

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: _____

MUN 132 29 JUL 65

TO RICHARDSON INFO YARROW ROWSON WALTER
FM OTT INFO BURKS COLLINS STERNER BRINKLEY

29/1516.

JUL 29 16:52

POLES WISH TO SUMMARIZE IN A SPECIAL PRESS REVIEW A SERIES OF THREE ARTICLES ON THE ODER-NEISSE QUESTION BY MICHEL TATU OF "LE MONDE". ARTICLES ARE PEGGED TO THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POSDAM AGREEMENT, AND NOT TO "STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENTS OR HIGH OFFICIALS", AS THE BASIC GUIDANCE REQUIRES.

YOUR AUTHORIZATION IS REQUESTED. TEXT OF SCRIPT FOLLOWS:

RADIO FREE EUROPE
MUNICH-GERMANY
POLISH BROADCASTING DEPARTMENT

PROGRAMME TITLE: SPECIAL PRESS REVIEW

AIR DATE:

LENGTH: 14'45"

SUBTITLE: TWENTY YEARS OF POTSDAM AGREEMENT

AUTHOR: T. LASKO

TRANSLATED BY: D NOWAKOWSKA AND S.D. UGRECHELIDZE-UGORSKA

OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT (SEE LAST PAGE)

NARRAT:

IN CONNECTION WITH THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT, THERE APPEARED IN THE WESTERN PRESS A NUMBER OF ARTICLES ABOUT THE WESTERN TERRITORIES AND THE POLISH-GERMAN FRONTIER, THUS, THE FRENCH DAILY "LE FIGARO" PUBLISHED REPORTAGES WHICH EMPHASIZE POLAND'S ENORMOUS EFFORT TO RECONSTRUCT AND INDUSTRIALISE THOSE TERRITORIES AFTER THE TERRIBLE DESTRUCTION BROUGHT BY THE WAR. ARTICLES ABOUT POLAND'S WESTERN TERRITORIES HAVE ALSO APPEARED IN THE BRITISH DAILY "THE GUARDIAN" AND THE AMERICAN PERIODICAL "HARPER'S MAGAZINE". THE SUBJECT WAS TREATED AT GREATEST LENGTH BY THE PARIS "LE MONDE", WHICH PRINTED A SERIES OF THREE ARTICLES BY THE WELL-KNOWN PUBLICIST MICHEL TATU, FORMER POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT IN MOSCOW AND EXPERT ON EASTERN-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

IN THE FIRST AND SECOND PART OF THE SERIES, TATU DESCRIBES THE TWENTY-YEAR HISTORY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE POLISH WESTERN TERRITORIES, CITING FACTS AND FIGURES WHICH WE KNOW. THUS, HE UNDERLINES THE EXTREMELY FAST DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH OF THE POLISH POPULATION IN THOSE AREAS, AND THIS FACT'S GREAT IMPORTANCE FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW. TATU WRITES:

VOICE:

TO BE QUITE BRIEF AND PLAIN, THE DECISIVE STAGE HAS BEEN REACHED THIS YEAR. IT IS A MOMENT WHEN THE PEOPLE IN THE RECOVERED TERRITORIES NUMBER AS MANY OR EVEN MORE THAN THE POPULATION OF THOSE AREAS IN 1939, THUS ABOUT EIGHT-AND-A-HALF MILLION INHABITANTS. THIS FIGURE SHOULD BE COMPARED WITH THE FIVE MILLION AT THE BEGINNING OF 1946 (THAT IS BEFORE THE MASS RESETTLEMENT OF THE POPULATION) AND WITH THE FIVE MILLION NINE-HUNDRED THOUSAND INHABITANTS IN 1950, THAT IS AFTER THE RESETTLING. IF WE CONSIDER THAT THE PRESENT NUMBER OF INHABITANTS OF ALL POLAND IS STILL FAR REMOTE FROM WHAT IT WAS IN 1939, THEN WE SHALL BE ABLE TO SEE IN ITS FULL GLORY THE FAVOURABLE PROCESS OF THE REPOPULATING OF THE WESTERN TERRITORIES. THIS IS LARGELY THE RESULT OF A VERY HIGH BIRTH RATE. THE HIGH POPULATION INCREASE IS A UNIVERSAL PHENOMENON IN

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THOSE TERRITORIES.

NARRAT:

NEXT, THE "LE MONDE" PUBLICIST TURNS TO THE QUESTION OF THE ODER-NYSA FRONTIER. THIS IS HOW TATU DESCRIBES A FRONTIER STATION ALONG THE FORMER NAZI AUTOBAHN, NOW EMPTY.

