

OUTGOING CIPHER

1971 AUG 19

16:47

TO: 

MUN 44 19 AUG 71

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

191554:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 188

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NOTHING.

3. HUNGARY: TWO MORE JABS AT RUMANIA APPEARED IN HUNGARIAN MEDIA YESTERDAY. A LEADING NEPSZABADSAG ARTICLE YESTERDAY STRESSED THAT OTHER NATIONALITIES IN HUNGARY HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS, ADDING "IT SHOULD BE ABSOLUTELY NATURAL IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY . . . THAT NATIONALITIES HAVE A PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, IN THE STATE ADMINISTRATION AND THE SELF-GOVERNING BODIES." OUR EXPERTS CONSIDER THAT, ALTHOUGH NATIONALITY REPRESENTATION IN THE RUMANIAN GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS ROUGHLY PROPORTIONAL, RUMANIA DOES NOT MEET NEPSZABADSAG'S "SOCIALIST" CRITERIA ON ALL COUNTS. IN A LESS SIGNIFICANT JAB, RADIO BUDAPEST YESTERDAY COMPLAINED ABOUT IRON HYDROXIDE DUMPED INTO THE MAROS RIVER BY A RUMANIAN ENTERPRISE WHICH POLLUTES THE RIVER IN HUNGARY AND MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO USE THE WATER FOR IRRIGATION PURPOSES.

4. POLAND: COUNTRY MEETING TODAY DISCUSSED A MAJOR DEBATE GOING ON IN POLAND ABOUT THE BLAME FOR POLAND'S PROBLEMS. THE DEBATE WAS STARTED BY AN ARTICLE BY GORNICKI (AN OPPORTUNISTIC JOURNALIST NOTED AMONG OTHER THINGS FOR HIS SCURRILOUS REPORTING ABOUT THE US IN HIS DAYS AS A UN CORRESPONDENT) IN ZYCIE WARSZAWY. SEE POLISH PRESS SURVEY OF AUGUST 17 FOR TRANSLATION OF THIS ARTICLE AND SOME REPLIES; FORTHCOMING PRESS SURVEYS WILL CONTAIN FURTHER ARTICLES AND LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ON THIS DEBATE, WHICH IS STILL GOING ON. GORNICKI'S MAIN THESIS WAS THAT SINCE DECEMBER POLAND HAS NEVER HAD A BETTER LEADERSHIP AND THE FACT THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IS NOT IMPROVING FASTER IS THE FAULT OF THE DEFECTIVE POLISH NATIONAL CHARACTER, E.G.,

(MORE)



POOR WORK EFFECTIVENESS, HIGH ABSENTEEISM AND A GENERAL "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE. GORNICKI ALSO RECOGNIZED THE BLAME OF MIDDLE ECHELON BUREAUCRATS BUT THE MAIN STRESS WAS ON POLISH CHARACTER. THE ARTICLE BROUGHT A VERITABLE FLOOD OF RESPONSE, SOME OF WHICH IS DEAD TALK BUT MOST OF WHICH REJECTS GORNICKI'S THESIS. THE ESSENCE OF THIS CRITICAL RESPONSE, HOWEVER QUALIFIED AND PHRASED WITH AN EYE TO THE CENSOR, IS THAT THE SYSTEM IS AT FAULT (NO DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING) NOT THE POPULATION, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO REALLY BASIC CHANGES SINCE DECEMBER, AND THAT THE LOWER LEVEL BUREAUCRATS ARE SUBVERTING THOSE EFFORTS AT REFORM WHICH THE NEW LEADERSHIP IS TRYING TO INTRODUCE. THE FACT THAT THE REGIME IS ALLOWING THIS FRANK DEBATE TO BE PUBLISHED AT ALL SUGGESTS THAT IT IS DESIGNED TO OVERCOME PUBLIC APATHY AND EXERT PRESSURE ON THE APPARAT TO CEASE SUBVERTING THE LEADERSHIP'S EFFORTS AT REFORM. THE LEADERSHIP'S DILEMMA REMAINS THAT IT CANNOT RISK ALLOWING THE DEBATE TO GO AS FAR AS NEEDED IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THE END DESIRED. WE CONSIDER THE DEBATE A GOOD REFLECTION OF THE CURRENT MOOD OF "WAIT AND SEE" AMONG POLES. THE BD HAS ALREADY COMMENTED ON THE GORNICKI ARTICLE TO THE EFFECT THE POLES WORKING IN THE WEST UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONDITIONS WORK WELL, WHICH INDICATES THAT IT IS THE SYSTEM IN POLAND WHICH IS AT FAULT. FURTHER COMMENTARIES ARE PLANNED.

