

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO: C

16:42

JAN 7

MUN 4 7 JAN 70

TO: DURKEE INFO YARROW HOVEY DUNNING REYMAN KAUFMANN SCHNEIDER  
FM: WALTER INFO COOK BROWN KOHAK LYON

1530

RFE DAILY REPORT NO. 4

1. BULGARIA: PRESIDENT OF THE MACEDONIAN CPCC, ANGEL CEMERSKI, SAID ON JAN 6, ACCORDING TO TANJUG, THAT THERE IS "A WIDENING OF THE EXISTING CRISIS" IN BULGARIAN-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. HE ALSO PRAISED GEORGI DIMITROV'S POLICY OF MACEDONIA WHICH "FULLY OBSERVED THE AUTONOMY OF THE MACEDONIAN NATIONAL MINORITY IN BULGARIA." ALTHOUGH CERMERSKI CERTAINLY MAY BE PRESUMED TO REPRESENT MACEDONIAN (YUGOSLAV) NATIONALISM, NEVERTHELESS HIS AND OTHER SKOPLJE VIEWS APPEAR TO HAVE THE COMPLETE SUPPORT OF BELGRADE. THUS YUGOSLAV PRECONDITIONS FOR A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH BULGARIA INCLUDE NOT ONLY SOFIA'S PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF THE MACEDONIAN REPUBLIC AND NATIONALITY, BUT ALSO A CHANGE IN BULGARIA'S POLICY TOWARD THE MACEDONIAN MINORITY WITHIN BULGARIA WHICH SOFIA CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN DOES NOT EXIST.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: CF DGS ON HUSAK INTERVIEW IN RUDE PRAVO ON JANUARY 5. OUR GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT WHILE THERE IS AS USUAL MUCH THAT ONE CAN AND SHOULD CRITICIZE, HUSAK IS AGAIN RELATIVELY MODERATE ON THE SO-CALLED RIGHTIST OPPORTUNISTS. SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF THE UPCOMING CC PLENUM, HUSAK MAY BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO OPPOSE A MORE HARSH MANNER OF CARRYING OUT PURGES AND ENFORCING CONFORMITY. SEVERAL OF HIS REMARKS IMPLY CRITICISM OF THE ULTRAS, BUT IT IS STILL AN OPEN QUESTION TO WHAT EXTENT HE WILL CLASH WITH THEM AT THE PLENUM. ACCORDING TO PAP, PRIME MINISTER CERNIK WILL MAKE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO POLAND STARTING JANUARY 8.

3. HUNGARY: UPI'S EXCERPTS OF FOREIGN MINISTER PETER'S INTERVIEW WITH STEHLE ON THE WEST GERMAN RADIO (WE EXPECT FULL TEXT DURING THE DAY) INDICATE TO US A FAIRLY FLEXIBLE APPROACH UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. NO IMPOSSIBLE PRECONDITIONS TO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN RAISED. WE CONTINUE TO ASSUME, HOWEVER, THAT ANY MOVEMENT ON THIS FRONT WILL HAVE TO AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS IN BONN'S RELATIONS WITH WARSAW, MOSCOW, AND PANKOW. WE NOTE WITH INTEREST THAT THE WEST GERMAN TRADE MISSION IN BUDAPEST WILL HAVE LIMITED CONSULAR AUTHORITY AS OF 1 FEBRUARY. (DESK SPECIAL: TO BE REFERRED TO IN FUTURE MESSAGES AS DS.)

INTERVIEW BY CARDINAL KOENIG OF VIENNA IN YESTERDAY'S ITALIAN CHURCH MAGAZINE "CHRISTIAN FAMILY" CONTAINS FIRST CLEAR PUBLIC STATEMENT OF HUNGARIAN REGIME CONDITIONS FOR DEPARTURE OF MINDSZENTY, I.E. THAT HE PROMISE NOT TO WRITE OR SPEAK ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES. ACCORDING TO KOENIG, THESE ARE CONDITIONS THAT MINDSZENTY COULD NEVER ACCPET, AND HE CONTINUES TO WANT FULL EXORERATION. WE HAVE ISSUED A BRIEF STORY FOR NEWSCASTS, AND WILL USE THE KOENIG INTERVIEW WITH CLEAR ATTRIBUTION. HUNGARIAN BD WILL NOT COMMENT.

4. POLAND: THE ABOVE-MENTIONED KOENIG INTERVIEW ALSO CONTAINS THE STATEMENT THAT POPE PAUL IS STILL EAGER TO VISIT POLAND IF NO DIFFICULTIES ARE PRESENTED BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.

