

RADIO FREE EUROPE
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: C

1970 JAN 22

16:42

MUN 34 22 JAN 70

TO: DURKEE INFO YARROW HOVEY DUNNING REYMAN KAUFMANN SCHNEIDER
FM: WALTER INFO COOK BROWN KOHAK LYON

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RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 17

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: HUSAK ARTICLE IN THE LATEST ISSUE OF PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM WAS PUBLISHED YESTERDAY IN RUDE PRAVO AND BRATISLAVA PRAVDA. THE FACT THAT THE ARTICLE WAS PRESUMABLY WRITTEN FOUR OR FIVE WEEKS AGO MEANS THAT IT IS NOT HIS ANSWER TO THE RECENT UPSURGE OF ULTRA ACTIVITY, ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE FORMULATIONS RELATE TO THIS PROBLEM (THE DECISION TO REPUBLISH IN THE TWO MAIN PARTY DAILIES PRESUMABLY WAS BASED ON THIS FACT, AS WELL AS THE NEED TO PROJECT HUSAK'S "INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PRESTIGE" TO THE HOME AUDIENCE.) HUSAK'S STRESS ON THE NEED FOR PARTY UNITY AND THE DEMAND THAT PARTY DECISIONS BE SUPPORTED BY ALL FOLLOWING THE USUAL "FREE DISCUSSION" COULD REFER TO THE DUBCEK APPOINTMENT AS WELL AS OTHER QUESTIONS. HUSAK'S MAIN CRITICISM WAS DIRECTED AT THE "RIGHTIST-OPPORTUNISTS" AND "REVISIONISTS," BUT IN ONE SECTION HE CONDEMNED "SOME PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY WHO ARE REPEATING THE OLD ARGUMENTS OF THE LEFTIST OPPOSITION WITHIN THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH WAS CRITICIZED BY V.I. LENIN. "THESE PEOPLE," ACCORDING TO HUSAK, "HAVE, WHETHER THEY REALIZE IT OR NOT, SLIPPED, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR BEST INTENTIONS, INTO THE THEORIES OF THE SO-CALLED NEW CLASS OF EXPLOITERS AND OWNERS, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAVE CENTERED IN THEIR HANDS THE ABSOLUTE POWER STEMMING FROM THE OWNERSHIP OF PRODUCTION MEANS AND ENDING WITH ADMINISTRATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWER." "THEY SLIPPED," ACCORDING TO HUSAK, "INTO SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC THEORIES OF SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM...." THIS IS A MOST CONFUSED PRESENTATION WHICH SEEMS TO LUMP TOGETHER: (1) UTOPIAN AND ROMANTIC LEFT-WING EXTREMISTS SUCH AS THE SPARTAKUS GROUP CRITICIZED BY LENIN (ANALOGY TO MAO-GUEVARRA-TROTSKY-NEW LEFT?) (2) THOSE PERSUADED BY DJILAS' "NEW CLASS" CONCEPT; (3) 1968 CZECHOSLOVAK REFORMERS, AND (4) SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. WHATEVER HUSAK IS DRIVING AT, THIS CRITICISM DOES NOT RPT NOT APPEAR DIRECTED AT THE NOVOTNYITE ULTRAS. FURTHER, HUSAK'S CRITICISM AGAINST THOSE IN GROUP (1) ABOVE WOULD SEEM TO SUGGEST THAT A MONTH AGO HE HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO PURSUIT OF THE "TROTSKYITE GROUP" BY GROESSER, (CZECH INTERIOR MINISTER), WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THIS RAISES SOME DOUBTS ABOUT OUR POLICY LINE ON THE "TROTSKYITE PLOT," WE STILL CONSIDER

(MORE)

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IT LIKELY THAT HUSAK IS DISPLEASED THAT THE "TROTSKYITE PLOT" AND OTHER "REVELATIONS" HAVE BEEN MADE PUBLIC ON THE EVE OF THE CC PLENUM IN A MANNER APPARENTLY DESIGNED TO MAKE HIS POLICY OF RELATIVE RESTRAINT AND MODERATION APPEAR TOO SOFT. ONE CAN ONLY REPEAT THAT THE SITUATION IN THE CSCP IS EXTREMELY COMPLICATED AND CONFUSING, AND THAT WE HAVE RELATIVELY LITTLE SOLID EVIDENCE TO GO ON. CS BD LAST NIGHT IN A BRIEF COMMENTARY ON THE HUSAK ARTICLE AVOIDED THE ISSUES RAISED BY THE ABOVE, INSTEAD GIVING THE GIST OF THE ARTICLE AND RAISING THE QUESTION OF WITH WHAT PARTY GROUPS HUSAK IS DEMANDING UNITY, I.E., WITH THE ULTRAS? ED WILL AVOID COMMENTING ON HUSAK'S POSSIBLE POSITION ON THE "TROTSKYITES," UNLESS OR UNTIL MORE INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

3. HUNGARY: AS NOTED IN STEINBERG SPECIAL YESTERDAY, REPORTING ON DETAILS, US-HUNGARIAN COMMERCIAL SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT WAS ACTUALLY SIGNED IN BUDAPEST ON DECEMBER 5.