VOICE:

TWO STATIONS, LOST AND BURIED IN WINTER'S SNOW, TWO STATE FLAGS FLYING OPPOSITE ONE ANOTHER, BORED CUSTOMS OFFICIALS (THOUGH IN SUMMER THE FRONTIER CROSSING IS ENLIVENED BY A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF MOVEMENT ACROSS THE BORDER, AN AVERAGE OF ABOUT FIFTEEN THOUSAND GERMANS), BUT ALSO- A NETWORK OF BARBED WIRE, STRIKING THE EYE AND CUTTING THE LANDSCAPE INTO TWO. COULD IT BE THAT THEY ARE AFRAID OF THEIR COMRADES FROM THE GDR? THIS QUESTION ALWAYS EMBARRASSES THE OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES, ESPECIALLY AS IT SEEMS THAT THESE SAFEGUARDS ARE UNDERTAKEN PARTICULARLY BY THE GERMAN SIDE. IT IS A FACT THAT AFTER THE ERECTION OF THE BERLIN WALL THERE WERE CASES OF ULRICHT'S SUBJECTS ASKING FOR ASYLUM IN POLAND AND BEING GIVEN IT BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES. THERE ARE NUMEROUS REASONS FOR THE MUTUAL DISLIKE OF THE PEOPLE ON EITHER SIDE OF THE BORDER.

NARRAT:

THE FRENCH DAILY STRESSES THE POLES' UNANIMITY AS REGARDS THE VIEW THAT THE FRONTIER ON ODERA AND NYSA IS THE FINAL WESTERN FRONTIER FOR POLAND, AND BRINGS TO LIGHT THE CONTRADICTIONS WHICH BURDEN THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT. ON THE ONE HAND, THE AGREEMENT DETERMINED THE FRONTIERS AND

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VOICE:

AS REGARDS POTSDAM, THE POLISH SIDE STRESSES THAT THE AGREEMENT BRINGS IN A DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN "OCCUPATION", IN RESPECT OF THE SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY, AND "ADMINISTRATION" OR "MANAGEMENT" IN RESPECT OF THE TERRITORIES GIVEN TO POLAND. WHAT IS MORE, AT ANOTHER POINT IN THE AGREEMENT, THE AREA HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY THE TERM "FORMER GERMAN TERRITORIES". THAT THE HANDING OVER OF THOSE AREAS TO POLISH ADMINISTRATION FROM THE VERY BEGINNING WAS INTENDED AS A PERMANENT STATE OF AFFAIRS, IS SHOWN BY THE FACT THAT CHAPTER 13 OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT GAVE A BROAD OUTLINE OF THE PLAN FOR DEPORTING GERMANS FROM POLAND, WITHOUT DEFINING THE AREAS WHICH THE PLAN SHOULD APPLY TO. THE DEPORTATION PLAN WAS WORKED OUT IN DETAIL AND DETERMINED BY THE ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION ON 20TH NOVEMBER, 1945, THUS AT A TIME WHEN THE NEW SITUATION HAD ALREADY EXISTED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. THIS IS THE STRICTLY LEGAL SIDE OF THE ARGUMENTATION WHICH, OBVIOUSLY, DOES NOT EXHAUST THE PROBLEM'S ESSENCE. TWENTY YEARS AFTER POTSDAM IT IS NO LESS IMPORTANT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EXISTING REALITY

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AND THE RIGHTS--BOTH MORAL AND POLITICAL-- WHICH THE POLES CAN CLAIM. IN THEIR EFFORTS TO COUNTERACT GERMAN IRREDENTIST PROPAGANDA, THE POLISH OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL CIRCLES ARE CONCENTRATING THEIR FIRE ON VARIOUS POINTS.

NARRAT:

ON OF THESE--ACCORDING TO THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLES-- IS THE ECONOMIC ASPECT. WE QUOTE:

VOICE:

OF COURSE, ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS COULD NOT BE A DECISIVE ELEMENT IN THIS CASE AS REGARDS THE "STATE OF BELONGING" OF THESE TERRITORIES, BUT IT IS USEFUL TO REALISE THE BENEFITS WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM A CHANGE OF FRONTIER OF THE AREAS DIRECTLY CONCERNED AND FOR THE WHOLE OF POLAND TOO. POLES HAVE PLENTY OF ARGUMENTS TO SUPPORT THEIR THESES IN THIS FIELD. IF, FOR INSTANCE, WE COMPARE POMERANIA AND SILESIA TO THE AMERICAN WILD WEST, WHICH IS STILL NOT DEVELOPED PROPERLY, THEN THE CASE WOULD APPLY MORE TO THE GERMAN TIMES THAN TO THE PRESENT SITUATION UNDER POLISH ADMINISTRATION.

