

Results of Tito's Visit to Poland

The joint Polish-Yugoslav communiqué on the results of Tito's visit to Poland was published last night at 22 hours. The summaries of the communiqué available at this moment do not contain any particular point which can be considered new or suprising. However, worth stressing is the much milder tone of the references to China. (This will be discussed in a separate section.) According to the communiqué, the Polish-Yugoslav talks took place in a "heartfelt atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding" and have shown an "identity of views on the basic problems of the present time."

Regarding international politics the communiqué referred to the existing "tendency towards further detente and towards the strengthening of the elements of international cooperation." It also dealt with the Soviet proposal for total disarmament and with various, including Polish, proposals of partial limitations of armaments through the creation of nuclear freeze (or free) zones in Central Europe, in the Balkans and in "other parts of the world" (an obvious reference to the Scandinavian countries). The German problem should be solved by a recognition of the existence of two German states and of the permanent nature of the Polish border on the Oder-Neisse. A "real danger to peace," according to the communiqué, are "forces of revenge and militarism in the German Federal Republic." For this reason, "any access of the Federal Republic to nuclear weapons would encourage the general armament race and considerably increase the threat to world peace."

Regarding the international workers' movement, "both sides are guided by the principle that the struggle of the international workers' movement for peace and national independence is most closely connected with the struggle for socialism and that these questions cannot be artificially disconnected."

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The communique stressed a further progress of Polish-Yugoslav trade and economic cooperation, and forecast an enlargement of mutual trade exchanges as well as economic cooperation and co-production. Preparations should be carried out for concluding a trade agreement for 1966-1970.

Finally, the communique revealed that Tito had invited Wladyslaw Gomulka, Aleksander Zawadzki and Jozef Cyrankiewicz to pay a visit to Yugoslavia, which invitation was received with "satisfaction." (In this connection it should be stressed that the traditional trio -- Gomulka, Zawadzki and Cyrankiewicz -- has reappeared in the news. As is known, this pattern was interrupted when Zawadzki was ill for several months.)

Upon his arrival in Belgrade, Tito said that he was "satisfied" with the visit and that he and his party had done a "useful job" in Poland. He was also "full of praise" for the results which the Polish people had achieved in the post-war construction of their country, Tanjug and Radio Belgrade reported yesterday. Tanjug also quoted "Borba" as referring to the "unanimous" concern of Poland and Yugoslavia about the "specific nature" of their roads to socialism.

Still before Tito left Poland, an agreement on "industrial co-production" between the two countries was signed in Warsaw June 30. Such co-production pertains to various branches of industry. Due to be signed presently is a protocol on more trade for this year, "eventually by twelve million dollars up," Tanjug reported from Warsaw on the same day. This would mean that the total turnover value would pass the mark of 100 million dollars originally set for 1964. Also on June 30 a Polish-Yugoslav agreement on cooperation in civil air transport was signed in Belgrade. According to this agreement Yugoslav air transport will establish several lines to Warsaw and further to the Soviet Union and some other countries of Northern Europe.



Gomulka and the Chinese Question

If "Le Monde" correspondent, K.S. Karol, based his story (of June 30) on reliable sources, Gomulka might be pressing hard on the brakes of the car he set in motion in his Party Congress speech on June 15. According to Karol, it was on the same day of June 15 that the Soviet CC drafted a "brutal" letter to the Chinese, announcing an imminent meeting of the Communist parties, which would produce a showdown. Reportedly, the Russian comrades changed their mind at the last moment and did not send the letter to Peking. Instead, the next day a copy of this letter was received by the Poles and by the eleven representatives of the Communist parties invited to attend the Congress in Warsaw. The letter, Karol said, was a "thunderbolt from a blue sky". But the result was evidently opposite from the intended one. There seems to be evidence at hand, in the form of various statements, that Gomulka continues to withdraw from his initial stand of cautious support for the Soviet idea of a conference of Communist parties (cf. TARA paper "The Polish Party Congress: A Summing Up" of 23 June 1964). First sign of Gomulka's withdrawal from his position of June 15 was the text of the Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Polish CP, which did not refer to the preparations of a conference. While the Resolution strongly criticized the Chinese stand, it merely referred to the desirability of the "unity of Communist movement and, in particular, to the assuring of a common line of action vis-a-vis imperialism and of normal inter-state relations based on equality and solidarity". This, according to the Resolution, lies in "deep interest of all Communist and workers' parties, as well as in the interest of the socialist camp".

Another document which points towards a further softening of Gomulka's stand on the conference is the joint Polish-Yugoslav communiqué issued upon the completion of Tito's visit to Poland. From the fragments of this communiqué available at this moment nothing more than a call for unity and a hope of eventually overcoming the "differences" can be read. According to the communiqué, the Polish Party "is doing everything to help preserve the unity of the Communist and workers' movement throughout the world, and to find ways to overcome differences which have arisen out of a separate stand of the Chinese Communist

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Party on the basic issue of our time". And again, the Poles "do not lose hope that it will be possible in the end to overcome the existing differences, and that the unity of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement will be strengthened". There is also an appeal to other parties, for the communiqué states that "there is a necessity of each Communist and workers' party contributing its share towards overcoming the difficulties that exist in the world Communist movement and achieving its genuine unity on the principle of internationalism, equal rights and mutual respect, which is in the interest of socialism and of the consolidation of world peace". It seems that this appeal is mainly addressed to the two chief antagonists in the conflict.

It remains to be seen what influence will be exerted by Gomulka on Khrushchev when the latter comes to Poland to take part in the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of People's Poland on July 22. (According to an RFE Special from Oslo as well as according to "Le Monde" of July 2, Khrushchev intends to spend no less than ten days in Poland.)