

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

1970 APR 16

14:43

TO: C

MUN 39 16 APR 70

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

161410:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 87

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE INFORMATION WHICH SUGGESTS THAT THE PARTY PURGE CAMPAIGN IS NOT LEADING TO AS MANY EXPULSIONS AS THE "MODERATE" CPCS LEADERSHIP PRESUMABLY EXPECTED AND AS THE ULTRAS CERTAINLY DESIRED. IN PROGRAMMING, HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT FOCUSING ON THIS THEME (ELABORATED IN DR 85), IN ORDER NOT TO INCREASE THE RISK THAT THE CONDUCT OF THE PURGES WILL BECOME MUCH HARSHER.

CC SECRETARY JAN FOJTIK PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE IN RUDE PRAVO YESTERDAY (CETKA SUMMARY AVAILABLE HERE) WHICH CONTAINS AN ASTONISHING SENTENCE, IN ATTACKING ARTICLES WRITTEN IN 1968 BY R. SELUCKY AND M. REIMAN ON THE "TWENTY YEARS OF TRAGIC ERROR," FOJTIK NEVERTHELESS ADMITS THAT "NOBODY HAS ANY DOUBT THAT IN STALIN'S PRACTICE--IN SOME OF HIS CONCEPTS--THERE WAS REFLECTED MUCH THAT WAS SPECIFICALLY RUSSIAN. HOWEVER, . . . WE CAN OFFER NO EXPLANATION FOR THIS BUT FEEL CERTAIN THE RUSSIANS WILL BE GREATLY DISPLEASED BY IT.

THE SOVIET PARTY ORGAN PRAVDA PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE BY HUSAK YESTERDAY (DS). ALTHOUGH THIS REPRESENTS A FORM OF SUPPORT FOR HUSAK, IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO POINT OUT THAT COMMUNIST PROTOCOL REQUIRES SUCH GESTURES PERIODICALLY TOWARD "FRATERNAL" PARTY LEADERS. IT IS USEFUL TO RECALL IN THIS CONNECTION EX-PREMIER CERNIK'S WARM RECEPTION IN POLAND NOT LONG BEFORE HIS OUSTER. WE BELIEVE THAT PRAVDA'S PUBLICATION OF HUSAK'S ARTICLE INDICATES THAT HIS POSITION IS SECURE FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE BUT DO NOT CONSIDER THAT SUCH EVIDENCE PERMITS ANY LONGER-TERM CONCLUSIONS.

WE NOTE WITH GREAT INTEREST WHAT MAY BE THE BEGINNINGS OF A "PERSONALITY CULT" BUILD-UP FOR VASIL BILAK. EERA'S CS UNIT IS PREPARING A PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT. THE LATEST OF THREE OR FOUR ARTICLES IN THIS CATEGORY TO COME TO OUR ATTENTION APPEARED ON APRIL 9 IN BRATISLAVA PRAVDA. LAUDING BILAK THROUGHOUT, AUTHOR MIROSLAV RUTTKAY WROTE: "DESPITE SLANDER AND ATTACKS, HE DID NOT GIVE IN. HE HAS ALWAYS REMAINED THE MAN HE IS. HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A THINKING COMMUNIST AND INTERNATIONALIST, AND IT IS ALWAYS A GOOD THING TO HEAR SUCH A MAN SPEAK ENCOURAGING WORDS CALLING

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2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: (CONT)

FOR CREATIVE ACTIVITY. HE SPOKE SUCH WORDS NOT ONLY ON THE MOST RECENT OCCASION IN BRATISLAVA; HE ALSO SPOKE IN THIS VEIN IN HIS FIRST SPEECH AFTER THE AUGUST EVENTS IN MARTIN WHERE HE MADE HIS FIRST VISIT AFTER THE STORMY 1968." IN ADDITION TO THE INTERESTING PROPAGANDA BUILD-UP OF BILAK, WE ARE EQUALLY INTRIGUED BY THE SCARCELY CONCEALED ANTI-HUSAK EDGE TO THESE REMARKS. HUSAK, AS IS KNOWN, MADE MANY STATEMENTS (PRO-DUBCEK, ETC.) IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-INVASION PERIOD, WHICH HIS ENEMIES APPEAR NOW, BY INSINUATION, TO BE TRYING TO USE AGAINST HIM. REGARDING THE ABOVE REFERENCE TO BILAK'S SPEECH IN MARTIN, ONE SHOULD RECALL THAT HUSAK TRAVELED TO MARTIN IMMEDIATELY AFTER IT, PRESUMABLY TO UNDO ANY DAMAGE CAUSED THERE BY BILAK. CS BD WILL NOT TREAT THE ARTICLE AS AN ATTACK ON HUSAK, STRESSING RATHER THE QUESTION

HUSAK TRAVELED TO MARTIN IMMEDIATELY AFTER IT, PRESUMABLY TO UNDO ANY DAMAGE CAUSED THERE BY BILAK. CS BD WILL NOT TREAT THE ARTICLE AS AN ATTACK ON HUSAK, STRESSING RATHER THE QUESTION OF BILAK'S BUILD-UP, BUT WILL MENTION THE MARTIN INCIDENT IN PASSING.

