

MUNICH

OUTGOING CIPHER

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

221727:

CONSOLIDATED BI-MONTHLY REPORT NO. 34 (JULY 2 - JULY 16)

B U L G A R I A

1. THE ELECTORIAL SYSTEM AND THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (ADDENDUM TO CBR NOS. 32, ITEM 4; 33, ITEM 2)

EFFECTIVENESS; KOOPERATIVNO SELO OF JUNE 27 CARRIED AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "THIS IS CALLED ELECTION SYSTEM!" ATTACKING RFE (AS WELL AS VOA) FOR CRITICIZING THE WAY THE BULGARIAN REGIME PREPARED AND CONDUCTED THE LAST ELECTIONS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, HOWEVER, THE ARTICLE AVOIDED THE BULGARIAN BD'S CRITICISM RATHER THAN ANSWERED IT. ON THE WHOLE, THE ARTICLE IS A FEEBLE ATTEMPT TO RIDICULE THE ELCTION PRACTICES IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.

2. BULGARIAN REGIME TO PROMOTE PRIVATE PLOT FARMING

OBJECTIVES: RADIO SOFIA REPORTED ON JULY 5 THAT THE ECONOMIC COORDINATION COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ADOPTED A PROGRAM TO INCREASE FODDER, MEAT AND FISH OUTPUT THROUGH GREATER RELIANCE ON THE PRIVATE PLOT SECTOR. THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM ALLOWS FARMERS IN THE FUTURE TO RAISE AN "UNLIMITED NUMBER" OF ANIMALS ON THEIR PRIVATE PLOTS, A MEASURE WHICH APPEARS TO BE A MAJOR DEPARTURE FOR THE REGIME WHICH HAS HITHERTO INSISTED ON CONTROLLING THIS SECTOR THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS. FOR BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS, SEE B/BR NO. 22 OF JULY 13; THIS WEEK IN EAST EUROPE NOS. 27-8 OF JULY 1-14, P. 12; AND DR NO. 150. THE BD PROGRAMMING OBJECTIVES WERE TWOFOLD: (A) TO WELCOME THE GOVERNMENT MEASURE AS A LONG-OVERDUE STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND (B) TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THOSE ASPECTS WHICH MIGHT HINDER ITS EFFECTIVENESS AND IMPLEMENTATION.

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TECHNIQUES: IN TWO COMMENTARIES TOTALING 15 MINUTES OF AIRTIME (SEE DBA NOS. 156 A/1 OF JULY 6; 158 A/2 OF JULY 8), THE BD LAUDED THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC COORDINATION FOR ITS SENSE OF REALISM IN BRINGING ABOUT THIS POSITIVE MEASURE, WHICH THE BD HAS FREQUENTLY RECOMMENDED IN THE PAST. RESPONDING TO RADIO SOFIA'S STATEMENT THAT THE "PRIVATE PLOT SECTOR WILL BECOME AN IMPORTANT SOURCE FOR THE PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT DURING THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN," THE BD REMINDED THE REGIME THAT THIS VIRTUALLY IGNORED SECTOR ALREADY SUPPLIES ONE-THIRD OF THE COUNTRY'S TOTAL ANIMAL OUTPUT. THE BD ALSO NOTED A NUMBER OF POTENTIAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH COULD UNDERMINE THE PROGRAM. AMONG THESE, THE BD LISTED: (A) THE PROBLEM OF FORAGE SUPPLY, WHICH HAS BEEN A PERENNIAL PROBLEM EVEN OF THE GOVERNMENT-ASSISTED COLLECTIVE AND STATE FARMS; (B) THE ORGANIZATION OF AN EFFICIENT PROCUREMENT-AGENCY NETWORK; (C) THE EXTENSION OF ADEQUATE CREDITS TO PRIVATE FARMS TO REPAIR LONG-NEGLECTED FARM BUILDINGS AND TO PURCHASE MODERN MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT; AND (D) THE CURBING OF LOCAL OFFICIALS IN INTERPRETING AND IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM AS THEY SEE FIT, A FACTOR WHICH HAS OFTEN BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR STIFLING INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE IN THE PAST.

EFFECTIVENESS: THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF PRIVATE PLOTS AS A WAY TO INCREASE THE COUNTRY'S MEAT SUPPLY AND TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF THE FARMERS HAS BEEN A RECURRING THEME OF BD PROGRAMMING FOR SEVERAL YEARS. FOR THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF BD'S RELEVANT COMMENTARY BROADCAST IN THE "FARMER TALK" SERIES ON APRIL 1, SEE DBA NO. 77 A/1.

### 3. REGIME INCREASES EFFORTS TO MILITARIZE YOUTH

OBJECTIVES: THE PURPOSE OF BD PROGRAMMING WAS TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS OF THE HEAVY MILITARY REPRESENTATION IN THE NEW PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO YOUTH AND SPORTS.

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TECHNIQUES: PROMPTED BY THE APPOINTMENT OF THE HEAD OF THE CHIEF POLITICAL DIRECTORATE OF THE ARMY, COLONEL GENERAL V. PALIN, TO THE POSITION OF CHAIRMAN OF THIS COMMISSION, THE BD BROADCAST A FIVE-MINUTE EDITORIAL (SEE DBA NO. 162 A/1 OF JULY 13) CRITICIZING THE APPOINTMENT AS WELL AS PALIN'S ADVOCACY OF COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING FOR STUDENTS AND WORKING YOUTH ALIKE. PALIN'S APPOINTMENT SUGGESTS THAT THE BCP LEADERSHIP HAS ADOPTED HIS PLAN FOR THE "MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH OUTSIDE THE ARMED FORCES." THE BD OBJECTED TO THE INTRODUCTION OF SUCH TRAINING BECAUSE FOR STUDENTS IT IS CARRIED OUT AT THE EXPENSE OF LEGITIMATE SUBJECTS OF THE CURRICULA AND BECAUSE THE INSTILLING OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE "IS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF OUR TIMES."