5. RUMANIA: THE RECEPTION OF THE CHINESE "TOURISTS" BY TOP PARTY OFFICIAL GHEORGHE PANA YESTERDAY (DS) INDICATES A CONTINUING RUMANIAN REFUSAL TO BE CHASTIZED BY THE MAGYAR HIRLAP WARNING. WE JUST RECEIVED AN AGERPRES SUMMARY OF CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST 14 SPEECH TO THE BALAN MINING COMBINE. CEAUSESCU SAID, "WE MUST ALWAYS BE READY TO DEFEND OUR FATHERLAND AGAINST ANY AGGRESSION, AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD TOUCH THE SOCIALIST CONQUESTS OF OUR PEOPLE (STRONG APPLAUSE, THE ANTHEM; "THREE COLORS" IS SUNG)". THE RUMANIANS ARE NOT REPLYING TO MAGYAR HIRLAP, ETC., DIRECTLY, UNLIKE THE YUGO-SLAVS (SEE BORBA-DS), BUT NEVERTHELESS SEEM NO LESS FIRM IN HOLDING TO THEIR POLICY LINE.

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6. OTHER: CAA BACKGROUND PAPER ISSUED YESTERDAY POINTS OUT HANOI'S CONCERN OVER RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN US-CHINESE RELATIONS. PEKING'S GROWING PREOCCUPATION WITH A JAPANESE THREAT CREATES THE IMPRESSION IN HANOI THAT FOR THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP INDOCHINA HAS BECOME AN ISSUE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. THE PAPER POINTS OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE LEADERSHIP IS CONTEMPLATING STRONGER RELIANCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. HOWEVER, CONSIDERING NORTH VIETNAM'S PARTICULAR GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION, THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE FOR HANOI TO REPLACE CHINESE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID WITH THAT FROM MOSCOW. THESE ASSUMPTIONS HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT REINFORCED BY LATEST DEVELOPMENTS. TASS REPORTS ON THE SIGNING IN MOSCOW YESTERDAY OF A NEW AGREEMENT PROVIDING FURTHER MILITARY AID TO HANOI. (WE HAD NOT BEEN AWARE OF THE PRESENCE OF A NORTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY DELEGATION IN THE SOVIET UNION.) AT THE SAME TIME, A NORTH VIETNAMESE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION, LED BY A MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO, IS ON ITS WAY TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION AND THREE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (RUMANIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND).

SIMULTANEOUS WITH THESE DEVELOPMENTS, A STRONG NORTH KOREAN MILITARY DELEGATION HAS SHOWN UP IN PEKING. THE GROUP, LED BY THE NORTH KOREAN CHIEF OF STAFF INCLUDES THE COMMANDERS IN CHIEF OF THE NORTH KOREAN AIR FORCE, NAVY AND ARTILLERY FORCE.

IT IS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST THAT THE NORTH KOREANS ARE NOT ON A RETURN VISIT. A SIMILAR MILITARY DELEGATION FROM PYONGYANG, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SAME CHIEF OF STAFF, VISITED CHINA A YEAR AGO. IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING IF THE CHINESE AND THE NORTH KOREANS WERE CONTEMPLATING SIGNING SOME SORT OF MILITARY COOPERATION AGREEMENT, IN THE FACE OF WHAT THEY CONSIDER THE COMMON DANGER TO BOTH REGIMES, I.E., THE CURRENT EFFORT TO BUILD-UP THE JAPANESE DEFENSE FORCES.

END MSG