

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

1971 AUG 23

18:20

TO: C

MUN 51 23 AUG 71

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

231736:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 191

1. BULGARIA; NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA; NOTHING.

3. HUNGARY; NOTHING.

4. POLAND; NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA; THE ARRIVAL OF THE CHINESE MILITARY DELEGATION IN BUCHAREST YESTERDAY (DS), FOLLOWING THEIR WEEK'S VISIT IN ALBANIA, IS THE clearest new evidence that the RUMANIAN LEADERSHIP IS REFUSING TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS TO SOVIET PRESSURE AND THREATS. RUMANIAN STATEMENTS AND ARTICLES PUBLISHED OVER THE WEEKEND IN CONNECTION WITH TODAY'S LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY ARE CONSISTENT WITH THIS LINE OF NO CONCESSIONS. INDEED, RADIO BUCHAREST ON AUGUST 20 CARRIED THE TEXT OF DEFENSE MINISTER IONITA'S SPEECH, ON THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TUDOR VLADIMIERESCU UPRISING, IN WHICH HE SAID, "OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY . . . IS ALWAYS READY TO DEFEND VIGOROUSLY THE SOIL OF ITS FOREBEARERS, . . . OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, AND TO DEAL A DETERMINED REBUFF TO ANY IMPERIALIST ATTACK. (APPLAUSE)" ENVER HOXHA'S TELEGRAM TO RUMANIA ON TODAY'S ANNIVERSARY WISHED RUMANIANS SUCCESS "IN STRENGTHENING THEIR COUNTRY AGAINST THE AGGRESSIVE POLICY OF THE OLD AND NEW IMPERIALISTS." WE SHALL WATCH TO SEE IF THE RUMANIAN PRESS PUBLISHES HOXHA'S REFERENCE TO THE "NEW IMPERIALISTS." THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN TELEGRAMS, ALTHOUGH THE FORMULATIONS DIFFER SOMEWHAT, BASICALLY CONFORM TO THE EVIDENT POLICY DECISION TO KEEP UP OFFICIAL APPEARANCES, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. WE ARE PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY THE EXTENSIVE AND EFFUSIVE COVERAGE GIVEN BY BULGARIAN MEDIA TO RUMANIA AND ITS LIBERATION

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ANNIVERSARY OVER THE WEEKEND. IF BULGARIANS HAD TO RELY ON DOMESTIC MEDIA THEY WOULD THINK EVERYTHING IS ROSY IN RUMANIAN-BLOC RELATIONS. WE DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THIS MORNING THE REASONS FOR THIS AND FOR BULGARIA'S COMPLETE ABSTENTION FROM THE MAGYAR HIRLAP-SMENA-BERLINER ZEITUNG TYPE OF POLEMICS, INCLUDING ITS FAILURE TO REPUBLISH ANY PART OF OR REFERENCE TO SUCH POLEMICS. THE CONSENSUS HERE IS THAT THE BULGARIANS ARE PLAYING IT THE SAME WAY THE SOVIETS ARE AND ARE BEING HELD IN RESERVE FOR A FUTURE ESCALATION OF POLEMICS. IN OUR DISCUSSION THERE WAS SOME SPECULATION THAT BULGARIA IS AVOIDING PUBLIC CRITICISM OF AND THREATS AGAINST RUMANIA IN ORDER NOT TO UNDULY ALARM NEIGHBORS (YUGOSLAVIA, GREECE AND TURKEY) WHO FOR HISTORICAL REASONS ARE SUSPICIOUS OF BULGARIAN MANIFESTATIONS OF AGGRESSIVENESS. SUCH A DESIRE NOT TO ALARM THE OBJECTS OF BULGARIA'S (AND SOVIET) BALKAN DETENTE POLICY MAY EXPLAIN WHY BULGARIA IS NOT AMONG THE FIRST TO ATTACK RUMANIA, BUT WE FEEL CERTAIN THAT IF POLEMICS ARE ESCALATED FURTHER BULGARIA WILL DEFINITELY BECOME INVOLVED. AND IF IT COMES TO INVASION OF RUMANIA, THERE WAS UNANIMITY HERE THAT BULGARIA WOULD PARTICIPATE.

IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY OF THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE BERLIN NEGOTIATIONS, WE ALSO DISCUSSED HERE THE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS QUESTION TO THE RUMANIAN PROBLEM, INCLUDING A POSSIBLE INVASION. IT SEEMS TO US THAT FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW THERE NEED BE LITTLE INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN REACHING A SETTLEMENT ON BERLIN AND INVADING RUMANIA. INDEED, THE SOVIETS MIGHT WELL CONSIDER THAT BOTH DEVELOPMENTS TAKEN TOGETHER WOULD MAKE TWO THINGS VERY CLEAR, ONE THAT "DETENTE" MEANS FORMAL AND FINAL RECOGNITION (WEST AND EAST) OF SOVIET HEGEMONY OVER EAST EUROPE AND, TWO, THAT THE SOVIETS ARE BOTH POWERFUL AND RUTHLESS, HENCE WESTERN EUROPEANS SHOULD FACE UP TO THE NEED TO MAKE ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE USSR.