NARRAT:

"LE MONDE" RECALLS THAT IN GERMAN TIMES, A LARGE PART OF THE POPULATION IN THOSE AREAS USED TO EMIGRATE FOR ECONOMIC REASONS TO THE WESTERN PARTS OF GERMANY. MICHEL TATU CONTINUES:

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VOICE:

VOICE:

SIMILARLY, A COMPARISON OF THE DENSITY OF POPULATION ON EITHER SIDE OF THE FRONTIER IN 1939, BY NO MEANS CORROBORATES GERMANY'S ALLEGATIONS OF THAT TIME ABOUT THE LACK OF "LEBENSRAUM": 63 INHABITANTS FOR ONE SQUARE-KILOMETER IN GERMAN POMERANIA, AND 73 INHABITANTS IN THE NEIGHBORING, SO-CALLED "POLISH CORRIDOR": 153 IN GERMAN SILESIA AND 299 IN POLISH SILESIA. THE TERRITORY GERMANY LOST- WHICH REPRESENTED NEARLY A QUARTER OF THE GERMAN TERRITORY IN 1937- THEN PROVIDED 6.3 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY'S INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION. THE SAME TERRITORY NOW CONSTITUTES A LITTLE LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF POLAND'S TERRITORY, AND THE SHARE IN POLAND'S WHOLE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION HAS REMAINED ALMOST THE SAME: 25 PERCENT. IT WOULD BE INCORRECT TO ATTRIBUTE THIS FACT SOLELY TO THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT THESE LANDS HAVE PASSED FROM THE HANDS OF THE "WEALTHY" GERMANS TO THOSE OF "POOR" POLAND, BECAUSE THEIR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY HAS SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED SINCE THEY HAVE BEEN UNDER POLISH ADMINISTRATION.

NARRAT:

THE LE MONDE PUBLICIST MAKES THE FOLLOWING RESERVATION IN CONNECTION WITH THESE THESES WHICH ARE SO FLATTERING TO POLAND.

VOICE:

THE PICTURE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE STILL MORE ELOQUENT, WERE IT NOT FOR THE SIGHT OF THE WROCLAW RUINS AND THE GENERALLY VISIBLE HOLDUPS IN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS OBVIOUSLY WAITED TOO LONG BEFORE PUTTING ITS INVESTMENTS INTO THIS AREA, AND STILL NOT ENOUGH IS BEING DONE IN THAT DIRECTION TODAY.

NARRAT:

IN TURN, TATU PASSES ON TO DISCUSS ARGUMENTS IN A SPHERE WHICH HE CALLS THE SPHERE OF SENTIMENT, OR THAT OF MORAL LAWS. WE QUOTE:

VOICE:

THERE IS NO OTHER AREA IN THE WORLD TO WHICH THE LEGAL NOTION-A VERY CONTROVERSIAL ONE, INCIDENTALLY, BUT WHICH IS MUCH ON THE LIPS OF THE GERMANS, NAMELY THE SO-CALLED "HEIMATRECHT", OR THE "RIGHT TO THE FATHERLAND", WHICH IS BEING ADVOCATED SO FERVENTLY BY ALL THE GERMAN REFUGEE ASSOCIATIONS- APPLIES TO SUCH A DEGREE. EVEN IF WE ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE AS ZSUCH, AT LEAST ON A MORAL OR SENTIMENTAL LEVEL, ONE MUST ADMIT THAT THIS PRINCIPLE IS BEGINNING MORE AND MORE TO TURN AGAINST ITS CREATORS. FOR WHY SHOULD THE "RIGHT TO FATHERLAND" APPLY SOLELY AND EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SURVIVERS OF TWO OR THREE GENERATIONS OF THE FORMER GERMAN POPULATION OF THESE TERRITORIES- AND NOT APPLY TO THE YOUNG POLISH GENERATION WHICH WAS BORN THERE AND WHICH SPENT ITS YOUTH IN THAT TERRITORY.

NARRAT:

THE LE MONDE PUBLICIST ALSO MENTIONS THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENTS WHICH, HE POINTS OUT- ARE ALSO BEING RAISED IN THE DISCUSSION. WE QUOTE:

MORE

VOICE: FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW POLAND'S POSITION IS VERY DIGNIFIED. THANKS TO THE FAMOUS PIAST DYNASTY, THANKS TO THE HISTORICAL REMANTS OF THE SLAVS IN POMERANIA AND IN SILESIA, AND THE VARIOUS KINDS OF TRACES NOW BEING DISCOVERED BY SCIENCE - WARSAW IS IN A POSITION TO SUCCESSFULLY PROVE ITS OWNERSHIP RIGHTS WHICH GO BACK MUCH FURTHER INTO THE PAST THAN DO THE GERMAN.

