

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

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#### 1. Polish-Czechoslovak Communiqué

After a 48-hour stay in Poland (the media insisted it was a three-day visit), Czechoslovak Premier Oldrich Cernik left Warsaw for Prague on the morning of January 10. During the official meetings between the delegations of the two countries, economic and trade ministers and/or their deputies did the lion's share of the talking, which clearly indicated the nature of the business discussed. This was also stressed in the joint communiqué released on January 10, major portions of which were devoted to economic co-operation between several branches of the national industries. No occasion was missed to point out how important such co-operation was, not only to the two countries, but also to the whole "socialist community," and in particular to Comecon.

At a meeting at the Zeran automobile factory on January 9, Cernik went out of his way to confirm his country's loyalty to the USSR and the "other socialist countries," and, by implication, its support of the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty. He said:

...The cornerstone of Polish-Czechoslovak relations, as well as of relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, is the fact that they are defined both by national interests and by common socialist aims, i.e., Marxism-Leninism.

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It was precisely these "principles of socialist internationalism," Cernik continued, which became an "insurmountable obstacle" to the attempts (in 1968) of "rightist and antisocialist forces to distract the Czechoslovak people from the road of socialist construction."

As already pointed out (cf. Czechoslovak Situation Report/2, Radio Free Europe Research, 9 January 1970), Cernik was greeted and feted with great pomp, and this treatment continued up to the very end of his visit, with the top Party and government leadership, including Wladyslaw Gomulka, attending official receptions. Radio Warsaw kept observing, although with obvious restraint and some embarrassment, the uncommon ritual of covering the activities of the official ladies, and reported on the visits to a museum or a kindergarten of Bozhena Cernikova and Vera Gregorova (wife of Ambassador Antonin Gregor), accompanied by Krystyna Cyrankiewiczowa and Kazimiera Wolniakowa (wife of Foreign Vice-Minister Zygfryd Wolniak).

Reporting from Warsaw for Le Monde (January 14), Bernard Margueritte stressed that by far the most important passages in the joint communiqué are those pertaining to the FRG. According to the official text (Trybuna Ludu, January 11), the respective paragraphs read as follows:

Both premiers stated that, if the new government of the GFR, in its policy toward the socialist countries, will display -- not only in words -- a realistic stand which would take into consideration the existing status quo in Europe, then it will ipso facto contribute to the creation of the basic premises for the security of all European nations.

It was stressed in this connection that GFR recognition of the present frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse border, and that between the two German states, renunciation of the claims to exclusive representation of the German nation, and the establishment of equal relations with the GDR, as well as recognition of the Munich Agreement as invalid from the outset, would pave the way to the normalization of relations between the GFR and the socialist countries.

Czechoslovakia positively assesses the proposals of the Polish People's Republic to the GFR, and expresses full support for all Polish moves and those of the other socialist countries in favor of setting up a system of collective security which is the basis for permanent peace in Europe.

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The communiqué quite clearly and distinctly emphasized this last point, i.e., European security and the European conference. One could hardly fail to note that the broader subject of a European conference on peace and security is item number one on the agenda of Soviet Bloc policy, while the relations of the individual "socialist" countries with the FRG -- although part and parcel of the general European settlement -- play a secondary role to the major issue.

## 2. Comments on US-Chinese Relations

Polish media covered the meetings between US Ambassador Walter John Stoessel and Chinese Chargé d'Affaires Lei Yang in a matter-of-fact way. The same pertained -- initially -- to the disclosure that regular American-Chinese talks would be resumed in Warsaw starting January 20.

However, on January 10, the Polish dailies reprinted the TASS article of the previous day on the "moods of militarism and chauvinism" in China, while Trybuna Ludu in addition carried an extensive report by its correspondent in the US, Maksymilian Berezowski, on American reaction to the news on the resumption of talks.

