

JUL 11 18:55 MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO:

MUN 36 11 JUL 68

TO YARROW INFO ROWSON KAUFMANN (PETZALL ACTING) SCHNEIDER
FM WLATER INFO DURKEE COLLINS COOK DIAMOND LYON REYMAN
KINGSLEY RIVELES

11/1652.

OPD HIGHLIGHT NO. 77

THE SPECTER OF SOVIET INTERVENTION STALKS THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE IN EAST EUROPE. THE PAST MONTH HAS SEEN A STEADY ESCALATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE TO SLOW DOWN, AT THE VERY LEAST, THEIR STEADY PROGRESS AWAY FROM THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. WHILE PRESS POLEMICS HAVE BEEN SPORADIC, THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS IN THE COUNTRY, AND WHAT MUST BE CONSIDERED THE DELIBERATE DELAYING TACTICS BY MARSHAL YAKUBOVSKY IN EXPEDITING THEIR REMOVAL HAVE EMERGED AS A PROFOUNDLY DISQUIETING PHENOMENA. NOR HAS PRESSURE ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP TO CONTAIN ITS REFORMIST INCLINATIONS BEEN CONFINED TO THE SOVIET UNION ALONE. FROM EAST GERMANY COMES A STEADY DRUMFIRE OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT CRITICISM OF OVERALL CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS, AND EDVARD GIEREK, AT THE RECENT PUWP CC PLENUM, WENT SO FAR AS TO CITE THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS INCREASING THE TENSIONS IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. KADAR'S HUNGARY, WHILE REMAINING MUCH MORE TOLERANT THAN THE NORTHERN MEMBERS OF OF THE ALLIANCE, CONTINUES PERIODICALLY TO WAG A WARNING FINGER BY RECALLING THE EXPERIENCE OF 1956. MOREOVER, ALL OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF RUMANIA, FELT CONSTRAINED LAST WEEK TO SEND INDIVIDUAL LETTERS TO THE PRESIDUM OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY WHICH DEMANDED, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, A BLOC MEETING TO DISCUSS CZECHOSLOVAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDUM'S PARRY TO THIS MULTILATERAL THRUST WAS DIGNIFIED AS WELL AS UNMISTAKABLY FIRM. IT GRANTED THE EFFICACY OF MULTILATERAL COMMUNIST PARTY MEETINGS AT "APPROPRIATE TIMES", PROMISED AN INITIATIVE IN THIS REGARD, BUT UNDERLINED THE GREAT VALUE OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS--THUS DEFTLY AND FIRMLY TURNING AWAY THE MAIN AIM OF THE LETTERS.

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THE CURRENT ESCALATION STARTED SOME TWO WEEKS AGO, WHEN THE COMMANDER OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK FACTORY MILITIA UNITS PERSONALLY HANDED OVER TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN PRAGUE A LETTER EXPRESSING IN STEREOTYPE TERMS THE CONSERVATIVE POSITION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. IT ENDORSED THE ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION, DENOUNCED ALLEGED EXCESSES OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS, AND PIOUSLY EXPRESSED FEAR THAT "ANTI-SOCIALIST TENDENCIES" COULD DISTURB CZECHOSLOVAK-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERMINE "SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS". THIS LETTER RECEIVED PROMINENT COVERAGE IN THE SOVIET PRESS; COUNTLESS MEETINGS OF FACTORY AND PARTY ORGANIZATIONS RESPONDED TO THE LETTER WITH RESOLUTIONS AND LETTERS TO THE EDITOR OF VARIOUS SOVIET PAPERS, AS WELL AS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY. ALL OF THEM EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP'S ABILITY TO CONTAIN THE DIRE THREATS TO SOCIALISM WHICH THE ALLEGED ANTI-SOCIALIST TENDENCIES POSED TO SOCIALISM IN THE CSSR. AS IF IN REPLY TO THESE LETTERS AND STATEMENTS, LUDVIK VACULIK'S "2,000 WORDS" STATEMENT--SIGNED BY PROMINENT PERSONALITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA--MUST HAVE APPEARED AS A DIRECT REJECTION OF SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE AND AS A WARNING TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE AND LEADERSHIP THAT THE ONLY WAY OUT OF CURRENT DILEMMAS WAS A DETERMINED IMPLEMENTATION OF REFORM, DOWN TO THE REMOVAL OF THE LAST CONSERVATIVE IN PUBLIC OFFICE. (IN FACT, BOTH THE SOVIET EXPLOITATION OF THE "MILITIA LETTER" AND THE "2,000 WORDS" WERE DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE DISTRICT PARTY ELECTIONS OF DELEGATES TO THE EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS.)

