINST POLAND OR SHOW  
THAT THE US AND HER ALLIES WOULD IN FUTURE LIKE TO SHIFT POLAND'S  
FRONTIER BACK TO THE EAST. NOT A WORD WAS UTTERED WHICH COULD  
BE INTERPRETED AS ENCOURAGEMENT OR SUPPORT OF REVISIONISTIC  
ASPIRATIONS.

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"ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS FACT THAT WITH REGARD TO THE  
ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES .. PERHAPS WITH THE  
EXCEPTION OF FRANCE ARE MAINTAINING A NON-COMMITTAL ATTITUDE.  
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I HAVE NO INTENTION OF TAKING A POSITION ABOUT THIS ATTITUDE. SUFFICE TO SAY THAT IT IS BOUND TO AROUSE A FEELING OF PROFOUND CONCERN IN EVERY POLE. THE POINT IS, HOWEVER, TO JUDGE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES' ATTITUDE TO THE PROBLEM, NOT THROUGH THE PRISM OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA, BUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FACTS.

"IN CONCLUSION OF MY PREVIOUS COMMENTARY I ASKED THE QUESTION: WHY ARE AMERICA AND HER ALLIES DELAYING THE RECOGNITION OF OUR FRONTIERS AS FINAL? WHY HAVE THEY LEFT THIS MATTER IN ABEYANCE EVER SINCE POTSDAM AND 1945?"

"THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION IS LINKED WITH THE WHOLE OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD. IN THE LAST YEARS OF WAR, THERE STILL PREVAILED IN THE WEST A GREAT MANY ILLUSIONS FOR WHICH WE ARE NOW PAYING A STIFF PRICE. BUT ALREADY IN POTSDAM THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN REGARDED WITH GROWING SUSPICION THEIR SOVIET PARTNER. THESE SUSPICIONS GREW AS A RESULT OF THE SOVIET POLICY TO ENFORCE THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM AND GOVERNMENT IN POLAND AND ELSEWHERE. THE POINT OF THE QUESTION WAS --AND MARK THIS WELL-- WHETHER THE ODRA-NYSSA LINE WOULD REALLY BE POLAND'S FRONTIER OR WHETHER IT WOULD BE THE FRONTIER OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE. THE ANSWER TO THIS DEPENDED ON THE DEGREE OF POLAND'S INDEPENDENCE. THE SAME ARTICLE NINE OF THE POTSDAM TREATY WHICH MENTIONED THE WESTERN FRONTIER, RULED THAT FREE, DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD IN POLAND. RUSSIA VIOLATED THIS PLEDGE. AND WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF EAST GERMANY WAS ALSO TURNING INTO POLITICAL ANNEXATION, THE GROWING FEARS AND SUSPICIONS IN THE WEST CHANGED INTO A FEELING OF DEADLY DANGER. FROM THAT TIME ON, ALL THE UNDERTAKINGS OF THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE BEEN GUIDED BY CONCERN FOR THEIR OWN SECURITY, THE SAVING OF THE THREATENED BALANCE OF POWER, AND THE KEEPING IN CHECK OF FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET EXPANSION. THE NEXT, LOGICAL STAGE OF THIS EXPANSION IN EUROPE IS WEST GERMANY. IF THE HUGE INDUSTRIAL AND POPULATION POTENTIAL OF WEST GERMANY WERE TO FALL WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE SOVIET ORBIT, THE FATE OF THE WHOLE OF EUROPE MIGHT WELL BE SEALED. NOT ONLY FROM THE MILITARY, BUT ALSO FROM THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW, THE RESCUE OF THOSE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH STILL REMAINED FREE WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE IF THE IRON CURTAIN WERE SHIFTED FROM THE ELBE TO THE RHEIN. THE EFFORTS OF AMERICA AND HER ALLIES IN THE POST-WAR YEARS HAVE CONCENTRATED ON PREVENTING THAT. THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY IS BECOMING THE CRUCIAL POINT OF THE COLD WAR.

