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RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 76

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING. SEE BELOW FOR BASHEV'S YUGOSLAV VISIT.
2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: AN 11 DECEMBER REUTER DISPATCH (SENT AS DESK SPECIAL TODAY) REPORTS AN OMINOUS SOUNDING INTERVIEW GIVEN BY A CZECHOSLOVAK STATE SECURITY FUNCTIONARY--BOHUMIR MOLNAR--TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY BOHEMIAN REGIONAL NEWSPAPER "SVOBODA." MR. MOLNAR REPORTEDLY PLACED PART OF THE BLAME FOR THE EVENTS OF 1968 ON ZIONIST ELEMENTS, LEADING REUTER TO MENTION THAT CZECHOSLOVAK JEWS HAVE BEEN WORRIED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ANTI-ZIONIST PURGE SUCH AS BEGAN IN POLAND FOLLOWING THE MARCH 1959 STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. REUTER HAS AGREED TO GIVE US 1500 WORDS OF TRANSLATION OF THE ARTICLE (IF THEY ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO GET US THE PAPER ITSELF) AS "SVOBODA" IS A PUBLICATION WE HAVE HAD DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING IN THE PAST. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THE SUGGESTIONS OF ZIONIST MANIPULATION HAVE BEEN MADE BEFORE SINCE HARDLINERS TOOK OVER IN PRAGUE AND SO FAR THERE IS NO EVIDENCE AT ALL OF ANTI-JEWISH MOVES. WE ARE MAKING NO BROADCAST USE OF THE REUTER PIECE PENDING RECEIPT OF PUBLICATION OR EXTENSIVE TRANSLATED EXCERPTS.

ANOTHER WHITEWASH JOB HAS BEEN HANDED TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK PUBLIC ON THE DEATH OF JAN MASARYK, THIS TIME BY DR. KAREL PESTA, HEAD OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE. IN A WEASEL-WORDED STATEMENT, DR. PESTA STATED OVER RADIO PRAGUE THAT "IT IS POSSIBLE TO EXCLUDE THAT JAN MASARYK WAS MURDERED" AND THAT IT "COULD HAVE PROBABLY EQUALLY BEEN A SUICIDE AS WELL AS AN UNFORTUNATE ACCIDENT." THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE AS PERSUADED BY PESTA'S ARGUMENTS AS THEY HAVE BEEN OF THOSE PUT FORWARD BY OTHER REGIME SPOKESMEN SINCE THE DEATH OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S THEN FOREIGN MINISTER.

RADIO PRAGUE CARRIED A CLEARLY DEFENSIVE REPORT ON THE STATUS OF EMIL ZATOPEK, WHOSE CASE HAS BEEN FOLLOWED WITH SUCH ATTENTION BY A BROAD INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC. RADIO PRAGUE STRESSED THAT WHILE ZATOPEK HAS BEEN "RELEASED" FROM THE ARMY INTO THE RESERVE WITH

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THE RANK OF COLONEL, HE WAS GRANTED SIX MONTHS' SEVERANCE PAY, IS DRAWING A PARTIAL PENSION AND WILL BE RETIRED WITH THE FULL PAY OF A RETIRED COLONEL WHEN HE REACHES THE AGE OF 60. THE RADIO ALSO ADDED THAT ZATOPEK CAN EARN ANY AMOUNT FROM OTHER SOURCES WITHOUT REDUCTION OF HIS PENSION. THE PRAGUE STATEMENT WAS CLEARLY MOTIVATED BY THE BROAD SYMPATHY WHICH ZATOPEK HAS ENJOYED AND IS AN INDICATION, AT LEAST, THAT THE REGIME IN CERTAIN INSTANCES REMAINS SENSITIVE TO INTERNATIONAL OPINION.

3. HUNGARY: BELA BUSZKU, SECRETARY OF THE CC, DELIVERED A LONG REPORT TO THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT YESTERDAY ON THE STATUS OF THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT HAD TIME TO STUDY AND ANALYZE THE ENTIRE SPEECH, AT FIRST GLANCE IT SEEMS TO BE A THOROUGH, FRANK AND QUITE OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE VARIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITH WHICH HUNGARY HAS TO DEAL.

