



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JUN 5 2017

Case No. F-2008-06437

Segment: ER-0001

Stanley Tromp

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Vancouver BC, Canada

Dear Mr. Tromp:

In response to your request dated October 22, 2008, under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552), we have initiated searches of the following Department of State record systems: the Central Foreign Policy Files (the principal record system of the Department of State).

The search of the records of Central Foreign Policy Files has been completed and has resulted in the retrieval of 103 documents responsive to your request. After reviewing these documents, we have determined that 82 may be released in full, and 20 may be released with excisions. All released material is enclosed.

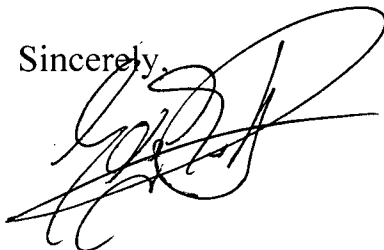
A decision on the remaining document requires interagency coordination: it has been referred to another government office for further review to assist us in making a final determination.

An enclosure explains Freedom of Information Act exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. In some cases, two or more exemptions may apply to the same document. All non-exempt material that is reasonably segregable from the exempt material has been released.

You have the right to appeal our determination by writing, within 60 days, to the Chairman, Appeals Review Panel, c/o Appeals Officer, A/GIS/IPS/PP/LA, U.S. Department of State, SA-2, Room 8100, Washington, D.C. 20522-8100. The appeal letter should refer to the case number shown above, clearly identify the decision being appealed, and provide supporting arguments when possible. For further information, see the Code of Federal Regulations, 22 CFR 171.13.

We have now completed the processing of your case. If you have any questions, you may write to the Office of Information Programs and Services, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, DC 20522-8100, or telephone us at (202) 261-8484. Please be sure to refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Eric F. Stein', written over a circular stamp or seal.

Eric F. Stein
6r Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:
As stated.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Information specifically authorized by an executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy. Executive Order 13526 includes the following classification categories:
- 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
 - 1.4(b) Foreign government information
 - 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
 - 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
 - 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
 - 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(h) Weapons of mass destruction
- (b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:
- | | |
|----------------|---|
| ARMSEXP | Arms Export Control Act, 50a USC 2411(c) |
| CIA PERS/ORG | Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g) |
| EXPORT CONTROL | Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 USC App. Sec. 2411(c) |
| FS ACT | Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4004 |
| INA | Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f), Sec. 222(f) |
| IRAN | Iran Claims Settlement Act, Public Law 99-99, Sec. 505 |
- (b)(4) Trade secrets and confidential commercial or financial information
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Personal privacy information
- (b)(7) Law enforcement information whose disclosure would:
- (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
 - (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
 - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
 - (D) disclose confidential sources
 - (E) disclose investigation techniques
 - (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual
- (b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions
- (b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request excised with the agreement of the requester

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ACTION EUR-00

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 EB-00 AMAD-01 /001 W
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R 181331Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO USDOC WASHDC
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5853
EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 10683

USDOC FOR 4232/IEP/EUR/OEESA/LOTARSKI/BURGESS/WINTER;
3133/USFCS/FO/RM/EUR/TROSEN

POSTS FOR SCO'S

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: BEXP, ETRD, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIA'S 1990 ECONOMIC PLAN: PROVISIONS
- REGARDING FOREIGN TRADE

1. ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1990 WAS RELEASED
DECEMBER 15, 1989. FOLLOWING THE MODEL INAUGURATED IN
1986 (WHEN ALMOST ALL HARD FIGURES AND TABLES FORMERLY
GIVEN IN THE PLAN WERE REMOVED FROM IT), SUBJECT PLAN IS
NOT MUCH MORE THAN A VERBOSE, REPETITIVE DOCUMENT
PROVIDING VERY LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE INFORMATION.

2. THE MAIN INDICATORS OF ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT IN 1990 ARE GIVEN IN PERCENTAGE INCREASES
OVER 1989 LEVELS. ACCORDING TO THE DOCUMENT, THESE
INCREASES WILL BE:

- NATIONAL INCOME: 9.0-10.0
- VALUE OF NET INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION: 10.2-12.2
- VALUE OF NET AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION: 12.0

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- TOTAL INVESTMENT: 11.7-13.2
- FOREIGN TRADE VOLUME: 11.2
- LABOR PRODUCTIVITY: 7.0-8.5

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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AS PERFORMANCE INDICATORS, THESE PERCENTAGE INCREASES ARE OF QUESTIONABLE VALUE. FIRST, SINCE THE ACTUAL LEVELS OF PERFORMANCE FOR 1989 WILL NOT BE KNOWN UNTIL LATE JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY 1990, THE COMPARISON IS BASED, AT BEST, ON A PART-YEAR ESTIMATE. MOREOVER, THE HIGHLY UNREALISTIC PERCENTAGE INCREASES FOR 1990, THE LAST YEAR OF THE CURRENT FIVE-YEAR PLAN (FYP), ARE OBVIOUSLY MEANT TO MAKE UP FOR PLAN NON-FULFILLMENT IN THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THE FYP.

3. THE ONLY HARD FIGURE GIVEN BY THE PLAN IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE INDICATORS IS THE VOLUME OF INVESTMENT, WHICH IS SET AT 289-293 BILLION LEI (THE OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE IS CURRENTLY 9 LEI/DOLLAR). INVESTMENT WILL FOCUS ON SPEEDING UP MAJOR PROJECTS CURRENTLY UNDER CONSTRUCTION, MAKING CAPITAL REPAIRS, AND MODERNIZING EXISTING INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES. EMPHASIS WILL BE PUT ON ENDOWING FACTORIES AND PRODUCTION UNITS WITH NEW HIGH-PERFORMANCE MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT, WITH THE INTENT OF INCREASING PRODUCTION AND REDUCING CONSUMPTION OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS, IMPROVING PRODUCT QUALITY, AND INCREASING LABOR PRODUCTIVITY. THE SHARE OF CONSTRUCTION WORK IN TOTAL INVESTMENT WILL BE REDUCED SUBSTANTIALLY.

4. THE PLAN'S SECTION ON FOREIGN TRADE STATES THAT ROMANIA'S LIQUIDATION OF ITS FOREIGN DEBT AND THE COUNTRY'S POSITIVE TRADE BALANCE, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT ROMANIA IS TO RECEIVE PAYMENTS FROM SEVERAL

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COUNTRIES TO WHICH IT HAD GRANTED CREDITS, WILL ALLOW A MARKED INCREASE IN ITS FOREIGN TRADE IN 1990. COOPERATION AND SPECIALIZATION IN PRODUCTION ARE TO BE EXPANDED AND EXPORTS INCREASED. IMPORTS ARE NOT MENTIONED AT ALL IN THE PLAN, BUT SINCE THE PLAN DOES STIPULATE THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES ARE TO BE INCREASED, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE BEST MEANS OF ACHIEVING THIS WILL BE TO HOLD IMPORTS TO THE BARE MINIMUM.

5. SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON ROMANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE POLICY DURING 1990 CAN BE DERIVED FROM THE COMMENTS MADE ON THE PLAN BY CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE IOAN TOTU AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI. TOTU STATED THAT EXPORTS WILL ACCOUNT

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FOR THE LARGEST PART OF THE 11.2 PERCENT INCREASE IN THE
TOTAL VOLUME OF FOREIGN TRADE, ADDING THAT
"HARD-CURRENCY FUNDS EARMARKED FOR IMPORTS WILL HAVE TO
BE USED WITH MAXIMUM EFFICIENCY." ACCORDING TO STEFAN
ANDREI, IN 1990 ROMANIA WILL EMPHASIZE TRADE WITH
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY BY PARTICIPATING IN THE
CONSTRUCTION OF COMPLEX PROJECTS IN THESE COUNTRIES, AND
GETTING IN RETURN RAW MATERIALS AND OTHER BASIC STAPLES
WHICH ROMANIA NEEDS FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. AS
FOR TRADE WITH "CAPITALIST COUNTRIES," IT WILL FOCUS ON
COOPERATION IN PRODUCTION, ANDREI SAID. THE PRINCIPLES
OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE WILL BE STRICTLY
ADHERED TO. ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO MILITATE AGAINST
"ANY BARRIERS AND RESTRICTIVE MEASURES BLOCKING THE WAY
TO FREE TRADE".

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EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS

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POSTS FOR SCO'S

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: BEXP, ETRD, RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIA'S 1990 ECONOMIC PLAN: PROVISIONS

6. A MORE DETAILED ANALYSIS OF SUBJECT PLAN WILL FOLLOW
SEPTEL.

(FCS:KRKUHLMAN) .NAPPER

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RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 BRUSSE 16327 191925Z
ACTION EUR-00

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JUSE-00 SP-02 E-01 /055 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9728
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY EMBERLIN
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS BRUSSELS 16327

FROM USEC

DEPT. FOR EUR/RPE (GARLAND)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, EEC, CSCE, RO, XH
SUBJECT: EC-12 STATEMENT ON ROMANIA

1. ON DECEMBER 19 THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY ACTING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EUROPEAN
POLITICAL COOPERATION (EPC), APPROVED THE FOLLOWING
DECLARATION ON THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

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STATEMENT OF THE TWELVE ON ROMANIA

BRUSSELS, 19 DECEMBER 1989

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE TWELVE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

DEEPLY DISMAYED BY THE NEWS OF THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES' VIOLENT AND BRUTAL REPRESSION OF POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS.

THEY CONDEMN IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THE ATTITUDE OF A REGIME WHICH, TURNING ITS BACK ON ALL THE COMMITMENTS CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH IT HAS SUBSCRIBED IN UNCLASSIFIED

THE CSCE FRAMEWORK, IS CAPABLE ONLY OF REPRESSING BY FORCE THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATION OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE TO FREEDOM.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS ALREADY MADE CLEAR IN SEVERAL WAYS, IN PARTICULAR BY SUSPENDING NEGOTIATIONS ON AN ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT, ITS SEVERE DISAPPROVAL OF THE PRESENT REGIME IN ROMANIA. IT RESERVES THE RIGHTS TO ADOPT THE APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY.