"NOT WANTING TO PERMIT WEST GERMANY TO BE SWALLOWED UP BY THE SOVIET EMPIRE, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE GIVEN HER PARTNERSHIP IN THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF WESTERN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ALLIANCES. IN SPEAKING ABOUT THE ALLIES' (MORE)



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GERMAN ARMY, COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA DOES NOT MENTION THAT THIS IS THE DIRECT RESULT OF THE POST-WAR POLICY OF THE SOVIETS, THE POLICY OF EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION. OF COURSE, NOT A WORD IS SAID ABOUT THE ARMING BY THE SOVIETS OF EAST GERMANY.

"MEMORIES OF THE RECENT PAST AND THE TERRIBLE EXPERIENCES OF LAST WAR ARE STILL TOO FRESH IN THE RECOLLECTION OF ALL POLES TO ACCEPT THE ARMING OF EAST OR WEST GERMANY WITHOUT THE FEELING OF DEEP CONCERN. BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, THE ABSORPTION OF WEST GERMANY BY THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE WHOLE WESTERN WORLD, HAS, FROM THE POLISH POINT OF VIEW, ANOTHER IMPORTANT ASPECT. THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS A COMPONENT PART OF NATO, A COMPONENT PART. THIS MEANS THAT JUST LIKE THE OTHER MEMBER-COUNTRIES OF THE NATO, SHE CANNOT, AND - WHAT IS MORE - IS INCAPABLE OF ACTING INDEPENDENTLY. ESPECIALLY AS NO COUNTRY WHICH IS MEMBER OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY, CAN TAKE STEPS WHICH WOULD BE CONTRADICTORY TO THE PREMISES AND GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF ALL THE MEMBER-COUNTRIES. THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS OF A PURELY DEFENSIVE NATURE. IN PUBLIC OPINION IN THE WEST, IT CREATES A KIND OF FEELING OF CO-RESPONSIBILITY FOR EACH OF THE OTHER PARTNERS AND PERHAPS THIS IS WHY ANY REVISTIONISTIC MANIFESTATIONS IN WEST GERMANY GENERALLY ENCOUNTER AN UNFAVOURABLE REACTION IN THE WESTERN PRESS.

"OF NO LESS SIGNIFICANCE IS THE PROGRESSING ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WHICH DRAWS WEST GERMANY INTO ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC UNITY. THE STRONGER THESE TIES, THE GREATER ITS MEMBERS' DEPENDENCE ON THE UNITY.

IN THIS PROCESS, PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S FRANCE IS PLAYING A LEADING ROLE, AND THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ARE WELL KNOWN TO ALL OF US.

"THUS THE UNIFICATION, THE GRADUAL INTEGRATION OF WESTERN EUROPE, IS GOING TO BE A SAFEGUARD AGAINST AGGRESSION, AGAINST ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT BE IMPOSED BY FORCE UPON THE POLISH PEOPLE. HOWEVER, AS LONG AS THE COLD WAR CONTINUES, AS LONG AS ITS FRONT DIVIDES EUROPE IN HALF AND GERMANY ALONG THE ELBE, SO LONG THE WEST IS NOT GOING TO DO ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT BE USED BY RUSSIA TO GAIN CONTROL OF WEST GERMANY. WHY THEN HAS THE REGIME IN POLAND SELECTED JUST THIS MOMENT TO APPROACH THIRTEEN WESTERN POWERS ASKING THEM TO DEFINE THEIR ATTITUDE REGARDING THE Odra-NYSSA FRONTIER? SURELY THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THIS ATTITUDE. SURELY IT WAS KNOWN IN ADVANCE THAT IN THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION THE ANSWER COULD BE NOTHING OTHER THAN IT WAS. BUT PERHAPS THE OBJECT WAS TO PROVOKE AN UNFAVOURABLE ANSWER SO AS TO BE ABLE TO SAY ONCE AGAIN THAT THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF THE WESTERN FRONTIER ARE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PARTY. BUT IN SUCH CASE THERE OCCURS THE QUESTION WHETHER THIS GUARANTOR, THIS PARTY, REALLY HAS THE FATE OF THE WESTERN TERRITORIES AT HEART, OR WHETHER IT IS MERELY CONCERNED WITH A QUICK PROPAGANDA PROFIT.