WE HAD A VISIT YESTERDAY FROM DR. WILLY LINDER, AN ECONOMICS SPECIALIST AND WRITER ON EAST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS FOR THE NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG. LINDER, WHO HAS RECENTLY SPENT SOME TIME IN RUMANIA AND HUNGARY, HAS SERIOUS DOUBTS THAT THE HUNGARIAN REGIME WILL BE ABLE TO CARRY THROUGH ITS ECONOMIC REFORM WITHOUT RUNNING INTO EITHER INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES.

4. POLAND: POLISH PRESS DISCUSSION OF POLISH-WEST GERMAN RELATIONS CONTINUES BUT IT IS STILL QUITE IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL JUST WHAT THE POLES' MINIMUM DEMAND FROM BONN IS WITH RESPECT TO THE ODER/NEISSE QUESTION.

5. RUMANIA: SCINTEIA OF 11 DEC. MADE A VALIANT EFFORT TO PUT A MORE POSITIVE LIGHT ON THE RECENT NATO SESSION THAN HAS BEEN DONE BY OTHER EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA, STATING, INTER ALIA, THAT "IT IS INDISPUTABLE THAT IT SPOTLIGHTED THE ACCENTUATION OF THE POSITIVE TENDENCIES IN THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TOWARDS DETENTE, CONTACTS, BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, TOWARDS AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE." SCINTEIA ALSO REPORTED VARIOUS NEGATIVE TENDENCIES BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO REPORT THE SESSION IN AS MODERATE FASHION AS POSSIBLE.

AT OUR RUMANIAN COUNTRY MEETING TODAY WE BEGAN DISCUSSION OF THE NEW INDUSTRIAL CENTRALS. AMONG THOSE PARTICIPATING WAS A RECENT DEFECTOR WHO HAD BEEN ON THE ENGINEERING STAFF OF A MAJOR BUCHAREST MACHINE-BUILDING FACTORY. HE REPORTED ON SOME OF THE

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HAZARDS FACING RUMANIAN MANAGERIAL AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL WHICH UNDERSCORE THE NEAR IMPOSSIBILITY OF INTELLIGENT ECONOMIC PLANNING AND PRODUCTION WORK IN THE FACE OF ALMOST UNBELIEVABLY BUREAUCRATIC AND IDIOTIC HARASSMENT FROM PARTY COMMISSIONS AND FEARFUL BUREAUCRATS AT ALL LEVELS. WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE THIS DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK BUT THE TENTATIVE CONCLUSION OF THOSE PRESENT THIS MORNING WAS THAT THE CENTRALS ARE AT LEAST THE BEGINNINGS OF A POSITIVE EFFORT TO OVERCOME SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING DIFFICULTIES IN RUMANIAN PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS.

6. OTHER: IF, AS WESTERN REPORTS HAVE IT, BASHEV IS TO MEET TITO TODAY, THE ATMOSPHERE HAS BEEN CHILLED BY THE YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA. TITO'S SPEECH WAS VERY APPREHENSIVE. "WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD AS IT IS TODAY IS VERY BAD," HE SAID. IN DEFENDING THE MULTI-NATIONAL STRUGGLE OF YUGOSLAVIA HE CRITICIZED "SOME COMRADES IN THE WORLD WHO SEE IN IT A WEAKNESS" AND IN DISCUSSING YUGOSLAV WARTIME RESISTANCE HE CRITICIZED REPORTS "IN A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY" WHICH SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE YUGOSLAVIA'S STRUGGLE AND NOTED THAT THE PARTISANS FOUGHT NOT ONLY AGAINST THE AXIS OCCUPATION ARMIES BUT ALSO "AGAINST THE BULGARIAN AND HUNGARIAN FASCIST OCCUPIERS." IN ADDITION TO THESE CUTTING ALLUSIONS TO BULGARIA, TITO MADE SEVERAL ESOTERIC AND UNFLATTERING REFERENCES TO THE USSR, INCLUDING ONE WHICH, WHILE DISCUSSING "THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL DISTORTIONS" IN ITS WORKERS MOVEMENT CITED THE DEFORMATIONS OF "AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MARXISM, STALINISM, THE THEORY OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY, AND SO FORTH." THUS THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED HIS ANXIETY OVER THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST CAMP AND MOSCOW WHICH HE PROBABLY HOLDS RESPONSIBLE FOR BASHEV'S REPORTED BRINGING UP THE MACEDONIAN PROBLEM (IF, INDEED, BASHEV DID RAISE THE ISSUE. A REUTER DISPATCH FROM BELGRADE YESTERDAY SAID YUGOSLAV SOURCES DENIED THAT BASHEV HAD MADE "UNACCEPTABLE DEMANDS ON THE QUESTION OF MACEDONIA." THIS DOES NOT, OF COURSE, RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT BASHEV RAISED THE MATTER IN SOME FORM.) INDEED, THE 13 DECEMBER

