

MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

TO: _____

1971 DEZ 8

19:49

MUN 11 8 DEC 71

TO: DURKEE INFO PETZALL YARROW HOVEY DUNNING REYMAN
FM: WALTER INFO COOK BEDE BERNARD BROWN KOHAK LYON
NOWAK PECHACEK/BELLUS ZAHARIEFF

081844;

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 281

1. BULGARIA; THE MYSTERY CONCERNING THE RECENT POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF TODOR ZHIVKOV CONTINUES TO DEEPEN. AMONG ALL THE LEADERS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, HE WAS THE ONLY ONE NOT TO ADDRESS THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS YESTERDAY. IN FACT ON DECEMBER 7 HE WAS BACK AT HOME DELIVERING A TWO-HOUR SPEECH IN SOFIA TO A MEETING OF BCP POLITBURO MEMBERS AND THE CITY'S ACADEMIC YOUTH MARKING STUDENTS' DAY WHICH IS TODAY. THUS HE MUST HAVE LEFT WARSAW AT THE LATEST FOLLOWING BREZHNEV'S SHORT SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS WHICH BEGAN AT 1115 WARSAW TIME YESTERDAY MORNING. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT ZHIVKOV HAS SPOKEN AT SIMILAR CELEBRATIONS ON THE EVE OF BULGARIAN STUDENTS' DAY EVERY YEAR SINCE 1964, WE ARE BY NO MEANS SURE THIS WISH TO ADHERE TO PAST PRACTICE IS THE REAL EXPLANATION FOR HIS SUDDEN RETURN. WE HAVE RECENTLY NOTED ZHIVKOV'S SOMEWHAT UNUSUAL INTERFERENCE AT THE BULGARIAN KOMSOMOL MEETING (CF. DR. NO. 278 OF 6 DECEMBER), BUT ARE DISINCLINED TO ATTRIBUTE HIS RETURN PRIMARILY TO AN URGENT PREOCCUPATION WITH PROBLEMS ONLY ON THE YOUTH FRONT. WE RECALL IN THIS CONNECTION GIEREK'S SUDDEN DEPARTURE FROM AND LATER RETURN TO THE CSCP CONGRESS IN PRAGUE, PRESUMABLY IN CONNECTION WITH MOCZAR'S MACHINATIONS IN OLSZTYN. (ZHIVKOV MAY OF COURSE RETURN TO THE PUMP CONGRESS AND PERHAPS WILL DELIVER A SPEECH LATER THIS WEEK.) RECALLING THE BCP CC OCTOBER PLENUM'S INDIRECT CRITICISM OF ZHIVKOV (I.E., "THE POLITBURO SHOULD GIVE THE CC MORE INFORMATION") AND ZHIVKOV'S "BLITZBESUCH" TO MOSCOW A WEEK AGO, WE THINK THAT SOMETHING IMPORTANT MAY BE GOING ON ABOUT WHICH WE KNOW PRACTICALLY NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA; RADIO HVEZDA THIS MORNING BROADCAST A PROVOCATIVE COMMENTARY CONCERNING YUGOSLAVIA. REVIEWING TITO'S RECENT ATTACK ON CROATIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES, RADIO HVEZDA SAID: "THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA RECALLS IN MANY ASPECTS THE GROWTH OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN THE CSSR IN

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1968. WELL, SUCH EXPERIENCES BY CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNISTS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DANGER, AND CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THAT, HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN THE WELL-KNOWN "LESSONS" DOCUMENT OF THE CSCP CC, APPROVED BY THE 14TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, WHICH IS ALSO VALID FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS MOVEMENT." WE GIVE NO PARTICULAR POLITICAL WEIGHT TO THIS ONE APPARENT SUGGESTION THAT YUGOSLAVIA MAY REQUIRE "FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE," AND CONSIDER THE QUOTE PRIMARILY AS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE ABYSMAL LEVEL TO WHICH CS MEDIA HAVE SUNK UNDER HUSAK. ERBAN'S RE-ELECTION TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL (DS) IS A MORE OR LESS POSITIVE SIGN; WE HAD HEARD RUMORS THAT HE MIGHT BE REMOVED AND REPLACED BY SOMEONE WORSE.

IT HAS JUST COME TO OUR ATTENTION THAT "HLAS REVOLUCE," WEEKLY OF THE UNION OF ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTERS, CEASED IN ITS 18 SEPTEMBER ISSUE PUBLISHING THE INSTALLMENTS OF PRES. SVOBODA'S MEMOIRS WHICH IT HAD BEGUN ON 21 AUGUST THIS YEAR. THE LAST INSTALLMENT ENDED WITH THE YEAR 1938. PERHAPS THE MEMOIRS WILL NOT APPEAR IN BOOK FORM AS ANNOUNCED.

3. HUNGARY: ACCORDING TO AUSTRIAN RADIO, A PEOPLES PARTY DEPUTY IN THE AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT YESTERDAY POSED A QUESTION TO CHANCELLOR KREISKY ON CARDINAL MENDSZENTY'S REMARK ABOUT THE "FRONTIER." (SEE YESTERDAY'S DR) KRIESKY ANSWERED THAT THE CARDINAL'S ANSWER WAS SATISFACTORY AND SAID HE CONSIDERED THE CASE CLOSED. TANJUG PICKED UP THE STORY YESTERDAY, BUT RADIO BUDAPEST INTERESTINGLY DID NOT. WE HAVE NOT USED THE STORY AT ALL ON THE AIR.

