

June 23, 1944

**Notes of Stalin's Speech during a Reception at the
Kremlin on 23 June 1944 to Celebrate the
Achievement of the Agreement to Create the Polish
Provisional Government of National Unity**

Citation:

"Notes of Stalin's Speech during a Reception at the Kremlin on 23 June 1944 to Celebrate the Achievement of the Agreement to Create the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity", June 23, 1944, Wilson Center Digital Archive, W. Góra and A. Kocharński, "Rozmowy polityczne w sprawie utworzenia Tymczasowego Rządu Jedności Narodowej (czerwiec 1945)," *Archiwum Ruchu Robotniczego*, vol. 9 (1984), pp. 133-134. Translated by Jan Chowaniec.
<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/123132>

Summary:

A reflection on Stalin's 1944 speech commemorating the creation of the Polish Provisional Government discusses the history of Russo-Polish relations and Poland's need to have many powerful allies in the coming years.

Original Language:

Polish

Contents:

Translation - English

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(A sketch recorded from memory)

Mr. Żulawski is right saying that between the Polish and Russian people there lies blood. Poland and Russia have been fighting wars with one another throughout the centuries, from which only Germany was profiting. The Poles had been capturing Moscow twice - the Russians were giving them tit for tat. In the past the Poles had many reasons to hate Russia. Greater guilt for the relationship between Poland and Russia, that had been shaped over the centuries was that of Russia's, as she was stronger than Poland. The old Tsarist Russia and its people were conducting repressive policies towards the Poles. It took new people to be found in Russia to change the policy practiced by Tsarist Russia. It was, first of all, Lenin, who during World War I conceded Poland's right to exist as an independent state. Beginning with the November Revolution, Poland did not have a reason to hate Russia. In Russia new people were already in power. But in Poland at that time people who would want an understanding with a new Russia could not be found. Poland had paid for it dearly. Not till World War II new people were found in Poland, who were willing to seek an understanding with Russia. Such a person is Osóbka-Morawski. He is not a communist, he is a socialist and a symbol of new people who have been found in Poland and reached an understanding with new people in Russia. A symbol of the old people, harmful to Poland and Russia is Arciszewski.

We do not want to be belied by words. Nobody should believe in words. Let the facts and deeds prove about relations of Russia to Poland. And our mutual relations should be governed by them. Poland will be a great and strong state. For Poland it won't be enough to have an alliance only with one state. She must have alliances with several great states. Poland needs alliances with the Western states, with Great Britain, France and friendly relations with America. History teaches us that one must not wait long for recovery of the German power. It's enough twenty years and Germany may regain its power and threaten with a new war. That is why Poland needs to conclude new alliances. There is a need for an agreement of four states: Poland - the Soviet Union - England - America.[\[1\]](#)

[\[1\]](#) To the record made by the same, unknown person, there was also attached a text of Stalin's statement, most likely from June 27, 1945, on S. Mikolajczyk's position regarding Poland's western borders:

" Check him once again. Adopt a resolution to the effect that you have come to a preliminary agreement with us regarding the eastern borders and at the same time a resolution on your territorial claims in the West. An official resolution in the presence of Mikolajczyk. Let the Government approach us with an official letter on this matter. Let's see if Mikolajczyk won't withdraw due to England's position".