

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 128-75
18 AUGUST 1975

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010030-6

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 128-75.4

1. CHINA-CAMBODIA-VIETNAM: PEKING HAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY WELCOMED CAMBODIAN DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS KHIEU SAMPHAN AND IENG SARY, LAUDING THE NEW REGIME'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROMISING CONTINUING SUPPORT. THE VISIT IS THE FIRST TRIP ABROAD FOR CAMBODIA'S COMMUNIST LEADERS SINCE THEY ASSUMED POWER LAST APRIL.4

A PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL ON THE VISIT POINTS UP THE IMPORTANCE PEKING ATTACHES TO CONTINUING CLOSE TIES WITH PHNOM PENH, AND BOTH SIDES CLEARLY VIEW THE VISIT AS A HIGHLY VISIBLE MEANS OF REAFFIRMING THEIR RELATIONSHIP. THE CHINESE PROBABLY CONSIDER THE VISIT IMPORTANT IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT TRIP TO CAMBODIA BY NORTH VIETNAMESE FIRST SECRETARY LE DUAN.4

A CONTINUATION OR A POSSIBLE INCREASE IN CHINESE ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO CAMBODIA WILL PROBABLY HEAD THE LIST OF TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED DURING KHIEU'S VISIT. THE CHINESE HAVE BEEN BY FAR THE LARGEST FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS TO

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CAMBODIAN REHABILITATION SINCE THE COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER, AND CHINESE TECHNICIANS CURRENTLY IN CAMBODIA NUMBER IN THE HUNDREDS. ALTHOUGH PEKING HAS NOT YET MADE ANY PUBLIC PROMISES, THE CHINESE ARE ALMOST CERTAINLY PREPARED TO ASSURE THE CAMBODIANS OF CONTINUING ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AS ONE WAY OF MAINTAINING A DOMINANT POSITION IN PHNOM PENH.

PRINCE SIHANOUK'S ROLE IN THE NEW REGIME IS A SUBJECT THAT PROBABLY CANNOT BE AVOIDED, BUT THE CHINESE APPEAR TO BE IN NO MOOD TO PUSH THE CAMBODIAN COMMUNISTS ON THIS SCORE. SIHANOUK APPARENTLY REMAINS IN PYONGYANG, BUT MAY RETURN TO PEKING IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF HIS POSSIBLE RETURN TO CAMBODIA.

CHINESE TREATMENT OF A NORTH VIETNAMESE ECONOMIC DELEGATION NOW IN PEKING, LED BY POLITBURO MEMBER LE THANH NGHIA, IS MUCH COOLER IN TONE THAN THE CHINESE COMMENTARY ON THE CAMBODIAN VISIT. IN FACT, DISCREPANCIES IN THE REPORTING OF CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE NEWS AGENCIES POINT TO CONTINUING FRICTIONS BETWEEN PEKING AND HANOI.

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THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT OUTLINING THE ACCORD THAT MARCOS REACHED AGREEMENT WITH ABDUL HAMID LUKMAN, WHOM THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT TERMS A LEGAL ADVISER AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF THE LIBERATION FRONT. IT SAID THAT SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS WOULD BE HELD TO WORK OUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR MUSLIM AUTONOMY AND THE CREATION OF AN INTERNAL SECURITY FORCE, TWO KEY DEMANDS OF REBEL LEADERS AT NEGOTIATIONS IN JIDDA LAST JANUARY.4

IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT LUKMAN MERELY HAS DEFFECTED TO THE GOVERNMENT SIDE AND THAT THE ~~ANNOUNCEMENT~~ CEASE-FIRE ANNOUNCEMENT IS ONLY ANOTHER PART OF A MANY-PRONGED GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO DIVIDE AND CONFUSE THE REBELS, WHILE TRYING TO CONVINCe WORLD ISLAMIC LEADERS THAT MANILA IS MAKING A SINCERE EFFORT TO MEET REBEL DEMANDS. A MAJOR FEATURE OF THIS CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN HIGHLY PUBLICIZED AGREEMENTS WITH REBEL DEFECTORS. NONE OF THE DEFECTORS HAS BEEN A HIGH-RANKING LEADER NOR HAVE THE AGREEMENTS HAD MUCH PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE. LUKMAN WAS A MEMBER OF THE REBEL DELEGATION AT THE JIDDA TALKS, BUT HE WAS EVIDENTLY ONLY A RECENT RECRUIT TO THE FRONT AND NOT A MEMBER

