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TRENDS IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
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6 MAY 1970

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TRENDS

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6 May 1970
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TOPICS AND EVENTS GIVEN MAJOR ATTENTION 27 APRIL - 3 MAY 1970

<u>Moscow (3425 items)</u>			<u>Peking (2688 items)</u>		
Lenin Centenary	(69%)	26%	Indochina	(17%)	40%
[Brezhnev Speech	(22%)	6%]	[Indochinese People's	(--)	34%]
May Day	(0.4%)	22%	Summit Conference		
[Brezhnev Speech	(--)	6%]	[Cambodia	(15%)	6%]
Indochina	(8%)	17%	First PRC Satellite	(18%)	29%
[Cambodia	(5%)	11%]	May Day	(--)	16%
[Indochinese People's	(--)	4%]	Malayan CP 40th	(--)	4%
Summit Conference			Anniversary		
VE Day 25th Anniversary	(1.5%)	8%	Joint Editorial on	(21%)	3%
China	(5%)	8%	Lenin Centenary		

These statistics are based on the voicecast commentary output of the Moscow and Peking domestic and international radio services. The term "commentary" is used to denote the lengthy item—radio talk, speech, press article or editorial, government or party statement, or diplomatic note. Items of extensive reportage are counted as commentaries.

Figures in parentheses indicate volume of comment during the preceding week.

Topics and events given major attention in terms of volume are not always discussed in the body of the Trends. Some may have been covered in prior issues; in other cases the propaganda content may be routine or of minor significance.

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INDOCHINA

President Nixon's 30 April TV speech in which he announced that U.S. as well as GVN ground troops were being sent into Cambodia prompts government statements from the communist countries. Consistent with the fiction that Vietnamese communist forces are not operating in Cambodia, the statements gloss over the President's explanation that the allied aim is to discover and destroy the headquarters for the communist military operations in South Vietnam. On 2 May the DRV issued both a government statement denouncing the "overt aggression" against Cambodia and a foreign ministry statement protesting the "large-scale" air strikes against North Vietnam. The 6 May declarations by the DRV and PRG Paris conference delegations postponing the session scheduled for that day until the 14th come as a logical sequel to the foreign ministry's warning that the bombings "will seriously affect" the talks.

Soviet concern over U.S. actions is dramatized by Kosygin's unprecedented 4 May press conference where he read the government statement which condemned the military intrusion into Cambodia and charged that the air strikes against the DRV "violated the commitments undertaken in the agreement that served as a basis for the four-sided Paris talks." The statement was noncommittal regarding any specific Soviet action, and Kosygin replied to a reporter's question on increased aid to the DRV with the remark that the question "will obviously be reviewed."

The PRC Government statement on the 4th also assails both the actions in Cambodia and the "resumed bombing" of the DRV, calling them "an extremely grave step" to expand the war. While the statement calls the actions "frantic provocations" against the Chinese as well as the Indochinese peoples, it does not go beyond the pledge of "powerful backing" and "all-out support and assistance."

Peking media on 5 May carried Sihanouk's announcement of the formation of a Cambodian government in exile along with Chou En-lai's letter formally recognizing the new government as the "only legal" one. TASS reported the proclamation of the government in exile within an hour after the Peking broadcast, but at this writing Soviet recognition has not been mentioned. DRV recognition is announced by Hanoi media on the 6th.

DRV, PRG SCORE U.S. "AGGRESSION" AGAINST CAMBODIA

NIXON Authoritative Hanoi reaction to the President's speech
SPEECH came on 2 May with the release of statements from the DRV
 delegation at the Paris talks and a DRV Government statement
denouncing the "aggression" against Cambodia. The PRG Government
statement was not published until the 4th, but a PRG Foreign Ministry

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statement on the 30th had responded to the preceding day's announcement of the U.S.-supported GVN operation in the Parrot's Beak area of Cambodia. The 1 May statement by the PRG delegation at Paris was not carried by LPA until the 4th.

Neither the official statements nor routine propaganda directly acknowledge President Nixon's explanatory remarks on the necessity to clear out the communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. The DRV Government statement says merely that the President "multiplied slanders" against the DRV; the PRG statement goes a bit further when it observes that he "brazenly and slanderously accused the PRG and DRV of waging aggression against Cambodia." Both the statements as well as routine propaganda ridicule the President's statement that the allied action in Cambodia is aimed at saving American lives in South Vietnam.

The government statements and other propaganda refer to the Indochinese summit meeting as evidence of Vietnamese-Lao-Khmer solidarity, and both Hanoi and the Front pledge wholehearted support to the "fraternal" struggles in Indochina. The DRV statement expresses the "belief" that "brothers and friends" worldwide will strengthen their support for the three struggles, while the PRG statement "appeals" for "increased support and aid" for the Indochina struggle. LPA reports on 4 May that PRG Foreign Minister Binh called on French Foreign Minister Schumann on the 1st, when she informed him of the recent Indochinese summit meeting and spoke of the "extremely serious situation created by the U.S. direct armed aggression in Cambodia." LPA also reports that she reaffirmed the resolve of the PRG and South Vietnamese people "to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Khmer people to win back independence and freedom."

Press and radio comment on the President's speech includes a NHAN DAN Commentator article on the 3d which observes that the decision to move into Cambodia was taken 10 days after the President delivered his speech "boasting about the so-called scheme to restore a just peace to Vietnam and Cambodia." Commentator levels personal abuse at the President, claiming that "Nixon lied" when he said that the U.S. action was aimed at protecting the interests of the South Vietnamese and the Cambodians: "he is the biggest pirate and the most vicious liar." Other such vitriolic comment includes a 4 May LPA commentary which is replete with personal epithets and a Hanoi radio commentary on the 3d which says the President's arguments were those of a "brazen-faced brigand." Liberation Radio says on the 3d that the President is continuing "Johnson's decayed colonialist scheme" in persevering with the war

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for more than a year. This commentary notes the President's reference to a possible Republican loss at the polls in 1970 and to his own fate in 1972; it says "Nixon recklessly used crafty arguments to psychologically stir up" the American people when he said he would rather be a one-term President than see the United States become a second-class power and lose its first war in history. There is frequent reference to U.S. domestic opposition to the President's decision. The NHAN DAN Commentator article on the 3d, for example, notes that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee requested a meeting to question the President--"the first such request in 51 years."

The President's remarks on aid to Cambodia are glossed over for the most part, but VNA on the 2d does accurately quote him as saying that the United States would agree to the shipment of "small arms and other equipment which the Camoodian army needs and can use now for its defense." A Hanoi radio commentary on 1 May observes that the President "let it be known" that the United States and its allies "will do their best to provide weapons and equipment for the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique." But a Liberation Radio commentary on the same day ignores the President's remark that Cambodia could not easily utilize massive amounts of military assistance and claims that he "supported" the Lon Nol regime's request for "large amounts of military aid."

ARVN OPERATION Reaction to the 29 April announcement of the U.S.-supported ARVN operation in Cambodia includes the assertion by DRV delegate Nguyen Minh Vy at the 65th session of the Paris talks on 30 April that the operation is a "new, extremely serious escalation by the Nixon Administration." LPA's account of the session reports that PRG delegate Dinh Ba Thi "strongly condemned" the Nixon Administration for sending U.S. and GVN troops into Cambodia to launch a military operation on 29 April. There was no such explicit reference in the text of Thi's prepared statement; while he may have made such remarks in the rebuttal portion of the session, LPA and VNA normally do not report rebuttal remarks in such detail.

Front media on the 30th released a PRG Foreign Ministry statement saying that the operation announced on the 29th "surpasses" all previous ones conducted by the United States and the GVN against Cambodia. There is no comparable official DRV statement, but the action is scored in Hanoi radio comment on the 30th, and a NHAN DAN commentary on 1 May uses language identical to Vy's at Paris in calling the operation a "new, extremely serious escalation."

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HANOI SAYS ESCALATED AIR STRIKES MAY AFFECT PARIS TALKS

AIR STRIKES ON 1, 2 MAY Large-scale U.S. air strikes against targets in North Vietnam on 1 and 2 May are protested in the 2 May DRV Foreign Ministry statement--the first such statement at this level in more than a year. DRV protests against air strikes have usually taken the form of statements by a foreign ministry spokesman; the last such statement was issued on 23 April, protesting alleged attacks on 19 April. The last foreign ministry statement on U.S. air strikes in the North was issued on 29 January 1969; it denounced alleged B-52 raids, describing them as "the most serious acts of war" against the DRV since the bombing halt.

The current foreign ministry statement charges that on 1 and 2 May the United States sent more than 100 aircraft "in several groups to launch large-scale attacks on populated areas" in Quang Binh and Nghe An provinces. It claims that "many" civilians were killed or wounded, "including 20 children."

