

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: C

MUN 52 30 NOV 70

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

301611:

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 274

1. BULGARIA: COUNTRY MEETING DEVOTED ONE AND ONE-HALF HOURS TO DISCUSSION OF BULGARIAN-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS AND THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION. WITHOUT BRINGING ANY FINAL CLARIFICATION TO THIS EXTREMELY COMPLEX ISSUE, SOME NEW IDEAS AND SPECULATIONS EMERGED. THE LARGELY ARTIFICIAL ESCALATION BY THE YUGOSLAVS OF THE "CRISIS" IN RELATIONS WITH BULGARIA WAS EXPLAINED BY THEIR FEARS OF BULGARIAN SUPPORT FOR SOVIET INTERVENTION, OF WHATEVER DEGREE, IN A POST-TITO YUGOSLAVIA BESET BY (A) INTERNAL CENTRIFUGAL FORCES (NATIONALITIES) AND (B) INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION (NO DEFENSE GUARANTEE FROM NATO, NEHRU AND NASSER DEAD ETC.) YUGOSLAV ATTACKS ON BULGARIA MAY ALSO BE DESIGNED TO COUNTERACT THE CENTRIFUGAL FORCES BY RALLYING ALL YUGOSLAV NATIONALITIES AGAINST THE "FOREIGN DANGER." STANKOVIC POINTS OUT THAT MANY PEOPLE IN SERBIA (NOT THE SERBIAN PARTY LEADERSHIP) ALSO DO NOT ACCEPT THE THESIS OF A SEPARATE MACEDONIAN NATIONALITY, BUT THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO SAY OR WRITE SO PUBLICLY--UNLIKE BULGARIAN HISTORIANS. STANKOVIC ALSO POINTS OUT THAT THE CROATS AND THE CROAT CP ARE THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF THE MACEDONIANS. (THIS THESIS IS LENT SUPPORT BY THE IRRATIONALLY PRO-MACEDONIAN LINE TAKEN BY SUNDIC ON RADIO ZAGREB, WHICH STANKOVIC THINKS HAS AN ANTI-SERB AS WELL AS AN OBVIOUS ANTI-BULGARIAN EDGE.) THE APPARENTLY CONSTRUCTIVE BULGARIAN POLICY (ZHIVKOV LETTER TO TITO, BULGARIAN WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE THE PRESENT BORDER, THE MACEDONIAN REPUBLIC, AND THE "EMERGING" MACEDONIAN NATIONALITY--ACCORDING TO NIN (CF. D.R. NO. 272 OF 27 NOVEMBER) IS MORE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN. IF BULGARIA

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REALLY HAS SINISTER DESIGNS ON YUGOSLAV TERRITORY, IT WOULD NOT MAKE MUCH SENSE FOR SOFIA TO RENOUNCE SUCH CLAIMS PUBLICLY ON THE EVE OF TITO'S DEPARTURE FROM THE SCENE. SOME PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSION THOUGHT THAT THIS BULGARIAN "CONSTRUCTIVE" APPROACH WAS DESIGNED TO DEPRIVE THE YUGOSLAVS OF A "FOREIGN DANGER" RALLYING POINT AND THUS PROMOTE FUTURE YUGOSLAV DISINTEGRATION. (A TREATY OR PUBLIC STATEMENT COULD, ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, BE SCRAPPED WHEN IT HAD SERVED ITS PURPOSE.) THE VIEW WAS ALSO EXPRESSED THAT THE BULGARIANS MAY BE SINCERELY ANXIOUS TO RESOLVE THE MACEDONIAN CONFLICT WITH THE YUGOSLAVS BECAUSE THEY FEAR THAT MOSCOW, IN ORDER TO GAIN LEVERAGE IN A POST-TITO TURBULENT YUGOSLAVIA, MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO OFFER THE YUGOSLAVS BULGARIA'S PIRIN MACEDONIA (A SORT OF BULGARIAN EQUIVALENT OF THE POLISH "RAPALLO COMPLEX.") GIVEN THE LACK OF ANY OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY THE BULGARIAN REGIME, THE BULGARIAN BD WILL LIMIT ITSELF TO BROADCASTING EXCERPTS FROM SELECTED YUGOSLAV ARTICLES AND TO COMMENTING IN GENERAL TERMS ON THE ADVANTAGES FOR BULGARIA OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NOTHING.

