

OCT 10 13:25

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
MUNICH

INCOMING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: S

NYC39 10 OCTOBER 66

TO: WALTER INFO OTT COLLINS REYMAN LYON

FM: E. SCHNEIDER INFO MOXLEY PETZALL ROWSON

1151AM

INTERIM REPLY FOLLOWS TO MUN 13 OF 4 OCT. HILL HAS APPOINTMENT TUESDAY WITH STATE DEPT OFFICER IN CHARGE OF SOVIET AFFAIRS; I'LL FORWARD HIS REPORT WHEN RECEIVED OR HE MAY FILE IT AS DIPCORR. CMEANWHILE LBJ HAS PROVIDED MUCH OF THE ANSWER TO YOUR MESSAGE IN HIS SPEECH LAST FRIDAY. BEST BACKGROUNDEERS ON SUBJECT ARE FRANKEL'S NYT ARTICLES OF 5, 8 AND 9 OCTOBER. FOX VIEWS FOLLOW: U.S. ATTITUDE IS TO OBTAIN AS MUCH DETENTE WITH SOVIETS AS POSSIBLE BUT SOVIETS KEEP BRINGING UP VIETNAM AS EXCUSE FOR NOT BEING COOPERATIVE. SOVIETS ARE, HOWEVER, OPERATING ON TWO LEVELS. THEY ARE GOING AS FAR AS THEY CONSIDER PRUDENT IN SUPPORTING HANOI WHILE CUTTING OFF VISIBLE CONTACTS WITH THE U.S. (SUCH AS TRACK MEET) BUT PERMITTING SECONDARY STEPS TO GO FORWARD. PROVOCATIVE MOVES, SUCH AS DEMONSTRATIONS IN MOSCOW, ARE BEING AVOIDED AND NO PRESSURE IS BEING APPLIED IN FOR EXAMPLE BERLIN. U.S. STATEMENTS INCLUDE LBJ SPEECH IN IDAHO ON 26 AUGUST, RUSK SPEECH OF 21 SEPTEMBER, JOHNSON AMERIKA INTERVIEW AND HARRIMAN REMARKS ON 23 SEPTEMBER AT SWEARINGIN OF NEW MINISTER TO BULGARIA (LATER APPEARED IN USIA MATERIAL ON 29 SEPTEMBER). SOURCE SAW LITTLE PROSPECT OF NEW COMMON FRONT OF MOSCOW-ORIENTED PARTIES AGAINST PEKING NOR MUCH BASIS FOR VIEW THAT WIDENING CHASM BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING WOULD MAKE SOVIETS MORE AMENDABLE TO INITIATIVES FROM WASHINGTON.

(MORE)

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MY COMMENTS FOLLOW: THE DEPTH AND SERIOUSNESS OF THE U.S. INITIATIVE IS NOW OBVIOUS. THE REAL QUESTION, AS YOU SUGGEST, IS WHETHER MOSCOW IS WILLING TO RECIPROCATATE AT THIS TIME OR IN NEAR FUTURE. DESPITE CONTINUING SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE ON VIETNAM ISSUE, SEVERAL INDICATORS SUGGEST A MODICUM OF SOVIET INTEREST. ONE IS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON AIRLINE EXCHANGE. ALTHOUGH IT SEEMS THAT MOSCOW WANTED THIS ALL ALONG AND WASHINGTON WAS HOLDING OFF FOR VARIOUS REASONS, IT NEVERTHELESS OPENS MOSCOW TO PEKING CHARGES (WHICH ARE STANDARD IN ANY CASE) OF U.S.-SOVIET COLLABORATION. SECOND IS RELEASE OF PEACE CORPSMAN DAWSON LAST WEEK. THIRD IS REPORTED SOVIET SOFTENING OF THEIR POSITION ON TREATY ON PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE.