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

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C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A

1. WESTERN MEDIA ON RFE (CONTINUATION OF CBR NO. 33,  
ITEM 3)

OBJECTIVES: IN VIEW OF THE CS REGIME'S CONTINUING PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST RFE, THE CZECHOSLOVAK BD BROADCAST ANOTHER SELECTION OF RESPONSIBLE WESTERN COMMENTARIES ON RFE.

TECHNIQUES: IN A SEVEN-AND-A-HALF MINUTE COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON JULY 14 (SEE DBA NO. 163 A/2), THE BD PRESENTED A BALANCED SELECTION OF EXCERPTS FROM THE JUNE 26 EDITORIAL OF THE WASHINGTON POST, THE SHAWCROSS ARTICLE IN NEW SOCIETY, AND THE HARRY SCHLEICHER ARTICLE IN THE JULY 10 ISSUE OF FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. ALL THESE ARTICLES ASSESSED RFE'S ROLE IN A POSITIVE FASHION.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

2. THE PRAGUE TRIAL OF STEIN, POLEDNAK AND FOUR OTHERS

OBJECTIVES: FOLLOWING REPORTS IN THE WESTERN MEDIA, CS NEWS AGENCY CETEKA CONFIRMED ON JULY 5 THE OPENING OF TRIALS OF SIX PERSONS IN PRAGUE ON CHARGES OF SUBVERSION AND ESPIONAGE. THE TRIAL, WHICH ENDED ON JULY 10, LED TO THE SENTENCING OF ALL SIX TO PRISON TERMS RANGING FROM 18 MONTHS TO 12 YEARS. FOR MORE DETAILS, SEE DR NOS. 150, 154; THIS WEEK IN EAST EUROPE NOS. 27-8 OF JULY 1-14, P.14; CS/SR NO. 24 OF JULY 14, ITEM 4. THE BD PROGRAMMING OBJECTIVES WERE (A) TO SUPPLEMENT THE SCANTY OFFICIAL REPORTS ON THE TRIAL, WHICH WERE LIMITED TO BRIEF COMMUNIQUEES ON THE OPENING AND THE VERDICT, AND (B) TO SHOW THAT THE DEFENDANTS-- ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF POLEDNAK, A LEADING FIGURE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY CULTURAL COMMISSION DURING THE DUBCEK ERA IN 1968--WERE IN FACT TRIED FOR THEIR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES UNDER THE GUISE OF AN ESPIONAGE TRIAL. THE BD ALSO SOUGHT

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TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THIS TRIAL CONSTITUTES ANOTHER VIOLATION OF HUSAK'S PLEDGE THAT NO ONE WOULD BE TRIED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES COMMITTED BEFORE HUSAK'S TAKEOVER IN APRIL 1969.

TECHNIQUES: IN ADDITION TO COVERAGE IN ITS NEWSCASTS, THE BD BROADCAST THREE COMMENTARIES TOTALING 10 MINUTES OF AIRTIME (SEE DBA NOS. 155 B/2 OF JULY 5; 160 A/1 OF JULY 10; 161 A/1 OF JULY 12) IN WHICH IT UTILIZED RESPONSIBLE WESTERN REPORTS AND COMMENTARIES ON THE TRIAL (E.G., AFP, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG). IN ADDITION TO URGING THE REGIME TO REVEAL MORE DETAILS ON THE ALLEGED ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES OF THE DEFENDANTS, THE BD POINTED OUT THAT THE DEFENDANTS WERE BEING TRIED FOR ACTIVITIES--AS FAR AS THE VAGUE INDICTMENT ALLOWS ONE TO DETERMINE--WHICH WERE CARRIED OUT PUBLICLY AND LEGITIMATELY WITHIN THE LEGAL CONTEXT EXISTING AT THE TIME.

EFFECTIVENESS: THE APPEARANCE OF A RATHER DEFENSIVE COMMENTARY IN THE CS MEDIA ON THE RECENT "ESPIONAGE" TRIAL CAN BE REGARDED AS A REFLECTION OF THE REGIME'S SENSITIVITY TO THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL TRIALS. IN A COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON RADIOS PRAGUE AND HVEZDA ON JULY 19, BOHUMIL ROHACEK SAID, INTER ALIA: "ONE OF THE GENTLEMEN OF THE HECKLING ESPIONAGE STATION FREE EUROPE--TODAY ALREADY OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED BY PRESIDENT NIXON--INVITED SOMEONE, AND I QUOTE, FROM TODAY'S LEADERSHIP TO TELL (THE PUBLIC) WHAT THE TRIALS PROVE AND WHAT LEGAL GUARANTEES A CITIZEN (OF CS) CAN EXPECT. WE CAN ASSURE THESE AND OTHER ESCAPEES (FROM CS) THAT THE CITIZENS OF OUR SOCIALIST STATE HAVE THEIR GUARANTEES IN THE SOCIALIST LEGAL ORDER WHICH DOES NOT PROSECUTE BECAUSE OF POLITICAL VIEWS AND CONVICTION; HOWEVER, IT WILL PROSECUTE ANYONE WHO COMMITS PROVEN CRIMINAL OFFENSES."

### 3. HUNGARIAN-RUMANIAN POLEMICS

OBJECTIVES: THE BD PROGRAMMING OBJECTIVE WAS TO INFORM ITS LISTENERS IN DETAIL OF THE RECENT POLEMICS BETWEEN

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THE TWO WARSAW PACT ALLIES HUNGARY AND RUMANIA. FOR DETAILS SEE THIS WEEK IN EAST EUROPE NOS. 27-8 OF JULY 1-14, PP. 2-8; R/SR NO. 26 OF JULY 13, ITEM 1; H/SR NO. 24 OF JULY 13, ITEM 1.