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\* AND WHO IS IT THAT IS BEING PRESENTED TO THE NATION AS THE GUARANTOR AND DEFENDER OF THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER? THE SOVIET RUSSIA? THE COMMUNIST PARTY? BARELY TWENTY-ONE YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE RUSSIA HERSELF PERPETRATED JOINTLY WITH HITLER HER CYNICAL PARTITION OF POLAND. WITHOUT A GESTURE OF PROTEST, WITHOUT A WORD OF PROTEST FROM THE POLISH COMMUNISTS.

AND WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE THAT? LET US LOOK BACK TO THE YEARS BETWEEN THE WARS: WHO WAS IT AT THE TIME THAT APPROVED DURING PARTY CONGRESSES VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND THE POLISH-GERMAN FRONTIER? WHO DEMANDED "THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, EVEN TO BEING SEPARATED FROM POLAND, FOR POMERANIA AND UPPER SILESIA"? WHO ACCUSED POLISH "BOURGEOISIE" OF RULING THE "CORRIDOR" AND UPPER SILESIA AS A RESULT OF IMPERIALISTIC CONQUESTS AND OF OPPRESSING THE "FREE" CITY OF GDANSK? I AM QUOTING THESE WORDS FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1932. AND THERE WERE MORE SUCH RESOLUTIONS AND THEY COULD BE QUOTED ENDLESSLY. BEFORE THE WAR IN POLAND THERE WAS ONLY ONE PARTY WHICH SUPPORTED THE REVISIONISTS OF THE TIME.

THAT WAS THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY. IT OCCUPIED A POSITION ANALOGOUS TO THE ONE WHICH HAS NOW FALLEN TO ULBRICHT'S REGIME IN EAST GERMANY. ONLY THE ROLES HAVE BEEN REVERSED. BEFORE THE WAR, RUSSIA WAS BETTING MAINLY ON A COMMUNIST COUP IN GERMANY AND CARRIED FAVOUR WITH GERMAN NATIONALISM.

AT THAT TIME THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS WERE DEMANDING THAT POMERANIA AND SILESIA BE TAKEN AWAY FROM POLAND, AND THE POLISH COMMUNISTS OBEDIENTLY SECONDED THEM. AFTER THE WAR SOVIET POLICY TOOK A ONE-HUNDRED-AND EIGHTY-DEGREE TURN, AND TO-DAY ULBRICHT'S REGIME IS APPEARING AS THE PROTECTOR AND ADVOCATE OF THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER. BOTH THE POLISH AND THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS ALTERED THEIR VIEWS ACCORDING TO THE ALTERATIONS UNDERGONE BY THE SOVIET LINE OF POLICY. AND SOVIET POLICY CHANGES TOO FREQUENTLY" ACCORDING TO WHERE IT SEES ITS OWN ADVANTAGE AT THE GIVEN TIME - FOR ANY-THING TO BE BUILT ON THESE FOUNDATIONS.

"PERHAPS THE FORMER POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS CHANGED WHEN THEY CAME TO POWER. PERHAPS IN SOME OF THEM AT LEAST THERE WAS BORN A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF THE COUNTRY. I DO NOT WANT TO EXCLUDE HIS POSSIBILITY, BUT EVERYTHING SEEMS TO SHOW THAT THE DOGMA AND INTERESTS OF THE PARTY ARE STILL OCCUPYING THE FIRST PLACE.

"THE PIONEER EFFORT FOR THE HUSBANDRY AND SETTLEMENT IN NEW TERRITORIES HAS ALWAYS REQUIRED THE GREATEST POSSIBLE FREEDOM FOR THE ENTERPRISE, IN VENTION AND ACTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL. WHAT COULD HAVE DONE GREATER HARM TO THE WESTERN TERRITORIES THAN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FREE ENTERPRISE OF THE POLISH ARTISAN, SMALL BUSINESSMAN OR FARMER WHO SETTLED IN THE WEST? WHAT COULD HAVE WROUGHT GREATER HARM THAN THE ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS AT COLLECTIVISATION?