END TEXT.

3. ON THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 18, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE EC-SOVIET TRADE AND COOPERATION AGREEMENT, SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE WAS ASKED FOR HIS REACTION TO THE "REPORTED KILLING OF HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE IN ROMANIA." SHEVARDNADZE VISIBLY LOST HIS APLOMB FOR SEVERAL SECONDS AND THEN REPLIED, "I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT." UNCLASSIFIED

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4. ON THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 19, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AND CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE EC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ROLAND DUMAS HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE DURING WHICH HE WAS ASKED ONE QUESTION REGARDING EVENTS IN ROMANIA. DUMAS GAVE A RESPONSE CONSISTENT WITH THE POINTS IN PARA 2 ABOVE, AND DID NOT INDICATE ANY ADDITIONAL ACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE EC. NILES

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ACTION EUR-00

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 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USIA WASHDC 8833

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BUDAPEST 13778

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USVIENNA PASS UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ENRG, RO, HU
 SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN MFA ON DECEMBER 17 VIOLENCE
 - IN TIMISOARA

REF: BUCHAREST 10682 (NOTAL)

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1. (CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. SUMMARY: HUNGARIAN MFA OFFICIALS BELIEVE SOME 250 PEOPLE MAY HAVE DIED IN LAST SUNDAY'S SHOOTING

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
 DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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IN TIMISOARA, THAT THE EVENTS MAY BE REGIME- THREATENING FOR CEAUSESCU, AND THAT THE ROMANIANS MAY SHORTLY WITHDRAW THEIR AMBASSADOR FROM BUDAPEST OR BREAK RELATIONS ALTOGETHER. THE HUNGARIANS HAVE BEEN COLD-SHOULDERING THE LOCAL ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR'S RECENT EFFORTS TO SECURE A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING IN THE MFA. THE EVENTS IN TIMISOARA HAVE PRODUCED BANNER HEADLINES IN BUDAPEST, A PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTION, AND A MASS CANDLELIGHT VIGIL. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND IN TERMS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE UNTIMELY AT A MINIMUM FOR THE U.S. TO PROCEED WITH THE PLANNED TRANSFER OF 16.4 KILOS OF HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM TO ROMANIA AT THIS DELICATE JUNCTURE. END SUMMARY.

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3. THE ROMANIAN ARMY'S SUPPRESSION OF A DEMONSTRATION IN TIMISOARA LAST SUNDAY, WHICH WAS PROMPTED BY THE REPORTED ARREST OF DISSIDENT HUNGARIAN PASTOR LASZLO TOKES, HAS PRODUCED BANNER HEADLINES IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS, REPORTS OF DEATHS IN THE SHOOTING WHICH RANGE FROM THE LOW HUNDREDS TO 1,000, AND A MONDAY NIGHT CANDLELIGHT VIGIL IN BUDAPEST'S HEROES' SQUARE AND AT THE NEARBY ROMANIAN EMBASSY. ON TUESDAY MORNING IN PARLIAMENT, MP ZOLTAN KIRALY INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION WHICH WILL BE CIRCULATED IN NEW YORK BY THE HUNGARIAN MISSION TO THE U.N.

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4. POLOFF MET DECEMBER 19 WITH GYULA NEMET, MFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AND ROMANIAN DESK OFFICER JANOS FADDI FOR A READOUT ON THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT'S INFORMATION AND VIEWS. NEMET AND FADDI SAID THE ONLY AVAILABLE INFORMATION IS STILL UNOFFICIAL.

5. CASUALTIES. BASED ON INFORMATION FROM HUNGARIAN TOURISTS WHO WERE IN THE TIMISOARA AREA LAST SUNDAY AND FROM AN ABORTED TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN AN INDIVIDUAL IN HUNGARY AND SOMEONE IN A TIMISOARA HOSPITAL, THE MINISTRY BELIEVES SOME 250 PEOPLE DIED IN SUNDAY'S SHOOTING. AS THE PRESS HAS REPORTED, LOCAL POLICE WERE UNABLE TO QUELL THE DEMONSTRATION AND PROTESTERS SEIZED SOME OF THEIR EQUIPMENT.

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REGULAR ARMY UNITS WERE CALLED IN AND STARTED

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SHOOTING. ACCORDING TO ONE UNCONFIRMED REPORT WHICH THE MINISTRY REGARDS AS CREDIBLE, A HELICOPTER FIRED DOWN AT THE CROWD. THE HUNGARIAN EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST HAS SCANT INFORMATION ON WHAT HAPPENED, AND THERE IS NO WORD ON THE WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS OF PASTOR TOKES. ("BOSTON GLOBE" EDITORIAL WRITER RUDOLF RYAN, WHO WAS TRAVELLING IN TRANSYLVANIA LAST WEEK, WAS PICKED UP BY SECURITATE AND ESCORTED OUT OF THE COUNTRY ON DECEMBER 16 FOLLOWING MOVES TO GO TO TIMISOARA AND VISIT TOKES.) ACCORDING TO MFA OFFICIALS, ROMANIAN MILITARY UNITS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ARE AT AN INCREASED STATE OF READINESS, AND SECURITATE FORCES HAVE BEEN ISSUED ADDITIONAL WEAPONS AND TASKED WITH PROTECTING SITES DEEMED PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT.

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
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	L-03	AMAD-01	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BUDAPEST 13778

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

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USVIENNA PASS UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ENRG, RO, HU
SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN MFA ON DECEMBER 17 VIOLENCE

6. BORDERS CLOSED. MFA OFFICIALS SAY THAT ALL OF ROMANIA'S INTERNATIONAL BORDERS HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVELY CLOSED. SOME TIR TRUCK TRAFFIC
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IS GETTING THROUGH WITH ABNORMAL DELAYS. AS OF TUESDAY, ONLY TRAIN TRAVELLERS WITH DIPLOMATIC PASSPORTS WERE BEING ALLOWED THROUGH THE BORDER; AUSTRIAN AND OTHER WESTERN TOURIST TRAVELLERS WERE BEING TURNED BACK. WE UNDERSTAND FROM AIRLINE CONTACTS THAT SCHEDULED BUDAPEST-BUCHAREST FLIGHTS REMAIN IN OPERATION, BUT MALEV AND OTHER AIRLINES RECEIVED A TELEX FROM BUCHAREST DECEMBER 18 THAT ONLY OFFICIAL TRAVELLERS WOULD BE RECEIVED IN ROMANIA. MFA OFFICIALS SAID THAT ALL TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ROMANIA HAVE BEEN BLOCKED: OCCASIONAL CALLS GETTING THROUGH ARE SEVERED AS SOON AS CONTACT IS ESTABLISHED. THE HUNGARIANS HAVE BEEN ADVISED BY YUGOSLAV, BULGARIAN, AND SOVIET AUTHORITIES THAT SIMILAR CONDITIONS PREVAIL ON THOSE BORDERS WITH ROMANIA.

7. DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. MFA OFFICIALS EVIDENCED A CERTAIN LACK OF INTEREST IN CONTACTING ROMANIAN

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CONFIDENTIAL. THE HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA IS OUT OF BUCHAREST, HAVING BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL IN EFFORTS TO DELIVER A LETTER FROM ACTING PRESIDENT SZUROS. ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR POP PHONED THE MFA DECEMBER 18 TO URGE THAT THE MONDAY NIGHT CANDLELIGHT VIGIL OUTSIDE HIS EMBASSY BE BANNED, WHICH THE MFA HAD NO LEGAL MEANS OF DOING. ALSO ON DECEMBER 18, POP ASKED TO SEE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OSZI WHO WAS UNAVAILABLE; ON DECEMBER 19, POP ASKED TO SEE FOREIGN MINISTER HORN WHO IS OCCUPIED BY THE ONGOING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT. MFA OFFICIALS SUSPECT THAT THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES MAY SHORTLY CONCLUDE THE SITUATION OF THEIR BUDAPEST EMBASSY IS UNTENABLE, AND WITHDRAW THE AMBASSADOR OR BREAK RELATIONS

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ENTIRELY.

8. NEXT STEPS. MAKING THEIR FAMILIAR POINT THAT THE SITUATION OF ROMANIA'S MAGYARS IS ONE ASPECT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION OF THE ENTIRE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, MFA OFFICIALS SAY THEY HOPE WORLD OPINION WILL BE MOBILIZED BY THE "MINI-TIANANMEN" EVENTS IN TIMISOARA. THE HUNGARIAN AUTHORITIES ARE REVIEWING OPTIONS FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STEPS AGAINST ROMANIA, ALTHOUGH MFA OFFICIALS LED US TO SUSPECT THAT POLITICAL MEASURES HEAD THE OPTIONS MENU. FOR THE TIME BEING, THE HUNGARIAN MISSION TO THE U.N. WILL CIRCULATE COPIES OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT'S RESOLUTION ON THE TIMISOARA EVENTS.

9. PERCEPTIONS OF ROMANIA. MFA OFFICIALS SAY THEY ARE UNCERTAIN WHETHER THE TIMISOARA EVENTS WILL AMOUNT TO THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR THE CEAUSESCU REGIME. THE LEADER'S DECISION TO CARRY OUT A SCHEDULED VISIT TO TEHRAN RAISES QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT HE IS BEING TOLD -- IS HE UNDER-INFORMED, HENCE SELF-CONFIDENT, OR SIMPLY CONFIDENT THAT THE SITUATION IS IN HAND? THE APPARENT LOSS OF LIFE RADICALLY EXCEEDS THAT IN BRASOV/1987, OR IN ANY EAST EUROPEAN CIVIL DISTURBANCE SINCE HUNGARY/1956, AND OFFICIALS SAY THEY HOPE THE ROMANIAN REGIME WILL NOT REPEAT THE "BRASOV FORMULA" -- ARRANGING FOR THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PERCEIVED LEADERS OF THE DEMONSTRATION ONCE MATTERS ARE IN HAND. OVERALL, NEMET AND FADDI SUGGESTED THAT THE ROMANIAN

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 USIA WASHDC 8835

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BUDAPEST 13778

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC

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USVIENNA PASS UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ENRG, RO, HU
SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN MFA ON DECEMBER 17 VIOLENCE

ALBANIAN-STYLE PHYSICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ISOLATION
FROM EUROPE SUSTAINED ONLY BY CONTACTS WITH THE
PRC, CUBA, NORTH KOREA, AND REMAINING LIKEMINDED
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REGIMES, OR A COUP D'ETAT BY THE MILITARY AND
SECURITY FORCES IF THEY COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT
CONTROL CAN NO LONGER BE MAINTAINED THROUGH THE
THREAT OF FORCE, USE OF FORCE, AND OTHER TRADITIONAL
MEANS.