NARRAT: CONCLUDING HIS SERIES OF ARTICLES ABOUT THE POLISH

HISTORICAL REMAINS OF THE SLAVS IN POMERANIA AND IN SILESIA, AND THE VARIOUS KINDS OF TRACES NOW BEING DISCOVERED BY SCIENCE - WARSAW IS IN A POSITION TO SUCCESSFULLY PROVE ITS OWNERSHIP RIGHTS WHICH GO BACK MUCH FURTHER INTO THE PAST THAN DO THE GERMAN.

NARRAT: CONCLUDING HIS SERIES OF ARTICLES ABOUT THE POLISH WESTERN TERRITORIES, TATU WRITES ABOUT THE ODRA-NYSA FRONTIER AND ITS INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. HE SAYS THAT THE ODRA-NYSA FRONTIER WHICH WAS THE OUTCOME OF A CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF STRENGTH AFTER THE WAR - IS NOW THE CHIEF SECURITY-FACTOR IN EUROPE. - THIS "PEACE FRONTIER" ADDS THE FRENCH JOURNALIST IS QUESTIONED - THOUGH IN A PEACEFUL MANNER - ONLY BY THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

VOICE: TATU WRITES FURTHER: IT DOES NOT APPEAR, THAT THE DEADLOCK WHICH CURRENTLY EXISTS IN THIS RESPECT IN POLISH-GERMAN RELATIONS - COULD BE SOLVED IN THE NEAREST FUTURE. AT LEAST, NOT FOR AS LONG AS BONN CONSIDERS THAT, WHICH NO POLISH GOVERNMENT CAN EVER TREAT AS THE OBJECT OF ANY NEGOTIATIONS - A MATTER FOR BARGAINING. THAT IS WHY ALL EYES IN WARSAW ARE TRAINED IN THE DIRECTION OF THE ANGLOSAXONS, WHO ARE THE SOURCE OF BOTH HOPE AND A CERTAIN DISAPPOINTMENT. HOPE, BECAUSE AFTER ALL, ONE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT THE MIGHT OF THE RUSSIAN ALLY NEED NOT CONTINUE FOR EVER - JUST AS ULBRICHT'S BUFFER-STATE WILL NOT GO ON EXISTING FOR EVER. THUS, THE GUARANTEES OF THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE KEPT THEIR FULL WEIGHT. AND DISAPPOINTMENT, BECAUSE THE SILENCE OF THE WESTERN POWERS, EVEN IF IT IS ONLY CONVENTIONAL, (WITH THE MUCH-APPRECIATED EXCEPTION OF FRANCE) - PROTRACTS THE AMBIGUITY OF THE SITUATION AND FAVORS THE MACHINATIONS OF THE GERMAN IRREDENTISTS. ONE CAN ACCEPT THE THEORY THAT ALL TRUMPS ARE GOOD FOR THE SAKE OF NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THIS TRUMP WAS PLAYED 20 YEARS AGO BY THE SIGNATORIES OF THE POTSDAM TREATY WHO - ONE SHOULD NEVER FORGET - SIMPLY MARKED OUT THE PRESENT FRONTIER AT RANDOM, AND, MOREOVER, APPROVED AND ESTABLISHED THE MAIN PRINCIPLES ALONG WHICH THE GERMANS WOULD BE EVICTED.

NARRAT: THE LE MONDE PUBLICIST CONCLUDES HIS REFLECTIONS IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

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VOICE: WHAT WOULD YOU SAY OF A DOCTOR WHO REFUSED TO ALLOW A PATIENT TO LEAVE THE HOSPITAL - A PATIENT CURED ALREADY 20 YEARS AGO - SIMPLY BECAUSE THE BLOOD-TRANSFUSION HE CONDUCTED IS QUESTIONED BY THE MAN WHO GAVE HIS BLOOD FOR THE TRANSFUSION? EVEN IF THIS WERE THE MOST HONEST MAN IN THE WORLD, IT IS THE DUTY OF A DOCTOR TO DRAW THE CONSEQUENCES FROM HIS ACTIONS. AS FOR THE PATIENT, HE HAS A RIGHT TO BE LEFT TO LIVE IN PEACE.

ANNCR: CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT

OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT: IN OUR WESTERN PRESS REVIEW WE SHALL QUOTE EXCERPTS FROM A SERIES OF THREE ARTICLES, WHICH APPEARED IN THE COLUMNS OF THE PARIS DAILY "LE MONDE", UNDER THE TITLE: "TWENTY YEARS OF THE ODRA-NYSA FRONTIER".

CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT: IN OUR WESTERN PRESS REVIEW WE HAVE CITED EXCERPTS FROM A SERIES OF THREE ARTICLES, WHICH APPEARED IN THE PARIS DAILY "LE MONDE" UNDER THE TITLE "TWENTY YEARS OF THE ODRA-NYSA FRONTIER". THE AUTHOR OF THE SERIES IS MICHEL TATU.

END MSG