5. RUMANIA: NOTHING

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6. OTHER:

OVER THE WEEKEND THE NEW EDITION OF THE SOVIET PARTY HISTORY WAS PUT ON SALE IN MOSCOW. THE 736 PAGE BOOK IS SAID TO BE A REVISED VERSION OF A VOLUME THAT APPEARED LAST FALL BUT WAS LATER WITHDRAWN FROM DISTRIBUTION; THE LATEST VERSION WAS APPROVED FOR PRINT IN MID-NOVEMBER. JOURNALISTIC OBSERVERS IN MOSCOW, IN COMPARING THE NEW PARTY HISTORY WITH THE EARLIER VERSION, POINT OUT THAT CERTAIN CHANGES WERE MADE DURING OCTOBER AND EARLY NOVEMBER. THE CHANGES ARE MOST NOTICEABLE IN THE TREATMENT OF STALIN AND IN EVALUATION OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP. THE LATEST OFFICIAL VERSION OF THE PARTY HISTORY APPEARS TO HAVE FURTHER SOFTENED THE CRITICISM OF STALIN, PARTICULARLY IN CONNECTION WITH STALIN'S ROLE IN THE PURGES OF THE LATE 1930'S AND IN STALIN'S LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES DURING THE WAR. FROM JOURNALISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE PARTY HISTORY DEALING WITH STALIN, IT



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ALMOST A WEEK AFTER KUZNETSOV'S ARRIVAL IN PEKING THERE IS STILL NO WORD ON THE RESUMPTION OF THE SOVIET-CHINESE BORDER TALKS. THE DEPUTY HEAD OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION, GENERAL MATROSOV, APPARENTLY DIDN'T ACCOMPANY KUZNETSOV TO THE CHINESE CAPITAL. AS AN EFFORT TO SNUB KUZNETSOV'S ARRIVAL, THE CHINESE SENT LOWER RANKING OFFICIALS TO WELCOME HIM IN PEKING.

ACCORDING TO DIPLOMATIC SOURCES IN PEKING, AS QUOTED YESTERDAY BY THE HONG KONG CORRESPONDENT OF UPI, KUZNETSOV WAS "VERY PUT OUT" BY THE CHINESE RECEPTION. IN THE MEANTIME, PRAVDA CARRIED A COMMENTARY BY FORMER OFFICIAL OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT WHICH, AFTER A GAP OF MANY MONTHS, AGAIN SPOKE OF THE MILITARY PREPARATIONS WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN CHINA AND WHICH ARE, ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, ACCOMPANIED BY "UNCEASING MALICIOUS ATTACKS IN THE CHINESE PRESS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY." WESTERN DIPLOMATS IN MOSCOW ARE QUOTED BY WEDNESDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES AS SAYING THAT THE COMMENTARY SEEMED RELATED TO OTHER CRITICISMS OF CHINA THAT HAVE BEEN PRINTED IN RECENT DAYS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRESENT COMMENTARY IS, HOWEVER, EVALUATED AS THE FIRST UNDISGUISED POLEMIC SINCE THE KREMLIN BANNED SUCH ATTACKS WHEN PREPARATIONS WERE UNDERWAY FOR THE START OF THE SINO-SOVIET TALKS. AS A RELATED DEVELOPMENT, REUTER REPORTS FROM MOSCOW THAT SEVERAL ANTI-CHINESE BOOKS WHICH DISAPPEARED FROM THE SHELVES OF MOSCOW BOOKSHOPS LAST OCTOBER ARE NOW ONCE MORE ON SALE.

AN IMPORTANT ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE CHINESE THEORETICAL JOURNAL RED FLAG AND REPRINTED YESTERDAY BY PEOPLE'S DAILY AND BY THE LEADING ARMY NEWSPAPER, LIBERATION ARMY DAILY, REVEALED THE MAOIST REGIME'S VIEWS ON THE REBUILDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE ARTICLE REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE NOTION THAT MEMBERS OF RADICAL MASS ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD AUTOMATICALLY BECOME MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY BECAUSE THEY PERFORMED USEFUL SERVICES DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE RED FLAG ARTICLE IS IMPORTANT IN ITS EFFORT TO GIVE FURTHER SUPPORT TO THE PRAGMATIC ELEMENTS WHICH APPEAR TO DOMINATE THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES AND WHICH COMPETE WITH THE DOGMATIC EXTREMISTS FOR PLACES IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. THE AUTHORITATIVE ARTICLE, CLEARLY WRITTEN WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF MAO AND OTHER TOP LEADERS OF THE PARTY, PUTS ITS WEIGHT BEHIND THE CADRE-MILITARY COALITION WHICH HAS MANAGED TO SEIZE THE MAJORITY OF THE LEADING POSITIONS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. ON THE WHOLE, IT APPEARS TO BE A STRONG REBUFF TO THE EXTREMIST ELEMENTS WHICH HAVE NEVER CEASED TO QUESTION THE AUTHORITY OF THE CADRES OF THE MILITARY IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. THE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED IN THE ARTICLE, IF IMPLEMENTED BY THE NEW PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, WILL RESULT IN THE ALMOST COMPLETE ELIMINATION FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW PARTY BODIES OF THE RED GUARD TYPE EXTREMISTS AND OTHER DOGMATIC ELEMENTS WHO ROSE TO SOME LEADING POSITIONS DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.