

Director of Central Intelligence

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Contents

Poland-USSR: Signs of Disagreement	•	•	•	•	•	•	1
South Africa: Botha Victorious Over Right Wing	•	•	•	•	•	•	3
Argentina-Chile: Beagle Channel Dispute	•	•	•	•	•	•	4
USSR: Criticism of Brezhnev's Children	•	•	•	•	•	•	5
EC-USSR: Measures Against Imports	•	•	•	•	•	•	6
Zimbabwe: Nkomo Faces Trial	•	•	•	•	•	•	7
USSR-Vietnam: Training MIG-23 Pilots	•	•	•	•	•	•	7
Vietnam: Reappearance of Le Duan	•	•	•	•	•	•	8
China-US: Cotton Purchases Halted	•	•	•	•	•	•	8

Special Analysis

USSR - Western Europe: Poland and the Peace Movement . . . 11

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POLAND-USSR: Signs of Disagreement

Party leader Jaruzelski begins his visit to Moscow today amid signs of Soviet disagreement with his approach to some key issues. The regime has eased some restrictions, while Polish bishops called for a complete lifting of martial law.

The US Embassy in Moscow reports that *Pravda* deleted a number of passages in Jaruzelski's speech last week to the plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee, including those dealing with "socialist renewal" and policy on party leadership, "reconstruction" of an independent trade union movement, Church-state relations, and the inviolability of family farms. Meanwhile, a Soviet Central Committee official has warned that "counterrevolution" remains active in Poland, implying that Warsaw must continue to deal harshly with dissent.

Comment: In general, Soviet concern is probably over Jaruzelski's future intentions rather than his present policies because his interests for the time being coincide in most respects with those of Moscow. An immediate source of discord, however, could be on party leadership policy, and the Soviets will push Jaruzelski vigorously on this issue during his visit. Moscow has indicated impatience with the delay in consolidating the party and probably had expected a more extensive purge of "unreliable" members from the Central Committee at its plenum last week.

In response, Jaruzelski will offer the toughly worded communique of the Central Committee plenary session as evidence of his readiness to pursue the proper course. He also will argue for continued Soviet economic assistance as a bulwark against domestic unrest.

Limited Easing of Martial Law

The general who heads the Interior Ministry announced yesterday that Poles now may travel freely within the country and promised a further easing of curbs this month. At the same time, however, he affirmed that all the enforcement mechanisms of martial law remain in effect and would be directed at any resistance.

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Comment: Easing domestic travel will facilitate family contacts and thereby alleviate one of the population's main complaints. Also, Solidarity will have a greater opportunity to reconstruct the union's internal communications--a key element in the effort to regain its strength.

Polish Bishops' Appeal

The communique issued on Saturday, after the twoday meeting of the bishops, strongly renewed their earlier appeal for a speedy end to martial law, release of internees, and resumption of a dialogue between the authorities and society, specifically including Solidarity. The bishops warned that the martial law situation bore the hallmark of an impending "catastrophe," but nonetheless urged caution and a sense of "reality" on the part of the people.

Comment: The communique represents the most detailed Church pronouncement yet of its demands of the regime and almost certainly contained a strong input from the Pope. The bishops probably felt that they should come down hard in support of including Solidarity in any social dialogue, given the harsh attacks on the union last week at the party's Central Committee plenary session.

The appeal to the people to act "realistically reflects the bishops' view that any leverage the Church has will be reduced if the regime feels constrained to increase repression. The authorities probably allowed the broadcast of the bishops' message in order to give wider coverage to the part that included a plea for caution. 25X1

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SOUTH AFRICA: Botha Victorious Over Right Wing

Prime Minister Botha defeated the rightwing rebellion led by Andries Treurnicht, the head of the National Party's powerful Transvaal Province wing, when a motion of confidence endorsing Botha's leadership carried overwhelmingly in the meeting of the Transvaal Head Committee on Saturday.

Treurnicht and several of his supporters were suspended temporarily from their positions in the Transvaal party organization. All members of parliament who voted against Botha must recant before his party's parliamentary caucus meeting on Wednesday or be permanently removed from their positions in the party apparatus. Botha still hopes to avoid a split in the party and will attempt to convert recalcitrant opponents before stronger disciplinary actions are taken.

Comment: Botha's surprisingly easy victory leaves him in solid control of the National Party and in a stronger position to move ahead with plans to provide for Colored and Indian representation in a single national government. Botha knew that his endorsement of this power-sharing arrangement--a position he had rejected as recently as last October--would provoke a showdown with his party's right wing. His decision to move beyond party-approved plans for separate parliaments for Coloreds and Indians reflects a greater effort to make reform plans acceptable to Coloreds and Indians, even at the risk of alienating ultraconservative whites still further.

Treurnicht and fellow cabinet supporter Hartzenberg almost certainly will be removed from the cabinet and probably will leave the National Party and form a new party. Treurnicht's decisive defeat in his own provincial organization, however, indicates that few supporters will follow him.

