

RADIO FREE EUROPE
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

1971 SEP 24

13:55

TO: C

MUN 58 24 SEPT 71

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

241308:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 218

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NOTHING.

3. HUNGARY: NOTHING.

4. POLAND: NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA: AUSTRIAN RADIO AND THE SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
YESTERDAY CITED REPORTS CIRCULATING IN BELGRADE THAT TITO
AND CEAUSESCU WILL MEET ON THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO
COUNTRIES SOON, AT CEAUSESCU'S REQUEST AND TO DISCUSS THE
TITO-BREZHNEV TALKS. THE REPORT SOUNDS PLAUSIBLE TO US.

(MORE)

6. OTHER: BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA MOVED THROUGH ITS SECOND DAY WITH THE CONTRADICTIONS FOR BOTH PARTIES BECOMING INCREASINGLY APPARENT. WORKING FOR A GOOD PRESS IN YUGOSLAVIA BREZHNEV CONCEDED IN A SPEECH TO WORKERS OF A BELGRADE ELECTRONICS FACTORY (DS) THAT "THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR OF EACH COMMUNIST PARTY, EACH PEOPLE" AND THAT "DIFFERENCES IN FORM SHOULD BE NO CAUSE FOR ANY ALIENATION OR MISTRUST IN RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALIST STATES." HAVING GRANTED THIS WITH ONE HAND BREZHNEV SEEMS TO TAKE AWAY WITH THE OTHER, SAYING THAT THERE ARE "CERTAIN GENERAL LAWS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION...WITHOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO SOCIALISM." EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE SOVIETS CONSIDER IT THEIR PREROGATIVE TO DECIDE WHAT IS A "FORM" AND WHAT IS A "GENERAL LAW." THE DILEMMA FOR BREZHNEV IS CLEAR. WHILE STRIVING TO CREATE A MODERATE IMAGE HE CANNOT UNDERWRITE YUGOSLAVIA'S BRAND OF COMMUNISM.

BREZHNEV STATES FURTHER THAT BOTH YUGOSLAVIA AND THE USSR "BELONG TO THE SAME SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION." IN THIS PHRASE IS CONTAINED TITO'S DILEMMA. HE WANTS HIS "SOCIALIST" CREDENTIALS CONFIRMED BUT ON THE OTHER HAND HE DOES NOT WISH TO BECOME SUBJECT TO THE SAME DISCIPLINE FROM THE CENTER AS MOSCOW IMPOSES ON THE OTHER EAST EUROPEAN "SOCIALIST" STATES. THE DANGER OF THIS FORMULATION IS SUGGESTED BY RADIO ZAGREB'S SUNDIC WHO, COMMENTING ON WEDNESDAY'S TOAST BY THE SOVIET LEADER, OBSERVES THAT THE YUGOSLAVS "ARE UNABLE TO DECIPHER

(MORE)

WHAT CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS ARE MEANT WHEN REFERRING TO UPDATING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BELGRADE

DECLARATION. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND TITO DO, AT THIS POINT, SEEM VERY GREAT. NOTHING COULD BE MORE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS THAN THE TASS VERSION OF BREZHNEV'S REMARKS AT THE ELECTRONIC FACTORY WHICH ONLY MENTIONS AND TREATS IN A TRIUMPHAL WAY SOVIET ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND THE TANJUG VERSION WHICH DEALS LARGELY WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND IN PARTICULAR BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATES. THE TWO VERSIONS APPEAR SO UNRELATED THAT ONE MIGHT THINK THEY DEAL WITH TWO DIFFERENT SPEECHES.

BOTH THE TANJUG AND TASS REPORTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET DELEGATION AND YUGOSLAV LEADERS MAKE IT APPEAR THAT THE DIFFERENCES ARE UNBRIDGEABLE. THEY SPEAK OF ONLY "AN EXCHANGE OF OPINION" AND THAT "VIEWS WERE EXCHANGED" WITH NO MENTION OF AGREEMENT. IF THE TWO LEADERS ARE SO FAR APART THAT NO RECONCILIATION SEEMS POSSIBLE, THEN THE REPORT FROM BELGRADE THAT BREZHNEV IS INDISPOSED MAY HAVE A POLITICAL RATHER THAN A PHYSICAL BASIS.

CAA IS PREPARING A PAPER WRAPPING UP THESE EVENTS OF THE SECOND DAY. WE PLAN A LATER PAPER COMPARING SOCIET AND EAST EUROPEAN COVERAGE OF THE VISIT WITH MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM YUGOSLAV AND WESTERN SOURCES.

(MORE)

EAST EUROPEAN RADIO COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV'S FACTORY SPEECH WAS MIXED. RUMANIAN AND BULGARIAN MEDIA DID NOT GIVE THE MORE INTERESTING QUOTES ON THE RIGHT OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO DEVELOPE THEIR "FORMS" OF SOCIALISM. RADIO BUCHAREST GAVE ONLY A SERIES OF SMALL UNINFORMATIVE ITEMS ON THE VISIT. RADIO SOFIA'S COVERAGE WAS MORE EXTENSIVE BUT NOT MUCH MORE INFORMATIVE, COMMENTING FOR EXAMPLE, THAT BREZHNEV'S SPEECH WAS INTERRUPTED OFTEN BY PROLONGED APPLAUSE OF THE YUGOSLAV WORKERS. RADIO WARSAW'S BELGRADE CORRESPONDENT ALSO GAVE A VERY ROSY INTERPRETATION TO THE VISIT; THE RADIO GAVE SEVERAL CAREFULLY SELECTED QUOTATIONS FROM BREZHNEV, INCLUDING HIS REMARK THAT IT WAS NO SECRET THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENCES IN VIEWS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BUT THIS SHOULD NOT HARM RELATIONS. RADIO BRATISLAVA GAVE FULL COVERAGE TO THE SPEECH THIS MORNING; OUR IMPRESSION IN LISTENING TO LAST NIGHT'S COVERAGE WAS THAT CZECHOSLOVAK MEDIA WERE GRUDGINGLY RELEASING THE INFORMATION IN DRIBBLETS. RADIO BUDAPEST GAVE THE MOST COMPLETE COVERAGE OF ALL EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA, INCLUDING A COMMENTARY WHICH SAID IT IS TOO EARLY TO COME TO A FINAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE VISIT.

END MSG