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PRAVDA ARTICLE ATTACKING OPPORTUNIST ELEMENTS, IN PARTICULAR IN ITALIAN PARTY, WAS REBUTTED BY RADIO ZAGREB'S COMMENTATOR MILIKA SUNDIC THE SAME DAY. SUNDIC ALSO BROUGHT UP SIMILAR ARTICLES IN MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN AND SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA WHICH HAVE ALSO ATTACKED "RIGHTIST REVISIONISM." HE MADE THE POINT THAT A "REVIVAL OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST REVISIONISM IS A CERTAIN INDICATION FOR DETERIORATION OF THE CLIMATE IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. THEREFORE, ONE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF IT TURNED OUT THAT THESE ARTICLES ARE ONLY A PRELUDE FOR A NEW WITCH-HUNTING."

TITO'S RECREATION OF AN EXTERNAL THREAT IS ALSO RELATED TO THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA. TITO, CURRENTLY HAVING DIFFICULTIES WITH THE YUGOSLAV INTELLECTUALS, REMARKED IN HIS SPEECH THAT "IT IS PRECISELY IN THE INTEREST OF THE FREEDOM OF CREATIVENESS THAT WE ARE OBLIGED IDEOLOGICALLY TO SETTLE ACCOUNTS WITH THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO UNDER THE GUISE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY TRY TO LEAD OUR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ASTRAY." IN ADDITION TO THE EFFORT TO RAISE A WARNING SIGNAL AND CALL FOR TIGHTER DISCIPLINE IN YUGOSLAV INTELLECTUAL LIFE, THERE IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY THAT CONSOLIDATION WILL ALSO BE ENFORCED IN YUGOSLAV POLITICAL ORGANS. THUS, YUGOSLAV LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS EXECUTIVE BUREAU MEMBER MIKA TRIPALO STATED YESTERDAY THAT THE PARTY MUST RID ITSELF OF THE BALLAST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE TAKEN POSITIONS CONTRARY TO THE LINE OF THE LEAGUE AND ALSO THOSE WHO HAVE REMAINED UNJUSTIFIABLY IN A PASSIVE POSITION. WHETHER TITO IS MORE DISTRESSED BY THE DANGER OF CENTRIFUGAL TENDENCIES WITHIN FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA EVIDENCED AND ABETTED BY THE UNDISCIPLINED INTELLECTUALS OR BY AN ACTUAL EXTERNAL THREAT WHICH MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THESE FORCES IS A MOOT POINT, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE A CLEAR CALL FOR A RALLYING AROUND OF THE FORCES IN YUGOSLAV LIFE.

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SUCH TIGHTENING UP OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL LINES DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR A SETTLEMENT OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES WITH THE BULGARIANS. BASHEV'S STAY IN YUGOSLAVIA BECOMES FROM DAY TO DAY MORE ANACHRONISTIC.

WE ARE ISSUING A CAA BACKGROUND PAPER ANALYZING TITO'S SPEECH TODAY.

2. FOR HIS BIRTHDAY ON 11 DECEMBER SOLZHENITSYN WAS THE OBJECT OF SCURRILOUS ATTACKS BY THE CULTURAL TOADIES PRESENT AT THE UNION OF INTELLECTUALS WHICH HELD ITS TWO-DAY MEETING IN MOSCOW. THE GREATEST FIGURE IN SOVIET LETTERS WAS DENOUNCED FOR HIS "MISERABLE ROLE" IN OBJECTIVELY AIDING THE WEST AT A MEETING WHICH CALLED FOR IDEOLOGICAL PURITY AND PLEDGED THE ARTISTS TO GIVE THEIR ALL TO THE LENIN CENTENNIAL. THE ENTIRE EXHIBITION WAS A SAD SPECTACLE STAGED BY A GROUP OF NONENTITIES AGAINST A WORLD FAMOUS LITERARY FIGURE AND IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PRESENT ANTI-INTELLECTUAL MOOD IN THE SOVIET.