TECHNIQUES: FOLLOWING THE DGS FOR JULY 9, "RUMANIA REPLIES TO HUNGARIAN CRITICISM" (SEE DBA NO. 160 C/7 OF JULY 11), THE BD, IN A 10-MINUTE COMMENTARY, RECAPITULATED HUNGARIAN PARTY SECRETARY KOMOCSIN'S CRITICISM OF RUMANIAN POLICIES AND REPORTED RUMANIAN PARTY SECRETARY NICULESCU-MIZIL'S RESPONSE: VIZ., THAT "THE APPEARANCE AND EXISTENCE OF DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS AND OF INTERPRETATION IN THE HUNGARIAN AND RUMANIAN STANDS . . . SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS A FACTOR RENDERING CO-OPERATION AMONG FRATERNAL PARTIES AND COUNTRIES DIFFICULT."

IN AN EIGHT-AND-A-HALF-MINUTE COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON JULY 10 (SEE DBA REFERENCE ABOVE), THE BD REITERATED NICULESCU-MIZIL'S REPLY TO KOMOCSIN'S WARNING TO RUMANIA (INCLUDING THE HUNGARIAN NATIONALITIES LIVING THERE) THAT PROBLEMS CAN ONLY BE SOLVED ON THE BASIS OF SOCIALISM. THE BD UNDERLINED THOSE PASSAGES WHICH STRESSED RUMANIA'S DETERMINATION NOT TO ALLOW FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IN A TWO-MINUTE COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON JULY 12 (SEE DBA NO. 161 D/1), THE BD REPORTED ON THE ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN MAGYAR HIRLAP (WHICH REITERATED KOMOCSIN'S CRITICISM) AND IN THE YUGOSLAV WEEKLY NIN (WHICH COMMENTED ON NICULESCU-MIZIL'S REPLY).

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

4. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CBRs)

A. IN HIS LIBEREC (NORTHERN BOHEMIA) SPEECH OF JULY 14, CS PARTY LEADER HUSAK SAID, INTER ALIA: "CAPITALISTS AND IMPERIALISTS WILL, NATURALLY, CONTINUE TO MAKE PROPAGANDA AGAINST SOCIALISM AS LONG AS THEY EXIST. WE HAVE TO BE AWARE OF THIS. WHEN THEY HAVE NO FACTS, WHEN WE DO NOT SUPPLY THEM WITH FACTS THROUGH OUR OWN STUPIDITIES OR MISTAKES, THEY

(MORE)

WILL INVENT THEM. THEY DID SO BEFORE THE PARTY CONGRESS, WHEN THEY MAINTAINED THAT WE WERE BUILDING CONCENTRATION CAMPS. THEY INVENTED OTHER THINGS AND THEY WILL GO ON SPITTING ON US VIA THOSE BROADCASTING STATIONS IN THE FUTURE TOO. . . ."  
(WESTERN REPORTS ON POSSIBLE INTERNMENT OF LEADING CZECHO-SLOVAK REFORMERS BEFORE THE "OFFICIAL" 14TH PARTY CONGRESS IN MAY WERE COVERED BY THE BD AT THE TIME--CF. CBR NOS. 28, ITEM 2; 29, ITEM 1). "WE HAVE TO LEARN NOW," HUSAK ADDED, "HOW TO GET EVERY WORKING MAN IN OUR COUNTRY INTERESTED IN OUR BASIC TASKS. AND THEN THOSE--EXCUSE ME--IDIOCIES FROM RFE OR FROM ELSEWHERE WILL SIMPLY HAVE NO RELEVANCE." SEE ALSO DR NO. 158.

B. THE PORIZEK CASE. ON JULY 3, THE PARTY DAILY RUDE PRAVO DENOUNCED THE CS REFUGEE COUPLE PORIZEK, AND SEVERAL SWEDISH PERSONALITIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHO ARE TRYING TO OBTAIN PERMISSION FROM CS OFFICIALS TO ALLOW THE COUPLE'S DAUGHTER TO JOIN THEM IN SWEDEN. RUDE PRAVO TRIED TO JUSTIFY THE REGIME'S NEGATIVE REACTION BY DECLARING: "THE INITIATORS OF PROVOCATIVE ACTION AGAINST THE CSSR . . . ARE PROMISING, THANKS TO THE CONNECTION WITH A MUNICH REFUGEE CENTER AND TO A CERTAIN AMERICAN BROADCASTING STATION IN THAT CITY, THAT PERMISSION FOR EMIGRATION OF CHILDREN FROM THE CSSR WILL BE GRANTED IF THE PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS CONTINUE." THE ARTICLE CALLED ON PARENTS "TO RETURN HOME . . . IF THEY SINCERELY WISH TO LIVE WITH THEIR CHILDREN." THIS INDICATES THAT THE APPLICATION OF THE COUPLE HAS BEEN REJECTED, DESPITE EARLIER PROMISES BY THE CS EMBASSY IN STOCKHOLM THAT THE PROCESSING OF THEIR REQUEST WOULD BE SPEEDED UP. THE BD REPORTED ON THE PARENTS, WHO WENT ON A HUNGER STRIKE, AND EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT BY THE SWEDISH PRESS AND PUBLIC. FOR SUMMARIES OF RELEVANT BD COMMENTARIES, SEE DBA NOS. 153 B/9 OF JULY 2; 155 B/3 OF JULY 5; 157 B/1 OF JULY 7; 159 B/7 OF JULY 9. SEE ALSO DR NO. 149; AND CS/SR NO. 24 OF JULY 14, ITEM 7.