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ARGENTINA-CHILE: Beagle Channel Dispute

Recent Argentine violations of Chilean-claimed territory in the disputed Beagle Channel are aimed at gaining diplomatic leverage in the Vatican's stalled mediation effort.

//Argentina's activities in the channel have become increasingly provocative since January, when it renounced the bilateral arbitration treaty with the Chileans. Incidents have occurred almost daily and included overflights, harassment of Chilean air patrols, and forays into Chilean-claimed waters. Santiago has so far limited its response to diplomatic protests and complaints to the papal mediator.//

The militarily superior Argentines are trying to force the Chileans and the papal mediator to modify their legalistic approach to the long-stalled negotiations. Before renewing joint meetings, Argentina wants Chile to abandon demands that Buenos Aires accept the papal proposals of 1980 that heavily favored Chile.

Comment: Buenos Aires may believe that increasingly concerned Vatican officials are prepared to work toward a compromise that will facilitate renewed talks. Argentina apparently is willing to gamble on continued Chilean restraint and may even believe that a major international incident would serve its objective of moving the talks into a new direction.

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USSR: Criticism of Brezhnev's Children

Rumors critical of President Brezhnev's relatives may be tied to heightened leadership maneuvering following the death of Politburo member Suslov as well as to the reverberations of the anticorruption campaign.

According to rumors in Moscow, Brezhnev's daughter Galina has been questioned by the police in connection with embezzlement charges brought against the country's top circus official and a circus performer.

Stories are also circulating that Brezhnev's son Yuriy has become involved in a corruption scandal. Yuriy was earlier said to be a successor to the Minister of Foreign Trade but reportedly may be demoted instead.

It is rumored that Yuriy's involvement led to a falling out between Brezhnev and first <u>Deputy Chief</u> of the KGB Tsvigun, who died in January.

There have been indications of other leadership differences over the anticorruption campaign. For example, while Azerbaidzhan party head Aliyev has called for greater efforts to curb abuses of power by "leading party workers," Ukrainian party head Shcherbitskiy has assured party leaders that purges of the party are a thing of the past.

Comment: Although these rumors do not necessarily indicate that Brezhnev is in political trouble, their appearance whether true or not, suggests an effort to embarrass him. Brezhnev's efforts to further the careers of his son and son-in-law--both men were elevated to Central Committee candidate-membership at the most recent party congress--may have created the same sort of resentment within the party that former party leader Khrushchev's nepotism prompted 20 years ago. Brezhnev also may have made a mistake in allowing proteges such as Chernenko to promote an anticorruption campaign a dangerous tool that can be used by Brezhnev's opponents as well as by his supporters.

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EC-USSR: Measures Against Imports

//The EC Foreign Ministers' decision last week to limit imports from the USSR, although little more than a symbolic action, still faces obstacles.//

//National experts meet again today to try to revise a proposal by the EC Commission to reduce by 50 percent imports of 100 Soviet products, chiefly luxury items and machinery. Under the Commission plan, the cut in imports would amount to about \$400 million a year, less than 4 percent of total EC imports from the USSR. The restriction would not apply to goods that received import licenses before the Foreign Ministers' decision.//

//EC member states have been searching for ways to
placate the US at the least possible cost. The Foreign
Ministers, in their desire to make some gesture on the
sanctions issue, did not address the technical difficulties involved in adopting a common policy.//

Comment: //The EC nations will have trouble agreeing on the specific products to restrict. In addition, the members have yet to decide whether they can restrict imports by a qualified majority vote. Greece remains adamantly opposed to any economic measures directed against the USSR. Even if Athens refrained from formally issuing a veto, a common policy still could be blocked by Denmark, which is maintaining a legal reservation because it feels the action requires unanimous approval.//

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ZIMBABWE: Nkomo Faces Trial

Prime Minister Mugabe yesterday announced that Zimbabwe African People's Union leader Nkomo will be tried for allegedly plotting civil war. Mugabe dismissed Nkomo and two of his followers from the cabinet earlier this month after arms caches reportedly were discovered on ZAPU-owned property. On Saturday ZAPU's Central Committee decided to stay in the Mugabe-led coalition government for the sake of unity despite Nkomo's public assertions to the contrary.

Comment: The decision by the Central Committee gave Mugabe the confidence to move against Nkomo. The apparent rift in ZAPU and the tilt toward Mugabe strengthen the Prime Minister's hand and put him in a better position to move ahead with plans for a single-party state. If Nkomo is tried publicly, some violence along tribal lines may erupt.

USSR-VIETNAM: Training MIG-23 Pilots

//Hanoi reportedly has sent 26 Vietnamese pilots to
the USSR for training on MIG-23 fighters.//

Comment: //The trainees probably have been selected from among those pilots who have been flying the 220 operational MIG-21s in Vietnam. They would need only about six months to familiarize themselves with the MIG-23.// 25X1

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VIETNAM: Reappearance of Le Duan

Vietnamese party leader Le Duan on Saturday appeared in public for the first time in over two months to meet with Soviet State Planning Chairman Baybakov in Hanoi.