6. OTHER: IN CONTRAST TO THE STRESS ON THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF RUMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS AND OF SOVIET-RUMANIAN RELATIONS FOUND IN SOVIET MEDIA, THE USSR IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY VITRIOLIC IN ITS ASSAULTS ON PEKING AND "THE MAO GROUP." BOTH "ZA RUBEZHOM" AND "SELSKAYA ZHIZN" CARRIED ARTICLES OVER THE WEEKEND CONDEMNING THE CHINESE, THE LATTER ARTICLE ALSO BEING A TASS RELEASE FOR ITS DOMESTIC SERVICE. THE "SELSKAYA ZHIZN" ITEM IS A REVIEW OF A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "THE ANTI-MARXIST NATURE OF MAOISM" WHICH DISCREDITS THE MAOIST DISTORTION OF MARXISM-LENINISM THUS UNDERMINING THE CHINESE CLAIM TO BE BASED ON MARXIST-LENINIST FOUNDATION. THE ARTICLE REFERS TO THE "SINIFICATION OF MARXISM," AND ELUCIDATES EXAMPLES OF MAOIST DISTORTION BOTH IN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CHINESE AFFAIRS. THE MAOIST ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE "HEGEMONY OF MAO'S IDEAS OVER THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THEIR ANTI-SOVIET SPLITTING ACTIVITY AND ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE EVERYWHERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES" ARE EXPLAINED BY THE "ADVENTURISM" AND "BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM" OF MAOISM. THE ARTICLE IS THUS A COMPLETE REJECTION OF CHINESE COMMUNISM FROM THE IDEOLOGICAL STAND-POINT.

IN A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT VEIN THE "ZA RUBEZHOM" ARTICLE DEALS WITH THE PRESENT "CHAUVINISTIC" POLICY OF CHINA WHICH IS ATTEMPTING TO FORM "A BLOC TO WHICH CERTAIN SOCIALIST AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND EVEN CAPITALIST STATES WILL BE ATTACHED." THE ARTICLE FURTHER ACCUSES THE CHINESE LEADERS OF WORKING OUT AND TRYING TO IMPLEMENT "A SPECIAL APPROACH TO CERTAIN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, TRYING TO OPPOSE ONE COUNTRY AGAINST ANOTHER, AND SHAKE THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY." ACCORDING TO "ZA RUBEZHOM" EVERYONE "WHO IS FOR THE COHESION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND FOR "CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST POSITIONS" CONDEMNS THESE CHINESE TACTICS. MOSCOW FURTHER REPRIMANDS THE PEKING LEADERSHIP FOR USING "THE EFFORTS OF COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REVOLT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO START A VIGOROUS ATTACK AGAINST THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES." THE EFFORT HERE IS TO SUGGEST THAT THOSE WHO SIDE WITH THE CHINESE IN THEIR SPLITTING ACTIVITIES AND THEIR ANTI-SOVIETISM ARE STANDING ON POSITIONS OUTSIDE MARXISM-LENINISM. THE ARTICLE THUS CARRIES THE SAME MESSAGE AS THE MAGYAR HIRLAP, SMENA, ETC., BUT IS MORE ESOTERIC IN FORM.

END MSG



MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

1971 AUG 24

12:24

TO: C

MUN 52 24 AUG 71

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

241217:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 192

1. BULGARIA: NOTHING.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NOTHING.

3. HUNGARY: NEPSZABADSAG YESTERDAY, IN A SHORT EDITORIAL ON PAGE 3 (DS), SAID "RUMANIA CAN ALWAYS RELY ON THE ASSISTANCE OF FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES," ADDING THAT "OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES AND GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS NECESSITATE UNITY." FOLLOWING THE DESIGNATION OF THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS "FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE," NEPSZABADSAG'S MESSAGE WILL HARDLY BE WELCOME IN BUCHAREST.

4. POLAND: NOTHING.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING.

6. OTHER: SEE DGS ON CONCLUSION OF BERLIN TALKS. THUS FAR ONLY POLISH MEDIA HAVE COMMENTED. SEE WOJNA RADIO WARSAW COMMENTARY (DS) WHICH TRIES TO MAKE THE POINT THAT THE WEST HAS NOW GIVEN DE JURE SANCTION TO THE THREE GERMANIES THEORY.

END MSG