

RADIO FREE EUROPE
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

1972 JAN 27

15:58

TO: C

MUN 36 27 JAN 72

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

271455:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 21

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NOTHING.

3. HUNGARY: THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN-RUMANIAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY HAS PASSED WITHOUT THE USUAL MENTION IN THE PRESS. SEE EERA PAPER - DS. WESTERN PRESS REPORTS HAD SUGGESTED THAT A NEW TREATY, AND EVEN A KADAR-CEAUSESCU VISIT, WERE IN THE OFFING. THESE REPORTS ARE NOW CALLED INTO QUESTION. FAILURE TO SIGN A NEW TREATY WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE NOTICEABLE RAPPROCHEMENT SINCE LAST SUMMER'S LOW POINT, BUT PERHAPS THE RAPPROCHEMENT HAS BEEN MORE LIMITED AND TENUOUS THAN WE THOUGHT.

4. POLAND: WE HAVE NOW LISTENED TO THE TAPE OF WARSAW TV'S COVERAGE OF GIEREK'S SZCZECIN MEETING ONE YEAR AGO (SEE TUESDAY'S D.R.) AND CONCLUDE THAT THE TV COVERAGE WAS HIGHLY DISTORTED WITH ALL THE MORE UNPLEASANT REMARKS LEFT OUT.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING.

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6. OTHER; THE WARSAW PACT MEETING HAS BROUGHT EUROPE LITTLE CLOSER TO DISCUSSIONS ON MBFR, THOUGH SOME APPARENT CONCESSIONS TO REALISM HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE WARSAW PACT POWERS. AS YET NO COMPLETE TEXT IS AVAILABLE HERE BUT RADIO PRAGUE QUOTES THE PASSAGES ON MBFR FROM THE DOCUMENT ENTITLED "DECLARATION ON PEACE SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE." THE WARSAW PACT POWERS DECLARE THAT A "REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE" IS IN THE INTEREST OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. HAVING SAID THIS, THE DOCUMENT GOES ON TO INCLUDE "BOTH FOREIGN AS WELL AS NATIONAL" FORCES WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE REDUCTIONS. BREZHNEV DID NOT INCLUDE NATIONAL FORCES IN HIS SPEECH AT TIFLIS ON 14 MAY 1970. THIS TIFLIS FORMULATION WOULD HAVE APPEARED TO INCLUDE ONLY AMERICAN FORCES AND COULD HARDLY BE CONSIDERED A REALISTIC PROPOSAL. THE DOCUMENT ALSO INCLUDES FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A PACT STATEMENT THAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED IN A WAY "WHICH IS NOT DETRIMENTAL TO THE COUNTRIES WHICH WILL TAKE PART IN SUCH A REDUCTION." THIS IS ASSUMED TO BE A PACT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT ANY REDUCTIONS MUST BE RECIPROCAL AND PHASED AND BALANCED AS TO THEIR SCOPE AND TIMING. THE FORMULA EMPLOYING THE "NOT DETRIMENTAL" PHRASE HAS BEEN USED BY BREZHNEV. THE DOCUMENT MAY, HOWEVER, HAVE REJECTED THE BROSIQ MISSION WHICH WAS DESIGNATED ON OCTOBER 6 AS NATO'S EXPLORER TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF MBFR WITH THE WARSAW PACT MEMBERS. ON THIS QUESTION THE DOCUMENT ACCORDING TO RADIO PRAGUE STATES "THE CONSIDERATION AND THE FIXING OF WAYS OF SOLVING THESE PROBLEMS CANNOT BE THE EXCLUSIVE AFFAIR OF THE EXISTING MILITARY-POLITICAL ALLIANCES IN EUROPE" WHICH WOULD SEEM TO REJECT THE NATO INITIATIVE, THOUGH BROSIQ'S MISSION WAS ONLY EXPLORATORY. RADIOS WARSAW AND BUDAPEST OMITTED THE WORD "EXCLUSIVE" IN THE ABOVE QUOTATION WHICH SUGGESTS EVEN MORE STRONGLY THAT THE BROSIQ MISSION MAY NOT BE CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE. OPPOSITION TO

BLOC-TO-BLOC NEGOTIATIONS HAS FOR SOME TIME BEEN THE KNOWN SOVIET POSITION AND CORRESPONDS WITH THAT OF THE FRENCH. THE PACT STATEMENT LEAVES IT UNCLEAR WHO IS TO DISCUSS MBFR AND IN WHAT SORT OF FORUM. THE NEXT NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING WILL BE THAT OF THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE IN THE SPRING OF THIS YEAR. IT SEEMS CLEAR FROM THE WORDING OF THE DOCUMENT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE LEFT THE DOOR OPEN FOR AND EXPECT SOME FORM OF DISCUSSIONS ON THE MODALITIES OF A CONFERENCE. THE "REYKJAVIK SIGNAL" OF JUNE 1968 HAS YET TO PRODUCE A RESPONSE WHICH COULD LEAD TO DISCUSSIONS OF MBFR WHICH IS COMPLICATED ENOUGH IN ITS OWN RIGHT.

CONCERNING OTHER ISSUES BROUGHT UP IN THE WARSAW PACT DOCUMENT, THERE IS AS YET NO FINAL TEXT AVAILABLE BUT FROM THE SUMMARIES AT HAND IT WOULD APPEAR THAT, AS USUAL, THE WELL TRODDEN GROUND OF KNOWN SOVIET POLICY POSITIONS ON THE GDR, DISARMAMENT, EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, ETC. IS REITERATED, INTERLARDED WITH SELF-CONGRATULATORY PHRASES FOR WHAT THE PACT HAS ACCOMPLISHED. IT IS NOTED THAT IN CALLING FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN WEST GERMAN-CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS, THE PACT BASES THOSE ON THE INVALIDITY OF THE MUNICH AGREEMENT AB INITIO BUT DOES NOT ATTACH THE PHRASE "WITH ALL ITS CONSEQUENCES." IF THERE ARE ANY FURTHER NUANCES OR INTERESTING SUGGESTIONS IN THE DOCUMENT, THEY DO NOT APPEAR IN THE PARTIAL TEXTS AND SUMMARIES AVAILABLE.

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THE YUGOSLAV PARTY 2ND CONFERENCE WILL GO INTO ITS THIRD AND FINAL DAY TODAY AND TITO WILL SPEAK ALONG WITH ABOUT 30 OTHER DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE. THE SECOND DAY WITNESSED INCREASING ATTACKS AGAINST NATIONALISM AND CRITICISM OF THE FORMER CROATIAN PARTY LEADERSHIP. THIS WAS ESPECIALLY NOTICEABLE IN THE SPEECH OF JOSIP VRHOVEC, THE NEW CROATAIAN PARTY CC SECRETARY. RADIO ZAGREB CONTINUES TO REPORT DISMISSALS IN LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN CROATIA.

END MSG