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THE "2,000 WORDS" PROVIDED THE SOVIETS AND OTHERS WITH THE PRETEXT FOR THE LATEST ESCALATORY MOVES. IF SOVIET AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PUBLIC OPINION HAD BEEN IN PART PREPARED BY THE PROPAGANDA SURROUNDING THE WORKERS' MILITIA LETTER FOR A NEGATIVE EVALUATION OF CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS, "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA", "IZVESTIA", AND "PRAVDA" OF YESTERDAY WERE DESIGNED TO CONVINCE READERS THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK REFORM MOVEMENT HAD DEVIATED DANGEROUSLY FROM ACCEPTED IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL GUIDELINES, AND THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD BECOME IN SOVIET EYES "UNSTABLE". EACH IN ITS OWN WAY, THE THREE PAPERS EMPLOYED STERN AND HARSH TERMS TO LAY AN IDEOLOGICAL BASE WHICH COULD BE USED AT SOME FUTURE DATE TO JUSTIFY ALMOST ANY

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POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR EVEN MILITARY SANCTIONS AGAINST THE REFORMERS IN PRAGUE.

THUS, "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA", DIRECTING A PERSONAL ATTACK AGAINST LUDVIK VACULIK, BRANDED THE MANIFESTO AS "AN ANTI-COMMUNIST PROGRAM, A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM". THE MAGAZINE SAID THE SIGNATORIES OF THE MANIFESTO "SPIT IN THE FACE OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND SMERAR EVERYTHING THAT HAS BEEN CREATED IN 20 YEARS". MOREOVER, THE MANIFESTO WAS SAID TO BE "SATURATED WITH SPIE FOR REAL SOCIALIST PEOPLES' DEMOCRACIES, FOR MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY". STRONG AS THIS MIGHT APPEAR, MOSCOW "PRAVDA'S" STATEMENT IS EVEN STRONGER AND MORE OMINOUS. UNDER THE CAPTION "ATTACK AGAINST SOCIALIST FOUNDATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA", THE PAPER PRODUCED AN ARTICLE SOMEWHAT REMINISCENT OF "PRAVADA'S" EDITORIAL COMMENT PRIOR TO SOVIET INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY IN 1956. TAKING AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE THE "2,000 WORDS MANIFESTO", "PRAVDA" STATED: "NOW IT IS MORE OBVIOUS THAN EVER BEFORE THAT THE APPEARANCE OF THE TWO THOUSAND WORDS IS NOT AN ISOLATED HAPPENING BUT PROOF OF THE ACTIVIZATION OF RIGHT-WING AND DIRECTLY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHICH APPARENTLY ARE ALSO CONNECTED WITH THE IMPERIALIST REACTION".

THIS PARTICULAR ARTICLE AND THE "IZVESTIA" EDITORIAL APPEARING ON THE SAME DAY SHARPLY RECALLS THE IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN NOW BEING CONDUCTED IN THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS PREDICATED ON YET ANOTHER VERSION OF STALIN'S THESIS OF "IMPERIALIST ENCIRCLEMENT". JUST A FEW DAYS AGO RADIO PRAGUE'S CORRESPONDENT SAID THAT THE SOVIETS, HAVING ARBITRARILY DECIDED THAT THIS ALLEGED IMPERIALIST DANGER DID INDEED EXIST, WERE IN THE PROCESS OF TAILORING ALL EVENTS TO FIT THE THESIS REGARDLESS OF THEIR RELEVANCY. "IZVESTIA" WROTE: "IN SHORT, ALONG WITH OUTRIGHT PROVOCATIONS AND POLITICAL PRESSURE, THE IMPERIALIST POWERS INTEND TO USE EXTENSIVELY IN RESPECT TO SEPARATE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SO-CALLED 'PEACEFUL' METHODS OF INFLUENCE DIRECTED AT REVIVING AND SUPPORTING NATIONALISM, SEPARATISM, AND IDEOLOGICAL DIS-INTEGRATION". THE NEWSPAPER ALSO SAID THAT SPECIFIC "AMERICAN INTEREST AND SYMPATHY" IN CZECHOSLOVAK EVENTS IS EXPRESSED MOSTLY IN "SNATCHING UP PROVOCATIVE HUMORS, SPECULATING ON THEM, FANNING THEM UP IN AMERICA, AND USING THE PROPAGANDA MACHINE TO PASS THEM BACK TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA".