-
10. COMMENT. EVEN ALLOWING FOR THE HUNGARIANS'
UNDERSTANDABLE INTEREST IN ISOLATING CEAUSESCU'S
ROMANIA, IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT
THE ROMANIAN ARMY AND SECURITY FORCES RAN AMOK IN
TIMISOARA LAST SUNDAY, THAT THERE WAS SHOOTING,
AND PEOPLE DIED. IN THIS CONTEXT WE BELIEVE IT
WOULD BE UNTIMELY, TO PUT IT MILDLY, FOR THE U.S.
TO CARRY THROUGH THE PLANNED TRANSFER OF 16.4 KILOS
OF HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM TO ROMANIA (BUCHAREST
10546) AT THIS DELICATE JUNCTURE. OUR DOING SO WOULD
BE VERY MUCH LOST ON OPINION HERE.

PALMER

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING, DECEMBER 19, 1989

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM PLEASE PASS TO DAVID WELCH

FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM TODAY'S DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING ON MIDDLE EAST/SOUTH ASIAN ISSUES AND OTHER TOPICS OF INTEREST.

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE ONE STATEMENT I'D LIKE TO MAKE, PLEASE.

THE UNITED STATES CONDEMNS IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS THE BRUTAL USE OF SECURITY FORCES AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF TIMISOARA DURING THE WEEKEND OF DECEMBER 16-17. THOSE DEMONSTRATIONS WERE AN OBVIOUS MANIFESTATION OF BROAD POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH THE POLICIES OF THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT AND A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S DESIRE TO JOIN THEIR NEIGHBORS IN EMBRACING DEMOCRATIC REFORM AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

IT IS SADLY REGRETTABLE THAT ROMANIA REMAINS THE ONLY UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 402724

WARSAW PACT COUNTRY TO REJECT ALL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS AS WELL AS THE ONLY PARTICIPANT IN THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE TO REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITMENTS IT VOLUNTARILY ASSUMED UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND VIENNA CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

WE CALL UPON THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO CEASE THESE OUTRAGEOUS POLICIES AND ALLOW ITS CITIZENS FREELY TO EXERCISE THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

WHAT I THOUGHT I'D DO BEFORE I TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS IS GIVE YOU AN UPDATE AS WE HAVE IT FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IF THAT WOULD BE HELPFUL.

PRESS CORPS: YES.

A.: OUR EMBASSY HAS SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM REPORTS OF CASUALTIES FROM THE CRACKDOWN ON THE DEMONSTRATORS IN TIMISOARA. THE REPORTS RANGE FROM DOZENS TO PERHAPS HUNDREDS WERE KILLED BY ROMANIAN SECURITY FORCES. TWO

UNCLASSIFIED

EMBASSY OFFICERS WERE DISPATCHED YESTERDAY, DECEMBER 18, TO TIMISOARA, WHICH IS A NINE-HOUR DRIVE FROM BUCHAREST. WE ARE AWAITING A FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT FROM THESE OFFICERS, ASSUMING THAT THEY WERE ALLOWED INTO THE AREA.

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IT APPEARS THAT THE MAJOR UNREST WAS LIMITED TO TIMISOARA, ALTHOUGH MILITARY UNITS HAVE BEEN PLACED ON ALERT THROUGHOUT ROMANIA. WE HAVE HAD NO CONFIRMED REPORTS OF DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTRY SINCE SECURITY FORCES CRUSHED THE TIMISOARA DEMONSTRATION ON SUNDAY.

WE SHOULD RECALL THAT ROMANIA IS A CLOSED SOCIETY, AND INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC IS HIGHLY RESTRICTED. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE ROMANIAN MEDIA HAS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 402724

CARRIED LITTLE OF WHAT HAPPENED IN TIMISOARA, AND REPORTS FILTERING OUT THROUGH OTHER MEDIA OUTLETS CANNOT BE CONFIRMED.

SINCE THE UNREST, ALL ROMANIAN BORDERS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN BUCHAREST, WERE CLOSED TO VISITORS FROM ABROAD. ALL INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE LINES INTO THE COUNTRY ARE RECEIVING BUSY SIGNALS.

SEVERAL THOUSAND TRAVELERS, MOSTLY AMERICANS OF ROMANIAN EXTRACTION, VISIT THE COUNTRY EACH YEAR. NOT ALL REGISTER THEIR PRESENCE WITH OUR EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST. OF THE FEW U.S. CITIZENS IN TIMISOARA, OF WHOM OUR

EMBASSY IS AWARE, INCLUDING ONE FULBRIGHT RESEARCHER, ALL ARE REPORTED TO BE SAFE. THERE ARE ABOUT 100 OFFICIAL AMERICANS IN ROMANIA, AND THAT INCLUDES DEPENDENTS. THESE ARE ALL ACCOUNTED FOR, AND THEY ARE ALL SAFE.

Q.: DO YOU HAVE ANY READOUT TODAY ON THE ELLIE RUBENSTEIN TALKS?

A.: ON THE WHAT?

Q.: ON THE TALKS OF THE ISRAELI OFFICIALS, DO YOU HAVE ANY DETAILS AT ALL?

A.: NO.

Q.: ANY SCHEDULING DATE TO ANNOUNCE FOR THE MEETINGS?

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PAGE 01 STATE 401637
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TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATEMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 401637

EXDIS **DECAPTIONED**

NOTE BY DO/CC: UPGRADED EXDIS PER MR. REID, SSO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: NATO, PHUM, CSCE, RO
SUBJECT: NATO AMBASSADORS' STATEMENT ON TIMISOARA
CRACKDOWN

REF: BUCHAREST 10704

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE - SEE PARA 4.
3. DEPARTMENT CONCURS WITH EMBASSY BUCHAREST'S RECOMMENDATION (REFTEL) THAT USNATO SEEK A NATO STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA WITH REGARD TO THE RECENT UNREST IN TIMISOARA. DEPARTMENT
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 401637

APPROVES THE FOLLOWING AMENDED DRAFT TEXT AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION:

BEGIN TEXT.

THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION CONDEMN IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS THE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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REPRESSIVE USE OF SECURITY FORCES BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF TIMISOARA DURING THE WEEKEND OF DECEMBER 16-17. THE DEMONSTRATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN

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TIMISOARA WERE AN OBVIOUS MANIFESTATION OF BROAD POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THE SYSTEMATIC AND PERVASIVE DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND MADRID AND VIENNA CONCLUDING DOCUMENTS. THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S USE OF MASSIVE BRUTAL FORCE TO SUPPRESS THESE DEMONSTRATIONS IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT THE CEAUSESCU REGIME RULES BY FORCE, NOT BY THE CONSENT OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE. WE CALL UPON THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO CEASE ITS RESORT TO REPRESSIVE FORCE AND TO ALLOW ITS CITIZENS FREELY TO EXERCISE THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE BASIC RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

END TEXT.

4. FOR USNATO: MISSION IS REQUESTED TO RAISE THIS ISSUE AT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19. IF FOR ANY REASON THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IS NOT HOLDING ITS REGULARLY SCHEDULED MEETING, MISSION IS REQUESTED TO CIRCULATE THE PROPOSED DRAFT INFORMALLY IMMEDIATELY. FYI: DEPARTMENT IS DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT NATO ACTION ON THIS ISSUE NOT BE PREEMPTED BY EC ACTION

SECRET

PAGE 03

STATE 401637

(REFTEL).

5. FOR USNATO AND BUCHAREST: DEPARTMENT WILL INVOKE THE HUMAN DIMENSION MECHANISM ON THIS ISSUE. INSTRUCTIONS AND TEXT OF DEMARCHE WILL FOLLOW SEPTTEL. USNATO CAN RELAY THIS INFORMATION TO ALLIES, AND ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO FOLLOW SUIT. BAKER

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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ACTION EUR-00

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8372
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 VIENNA 14785

USVIENNA FOR CFE AND UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, AU, RO, HU
SUBJ: GOA REVIEWS OPTIONS ON ROMANIA

REF: VIENNA 14747

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY

THE MFA [] OFFICER TOLD POLFF ON DECEMBER 20 THAT THE GOA HAD NO OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION ON THE EXTENT OF THE KILLINGS IN ROMANIA. THOUGH THE GOA PLANS TO USE THE CSCE MECHANISM TO PROTEST ROMANIA'S ACTIONS, IT THINKS THIS OF LITTLE VALUE SINCE A DISCUSSION IN THE CSCE WILL HAVE TO AWAIT NEXT SUMMER'S FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE. THE ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, BUT FACES CHINESE OBSTRUCTION IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THE MFA IS CONSIDERING WITH-
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 14785 01 OF 02 201555Z

DRAWING ITS AMBASSADOR AND APPLYING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, BUT IS OBVIOUSLY FRUSTRATED BY WHAT IT BELIEVES TO BE A LACK OF VIABLE AND ADEQUATE RESPONSES TO THE ATROCITIES. THE [] OFFICER BELIEVED HUNGARY WOULD

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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RESPOND CAREFULLY TO THE SITUATION AND THAT CEAUSESCU
COULD ONLY BE TOPPLED BY A MILITARY COUP OR DISTURBANCES
SO WIDESPREAD THEY COULD NOT BE CONTROLLED. END SUMMARY.