4. POLAND: ACCORDING TO DEWITT SPECIAL (DS) POLISH FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER BURAKIEWICZ WILL ALSO MEET FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL IN BONN TOMORROW. WE HAVE BIO'D ANOTHER DEWITT SPECIAL OF YESTERDAY (DS) WHICH WE CONSIDER OVERSTATED AND NOT SUPPORTED BY AVAILABLE EVIDENCE. DEWITT WROTE THAT "THE EAST GERMANS IN FACT SEEM TO HAVE OBTAINED A VIRTUAL VETO RIGHT OVER EAST EUROPE'S TIES WITH THE FRG" AND "IN POLAND, ULBRICHT'S POSITION HAS RECEIVED FULL BACKING."

WE HAVE RECEIVED A COPY OF A VERY COURAGEOUS SPEECH BY ADAM MISZNIK GIVEN IN COURT ABOUT A YEAR AGO. THE SPEECH CONTAINS THE STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD HAVE DEMONSTRATED IN PROTEST OVER THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD HE BEEN ABLE TO. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT MISZNIK'S ARREST (AMONG OTHERS) AS A SO-CALLED COMMANDO SPARKED OFF THE MARCH 1968 RIOTS. POLISH ED WILL BROADCAST FULL TEXT IN 50-MINUTE PROGRAM. WE SHALL TRANSLATE AT LEAST EXCERPTS FOR CROSS-REPORTING.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING.

(MORE)

6. OTHER:

IN HIS WRITTEN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS POSED AT HIS RECENT NEWS CONFERENCE, ULBRICHT APPEARS TO HAVE ADOPTED A HARDER LINE THAN DURING HIS SPOKEN RESPONSES OR HIS SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. HE STATED THAT "EQUAL RELATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW...ARE THE INDISPENSABLE PRE-REQUISITE FOR EVERYTHING ELSE." ULBRICHT APPEARS TO BE TAKING BACK WITH ONE HAND WHAT HE PROFERRED WITH THE OTHER, THUS NO DOUBT PURPOSELY KEEPING HIS POSITION IN A STATE OF FLUX AND IMPRECISION AWAITING DEVELOPMENTS FROM OTHER QUARTERS. CAA IS PREPARING AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PUBLISHED ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS DELIVERED AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WILL APPEAR IN AN EAST GERMAN SITUATION REPORT.

THE MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL CONFERENCE ON THE "GROWING ROLE OF LENINISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH AND CRITICISM OF ANTI-COMMUNISM" IN WHICH EAST AND WEST COMMUNIST PARTY REPRESENTATIVES ARE PARTICIPATING WAS EFFECTIVELY DEBUNKED BY YUGOSLAV MEDIA. BORIZ HRZIC OF RADIO ZAGREB OBSERVED THAT THE DEFENSE OF MARXISM-LENINISM AGAINST BOURGOIS ATTACKS IS OLD STUFF. WHAT "MARXIST SCIENCE" REQUIRES, HE OBSERVES, IS TO BE "DEFENDED AGAINST ITS OWN BUREAUCRACY." HRZIC, REJECTING THE "WRITING OFF" OF CHINA AND OTHERS WHO ARE "NOT MENTIONED" AS NO LONGER SOCIALIST, REMARKS THAT THE MEETING IS NOT "SCIENTIFIC" BUT MERELY AN EXERCISE "WHICH, AFTER COUNTLESS PREPARATIONS, IS ONCE AGAIN TO CONFIRM THAT THE CAMP IS THE CENTER OF SOCIALISM-COMMUNISM."

CONCERNING THE ATTACKS ON CHINESE MILITARY PREPARATION, BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR, IN SOVIET MEDIA, GWERTZMAN "NYT" PIECE IS A GOOD ANALYSIS. SEE OUR DGS ON THE PRESENT STAGE OF DETERIORATING RELATIONS BETWEEN PEKING AND MOSCOW.

END MSG

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