

February 27, 1970

Note regarding the Polish-Soviet Consultation on the China Topic

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Summary:

A meeting is proposed for the international departments of the seven parties to meet and discuss issues related to China, including the political and economic situation in Shanghai, China's international activities, and the ideology of its leadership.

Original Language:

Polish

Contents:

Translation - English

To Comrade Zenon Kliszko
Secretary of the CC PUWP

The International Department is sending as an attachment, in connection with the information from July 28, 1969, a note regarding the meeting of the representatives of the seven parties' International Departments on the China question.

The note includes the Department's propositions which take into consideration the suggestions of Soviet comrades, which we received during the consultations between our departments in Moscow from February 23-24, 1969.

Wiktor Kinecki
February 27, 1970

Note regarding the [Polish-Soviet] consultation on the China topic

The International Department, following the consultation with the CPSU, proposes to organize a meeting of the representatives of the international departments of seven parties on the China topic in Warsaw on March 10 -13 this year.

So far, there were two such meetings: one in Moscow (December 14-21, 1967) and Berlin (January 28-31, 1969). In Moscow, a joint and confidential material, "About the Events in China," was prepared and was presented to the leadership of the party as a working material to be used accordingly. The material prepared in Berlin entitled, "The Situation in China and the Policy of Mao Zedong's Group at the Current Stage," pertained in principle only to the events of 1968.

The third such meeting, which was planned to be held in Warsaw on October 6-11, 1969, did not materialize due to the suggestions of the CPSU International Department which asked to postpone the meeting.

The meeting's agenda would contain the following:

- 1) The exchange of views regarding the situation in China after the Ninth CCP Congress, as well as Beijing's activities on the international arena;
- 2) The exchange of information by the departments about the selected issues regarding the ongoing social and economic processes in the PRC;
- 3) The coordination of efforts of the fraternal parties and fraternal countries in the area of propaganda and the scientific and research activities against the diversionary activities of Mao Zedong's group.

Our department received from the CPSU International Department a preliminary draft of theses which has not yet been approved by the leadership of the CPSU as to the first point of the agenda proposed by us. The Soviet comrades would like for this material (perhaps in a supplemented form by their editors) to constitute not only the basis for their pronouncement, but also the framework for the entire discussion. The CPSU International Department will send out the thesis before the meeting to all of the invited international departments. Our department proposes, in accordance with the accepted practice during previous meetings, to adopt the Soviet theses as the basis for the discussion. We foresee the statements of the heads of all delegations.

The Polish pronouncement will be of general nature with the elements referring to the CPSU material. After the plenary discussion regarding the first point on the agenda, the editorial group will begin to make revisions.

The Soviet comrades foresee that their theses will be accepted in the end either as a joint platform or in a form of information for the central committees of seven parties. They are, however, banking much more on the first option since according to Comrade [Oleg] Rakhmanin, deputy head of the CPSU International Department regarding the Chinese Affairs, they are working in Beijing on a Chinese document on the hundredth anniversary of W. I. Lenin's birthday (they prepared such a document on the 90th anniversary).

As far as the second point of the agenda, our department proposes to present two papers:

- the analysis of the personal situation in the CCP leadership;
- a political and economic situation in Shanghai

Judging from the preliminary statements of the Soviet comrades, it seems that the following topics will be the subject of their information: the critique of Mao's economic policy, Sino-Soviet relations (including the border issues and negotiations), diversionary activities in the workers' movement and national-liberation movement, the analogy between the views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin with those of Mao, selected problems about the PRC's economy since 1969, the role and place of China's militarization in the contemporary stage of the social and economic development, the situation in the CCP after the IX Congress, and Mao's policy toward national minorities.

All of the information presented in this point, both oral and written, will not be in the form of documents that will be subjected to a joint consultation.

As far as the third point is concerned, the Soviet comrades foresee to review the degree and the extent of the implementation of the joint decisions from the meeting of the seven departments in Berlin.

Our department, based on its own documentation and reconnaissance which it will carry out in the next few days, will prepare a discussion on these issues.

In principle, we can already say that, as emphasized by the representatives of the CPSU International Department during our talks in Moscow, many of the previous decisions have not been implemented in the area of cooperation. This particularly pertains to, for example, a meeting proposed to be held in June and July 1969 of the representatives of the press, radio, and TV, which was to examine a series of recommendations from the meeting of the seven departments, and the academic symposium planned for the end of 1969 on the following subject: "The fundamental problems of the social and economic development of modern China."

This is why our department will emphasize during the discussion the need to coordinate our activities regarding China and the need to implement the real decisions.

We will also prepare jointly "A Protocol Note," which will include the time, location, the participation, and the topics of the meeting, as well as the organizational decisions adopted for the future. According to the practice we adopted so far, we will also prepare a protocol.

During the talks on February 23 of this year in Moscow between the representative of our department and the leadership of the CPSU International Department, the Soviet comrades proposed a fourth point of the agenda for the meeting: "The exchange of views on the Albanian issue." While emphasizing that "there are no immediate reasons to look into this issue," they pointed out that "not everything is going smoothly between Albania and China" and this is why we should use this meeting to find out what coordination we can take up in the area of separating Albania from China.

Given that the CPSU International Department does not possess any written paper on the Albania issue which would be equivalent to that on the China issue, and in addition it does not see any possibilities to carry out such an introduction, the International Department proposes to provide the information on this topic beyond the framework of the meeting's daily agenda. Such an exchange of information would be of preliminary nature and would constitute also a preparatory element for our fourth meeting of this kind (these are non-binding propositions by the Soviet comrades for such a meeting to be held at the end of this year or sometime in the beginning of 1971 in Sofia or Ulaanbaatar).

The CPSU International Department is prepared to adopt such a solution.

The Soviet proposition [regarding Albania] is a shock to us, because it means an introduction of a new topic [to the Warsaw meeting] in contrast to the type of meetings we had in Moscow and Berlin.

The meeting of the CC International Departments of the BCP, CPCz, MPRP, SED, HWSP, CPSU, and PUWP will take place in Hotel URM "Parkowa".

So far, these kinds of meetings were carried out at the level of the department heads or their deputies.

The International Department proposes the following PUWP delegation:

Jozef Czesak

Wiktor Kinecki

Bohdan Lewandowski

And the China experts from the Foreign Ministry and the Polish Institute of International Relations

The CC PUPW International Department

February 27, 1970