The statement links the air strikes with other U.S. actions, charging that "this is a deliberate action carried out simultaneously with the overt U.S. aggression against Cambodia and the extension of the war into the whole of Indochina." It maintains that "frenzied U.S. acts of war" have revealed the United States' losing position "in the face of the force of militant solidarity binding the three Indochinese peoples." In its routine conclusion that the United States will be held responsible for all consequences of its actions, the statement describes the attacks as a "new act of war escalation."

IMPACT ON PARIS TALKS The foreign ministry statement goes beyond any previous protest from the ministry or its spokesman when it suggests that the air attacks may undermine the Paris talks. It calls the attacks "a violation of the U.S. commitment to stop completely the bombing of North Vietnam" and warns, in a later passage, that they "will seriously affect the Paris conference on Vietnam."* Prefacing this warning is the assertion that "these U.S. war acts against the people of the DRV have further

* After the 1 November 1968 U.S. bombing halt, but before the opening of the expanded Paris talks in January 1969, several DRV Foreign Ministry protests over alleged U.S. attacks on the North charged that the actions were at variance with the U.S. bombing halt declaration. And a 26 February 1969 DRV Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement, responding to speculation about possible U.S. retaliation for communist action in the South, recalled the U.S. pledge to halt the bombing and charged that "by continuing to encroach upon DRV sovereignty and security, the Americans have violated their own commitment."

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laid bare the aggressive, extremely warlike and obdurate features of the Nixon Administration" and "have exposed the hypocrisy of the deceptive talks on 'peace and goodwill' so often repeated" by the Administration.

AIR STRIKES A 2 May VPA High Command communique* claims that two
ON 3, 4 MAY U.S. planes were downed during the attack on Quang
 Binh on that date, and a news report on the 3d claims
 two more planes downed that day as well as "many" hit by ground fire.
 The total of planes allegedly downed is substantially increased on
 5 May; a communique from the VPA High Command charges that U.S.
 planes carried out daily raids from 1 to 4 May against "populated
 areas and economic sites" and claims a total of 13 planes downed
 during those four days. Pinpointing the areas allegedly attacked,
 it lists Quang Ninh, Le Thuy, Tuyen Hoa, and Ninh Hoa districts in
 Quang Binh Province and Ky Son, Dien Chau, and Nghia Dan districts
 in Nghe An Province.

A news report in Hanoi's domestic service on the 5th details the additional claims of downed planes. It says that two F-105's were downed over Quang Binh on 4 May and that three had been brought down over Quang Binh on the 1st. "According to an additional report," the radio states, Nghe An and Quang Binh armed forces and people brought down four more planes on 2 and 3 May. Hanoi now claims that a total of 3,351 U.S. aircraft have been downed over the North.

The Administration's announcement of an end to the stepped-up bombing is acknowledged in a 5 May Hanoi domestic radio commentary. The commentary says that a Defense Department spokesman "was compelled" to declare a halt to the air raids, but that he "maintained a warlike tone" in saying the United States is ready to act whenever necessary to protect pilots flying reconnaissance aircraft over the North. "This indicated," the radio comments, "that the Americans have not yet renounced their scheme to stage air raids against the North whenever they deem it necessary."

KOSYGIN READS GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON CAMBODIA, AIR STRIKES

Soviet reaction to the President's announcement is highlighted by Kosygin's 4 March press conference at which he read the Soviet Government statement condemning the intrusion into Cambodia. This is the first government statement on Indochina since that of 2 November 1968 which

* The last VPA High Command communique was issued on 28 January, hailing the alleged downing of three U.S. planes.

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welcomed the halt of the U.S. bombing of the DRV and the expansion of the Paris talks. The statement does not refer explicitly to Soviet aid, although it says that the President "uttered a threat addressed to those states that would decide to come forward in support of the victims of U.S. aggression." And in response to a reporter's question, Kosygin says that the question of increased aid to the DRV "will obviously be reviewed." The statement says that the U.S. escalation of aggression "makes even more urgent the need for uniting and strengthening the cohesion of all the socialist, anti-imperialist, and peace-loving forces." It concludes with the vague assertion that the Soviet Government "will draw the appropriate conclusions for its policy" from the U.S. course of action in Southeast Asia.

The statement does not mention the Vietnamese communist presence, saying only that Washington justifies its move into Cambodia as "allegedly necessary for saving the lives of American soldiers" who are supposedly being "threatened by somebody." In reply to a question on the subject, Kosygin said at his press conference: "I am not informed about precisely how many Vietnamese troops there are in Cambodia, or if there are any there at all." But the U.S. press says, he added, "that American troops cannot find any Vietnamese troops in Cambodia at all."

The government statement also denounces the recent bombings of the DRV by which it says the United States has "grossly violated the commitments undertaken in the agreement that served as a basis for the four-sided talks in Paris." It adds that through the "war" in Cambodia and the bombings President Nixon has "practically cancelled out the decision of his predecessor, President Johnson, on the cessation of the bombing." In his press conference, Kosygin avoided responding directly to a question on the USSR extending its good offices to help achieve a political settlement in Paris: He said merely that the USSR welcomed the Paris meetings and that the United States is to blame for the lack of progress there.

The government statement is followed up by a PRAVDA editorial on the 5th which accuses the United States of using "scorched-earth tactics" in Cambodia and denounces the "barbaric air raids" on the DRV which contravene the U.S. undertaking on the bombing halt.

TASS STATEMENT Prior to the President's speech, Moscow had reacted to the 29 April announcement of a U.S.-supported South Vietnamese operation in Cambodia with a 30 April TASS statement which charged that the American military had committed a "new act of aggression testifying that Washington wants to spread military actions

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throughout the whole of the Indochinese peninsula." TASS denounced the United States for "flagrantly flouting the 1954 Geneva agreements, and warned of a deteriorating situation throughout Southeast Asia. The statement expressed support for the joint declaration of the Indochinese people's summit conference, and asserted, as did Kosygin, that the Soviet Union has always respected and respects the neutrality and independence, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

OTHER COMMENT Routine-level Moscow comment on the 29 April announcement of the GVN operation similarly denounced the "unconcealed aggression" as leading to a "further exacerbation" of the situation in Indochina. A radio commentary in English to North America by Afonin on 30 April says the U.S. penetration of Cambodia "strikingly resembles" the escalation of the war in South Vietnam and Laos--with the United States first supplying weapons, then advisers and instructors and troops to protect them, and finally troops for combat missions.

Moscow comment on President Nixon's speech before the release of the government statement glossed over the substance of the President's argument and condemned the "aggression" against Cambodia. Soviet propaganda generally cites as U.S. motivation for the action the need to protect American troops in South Vietnam from "some kind of threat allegedly coming from Cambodia." But Col. Aleksey Leontyev in a broadcast to North America on 3 May, without explicitly mentioning the President, ridicules reports that "the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops are fighting the new regime in Cambodia." And a Washington-dated dispatch in PRAVDA on 1 May acknowledges that the announcement of the 29 April operation said the aim was "striking blows at the Viet Cong bases."

Consistent with its glossing over of the substance of the President's speech, Moscow does not discuss his promise to "do our best" to supply small arms and equipment to Lon Nol's forces for defense purposes. Earlier, Soviet propaganda criticized the United States for approving the dispatch of a shipment of weapons via South Vietnam and for considering Lon Nol's aid request.

Statements denouncing the U.S. "invasion" of Cambodia have been issued by the Soviet peace committee and other organizations which express "support" for the "just struggles" in Indochina and praise the Indochinese people's summit conference. Beginning on 4 May, there are reports that mass protest meetings and rallies are being held in towns throughout the USSR.

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PRC CALLS ACTIONS IN CAMBODIA, AIR STRIKES "GRAVE STEP"

In its reaction to President Nixon's announcement on military actions in Cambodia, Peking has continued its effort to associate its interests with the anti-U.S. forces in Indochina while leaving its commitments in the conflict vague and undefined. A PRC Government statement on 4 May--the second such statement on Cambodia in a week--assails both the actions in Cambodia and the "resumed bombing" of the DRV as "an extremely grave step" by the United States to expand the war in Indochina. The statement introduces a new element in authoritative Chinese comment on Indochinese developments by calling the U.S. actions "frantic provocations against the Chinese people" as well as against the Indochinese and other peoples. The statement does not, however, assert a stronger Chinese commitment, pledging "powerful backing" and "all-out support and assistance"* to the Indochinese peoples and urging the latter to unite and persevere in protracted war. It does not repeat the stronger warning contained in the 26 March PRC Foreign Ministry statement on Laos that the Chinese "will not sit idly by" in the face of U.S. actions there.

A 5 May PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial follows up the statement by subjecting the President to virulent personal abuse as "an extremely ferocious war criminal" whose speech fully revealed "U.S. imperialism's arrogant, unreasonable, Machiavellian, and brazen features." The editorial seems to pull back a step from the government statement in charging that the U.S. actions in Cambodia constitute a grave provocation against the people in Asia and the world but failing to specify China. Its offer of Chinese support is similar to that in the statement and is in keeping with Peking's long-standing position on Vietnam, pledging "powerful backing" for the Indochinese countries and terming the PRC their "reliable rear area."

