

MUNICH

1972 DEZ 28

16:04

OUTGOING CIPHERTO: 

MUN 30 28 DEC 72

TO: DURKEE INFO PETZALL HOVEY DUNNING REYMAN
FM: WALTER INFO COOK SZABADOS BERNARD BROWN COSTELLO LYON
NOWAK PECHACEK/BELLUS ZAHARIEFF

281519:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 295

1. BULGARIA: RADIO SOFIA ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT THAT THE COMMISSION TO IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S PROGRAM FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING HAD BEEN SET UP AT A MEETING OF THE CC SECRETARIAT AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS COMMISSION HAD BEEN FORECAST AT THE CC PLENUM EARLIER THIS MONTH. IT WILL BE A GOVERNMENT COMMISSION AND WILL CONSIST OF MINISTERS, DEPUTY MINISTERS, ECONOMISTS AND SCIENTIFIC WORKERS. ITS CHAIRMAN IS VENELIN KOTSEV, VICE-PREMIER AND CANDIDATE-MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO. KOTSEV WAS A CC SECRETARY UNTIL LAST JULY, IN CHARGE OF CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY. HIS REMOVAL FROM THE SECRETARIAT AND APPOINTMENT AS VICE-PREMIER WAS PLAUSIBLY INTERPRETED AT THE TIME AS A DEMOTION. BUT IT NOW SEEMS PROBABLE THAT HE WAS EAR-MARKED FOR THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THIS NEW COMMISSION. IT IS OBVIOUSLY AN IMPORTANT POST -- BUT ALSO A POTENTIALLY PRECARIOUS ONE.
2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NOTHING.
3. HUNGARY: WE ARE TRANSLATING PARTS OF A VARNAI ARTICLE IN THE DECEMBER 23 ISSUE OF NEPSZABADSAG AND OF A FOLDES ARTICLE IN THE DECEMBER 24 ISSUE OF THE PARTY DAILY. VARNAI'S ARTICLE, PARTS OF WHICH WERE CARRIED BY RADIO BUDAPEST LAST NIGHT, WARNS HUNGARIANS AGAINST A "SUPERIOR ATTITUDE" VIS A VIS OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ON ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSES OF NEM AND REITERATES THAT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A "HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST MODEL." FOLDES' ARTICLE ATTACKS THE WESTERN PRESS FOR THEIR "MISCONCEPTIONS" ABOUT THE NEM BUT ALSO ADMITS THAT SOME OF HUNGARY'S ALLIES HAD MISGIVINGS ABOUT IT AT THE BEGINNING, BUT THESE WERE ALLAYED WHEN ITS SUCCESS BECAME APPARENT.

(MORE)

4. POLAND: NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA: THE DRAFT BILL ON DEFENSE, INTRODUCED INTO THE GNA YESTERDAY BY IONITA, LOOKS LIKE A MEASURE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE IN RUMANIA'S CONSTANT EFFORTS EITHER TO ENLARGE, PRESERVE OR SIMPLY LEGALIZE ITS AUTONOMY VIS A VIS THE SOVIET UNION. THIS MEASURE (SEE AGERPRES RELEASE SENT DS) IS, AT LEAST IN PART, OBVIOUSLY A LEGAL MEASURE DESIGNED TO SANCTIFY AND CODIFY ESTABLISHED POLICY. BUT, AS SUCH, IT HAS ITS POLITICAL IMPORTANCE AND WILL BE REGISTERED AS ONE MORE PROVOCATIVE AFFRONT IN MOSCOW. (DROZHDENKO SAW MAURER YESTERDAY -- PERHAPS TO SEEK CLARIFICATION). IN ITS ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS THE BILL APPARENTLY SEEKS TO PUT RUMANIA, IN CASE OF EMERGENCY, ON THE SAME "TOTAL DEFENSE" FOOTING AS THAT ADOPTED BY THE YUGOSLAVS. MORE INTRIGUING, HOWEVER, IS THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE IN THE AGERPRES RELEASE: "IT IS FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT ACCEPTANCE OR RECOGNITION OF ANY ACTION BY A FOREIGN STATE, IN TIME OF PEACE OR OF WAR, THAT MIGHT INJURE THE SOVEREIGNTY, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF RUMANIA, OR WHICH MIGHT WEAKEN HER DEFENSE CAPACITY, ARE BANNED BY LAW." ALMOST ENDLESS SPECULATION IS POSSIBLE OVER THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS PASSAGE, BUT IT CAN AT LEAST SAFELY BE ASSUMED THAT IT MEANS THAT THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IS NOT ONLY POLITICALLY BUT ALSO NOW LEGALLY TABU. IT WOULD APPEAR ALSO THAT IT IS NOT JUST DESIGNED TO COVER SPECIFIC ACTS ON THE PART OF RUMANIANS THAT ARE TREASONABLE (THE PENAL CODE AND THE LAW OF LAST DECEMBER CONTAIN AMPLE PROVISIONS FOR THAT), BUT ALSO A POLITICAL ATTITUDE (THE SOVIET VERSION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM?) THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED HARMFUL TO RUMANIAN INTERESTS. IT COULD ALSO GIVE RUMANIAN NEGOTIATORS AN EXTRA BUTTRESS FOR ANY NON-COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE CEAUSESCU MIGHT WISH THEM TO TAKE IN THE FACE OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN WARSAW PACT'S MILITARY COHESION. FURTHER SPECULATION MUST BE RESERVED UNTIL THE TEXT OF THE LAW IS AVAILABLE AND THE SPEECH OF IONITA TO THE GNA. BUT IT MAY BE ASSUMED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE BILL'S PROVISIONS WERE AGREED ON BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE LAST OCTOBER, IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT IT IS BEING ENACTED NOW, AS THE EUROPEAN SECURITY NEGOTIATIONS SEEM ABOUT TO ENTER THEIR MORE SERIOUS PHASE. WHEN MORE MATERIAL IS AVAILABLE, EERA WILL DO AN ANALYSIS WHICH, INTER ALIA, WILL TRY TO COMPARE THE RUMANIAN LAW WITH THE YUGOSLAV. BDS' FOR THE PRESENT WILL ONLY REPORT ON THE NEW MEASURE, WITHOUT ANALYZING OR INTERPRETING.

6. OTHER: NOTHING.

END MSG