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ASSUME DIRECT CONTROL, ABOLISH JOINT GOVERNING BODIES, AND CHANGE LOCAL OFFICIALS. THE ORGANIZERS OF THE LATEST ROUND OF DEMONSTRATIONS OR, IN COMMUNIST PARLANCE, "POPULAR UPRISINGS," HAVE REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE FACADE OF NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT WILL BE MAINTAINED DESPITE THESE CHANGES IN VIENTIANE'S ADMINISTRATION.//H

THE PATHET LAO WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY FOLLOW UP THEIR TAKE-OVER OF VIENTIANE WITH SIMILAR MOVES IN THE ROYAL CAPITAL OF LUANG PRABANG, WHICH WAS ALSO NEUTRALIZED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1973 ACCORDS. {SECRET} E-2 IMPDET.H

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 120-75.4

BRAZIL: THE REACTION OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY TO PRESIDENT GEISEL'S RECENT SPEECH REFLECTS ITS REALIZATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A MAJOR CONCESSION TO HARD-LINE MILITARY CONSERVATIVES BY ABANDONING LIBERALIZATION AS ONE OF ITS MAJOR GOALS. OPPOSITION LEADERS NOW BELIEVE THAT THEIR GAINS IN LAST YEAR'S CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS HAVE BACKFIRED BY SUGGESTING TO THE ENEMIES OF LIBERALIZATION THAT THE BALLOTING SHOWED PUBLIC REPUDIATION OF THE MILITARY'S EXERCISE OF POWER.4

PROponents OF LIBERALIZATION HAD HOPED THAT GEISEL WOULD RE-AFFIRM HIS INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF EASING CONTROLS ON POLITICS. WHEN HE FAILED TO ADDRESS SUCH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AS PRESS CENSORSHIP OR ILLEGAL ARRESTS, THEY WERE BITTERLY DISAPPOINTED.4

GEISEL FURTHER CONFOUNDED THE OPPOSITION PARTY BY VIRTUALLY CO-OPTING ITS ENTIRE SOCIAL PROGRAM. OPPOSITION LEADER GUIMARAES HAS RESPONDED IN UNUSUALLY STRONG LANGUAGE, DENOUNCING THE "SWITCH IN SIGNALS" AND SCORING THE PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR VIGILANCE AGAINST COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AS PROVIDING THE PRETEXT FOR A "WITCH HUNT."

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THIS OUTBURST PROVOKED A SHARP REBUTTAL BY THE HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT PARTY, WHO APPARENTLY SOUGHT TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS MORE THAN A MATCH FOR THE OPPOSITION. GUIMARAES REPORTEDLY ALSO ANGERED GEISEL, BUT A PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN HAS INDICATED THAT NO ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST HIM.

PRO-GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION POLITICIANS INTEND TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN COMING PARTY AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO TEST THE GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS TO PERMIT ELECTIONS AS OPEN AS THE ONES LAST YEAR. GEISEL'S SPEECH APPEARS TO HAVE MADE IT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE NO OTHER STEPS TO REDUCE CONTROLS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

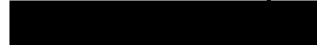
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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 128-75.4

1. BANGLADESH: THERE HAVE BEEN NO SIGNS OF RESISTANCE TO THE NEW REGIME SINCE THE MILITARY-LED COUP ON FRIDAY. THE ROUND-THE-CLOCK CURFEW HAS BEEN PARTIALLY LIFTED, BUT MARTIAL LAW APPARENTLY REMAINS IN FORCE.4