3. HUNGARY: A SESSION OF THE HSWP CC HAS BEEN CONVENED FOR TODAY, ACCORDING TO RADIO BUDAPEST FOR HUNGARIANS ABROAD (DS). HOUSING AND THE LONG-PROMISED REFORM OF THE NATIONAL COUNCILS ARE ON THE AGENDA.

4. POLAND: WOJNA'S LATEST ARTICLE IN ZYCIE WARSZAWY (DS) ON BRANDT'S VISIT IN THE US IS THE SECOND IN RECENT DAYS IN WHICH HE TAKES A RELATIVELY HARD LINE ON BONN. WE HAVE A GROWING IMPRESSION OF A WORSENING OF THE ATMOSPHERE REGARDING THE BONN-WARSZAW TALKS. SEE ALSO THE TWO DEWITT SPECIALS (DS) ON THE INCREASINGLY VOCIFEROUS OPPOSITION IN BONN. THE WEST GERMAN ARREST OF A POLISH AGENT (DS YESTERDAY) WHILE NOT A MAJOR ISSUE IN ITSELF, WILL NOT IMPROVE THE CLIMATE FOR THE NEXT SESSION OF TALKS WHICH BEGINS ON APRIL 22. (SEE ALSO FIRST ITEM IN YESTERDAY'S POLISH SITUATION REPORT.)

5. RUMANIA: CEAUSESCU WILL PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO FRANCE NEXT JUNE 15-19, ACCORDING TO AGERPRES AND RADIO BUCHAREST (DS).

THE APRIL ISSUE OF PROBLEME ECONOMICE (DS) CONTAINS A "SHORT-HAND REPORT" OF A RECENT "SCIENTIFIC DEBATE" IN WHICH THE RUMANIAN OPPOSITION TO THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, IN THIS CASE PARTICULARLY IN ECONOMIC MATTERS, IS AGAIN STRONGLY EMPHASIZED.

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6. OTHER: IT IS NOT YET OPEN SEASON IN THE USSR ON THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. IN THE TASS ACCOUNT OF BREZHNEV'S BRIEF TOUR D'HORIZON ON FOREIGN POLICY AT KHARKOV ON TUESDAY, THERE IS NOT MENTION OF THE FRG. THIS MIGHT SEEM STRANGE IN A COUNTRY WHICH IS INVOLVED IN DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRG WERE IT NOT FOR THE FACT THAT SOVIET MEDIA HAVE NEVER MENTIONED THESE NEGOTIATIONS. SECONDLY, THE MAY DAY SLOGANS, AT LEAST IN THE TASS SUMMARY, APPEAR NOT TO CONTAIN REFERENCES TO WEST GERMANY, THOUGH A YEAR AGO "NEO-NAZISM" AND WEST GERMAN "REVANCHISM" WERE CONDEMNED. THUS, MOSCOW APPARENTLY STILL HOPES FOR GAINS FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH BONN.

IN ADDITION TO REPORTING THAT THE POLITBURO LEADERS WERE PHYSICALLY ILL, THE SOVIET REGIME HAS NOW MADE FURTHER EFFORTS TO DISPEL HUMORS ABOUT POLITICAL ILLNESS. KOSYGIN HAS SIGNED A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NIXON PROFFERING SOVIET ASSISTANCE IN RESCUING THE US ASTRONAUTS. ALSO BREZHNEV AND SHELEPIN ARE TOGETHER AT ULYANOVSK FOR THE UNVEILING OF A MEMORIAL.

IN ADDITION TO APPARENT PROGRESS IN COMPETING FOR THE TRUCK PLANT IN THE USSR ON THE KAMA RIVER, FORD HAS AGREED TO ESTABLISH A JOINT ENTERPRISE FOR MANUFACTURING CAR PARTS IN YUGOSLAVIA. IN ACCORD WITH YUGOSLAV FOREIGN INVESTMENT REGULATIONS, FORD WILL PUT UP 49 PERCENT OF THE CAPITAL.

THE AUSTRIAN CP (KPOE) HAS AGAIN REVIEWED EVIDENCE OF DISRUPTION OF THE PARTY STEMMING FROM THE "REVELATION OF FAULTS AND VIOLATIONS OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY COMMITTED BY STALIN, THE OPEN CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND THE MAJORITY OF THE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES AND BY THE EVENTS IN HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA." THE KPOE DAILY "VOLKSSTIMME", IN A 12,000 WORD DOCUMENT, CITED THE RECESSION OF THE KPOE'S INFLUENCE IN AUSTRIA AND RECOMMENDED AS A SOLUTION THAT THE KPOE PAY MORE ATTENTION TO AUSTRIAN AFFAIRS AND THAT AT THE UPCOMING KPOE CONGRESS A BAN SHOULD BE IMPOSED ON "ALL DISCUSSIONS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENT BECAUSE THEY ONLY PARALYZE THE PARTY."

END MSG