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H U N G A R Y

1. CHRISTIAN-MARKIST DIALOGUE

OBJECTIVES: PEGGED TO AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE JUNE ISSUE OF THE CATHOLIC MONTHLY VIGILIA, WHICH SOUGHT TO PROVE THE EXISTENCE OF A "COMMON CAUSE" BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND MARXISTS FROM THE COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT, THE HUNGARIAN BD PROGRAMMING OBJECTIVES WERE (A) TO REFUTE THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE ARTICLE AND (B) TO OUTLINE THE CONDITIONS OF A GENUINE CHRISTIAN-MARKIST DIALOGUE, SOMETHING WHICH THE HUNGARIAN CHRISTIAN THINKERS ARE NOT FREE TO DO TODAY.

TECHNIQUES: IN A SERIES OF THREE COMMENTARIES TOTALING 15 MINUTES OF AIRTIME (SEE DBA NOS. 157 A/1 OF JULY 7; 158 A/1 OF JULY 8; 159 A/1 OF JULY 9), THE BD ASSERTED THAT THUS FAR ONLY THE RECENT DIALOGUES WHICH THE PAULUS SOCIETY ORGANIZED (IN SALZBURG, BAVARIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA) CAN PROPERLY BE CONSIDERED GENUINE BECAUSE THESE WERE CONDUCTED ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND BECAUSE NEITHER SIDE PRESENTED A READY-MADE "MODEL" WHICH THE OTHER SIDE HAD TO ACCEPT. FURTHER, THE PARTICIPANTS IN THESE DIALOGUES WERE MOTIVATED BY THEIR DESIRE FOR INTELLECTUAL ENRICHMENT AND BY THEIR COMMON GOAL OF SEEKING WAYS TO ENSURE MANKIND THE GREATEST DEGREE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. SUCH A DIALOGUE, THE BD SAID, IS IN FACT GOING ON ALL THE TIME IN THE WESTERN WORLD WHERE THERE IS A PLURALISTIC SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHERE "THESES FREELY CONFRONT ANTITHESES WHICH, IN TURN, YIELD NEW THESES WHILE STILL MAINTAINING PLURALISM."

A CHRISTIAN-MARKIST DIALOGUE, AS IT IS UNDERSTOOD IN THE WEST, HOWEVER, HAS NOT YET TAKEN PLACE IN HUNGARY. VIGILIA DIFFERENTIATED BETWEEN DIALOGUES OF IDEAS AND DIALOGUES OF DEEDS. THE HUNGARIAN MONTHLY CLAIMED THAT A "POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN BELIEVERS AND NON-BELIEVERS HAS ALREADY BEEN REACHED IN THE PAST" AND THAT ON THE BASIS OF THIS UNDERSTANDING A "PATIENT AND CONSISTENT DIALOGUE" COULD BE CARRIED OUT ALSO IN THE FUTURE. IF THIS WERE TRUE, THE BD ARGUED, THEN HUNGARY HAS WITNESSED AN UNPARALLELED HISTORICAL EVENT: "IN HUNGARY ALONE, THE CHRISTIANS HAVE

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ACCEPTED AN ATHEIST IDEOLOGY IN THEIR THEISTIC WAY." TERMING THIS A PHILOSOPHICAL ABSURDITY, THE BD NOTED THAT VIGILIA WAS OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO THE "UNDERSTANDING" WHICH THE MARXISTS--OR, MORE ACCURATELY, THE LENINISTS--IMPOSED UPON THE CHRISTIAN THINKERS IN THE SUMMER OF 1948. THE BD, HOWEVER, REJECTED THE CLAIM THAT THE 1948 UNDERSTANDING WAS THE RESULT OF GENUINE DIALOGUE. WHAT HAPPENED THEN AND CONTINUES TO BE THE CASE TODAY, WAS THE REALIZATION BY THE CHRISTIANS OF THE NECESSITY OF COOPERATING WITH THE REGIME. THIS WAS NOT THE RESULT OF A DIALOGUE. INDEED, THE ABSENCE OF A GENUINE DIALOGUE AMONG THE MARXISTS THEMSELVES, THE BD CHARGED, IS SAD BUT CLEAR PROOF OF THE DEGREE OF THEIR INTOLERANCE TOWARD NON-MARXISTS. THE BD MAINTAINED THAT REAL DIALOGUE IS UNLIKELY AS LONG AS THE REGIME INSISTS ON A CLOSED ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM. THE IMPERATIVE PRE-REQUISITES OF ANY TRUE DIALOGUE ARE: EQUALITY, MUTUAL RESPECT AND APPRECIATION OF THE OTHER'S IDEAS AND WILLINGNESS TO LEARN. AS LONG AS THESE QUALITIES ARE LACKING, THE BD SAID, "DIALOGUE" WILL REMAIN A FARCE.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

2. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CBRs)

A. IN FEBRUARY 1970, THE HUNGARIAN BD LAUNCHED A NEW PROGRAM SERIES ENTITLED "THE WORLD OF THE BIBLE" TO AUGMENT ITS OLDER "CHURCH AND WORLD" SERIES. THE NEW SERIES WAS INTENDED TO FILL THE GAP WHICH THE REGIME'S ANTI-RELIGIOUS POLICY CREATED WITH THE ABOLITION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. MORE THAN A YEAR LATER, ON JULY 6, RADIO BUDAPEST BEGAN BROADCASTING A SERIES OF 10 PROGRAMS ALSO ENTITLED "THE WORLD OF THE BIBLE." AN ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST INSTALLMENT INDICATES THAT LITERARY AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE BIBLE ARE TREATED FAIRLY, BUT ITS RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SIGNIFICANCE IS LARGELY NEGLECTED. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE RADIO BUDAPEST SERIES IS IN RESPONSE TO OUR OWN PROGRAMMING.