THE NEW GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE MOVING TOWARD CLOSER LINKS WITH OTHER ISLAMIC COUNTRIES--INCLUDING PAKISTAN, WITH WHICH RELATIONS HAD BEEN VERY LIMITED SINCE BANGLADESH BECAME INDEPENDENT FROM PAKISTAN IN 1971. DACCA PROBABLY WILL ALSO TRY TO MAINTAIN REASONABLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH INDIA, BUT TIES ARE UNLIKELY TO BE AS CLOSE AS THEY WERE UNDER THE LATE PRESIDENT MUJIB.4

PRESIDENT MUSHTAQUE HAS DECLARED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WANTS FRIENDLY TIES WITH ALL THREE MAJOR POWERS. PAKISTAN ON FRIDAY BECAME THE FIRST NATION TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW REGIME AND HAS PROMISED TO SEND 50,000 TONS OF RICE AND 15 MILLION YARDS OF CLOTH. IT URGED OTHER ISLAMIC COUNTRIES TO EXTEND RECOGNITION, AND SAUDI ARABIA AND SUDAN DID SO OVER THE WEEKEND. BANGLADESH'S

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NEW RULERS UNDOUBTEDLY ARE ANXIOUS TO OBTAIN ECONOMIC AID FROM THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES.4

INDIA SO FAR HAS TAKEN A CAUTIOUS STANCE TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH REPRESENTS A SHIFT AWAY FROM THE SECULAR AND GENERALLY PRO-INDIAN ORIENTATION OF THE MUJIB REGIME. AN OFFICIAL INDIAN STATEMENT PUBLISHED SUNDAY DESCRIBED THE EVENTS AS "INTERNAL MATTERS OF BANGLADESH" THAT INDIA IS "CAREFULLY STUDYING." TASS REPORTS INDICATE THAT MOSCOW IS ALSO ADOPTING A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE. PEKING'S NEWS AGENCY HAS REPORTED THE COUP BUT NOT YET COMMENTED ON IT. (SECRET)4

2. ANGOLA: THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA AND THE NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA ARE BATTLING FOR CONTROL OF THE PORT AND RAILHEAD AT LOBITO AND BENGUELA. FIGHTING IN THE AREA BEGAN LAST WEDNESDAY AND INCREASED OVER THE WEEKEND.4

THE POPULAR MOVEMENT APPEARS TO BE TRYING NOW TO SECURE MILITARY DOMINANCE OVER ANGOLA'S VITAL ECONOMIC CENTERS, EVEN AT THE RISK OF HAVING TO FIGHT THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE

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LIBERATION OF ANGOLA AND THE NATIONAL UNION AT THE SAME TIME. THE POPULAR MOVEMENT CONTROLS LUANDA BUT IS CAUGHT BETWEEN THE NATIONAL FRONT TO THE NORTH AND THE NATIONAL UNION TO THE SOUTH.

SO FAR, THE PORTUGUESE HAVE NOT INTERVENED IN THE FIGHTING. LISBON REPORTEDLY IS PREPARING TO SEND ADDITIONAL TROOPS TO ANGOLA TO RESTORE ORDER AND BACK UP ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER MACEDO'S ATTEMPTS TO REASSERT PORTUGUESE AUTHORITY OVER THE TERRITORY. [CONFIDENTIAL]

3. RHODESIANS: ALTHOUGH PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH AND BLACK RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS HAVE AGREED TO BEGIN SETTLEMENT TALKS THIS MONTH, THEIR CONFLICTING VIEWS OF THE PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS DO NOT BODE WELL FOR SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED ON TUESDAY THAT:

--AN INITIAL MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE NO LATER THAN AUGUST 25 IN A RAILROAD CAR ON A BRIDGE SPANNING THE ZAMBEZI RIVER MIDWAY BETWEEN RHODESIA AND ZAMBIA.