Assessing the Nixon Administration's Asian policies in light of the new developments, the editorial observes that the "wishful thinking" underlying the Nixon Doctrine foresaw the use of "puppets and accomplices" but that events in Indochina forced the President, acting "desperately like a cornered dog," to send troops into Cambodia.

* The formula "all-out support and assistance" has not been commonly used in Peking's pronouncements recently, though Chou En-lai used the formula in defining the PRC's "duty and obligation" toward the Vietnamese in a speech before a visiting NFLSV delegation on 8 October 1969 and at the 26 April banquet of the Indochinese summit conferees. A PRC Government statement dated 7 August 1965 pledged "all-out support and assistance" to the Vietnamese "up to and including the sending, according to their need, of our men to fight shoulder to shoulder with them to drive out the U.S. aggressors."

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The editorial also claims that the decision has stripped off the Nixon Administration's "mask of 'peace'" and that it has no intention to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam. The editorial does not draw any implications for China or other parts of Asia, portraying a situation in Indochina in which the United States will sink deeper into "the vast ocean of people's war" and encounter "a more disastrous defeat" at the hands of the Indochinese people.

Peking's first reaction to the President's speech came in an NCNA dispatch dated 2 May charging that the United States had initiated "a war of aggression" against Cambodia and denouncing the President in notably abusive terms as "an executioner whose hands are dripping with the blood" of the Indochinese people. Assailing the President's rationale that the action was aimed at clearing out enemy sanctuaries in order to protect American troops in Vietnam, NCNA argued that according to this logic the United States may next attack "another country" under the pretext of protecting its personnel in some other place. Neither this dispatch nor subsequent comment has mentioned the President's statement that the U.S. actions are in no way directed against the security interests of any nation.

Quoting the President's remark that the United States will continue efforts to end the war at the conference table, the NCNA dispatch claimed that the President's aim is "to force the Indochinese peoples to sign a treaty of surrender." This is the closest Peking has come in current comment to mentioning the Paris talks. An NCNA report on the 2 May DRV statement denouncing U.S. air attacks in North Vietnam did not include the reference to the Paris talks, merely quoting the statement as saying that the raids exposed the hypocrisy of the Nixon Administration's "deceptive talks on 'peace' and 'good will.'"

SIHANOUK Sihanouk's initial reaction to the President's speech
REACTION was contained in a press statement dated 2 May and
 transmitted by NCNA on the 4th. While quoting the
President as explaining that the United States must clean out
"Viet Cong and North Vietnamese sanctuaries" in Cambodia, Sihanouk's
statement claims that the U.S. action was dictated by a need to
preserve the life of the Lon Nol regime. The statement cites--without
subscribing to--the view attributed to the Western press that
Cambodian forces fighting under the banner of the National United
Front of Kampuchea will isolate and then recapture Phnom Penh.
In his own name Sihanouk predicts that the Vietnamese, Laotian,
and Cambodian peoples, "having already formed an Indochina united
front," will be able within the "next several weeks and months" to
deal "telling blows and completely defeat" the United States and its
"lackeys" in Phnom Penh, Saigon, and Vientiane. The statement does
not mention China.

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The statement renews the plea contained in an appeal by Sihanouk dated 30 April (carried by NCNA on the 2d), reacting to allied military incursions into Cambodia prior to the President's speech, that governments sever diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol regime. It also mentions the Geneva agreements, charging that the United States has "deliberately destroyed" the agreements and pointing out that the danger to American soldiers will no longer exist "once Nixon makes the decision" to respect the Geneva agreements and to withdraw U.S. troops from Indochina. The statement does not raise the question of a new conference on Indochina.

MOSCOW, PEKING TRADE CHARGES ON INDOCHINA POLICY

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE Following Peking's 24 April explicit criticism of Soviet UN representative Yakov Malik's remarks on a new Geneva conference, Chou En-lai makes an oblique attack on the Soviet position. NCNA on 3 May carries a speech Chou delivered at the 26 April banquet, at the conclusion of the Indochinese summit, in which he charged that the United States is trying to sabotage the Indochinese peoples' united struggle by means of a "so-called peaceful settlement of the Indochina question through the convocation of international conferences." In a thinly veiled allusion to the Soviets, Chou added that "some people have expressed in words" their support for the Cambodian people's struggle but "facts have proved that they are tailing closely after U.S. imperialism."

A Moscow Radio Peace and Progress broadcast in Mandarin on the 27th had responded to Peking's 24 April criticism of Soviet "collusion" with the United States, though without acknowledging the reference to Malik. And a Moscow broadcast in Mandarin on 3 May says that NCNA has "spread a rumor that the Soviet Union made a proposal at the United Nations on the Cambodian issue" which was "warmly welcomed" by U.S. imperialism. Thus, Moscow still failed to acknowledge that the point at issue was a new international conference.

It was left to Kosygin in his 4 May press conference to break Soviet silence on a Geneva conference.* In response to a question from a Moscow radio correspondent, Kosygin said that "the decisive word" rests with the Indochinese, but he went on to observe that now seems the time not for meetings but for actions "to stop the U.S. intervention

* TASS had reported the 1 April French proposal on possible broad negotiations on Indochina as well as the 10 April comments on the proposal by Le Duc Tho, DRV adviser to the Paris delegation.

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in Cambodia." Kosygin echoed other recent Moscow propaganda when he said "we have a negative attitude" toward Indonesia's proposal for a "conference of U.S. allies" on Cambodia. Moscow has apparently not acknowledged that Asian communist countries had been invited to the conference scheduled for mid-May in Djakarta. TASS on 5 May notes that such neutral countries as India, Burma, and Ceylon have rejected Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik's invitation.

SOCIALIST "UNITED ACTION" A 5 May Mandarin-language Radio Peace and Progress broadcast cites the appeal in the Soviet Government statement "for uniting and strengthening the cohesion" of socialist and other peace-loving forces. And it goes on to say that "more than once" the Soviet Union and other socialist countries proposed to the Chinese leadership "the holding of tripartite talks by the Soviet Union, China, and Vietnam and summit meetings among the socialist countries to provide support to the DRV," all of which were turned down by the PRC. The commentary adds that the inception of U.S. bombing in February 1965 gave rise to the proposal that "all socialist countries issue a joint statement" condemning the United States and supporting the DRV, but that the Chinese leadership opposed it.

BACKGROUND: On 3 March 1965 a statement on Vietnam issued by the 19-party consultative meeting in Moscow said that "the Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as their international duty to strive for the unity of action of all progressive and democratic forces in order to render resolute support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people." In February 1966 Tirana had disclosed that in January the Polish Central Committee sent a message to the PRC regarding a bloc meeting on the coordination of aid to the DRV and NFLSV and had asked for bloc support of such a meeting. In March 1966 the Hamburg DIE WELT carried excerpts of a "secret" CPSU letter which said that the CPSU had twice proposed a tripartite summit meeting on coordination of aid.* Moscow propaganda has on rare occasions referred to these initiatives in general terms similar to the current commentary.

"ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION" OF CAMBODIA ANNOUNCED

Peking media reported on 5 May that at a press conference that day Sihanouk read a proclamation announcing the formation of a new government--the "Royal Government of National Union under the

* See the FBIS BLOC SURVEY of 2 March 1967, pages 3 to 17 for a chronology of the Sino-Soviet polemic on support for Vietnam.

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leadership of the National United Front of Kamphchea" (FUNK).* The proclamation says that pursuant to Sihanouk's 23 March statement, an "extraordinary congress" was held in Peking attended by "qualified representatives of various circles of Cambodia," and the government was founded with Penn Nouth as prime minister. The proclamation states that the tasks of the new government, as spelled out in the March statement, are to unite the people in the struggle to oppose U.S. aggression and overthrow the rule of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak and, after the winning of victory, to establish an independent, peaceful, neutral, democratic, and prosperous Cambodia. The new government reportedly will "absolutely respect" all international agreements, treaties, and pacts entered into before the 18 March coup. The belief is also expressed that the government will receive "militant sympathy and fraternal support" and will be recognized as the only legal government of Cambodia.

Other Peking broadcasts list the names of the 12-member government and the 11-member political bureau of FUNK. The new government and FUNK political bureau include members of Sihanouk's entourage, former ambassadors who rallied to Sihanouk, and three former National Assembly deputies who had vanished three years ago after being accused by Sihanouk of being Khmer Reds. (On 10 April VNA had carried a statement by the three former deputies expressing "full support" for Sihanouk's 23 April proclamation.)

