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## CEAUSESCU GUARDED ON IMPLICATIONS OF NIXON VISIT, FRANKER ON OTHER FOREIGN AND HOME ISSUES

Summary: At a pre-congress meeting in Cluj, Rumanian Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu took the opportunity to comment on several recent developments affecting Rumania's delicate position within the Communist commonwealth of nations, including last month's Moscow Conference and President Nixon's August visit to Bucharest. His address also included a reference to the need for greater efficiency in Party cadres, in addition to remarks on the preparations currently being made for the imminent Party Congress. On a broader plane, the Secretary-General discussed Rumania's perception of its military and economic relations within the Communist alliance, as well as the nature and limits of socialist humanism in Rumania.

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In his first public comment on President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Rumania, Secretary-General Ceausescu, on July 12, criticized "speculations" by some foreign newsmen who, by their interpretations, showed an "unawareness or misunderstanding" of Rumanian foreign policy or "perhaps sometimes ill-will."

But the Rumanian Party leader, as reported by Agerpres, was clearly not at pains to instruct these errant scribes on how the presidential visit should be interpreted in the all important sphere of Soviet-Rumanian relations. He was silent on the Soviet decision to postpone their visit to Bucharest to sign the new long term friendship treaty (announced on July 11 by the Rumanian ambassador in Paris) but did refer, in a general way, to Bucharest's determination to develop links with all states, irrespective of

their social system. Although he made no reference to Gromyko's recent reiteration of the "Brezhnev doctrine," by such references as this Ceausescu seemed to be indicating that he had not lessened his basic opposition to it.

On the Nixon visit itself, Ceausescu, speaking at a pre-congress meeting in Cluj, simply expressed the hope that it would have positive results for both countries and for peace. He recalled that there were no "litigious" issues between the two countries and stressed that Rumania sought to develop economic, technical-scientific, and other types of relations with the United States. Rumania "actively militates for the development of relations with all states" and saw the exchange of visits between government leaders and heads of state as a "contemporary necessity." In a mild criticism of America, however, Ceausescu did allude to her "continuing the war in Vietnam," at the same time expressing hope for the outcome of the Paris peace talks.

#### Remarks on the Alliance

In other remarks on foreign policy Ceausescu continued to express Rumania's own idiosyncratic loyalty to the Communist system of alliances. In a relatively brief reference to the Warsaw Pact summit conference in Budapest in March, he reaffirmed Rumania's readiness to do her duty as a Pact member. But the stress here was on strengthening her own armed forces and fighting capacity. Moreover, his allusion to Rumania's developing co-operation with the "armies of all the socialist countries," at a time when armed clashes on the Sino-Soviet frontier are becoming an accepted fact of life, hardly suggested loyalty as defined in Moscow. In addition, his pledge that Rumania would do her duty by the Pact was qualified by his evident proviso that she would do so only in case of "imperialist aggression."

Similarly on Comecon: while Rumania would act within this body for the development of co-operation in production -- in keeping with the "national and international interests of our country, of all the member countries" -- she wished at the same time to co-operate with all socialist countries.

On international Communist affairs generally, he still professed to believe that the differences among socialist countries were only of a temporary character. On the Moscow world summit, he simply reminded his audience that Rumania had had reservations about the final document but had signed it because of its "positive aspects," which outweighed its shortcomings.



### Party Affairs

Ceausescu's remarks on Party affairs were important because they shed interesting light on the imminent Party congress (August 4).

One called for candidates to the new Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission to be proposed at the pre-congress meetings of the county Party organizations. Previously, as elsewhere in East Europe, only the delegations to the congress were elected at these local meetings, with the nominations and elections to the higher Party bodies being made at the congress itself. The strengthening of Party democracy was the reason given for this unprecedented innovation. Whether the Central Committee will, under this system, by any more "freely" elected than under the old remains to be seen. From what Ceausescu said, it also appears that more candidates will be nominated by the counties than there will be places in the new Central Committee. This, of course, will give the congress a chance to weed out any nominees undesirable from the Party leadership's point of view. It does seem, however, that, even allowing this, and for "arrangements" at the local level, there will remain more room for the expression of local political will than before, with the ethnic minorities being at least sure of a quota of representation in the higher central bodies.

Another innovation in pre-congress nominations also emerged from Ceausescu's speech. This was the nomination of himself, at several pre-congress county meetings, for re-election as Secretary-General of the Central Committee at the Congress itself. This means little less than election by acclamation, and hardly squares with Ceausescu's own professed credo of "collective leadership."

Another important reference by Ceausescu was to the need for more efficient Party cadres, a nagging problem for his own and all other regimes. While paying fulsome tribute to the heroic services of Party veterans and pledging the Party to take care of them, he stressed the need for a happy blend of experience and expertise. He was careful not to give the impression that expertise was solely a prerogative of the younger cadres, but he strongly implied that more of the older cadres would have to accept a compulsory, if comfortable, retirement. This is by no means a new cadre policy -- it began on a large scale in 1966 -- but it would indicate that many more replacements are still considered necessary.

### Humanism and Its Limits

Finally, it is worth noting Ceausescu's remarks on his regime's notion of socialist humanism. His speech contained strong references to the need for broader participation in the making and implementing of public decisions, to his concern for the living standard of the people, for harmony between (and justice for) the different ethnic groups in Rumania, and for a sense of responsibility in public officials.

But in his warning to intellectuals and writers he continued to show that he was not prepared to broaden the framework within which his humanism and tolerance would operate. Artistic creation -- here he was speaking in Cluj, a noted center of intellectual robustness -- should remain within the limits of "our Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Communist ideology" (as defined, of course, by the regime). Those who "are writing differently" could expect a withdrawal of state support. Nonconformists would not be molested. But, just as they were granted that freedom, so society had the freedom to reward only those works deemed of service to it.

It is such remarks as this, taken against the background of what Ceausescu's regime regards as tolerable and intolerable, that characterize his method of rule. Reformer? Yes. Innovator? Certainly. Liberalizer? No sign of it yet.

(Rumanian Unit)