

RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

EAST EUROPE

This material was prepared for the use of the editors and policy staff of Radio Free Europe.

Poland/7
28 January 1970

S I T U A T I O N R E P O R T

1. Polish-West German Talks to Start February 5
2. Franco-Polish Talks
3. Polish-British Relations
4. Miscellaneous

1. Polish-West German Talks to Start February 5

Polish-West German talks will start in Warsaw on February 5, FRG Foreign Minister Walter Scheel revealed in Bonn on January 27. A few hours later, Radio Warsaw broadcast the following news: 'PAP has learned that, on February 5, in Warsaw, there will start an exchange of views on political subjects between the governments of the Polish People's Republic and the German Federal Republic.'

While thus far no more details have become available from Polish media, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung (January 28) repeated an earlier report (cf. Polish Situation Report/6, Radio Free Europe Research, 23 January 1970) that Foreign Office State Secretary Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz will be opening the talks and will possibly remain in Warsaw as the West German negotiator for a short time only, since it is expected that the talks will be rather protracted. The official subject of the talks is an agreement on the renunciation of force, but Bonn is ready to discuss all other problems, including the Oder-Neisse frontier, the paper explained.

According to the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Bonn had earlier suggested February 2 or 3 for the start of talks, but the Poles refused these dates 'for technical reasons.' February 5 was agreed upon in the last few days.

Polish Foreign Trade Minister Janusz Burakiewicz had a number of talks in Bonn, as planned, and returned to Warsaw on January 25. Contrary to the German media, the Polish

28 January 1970

press and radio played down his visit to the FRG. DPA reported from Warsaw (January 26) that the Polish State Television Network explained that Burakiewicz met with Scheel because the FRG has no foreign trade ministry, hence it is the foreign minister who -- at least to an extent -- deals with foreign trade. In view of the fact that there exists in the FRG an economics ministry and that Burakiewicz had been invited by that ministry's chief, Professor Karl Schiller, the Polish television explanation may only indicate that the playing down of Burakiewicz's visit to the FRG was deliberate.

It also seems that the 'technical reasons' for the Polish refusal of an earlier start of the talks are more of a political nature than any other, save prestige. It was probably a well planned 'coincidence' that, on the same day, January 27, when the start of the Polish-West German talks was announced, the Le Monde correspondent in Warsaw, Bernard Margueritte, learned from 'les milieux bien informés' that Polish-French political talks would take place in Warsaw on February 2 and 3 (for more on the subject, see next item).

In the meantime, very interesting results of a public opinion poll on the subject 'we and the Germans' were published by the weekly Polityka (January 25). As explained by editor-in-chief Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the answers were anonymous and those polled were simply asked to say yes or no to the questions asked in the questionnaire. The details, as published by Polityka, are as follows:

A total of 908 persons were polled, of whom, when split into separate age-groups: 231 persons (25.4 per cent) were below 25 years of age; 358 persons (39.4 per cent) between 25-40; 247 persons (27.2 per cent) were aged between 41-60, and 61 persons (6.7 per cent) above 61 years of age. Among those polled, 375 persons (41.3 per cent) were members of the PUWP.

One of the questions read: 'Is neo-fascism in the GFR dangerous: a) for the Germans themselves, b) for Poland, c) for peace in Europe, d) it is not dangerous.' To this question, 307 persons (33.8 per cent) replied that neo-fascism is dangerous for the Germans themselves; 425 persons (46.8 per cent) that it is dangerous for Poland; 750 persons (82.6 per cent) that it is dangerous for European peace. Many of those polled made multiple choices, marking points a). b). and c)., or picked out two out of the three points mentioned.

28 January 1970

(Thus, the sum of percentages of the particular groups adds up to more than 100 per cent.) Although there were differences of opinion in the group of people who regard the possible effects of neo-fascism as a danger, it is nevertheless worth stressing that only 44 persons (4.8 per cent) did not consider neo-fascism to be a danger. At a glance, the different answers to points a), b), c), seem to indicate that there is a great variety of opinions among the Polish public, or in other words, that the average Pole forms his own personal opinion on the basis of given facts which he learns from various sources of information.

All the same, we seem to hold similar opinions on most of the principal problems. This fact is confirmed by answers given to another question in the poll, which read: "Would you establish diplomatic relations with the GFR?" The question was split into several sub-sections and thus the possible answers were: 1) No; 2) Without setting any preliminary conditions; 3) On the condition that Bonn: a) recognizes the Oder-Neisse border; b) recognizes the GDR; c) will renounce possession of nuclear weapons; d) if all the three conditions mentioned above are first met.

