

MUN 31 11 SEP 67

TO RICHARDSON INFO YARROW DUNNING ROWSON SCHNEIDER
FM DURKEE INFO WALTER COLLINS COOK KINGSLEY

11/1920. HERewith ROUNDUP OF OUR ANALYSIS OF DE GAULLE
TRIP TO DATE. THOROUGH ANALYTICAL WRAPUP WILL BE PREPARED AT
END OF VISIT.

DE GAULLE HAS UNAMBIGUOUSLY REAFFIRMED HIS SUPPORT
FOR THE ODER-NEISSE LINE AS POLAND'S WESTERN FRONTIER.
TO MAKE HIS POINT, HE WENT BEYOND THE PREDICTABLE
FORMULATION IN HIS WARSAW TOAST ON 6 SEPTEMBER THAT
POLAND'S FRONTIERS "MUST REMAIN THE SAME", REFERRING TO
SILESIA AND GDANSK AS POLISH AND ZABRZE AS EVEN THE "MOST
POLISH TOWN OF ALL POLISH TOWNS".

2. ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE "GERMAN PROBLEM", DE GAULLE HAS
RESPECTED THE INTERESTS OF HIS WEST GERMAN ALLY. HE REPEATED
PRIVATELY TO THE POLISH LEADERS HIS REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE EAST
GERMANY AND CHARACTERIZED THE DIVISION OF GERMANY AS
ABNORMAL. BY SHAKING HANDS ONLY WITH THE DEAN OF THE DIPLOMATIC
CORPS, HE AVOIDED SHAKING HANDS WITH THE EAST GERMAN
AMBASSADOR AT THE ARRIVAL CEREMONY.

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HIS REFERENCE TO THE FRANCO-GERMAN RECONCILIATION IN HIS
SEJM ADDRESS ON 11 SEPTEMBER WAS AN INDIRECT BUT OBVIOUS
APPEAL TO THE POLES TO ABANDON THEIR RIGID POSITION VIS A VIS BONN.
BUT TO DATE THERE IS NO SIGN THAT DE GAULLE'S PLEA FOR GREATER
POLISH REASONABLENESS TOWARDS WEST GERMANY HAS HAD THE
SLIGHTEST EFFECT. IN THE FIRST PRIVATE POLITICAL TALKS,
THE POLES WERE REPORTED TO HAVE ONLY REPEATED THEIR
WELL-KNOWN "PRECONDITIONS," AND THIS ATTITUDE WAS REPEATED
IN STRONG TERMS BY GOMULKA IN HIS SEJM SPEECH FOLLOWING
DE GAULLE'S.

3. THE DE GAULLE VISIT HAS BROUGHT A SERIES OF INDIRECT BUT
OBVIOUS CALLS FOR GREATER POLISH INDEPENDENCE.
ON THE EVE OF THE VISIT, THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER
DESCRIBED POLAND'S TIES WITH THE USSR AS "NORMAL."
HAVING THUS REASSURED HIS HOSTS THAT HE WOULD NOT LAUNCH ANY
FRONTAL ATTACK ON THE POLISH-SOVIET ALLIANCE, DE GAULLE'S
SUBSEQUENT REFERENCES TO POLAND'S "NATIONAL PERSONALITY,"
THE "CENTER" OF EUROPE, THE NEED FOR POLAND TO "LOOK FURTHER
AND GREATER THAN YOU HAVE BEEN OBLIGED TO

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DO SO FAR" ETC. ARE AN APPEAL TO THE POLISH LEADERS TO
INCREASE THEIR AUTONOMY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HUMANITE OF 11
SEPTEMBER CONDEMNED THESE REFERENCES AS INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL
POLISH AFFAIRS. THE POLISH LEADERS THEMSELVES HAVE NOT
DEMONSTRATED ANY SUCH

THEIR AUTONOMY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HUMANITE OF 11 SEPTEMBER CONDEMNED THESE REFERENCES AS INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL POLISH AFFAIRS. THE POLISH LEADERS THEMSELVES HAVE NOT DEMONSTRATED ANY SUCH OBVIOUS DISPLEASURE, BUT A TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLE OF 11 SEPTEMBER AND, IN PARTICULAR, GOMULKA'S SEJM ADDRESS OF 11 SEPTEMBER -- STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLISH-SOVIET ALLIANCE -- SUGGEST THAT DE GAULLE'S APPEAL IN THIS AREA, TOO, HAS FALLEN ON DEAF EARS.

4. IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN GENERAL, JUST AS WAS THE CASE DURING HIS MOSCOW VISIT IN JUNE 1966, DE GAULLE HAS NOT USED HIS PRESENCE IN A COMMUNIST CAPITAL TO GIVE VOICE TO SUCH STATEMENTS AGAINST AMERICAN HEGEMONY AS HE VOICED IN QUEBEC. (IN CONTRAST, A TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTARY ON 6 SEPTEMBER PLAYED UP JUST THESE ASPECTS OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY.) THE MAIN THEME OF HIS REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT

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HAS BEEN, NOT ONE SIDED ATTACKS ON THE US, BUT INDIRECT REJECTION OF THE DOMINATION OF SUPER-POWERS IN GENERAL.

5. THE PRIMARY MOTIVATION FOR DE GAULLE'S VISIT WOULD SEEM TO BE THE ATTEMPT TO DRAW POLAND INTO THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN DETENTE, AS A PREREQUISITE TO LATER, CLOSER EUROPEAN-WIDE COOPERATION, WITHOUT ANTAGONIZING THE USSR-- STILL THE MAIN TARGET OF FRENCH POLICY IN EAST EUROPE. IN CONCRETE TERMS, THIS MEANT REINFORCING FRANCO-POLISH BILATERAL TIES AND APPEALING TO THE POLISH REGIME ON THE GERMAN QUESTION. INEVITABLY, ANY APPEALS FOR GREATER POLISH INTERNAL FREEDOM HAD TO BE AND (TO DATE) WERE SUBORDINATED TO THIS AIM. IN THIS SENSE, THE DE GAULLE VISIT IS TO THE POLISH REGIME, NOT THE POLISH PEOPLE. IN TERMS OF THE STRESS ON BILATERAL TIES, SUPPORT FOR THE ODER-NEISSE

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BORDER, AND GREATER POLISH INTERNATIONAL AUTONOMY, IT IS, HOWEVER, EQUALLY A VISIT TO THE POLISH PEOPLE. MOREOVER, WHILE PRAISING POST-WAR POLISH PROGRESS, THE FRENCH LEADER HAS SAID NOTHING WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS PRAISE OF "SOCIALISM" OR THE PUWP. WHILE POINTING OUT IN HIS SEJM ADDRESS THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENT "SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT." THE PROJECTED MEETING WITH CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI, TOO, WAS SUBORDINATED TO THIS PRIMARY AIM OF INFLUENCING THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. WHILE A MEETING OF ANY KIND WILL APPARENTLY NOT MATERIALIZE DUE TO THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE REGIME, WYSZYNSKI DID TAKE ADVANTAGE OF A SERMON ON THE DAY OF DE GAULLE'S ARRIVAL AND A PERSONAL LETTER TO WELCOME HIM TO POLAND AND PRAISE FRANCE AS A LAND OF LIBERTY. WHILE DE GAULLE'S REPLY WAS RESTRAINED, IT DID WISH THE CHURCH PROSPERITY. AND IN REPLYING TO BISHOP NOWICKI IN GDANSK, WHERE HE ATTENDED MASS, DE GAULLE REFERRED TO THE CHURCH'S THOUSAND-YEAR ROLE IN POLAND. BUT BY AND LARGE ON THE CHURCH QUESTION AS ON OTHER INTERNAL MATTERS, DE GAULLE HAS REMAINED SILENT.

END MSG