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B. THE REGIME'S CONCERN FOR THE BD'S "YOUTH PROGRAM" SERIES WAS ACCORDED INDIRECT CONFIRMATION BY ARPAD PULLAI, CC SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF YOUTH AFFAIRS. SPEAKING BEFORE THE HSWP POLITICAL ACADEMY ON THE PARTY'S PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING ITS POLICY ON YOUTH, HE SAID, INTER ALIA: "THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOT ABLE TO SOLVE EVERY PROBLEM PERFECTLY CONSTITUTES A GREATER PROBLEM FOR OUR YOUTH THAN FOR MEMBERS OF THE OLDER GENERATIONS BECAUSE THE FORMER DO NOT POSSESS THE NECESSARY HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. BY UTILIZING THEIR LACK OF EXPERIENCE AND EXPLOITING THE SHORTCOMINGS OF OUR EDUCATIONAL WORK, THE ENEMY PROPAGANDA MAY EVEN PUSH SOME OF OUR YOUTH INTO OPPOSITION."

C. AT THE EUROPEAN BOXING CHAMPIONSHIP IN MADRID, JUNE 13-26, BD SPORTS EDITOR GYORGY MARKUS AND THE OFFICIAL REPORTER FROM HUNGARY WORKED SIDE BY SIDE AND WERE ABLE TO HEAR EACH OTHER'S REPORTS ON THE SUCCESSES OF THE HUNGARIAN TEAM. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE TOURNAMENT, THE LEADER OF THE HUNGARIAN TEAM THANKED THE BD'S SPORTS EDITOR FOR HIS FAIR REPORTAGE AND INVITED HIM TO THE CLOSING BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE VICTORY.

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O L A N D

1. INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE REGIME'S  
INFORMATION POLICY (ADDENDUM TO CBR NO. 31, ITEM 2)

EFFECTIVENESS: THE CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR RADIO AND TELEVISION ADMITTED OPENLY IN ONE OF HIS BI-WEEKLY RADIO TALKS (RADIO WARSAW) ON JUNE 27 THAT "FOREIGN RADIO STATIONS" ARE OFTEN AHEAD IN REPORTING NEWS ON EVENTS "IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" AND THAT FREQUENTLY THIS IS THE RESULT OF THE REGIME'S DELIBERATE POLICY TO WITHHOLD INFORMATION FROM THE POLISH PUBLIC.

THE RELEVANT EXCERPT FROM SOKORSKI'S RADIO TALK: "FREQUENTLY INFORMATION ABOUT EVENTS IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES REACHES OUR MEDIA WITH CONSIDERABLE DELAY, AND FOREIGN RADIO STATIONS BROADCAST THIS INFORMATION BEFORE WE DO. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THERE ARE AND THERE WILL ALWAYS BE CASES WHEN WE WILL WITHHOLD CERTAIN INFORMATION FOR A DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME. HOWEVER, SUCH ACTION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AN EXCEPTION AND ANY DELAY WILL BE DELIBERATELY REGULATED BY OURSELVES." THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST UNAMBIGUOUS ADMISSIONS FROM AN AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE THAT THE POLISH REGIME'S POLICY OF WITHHOLDING CERTAIN INFORMATION HAS LIMITED EFFECTIVENESS BECAUSE OF RFE BROADCASTS.

2. REGIME INDIRECTLY ACKNOWLEDGES THAT RFE CRITICISM  
OF GOMULKA'S ECONOMIC POLICIES WAS JUSTIFIED  
(ADDENDUM TO CBR NO. 33, ITEM 2)

EFFECTIVENESS: WITH REGARD TO THE CHELINSKI AND ARTICLES IN THE JUNE ISSUE OF NOWE DROGI (WHOSE EDITIONS ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE), THE FOLLOWING CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SPECIFIC CRITICISMS CONTAINED IN THE TWO AND THOSE MADE BY THE POLISH BD ARE OF PARTICULAR

A. PLUTA CRITICIZES THE THESIS THAT CONSUMPTION PATTERNS CAN BE CHANGED THROUGH MANIPULATION OF PRICES (P.18). THE ARGUMENTS USED TO CONTEST THIS THESIS ARE VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO THOSE THE BD USED IN AT LEAST TWO COMMENTARIES (SEE DBA NOS. 253 B/1 OF 21 DECEMBER 1970; 56 A/3 OF 8 MARCH 1971).

B. PLUTA ADVOCATES THE NOTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SHIFT OF INVESTMENTS TO LIGHT AND SERVICE INDUSTRIES IN ORDER TO ENSURE FULL EMPLOYMENT SINCE COSTS ARE LOWER AND RETURN ON SUCH INVESTMENTS IS FASTER WITH THESE INDUSTRIES THAN WITH HEAVY INDUSTRY. FOR SIMILAR ARGUMENTS BY THE BD, SEE DBA NOS. 229 B/2 OF 23 NOVEMBER 1970; 50 B/2 OF 1 MARCH 1971.

C. CHELINSKI BLAMES THE "OLD SYSTEM" FOR HAVING ALLOWED EXCESSIVE STOCKS TO ACCUMULATE. FOR NEARLY IDENTICAL LINE OF REASONING, SEE DBA NOS. 75 D/4 OF APRIL 20 AND 205 B/1 OF OCTOBER 26, BOTH IN 1970; 125 B/9 OF 31 MAY 1971.

D. CHELINSKI IS CONVINCED THAT ONE CANNOT EXPECT BETTER PERFORMANCE OF THE POLISH ECONOMY UNTIL A NEW SYSTEM OF PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT BECOMES FULLY OPERATIVE. THIS LINE WAS ADVANCED IN ALMOST ALL OF BD'S COMMENTARIES BROADCAST IN ITS "ECONOMICS" SERIES. (SEE DBA NOS. 23 D/2 OF FEBRUARY 23 AND 217 B/5 OF NOVEMBER 9, BOTH IN 1970; 26 A/6 OF FEBRUARY 1 AND 90 B/2 OF APRIL 19, BOTH IN 1971.)