Comment: Le Duan's reappearance probably assures that the long-awaited Fifth Party Congress will convene as scheduled on 27 March. If his recovery from his reported illness is complete, Le Duan should be able to guide his much-debated economic and party reforms--which have Moscow's backing--through the congress.

CHINA-US: Cotton Purchases Halted

//Beijing is continuing its prohibition against new orders for US cotton, following US restrictions last October on imports of two categories of Chinese textiles. China had purchased \$1.2-billion worth of US cotton over the last two years and wants to export more cloth to the US.//

Comment: //Although Chinese trade officials overseas have linked the suspension with displeasure over the Taiwan arms issue, it appears more associated with trade issues. Bumper crops at home and in nearly all cottonproducing countries have made it easier for China to shift purchases. China eventually will want to reenter the US market because supplies elsewhere are not assured and because the transfer of acreage from grain to cotton will not be feasible indefinitely. If the impasse is not resolved soon, however, other countries may increase their production for the China market.// 25X1

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JAPAN: Development of Robots

//Japan, already a major producer of industrial robots, is embarking on a program to become the world leader in the design and production of robots which can detect and adjust to changes in the work environment. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry, which is sponsoring the program, predicts that by the end of this decade production of "intelligent" robots will account for 25 percent of Japan's output of robots of all types, compared with only 10 percent now.//

Comment: //The Japanese are taking aim at the one area of robotics where the US and West Europeans enjoy a slight lead. Research is focusing on the design of robots that would employ sight and touch and possess judgment and reasoning ability. This would make them capable of more varied and sophisticated operations than the current generation. The development of such robots is a major key to increasing industrial productivity.// 25X1

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SPECIAL ANALYSIS

USSR - WESTERN EUROPE: Poland and the "Peace" Movement

//The crisis in Poland has added to Moscow's difficulties in using the West European Communist parties to help maintain a high level of "peace" agitation and to keep the movement focused on NATO arms policies. Increased Soviet efforts to direct the themes of the movement exclusively against the West are likely to alienate some non-Communist peace activists and to aggravate internal divisions in the Communist parties. Nevertheless, the peace movement probably will revive this spring in West Germany, the Netherlands, and other countries where it is based mainly on non-Communist elements.//

//The West European Communist parties, with Soviet support, have been deeply involved in the peace movement. In countries scheduled for deployment of intermediaterange nuclear forces, where the movement has been most active, the Communists have provided a valuable core of reliable agitators. In Portugal and a few other countries where peace activity has had less impact, the Communists virtually constitute the movement by themselves.//

//The peace movement, nevertheless, is largely inspired by indigenous West European concerns. The Soviets, accommodating this, have urged West European Communist parties to cooperate with non-Communists in opposing NATO modernized INF deployment and other Western nuclear policies. Moscow has not abandoned this practical approach despite its concern about criticism of its policies on Poland and nuclear arms by some non-Communist peace activists.//

//The Soviets have been least effective when they have insisted on dictating the timing, organization, and themes of peace demonstrations. This has often backfired and provoked non-Communists to reemphasize their criticism of Soviet policy. Soviet pressure to avoid reference to Poland has aggravated disagreements within the Communist parties themselves.//

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West European Communist Problems

//The USSR sees West Germany as the most important target of the peace campaign and has accorded the Communist parties there special attention. A Soviet party delegation visited West Berlin Communists in January to increase the momentum of the peace movement there.//

//A demonstration in Geneva in January further underscored the difficulty the Soviets have in directing peace activity even where local Communist parties are responsive.

//Some Communist parties have followed Soviet guidance against their better judgment. The crisis in Poland, for example, has created particular problems for the small Dutch Communist Party and its relations with the potent Dutch peace movement. Three-fourths of the Dutch party's members reportedly are opposed to martial law in Poland.//

//The Soviets recently insisted that the Dutch party
reverse itself and proceed with an "international peace
forum" that included Soviet and East German delegates.
The event will increase tensions within the party and

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probably will cause groups more influential than the Communists--such as the Interchurch Peace Council--to avoid themes that plainly serve Soviet interests.//

Outlook

//Peace demonstrations in Western Europe last fall were beginning to assume some balance; there was more criticism of Eastern as well as Western arms policies. If the Soviets keep working to reverse this trend, local Communists probably will lose additional credibility with non-Communist peace activists and suffer greater internal stresses.//

//The strains are unlikely, however, to prevent a resurgence of the peace movement in countries such as the Netherlands and West Germany. There, the INF issue has drawn widespread attention and the movement is based primarily on non-Communist political groups, churchaffiliated organizations, and ecological interest groups. Friction between the Soviets and the West European Communists and between Communists and non-Communists will not deter most peace activists from their primary aim-to persuade their own governments to reject INF deployments.// 25X1

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