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SPACE.  
PRAVDA RESPONSE, REPORTED BY ANDERSON IN NYT OF 10 OCTOBER, SEEMS MILD ENOUGH, INSISTING ONLY UPON AN END TO BOMBING THE NORTH (RATHER THAN U.S. WITHDRAWAL) AS A CONDITION FOR BETTERING RELATIONS ON OTHER HAND GROSE IN NYT OF 23 SEPT AND HANDLER IN NYT OF 25 SEPT THREW COLD WATER ON HOPES FOR BETTER U. S.-SOVIET RELATIONS IN NEAR FUTURE. THE MAIN SPOKESMAN FOR A GEOPOLITICAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM IS HARSCH IN HIS CSM ARTICLES OF 28 AND 30 SEPT AND 3 AND 5 OCT. HE ARGUES THAT TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN FEAR OF TWO FRONT WAR MAY PROMPT MOSCOW TO MEND ITS EUROPEAN FENCES IN ORDER BETTER TO COPE WITH THE CHINESE MENACE IN THE EAST. I FIND THIS ARGUMENT BASICALLY PERSUASIVE, IF VERY LONG-RANGE AND THEORETICAL. IT WOULD APPEAR LOGICAL, HOWEVER, THAT MOSCOW WOULD PROGRESSIVELY FIND IT LESS ONEROUS TO DEAL IN MORE REASONABLE FASHION WITH THE WEST AS PEKING BECOMES MOR AND MORE EXTREMIST, THUS ALIENATING PRACTICALLY EVERYBODY IN SIGHT. IS IT CORRECT THAT SIGNS OF CAUTION HAVE BEEN NOTED EVEN IN TIRANA AND HANOI? NEVERTHELESS, SINCE THE RALLYING CRY AGAINST PEKING TURNS LARGELY ON THE COMMON ACTION IN VIETNAM THEME, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MOSCOW WILL CONTINUE TO BE VERBALLY TOUGH ON WAR ISSUE AND MATERIALLY GENEROUS TO HANOI.

(MORE)

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THE OTHER BIG FACTOR IS OF COURSE GERMANY. HERE IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT WASHINGTON IS TAKING A TOUGHER LINE TOWARD BONN THAN FORMERLY, NOTABLY ON THE TROOP REDUCTION AND "NUCLEAR-SHARING" ISSUES, HE LATTER APPARENTLY BEING ON THE WAY TO SOLUTION THROUGH THE MCNAMARA COMMITTEE OR "NO HARDWARE" FORMULA. SUCH STEPS COULD MAKE A NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND OTHER TENSION-EASING STEPS MORE PALATABLE TO MOSCOW.

INCIDENTALLY YOU MUST HAVE NOTED THAT THE FINE HAND OF BRZEZINSKI WAS QUITE EVIDENT IN THE LBJ SPEECH OF FRIDAY. ACCORDING TO RESTON, THOMPSON IS THE BEST POSSIBLE CHOICE FOR PROMOTING A NEW ERA OF GOOD FEELING IN MOSCOW.

FINALLY, THE LBJ SPEECH IS OF COURSE DIRECTED AT BOTH MOSCOW AND EAST EUROPE -- MUCH IN THE MANNER OF MARSHALL'S 1947 SPEECH AT HARVARD. IT SEEMS CERTAIN THAT MOSCOW HAS NOW LOST THE DEGREE OF CONTROL OVER THE ACTIONS OF ITS EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES THAT IT ENJOYED AND EXERCISED AT THAT TIME. IN OTHER WORDS THE DECISION DOES NOT NOW LIE WHOLLY IN MOSCOW JOHNSON IS AUTHORITATIVELY SAID (GEYELIN BOOK FOR EXAMPLE) TO HAVE BEEN INTENT UPON IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW EVER SINCE ASSUMING OFFICE. RESTON HAS RECENTLY CLAIMED THAT JOHNSON IS DEAD SERIOUS ABOUT SEARCHING FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM. LBJ MAY HOPE TO PROMOTE BOTH AIMS BY HIS NEW COURTSHIP OF MOSCOW.

REGARDS.

END MSG.