

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

1970 NOV 25

17:20

TO: C

MUN 45 25 NOV 70

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

251627:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 270

1. BULGARIA: ZHIVKOV SPEECH AT THE HUNGARIAN CONGRESS CONTAINED NOTHING OF INTEREST. RADIO SOFIA REPORTED LAST NIGHT THAT THE WRITERS' CONFERENCE ENDED YESTERDAY, REVEALING SIMULTANEOUSLY THAT SESSIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE ON ONLY FOUR OF THE SEVEN WORKING DAYS SINCE THE CONFERENCE BEGAN ON NOVEMBER 16. PERHAPS WE SHALL FIND CONFIRMATION IN THE PRESS COVERAGE OF OUR SUSPICIONS THAT CRITICISM OF PARTY POLICY BY SOME WRITERS DISRUPTED THE ORIGINAL PLAN FOR A NOVEMBER 16-17 CONTROLLED SESSION.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: HUSAK'S SPEECH IN BUDAPEST CONTAINED SOME DISTASTEFUL FORMULATIONS ON 1968 AND THE NECESSITY FOR THE INVASION BUT NOTHING OF PARTICULAR ANALYTICAL INTEREST. HIS RETURN HOME SEEMS EXPLAINED BY PRESIDENT SVOBODA'S 75TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION TODAY, AN EVENT FOR WHICH SOVIET PRESIDENT PODGORNÝ ARRIVED IN PRAGUE LAST NIGHT.

KATHPRESS IN VIENNA YESTERDAY DISTRIBUTED THE TEXT OF AN OFFICIAL INQUISITION-QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL TEACHERS AND MEMBERS OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN SLOVAKIA, WHICH INCLUDES QUESTIONS ON THEIR VIEWS TOWARD AND ROLE IN 1968. (KOSTRBA SPECIAL - DS) BD RECEIVED THE SLOVAK TEXT ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO. BD WILL POINT OUT THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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WITH THE CSCP LEADERSHIP'S RECONCILIATION EFFORTS, AND PARTICULARLY WITH THE STATEMENT TO WRITERS BY CZECH CULTURE MINISTER BRUZEK THAT ATTITUDES IN 1968 NEED NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO PRESENT COOPERATION. BD RECENTLY POINTED TO THE INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN BRUZEK'S LINE AND THAT OF CZECH EDUCATION MINISTER HRBEK. WE SHALL NOT BE SURPRISED IF HRBEK IS SACKED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT SHALL NOT INITIATE ANY "CAMPAIGN" AGAINST HIM SINCE THIS MIGHT INCREASE RATHER THAN REDUCE HIS LONGEVITY. THE REPORTED ARREST ON SEPTEMBER 1 OF SLOVAK WRITER LICHKO WHICH APPEARED IN "LES LETTRES FRANCAISES" (OVADIA SPECIAL - DS) WILL NOT BE USED IN BROADCASTING UNTIL WE HAVE CHECKED THE STORY'S ACCURACY FURTHER.

3. HUNGARY: THERE IS LITTLE TO ADD TO THE EERA PAPER (DS) ON THE SECOND DAY OF THE HUNGARIAN CONGRESS. WE HAD A LENGTHY DISCUSSION THIS MORNING ON THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT GIVEN BY BREZHNEV TO THE HUNGARIAN REFORM. BREZHNEV EXPRESSED "FULL UNDERSTANDING AND HIGH APPRECIATION" FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE HSWP IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL (ITS EFFORTS TO DEVELOP FURTHER "SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY") FIELDS, AND GAVE HIGH PRAISE TO KADAR PERSONALLY. SOME OF OUR HUNGARIAN COLLEAGUES CONSIDER IT SIGNIFICANT THAT HE DID NOT USE THE TERMS "REFORM" OR "NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM" AND THAT HE REFERRED TO HUNGARY'S "CENTRALIZED PLANNING" INSTEAD OF THE TERM CURRENT IN HUNGARIAN PARLANCE -- "SOCIALIST PLANNING." HOWEVER, IN OUR VIEW, BREZHNEV'S REMARKS ARE A STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF HUNGARY'S REFORM COURSE TO DATE, (OBVIOUSLY WITH NO "CARTE BLANCHE" FOR THE FUTURE), AND FOLLOWING THIS STAMP OF ORTHODOXY IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR CONSERVATIVES IN POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND



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RUMANIA TO SHAKE THE SOVIET BOGEYMAN IN THE FACES OF REFORMERS. THE HUNGARIAN BD WILL USE A CAUTIOUS FORMULATION, RELYING ESSENTIALLY ON QUOTATIONS FROM BREZHNEV. THE OTHER BDS WILL MAKE EXTENSIVE USE OF THE EERA PAPER FOR COVERING BREZHNEV'S REMARKS AS WELL AS THE CONGRESS' SECOND DAY IN GENERAL.