--THE SPECIFIC SETTLEMENT TERMS WILL BE DRAWN UP BY ONE

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OR MORE JOINT COMMITTEES WORKING IN RHODESIA.4

--AFTER THE COMMITTEES HAVE COMPLETED THEIR WORK, A FINAL CONFERENCE WILL CONVENE AT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SITE TO CONCLUDE A FORMAL SETTLEMENT.4

ON WEDNESDAY IN ZAMBIA, BISHOP MUZOREWA, CHAIRMAN OF THE RHODESIAN AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, CONFIRMED THE BLACK NATIONALISTS' ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED IN RHODESIA. ON THE SAME DAY, THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT REPLIED WITH A WARNING THAT THE BLACK NATIONALISTS RISKED DESTROYING THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AGREED SETTLEMENT IF THEY WENT BACK ON ANY PART OF THE AGREEMENT TO HOLD TALKS. ON FRIDAY, HOWEVER, MUZOREWA SAID THE COUNCIL REJECTS THE PROVISION TO HOLD COMMITTEE SESSIONS INSIDE RHODESIA; THE DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS, HE SAID, MUST BE HELD AT THE SITE OF THE INITIAL SESSION.4

MUZOREWA'S REVERSAL WAS PROVOKED BY SMITH'S STATEMENT ON WEDNESDAY THAT THE INITIAL SESSION WILL BE MERELY A BRIEF FORMALITY AND THAT ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL TAKE PLACE INSIDE

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 128-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS VOWED ON SUNDAY TO CONTINUE THEIR CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH TO REASSERT THE PARTY'S PRESENCE THERE.4

THEIR INITIAL FORAY INTO THE NORTH, A PARTY RALLY ON SATURDAY IN THE TOWN OF ALCOBACA, PROVED THAT THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS ARE EQUALLY DETERMINED TO BE RID OF THEM. THE COMMUNISTS, NOW EXPERIENCING THE SAME TYPE OF HARASSMENT FACED BY THE MORE CONSERVATIVE PARTIES SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, ARE DEMANDING THAT THE MILITARY GUARANTEE THE RIGHT OF FREE ASSEMBLY.4

THEY HAVE SCHEDULED ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION ON TUESDAY IN OPORTO, CLAIMING THEY HAVE SUFFICIENT POWER TO RESPOND AND "SMASH THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES." ANTI-COMMUNISTS AROUND OPORTO ARE CERTAIN TO REACT TO THIS SECOND CHALLENGE AND MORE VIOLENCE MAY RESULT BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE PROMISED TO "TAKE PRECAUTIONS" AGAINST A REPETITION OF EVENTS IN ALCOBACA.4

PRO-COMMUNIST PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES, UNDER HEAVY

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PRESSURE TO RESIGN, PUBLICLY ADMITTED SATURDAY THAT HIS NEW GOVERNMENT—NOW OVER A WEEK OLD—IS UNABLE TO FUNCTION BECAUSE OF THE SPLIT IN THE ARMED FORCES. HE APPEALED TO THE PEOPLE TO DEMAND A QUICK SOLUTION TO THE "POLITICAL AMBIGUITIES" DIVIDING THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH PREVENT THE CABINET FROM DEALING WITH PORTUGAL'S MORE PRESSING PROBLEMS. GONCALVES PROMISED THAT HE AND HIS LEFT-WING CABINET WOULD NOT "SHIRK THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES." THE STATEMENT WILL DO LITTLE TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR GONCALVES, BUT IT DOES MAKE CLEAR TO THOSE OPPOSING HIM THAT HE WILL NOT STEP DOWN VOLUNTARILY.

THE DISSIDENT OFFICERS IN THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT ARE CONTINUING TO CIRCULATE THE ANTI-REGIME DOCUMENT DRAFTED BY FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ANTUNES, HOPING TO GAUGE SUPPORT AMONG THE RANK AND FILE BEFORE MOVING AGAINST GONCALVES.

THE DISSIDENTS ARE CLEARLY HESITANT TO MOVE AGAINST THEIR FELLOW OFFICERS AND MAY LOSE THEIR ADVANTAGE IF THEY CONTINUE TO DELAY. THE SOCIALISTS AND OTHER ANTI-COMMUNIST CIVILIAN GROUPS, HOWEVER, CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE PRESSURING THEM.