On January 11, Radio Warsaw broadcast the following comment by editor Wladyslaw Pawlak:

It is well known that, for some time now, the Americans have displayed great interest in renewing contacts with Peking and in an improvement of their relations with the Chinese People's Republic. Their intentions in this sphere began to be manifested in some tangible though limited steps especially after the meeting of Premiers Kosygin and Chou En-lai and the opening of the current Sino-Russian talks in Peking. Nevertheless -- as the American sources point out -- the decision about resuming Chinese-American talks was made by the Chinese. The pertinent decision was communicated to Stoessel, the American Ambassador in Poland, by Chinese Chargé d'Affaires Lei Yang, who paid an unprecedented visit to the American Embassy. On this occasion -- as was revealed by the Reuter correspondent, to whom this information had been passed by the Americans -- both diplomats talked through interpreters, who in both cases also translated their statement into Polish.

Two details about that meeting attest to the eagerness of the Americans to renew their diplomatic talks with Peking:

First, their agreement to conduct the talks in Warsaw, although previously the US wanted them to take place in either Vienna or Stockholm;



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Secondly, that for at least some time, the Chinese will be represented only by a chargé d'affaires, that means, by a person whose diplomatic rank is inferior to that of Ambassador Stoessel.

Two days later, on January 13, Radio Warsaw quoted Dziennik Ludowy, the United Peasant Party daily, of the same day as follows:

There is no doubt that the problem of Taiwan will probably continue to affect future Sino-American relations to a greater degree even than their hostile ideologies. On the other hand, one must note that, during recent weeks, the Chinese propaganda attacks against the Soviet Union grew more intense than its corresponding charges against American imperialism. This is going on in spite of the fact that the Sino-Soviet talks, which started in Peking on October 20, are going to be continued.

Finally, it is worth noting that the renewal of talks between China and the US will, in effect, close the circle of prolonged dialogues between the world's three greatest powers, in view of the fact that, after successful preliminary talks between the Soviet and American representatives on strategic armaments limitation, it has been announced that further negotiations on this subject will take place in Helsinki in April.

### 3. Economic Relations with Foreign Countries

A. West Germany. The third round of Polish-West German negotiations on a long-term trade and economic co-operation agreement began in Bonn on January 12. According to an RFE Special from Bonn of the same day, quoting government spokesman Conrad Ahlers, the talks started with private meetings between the two delegation heads, Ambassador Egon Emmel and ministerial director Stanislaw Strus of the Polish Foreign Trade Ministry.

Included in the negotiations will be the granting of long-term credits to Poland, but -- said the Special -- Bonn spokesmen have dismissed as false reports mentioning sums up to 550 million dollars, saying that the exact sum of the loan has not been fixed and remains a subject of bargaining. According to the Special, the scope of the credits is likely to be determined by the range and type of co-operation projects agreed upon under the current negotiations, since the credits will in part be used to finance these undertakings. (For information on the first two rounds of talks, cf. Polish SR/83, 88 and 96, RFER, 15 October, 31 October and 10 December 1969).

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Problems of industrial co-operation between Polish and West German enterprises seem to pose some difficulties. According to Die Welt (December 30), the interest on the German side in such undertakings has considerably cooled off lately. For, said the paper, the Polish side is taking into consideration only one model of such co-operation: German deliveries of equipment and machines against credit repayable by deliveries of goods produced by their means, whereby the German firms would undertake to accept delivery of these goods over a period of, on the average, 10 years. The German firms would not be allowed to participate in ownership or in management of the Polish enterprises involved, according to the rule observed by all other East European countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia).

Referring to these differences in approach, the Handelsblatt (January 12) said that the Polish request that the Bonn government also guarantee to place Polish goods on the West German market is going too far, proving that state-run economies do not understand that, under a free economic system, a government cannot force individual enterprises to accept specific goods from certain specific countries. This confrontation of two different systems proves, said the paper, how many difficulties can arise in trade relations between countries governed by different economic principles.