3. SPECIAL ISSUE OF NOWE DROGI (CONTINUATION OF CBR NOS. 28, ITEM 2/A; 30, ITEM 2; 31, ITEM 1; 32, ITEM 2)

OBJECTIVES: THE POLISH BD OBTAINED A COPY OF NOWE DROGI'S SPECIAL ISSUE CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CRUCIAL EIGHTH CC PLENUM OF LAST FEBRUARY. SINCE THIS DOCUMENT IS STILL NOT AVAILABLE WIDELY IN POLAND DESPITE OFFICIAL PROMISES, THE BD DECIDED TO DEVOTE A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF ITS AIRTIME TO THE SUBJECT IN ORDER TO (A) TO ACQUAINT ITS LISTENERS WITH THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTS OF THIS SEMI-SECRET DOCUMENT AND (B) TO DEMONSTRATE THAT RFE IS STILL ABLE,

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DESPITE REGIME CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY, TO OBTAIN DOCUMENTS WITHHELD FROM THE POLISH PUBLIC AT LARGE. FOR A SYNOPSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS SURROUNDING THE LONG-DELAYED SPECIAL ISSUE OF NOWE DROGI AND FOR THE AVAILABLE TRANSLATIONS, SEE DR NOS. 145, 146, 148, 152; THIS WEEK IN EAST EUROPE NOS. 27-28 OF JULY 1-14, PP. 15-16; AND P/PS NOS. 2314 OF JULY 15; 2313 OF JULY 14.

TECHNIQUES: SINCE JULY 1, THE BD HAS BROADCAST SIX PROGRAMS CONSISTING OF QUOTATIONS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PASSAGES AND COMMENTARIES TO HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THE IMPORTANT ADMISSIONS CONTAINED IN THE ISSUE. FOR SUMMARIES OF THE PROGRAMS SEE DBA NOS. 152 A/2 OF JULY 1; 156 A/1 OF JULY 6; 157 A/1 OF JULY 7; 160 A/1 OF JULY 11; 161 B/2 OF JULY 12 AND 165 A/2 OF JULY 16.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

4. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CBRs)

CUSTOMS AND EXPORT DUTIES SLASHED. SINCE THE LATE 1950S, THE BD HAS WAGED A PERSISTENT CAMPAIGN FOR THE ABOLITION OF CUSTOMS DUTIES ON PARCELS SENT BY POLES LIVING ABROAD TO THEIR RELATIVES IN POLAND. THE BD'S OFT-REPEATED ARGUMENTS WERE THAT (A) PARCELS SENT AS GIFTS FROM ABROAD SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A FORM OF ASSISTANCE NO DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH MORE AFFLUENT MEMBERS OF FAMILIES LIVING IN POLAND MIGHT RENDER TO THEIR ELDERLY RELATIVES, AND THAT (B) THESE FOREIGN PARCELS GENERALLY CONTAIN GOODS WHICH ARE UNAVAILABLE OR IN SHORT SUPPLY AT HOME. HENCE, THEY ARE IMPORTS FOR WHICH THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE TO PAY. (FOR SUMMARY OF THE LATEST RELEVANT PROGRAM, SEE DBA NO. 130 B/7 OF JUNE 6.)

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IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1970, THE REGIME INTRODUCED

PROMPTLY ATTACKED THE MEASURE, ARGUING THAT (A) SUCH PROHIBITIVE DUTIES WILL ONLY DETER FOREIGN TOURISTS FROM BUYING SUCH ITEMS, THEREBY REDUCING THE HARD CURRENCY REVENUE FROM THIS SOURCE; (B) THE REDUCED DEMAND FOR FOLKLORE ITEMS WILL BE A BLOW TO THE FOLKLORE HANDICRAFT INDUSTRY.

ON 14 JULY 1971, TRYBUNA LUDU ANNOUNCED THAT AS OF JULY 28, CUSTOMS DUTIES ON PARCELS SENT FROM ABROAD WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED OR ABOLISHED AND THAT ESPORT DUTIES ON FOLKLORE ART WILL BE CANCELLED.

(MORE)

# R U M A N I A

## 1. PUBLICATION OF THE PENTAGON PAPERS

OBJECTIVES: THE RUMANIAN BD PROGRAMMING OBJECTIVES WERE (A) TO ACQUAINT ITS LISTENERS WITH IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE LEGAL CONTROVERSY WHICH DEVELOPED AROUND THE PUBLICATION OF THE ONCE-SECRET PENTAGON PAPERS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST AND (B) TO ILLUSTRATE THE HIGH DEGREE TO WHICH THE RUMANIAN INFORMATION MEDIA ARE DOMINATED BY THE RUMANIAN CP.

TECHNIQUES: WITHOUT TAKING AN EDITORIAL STAND, THE BD BROADCAST A 10-MINUTE COMMENTARY ON JULY 5 (SEE DBA NO. 155 A/1) IN WHICH IT (A) REVIEWED THE ORIGINS OF THE CONTROVERSY, (B) PRESENTED THE ARGUMENTS OF BOTH THE GOVERNMENT (THE DANGERS TO NATIONAL SECURITY) AND THE NEWSPAPERS (THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW) AND (C) OUTLINED THE MAJORITY VIEW OF THE SUPREME COURT PERMITTING PUBLICATION OF THE DOCUMENTS. THE BD EMPHASIZED THAT THE "HISTORIC IMPORTANCE" OF THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IS THAT IT WILL SERVE AS A "PROTECTION OF THE PRESS AGAINST PREVENTIVE CENSORSHIP" IN PEACE TIME. THE BD ADDED THAT THE COURT'S DECISION CLEARLY SHOWS THE IMPORTANCE WHICH A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY ATTACHES TO PRESS FREEDOM, EVEN IN A MATTER INVOLVING STATE SECRETS.