Peking media also carry the political program of FUNK which was reportedly adopted at the congress and made public by Sihanouk at the press conference. The aim of the program, to develop the five-point declaration made by Sihanouk on 23 March, is to realize the broadest national union for fighting the American imperialists; "overthrow" the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak "dictatorship"; defend the independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the country within its present frontiers; and build a "free and democratic regime of the people." FUNK, says the program, "coordinates" its struggle with that of the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos on the principle that "the liberation and defense of each country are the affairs of its own people and that the mutual support among the three peoples must be based on mutual respect."

* A fuller NCNA report of the press conference on 6 May cites Sihanouk as saying that the government is "not a government in exile because it has its basis at home. We have our army at home. Whenever we liberate a village, a county, or a city we will set up a legitimate administration there."

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On foreign policy the program notes FUNK's adherence to the standard principles of national independence, peace, neutrality, nonalignment and solidarity and friendship with all peace-loving peoples and governments. It also affirms adherence to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the "spirit" of the UN Charter, adding that it will not join any military alliance. The program repeats, without attribution, the pledge in the joint declaration of the summit conference that each of the three Indochinese states will assist each of the others according to the wishes of the country concerned. Cambodia, it says, "is ready to make concerted efforts with Laos and Vietnam to make Indochina genuinely a zone of independence, peace, and progress."

RECOGNITION OF GOVERNMENT The government proclamation, first carried in the Peking domestic service at 1121 GMT, was followed six minutes later by another domestic service broadcast of a letter from Chou En-lai announcing that the PRC Government "formally recognizes" the new government as the only legal government of the people of Cambodia. The letter is addressed to Sihanouk as head of state of Cambodia and chairman of FUNK and to Penn Nouth as prime minister of the new government. The letter states that the PRC formally severs all diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak "rightist renegade clique" and will withdraw its diplomatic agencies, personnel, and specialists from Phnom Penh. Chou notes that the new government was founded at the "critical juncture when U.S. imperialism has blatantly invaded Cambodia" and declares that the Cambodian people's anti-U.S. patriotic struggle has "entered a new historic stage." He expresses confidence that the Cambodian people and their new government, "united with the fraternal people of Vietnam and Laos" and supported by peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, "persevering in armed struggle and in protracted struggle," will certainly win final victory.

DRV recognition of the new government as "the sole legitimate and legal government of Cambodia" comes in a 6 May message from Pham Van Dong to Penn Nouth. A congratulatory message the same day to Sihanouk from Ton Duc Thang and Pham Van Dong invokes the "sacred provisions" of the joint declaration of the Indochinese summit conference in reaffirming the "promise" of the Vietnamese people, Fatherland Front, and DRV Government "to do their best to strengthen their militant solidarity with the fraternal Khmer until total victory." The DRV leaders claim that the new government and the political bureau of FUNK "faithfully" represent the will and aspirations of all social strata and political tendencies among the Cambodian people, noting also that FUNK has "at its disposal vigorous armed forces and possesses vast liberated regions."

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Within an hour of the initial Peking domestic service announcement, TASS carried a brief report of the proclamation of the new government and of the FUNK political program, specifying that the congress was held on 3-4 May. Thus far, Moscow has made no mention of recognition. At his 4 May press conference Kosygin called Sihanouk the "lawful head of state" but acknowledged that he had been "removed." The Soviet premier avoided a direct answer to a question as to which Cambodian government the USSR recognizes, saying merely: "We recognize the neutralist government of Cambodia. We recognize as the government of Cambodia the one which pursues a policy of peace and not a policy of war."

At this writing, other countries which have announced recognition of the new government include Albania, Cuba, Syria, and Iraq. North Korea's Kim Il-song sent Sihanouk a message "welcoming" the new government as the "sole, legal government of Cambodia." Similarly, Romania's President Ceausescu, according to the Bucharest domestic service on 5 May, sent Sihanouk a telegram expressing "congratulations" on the founding of the new government without specifically referring to recognition. Radio Belgrade reported on 6 May that the Federal Executive Council that day "took a decision on the official recognition of the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia."

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HANOI ATTENTION TO MAY DAY, HO CHI MINH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

North Vietnamese media report that a meeting was held in Hanoi on the evening of 30 April to mark 1 May labor day. Among those attending were Ton Duc Thang, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, and Vo Nguyen Giap. (The VNA English-language account of the meeting lists Pham Van Dong ahead of Truong Chinh, but the usual order--placing Truong Chinh after Thang--is used in Hanoi's Vietnamese-language radio and VNA transmissions.) Opening remarks were offered by Pham Van Dong and the main speech was given by Hoang Quoc Viet, president of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions. Both speakers took the occasion to call attention to the recent Indochina summit conference and to score U.S. policy as outlined in President Nixon's 20 April speech on the withdrawal of another 150,000 U.S. troops from Vietnam. Dong declared, among other things, that the conference was a "stern answer" to the U.S. policy of Vietnamization and to "the other imperialist countries and the reactionaries in some countries in Asia who are trying by every means to serve the policy of intervention and aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Indochina and Cambodia and legalize the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak fascist racist clique."

The 1 May NHAN DAN editorial similarly scored "reactionary ruling circles in a number of Asian countries" which are "attempting to get together to save the U.S. and its henchmen." Noting the Vietnamese people's dedication to strengthening their own solidarity and the solidarity of the Indochinese peoples, the editorial adds that they also endeavor to contribute to the "restoration and strengthening of the solidarity and unity of mind in the socialist camp and among fraternal parties."

Hanoi on 2 May releases slogans commemorating Ho Chi Minh's 80th birth anniversary--on 19 May--and a 29 April party Central Committee Secretariat instruction on the anniversary.

SOUTH MARKS MAY DAY, SOUTHERN TRADE UNION ANNIVERSARY

The two workers' anniversaries--May Day and the 27 April anniversary of the South Vietnam Liberation Trade Union Federation--prompt a flurry of propaganda hailing the workers' struggle. The commentaries, praising the solidarity of the workers' movement, all claim that the movement has developed greatly in recent months. LPA says on the 30th that a number of GVN assembly deputies have been won over to the workers' side. A Hanoi radio commentary on the 1st claims that, along with the struggle movement, the workers "have positively participated in the armed activities" against the allies and have "set up many armed units" which are a "permanent threat" to the allies.

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A May Day appeal to the Saigon people from the Saigon municipal people's revolutionary committee, broadcast by Hanoi on the 30th, declares that the Saigon people "have entered the most desperate phase of their struggle" against the allies. It calls on the people to make "all-out efforts to defeat" Vietnamization, develop "real political and armed forces," and concentrate attacks on the Americans and the Thieu regime. A GIAI PHONG editorial, published in the 1 May commemorative issue and broadcast that day by the Front, claims that a "united action front" against the allies is being formed, gathering students, workers, and sick and disabled veterans in their struggle against the "repressive measures" of the GVN.

WAR IN THE SOUTH

Scattered military action throughout the South continues to be reported along with reviews of the upsurge in fighting in early April. Hanoi, in a broadcast on the 3d, alleges that an allied operation "Tat Thang" (Certainly Victorious) was defeated in the northern Kontum area from 1 to 26 April, with 2,467 allies annihilated, including 35 U.S. advisors. At Dak Seang alone more than 230 were annihilated, according to the broadcast.

DAK SEANG POWS Liberation Radio on the 1st and 2d asserts that the allies violated a ceasefire which had been demanded in a 28 April offer from the Dak Seang PLAF command to release, on the 29th, wounded allied prisoners captured in the Dak Seang area.* The radio charges that allied troops and aircraft were dispatched to attack the release area. The PLAF on the 28th had called for a ceasefire during the release and stipulated that the prisoners be picked up by unarmed helicopters.

APRIL FIGHTING LPA reviews April "victories" on the 2d, maintaining that the "April drive of attacks" inflicted heavy allied losses and that ARVN divisions, "chiefly those who are 'bearing the brunt of the war'" in test areas for Vietnamization, sustained heavy losses. In the delta, according to LPA, the population in allied-controlled areas rose up to destroy strategic hamlets and pacification teams.

On 5 May LPA carries a comprehensive report on alleged allied casualties in the first 20 days of April, claiming that 50,000 allied troops were killed, wounded, or captured, including nearly 20,000 GIs. More than

* The 28 April offer to release the prisoners was discussed in the 29 April TRENDS, pages 16 and 17.

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12,000 military vehicles and over 500 aircraft were reported destroyed. QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, in an editorial on the 5th, cites these same figures and says these feats caused a "serious setback" to Vietnamization. The editorial adds that attacks were aimed at U.S. troops--a "prop" of Vietnamization--and that the people struck hard at ARVN forces--"an essential means" for the Americans to carry out Vietnamization. It maintains that the "process of offensives and uprisings" has been accelerated and that greater "victories" were won in April than in any other month so far in 1970.

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U. S. — SOVIET RELATIONS

SOVIET STATEMENT DENOUNCES U.S. FOR RELIANCE ON FORCE

The Soviet Government statement read by Kosygin at his televised news conference in Moscow on 4 May constitutes, overall, the USSR's strongest official attack to date on the Nixon Administration's policies. Particularly striking is the observation that "it is obvious that the U.S. Administration is following an aggressive course in its policy, proceeding from the assumption that a mighty power cannot act in international affairs in any other way but by the use of force."