Another difficulty in Polish-West German negotiations has been pointed out by the London Financial Times (January 13). This is that the Poles want the Germans to take a greater share of Polish industrial goods while the Germans point out that the quality of these goods may not always be good enough to compete on the German market. This problems of quality could perhaps be solved by the Germans providing aid under the co-operation agreement to help the Poles to sell their industrial goods to the less sophisticated markets of the third world, concluded the paper.

B. GATT. On January 9, the 22-nation GATT working group on Poland adopted a formal report that included all the viewpoints expressed during its stormy meeting last November when controversies arose on whether Poland and its GATT partners had fulfilled their reciprocal commitments under the June, 1967, protocol of Poland's accession to GATT, and RFE Special from Geneva reported on January 9. (For details of the controversies, cf. Polish SR/93, RFER, 26 November 1969.)

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According to a GATT spokesman quoted by the Special, the report will pass on to the GATT Council the two major opinions expressed during the November meeting: that of Poland's partners in GATT that Poland did not meet its obligations in 1968 to increase imports from GATT nations by seven per cent, as demanded in its protocol of accession to GATT; and the opinion of Poland that its GATT partners were not dismantling its discriminatory quantitative restrictions on Polish products quickly enough. The problem now will be passed on to the GATT Council in February, the GATT spokesman said.

Commenting on the GATT meetings on Poland the Neue Zuercher Zeitung (January 13) pointed to difficulties which arose on the Polish question between the United States and the Common Market delegations. The United States and some West European countries apply practically no quantitative restrictions and therefore have no reservations against applying to Poland the MFN clause, said the paper; on the other hand, EEC and some other West European countries, while granting Poland the MFN clause, keep on applying various quantitative restrictions which are contrary to the principles of GATT.

The paper also drew some general conclusions from the latest consultations with Poland which, it said, showed that it is far more difficult than one might think to co-operate within GATT with Communist countries like Poland. In these countries, with their state-run economies, the structure of foreign trade is different and they do not have at their disposal various means of trade policy and concessions, such as, for instance, reduction of import duties, said the paper. It concluded by mentioning that doubts started to rise among the Western delegations whether it was advisable at all to admit Communist countries into GATT and added that the latest controversy over Poland might cast a shadow over the negotiations concerning Rumania's access to GATT as a full member.

C. Pakistan. Polish-Pakistani trade negotiations ended with the signing of a protocol on exchange of goods in 1970, Radio Warsaw reported on January 13. According to the broadcast, the protocol provides for Polish exports to Pakistan of machines and equipment, chemicals and scientific and medical instruments, in exchange for Pakistani deliveries of raw materials such as jute, and cotton, and some industrial products such as textiles, shoes.

#### 4. Miscellaneous

A. Art Exhibition in London. 'A' Thousand Years of Polish Art" is the title of an exhibition opened on January 3 at the Royal Academy of Arts in London's Burlington House. As stressed by the Sueddeutsche Zeitung (January 9), this is not only the biggest exhibition sent to the West by any Communist



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country but also the most valuable (insured for about 8,000,000 dollars). At the same time, it is the last one, since further trips abroad could bring about irreparable damage to fragile fine arts items, some over 600 years' old.

Interviewed by Radio Warsaw (January 12) upon his return from London, Professor Stanislaw Lorentz, custodian of the National Museum in Warsaw, stressed that, within the first three days alone, the exhibition had been visited by more than 5,000 persons who had bought over 800 catalogues, which facts unmistakably indicate unique success and set a record. British papers and magazines carried numerous reviews of the exhibition, all complimentary, Lorentz stressed. The exhibition will close on March 1.

B. Population. At the end of 1969 Poland's population was "about" 32.7 million, Wincenty Kawalec, chairman of the Main Statistical Office, stated in an interview with PAP (cf. Trybuna Ludu, January 2). Of this number, 16.8 million citizens lived in urban areas, i.e., 51.5 per cent of the total population. There are now 16.8 million women in Poland and 15.9 million men. These figures are approximate, Kawalec stressed. Exact data will be obtained during the national population census to be carried out in December, 1970.