

RADIO FREE EUROPE
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

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TO: C

MUN 23 19 JAN 70

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

191541:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 14

1. BULGARIA: COUNTRY MEETING DISCUSSED PRIVATE ARTISAN SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY, IN CONNECTION WITH SECOND ITEM OF SITUATION REPORT OF JANUARY 15. THE GROWING REGIME ATTACKS ON THIS SECTOR ALLOW THE BD TO RETURN TO THE THEMES OF HOW USEFUL PRIVATE ARTISANS ARE FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND WHAT AN IMPORTANT ECONOMIC NEED THEY FULFILL, PARTICULARLY IN THE MUCH NEGLECTED SERVICES SECTOR. BD WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO REFUTE SPECIFIC CHARGES OF CORRUPTION AND MISAPPROPRIATION OF FUNDS BUT WILL CONCENTRATE RATHER ON THE BASIC ECONOMIC ISSUES INVOLVED REGARDING PRIVATE ARTISANS.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: SIGNS ARE ACCUMULATING THAT A MAJOR STRUGGLE IS UNDERWAY IN THE PARTY, AND OUR EARLIER ESTIMATE THAT THE JANUARY 28 PLENUM WOULD NOT BE THE SCENE OF A MAJOR CLASH SEEMS DUE FOR REVISION. SATURDAY'S BRATISLAVA PRAVDA ARTICLE BY HECKO (DS) HAS PARTIALLY CONFIRMED OUR FEAR, AND HYPOTHESIS IN LAST WEEK'S DGS, THAT THE TROTSKYITE LABEL WOULD BE ARTIFICIALLY EXTENDED TO THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES. HECKO WROTE THAT THE TROTSKYITE ORGANIZATION HAD "PENETRATED INTO THE TU ORGANIZATIONS AND TU COORDINATION COMMITTEES, MAINLY THE METAL WORKERS' UNION, WORKERS OF THE PRINTING INDUSTRY AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS. IN OUR VIEW, THE ARBITRARY CRITERIA ON WHICH THIS CHARGE IS BASED COULD BE APPLIED IN THE COMING DAYS JUST AS EASILY TO THE WRITERS' AND OTHER CULTURAL UNIONS OR ANY OTHER SPHERE WHERE PROGRESSIVES HAVE BEEN ISOLATED AND SILENCED BUT NOT INTIMIDATED OR SHATTERED. THE BRIEF ANNOUNCEMENT ON FRIDAY BY THE SLOVAK INTERIOR MINISTRY (DS) ON THE DISCOVERY OF AN ESPIONAGE GROUP, CENTERED IN AUSTRIA, AND THE DETENTION OF AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF ALLEGED AGENTS, IS A FURTHER OMINOUS SIGN OF ULTRA RESURGENCE AGAINST HUSAK'S POLICY OF RELATIVE RESTRAINT. SEE TODAY'S DGS FOR FURTHER DETAILS AND OUR GENERAL POLICY APPROACH. WE SHOULD ALSO PROBABLY CONSIDER REOPENED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER HUSAK WILL BE ABLE TO REASSERT HIMSELF AND/OR HIS POLICY AGAINST THE GROWING UPSURGE OF ULTRA ACTIVITY. IN THIS SENSE, THE DUBCEK AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENT TO TURKEY--WHICH ALSO SEEMS INCREASINGLY OPEN TO QUESTION--WILL BE AN INTERESTING TEST CASE.

(MORE)

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3. HUNGARY: THE COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING THE TEPAVAC VISIT TO BUDAPEST SHOWS THAT HUNGARIAN-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS ARE VERY GOOD, PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, BUT THAT THERE ARE ADMITTEDLY DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THERE WAS NO MENTION OF WEST GERMANY IN THE COMMUNIQUE.

4. POLAND: NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING.

6. OTHER

GWERTZMANN PIECE IN SATURDAY'S NYT QUOTES "SOVIET SOURCES" AS SAYING THAT THE "PRAVDA" TUESDAY EDITORIAL ON SHORTCOMINGS IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY IS THE "ESSENCE" OF BREZHNEV'S UNPUBLISHED ADDRESS TO THE DECEMBER PLENUM. INDEED THE DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SOVIET ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN MANIFEST SINCE THE PLENUM AND SINCE THE "PRAVDA" EDITORIAL IT APPEARS TO BE OPEN SEASON FOR PUBLIC COMPLAINTS ABOUT AREAS OF CONCERN IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY. CAA IS PREPARING AN ANALYSIS OF THESE SOFT AREAS KEYED TO THE "PRAVDA" EDITORIAL AND OTHER CRITICAL SOVIET SOURCES.

