

W. Germany, Poland, Italy:

For Energy, Against Terror

An interlocking series of state visits involving West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Polish head of state Eduard Gierek, and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti over the past two weeks has created the basis for trilateral cooperation between those countries in coal and nuclear energy resources and in coordinating measures to curb terrorism.

This unusual East-West coordination began with Chancellor Schmidt's visit to Poland Nov. 21-25, the first such trip by a West German head of state in seven years. Two days after Schmidt left Poland, Polish Communist Party chief Gierek made a two-day visit to Italy Nov. 28 and 29, during which he met with Prime Minister Andreotti. On Nov. 30, Gierek met with Pope Paul VI, for the first such meeting between a Pope and a leader of the Polish Communist Party. On Dec. 1, Schmidt and Andreotti closed meetings in Verona, Italy, where they discussed Polish-West German-Italian cooperation in the European Economic Community and the terrorism issue.

Although only the preliminary results of the Schmidt-Gierek and Gierek-Andreotti meetings are known, these agreements are qualitatively superior to those concluded during the former Chancellor Willy Brandt's much-touted Ostpolitik trip to Poland in 1970. Gierek stated in the Nov. 23 West German daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that the Schmidt government "has done much more to improve Polish-German friendship than was ever done before."

Schmidt, Gierek Begin Trade Diplomacy

The topics discussed included:

- *A power grid transporting coal-generated electricity from Polish coalfields to West Germany, which might include West Berlin.
- *Increasing Polish exports to West Germany, while decreasing Polish debts to the same country by lowering West German tariffs on a variety of Polish products.
- *Establishing a "third market" arrangement in which West German and Polish industries will jointly create markets in third countries.
- *Convening a January 1978 session of the joint Polish-West German Economic Commission that would handle, among other topics, the problems smaller West German exporters have been having in getting credit for trade with Poland.
- *Several major Polish industrial projects to be constructed by West German firms. This has prompted Berthold Beitz, chairman of the giant Krupp steel and engineering firm to announce that he will shortly make two

trips to Poland to settle these projects.

In addition to these energy and economic plans, the joint communiqué issued at the end of Schmidt's trip included a demand for pan-European efforts for cooperation in science and technology and in the production and transport of energy throughout Europe. This demand is an implicit endorsement of the pan-European conference on energy previously proposed by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev.

Both Schmidt and Gierek tried to dispel the myths and fears that both nations were subjected to during the post-World War II Occupation period. Speaking at the site of the Nazis' Auschwitz concentration camp, Schmidt said, "At Auschwitz and Birkenau, no one can avoid the recognition that politics is something else than a game of power and interests." The Chancellor also attacked the myth of eternal collective German war guilt, saying, "We Germans today are not guilty as persons, but we have the political heritage of the guilty to bear." The Warsaw daily *Zycie Warszawe* in turn discounted the recent New Left label of the "ugly German" with "in fact, there is not an increasing number of enemies of normalization (of relations with Poland -ed.) in the Federal Republic (of Germany), but the opposite process is taking place."

In interviews following his return to West Germany, Schmidt continually stressed that a new era of cooperation had begun between Poland and the Federal Republic. Schmidt startled a *Bild Zeitung* reporter who asked him if the Polish-West German relationship could be compared to that of West Germany and France by answering: "Yes, I think that is a realistic description... although there are some efforts to be made to reach this."

From The West German Press

Here are excerpts of other West German press accounts of the Chancellor's report on the meeting:

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt daily, Nov. 23:

Gierek said that Schmidt and his friends have done much more to improve Polish-German friendship than was ever done before... Speaking before the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, Schmidt gave a speech in which he said that detente is not a goal in itself, but is an ongoing process which needs initiatives from all concerned nations....

Die Welt, Hamburg daily, Nov. 25: Excerpts from the speech West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt gave at the site of the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz:

Actually this place should make one silent, but I am sure that the German Chancellor cannot be silent here.

We have come to Auschwitz to remind ourselves and others that there is no way in the future, and also no way to new and unencumbered relations between Poland and West Germany, without recognition of the past.

At Auschwitz and Birkenau, no one can avoid the recognition that politics is something else than a game of power and interests, that politics requires moral foundations and moral orientation. This place makes it forcefully clear that history can not be understood as a causal chain of events and actions, but that responsibility and guilt go with it; that responsibility and guilt are also historical entities. The crimes of Nazi fascism and the guilt of the German Reich under Hitler are our responsibility. We Germans today are not guilty as persons, but we have the political heritage of the guilty to bear. Herein lies our responsibility. What arises from this is a demand not to leave the future to accident but to form it in courage and insight. No young German need feel "unfree" when he meets a Polish comrade. But he must know what Germans did in the name of Germans....

Bildzeitung, Hamburg daily, Nov. 28: *Interview with Chancellor Schmidt on his return from Poland. Said Schmidt:*

Our two nations are both brothers on the one European continent, and we both want to build an order of peace for Europe which is durable... There was too much energy wasted during the Cold War.

Italian-Polish Energy Cooperation

Gierek's meetings with Italian Premier Andreotti included the equally crucial questions of joint energy projects and mutual efforts in curbing European terrorism. Specific proposals under discussion were:

*Establishment of a joint Polish-Italian Economic Council.

*A plan for a coal-slurry pipeline to carry pulverized coal from Katowice, Poland, through Czechoslovakia and Austria, to Trieste, Italy. This pipeline was already approved by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

*Joint Italian-Polish research and cooperation in nuclear energy.

Several days before his separate meetings with Gierek and Schmidt, Andreotti built support for both his groundbreaking discussion of energy investments with an East bloc leader, and his discussion of coordinated action by the three governments against terrorism in two interviews.

In an interview carried in the Nov. 24 West German weekly *Deutsche Zeitung*, Andreotti stated that the "instigators of terrorism" and the anti-German riots in Italy during the summer "should be investigated at an international level." "We believe in the consent of the vast majority of Italians who are against terrorism, and who want to work," Andreotti continued, "Many circles have tried to do everything to split Italy from Germany." The next day Andreotti continued his attack in the Italian daily *Il Giornale* by defending his efforts to attract West German and American investment capital to Italy in the face of demands by Republican Party leader Ugo LaMalfa that he resign.

PCI Support

Andreotti was also supported by the Italian daily *Unita*, the daily of the Italian Communist Party. *Unita* powerfully connected the Schmidt-Gierek-Andreotti proposals on more investment in all three countries, and the terrorist opposition to investment, whether energy-connected or not.

Unita first praised Schmidt's Polish trip, writing, "The Chancellor will be attacked when he returns to Germany but he will be shown to be ultimately coherent." It then attacked a provocative strike "against the Germanicization of Italy" that was called by a union leader of the Metalworkers Union to protest West German investment in Italy! — the very investment Andreotti wants to attract. The Communist daily said that calling for such a strike on Dec. 2, one day after Schmidt and Andreotti meet to plan coordination involving Poland, against terrorism, "has a direct connection" to the terrorism carried out by Italy's Red Brigade.