3. POLAND: THE POLISH EPISCOPATE ON SATURDAY ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE CONCERNING POPE PAUL'S NOVEMBER 9 LETTER TO CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI ON THE CHURCH SITUATION IN THE FORMER GERMAN AREAS OF POLAND. (DS). THE COMMUNIQUE QUOTED THE POPE'S LETTER AS SAYING THE VATICAN WILL PROCEED "ACCORDING TO THE MEASURE IN WHICH LEGAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INTERESTED PARTIES ARE BEING STABILIZED." SPEAKING YESTERDAY IN ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL IN WARSAW (CF. UPI), THE CARDINAL SAID "THE HOLY SEE WILL NOT DELAY WITH PROPER DECREES" AS SOON AS THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL SITUATION CONCERNING THE BORDER IS SETTLED. THIS IS INDEED VAGUE AND AMBIGUOUS, BUT SEEMS TO BE SUFFICIENT FOR THE TIME BEING TO PROTECT THE PATRIOTIC IMAGE OF THE POLISH CHURCH. WE ASSUME THE VATICAN WILL DO NOTHING DRAMATIC ALL AT ONCE AND THAT IT IS MORE LIKELY TO MOVE IN STAGES--BEGINNING WITH THE CREATION OF A BISHOPRIC (SEE) OF OLSZTYN (ALL WITHIN POLISH TERRITORY) AND ENDING, AFTER MANY YEARS, WITH THE GRADUAL

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DISSOLUTION OF THE DUPLICATE HIERARCHIES IN THE FRG BY THE BIOLOGICAL PROCESS.

ACCORDING TO DPA AND A GERMAN TV NEWS REPORT, FM SCHEEL SAID LAST NIGHT ON RADIO SAARLAND THAT RATIFICATION OF ALL OF BONN'S TREATIES WITH THE EAST, INCLUDING THAT WITH POLAND, DEPEND ON A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION FOR WEST BERLIN. (DS) THIS IS A COMPLETE CHANGE OF BONN'S EARLIER LINE REGARDING THE TREATY WITH POLAND. FRG PRESS

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4. HUNGARY: SEE EERA PAPER AND TODAY'S DGS FOR SUMMATION OF OUR VIEWS AND PROGRAMMING ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE PARTY CONGRESS. THE LACK OF REJUVENATION OF THE LEADING PARTY BODIES AND OF ATTENTION TO YOUTH PROBLEMS AT THE CONGRESS ITSELF IS OUR PRIMARY CRITICAL OBSERVATION.

5. RUMANIA: WE ARE CONTINUING TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE 23 NOVEMBER CC SESSION VIA MONITORING BUT OUR RECEIPT OF THE NEWSPAPERS IS EVIDENTLY BEING HELD UP DUE TO FOG WHICH HAS DISRUPTED AIR TRANSPORTATION. ACCORDING TO RADIO BUCHAREST (DS), CEAUSESCU OUTLINED NEW MEASURES FOR AGRICULTURE, INCLUDING A GUARANTEED MINIMUM MONTHLY WAGE OF 300 LEI FOR ALL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AS OF 1 JANUARY 1971. WE SHALL COVER IN THE SR WHEN THE NEWSPAPERS ARRIVE. ACCORDING TO RADIO BUCHAREST THIS MORNING, CEAUSESCU WILL ATTEND THE WARSAW PACT SUMMIT ITIN EAST BERLIN IN "EARLY DECEMBER." SINCE HE IS SCHEDULED TO SPEND 7-12 DECEMBER ON A VISIT IN MOROCCO, THE EAST BERLIN SUMMIT WILL PRESUMABLY BE HELD THIS WEEK.

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6. OTHER: THERE IS TO BE A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT CONFERENCE WHICH WILL NO DOUBT DISCUSS BERLIN, BLOC RELATIONS WITH WESTERN GERMANY, AND A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE INTER ALIA. BOTH RADIOS BUDAPEST AND BUCHAREST HAVE REPORTED THAT THE MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE "AT THE BEGINNING OF DECEMBER" WHICH PROBABLY MEANS AFTER THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON WEDNESDAY (2 DECEMBER) AND BEFORE THE NEXT FOUR-POWER BERLIN PARLAY ON 10 DECEMBER. (CF. 5. RUMANIA RE CEAUSESCU 7-12 DECEMBER VISIT TO MOROCCO.) THUS, THE WARSAW TREATY LEADERS CAN REPLY TO THE NATO COMMUNIQUE, WHICH WILL NO DOUBT BE CONCERNED WITH THE ABOVE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, AND CAN WORK OUT AN AGREED POSITION FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF BERLIN DISCUSSIONS AND THE FRG-GDR TALKS. WHETHER THE SUMMIT IS DESIGNED TO EXERT THE COLLECTIVE PRESSURE ON ULBRICHT WHICH HE SUCCESSFULLY ESCAPED IN BUDAPEST CAN ONLY REMAIN A MATTER OF SPECULATION.

BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT YEREVAN, BESIDES ATTACKING THE UNITED STATES BITTERLY AND ATTEMPTING TO SHOW THAT ITS "IMPERIALIST AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS" CONTRADICT THE INTERESTS OF PEACE LOVING EUROPE, ADDRESSES ITSELF TO BERLIN. BREZHNEV SAYS THE USSR IS FOR "NORMAL GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS" WITH THE FRG "ON THE BASIS OF THE MOSCOW TREATY." HE CITES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT OF "CERTAIN QUESTIONS RELATING TO WEST BERLIN" TO THE "NORMALIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN EUROPE." HE SAYS THAT "GOODWILL" (PRESUMABLY FROM THE WEST, BUT HE MAY BE WAGGING A FINGER AT ULBRICHT ALSO) IS NEEDED TO WORK OUT DECISIONS MEETING THE WISHES OF THE "WEST BERLIN POPULATION" WHICH ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT "THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AND SOVEREIGN RIGHTS" OF THE GDR. BREZHNEV HAS ACTUALLY SAID NOTHING HERE WHICH CONTRIBUTES TO A SETTLEMENT. HE HAS DESISTED FROM DISCUSSING ALL OF BERLIN AND STRESSED THE INTERESTS OF WEST BERLIN (AS SEPARATE FROM THOSE OF WEST GERMANY) AND OF THE GDR. THE GDR HAS STRESSED ITS OWN INTERESTS THIS WEEKEND BY AUTOBAHN HARASSMENT. THE CDU MEETING TAKING PLACE IN BERLIN TODAY IS THE PRETEXT FOR THE INTERFERENCE WITH CIVILIAN TRAFFIC. "PRAVDA"

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WRITES TODAY THAT THE CDU MEETING IS A "POLITICAL PROVOCATION" DIRECTED AGAINST NORMALIZATION OF THE BERLIN SITUATION WHICH IS PART OF AN ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN AGAINST DETENTE CONDUCTED BY "RIGHT WING FORCES OF WEST GERMANY." SOVIET EFFORTS TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE "GOOD" SPD COALITION GOVERNMENT AND THE "BAD" CDU OPPOSITION WILL MISFIRE ON THIS ONE SINCE GOVERNMENT LEADERS SCHEEL AND BRANDT MET BARZEL ON SATURDAY AND APPROVED THE CDU GATHERING.

"NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" OF SATURDAY (CF DS) HAS STATED THE MOST INTRANSIGENT POSITION ON BERLIN, IMPLYING STRONGLY THAT THE GDR HAS A TERRITORIAL CLAIM TO WEST BERLIN AND STATING THAT "MUTUAL TRANSIT" CANNOT BE DISCUSSED UNTIL WEST GERMANY DISCONTINUES ALL ACTIVITIES IN WEST BERLIN. "ND" ALSO STATES THAT ONLY "AN AGREEMENT OF MUTUAL TRANSIT OF PERSONS AND GOODS" CAN BE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GERMANY, THUS INDICATING THAT AT THE BAHR-KOHL MEETING ON FRIDAY KOHL RAISED THE QUESTION AND MAY HAVE REFUSED TO DISCUSS ANYTHING ELSE IN THE FUTURE. RADIO PRAGUE ALSO REMARKED THAT THE "UNAMBIGUOUS RENUNCIATION OF THE POLITICAL PRESENCE OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN WEST BERLIN" WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO OPEN TALKS ON "MUTUAL TRANSIT OF PERSONS AND GOODS." THUS, AN INTENSIFIED DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE IS SHAPING UP AROUND BERLIN IN WHICH ALL THOSE CONCERNED WILL TAKE PART. IT HAS ONCE AGAIN BEEN DEMONSTRATED THAT BERLIN IS OF CRITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO ANY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT. THIS IS PARTICULARLY THE CASE IF THE FORMULATION INTRODUCED BY CHABAN-DELMAS ON FRIDAY (CR DR, NO. 273) RECEIVES MORE GENERAL SUPPORT.

END MSG