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3. NO CONFIRMATION ON NUMBER OF DEATHS

IN A DECEMBER 20 MEETING WITH POLOFF, MFA [REDACTED]
OFFICER [REDACTED] SAID THE GOA, WHILE DEEPLY
CONCERNED BY REPORTS INDICATING HUNDREDS OF CASUALTIES,
WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN CONFIRMATION ON THE NUMBER OF
KILLINGS BY ROMANIAN SECURITY FORCES. HE ADDED THE
MFA HAD NO MORE INFORMATION THAN THAT PROVIDED THE
MEDIA BY EYEWITNESSES.

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4. CSCE, COE, AND UN

THE GOA WAS INVOKING THE CSCE MECHANISM ON THIS ISSUE,
BUT MFA LEGAL EXPERTS HAD DETERMINED THERE WAS NO
CLAUSE ALLOWING FOR AN EMERGENCY CSCE MEETING. THUS
DISCUSSION ON THE ISSUE WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT NEXT
SUMMER'S FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE IN COPENHAGEN, MAKING
IT OF LITTLE IMMEDIATE VALUE. THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE
WILL DOUBTLESS DISCUSS AND CONDEMN THE EVENTS IN
ROMANIA. THE MFA SAW DIFFICULTIES WITH THE ISSUE IN
THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL BECAUSE OF CHINA'S ALMOST
CERTAIN OBSTRUCTION, BUT THE ITEM COULD AT LEAST BE
PLACED ON THE AGENDA. LATER ON DECEMBER 20, MFA
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[REDACTED] TOLD CHARGE THAT THE GOA
WAS SEEKING AN UNSC MEMBER -- PROBABLY FROM EUROPE --
TO SUPPORT AN AUSTRIAN APPEAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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5. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS?

A DECISION ON HOW TO PROCEED WILL NOT BE MADE UNTIL
FOREIGN MINISTER MOCK RETURNS FROM LONDON LATER THIS
WEEK. ACTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION ARE WITHDRAWING
AUSTRIA'S AMBASSADOR AND IMPOSING ECONOMIC SANCTION.
[REDACTED] SAID THE LATTER WOULD HAVE LITTLE EFFECT BECAUSE
AUSTRIA'S TRADE WITH ROMANIA HAD DROPPED DRAMATICALLY
OVER THE LAST TWO WEEKS. HE ADDED AUSTRIANS HAD FLOODED THE
MFA WITH PHONE CALLS DEMANDING A STERN RESPONSE TO THE

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REPLACEMENTS. [] MADE IT OBVIOUS THE GOA WAS FRUSTRATED BY WHAT IT VIEWS AS LIMITED OPTIONS WHICH DO NOT ALLOW IT TO RESPOND ADEQUATELY TO THE ATROCITIES.

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6. MFA VIEWS ON WARSAW PACT REACTION

[] BELIEVED HUNGARY WOULD REACT CAREFULLY LEST IT PROVIDE CEAUSESCU AN OPPORTUNITY TO DECLARE A NATIONAL THREAT AND WREAK VENGEANCE ON ETHNIC HUNGARIANS. HE THOUGHT THAT THE WARSAW PACT, WEAK AS IT WAS, WOULD NOT ALLOW HUNGARY TO TAKE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST ROMANIA. HE ALSO DOUBTED THE USSR WOULD INTERVENE.

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7. CHANCES FOR CEAUSESCU'S OUSTER

THOUGH HE DID NOT KNOW HOW MUCH, IF ANY, DISSATISFACTION THERE WAS IN THE MILITARY WITH CEAUSESCU, A COUP WAS

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 14785 02 OF 02 201554Z ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
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	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	SDEL-15	SCT-03	E-01
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INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 VIENNA 14785

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USVIENNA FOR CFE AND UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, AU, RO, HU

SUBJ: GOA REVIEWS OPTIONS ON ROMANIA

ONE OF ONLY TWO WAYS TO OUST HIM. THE OTHER WOULD
BE FOR THE FOOD SUPPLY SYSTEM IN ROMANIA TO BECOME SO
DESPARATE IT CREATES UNREST TOO WIDESPREAD TO BE
CONTROLLED. HABIB

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PAGE 01 USNATO 07057 01 OF 03 201701Z
ACTION EUR-00

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	H-01
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	PM-10	PA-01	NRRC-01	INRE-00	ACDA-12	USIE-00	SP-02
	PRS-01	SDEL-15	SART-01	P-02	T-01	SB-02	/087 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8125
INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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USNMR SHAPE BE//INTAFF//
ZEN//USDELMC BRUSSELS BE//POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USNATO 07057

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CFE

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBMS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, NATO, CSCE, RO
SUBJECT: NAC APPROVES STATEMENT ON REPRESSION IN ROMANIA

REFS: (A) BRUSSELS 16327
(B) STATE 401637

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE DECEMBER 20 NAC APPROVED A NATO STATEMENT ON ROMANIA TO BE ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL. ALTHOUGH MUCH REVISED, THE STATEMENT HITS ALL OF THE KEY POINTS COVERED IN THE ORIGINAL U.S. DRAFT. THE NAC'S ACTION CAME AFTER THE FRENCH HAD AGREED THAT EVENTS IN ROMANIA REPRESENTED "EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES" DESERVING A NATO STATEMENT. FINAL APPROVAL FOLLOWED AN
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UNSUCCESSFULLY EFFORT IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ON DECEMBER 19, CAUSED PARTLY BY THE DESIRE OF SOME EC MEMBERS TO HAVE THE COMMUNITY ISSUE ITS STATEMENT FIRST.
END SUMMARY.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 19 DEC 2014
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S STATEMENT

2. (C) AT THE DECEMBER 20 MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC), PERMREPS APPROVED A STATEMENT THAT WILL BE ISSUED IMMEDIATELY BY SECRETARY GENERAL WOERNER. COUNCIL AGREEMENT CAME AFTER THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE -- MEETING CONCURRENTLY AT PERMREPS' REQUEST -- HAD REDRAFTED THE ORIGINAL U.S. TEXT (REF B) TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ALLIED VIEWS.

3. (U) THE FULL TEXT OF THE APPROVED STATEMENT READS:

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL
ON BEHALF OF THE ALLIES
CONCERNING THE REPRESSION IN ROMANIA

THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION CONDEMN IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THE REPRESSIVE USE OF FORCE IN RECENT DAYS BY THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES AGAINST POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS. THE ALLIES EXPRESS THEIR DISMAY AT THE SERIOUS LOSS OF LIFE WHICH RESULTED FROM THIS ACTION. THE PROTESTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN TIMISOARA AND ELSEWHERE ARE AN OBVIOUS MANIFESTATION OF BROAD POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE SYSTEMATIC DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN

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RIGHTS CONSTITUTES A VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID AND VIENNA CONCLUDING DOCUMENTS, TO ALL OF WHICH ROMANIA SUBSCRIBED. THE GOVERNMENT'S USE OF MASSIVE BRUTAL FORCE TO SUPPRESS THESE DEMONSTRATIONS ILLUSTRATES THAT THE ROMANIAN REGIME DOES NOT RULE WITH THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE. THE ALLIES CONDEMN THE ATTEMPT OF THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO SUPPRESS THE ASPIRATIONS OF ITS PEOPLE TOWARDS FREEDOM AND CALL UPON IT TO CEASE ITS RESORT TO REPRESSIVE MEASURES AND TO ALLOW ITS CITIZENS FREELY TO EXERCISE THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

END TEXT.

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4. (C) OPENING THE NAC DISCUSSION, AMBASSADOR TAFT MADE A FORCEFUL INTERVENTION ON THE URGENT AND CRITICAL NEED FOR THE ALLIANCE TO GO ON RECORD WITH A STRONG CONDEMNATION OF THE BRUTAL ACTIONS PERPETRATED BY THE ROMANIAN REGIME AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT GIVEN THE INSTABILITY IN THE EAST, NATO COULD ILL AFFORD TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS SITTING IN SILENCE WHILE A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT USED RUTHLESS VIOLENCE AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE. IN HIS INTERVENTION, TAFT URGED THE COUNCIL TO APPROVE THE U.S. DRAFT FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, OR -- FAILING THAT -- TO HAVE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE REDRAFT THE AMERICAN TEXT.