AFTER FURTHER REFLECTION ON KADAR'S REMARKS ON RELATIONS WITH BONN (CF. YESTERDAY'S DR), IT OCCURS TO US THAT HIS INSISTENCE ON BONN'S RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY WITH MOSCOW BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS WITH HUNGARY CAN BEGIN PROBABLY REPRESENTS A SOVIET COUNTERPRESSURE TO BONN'S INSISTENCE ON PROGRESS ON WEST BERLIN BEFORE RATIFICATION, I.E., PHRASED BLUNTLY--IF THE WESTERN ALLIES AND BONN DON'T REDUCE THEIR BERLIN DEMANDS, PERMITTING BONN'S RATIFICATION OF THE MOSCOW TREATY, THEN BUDAPEST WON'T OPEN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH BONN. HOWEVER, BUDAPEST HAS CLEARLY BEEN IN LINE ONLY AFTER PRAGUE IN ANY CASE, AND THE TIMETABLE DID NOT INDICATE ANY HURRY EITHER IN BONN OR BUDAPEST TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS. APPARENTLY PRAGUE HAS BEEN GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH BONN BEFORE FRG RATIFICATION OF THE MOSCOW AND WARSAW TREATIES.

NOTE REPORT OF DEFECTION OF FORMER HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR TO ROME (DS).

4. POLAND: NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING.

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6. OTHER: MONDAY BONN SPOKESMAN VON WECHMAR STATED THAT THERE WOULD BE DISCUSSIONS ON THE QUESTION OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH BERLIN IF THERE IS FORMAL INSTRUCTION TO THIS EFFECT BY THE FOUR POWERS. ACCORDING TO AFP, FROM INFORMED FRENCH SOURCES IN BERLIN, IT IS REPORTED THAT ABRASSIMOV HAD PRESENTED A PROPOSAL TO THE THREE BERLIN ALLIES WHICH SUGGESTED THE TURNING OVER OF NEGOTIATIONS BY THE FOUR POWERS TO THE TWO GERMAN STATES. AFP REPORTED THAT THE PROPOSAL WAS TOO VAGUELY WORDED AND THUS WAS TURNED DOWN BY THE WESTERN ALLIES. IT WAS STATED THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES DESIRED SOMETHING MORE PRECISE IN THE WAY OF GUIDELINES FOR THE GERMANS WHICH WOULD ALLOW THEM TO DISCUSS THE TECHNICALITIES OF ACCESS BUT NOT A DANGEROUS MANDATE FOR THE EAST GERMANS TO QUESTION FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND THE STATUS OF BERLIN. WITH EAST GERMAN STATE SECRETARY KOHL AND WEST GERMAN STATE SECRETARY BAHR MEETING ON FRIDAY, THE WEST GERMAN MINISTER FOR INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS HAS STATED THAT THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED "TO TALK ABOUT ALL SUBJECTS WITHOUT CONDITIONS WHOSE SETTLEMENT SERVES DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND IS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH STATES," BUT IT APPEARS THAT IF BAHR IS WAITING FOR AUTHORIZATION TO DISCUSS THE BERLIN PROBLEM HE WILL BE DISAPPOINTED. THUS, THE SOVIETS' EFFORT TO MAKE THE BERLIN PROBLEM AN APPLE OF DISCORD BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND THE THREE WESTERN BERLIN AUTHORITIES EMERGES MORE CLEARLY AS ONE OBJECTIVE OF THEIR BERLIN NEGOTIATING TACTICS. BERLIN APPEARS INCREASINGLY TO BE THE PRINCIPLE BARRIER TO THE PROGRESS OF OSTPOLITIK AND ABRASSIMOV IS SURELY SPARING NO EFFORT TO EXPLOIT BONN'S COMMITMENT TO THE PROGRESS OF DETENTE AND TO CREATE WEST GERMAN-THREE POWER DIFFERENCES ON THE BERLIN PROBLEM.

END MSG