The statement stops short of declaring flatly that the incursion of U.S. troops into Cambodia will have an adverse effect on U.S.-Soviet relations, a formulation which Kosygin and other Soviet spokesmen have used in speeches in the past in regard to the U.S. "aggression" in Vietnam. But the statement says that the actions in Cambodia "may further complicate the overall international situation," and it asks rhetorically how one is to understand the President's repeated statements on moving from an era of confrontation to one of negotiation. It goes on to question whether it is possible to talk seriously about the President's desire for fruitful talks to solve urgent international problems at a time when Washington is "crudely trampling on" the 1954 and 1962 Geneva accords and is "undertaking more and more new actions that undermine the mainstays of international security."

In what may be interpreted as a reference to the strategic arms limitation talks in Vienna, the statement further questions the value of an international agreement to which the United States subscribes "or to which it is prepared to subscribe if it unceremoniously violates the obligations it assumes."

In response to a question from a correspondent of the Bulgarian RABOTNICHESKO DELO regarding the reported observation by a White House spokesman that the USSR "must weigh the entire complex of mutual relations"--including the Vienna talks--in reacting to the U.S. "tactical invasion" of Cambodia, Kosygin said that the President is "in fact attempting to threaten us to some extent." It would have been better, Kosygin added, if the President had "weighed his actions" before moving into Cambodia. Responding to a question from a West German correspondent on the possibility of the Vienna talks breaking up as a result of the actions in Cambodia, Kosygin reaffirmed that the Soviet delegation went to Vienna to hold "serious talks." He stated that the talks must take place in an atmosphere of trust, but "at a time when agreements are broken, when there is such an informal attitude vis-a-vis all sorts of international laws, of course this arouses watchfulness on our part, and one must say that these actions by the United States do not strengthen mutual trust."

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SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

In the aftermath of the polemical exchanges at the time of the Lenin centenary celebrations, both sides have signalled their intent to keep the Sino-Soviet talks alive and, by implication, to keep tensions along the border under control. At his press conference on 4 May Premier Kosygin, in reply to an Italian correspondent who asked when the talks would be resumed, denied that the talks had been broken off and remarked that the question had not arisen from either side. Earlier, NCNA's report on May Day celebrations in Peking attended by Mao singled out the presence of the deputy chief of the Soviet delegation at the talks. There had been no announcement on Soviet chief negotiator Kuznetsov's return to Moscow, in contrast to the time of his return last December when Peking issued an announcement designed to put pressure on the Soviets to have Kuznetsov resume participation in the negotiations.

Peking's May Day celebrations included only passing polemical jabs at the Soviets. The PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, drawing inspiration from the launching of the PRC's first earth satellite, aimed a characteristic barb at "Brezhnev and company" for having predicted that China would find the going impossible unless it joined Moscow's socialist community-- "that is, unless it became a dependency of social imperialism."

SOVIET POLEMICS CONCENTRATED IN BROADCASTS TO THE PRC

While Soviet broadcasts to China sustain their virulent attacks on Mao and his policies and vigorously press Moscow's ideological views, more authoritative comment has played down the China question and avoided the border dispute. Kosygin's 4 May remarks on the Peking talks, observing that the Soviets are approaching the matter "constructively" and are discussing "a whole number of questions" with the Chinese, failed to criticize the Chinese attitude and struck a note of moderation reminiscent of Soviet comments soon after the talks opened last October. There has been no renewal of charges made by Brezhnev and Kirilenko on 14 April that Peking's anti-Soviet campaign impairs the talks.

Brezhnev's brief May Day speech did not mention China. Sino-Soviet tensions were aired, however, by Khabarovsk party chief Shitikov in his May Day speech carried by the Khabarovsk radio. Reflecting that border region's special concern with events in China, he denounced the anti-Soviet campaign and war hysteria in China as the product of the "great-power chauvinistic policy of the Mao Tse-tung clique."*

* In another development involving officials in the Soviet border regions, the commander of the Far Eastern Military District, V.F. Tolubko, was one of three officers to be promoted to army general, according to RED STAR on 1 May.

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The border issue is raised in an article on China in LIFE ABROAD No. 18 (1 May) by German communist Otto Braun. Entitled "Shots on the Ussuri and the Maoists," the article was excerpted from his memoirs and was published earlier in a GDR weekly. Braun depicts Mao as a cunning, power-hungry individual who liquidates party members opposed to his policies, vacillates between the United States and the Soviet Union, and, as confirmed by the CCP's ninth congress, has "finally and irrevocably departed from Marxism-Leninism."

Soviet broadcasts beamed to China, accounting for the bulk of current Soviet comment on the PRC, follow standard themes in seeking to exploit discontent among such groups as the Chinese youth, national minorities, intellectuals, and the PLA. Although the recently resumed attacks on Mao by name are carried by both Radio Moscow and the purportedly unofficial Radio Peace and Progress, commentaries containing malicious personal abuse directed at Mao and his entourage are broadcast only by Radio Peace and Progress. Pointed efforts to arouse anti-Peking sentiment among the non-Han peoples are illustrated by Mongolian broadcasts over Radio Peace and Progress seeking to promote resentment against Maoist policies and anti-Soviet activities in Inner Mongolia and charging that Mao wants to annex the MPR.

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MIDDLE EAST

KOSYGIN ACKNOWLEDGES SOVIET "MILITARY ADVISERS" ARE IN UAR

Responding to a correspondent's request that he confirm or deny the Israeli Government's 29 April charge that Soviet pilots are taking part in operational missions in Egypt, Kosygin acknowledged at his 4 May press conference that under an agreement with the UAR Government "our military advisers are attached to the UAR troops." He explained that the object is to "combat Israeli aggression," which is occurring "only because of the great assistance of the United States." As for the advisers' responsibilities and assignments, he said only that "the respective functions of our military advisers are being coordinated with the UAR Government." Moscow thus far apparently has not seen fit to give Kosygin's statement any further publicity; rather, it is countering with revived charges that citizens of the United States and other Western countries are serving in the Israeli forces.

Prior to Kosygin's remark, the meager Soviet propaganda response to Israel's charge concerning Soviet pilots had dealt with it--as Cairo did--in roundabout fashion, ignoring the substance. TASS on 30 April reported the UAR official spokesman as "speaking about the anti-Arab and anti-Soviet campaign fanned up" in Israel. Belyayev in the 1 May PRAVDA noted the "unprecedented political furor" in Israel but brushed over the nature of the charges in claiming that "the deliberately false allegations about the Soviet Union" are "unfounded." He insisted that the Soviet Union "firmly and consistently" supports a peaceful settlement, with Israeli withdrawal as the "cornerstone" of such a solution. Noting that Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban "threatened that Egyptian resistance to the aggressor's provocations" must lead to fulfillment by the United States of its undertaking to insure Israel's security, Belyayev said "observers" interpreted this as a signal of Israel's desire to secure new Phantoms and Skyhawks. He referred to the British GUARDIAN's comment that Israel was exerting pressure not only for more jet planes but also "to get wider American participation in the operations against the Arabs," and he noted news agency reports that the Egyptian forces "recently increased their resistance" to the Israeli "provocations."

In PRAVDA on 4 May, Mayevskiy also sidestepped the issue of Soviet pilots in remarking on Israel's "new anti-Soviet and anti-Egyptian provocations." He cited the Cairo AL-AHRAM as saying that Israel tries to "present the matter in such a way as if 'the technical and strategic successes achieved by the Egyptian air force and ground troops are not Egypt's own actions.'" Such statements are calculated to get additional U.S. military assistance, he said, claiming that

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Tel Aviv relies in vain on military pressure on the Arabs, whose armed forces "accumulate experience and deal ever stronger blows at the Israeli occupation forces." Washington seems to have expected new complaints from Tel Aviv and "expressed 'a serious concern,'" Mayevskiy added. He remarked that it was hardly possible to rule out further U.S. steps in support of Israeli policy, thus creating an impetus for further prolonging the Middle East conflict.

BACKGROUND Moscow indicated the presence of "Soviet experts" in the UAR on at least one occasion in the past, in an Arabic-language broadcast on 9 November 1969 dealing with Nasir's 6 November speech to the UAR National Assembly. The broadcast said Nasir "once again mentioned that the Soviet Union is the Arabs' friend and is giving them the necessary weapons; Soviet experts are giving their knowledge on the use of these weapons." When Nasir discussed his request for "the deployment of Soviet experts with the armed forces" in some detail in a 27 March speech last year, TASS in reporting this speech merely noted that he "pointed to the great role the Soviet Union played in strengthening the UAR's defense potential."