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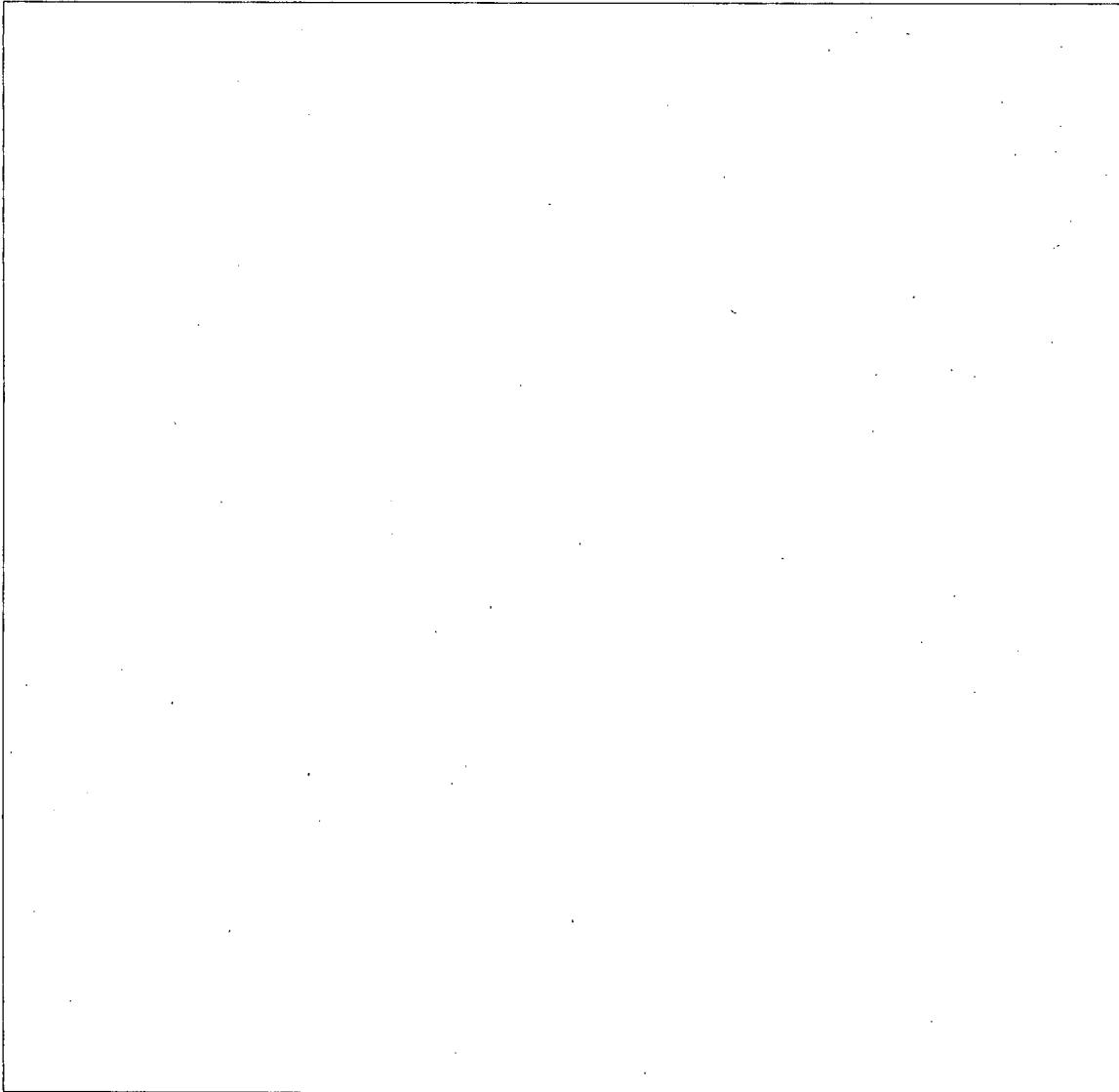
SELF-DETERMINATION," ARGUING THAT IT COULD BE MISCONSTRUED
AS SUPPORT FOR ETHNIC HUNGARIAN SEPARATISM, BUT DRAFT DOES
HOWEVER RETAIN REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT ROMANIAN
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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	H-01
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8127
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 CSCE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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 ZEN//USDELMC BRUSSELS BE//POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USNATO 07057

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CFE

VIENNA A O FOR USDEL CSBMS

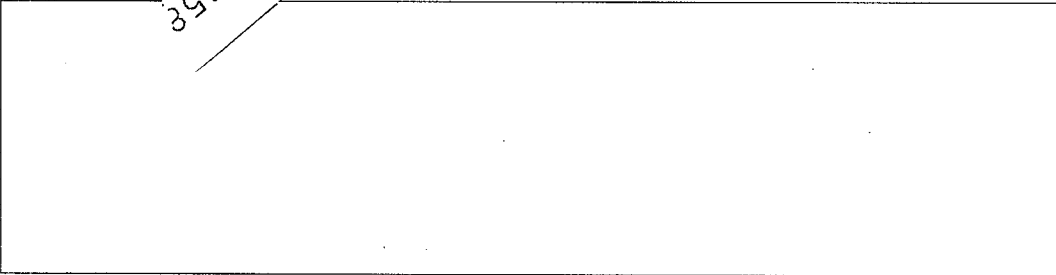
BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 123 OADR

TAGS: F CSCE, RO

SUBJECT: ROVES STATEMENT ON REPRESSION IN ROMANIA

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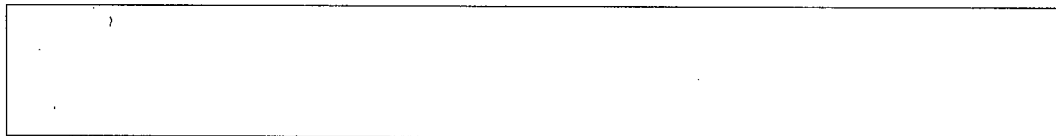
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MISSION COMMENT



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ACTION IO-19

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P 200225Z DEC 89
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6349
 INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 NATO COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 03972

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ENRG, RO, HU, UN,CA
 SUBJECT: SITUATION IN ROMANIA - CANADA AND UN
 - ACTION

REF: A) BUCHAREST 10704, B) STATE 401637,
 - C) BUDAPEST 13778

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. GREEN (CANADA) INFORMED USUN LEGAL ADVISER THAT OTTAWA HAD ASKED FOR CANADIAN MISSION VIEWS ON RAISING RECENT EVENTS IN ROMANIA IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL.
3. GREEN SPECULATED THAT INVOLVEMENT OF MINORITY WITH TIES TO NEIGHBORING STATE IN ROMANIAN CASE ARGUABLY DIFFERENTIATED IT FROM EQUALLY TERRIBLE EVENTS IN CHINA EARLIER IN YEAR WHICH CANADA HAD NOT TAKEN TO SC.
4. GREEN SAID THEY WERE CONSULTING WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 03972 200238Z

HUNGARIANS. ACCORDING TO CANADIANS, HUNGARIANS PLAN TO CIRCULATE AS GENERAL ASSEMBLY DOCUMENT UNDER HUMAN RIGHTS ITEM, RECENT HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT ACTION CONDEMNING RECENT EVENTS IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
 DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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...CANADIANS MENTIONED THAT THEY WERE
CONSIDERING TAKING MATTER TO SC. HUNGARIANS AND
CANADIANS AGREED TO KEEP IN TOUCH.

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5. GREEN SAID CANADA HAD NOT DECIDED WHETHER OR
NOT TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE SC. HE DID NOT ASK
FOR U.S. SUPPORT CONCERNING POSSIBLE ACTION, BUT
DID ASK TO BE INFORMED IF U.S. HAD ANY REASON NOT
TO WISH TO HAVE MATTER RAISED IN SC. GREEN AGREED
TO KEEP US APPRISED OF CANADIAN THINKING AND
MISOFF MADE LIKE COMMITMENT.
PICKERING

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RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 17647 01 OF 02 201944Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /058 W

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R 201651Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2949
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 WARSAW 17647

BRUSSELS FOR USEC AMBASSADOR NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PL
SUBJECT: POLES CONDEMN ROMANIAN VIOLENCE.

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ROMANIA HAS DRAWN SHARP UNIVERSAL
CONDEMNATION HERE FOR ITS VIOLENT SUPPRESSION
OF THE DEMONSTRATION IN TIMISOARA. THE SEJM
VOTED UNANIMOUSLY TO PROTEST THE ROMANIAN
GOVERNMENT'S VIOLATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN
RIGHTS, CITING THE "EXCEPTIONAL BRUTALITY"
EMPLOYED BY THE CEAUSESCU REGIME. EVEN THE PZPR
BACKED THE SEJM'S BLUNT CONDEMNATION OF ROMANIA,
WHILE SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMISSION
(KKW) WENT MUCH FURTHER, ACCUSING "DICTATOR"
CEAUSESCU OF CRIMES, REPRESSION AND TERROR.
LECH WALESIA SENT PASTOR TOKES A LETTER EXPRESSING
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STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE LATTER'S COURAGEOUS
DEFENSE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ISSUED A
CALL TO ALL SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRACY TO DEMAND
FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN AND CIVIC RIGHTS FOR TOKES AND

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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OF THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS FOLLOW.) END SUMMARY.

3. SEJM RESOLUTION: THE SEJM TOOK THE LEAD IN CONDEMNING THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIOLENT RESPONSE TO THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF PASTOR LASZLO TOKES IN TIMISOARA. SEJM MARSHAL MIKOLAJ KOZAKIEWICZ DELAYED THE START OF THE SEJM'S PRESSING DELIBERATIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC REFORM BILLS TO INTRODUCE A SHARPLY WORDED RESOLUTION, WHICH WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY. BEGIN TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION:

-- YESTERDAY IN ROMANIA, A TRAGEDY OCCURRED. IN TIMISOARA AND SEVERAL OTHER LOCATIONS IN WESTERN ROMANIA, THE ARMY AND THE POLICE FIRED AT THE PARTICIPANTS OF AN UNARMED DEMONSTRATION. THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS IS STILL UNKNOWN, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT FORCE WAS USED BY THE AUTHORITIES WITH EXCEPTIONAL BRUTALITY, EVEN SHOOTING AT CHILDREN.

IN THIS SITUATION, THE SEJM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND VOICES A FIRM PROTEST AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA. ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ARE IN FORCE IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD WE CALL ON THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES TO HALT IMMEDIATELY THE REPRESSION AGAINST PEOPLE WHO DEMAND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IN
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VIEW OF THE TRAGEDY WHICH HAS AFFECTED ROMANIA WE DECLARE OUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTIMS OF TERROR AND EXPRESS OUR SYMPATHY FOR THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS, AND WE APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION TO CONDEMN THESE ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

4. SOLIDARITY STATEMENT: SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (KKW) ISSUED AN EVEN HARSHER STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE VIOLENCE:

THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE QUELLED THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIMISOARA. THERE WERE FATALITIES AND OTHER CASUALTIES. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF SOLIDARITY EXPRESSES ITS MOST PROFOUND INDIGNATION AT THIS. THE DICTATOR CEAUSESCU HAS AGAIN PROVEN THAT HUMAN LIFE IS OF NO VALUE TO HIM. THE ROMANIAN REGIME DOES NOT BACK AWAY

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WHILE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE
IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND NATIONS ARE
REGAINING FREEDOM THAT ONCE WAS LOST, REPRESSION
AND TERROR CONTINUE TO PREVAIL IN ROMANIA.