4. POLAND: THE CONGRESS IS SPLITTING UP INTO 19 COMMISSIONS TODAY, DURING WHICH THE VARIOUS FOREIGN DELEGATIONS WILL VISIT LOCAL ENTERPRISES. THERE IS LITTLE TO ADD TO THE EERA PAPER (DS) ON YESTERDAY'S CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS. BREZHNEV'S REFERENCES TO GIEREK WERE FRIENDLY, BUT TERSE AND RESTRAINED; OF THE WP COUNTRY LEADERS KADAR'S PRAISE FOR GIEREK AND THE PUMP LEADERSHIP WAS THE MOST FULSOME. IN THE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE CONGRESS

WE SENSE THE POSSIBLE EMERGENCE OF A GIEREK "PERSONALITY CULT" TREND WHICH SEEMS TO SURPASS PRAISE ACCORDED IN THE PAST TO GOMULKA. CEASUESCU'S SPEECH, WHICH WAS A MODERATELY-PHRASED RESTATEMENT OF THE RUMANIAN POLICY OF AUTONOMY, WAS MENTIONED BUT NOT COVERED IN POLISH MEDIA; THE POLISH BD WILL INFORM LISTENERS OF THE MAIN EXCERPTS.

5. RUMANIA: WE NOTE WITH INTEREST RUMANIA'S VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTION YESTERDAY, TOGETHER WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND IN OPPOSITION TO THE USSR AND ITS SATELLITES.

6. OTHER: THE SUBSTITUTION OF PETER FLORIN FOR GUENTHER KOHRT AS THE GDR'S CHIEF NEGOTIATOR WITH THE WEST BERLIN SENATE GIVES THE EAST GERMANS A CHANCE TO ALTER THEIR POSITIONS. THIS, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH A NOTABLE MODERATION IN GDR CRITICISM OF MAYOR SCHUETZ AND A SUGGESTION IN HONECKER'S ADDRESS AT THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS THAT THE TALKS WILL NOW MOVE SUCCESSFULLY TO THE INITIALLING STAGE, WOULD INDICATE THAT PANKOW MAY BE READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT A FINAL AGREEMENT SOON. NO DATE HAS BEEN SET, HOWEVER, FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE TALKS WITH ULRICH MUELLER. CAA IS PREPARING A PAPER ON THE SITUATION.

IN YUGOSLAVIA BAKARIC APPEARS TO BE RALLYING FORCES IN SUPPORT OF TITO AGAINST THE "INNER CIRCLE" OF CROATIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS. HE HAS CRITICIZED THE CROATIAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNIST LEADER SAVKA DABCEVIC-KUCAR AND THIS LATTER WAS WELL AS TRIPALO AND PIRKER DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN CROATIAN COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING TITO'S CRITICISM OF THE CROATIAN PARTY.

THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE OPENS TOMORROW WITH A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TWO-DAY MEETING. THE "EURO GROUP" LED BY BRITAIN AND GERMANY HAS COME UP WITH ONE BILLION DOLLARS FOR NATO DEFENSE SPENDING FOR 1972 OVER AND ABOVE THE BILLION APPROVED FOR THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD. THIS WILL RELIEVE THE CONFERENCE OF WRANGLING OVER INTERNAL EQUALIZATION PROBLEMS AND SECRETARY LAIRD HAS ALREADY REMARKED THAT "REAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN BETTER SHARING OF THE BURDEN." ON THE MBFR ISSUE, SOVIET PREMIER KOSYGIN IN A NEWS CONFERENCE IN NORWAY REMARKED THAT THE USSR WANTED AN ESC TO COME BEFORE MBFR DISCUSSIONS SO THAT MACHINERY COULD BE SET UP FOR TROOP REDUCTION TALKS. THIS IS THE WARSAW PACT POSITION OF A YEAR AGO, BUT KOSYGIN DID NOT INSIST ON THIS. HE OBSERVED THAT "THERE ARE OTHER WAYS. IF ALL PARTICIPATING NATIONS EXPRESS A DESIRE TO BEGIN THESE DISCUSSIONS EVEN SOONER, WE SHALL BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS AND TRY TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE." THE SOVIET PREMIER SAID THAT THE USSR WAS PREPARED TO BEGIN TALKS PRIOR TO AN ALL-EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. NATO SECRETARY-GENERAL LUNS ASSESSED THE SOVIET PREMIER'S REMARKS AS POSITIVE AND STATED THAT NATO HOPED THAT THE LACK OF RESPONSE TO THE BROSIU MISSION DID NOT INDICATE LACK OF INTEREST. LUNS' SURMISE THAT PERHAPS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT "HAS NOT QUITE MADE UP ITS MIND" IS CONFIRMED BY KOSYGIN WHO STATED THAT NO DECISION HAD AS YET BEEN TAKEN.

END MSG