A MOVING LETTER BY YULI DANIEL'S SON ALEXANDER (DS) ON THE OCCASION OF HIS FATHER BEING MOVED TO VLADIMIROV PRISON (SHADES OF MARCHENKO AND KARAVANSKIJ) PROVIDES EXCELLENT MATERIAL FOR USE BY BDS. ALSO LETTER SENT TO UN ON CIVIL RIGHTS PERSECUTION IN USSR LIKEWISE USEFUL. TWO PROTESTS BY FOREIGNERS (BELGIAN AND TWO ITALIANS) OF INTEREST IN SHOWING EXTERNAL IMPACT AND CONCERN FOR SOVIET INTERNAL BRUTALITY. WE NOTE IMPLICIT CRITICISM IN BELGIAN LEAFLET OF SHOSTAKOVICH FOR ORGANIZING A MOVEMENT TO SEEK RELEASE OF GREEK COMPOSER THEODORAKIS WHILE OVERLOOKING THOSE SOVIET INTELLECTUALS SIMILARLY PERSECUTED IN THE USSR: A POINT IDENTICAL TO THAT MADE AGAINST YEVTUSHENKO EARLIER AND ONE WELL TAKEN.

THE CROATIAN PLENUM, AT WHICH THE NOTABLES OF THE CROATIAN PARTY SPOKE, WITNESSED A RELEASE OF DR. MILOD ZANKO FROM THE PARTY'S PERMANENT CONFERENCE. IT SEEMS THAT ZANKO WENT TOO FAR IN CRITICIZING NATIONALIST INFLUENCES IN CROATIA. THE INTIMATION THAT HE WAS BACKED BY FORCES IN BELGRADE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN MADE AND BOSNIAN SOURCES (PRESUMABLY ALSO SERB) HAVE CRITICIZED CROATIAN CHAUVINISM. THE EXTREME DELICACY OF THE SITUATION OF NOT TOO MUCH NATIONALISM BUT ENOUGH REPUBLICAN AUTONOMY ARE EVIDENT IN THE TIGHTROPE ACT OF MIKA TRIPALO, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (LCY) WHO THREADS HIS WAY DEVIOUSLY THROUGH THE SHOALS OF DECENTRALIZATION AND NATIONALIST-SEPARATIST VIEWS. CAA IS DOING AN ANALYSIS OF THE PLENUM WHICH IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN BELGRADE AND ZAGREB.

(MORE)

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THE PCI PLENUM CONTINUES TO LOOK LIKE AN EFFORT TO EXPLOIT THE CENTER-LEFT DIFFICULTIES BY REFURBISHING THE PARTY'S PUBLIC IMAGE AND BY MAKING TOKEN CONCESSIONS IN THE DIRECTION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONAL AND PROCEDURAL REFORMS. THIS IS PRESUMABLY ALSO INTENDED TO IMPROVE INTERNAL PARTY MORALE IN THE WAKE OF THE "MANIFESTO" DEFECTION AND TROUBLES WITH THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION. SYMPTOMATIC OF THE SUPERFICIAL NATURE OF THE PROCEEDINGS IS THE STATEMENT BY GIORGIO NAPOLITANO WHO, IN CALLING UPON PCI INTELLECTUALS TO PARTICIPATE IN PARTY AFFAIRS, STATED THAT THEY SHOULD CARRY OUT MORE AUTONOMOUS RESEARCH TO CLARIFY AND PROMOTE THE PARTY LINE. THUS THE DILEMMA OF WANTING TO EXHIBIT A DEMOCRATIC IMAGE WHILE CRACKING DOWN ON "MANIFESTO". CAA WILL PREPARE A PAPER ON THE PLENUM WHEN ALL THE RELEVANT MATERIAL FROM "L'UNITA" IS AVAILABLE.

ULBRICHT'S PRESS CONFERENCE STARTED AT 1000 HOURS MUNICH TIME AND WE WILL PREPARE A GUIDANCE WHEN SUFFICIENT MATERIAL IS AVAILABLE

END MSG.