TURNING TO THE SITUATION OF THE RUMANIAN PRESS, THE BD OBSERVED THAT ALL INFORMATION MEDIA ARE UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE PARTY, WHICH DEMONSTRATES THE REGIME'S TOTAL DISREGARD OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW. HOWEVER, THE REGIME'S CONTROL OF THE INFORMATION MEDIA IS RENDERED INEFFECTIVE IN THIS TECHNOLOGICAL AGE BECAUSE THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION CANNOT COMPLETELY BE PREVENTED EVEN UNDER TOTALITARIAN REGIMES. WHAT IT DOES ACHIEVE, HOWEVER, IS TO COMPEL THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE TO SEEK INFORMATION FROM OTHER SOURCES. IT WOULD BE TO THE REGIME'S ADVANTAGE, AS WELL AS TO THE PEOPLE'S IF ITS POLICY ON INFORMATION WERE LIBERALIZED.

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EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

## 2. CEAUSESCU LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN FOR "IDEOLOGICAL PURITY"

**OBJECTIVES:** IN A MAJOR SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON JULY 6, RUMANIAN CP AND ST. LEADER NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OUTLINED A 17-POINT PROGRAM TO INTENSIFY THE PARTY'S GUIDANCE AND CONTROL OF "POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY AMONG THE MEMBERS AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE." (FOR MORE DETAILS AND ANALYSIS, SEE DR NOS. 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, R/SR NO. 26 OF JULY 13, ITEM 2 AND R/SR NO. 27 OF JULY 27, ITEM 1; AND THIS WEEK IN EAST EUROPE NOS. 27-28 OF JULY PP. 6-7.) THE BD PROGRAMMING OBJECTIVE WAS TO PROVIDE IT LISTENERS WITH AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POSSIBLE MOTIVATIONS FOR AND THE MEANING OF WHAT APPEARS TO BE CEAUSESCU'S MODERN ORTHODOX AND REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM ON DOMESTIC POLICY TO THE BD ALSO QUESTIONED WHETHER CEAUSESCU'S NEWLY FOUND REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR WAS TO BE REGARDED AS A RETURN TO THE MODERN OF PARTY RULE WHICH WERE PREVALENT DURING THE 1950S AND WHICH HE HIMSELF HAS FREQUENTLY DENOUNCED.

**TECHNIQUES:** IN AN EIGHT-AND-A-HALF-MINUTE COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON JULY 7 (SEE DBA NO. 157 A/1), THE BD CONTRASTED THE MAIN POINTS OF CEAUSESCU'S PROPOSALS WITH HIS EARLIER PRONOUNCEMENTS ON THE SAME ISSUES. THUS, THE BD RECALLED (WITH THE USE OF CEAUSESCU'S TAPED VOICE) HIS AUGUST 1956 SPEECH TO THE INTELLECTUALS IN CLUJ IN WHICH HE HAD EMPHASIZED "THE NEED FOR CREATIVE THINKING," "THE CONFRONTATION OF THE NEED AND THE NECESSITY OF PUTTING AN END "TO THE PRACTICE OF LABELING, UTTERING INSULTING REMARKS, OF ANATHEMATIZING OF HINDERING THE THINKING PROCESS." ARE NOT THE TERMS "POLITANISM" AND "DECADENT CAPITALISM" LABELS WHICH HINDER CLEAR THINKING, THE BD ASKED. CONCERNING THE NEED TO ADVANCE THE SCIENCES TO DEVELOP IN AN UNFETTERED ATMOSPHERE, CEAUSESCU DENOUNCED THE ZHDANOV-STALIN ERA WHEN CERTAIN BRANCHES OF THE SCIENCES "WERE CONSIDERED REACTIONARY." ADMITTING "SUCH PRACTICES BROUGHT ABOUT STAGNATION," CEAUSESCU URGED THERE

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BE NO "BRAKES PUT ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCES EITHER." THE BD ASKED WHAT ELEMENTS, IF ANY, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE CC AGITPROP SECTION HAVE IN COMMON? THE BD ALSO REMINDED CEAUSESCU OF HIS STATEMENT OF MARCH 1968, IN WHICH HE OPPOSED THE IMPOSITION OF "ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS" AND ADVOCATED THE FREE "CONFRONTATION OF IDEALIST CONCEPTIONS WITH THOSE OF MARXISM-LENINISM" IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE SUPERIORITY OF THE LATTER. BD ASKED: ARE NOT THE 17 POINTS IN EFFECT ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES? FINALLY, THE BD RECALLED THE STATEMENT CEAUSESCU MADE IN OCTOBER 1968, IN WHICH HE DECLARED THAT THERE IS NO DANGER OF "SOCIALIST RUMANIA REVERTING TO CAPITALISM IN ANY FORM" BECAUSE "CERTAIN RETRO-GRADE IDEALIST CONCEPTIONS STILL MANIFEST THEMSELVES IN THE COUNTRY." IF THIS WERE TRUE IN 1968, THE BD ASKED, THEN WHY IS THERE NOW SO MUCH FEAR WITHIN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP OF "COSMOPOLITANISM" AND OF BOURGEOIS IDEAS?