PEACE AND STABILISATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES ARE IN THE INTERESTS OF POLAND. WHAT COULD HAVE CONTRIBUTED MORE TO THE SPREAD OF ANXIETY AND UNCERTAINTY THAN THE EVERYDAY PROPAGANDA MAGNIFYING THE SUPPOSED DANGER AND PERIL OF THE SITUATION, FOR ITS OWN IMMEDIATE ENDS?

"THE PEOPLE IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES ARE IN THEIR OVERWHELMING MAJORITY FAITHFUL CATHOLICS, FOR WHOM IT WOULD BE HARD TO LIVE ANYWHERE WHERE THERE ARE NO CHURCHES.

MORE/



AND YET THE CHURCHES IN WESTERN TERRITORIES ARE TO-DAY BEING THREATENED WITH EXPROPRIATION, AND THE CLERGY ARE NOWHERE AS PAINFULLY CHICANED AND HARASSED AS ON THE ODRA AND NYSSA. FOR YEARS THE EPISCOPATE WAS ATTACKED BECAUSE THE VATICAN DID NOT AGREE TO APPOINT BISHOPS TO THE WESTERN TERRITORIES; WHEN, HOWEVER, IN 1951, PRIMATE WSYZYNSKI OBTAINED A PARTIAL CONCESSION AND BROUGHT NOMINATIONS FOR TITULAR BISHOPS, THE AUTHORITIES REMOVED THE NOMINEES FROM THEIR DIOCESES AND FOR SIX YEARS FORBODE THIS FACT BEING PUBLISHED. WHY? BECAUSE IT DESTROYED AN ARGUMENT FOR ATTACKING THE CHURCH. THE POINT WAS NOT THE WESTERN TERRITORIES BUT PROPAGANDA.

"DEAR LISTENERS, EVERYDAY POLES IN EXILE SPEAK TO YOU THROUGH OUR MICROPHONES. THERE ARE AMONG THEM NAMES WELL-KNOWN AND REVERSED THERE ARE WRITERS AND POETS, POLITICAL LEADERS, SCIENTISTS AND SCHOLARS, SOLDIERS, FORMER HOME ARMY FIGHTERS, FORMER INMATES OF CONCENTRATION AND FORCED LABOUR CAMPS...ALL THAT CONSIDERABLE PART OF OUR NATION WHICH HAS FOUND ITSELF IN THE WEST AS A RESULT OF WAR AND THE ADVENT OF SOVIET IMPOSED COMMUNISM IN THE HOMELAND, IS SPEAKING TO YOU.

WE HAVE NO NEED TO PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF OUR PATRIOTISM. LIKE YOU, WE HELD THAT THE ODRA-NYSSA FRONTIER SHOULD BE RECOGNISED AS FINAL. WE DO NOT CONCEAL THE FACT THAT TO DATE IN THIS RESPECT OUR WESTERN ALLIES HAVE NOT TAKEN A FINAL POSITION. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE FACT THAT THOUGH WE ARE BROADCASTING FROM A RADIO STATION SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK ON POLAND'S BEHALF, TO PRESENT TO THE LISTENERS OUR OWN POINT OF VIEW. THIS IS A POINT INTRINSIC IN AN ALLIANCE OF FREE PEOPLES.

"WE WANT OUR WESTERN FRONTIER TO BE UNIVERSALLY RECOGNISED, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN EITHER SOVIET OR COMMUNIST GUARANTEES. WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITHOUT FEAR, BUT WE DRAW OUR OPTIMISM FROM OUR FAITH THAT THE CHANGES WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WESTERN WORLD,

THE GRADUAL PROCESS OF UNIFICATION INTO GREAT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL UNITIES, WILL RENDER IMPOSSIBLE ONCE AND FOR ALL THE USE OF FORCE IN REVISING THE FRONTIERS OF SMALLER NATIONS. WE DRAW OUR OPTIMISM FROM OUR FAITH IN THE ULTIMATE GOOD WILL AND FAIRNESS OF THE FREE WORLD COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, IN THE SOLIDARITY AND INEXHAUSTIBLE ENERGY OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, AND THE GENERATION WHICH WAS BORN AND IS NOW GROWING UP IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES OF POLAND.

CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT

END MSG