WE APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONS, TO GOVERNMENTS, TO
INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION TO VOICE FIRMER
PROTESTS AGAINST THESE CRIMINAL PRACTICES.

5. PZPR STATEMENT: THE PZPR POLITBURO ADDED
ITS VOICE AS WELL TO THE ANTI-ROMANIAN SENTI-
MENTS:

THE POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PZPR EXPRESS SORROW AND DEEP REGRET AT THE
RECENT EVENTS IN ROMANIA, IN SOLIDARITY WITH

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2950
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMBASSADOR BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 WARSAW 17647

BRUSSELS FOR USEC AMBASSADOR NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PL
SUBJECT: POLES CONDEMN ROMANIAN VIOLENCE.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE POLISH SEJM, WHICH WAS
UNANIMOUSLY BACKED BY PZPR SEJM DEPUTIES

6. WALESA'S LETTER TO TOKES: IN RESPONSE TO
AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT FROM PASTOR TOKES, LECH
WALESA SENT THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO TIMISOARA,
AND THEN ISSUED A GENERAL APPEAL TO "PEOPLE OF
GOODWILL" TO SPEAK OUT FOR TOKES' PROTECTION:

PASTOR TOKES, I WANT TO CONVEY PERSONALLY
WORDS OF SOLIDARITY AND MY DEEP RESPECT FOR YOUR
STAND. I SINCERELY ADMIRE YOUR WORK, WHICH IS
CARRIED OUT IN A COUNTRY IN THE GRIP OF DICTATORSHIP.
EVEN THE WALLS OF PRISON WILL NOT BE ABLE TO
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CONCEAL WHAT IS NOBLE AND GOOD FROM THE WORLD.

IGNORING PERSONAL DANGERS, YOU HAVE THE COURAGE
AND FORCE TO PROCLAIM THE TRUTH AND TO ADHERE
UNEQUIVOCALLY TO VALUES RECOGNIZED BY THE ENTIRE
FREE WORLD. YOUR EFFORTS GIVE FAITH AND NEW
STRENGTH TO ALL THOSE WHOSE RIGHTS YOU
DEFEND. THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD SHOULD SUPPORT
EVERYTHING THAT SERVES DEMOCRACY.

I WANT TO TELL YOU THAT I HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO
ORGANIZE ACTIONS TO SUPPORT YOUR WORK AND TO
CONDEMN REPRISALS AGAINST YOU.

APPEAL FOR COMMON DEFENSE OF PASTOR TOKES

FREE PEOPLE HAVE A DUTY TO DEMAND RIGHTS FOR
THOSE WHO CANNOT ENJOY FREEDOM. EVERYONE HAS

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THE RIGHT TO A DIGNIFIED LIFE AND THAT IS
ALL THE MORE REASON TO REMEMBER PEOPLE WHO
DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO THE STRUGGLE FOR THE
DIGNITY OF OTHERS. HUNGARIAN PASTOR LASZLO
TOKES, WHO DEFENDS HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN IN
TRANSYLVANIA, IS ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE. HE, HIS
FAMILY AND AIDES ARE THE VICTIMS OF DRASTIC
REPRISALS APPLIED BY THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT.
HIS LIFE IS IN DANGER.

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I CALL ON ALL PEOPLE OF GOODWILL, PARTICULARLY
ON NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS, TO TAKE COMMON
ACTION TO DEFEND PASTOR TOKES AND TO EXPRESS
THEIR SOLIDARITY BY APPLYING INTERNATIONAL
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PRESSURE ON ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES.

LET THE DEMAND FOR HUMAN AND CIVIC RIGHTS FOR
LASZLO TOKES ALSO BE A VOICE IN DEFENSE OF ALL
CITIZENS OF ROMANIA PERSECUTED BY THE INHUMAN
REGIME OF NICOLAI CEAUSESCU.

JOHNSON

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PAGE 01 HELSIN 09507 201719Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01
OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 P-02
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P 201548Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1849
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 09507

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, FI, RO
SUBJECT: FINNS CONDEMN USE OF FORCE BY ROMANIA AGAINST
- DEMONSTRATORS
-

1. (U) SUMMARY. THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT, SEVERAL
POLITICAL PARTIES, AND THE FINNISH-ROMANIAN SOCIETY
ISSUED STATEMENTS CONDEMNING IN UNUSUALLY STRONG TERMS
THE USE OF VIOLENCE IN ROMANIA. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) FOREIGN MINISTER PERTTI PAASIO SAID IN A PRESS
STATEMENT DECEMBER 19 THAT THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT HAD
FOLLOWED WITH DEEP CONCERN THE DISTURBING REPORTS FROM
ROMANIA OF USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST A PEACEFUL
DEMONSTRATION. THE DEVELOPMENTS IMPLIED "OPEN
VIOLATION OF THE COMMITMENTS JOINTLY APPROVED BY THE
CSCE COUNTRIES, MOST RECENTLY IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF
THE CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE IN VIENNA", PAASIO SAID.
HE RECALLED THAT THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY
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PAGE 02 HELSIN 09507 201719Z

ONCE BEFORE EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN OVER THE HUMAN
RIGHTS SITUATION IN ROMANIA, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT
TO ETHNIC MINORITIES. "SECURITY CANNOT BE
STRENGTHENED BY RESORTING TO VIOLENCE, AND OPINIONS

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... CANNON BE QUASHED WITH POLICE ACTION," SAID PAASIO.

HE APPEALED TO THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFRAIN FROM THE USE OF FORCE.

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3. (U) THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY EMPHASIZED THAT THE GENOCIDE IN ROMANIA WAS IN CONFLICT WITH THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION THAT WAS MOVING THROUGH EUROPE. THE SDP GROUP OBSERVED THAT THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE JEOPARDIZED THE GLOBAL CLIMATE OF DETENTE AND THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS. THE SWEDISH PEOPLE'S PARTY, THE CHRISTIAN LEAGUE, AND THE FINNISH GREEN LEAGUE URGED THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT TO CONDEMN THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. (U) THE FINNISH PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE (SKDL), THE ELECTORAL FRONT OF THE MAJORITY COMMUNISTS, CONDEMNED THE DISCRIMINATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES AND THE ABSENCE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. THE SKDL STATED THAT "OLIGARCHY WAS CRUSHED EVERYWHERE WHERE THE PEOPLE ROSE." FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY (SKP) CHAIRMAN JARMO WAHLSTROM SAID THAT THE USE OF ARMS AGAINST PEOPLE WHO EXERCISED THE FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOM OF SPEECH WAS UNACCEPTABLE. HE STRESSED THAT SOCIALISM COULD NOT EXIST IF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS DID NOT. "KANSAN UUTISET", ORGAN OF THE SKDL, HAD THE MOST EXTENSIVE PRESS REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENTS AND THE FINNISH REACTIONS, AND CONCLUDED IN A LONG EDITORIAL THAT "BRUTAL FORCE USED BY A

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GOVERNMENT AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS WAS NOT AN INTERNAL AFFAIR".

5. (U) THE RECENTLY ESTABLISHED FINNISH TRANSYLVANIAN SOCIETY CALLED A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN HELSINKI ON THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 20 AND THE FINNISH-ROMANIAN SOCIETY, WHICH EARLIER HAD CRITICIZED ANTI-ROMANIAN REACTIONS IN FINLAND, EXPRESSED EXTREME CONCERN OVER THE DEVELOPMENTS AND CONDEMNED THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND THE INFRINGEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

6. (C) COMMENT: IT IS HIGHLY UNUSUAL FOR THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THE FACT THAT IT

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• SOURCE OF THIS CASE IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE
UNUSUALLY BROAD POLITICAL CONSENSUS IN FINLAND ON
ROMANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, FINLAND'S ETHNO-
LINGUISTIC TIES TO THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY AND THE
FACT THAT VARIOUS CSCE AGREEMENTS PROVIDE A BASIS
FOR EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN ANOTHER
PARTICIPATING STATE. WEINMANN

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 10794 01 OF 02 201626Z
ACTION EUR-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5935
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 10794

DEPT FOR EUR/EEY

E.O. 12356; DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RO
SUBJECT: GOR STIFF-ARMS EMBASSY REQUEST FOR MEETING;
- NATO AMBASSADORS' LINE HARDENS

REFS: (A) STATE 401943
- (B) BUCHAREST 10704

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
-
- 2. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND FOREIGN MINISTER STOIAN
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HAVE BEEN IN IRAN ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT SINCE DECEMBER 18.
THEY ARE DUE TO RETURN TO BUCHAREST DECEMBER 20.
MEANWHILE, WE HAVE SOUGHT UNSUCCESSFULLY THROUGHOUT THE
DAY TO ARRANGE A MEETING FOR THE AMBASSADOR TO PROTEST

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
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THE TIMISOARA EVENTS WITH THE NEXT RANKING GOR OFFICIAL, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OLYMPIA SOLOMONESCU. ALL OTHER EMBASSIES IN TOWN REPORT THAT THEIR EFFORTS TO MAKE ANY OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH THE MFA OR OTHER GOR ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN EQUALLY FRUITLESS. EVEN THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN LEFT TO COOL THEIR HEELS DESPITE THEIR REPEATED EFFORTS TO GET AN OFFICIAL GOR EXPLANATION FOR THE CLOSURE OF THE SOVIET-ROMANIAN BORDER.

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3. THE SOVIETS AND OTHER EAST EUROPEANS HAVE TOLD US THAT ROMANIAN OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED NOT TO MEET WITH FOREIGNERS, INCLUDING DIPLOMATS, UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. WE DON'T KNOW HOW LONG THIS STONE-WALLING WILL CONTINUE. WITH CEAUSESCU'S RETURN, THE REGIME MAY BE ABLE TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER ENOUGH TO DEVELOP A COHERENT LINE FOR USE BY ITS FUNCTIONARIES UP AND DOWN THE LINE. HOWEVER, IF UNREST CONTINUES TO MUSHROOM, THE PHONE MAY STAY OFF THE HOOK AT MFA INDEFINITELY.