IN A 10-MINUTE COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON JULY 8 (SEE DBA NO. 158 A/1), THE BD--AFTER DISSECTING THE CHIEF ASPECTS OF THE 17-POINT PROGRAM--COMMENTED THAT THE "PROPOSALS REPRESENT A DRASTIC STEP BACKWARD, A RETURN TO . . . THE STALINIST-ZHDANOVITE PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT." CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF WHAT MIGHT HAVE MOTIVATED CEAUSESCU TO REVERSE HIS PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED POLICIES, THE BD CITED THE VIEW ADVANCED BY FOREIGN OBSERVERS THAT IT WAS HIS VISIT TO COMMUNIST CHINA WHICH MAY HAVE PROMPTED HIM TO LAUNCH WHAT HAS BEEN TERMED A "MINI-CULTURAL REVOLUTION."

THE BD BROADCAST TWO OTHER COMMENTARIES ALONG SIMILAR LINES AS WELL AS TWO PRESS REVIEW PROGRAMS INCLUDING ITEMS FROM THE GUARDIAN, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG AND LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE. FOR DETAILS ON THESE, SEE DBA NO. 162 A/1 OF JULY 13; 163 A/1, B/2 OF JULY 14.

EFFECTIVENESS: IN RESPONSE TO BD COMMENTARIES BROADCAST ON JULY 7 AND 8, CRITICIZING CEAUSESCU'S 17-POINT PROGRAM AS A "RETURN TO THE PAST," PARTY SECRETARY NICULESCU-MIZIL IN A SPEECH MADE ON JULY 9, SAID, INTER ALIA: "I WANT TO SHOW . . . HOW A COMMENTARY OF ONE OF THESE RADIO STATIONS WHICH I HAVE READY INSTILLS POISON AGAINST US, AGAINST SOCIALISM AND

(MORE)

SOCIALIST RUMANIA. IN ESSENCE, IT TRIED TO DISTORT THESE DECISIONS, SPEAKING ABOUT A SO-CALLED 'RETURN TO THE PAST.' I DO NOT KNOW TO WHAT KIND OF 'RETURN' THESE REACTIONARY AND IMPERIALIST CIRCLES REFER IN ORDER TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS. BUT I CAN CERTAINLY SAY THAT WE SHALL AGAIN OFFER BITTER DISILLUSIONMENT TO THEM AND THEIR MASTERS."

ALSO SPEAKING ON THE SAME DAY BEFORE A MEETING OF THE PARTY ACTIF, CEAUDESCU SOUGHT TO REFUTE BD'S CHARGE THAT HIS 17-POINT PROGRAM INCLUDED "ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES." CEAUDESCU SAID, INTER ALIA; "THOSE FOREIGN COMMENTATORS WHO TRY TO SEE IN THESE MEASURES AN EXPRESSION OF WEAKENING OF OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND OF OUR PARTY AND THOSE WHO SAY THAT WE SHALL USE ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES IN OUR IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY WILL BE BITTERLY DISAPPOINTED. NO, GENTLEMEN, THE MEASURES WHICH WE ARE TAKING IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN OUR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY ARE A PROOF OF THE FORCE OF OUR SOCIALIST SYSTEM, OF THE FORCE AND UNITY OF OUR COMMUNIST PARTY. YOU ARE WRONG, GENTLEMEN, AND YOU DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT MARXIST-LENINIST WORK MEANS. IT CANNOT BE CONDUCTED THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES BUT ONLY THROUGH EDUCATION, THROUGH FIRM PROMOTION OF THE VIEWS OF THE WORKING CLASS ABOUT THE WORLD AND LIFE. . . ." (CF. DR NO. 156.)

### 3. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CERS)

#### REGIME RELEASES RUMANIAN FILM UPON RFE CRITICISM.

IN JANUARY 1969, THE RUMANIAN REGIME BARRED THE SHOWING OF LUCIAN PINTILIE'S FILM THE RECONSTITUTION ON CHARGES THAT IT HAD A "SUBVERSIVE PURPOSE." IN ADDITION TO CRITICIZING THE REGIME REPEATEDLY FOR PREVENTING THE SHOWING OF THE FILM, THE BD ALSO BROADCAST AN INTERVIEW WITH PINTILIE ON 25 OCTOBER 1969 (REPEATED FIVE TIMES), IN WHICH HE REJECTED THE CHARGES LEVELLED AGAINST HIS FILM. IN AN UNUSUALLY SWIFT RESPONSE, PINTILIE WAS INFORMED TWO DAYS LATER (27 OCTOBER 1969) THAT HIS FILM WOULD BE RELEASED FOR PUBLIC SHOWING IN RUMANIA. ALSO, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE RUMANIA MEDIA MADE FAVORABLE MENTION OF THE FILM. HOWEVER, THE FILM WAS RELEASED

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ONLY IN JANUARY 1970, PERHAPS AS A RESULT OF THE FIVE REPEAT BROADCASTS OF THE INTERVIEW. ALTHOUGH THE FILM HAS SINCE BECOME FAMOUS IN RUMANIA, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BD'S CRITICISM OF THE INITIAL BAN HAS ALSO BEEN CONFIRMED BY ANOTHER SOURCE. IN AN ARTICLE REVIEWING THE SITUATION OF THE RUMANIAN THEATER AND FILM SCENE UNDER THE TITLE "CUTTING IN THE PLAYWRIGHT ON THE NEW DEAL," THE TIMES OF LONDON OF 10 JUNE 1971 SAID: "PINTILIE'S FILM, THE RECONSTRUCTION, WAS BLOCKED BY THE AUTHORITIES UNTIL PINTILIE WENT ON A WEST GERMAN RADIO (SIC) TO DENY ANY SUBVERSIVE INTENTION AND CLAIM THE WORK AS A LOYAL PIECE OF SOCIAL CRITICISM." WE DO NOT KNOW HOW THE TIMES GOT THIS INFORMATION, OR WHETHER IT KNOWS THAT THE "WEST GERMAN RADIO" WAS IN FACT RFE.

END MSG