There are few other available propaganda suggestions of a Soviet role encompassing more than arms deliveries. A Moscow Arabic-language broadcast last October said "it is known" that the Soviet Union aids the Arabs militarily not only by supplying arms "but also by providing extensive fighting experience." And the Moscow domestic service on 10 January this year referred to a RED STAR article by an air force officer who said the USSR was assisting the Vietnamese and Arab struggles with Soviet "experience and weapons."

In the past few months Soviet propaganda has adhered to the standard line that the USSR will continue supplying the "necessary aid" to enable the Arabs to "increase their defense strength." The 16 February TASS statement declared that "as long as" Israel "tramples underfoot" the UN decision, the Soviet Union will "render the necessary support" to the Arab states in "strengthening their ability to uphold their security."

"VOLUNTEERS" IN ISRAELI FORCES The charge that the United States is "allowing" American citizens to fight in the Israeli army was resurfaced by Soltan in a 30 April foreign-language commentary built on the theme that Washington will be reconsidering its decision on further deliveries of planes to Israel. The charge of U.S. citizens' participation in the Israeli forces has appeared sporadically in the propaganda since the initial exploitation of the issue last fall. A Tsoppi commentary in January, for example, claimed that South African pilots, "together with American

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fliers, are bombing Arab cities and villages," and Glukhov asserted in the 29 March PRAVDA that "American citizens have been authorized to serve in the Israeli army."

TASS on 25 April picked up a Cairo AL-AHRAM report that the UAR Government had "authentic information" on British servicemen in the Israeli armed forces. And on 3 May TASS cited the Cairo weekly ROSE AL-YUSUF as saying that as many as 3,500 foreigners from 12 countries, including the United States, Britain, South Africa, Canada, and Australia, serve with the Israeli forces. Commenting on the ROSE AL-YUSUF report, a Moscow domestic service commentary asserts on 5 May that Washington, London, and Bonn are "carefully concealing their military cadre assistance to Israel"; Western officials, it says, deny that there are any American and British citizens or other foreign subjects in the Israeli army, claiming that there are only people who came from Western countries and took Israeli citizenship. This, the broadcast flatly says, "is a lie; nearly 15,000 regular officers, who are called volunteers, are serving in the Israeli army" and have no thought of renouncing their "American or, say, West German citizenship." The "volunteers serve," the broadcast adds, in the Israeli air force, navy, and armored troops and "participate in military operations." The commentary says it is clear that any Western government has only to raise its finger to end the recruiting of its citizens for the Israeli army, but "the whole point is precisely that many Western countries help Israel in every possible way."

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A U S T R I A

MOSCOW CAUTIOUS ON SOCIALISTS, REAFFIRMS OPPOSITION TO EEC

Initial Moscow comment on Austria's first minority government, formed by the Socialist Party on 20 April, reflects traditional Soviet antipathy toward Austrian efforts to associate with the Common Market and concern that Austria's "permanent neutrality" be preserved. Moscow's treatment of the Socialists now, as the new ruling party, is markedly more reserved than in April 1966, when Soviet media openly blamed the Socialists' "anticommunism" and their "slanderous, fabricated" anti-Soviet slogans for their election losses and the installation of an exclusively People's Party government. The tone of Soviet propaganda noticeably softened in broadcasts to Austria following the failure of efforts to form another grand coalition between the Socialists and the People's Party. By contrast, East German comment registers strong skepticism and suspicion that the two dominant parties may yet establish a coalition aimed at "deceiving" Austrian voters.

MOSCOW ON EEC
AND NEUTRALITY

A Zakharov commentary broadcast to Austrian listeners on 29 April typifies Moscow comment on the new Socialist government. Discussing at length the important role played by neutral countries in promoting European security and cooperation, Zakharov concludes that a "positive" Austrian role in this endeavor would yield "the most positive results" for Austria's own prosperity and security. Optimism would be unjustified, he warns, if the new government "were to stake its hopes on participation in the so-called 'little European integration.'"

Zakharov points out that the EEC's ultimate aim is political union and repeats the standard Soviet warning that participation in such "economic and political integration" would be "absolutely incompatible" with Austria's neutral status. He does not, however, raise the usual specter of "West German monopoly interests" controlling the EEC and seeking to infiltrate further into the Austrian economy. The commentary lays stress on various negative aspects of an EEC association status for Austria, concluding that Austria would be "merely the seventh wheel of this no longer up-to-date vehicle" at the price of granting the EEC's biggest monopolies a "privileged position" in Austrian markets.

An earlier Zakharov commentary for Austrian listeners, on the 24th, argued along similar lines and also stressed the value of trade with non-EEC countries, claiming that Austria's economy "derives incomparably more advantages" from trade with the East, the EFTA countries, nonmembers of the EEC, and non-European countries. An Austrian association with the

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EEC "could never even come near making good the losses" Austria might suffer in these other markets, the commentator declared.

Soviet press comment in mid-April, prior to the breakdown of Socialist and People's Party coalition negotiations, used the 25th anniversary of Vienna's liberation from "German fascist invaders" for strong reminders about the importance of Austrian neutrality and repeatedly mentioned "large-scale infiltration" of West German capital, accompanied by an "ideological offensive" and the financing of rightwing parties. An IZVESTIYA article on 12 April blatantly called it "a strange position, to say the least," when "some people in Austria" try to "define the country's neutrality in their own way" and even "declare that the alpine republic itself will determine the extent of its obligations under the state treaty." The article included a reminder that the four major powers "guarantee" Austria's neutrality and an admonition that "only strict observation" of the state treaty and neutrality can protect the country against "any unpleasant events" and insure independent development.

SKEPTICAL COMMENT
FROM EAST GERMANY

Although recent East German propaganda on the GDR's own activities aimed at promoting relations with Austria suggests a moderate approach, a 22 April East Berlin radio comment by Wolker expressed fundamental skepticism about the trend in Austria's policies even after announcement of the Socialist minority government. Wolker noted that despite the abortive negotiations with the People's Party, the Socialist leadership "does not at all reject a coalition with this bourgeois party" and that the talk continues about renewing coalition negotiations this summer.

Wolker concluded that behind these "statements, assurances, and political maneuvers" are indications that the two parties have agreed to set up "a new model of governing" that is really very old and has proved "excellently suited for the deception of the voters." He pointed to the examples of the United States and Britain where, he said, the two parties exchange roles as political conditions change. Conceding that the Socialist party "could" bring about announced social reforms, Wolker concluded that the Austrian Socialists must still prove their determination to do so.

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SPANISH CP AND CPSU

COMMUNIQUE ON MOSCOW TALKS SKIRTS CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

Controversial issues separating the Spanish Communist Party and the CPSU are evaded in a communique released by Soviet media on 2 May, after a high-level meeting in Moscow on 29 April. In addition to generally ignoring controversial subjects, the communique contains several indications that the Spanish party has been prevailed upon to soften its anti-Soviet stance. A less than fully harmonious encounter is suggested, however, by the communique's description of the atmosphere as one of "frankness, mutual respect, and comradeship."

The Spanish CP has antagonized Moscow by its continuing outspoken opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and its advocacy of a uniquely Spanish model of socialism. On the other hand, Spanish communists have evinced dismay over signs that Moscow and its East European allies are moving toward a rapprochement with the Franco regime, as well as over indications that Moscow is supporting the splitting activities of two pro-Soviet dissidents, Eduardo Garcia and Agustin Gomez, who were dropped from party leadership positions last July and expelled from the party in December.*

The importance Moscow assigns to patching up relations with dissident West European parties was underscored by the prominence of the Soviet representation, which included CPSU secretaries and Politburo members Suslov and Kirilenko and party secretary Ponomarev. Party Chairman Dolores Ibarruri and Secretary General Santiago Carillo led the Spanish CP delegation.

While staying away from the sore point of Czechoslovakia, the communique proclaims general Spanish CP "support for the peaceloving foreign policy of the USSR." It says "both delegations stress the great importance of the results of the international conference of communist and workers parties in 1969," and it uses the ambiguous formulation that international communist unity must be assured by "respect for the independence of communist and workers parties in the irreconcilable struggle against imperialist ideology and any manifestations of opportunism." The Spanish party signed the main document on the 1969 international party conference, but only after Carrillo expressed his party's "serious reservations" about it in his speech to the conclave.

* For a discussion of Spanish CP reaction to Western press reports of a Moscow airport meeting between the Spanish Foreign Minister and Soviet Foreign Ministry officials last December, and of an intimation by the Spanish CP organization in the USSR that Moscow was collaborating in the divisionist efforts of the two dissidents, see the FBIS TRENDS of 14 January 1970, pages 24-25, and of 21 January 1970, page 25.

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The communique makes no reference to the issue of the socialist states' dealings with Franco--anathema to the Spanish party--but refers vaguely to the necessity for intensifying "the joint struggle of both parties . . . against the hotbeds of fascism in Spain, Portugal, and Greece" and expresses CPSU solidarity with the Spanish CP's efforts to unify the "progressive and democratic forces of Spain with the aim of establishing a democratic system in the country."

