

RADIO FREE EUROPE

MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

1971 NOV 19

18:56 TO: C

MUN 30 19 NOV 71

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

191755:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 265

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: FOLLOWING THE ESTABLISHMENT EARLIER THIS WEEK OF THE PACEM IN TERRIS ORGANIZATION, A CZECH WRITERS' UNION WAS SET UP YESTERDAY WITH 96 THIRD-RATE WRITERS AS FOUNDING MEMBERS (DS). THE FORMER CZECH WRITERS' UNION HAD ABOUT 500 MEMBERS. THE REGIME SEEMS ANXIOUS TO INSTITUTIONALIZE NORMALIZATION, REGARDLESS OF THE QUALITY OF THE HUMAN BEINGS IN THE INSTITUTIONS. THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY HAS EVIDENTLY BEEN PRESSURED INTO SUPPORTING PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTIONS (DS). CS TV LAST NIGHT CARRIED A STATEMENT BY A PRIEST, DR. ALEXANDER HORAK, WHICH BORDERED ON THE GROTESQUE. PLUGGING THE ELECTIONS, DR. HORAK SAID: "OBEDIENCE TO AND RESPECT FOR STATE AUTHORITY, THE FULFILLMENT OF DUTIES DURING THE CENSUS ORDERED BY THE LAY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES, ACCORDING TO THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE CREATED THE EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE BETHLEHEM NIGHT DURING WHICH OUR LORD CHRIST WAS BORN."

3. HUNGARY: TANJUG REPORTED YESTERDAY THAT HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JANOS PETER WILL GO TO RUMANIA ON NOVEMBER 20, AND THAT HIS VISIT IS CONNECTED WITH A TOP LEVEL RUMANIAN-HUNGARIAN MEETING WHICH WILL ARRANGE THE SIGNING OF A NEW AGREEMENT ON FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE. THIS SOUNDS PLAUSIBLE, ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE EXCLUDED THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE SIGNED AT A MEETING ON THE HUNGARIAN-RUMANIAN BORDER BETWEEN KADAR AND CEAUSESCU SUCH AS THAT MENTIONED BY MARGUERITTE IN YESTERDAY'S LE MONDE.

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4. POLAND: YESTERDAY'S CC PLENUM WAS VERY SHORT AND GIEREK WAS ABLE IN THE AFTERNOON TO HOLD A MEETING WITH VOIVODSHIP PARTY LEADERS. NO INFORMATION OF INTEREST WAS RELEASED.

THE SEJM IS MEETING TODAY, BUT THUS FAR NO INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE.

A QUICK GLANCE AT THE LATEST ISSUE OF "STUDENT," THE CRAKOW YOUTH PAPER, SUGGESTS THAT IT MAY BE DEVELOPING INTO ANOTHER "PO PROSTU." THE LATEST ISSUE CONTAINS A DISCUSSION OF THE USEFULNESS OF MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION AND CONCLUDES THAT IT IS A WASTE OF TIME, INTER ALIA, BECAUSE IT HAS CHANGED BY THE TIME YOU LEARN IT. THE ISSUE ALSO CONTAINS SHARP CRITICISM OF SOME PROFESSORS AT CRAKOW UNIVERSITY AND OF MARX HIMSELF. WE SHALL TRANSLATE THE RELEVANT MATERIAL, BUT EXPECT THAT NEITHER THE POLISH NOR OTHER BD'S WILL CALL ATTENTION TO IT IN PROGRAMMING IN ORDER NOT TO MOBILIZE OPPOSITION AGAINST THE PAPER.

5. RUMANIA: THE NOVEMBER 13 ISSUE OF LUCEAFERUL CONTAINS A REMARKABLY PROGRESSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT CULTURAL CAMPAIGN, AND ALL OF THE VIEWS EXPRESSED SUPPORT PRINCIPLES DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THE CAMPAIGN. ALL STRESS THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WRITER IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. THE SAME ISSUE CONTAINS A DEVASTATING LETTER FROM JEBELEANU IN WHICH HE SATIRIZES THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN IN THE EUPHEMISTIC FORM OF A DESCRIPTION OF HIS HEALTH AND THE ABSURD PRESCRIPTIONS OF HIS SELF-APPOINTED DOCTOR WHO IS, IN FACT, RUMANIAN'S CHIEF CENSOR. WE ASSUME THAT LUCEAFERUL HAD SUPPORT IN SOME HIGH QUARTER FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THIS.

OUR COUNTRY MEETING TRIED TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE RCP LEADERSHIP SITUATION AS REVEALED IN THE SPEECHES OF THE NOVEMBER CC PLENUM. WE ADMIT QUITE FRANKLY THAT WE ARE CONFUSED. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT HERE ONLY ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS: (1) THE RCP LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN LESS UNITED SINCE THE JULY 17 POINTS THAN AT ANY PREVIOUS TIME SINCE CEAUSESCU ASSUMED THE JOB OF FIRST SECRETARY; (2) CEAUSESCU'S PERSONAL POWER SEEMS NOT TO BE QUITE AS UNLIMITED AS IT ONCE APPEARED, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE TOO MUCH TO SAY HE IS IN DANGER OF BEING DEPOSED; AND (3) TROFIM WAS THE MOST AGGRESSIVE SPEAKER AT THE PLENUM, AND ONE MUST RECOGNIZE THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE HAS EMERGED AS A FOCAL POINT OF CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION TO CEAUSESCU. OUR EVALUATION OF TROFIM'S POSITION IS BASED ON HIS AGGRESSIVE ROLE IN JULY AND SINCE, HIS SHARP CRITICISM AT THE NOVEMBER PLENUM OF THE SECRETARIAT WHICH BY IMPLICATION

(MORE)

PRESUMABLY INCLUDES CEAUSESCU, HIS NOVEMBER PLENUM REFERENCE TO "COMRADE CEAUSESCU, IN HIS SELF-CRITICAL RPT SELF-CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT . . .", AND THE FACT THAT TROFIM WAS THE ONLY MEMBER OF THE RCP PRESIDIU EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO SPEAK AT THE PLENUM (MAURER DID NOT SPEAK) WHO FAILED TO PRAISE CEAUSESCU. OUR MAIN ANALYTICAL PROBLEM IS OUR INABILITY TO RECONCILE THE COMPLETE PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION OF CEAUSESCU WITH THE CURRENT ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE CAMPAIGN AND HIS ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN IT, WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION. PERHAPS BY UNLEASHING THE CAMPAIGN IN JULY CEAUSESCU HAS RELEASED FORCES WHICH ARE GROWING BEYOND HIS CONTROL AND CREATING A SITUATION WHERE PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES AGAINST HIM (E.G., TROFIM) ARE FINDING ROOM FOR MANEUVER, AND WHERE BOTH CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL-PRAGMATIC FORCES ARE FIGHTING FOR INFLUENCE.

NOTE THAT TITO WILL MEET CEAUSESCU NEXT WEEK IN TIMISOARA, NOT BUCHAREST AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED.

6. OTHER: NOTHING.

END MSG