

OUTGOING CIPHER

1971 AUG 10

12:44

TO:                     

MUN 25 10 AUG 71

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

101107:

ADDENDUM TO MUN 24, 9 AUG 71.

R U M A N I A :

1. THE QUESTION OF MOTIVES BEHIND CEAUSESCU'S  
"IDEOLOGICAL PURITY" CAMPAIGN. (CONTINUATION  
OF CBR NO. 34, ITEM 2).

OBJECTIVES: ALREADY SINCE THE LAUNCHING OF  
THE "IDEOLOGICAL PURITY" CAMPAIGN ON JULY 6, THERE  
HAVE BEEN SIGNS, PARTICULARLY IN THE CULTURAL SPHERE,  
THAT CEAUSESCU INTENDS TO PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTING ALL  
17 POINTS OF HIS PROGRAM (SEE R/BR NO. 20 OF JULY 28).  
HOWEVER, THE SPATE OF ARTICLES AND SPEECHES WHICH HAVE  
THUS FAR APPEARED IN THE REGIME MEDIA ON THE SUBJECT HAVE  
FAILED TO PROVIDE A CONVINCING EXPLANATION ABOUT THE REAL  
MOTIVES WHICH HAVE PROMPTED CEAUSESCU TO ACT AT THIS  
PARTICULAR TIME. THUS THE RUMANIAN BD SOUGHT TO  
EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF MOTIVES FROM THE HINDSIGHT  
OF THE PAST MONTH'S DEVELOPMENTS AND ALSO TO WARN THE  
REGIME AGAINST APPLYING STALINIST METHODS IN ENFORCING  
THE PROGRAM. THE TONE AND CONTENT OF THE BD'S CRITICISM  
WAS MODIFIED, HOWEVER, BY THE RECOGNITION OF THE TENSE  
AND DIFFICULT POSITION IN WHICH RUMANIA CURRENTLY FINDS  
ITSELF VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS MORE OBEDIENT  
ALLIES.

TECHNIQUES: IN AN EIGHT-MINUTE EDITORIAL BROADCAST  
ON JULY 17 (SEE DBA NO. 166 A/1), THE BD REMARKED THAT  
THE CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL-CULTURAL CAMPAIGN IS IN SHARP  
CONTRAST WITH PREVIOUS PRONOUNCEMENTS AND TRENDS,  
DESPITE THE REGIME CLAIMS OF CONTINUITY. INDEED, THE  
RENEWED EMPHASIS PUT ON IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL ORTHODOXY  
IS VERY MUCH REMINISCENT OF THE PERIOD IN THE EARLY  
1950S FROM WHICH THE COUNTRY AND REGIME ALIKE HAD BEEN

- MORE -

STRIVING SO HARD TO ESCAPE UNTIL RECENTLY. ABOUT THIS THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION, THE BD ASSERTED. THE QUESTIONS THAT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO ANSWER IS WHAT HAS CAUSED THE PRESENT CHANGE. THE WIDELY HELD SUGGESTION THAT THERE HAVE BEEN REPEATED AND MOUNTING SOVIET PRESSURES ON CEAUSESCU AND THE ENTIRE RCP LEADERSHIP AFTER HIS TRIP TO CHINA CANNOT BE DENIED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE BD ARGUED, WHATEVER SINS THE CEAUSESCU REGIME MAY HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF, EXCESSIVE LIBERALISM WAS NOT AMONG THEM. THUS CEAUSESCU'S TRIP TO CHINA COULD HARDLY HAVE PRECIPITATED PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW TO TIGHTEN THE COUNTRY'S IDEOLOGICAL SCREWS. IN FACT, THE BD SAID, ONE WOULD BE HARD PUT TO IMAGINE A MORE ILL-DESIGNED WAY OF ALLAYING MOSCOW'S DISPLEASURE AT CEAUSESCU'S CHINA VISIT THAT THE LAUNCHING OF A "MINI-CULTURAL REVOLUTION" A LA PEKING. YET, CONSIDERING HIS PERSONALITY, IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT CEAUSESCU FOUND THE CHINESE EXPERIMENT IRRESISTIBLE AS A METHOD TO CONSOLIDATE HIS GRIP ON THE COUNTRY AND TO WIN ADDED SUPPORT FROM PEKING.

THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME COMPELLING GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WERE NOT LIKELY TO HAVE ESCAPED CEAUSESCU. FOR A MORE PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION, THEREFORE, ONE SHOULD PROBABLY LOOK FOR A COMBINATION OF DIFFERENT MOTIVES, SOME OF WHICH SHOULD BE SOUGHT IN HIS OWN PERSONALITY, WHICH SOMEHOW CONVINCED CEAUSESCU TO ACT THE WAY HE DID. BUT WHETHER OR NOT THERE WERE COMPELLING REASONS, FOR INSTANCE REASONS OF STATE, FOR LAUNCHING OF

PRESENT CAMPAIGN, THE BD WARNED THE LEADERSHIP AGAINST ALLOWING LOWER- AND MIDDLE-ECHELON OFFICIALS "TO BE MORE CATHOLIC THAN THE POPE OR MORE STALINIST THAN CEAUSESCU" IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE 17-POINT PROGRAM. (IN THE PAST, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ABORTION DECREE, THE DIVORCE LAW, AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROGRAM WERE WELL-MEANING ATTEMPTS AT REFORM. THE RESULTS, HOWEVER, WERE MORE OFTEN THAN NOT BELOW EXPECTATIONS BECAUSE OF THE EXCESSIVE ZEAL WITH WHICH THE BUREAUCRATS IMPLEMENTED THEM.) THIS TIME, THE BD URGED, THE LEADERSHIP SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THE "IDEOLOGICAL PURIFICATION" CAMPAIGN DOES NOT DESTROY RUMANIA'S NATIONAL CULTURE.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

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

ON 21 NOVEMBER 1970, THE BD BROADCAST A LETTER IN ITS "MOVIE MAGAZINE" SERIES FROM A LISTENER IN RUMANIA (NO DBA REFERENCE AVAILABLE) WHO RELATED THAT THE COLLAPSE OF A NEW FOUR-STORY APARTMENT BLOCK ON SEPTEMBER 2 HAD TAKEN THE LIVES OF DOZENS OF PEOPLE. THE INFORMANT, INDIGNANT THAT THE RUMANIAN MEDIA HAD FAILED TO REPORT THE ACCIDENT, PROVIDED RFE WITH TECHNICAL DATA ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION DESIGN TO SHOW THAT THE BUILDING ENTERPRISE DID NOT COMPLY WITH THE STANDARDS ON SAFETY MARGINS AND ASKED RFE TO GIVE THE CASE DUE PUBLICITY.

- MORE -

ON 4 JULY 1971, THE RUMANIAN DAILY ROMANIA LIBERA REPORTED ABOUT THE TRIAL AND SENTENCING OF PEOPLE WHO WERE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MISHAP AND THE FATALITIES. "THE FACTS (OF THE ACCIDENT) ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE PUBLIC," THE PAPER SAID CURTLY. TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE THE RUMANIAN MEDIA HAD NOT MENTIONED THE ACCIDENT UNTIL ROMANIA LIBERA REPORTED ABOUT THE SENTENCES PASSED ON JULY 4. THEREFORE, IT IS FAIR TO ASSUME THAT RFE WAS THE ONLY SOURCE FROM WHICH RUMANIAN LISTENERS COULD HAVE LEARNED ABOUT THE TRAGEDY AND THAT THE RUMANIAN DAILY'S STATEMENT WAS A COVERT RECOGNITION OF THIS FACT.

END MSG