A Spanish CP Executive Committee statement last January had evinced concern over reports of the Spanish Foreign Minister's Moscow meeting and called upon Poland to refuse to sell coal to the Franco regime that would be used to offset a shortage stemming from a strike of Asturian miners. Since then the Spanish party has frequently admonished socialist states to refrain from dealings with Franco. Thus, an Executive Committee May Day statement carried by the party's clandestine Radio Espana Independiente on 30 April appealed "to the comrades of the socialist countries not to take any political steps which might be interpreted as a rapprochement with or recognition of the Franco regime." The Spanish CP's agitation had little effect. The Poles apparently ignored its call last January for a Polish disclaimer on the proposed coal shipment to Spain. At the French CP Congress in February French party dissident Roger Garaudy attacked the Poles--without directly naming them--for assisting Franco's strike-breaking activities by shipping the coal. And on 27 April Spain's EFE agency reported that the Polish deputy minister of commerce had arrived in Madrid "to sign commercial, economic, navigation, and industrial cooperation treaties."

PRO-SOVIET Articles in the Spanish party organ MUNDO OBRERO by
DISSIDENTS Carrillo and Ibarri, broadcast by Radio Espana
 Independiente, have registered the party's continuing
concern over the splitting activities of ousted pro-Soviet dissidents
Garcia and Gomez. In an article broadcast on 29 March, Carrillo
indicated that the schismatics were calling for the party to hold "a
democratic congress." Undoubtedly aware that the dissidents hoped to
use such a congress to oust the present party leadership, Carrillo
argued that a democratic congress was "impossible" while the party
continued to operate under clandestine conditions.

Alleging that the "splitting work" of the pair had exposed the party
to "police repression," Carrillo cited an instance in which Madrid
communist students learned that police patrolling the university were
instructed "that a leaflet by Eduardo Garcia and Agustin Gomez was
to be distributed at the university grounds and that they should
not prevent its distribution." Although Carrillo stated that the
police had prepared the leaflet themselves and that the two dissidents
"had nothing to do with this," he concluded with the admonition that
"all splitting activities are used by the police as provocations against

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the party." He denied that the party's failure to publicize the platform of the splitters signified a reversal of its commitment to open political discussion, declaring:

We did not publish their platform because it was not really a theoretical political exposition; it was a list of insults and slanders against the Central Committee. Moreover, the splitters, having an excess of funds, had already published it.

Carrillo's reference to the dissidents' abundant funds could be read as an oblique allusion to Soviet material support.

Ibarruri's article, broadcast on 7 April, did not directly refer to the dissidents, but it was clear that she had them and their supporters in mind when she referred to views in the party "which are foreign to democratic centralism and tend to introduce in our ranks the idea that the party leadership should accept the opinion of a group or of a basic organization even if it is wrong or contrary to party norms." She promised that such tendencies would be "liquidated," since "they entail conceptions foreign to the organic and political structure of the party, based on democratic centralism."

DISSIDENT EUROPEAN PARTIES BACK SPANISH COMMUNISTS

European parties which approve of the Spanish CP's opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and share its espousal of pluralistic roads to socialism have demonstrated their support. Thus, in marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Spanish party on 15 April, the Romanian party sent a particularly cordial greetings message which commended the Spanish communists for efforts "to overcome the current difficulties" in the international communist movement and to develop interparty relations on the basis "of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of other parties."* A SCINTEIA article on the anniversary lauded the Spanish communists for backing a unity "based on the complete independence of parties to work out their political line and on the application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to concrete conditions in every country." SCINTEIA approvingly quoted MUNDO OBRERO as affirming that while each party must obey the principle of democratic centralism internally, "in the international movement it is impossible to proceed from this principle."

* The CPSU greetings message included the admonition that "the struggle against any manifestations of opportunism and revisionism" is the guarantee of "success for the entire communist movement and each of its detachments."

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Yugoslav approval for the Spanish CP's independent line was manifested in laudatory treatment of the party in a 31 March BORBA supplement on the West European parties. An article on the Spanish CP by Radivoj Nikolic noted that it "argues the conception of political pluralism on the road toward socialism, particularly in the developed countries, as distinguished from revolutions which have developed in different situations." Nikolic stressed the Spanish party's insistence on "the right of the international communist movement to submit its opinion on the problems arising in the socialist countries" and took note of its contention that communists in capitalist states have a legitimate interest in "democratization and the supersedure of bureaucratic methods" in socialist countries.

Affinity between the Spanish and the Italian CP's was underscored in a communique issued last January after talks between the two parties. "In accordance with the decisions taken by the two parties on the events in Czechoslovakia," the communique stated, both parties "reaffirmed that the independence and equality between the socialist states, as well as respect for the autonomy and unity of the communist parties and nonintervention in their internal affairs" must provide the foundation for "the real unity of the communist movement."

ISSUE OF "SPANISH" ROAD TO SOCIALISM Carrillo's MUNDO OBRERO article condemning the ousted pro-Soviet dissidents affirmed the party's commitment to pursuit of its own road to socialism, promising that "socialism will take a special form in Spain and will have its own peculiarities which are deeply democratic." At the same time, he made it clear that Spanish socialism will have little in common with that practiced in Eastern Europe and, implicitly, in the USSR:

We know that the Spanish working class cannot wait in Madrid for the arrival of the socialist countries' tanks in order to take over power. These tanks will not arrive. And so much the better, for socialism will be more socialist and will know how to defend itself better if it is the people . . . who with their own intelligence and their own efforts and sacrifices achieve victory for socialism, and if this victory is won in a democratic process

The Spanish CP has reacted to recent efforts by Moscow media to denigrate those who favor the notion of "many roads to socialism." An article in the 5 April MUNDO OBRERO noted that in connection with the invasion of Czechoslovakia "a trend" has appeared "to negate the diversity of forms and models which socialism needs if it is to be victorious under the many different conditions of today--a diversity bound to become even greater when socialism triumphs in developed capitalist countries." The article concluded with a thinly veiled admonition to the CPSU: "To deny the diversity of the communist movement means to deepen its divisions."

USSR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTION OVER BREZHNEV ROLE EVIDENT IN NOMINATION REPORTS

Press treatment of the nominations of Soviet leaders for Supreme Soviet candidacies in late April reflects Brezhnev's enhanced status in the hierarchy as well as contention over his favored position. TASS accounts of local nomination meetings published in PRAVDA and in most other central papers on 25 and 26 April set Brezhnev above his colleagues by reporting flattering characterizations of him, only faint praise of Kosygin and Podgorny, and nothing about the other leaders. By contrast, in its own, more balanced report, IZVESTIYA on 25 April characterized Kosygin, Podgorny, Suslov, and Kirilenko along with Brezhnev as important leaders.

TASS' initial favored treatment of Brezhnev may have generated objections. On 30 April TASS presented a more balanced account which included flattering characterizations of Kosygin and Podgorny and somewhat diluted praise for Brezhnev, whose achievements were associated with the Politburo and Central Committee rather than being treated as personal accomplishments.

During the 1966 Supreme Soviet electoral campaign PRAVDA had avoided reporting praise for any individual Politburo member--a reticence in contrast to PRAVDA's current reports of tributes to Brezhnev by the local figures nominating him: "All the Soviet people well know L.I. Brezhnev as a true Leninist. In his post of General Secretary of the Central Committee he has shown himself an outstanding political figure"; Brezhnev is a "brilliant example of serving the cause of Lenin and the CPSU" (PRAVDA, 25 April); and "all his life and activity is an example of selfless service to the working class and the workers of the country" (PRAVDA, 26 April). The only other top leaders praised in the initial TASS accounts were Kosygin (he "has trod a long and glorious path") and Podgorny (his "enormous work in the responsible post of Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium").

FIRST ACCOUNT IN IZVESTIYA Reporting a tribute to Brezhnev as "the Leninist type of leader, a firm Marxist-Leninist who gives all his strength, energy, and talent as an organizer to the cause of building a communist society in our country," the 25 April IZVESTIYA also cited a characterization of Kosygin as "a true Leninist, an important political and state figure"; of Podgorny as "a prominent figure of the Leninist Communist Party and Soviet state"; of Suslov

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as "a prominent party and state figure," and of Kirilenko as one who "firmly and unwaveringly implements Leninist policy." In accounts published on 24 and 26 April 1966, IZVESTIYA had also presented a carefully gradated picture: Brezhnev was "a true son of the Communist Party, an important international political figure and fighter for peace in the whole world"; Kosygin was "a true Leninist, an important organizer and political figure who gives all his strength, experience, and knowledge to the building of a communist society"; and Podgorny was "an important figure of our party and state."

IZVESTIYA's account this year conformed to the more complete reports in the local Moscow city organ MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. All the statements of praise reported in the central press were taken from nomination meetings in Moscow city.