4. IN ANY EVENT, WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS IN EVERY AVAILABLE WAY FOR AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY FOR THE AMBASSADOR TO LODGE OUR PROTEST WITH THE HIGHEST AVAILABLE GOR OFFICIAL. IF AN EARLY MEETING DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE, THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER CALLING IN THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR.

NATO LINE STIFFENS

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5. AT A MEETING OF NATO AMBASSADORS DECEMBER 20, THE AMBASSADOR PRESSED HARD FOR EARLY ADOPTION IN BRUSSELS OF THE U.S.-PROPOSED STATEMENT ON THE TIMISOARA EVENTS. THE AMBASSADOR UNDERScoreD THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING THE EC'S ISSUANCE OF A STATEMENT, WE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR NATO TO ISSUE A FIRM CONDEMNATION OF GOR REPRESSION. THE OTHER AMBASSADORS AGREED AND NOTED THAT A DRAFT STATEMENT WAS BEING HAMMERED OUT IN BRUSSELS.

6. THE AMBASSADORS' GROUP AGREED ON A NUMBER OF STEPS TO BE TAKEN LOCALLY:

--BOYCOTT BY NATO EMBASSIES OF CEAUSESCU'S

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TRADITIONAL NEW YEAR'S RECEPTION. THE FRENCH HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE ROMANIANS THEMSELVES MIGHT CANCEL THE EVENT;

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--CANCELLATION OF SOCIAL EVENTS INVOLVING GOR OFFICIALS AND CULTURAL EVENTS, SUCH AS THE SCHEDULED VISIT OF A FRENCH DANCE TROUPE IN JANUARY;

--EFFORTS BY THE FRENCH EMBASSY TO BRING IN VOLUNTEER DOCTORS TO ASSIST IN TREATING THE WOUNDED IN TIMISOARA. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE DOCTORS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT BE ALLOWED INTO ROMANIA, BUT HE SAID THEY INTENDED TO TRY NONETHELESS.

7. MEANWHILE, WE HAVE TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED EFFORTS TO ARRANGE INTRODUCTORY CALLS BY THE AMBASSADOR ON GOR

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5936
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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AMEMBASSY CIJAWA

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 10794

DEPT FOR EUR/EEY

E.O. 12356; DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RO

SUBJECT: GOR STIFF-ARMS EMBASSY REQUEST FOR MEETING;

OFFICIALS.

8. THE LINE TAKEN BY THE NATO AMBASSADORS WAS CONSIDERABLY TOUGHER THAN IT WAS AT OUR INITIAL MEETING WITH THEM ON DECEMBER 18. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR EVEN SUGGESTED THAT THE EC CONSIDER CANCELLING THE GSP TARIFF CONCESSIONS (ROUGHLY EQUIVALENT TO U.S. MFN) THAT IT NOW CONFIDENTIAL

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OFFERS ROMANIA. THE NATO AMBASSADORS WERE UNANIMOUS IN THE CONCLUSION THAT CEAUSESCU FACED A POLITICAL CRISIS AND THAT THE WEST MUST ORGANIZE AND MAINTAIN INCREASING PRESSURE ON THE REGIME. GREEN

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00
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	L-03	AMAD-01	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00
	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	P-02	T-01	/060 W	

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 FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1775
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USIA WASHDC 8847

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUDAPEST 13824

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, RO, HU
 SUBJECT: MORE FALLOUT FROM TIMISOARA

REF: BUDAPEST 13778

2. (LOU) SUMMARY: MAJOR HUNGARIAN PUBLIC FOCUS

 ON THE SUPPRESSION OF SUNDAY'S DEMONSTRATIONS IN
 TIMISOARA CONTINUES. FOREIGN MLNISTER HORN
 RECEIVED THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR DECEMBER 20 TO
 CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESENT A DETAILED PROTEST, AND DEFENSE MINISTER
 KARPATI CALLED IN THE ROMANIAN MILITARY ATTACHE.
 THE U.S. SENATOR AND FOUR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE
 CURRENTLY VISITING BUDAPEST CALLED A PRESS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 19 DEC 2014
 DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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3. (LOU) REPORTING ON LAST SUNDAY'S EVENTS IN TIMISOARA CONTINUES TO DOMINATE THE HUNGARIAN MEDIA. THE OVERWHELMING REACTION IS ONE OF SORROW AND OUTRAGE, WITHOUT IRREDENTISM OR EFFORT TO ACCENT THE ETHNIC DIMENSION. THE NEWS LATE TUESDAY WAS ROMANIA'S BLOCKING OF DANUBE RIVER TRAFFIC. ON WEDNESDAY, THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT ACCEPTED PRIME MINISTER NEMETH'S PROPOSALS TO RAISE A BLACK FLAG ON THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING IN MOURNING FOR THE TIMISOARA VICTIMS, AND TO OBSERVE A MINUTE OF SILENCE. TUESDAY EVENING, YOUNG MEMBERS OF FIDESZ (YOUNG DEMOCRATS) WERE ASSEMBLED ON THE SIDEWALK IN FRONT OF THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY (THERE IS NO 300-FOOT RULE IN BUDAPEST) HOLDING CANDLES. ON WEDNESDAY, HUNGARIAN RADIO BROADCAST AN AUSTRIAN TOURIST'S TAPE-RECORDING OF THE AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRING IN TIMISOARA DECEMBER 17: IT WENT ON FOR SEVERAL MINUTES. THERE ARE CONFLICTING RUMORS THAT PASTOR LASZLO TOKES WAS KILLED IN PRISON SUNDAY NIGHT, OR IS STILL ALIVE.

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5. (U) FOREIGN MINISTER HORN CALLED IN ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR POP WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 20, TO PRESENT A DETAILED PROTEST. HORN REPORTED ON THE MEETING IN A STATEMENT TO THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT MADE SHORTLY AFTER. IN HIS LACONIC, MATTER-OF-FACT STYLE, HORN SAID:

-- HE HAD PROTESTED THE TREATMENT OF PASTOR TOKES AND HIS FAMILY, AND DEMANDED THEIR IMMEDIATE RELEASE;
-- HE HAD DEMANDED THE RESTORATION OF NORMAL TRAFFIC AT BORDER CROSSINGS, ROMANIA'S INTERRUPTION OF WHICH VIOLATED INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS;

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-- HE HAD DEMANDED THE RESTORATION OF NORMAL CONDITIONS FOR FUNCTIONING OF THE HUNGARIAN EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST, WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IMPOSSIBLE BY THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES;

-- HE HAD PROTESTED THE MASSACRE OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS;

-- HE HAD DEMANDED THAT THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT PUBLICLY DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM ANTI-HUNGARIAN INSTIGATION THROUGH SUGGESTIONS THAT HUNGARY HAS SUPPORTED DEMONSTRATIONS IN ROMANIA AND IS PREPARING FOR A MILITARY PROVOCATION.

6. (U) HORN SAID THAT THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR'S RESPONSE INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00
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	L-03	AMAD-01	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00
	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	P-02	T-01	/060 W	

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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1776
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY BONN

UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USIA WASHDC 8848

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUDAPEST 13824

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, RO, HU

SUBJECT: MORE FALLOUT FROM TIMISOARA

-- WHAT IS GOING ON IN ROMANIA IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR;

-- NO COUNTRY HAS RESOLVED AS EXCELLENTLY AS ROMANIA THE FREEDOMS OF RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS;

-- THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST WAS DAMAGED
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BY DEMONSTRATORS. HORN SAID HE HAD ASSURED POP THAT ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES WOULD BE TAKEN TO ASSURE THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY'S SECURITY BUT THAT HUNGARIAN CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMONSTRATE PEACEFULLY. CONTINUING HIS PARLIAMENTARY STATEMENT, HORN APPEALED FOR RESTRAINT FROM VIOLENCE. HE SAID THAT THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD RECEIVED THE PARLIAMENT'S RESOLUTION ON TIMISOARA, BUT THAT HUNGARY COULD NOT, AS MANY HAD SUGGESTED, TURN TO THE UNSC WITH THE ISSUE BECAUSE IT DOES NOT ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AT THE MOMENT. LATER, THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE WAS MEETING TO DISCUSS MP ZOLTAN KIRALY'S SUGGESTION THAT HUNGARY CONVENE THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, ALTHOUGH HORN NOTED THAT THE PCC DOES NOT IN PRINCIPLE DISCUSS PROBLEMS BETWEEN MEMBER-COUNTRIES.

7. (U) THE ONE U.S. SENATOR AND FOUR HOUSE MEMBERS CURRENTLY VISITING BUDAPEST CALLED A PRESS

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CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY MORNING TO DEPLORE THE EVENTS
IN TIMISOARA. PARTICIPANTS WERE REPRESENTATIVES
BEVERLY BYRON (D-MD), BARBARA KENNELLY (D-CONN),
LYNN MARTIN (R-ILLINOIS), DON EDWARDS (D-CALIFORNIA),
AND SENATOR BARBARA MIKULSKI (D-MD). IN THE
PRESS CONFERENCE, WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY HUNGARIAN
RADIO AND OTHER HUNGARIAN MEDIA, "NEWSWEEK," AND AP,
REPRESENTATIVE BYRON DEPLORED THE LOSS OF LIFE
AND BRUTAL ACTIONS BY THE CEAUSESCU GOVERNMENT,
AND CONDEMNED THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES "FOR FAILING
TO YIELD TO THE REALITY THAT THEIR PEOPLE HAVE
SPOKEN." REPRESENTATIVE BYRON, ECHOED BY OTHER
MEMBERS OF THE CODELS, CALLED FOR PRAYERS AND
SOLIDARITY FOR THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE. SENATOR MIKULSKI

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SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST
ROMANIA; CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS CALLED FOR A U.N.
SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TO MOBILIZE WORLD OPINION.