WHILE THESE ARTICLES DO NOT NECESSARILY SIGNAL IMMINENT INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ONCE AGAIN IT MUST BE STATED THAT THEY

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COULD BE USED TO JUSTIFY SUCH INTERVENTION AND ARE CALCULATED TO BE READ PRECISELY IN THIS WAY BY BOTH LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

AS REGARDS MILITARY THREATS, EVERYTHING SURROUNDING THE LATEST WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN FRAUGHT WITH THREATENING IMPLICATIONS OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN CZECHOSLOVAK AFFAIRS. THE CONFUSION THAT SURROUNDED THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND EXECUTION OF THE MANEUVERS CONTINUES TO THIS DAY. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE ON THE QUESTION OF EXACTLY WHEN THE SOVIET TROOPS WILL LEAVE THE CSSR. AS LATE AS YESTERDAY, GENERAL DZUR COULD STATE THAT 35 PERCENT HAD LEFT THE COUNTRY AND THAT "DISCUSSIONS" WERE CONTINUING AS TO WHEN THE REST WOULD DEPART. THAT THE TROOPS' CONTINUED PRESENCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WERE DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS ADMITTED BY LT. COL. FRANTISEK KUDRNA TODAY IN AN

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IF THIS LATTER DEVELOPMENT WAS DESCRIBED IN A RADIO PRAGUE INTERVIEW YESTERDAY AS A "NEW SITUATION", IT HAS, HOWEVER, GIVEN WAY TO AN EVEN "NEWER" ONE TODAY. FRANTISEK KOURIL, THE OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN, WAS REPORTED BY RADIO PRAGUE TO HAVE SAID: "ACCORDING TO A STATEMENT OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE WARSAW PACT ARMED FORCES, FURTHER MILITARY TROOPS WILL START GRADUAL TRANSFERS TO THEIR GARRISONS OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY OF OUR REPUBLIC ON JULY 13TH. THE COMPETENT CZECHOSLOVAK ORGANS ARE IN PERMANENT CONTACT WITH THE WARSAW PACT FORCES HEADQUARTERS, AND WILL CREATE THE NECESSARY PRECONDITIONS FOR THIS TRANSFER."

WHAT EMERGES FROM THE FOREGOING IS THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO MASSIVE ATTEMPTS BY THE SOVIET UNION TO INTERVENE IN CZECHOSLOVAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS ON BEHALF OF ITS CONSERVATIVE OPPONENTS THROUGH THE USE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE AND THREATS OF MILITARY INTERVENTION. (NO DOUBT, SOVIET DALLYING ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK REQUEST FOR A LOAN FALLS INTO THE SAME PATTERN OF BEHAVIOR.) IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THESE THREATS UP UNTIL NOW HAVE HAD NO SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON THE COURSE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. IN FACT, IF THERE HAS BEEN ANY EFFECT, IT HAS PROBABLY BEEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE FROM

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THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW. THE FRATERNAL LETTERS, FOR EXAMPLE, EVOKED SOME OF THE FIRMEST STATEMENTS FROM CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS CONCERNING THEIR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP SOCIALISM ACCORDING TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S OWN TRADITIONS AND SPECIFIC CONDITIONS. AND THE FIRMER THE STAND OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP, THE GREATER HAS BEEN THE POPULAR SUPPORT. THE INTERNAL RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDIUM STATEMENT BROUGHT FORTH LETTERS FROM THE PRAGUE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE, FROM VARIOUS DISTRICT COMMITTEES, FROM ACADEMICIANS, FROM THE PRESS AND RADIO, ETC. SOME CZECHOSLOVAK ORGANIZATIONS HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO SEND THEIR OWN LETTERS TO THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN PRAGUE.

EVEN THOUGH THE "GRADUAL TRANSFER" OF TROOPS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO WARSAW PACT GARRISONS BEGINS THIS WEEKEND, BY FAR THE LAST SOVIET SOLDIER HAS NOT LEFT THE COUNTRY. IT MAY BE THAT THE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF TROOP DEPARTURES AND THE ARRIVAL OF PRIME MINISTER KOSYGIN IN SWEDEN WILL AUGUR A (TEMPORARY) LESSENING OF TENSIONS AND PRESSURES. HOWEVER, IT CANNOT NOW BE CONSIDERED CERTAIN THAT A FINAL DECISION HAS BEEN MADE BY THE SOVIETS TO WITHDRAW ALL OF THEIR FORCES. BETWEEN NOW AND THE EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER LIE SEVEN WEEKS OF INTENSE POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND FURTHER REFORMIST CHANGE WHICH WILL NO DOUBT CONTINUE PROFOUNDLY TO IRRITATE COMMUNIST CONSERVATIVES EVERYWHERE. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT IS PROVIDED TODAY BY A MANIFESTO PUBLISHED IN SVOBODNE SLOVO SIGNED BY "150 SIGNIFICANT PERSONALITIES, BOTH MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS OF THE CLUB OF COMMITTED NON-PARTY PEOPLE." IN ESSENCE, THE MANIFESTO CALLS FOR SECRET ELECTIONS WITH MULTI-PARTY PARTICIPATION, ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY. WHAT COULD BE MORE "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY" IN RUSSIAN EYES? THUS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIETS WILL FEEL CONSTRAINED TO USE EVEN MORE DIRECT METHODS THAN HERETOFORE TO CONTAIN THE REFORMERS IN PRAGUE MUST REMAIN OPEN. SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS MAY WELL BE APPROACHING A STAGE OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION.

END MSG