30 APRIL The TASS account of the electoral campaign published in
ACCOUNTS PRAVDA on 30 April, in a marked change from the initial
 ones, contained a flattering characterization of Kosygin
as "a prominent party and state figure, a skilled organizer who gives
all his strength to the service of the motherland," and of Podgorny
as "an important party and state figure, a skilled, energetic leader."
But Suslov continued to be slighted: rather than quoting the
nominating speaker's comments about Suslov, this TASS report noted
only that the speaker had "told of the life and public activity of
M.A. Suslov"

At the same time, praise of Brezhnev seemed slightly toned down in later accounts through the device of associating his accomplishments with the collective instead of singling him out personally. Thus MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, which published numerous statements of praise for Brezhnev on 25 and 26 April, carried only one such statement on the 30th. Moreover, while MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA's account of the local campaign on 25 April reported a statement that Brezhnev's "achievements in creating the material-technical base of communism and in defending and rallying the ranks of the international communist movement are great," a 30 April TASS account in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA attributed these achievements to the institutions of power as well: "During recent years the CPSU has done significant work in raising the leading role of the party, resolving economic tasks, and widely developing socialist democracy in our country," and "this is primarily the achievement of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev." This statement--still a considerable boost for Brezhnev--was also carried in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and other papers on 30 April.

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P R C I N T E R N A L A F F A I R S

MAO, LIN MAKE USUAL MAY DAY APPEARANCES, FIRST SINCE OCTOBER

Peking reports of May Day festivities highlight the PRC's utilization of Mao's thought to launch China's first artificial satellite. Mao and Lin Piao, making their first public appearances since October at a mass Peking rally reported by NCNA on 2 May, listened with the crowd to the strain of "The East Is Red" as the satellite passed over. A PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, released by NCNA on 30 April, also marked the holiday with self-congratulatory paeans to the PRC's achievement. In 1969 there was no editorial comment for May Day, but a joint editorial on 4 May marked the 50th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement. In 1968 a joint RED FLAG-PEOPLE'S DAILY-LIBERATION ARMY DAILY editorial was issued on 1 May.

NCNA's account of the rally reported Mao, "in excellent health and high spirits," speaking animatedly to those on the rostrum and waving to the cheering masses. Lin mounted the rostrum with Mao but was not described as talking or waving jointly with Mao as he was in NCNA's account of last year's celebrations; last year both Mao and Lin reportedly "waved" at the crowd and stopped "again and again" to talk to guests. This year's rally report referred only to Mao's chatting with those on the platform and waving to the crowd, though a 1 May NCNA dispatch described in detail Lin's actions along with Mao's at the reception of Sihanouk on the rostrum.

There were fewer Politburo members at this year's celebrations in Peking than in 1969: only 16 of the 25 full or alternate Politburo members--including Mao and Lin--were reported present, compared with 24 last year. The NCNA report explained that the list included only those Politburo members "now in Peking." Four of those absent--Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Chang Chun-chiao, and Li Hsueh-feng, all chairmen of provincial or municipal revolutionary committees--may yet appear in provincial accounts of local rallies; the chairmen of the Hupeh and Kwangsi revolutionary committees and the chairman of the Canton Municipal Revolutionary Committee have already been reported at such rallies.

Hsieh Fu-chih's absence is the most difficult to explain, since three low-level members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, of which he is chairman, appeared at the Peking rally and were mentioned in the NCNA report. The three apparently inactive Politburo members, Chu Te, Tung Pi-wu, and Liu Po-cheng, as well as a vice chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, Yeh Chien-ying, also failed to appear at the Peking rally; none has appeared in public

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since October. Former Politburo members Chen Yi, Hsu Hsiang-chen, and Nieh Jung-chen, listed immediately after the Politburo members as vice chairmen of the Military Commission of the Central Committee last May Day and again in October, were not mentioned this year.

Listed immediately after the Politburo this year were several vice chairmen of the National People's Congress (NPC) and of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, lending credence to reports that formal government restructuring may soon culminate in an NPC session. Except at government functions, these vice chairmen are usually listed after the Central Committee members.

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CHINESE SATELLITE

PEKING USES PROXY OF FOREIGN PARTIES TO HAIL PRC PROWESS

A continuing substantial volume of Peking propaganda on the flight of the Chinese satellite launched on 24 April includes prominent play for messages of congratulation from friendly parties and groups abroad, playing on the familiar themes that the launch was a victory of Mao's thought, an encouragement to revolutionary peoples worldwide, and a blow to the trinity of "U.S. imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists, and all reactionaries in the world."

While still refraining on its own authority from discussing the strategic implications of the launch, Peking uses the proxy of foreign well-wishers to project a picture of enhanced PRC military prowess. Thus NCNA on 4 May carried the text of a message from the Spanish Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) which observes that "this new progress made by People's China in space science and technology has strengthened the defense capabilities of your great country to oppose the policy of constant threats and provocations by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists." A 1 May NCNA roundup of foreign reaction quotes a Japanese peasant to the effect that the weight and quality of the PRC's first satellite "surpass by far" those of the first Soviet and U.S. vehicles and that the launching "greatly increases the world people's strength for opposing aggressive wars."

The only high-level PRC comment publicized since the launch announcement* is in speeches delivered by Chou En-lai on 25 and 26 April at banquets for delegations attending the summit conference of the Indochinese peoples. On the 25th, according to NCNA on 2 May, Chou called the space satellite a "gift" to the conferees, a victory of the Chinese people, "and also a victory for all of us." According to the 3 May report of the second banquet, Chou said that the launch "is progress, yet it is not sufficient, and we must continue to exert ourselves. We believe that the Chinese people will certainly catch up with and surpass the world's most advanced level in industry, science, and technology."

EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA VIEW CHINESE LAUNCHING WITH CONCERN

While Moscow is silent on the Chinese satellite, having reported the launching briefly on 25 April, various East European media have commented

* To date Peking has devoted no central press comment or radio commentary to the launch. Three of the Chinese nuclear tests occasioned central press comment--the first in October 1964, the test of the nuclear missile in October 1966, and the hydrogen-bomb detonation in June 1967.

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critically on Chinese motives and expressed concern about the implications of the launching. Thus an article in the Bratislava PRAVDA on 28 April speculates on the possible effect it may have on disarmament efforts. The report of the launch, the paper says, "was recorded in Vienna with particular attention" even though this first step by the Chinese represents more of a symbol than evidence of a capability to catch up with the USSR and the United States. It is a fact, the commentary adds, that at a time when Washington and Moscow are engaged in efforts to limit strategic arms, those weapons "are sought after by a state which so far has refused to conform with or submit in any way to the past results of the efforts for world disarmament" and which pursues domestic and foreign policies marked by "adventurous extravagance." The article remarks that the PRC achievement has not drawn the kind of response earlier launchings by other states have received because "modern weapons are falling into the hands of those who so far have refused to respect the realities of the world--into the hands of those whose past propaganda and views concerning atomic weapons arouse no good feeling at all."

Budapest's MTI on the 29th reviews an article in that day's MAGYAR NEMZET which points out that the launch demonstrates a Chinese capability to produce long-range missiles. The article says it is not possible "to assess realistically any series of events in the Far East and Southeast Asia, and this applies even to problems beyond the regional borders" such as disarmament, without taking Chinese political aspirations into consideration.

Warsaw's domestic service on 2 May remarks on the propagandistic aspects of the satellite launch, commenting that the Chinese have chosen to orbit a satellite which broadcasts a song about Mao "instead of transmitting to earth data that could augment the knowledge of scientists about space." Declaring that China is "still far away from a leading position in the field of rocket technology," the commentary says the PRC is at the same stage of development as the USSR in 1957 and the United States in 1958. It goes on to note that the "Western press" recently carried reports about "interesting transactions" between Peking and Bonn resulting in the PRC's purchase of a substantial volume of arms and products for the arms industry, and it quotes the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI as having said that "only thanks to Bonn's assistance were the Maoists able to increase their rocket technology." The commentary does not indicate when NOVOSTI made this allegation; an IZVESTIYA item following the October 1966 Chinese nuclear-missile test had reported a West German press article on a contract allegedly signed by a West German missile expert for the construction of a rocket base in the PRC capable of launching missiles with a range of 650 kilometers.

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ROMANIA ASSERTS INDEPENDENT STANCE WITH FAVORABLE COMMENT

Consistent with Premier Maurer's congratulatory message to Chou En-lai, Romania asserts its independent posture and its policy of good relations with "all" socialist countries by carrying cordial comment on the Chinese feat in the party organ SCINTEIA. A 30 April article in the paper, reviewed by AGERPRES, says the satellite launch "has been received with great satisfaction by public opinion in Romania" and calls it important both scientifically and from the point of view of international political life. The achievement, the article says, is "a contribution to the assertion of the superiority of socialism, to the strengthening of the world socialist system, the might of which increases following the development, flourishing, and strengthening of each socialist country and nation."

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