Only six persons (in all age-groups, from those under 25 to those over 61) were in total opposition to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the GFR; thus we can consider this totally negative approach as non-representative of our broad public opinion. On the other hand, only 115 persons (12.7 per cent) were willing to establish such diplomatic relations without setting any preliminary conditions; thus, we must conclude that this is also a minority-group which is atypical of Polish public opinion.

Some 732 persons (80.6 per cent) answered that they consider official recognition by Bonn of the Oder-Neisse frontier to be an essential condition for establishing diplomatic relations with the GFR; (453 persons /49.9 per cent/ chose the fourth variant, namely the fulfillment of all three preliminary conditions). Thus, it can be seen that the overwhelming majority of those polled think that a renunciation of the territorial claims which the West Germans have made upon us for the last 25 years is a sine qua non for the normalization of relations between Poland and the GFR. Without a fulfillment of this

28 January 1970

condition, the Poles do not see either a possibility, or need for making an effort to achieve normalization.

In connection with FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt's "100 days" (in power), Radio Warsaw's former correspondent in Bonn, Henryk Kollat, stated in a commentary (on January 27) that the Brandt government's policy is "undoubtedly new, different from the policy of the Christian Democrats," that it is based on a "more realistic appraisal of the situation and of West Germany's own possibilities," but that there are some doubts whether this policy is "consistent." In this respect, Kollat concluded:

"An exchange of views is about to start shortly, but the West German government has still not spoken in favor of definite recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier in its program declaration or in the recent message of Chancellor Brandt, although it must be aware of the fact that only the recognition of this border can open the way for the process of normalization."

2. Franco-Polish Talks

The Polish official media have thus far not revealed what has already been reported by Margueritte (see preceding item), namely that French and Polish diplomats will discuss international and bilateral questions on February 2 and 3 in Warsaw.

As reported by an RFE Special from Paris (January 27) -- quoting the French Foreign Ministry -- the talks will be routine, falling under an agreement to organize exchanges of views, which was concluded during the then President Charles de Gaulle's visit to Poland in 1967. The first of these exchanges took place in Paris in July, 1968 (cf. Polish SR/55, RFER, 17 July 1968), when such problems as Vietnam, the Middle East and Europe, as well as bilateral Franco-Polish relations, were discussed. This pattern will be followed now. The Quai d'Orsay did not reveal the name of the French envoy, but the spokesman said that the Polish discussion partner will be Foreign Vice-Minister Adam Willman.

3. Polish-British Relations

Andrzej Giersz, the Polish minister of construction and the building materials industry, arrived in London on January 25 for

28 January 1970

a week-long visit during which he is slated to acquaint himself with the work of local authorities, government agencies and private companies concerned with the construction industry in Britain. His official host is Mr. Anthony Greenwood, Britain's minister of housing.

Thus far, Giersz's visit has not been marred by a diplomatic "accident" which claimed a total of seven casualties: four Polish diplomats declared personae non gratae by the British and three British diplomats retaliated against in the same way by the Poles. Neither side would publish any communiqué, but Reuters revealed, first on January 18 then on January 27, that the Polish diplomats (initially it was said there were only two of them) had been involved in spying.

4. Miscellaneous

Warsaw Pact Meeting. Foreign Vice-Minister Jozef Winiewicz represented Poland at a meeting of foreign deputy ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries in Sofia on January 26 and 27, Radio Warsaw reported. The subject of the discussions was preparations for the European conference on security and co-operation, the broadcast explained.

A Party Visit to Hungary. A five-member delegation of the PUWP CC, headed by CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski, spent about five days (January 19 to 23) in Budapest at the invitation of the HSWP CC, Radio Budapest (January 23) and Radio Warsaw (January 24) reported. According to these sources, the Poles discussed with their Hungarian comrades, CC Secretaries Gyoergy Aczel and Arpad Pullai, "current ideological questions, the cultural policy of the Communist Party, the work of press, radio and television." During his visit, Olszowski was received by Janos Kadar, met Hungarian Minister of Public Education Pal Ilku, and gave a lecture at the Party's Political Academy.

The remaining four members of the Polish delegation were: Wincenty Krasko, CC Cultural Department head; Czeslaw Wisniewski, deputy minister of culture and the arts; Romuald Jezierski, propaganda secretary at the Poznan Voivodship Party Committee; and Marian Kruczkowski, an official of the CC Press Bureau.

Correction: to Polish SR/6, 23 January 1970, page 5, para.2, line 3, last word should be: published.