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THROUGH THE CRITICAL TRANSITION PERIOD. GONZALEZ PORTRAYED JUAN CARLOS AS LACKING IN FORTITUDE, CAPACITY TO GOVERN, AND POLITICAL ASTUTENESS.4

GONZALEZ PLAYED DOWN THE POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE, HOWEVER, SAYING THE PSOE FAVORS A PRAGMATIC STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IN THE POST-FRANCO ERA, WHICH WOULD NOT DESTROY THE POSITIVE INSTITUTIONS--HE CITED SCHOOLS--FRANCO HAS BUILT. HE ADDED THAT HE AND OTHER YOUNG OPPOSITION LEADERS, ALTHOUGH BORN AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, ARE VERY MUCH AWARE OF, AND STILL INFLUENCED BY THE WAR. THUS THEY ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO PROCEED WITH CAUTION IN ORDER TO AVOID A SIMILAR EXPERIENCE.4

GONZALEZ AND THREE OF HIS COLLEAGUES STATED THEY BELIEVES THE PSOE HAS A SOLID WORKING CLASS BASE AND A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL POTENTIAL. ONE SAID THAT IN A FREE ELECTION THE PSOE MIGHT HAVE ALMOST AS MUCH ELECTORAL STRENGTH AS MARIO SOARES' PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY MUSTERED IN THE PORTUGUESE ELECTIONS LAST APRIL, AND THAT THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD DO NOT BETTER THAN THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS (12-33 PERCENT).4

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THE PSOE LEADERS EMPHASIZED THEY ARE OPPOSED TO THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED DEMOCRATIC JUNTA AND FIRMLY SUPPORT THE NEWLY FORMED RIVAL DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE COALITION. GONZALEZ BELIEVES THIS COALITION WILL BE INCAPABLE OF CARRYING ON A DIALOGUE WITH ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY, INCLUDING THE CAPITALISTS AND THE MILITARY, IN ORDER TO SECURE A PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY TRANSITION TO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. GONZALEZ ALSO STATED THAT THE PSOE FEELS THAT ANY POST-FRANCO DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM MUST BE OPEN TO ALL POLITICAL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS. [CONFIDENTIAL]

3. BULGARIA: POPE PAUL VI RECENTLY NAMED TWO NEW BISHOPS TO HEAD LONG-VACANT ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESES IN BULGARIA. THE NOMINATIONS, THE FIRST IN RECENT MEMORY, FOLLOWED TALKS AT THE VATICAN IN JUNE BETWEEN BULGARIAN LEADER, ZHIVKOV AND POPE PAUL.

THE NEWLY ANNOUNCED BISHOPS ARE BOGDAN DOBRANOV [SOFIA AND PLOVDIV], WHO HAD BEEN SECRETLY CON- SECRETED IN 1959, AND VASCO SERIRECOV [NIKOPOL].

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NO BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE ON EITHER APPOINTEE. THEIR SEES HAD APPARENTLY BEEN VACANT SINCE 1952, WHEN THEIR PREDECESSORS DIED IN JAIL.

ALTHOUGH THE BULGARIAN PRESS HAS NOT YET ANNOUNCED THE APPOINTMENTS, THE PARTY'S DAILY NEWSPAPER CARRIED ON THE FRONT PAGE AN EXTENSIVE ARTICLE ON ZHIVKOV'S MEETING WITH POPE PAUL. THE POPE REPORTEDLY RAISED THE QUESTION OF FILLING THE VACANT DIOCESES, AND ZHIVKOV INDICATED THAT HE WAS RECEPTIVE TO FILLING THE POSITIONS QUICKLY.

THE VATICAN IS REPORTEDLY PLEASED OVER THE LATEST SUCCESS IN ITS POLICY TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST STATES. IT ALSO PROBABLY HOPES SUCH MOVES WILL EASE THE PLIGHT OF THE FAITHFUL. THERE ARE 35,000 TO 60,000 LATIN AND BYZANTINE-RITE CATHOLICS IN BULGARIA, AN OVERWHELMINGLY ORTHODOX COUNTRY. THE REGIME ACTIVELY PERSECUTED THE CHURCH UNTIL 1950, BUT SINCE THEN

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