8. (U) HUNGARIAN RADIO ANNOUNCED LATE
WEDNESDAY THAT DEFENSE MINISTER KARPATI HAD CALLED
IN THE ROMANIAN MILITARY ATTACHE TO ASK FOR
INFORMATION ABOUT ROMANIAN TROOP CONCENTRATIONS
IN AND AROUND TIMISOARA. THE MILITARY ATTACHE
REPORTEDLY RESPONDED THAT TROOPS ARE THERE, BUT HAVE
NOT BEEN USED AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS.

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 10817 220644Z
ACTION EUR-00

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
	DODE-00	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00	HA-09
	L-03	LAB-04	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	CEA-01
	OMB-01	STR-18	INRE-00	COR-01	FRB-03	USIE-00	JUSE-00
	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	E-01	P-02	T-01	/065 W

-----205311 220649Z /20

O 211535Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5951

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 10817

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, ETRO, KNNP, MARR, RO
SUBJECT: PROTESTING ROMANIAN REPRESSION

REF: (A) BUCHAREST 10787; (B) BUCHAREST 10795

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT. SEE ACTION REQUESTED IN
PARA 4.

2. SUMMARY: GIVEN CEAUSESCU'S RECALCITRANT ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS TO DATE OVER THE BLOODY REPRESSION OF AN-REGIME DEMONSTRATIONS, WE BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO CONSIDER TAKING ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO DEMONSTRATE OUR REVULSION TOWARD THE CEAUSESCU REGIME. IN ADDITION TO DISCOURAGING TOURISM TO ROMANIA, WE PROPOSE ANNOUNCING THE SUSPENSION OF U.S. NAVAL SHIP VISITS, NUCLEAR COOPERATION AND ACCESS OF ROMANIAN FLAG VESSELS TO U.S. PORTS. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE THE EC SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO SUSPEND PREFERENTIAL TARIFF AND QUOTA TREATMENT OF ROMANIAN GOODS. WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT, AT THIS POINT, WE AVOID TAKING MEASURES WHICH WOULD

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CLOSE OFF ANY FURTHER THE LIMITED ACCESS WE HAVE WHICH WOULD HELP US INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POST-CEAUSESCU PERIOD. END SUMMARY.

3. WE SUGGEST THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDER TAKING THE FOLLOWING MEASURES AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING OUR REVULSION WITH THE CEAUSESCU REGIME AND ITS BLOODY REPRESSION OF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE:

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-- A. ANNOUNCE THE SUSPENSION OF THE ANNUAL U.S. NAVY SHIP VISIT. NOW THAT CEAUSESCU HAS IMPLICATED THE ROMANIAN MILITARY IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TIMISOARA DEMONSTRATIONS (REF B), WE BELIEVE IT APPROPRIATE TO ELIMINATE OUR HIGHEST PROFILE LINK WITH THAT INSTITUTION, WHICH HERETOFORE HAD NOT BEEN USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REPRESSION.

-- B. ANNOUNCE SUSPENSION OF BILATERAL NUCLEAR COOPERATION WHICH HAS BEEN CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN THE 1970'S. IN PARTICULAR, WE COULD ANNOUNCE THE SUSPENSION OF THE EXPORT LICENSE FOR THE 16 KG OF ROMANIAN-OWNED HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM WHICH IS CURRENTLY IN THE U.S. SUCH A STEP IS DEFENSIBLE IN LIGHT OF CEAUSESCU'S STATEMENTS EARLIER THIS YEAR ABOUT ROMANIA POSSESSING THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE ALL TYPES OF WEAPONS.

-- C. ANNOUNCE THAT ROMANIAN FLAG SHIPS WILL BE PROHIBITED FROM ENTERING U.S. PORTS. THOUGH FEW, IF ANY, U.S. FLAG VESSELS CURRENTLY CALL IN ROMANIAN PORTS, ROMANIAN BOTTOMS ARE USED TO SHIP COKING COAL IMPORTS FROM THE U.S. IF WE CLOSE OFF ROMANIAN ACCESS TO U.S. PORTS, ROMANIA COULD STOP LIFTING U.S. COAL, THUS ADVERSELY AFFECTING U.S. EXPORTS, PARTICULARLY ISLAND CREEK COAL, A DIVISION OF OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM. FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY - JUNE 1989, COKING COAL EXPORTS AMOUNTED
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TO ABOUT USDOLS 19 MILLION OR 30 PERCENT OF TOTAL U.S. EXPORTS FOR THAT PERIOD.

-- D. ANNOUNCE A TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF THE ISSUANCE OF EXPORT LICENSES FOR ROMANIA AND SEEK SIMILAR ACTION BY OUR OTHER COCOM PARTNERS.

-- E. APPROACH THE EC WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT IT ELIMINATE PREFERENTIAL TARIFF AND IMPORT QUOTA TREATMENT FOR ROMANIA. SUCH AN ACTION WOULD BE EQUIVALENT TO LOSING MFN. MFN LOSS HAS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THIS YEAR'S 60 PERCENT DECLINE IN THE LEVEL OF ROMANIAN EXPORTS TO THE U.S. UNFORTUNATELY, ROMANIA HAS BEEN ABLE TO SHIFT EXPORTS TO THE WEST EUROPEAN MARKET AND HAS CONSEQUENTLY RUN ALMOST AS LARGE A HARD CURRENCY TRADE SURPLUS FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THIS YEAR AS IT DID DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1988.

4. ACTION REQUESTED GIVEN THE ONSET OF VIOLENCE IN BUCHAREST TODAY, DECEMBER 21, WE BELIEVE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS PACKAGE OF STEPS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE AND INDEED ESSENTIAL TO EXPRESS OUR SUPPORT OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE. GREEN

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RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 USUN N 03988 210326Z
ACTION IO-19

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	EUR-00	OIC-02	AF-00
	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00	H-01	NEA-06	ARA-00	NSAE-00
	L-03	PM-10	EAP-00	PA-01	INRE-00	OES-09	ACDA-12
	A-00	USIE-00	SP-02	PRS-01	/071 W		

-----106270 210339Z /38

P 210324Z DEC 89
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6368
INFO UNSUM COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 03988

UNSUM

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNGA
SUBJECT: 44TH UNGA DAILY CLASSIFIED SUMMARY, DEC. 20, '89

1. (LOU) TABLE OF CONTENTS:

- SC: SITUATION IN ROMANIA: CANADA AND UN ACTION (USUN 3972)
- SPECIAL SESSION ON APARTHEID: COORDINATED EFFORT (USUN 3974)
- MISC: SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER TO SYG (USUN 3975)
- MISC: CAMBODIA: STATEMENT BY SIHANOUK CIRCULATED AS UN DOCUMENT (USUN 3969)

SECURITY COUNCIL: SITUATION IN ROMANIA: CANADA AND UN ACTION

2. (C) CANADIAN REP INFORMED USUN LEGAL ADVISER THAT OTTAWA HAD ASKED FOR CANADIAN MISSION VIEWS ON RAISING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 03988 210326Z

RECENT EVENTS IN ROMANIA IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL. HE SPECULATED THAT INVOLVEMENT OF MINORITY WITH TIES TO NEIGHBORING STATE IN ROMANIAN CASE ARGUABLY DIFFERENTIATED IT FROM EQUALLY TERRIBLE EVENTS IN CHINA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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EARLIER IN YEAR WHICH CANADA HAD NOT TAKEN TO SC. HE SAID THEY WERE CONSULTING WITH HUNGARIANS, AND CANADA HAD NOT DECIDED WHETHER OR NOT TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE SC.

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SPECIAL SESSION ON APARTHEID: COORDINATED EFFORT

3. (U) USUN APPRECIATES THE DEMARCHES, INFORMAL APPROACHES AND REPORTING DONE BY SO MANY POSTS IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE REGARDING THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPECIAL SESSION ON APARTHEID DEC. 12-14. THESE EFFORTS, ABLY COORDINATED BY THE DEPARTMENT, WERE CRUCIAL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE U.S. OBJECTIVE OF SECURING A CONSENSUS DECLARATION OF THE SESSION. HEARTFELT THANKS TO ALL.

MISC: SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER TO SYG

4. (C) THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERMREP TO THE UN PRESENTED A LETTER FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER, R.F. BOTHA, TO THE SYG ON DEC. 7 IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON APARTHEID. THE LETTER LAID OUT THE SAG'S AIMS FOR "CREATION OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA BASED ON A FREE AND EQUITABLE CONSTITUTIONAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM" WHICH WOULD NO LONGER PURSUE A POLICY
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OF APARTHEID. POINTS MENTIONED INCLUDE: EQUAL RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF COLOUR OR RACE, PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN GROUPS OF PEOPLE, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND ASSOCIATION, ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE, AND PROPERTY RIGHTS FOR ALL.

MISC: CAMBODIA: STATEMENT BY SIHANOUK CIRCULATED AS UN DOCUMENT

5. (U) ON DEC. 18 THE UN SECRETARIAT CIRCULATED, AT THE REQUEST OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA TO THE UN, A STATEMENT

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RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 14893 01 OF 03 211723Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	H-01
	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-09	L-03	AMAD-01
	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	NRRC-01	INRE-00	ACDA-12
	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	SDEL-15	SART-01	P-02	T-01
	/088 W						

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O 211712Z DEC 89
 FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8461
 INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 JCS WASHDC PRIORITY
 USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 9674
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USNMR SHAPE BE//SPACOS//
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ5/ECPLAD/ECS5//
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J-53//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N5//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//XP//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGC-P/AEAGC-E//
 USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT//INTAF//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 VIENNA 14893

DEPT ALSO FOR ACDA

ALSO FOR POLADS

USGENEVA FOR CD, START, NST, AND SCC

USVIENNA FOR CFE

USNATO ALSO FOR USDELMC

USIA FOR EU AND P/PACO
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 14893 01 OF 03 211723Z

FROM USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: N/A

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
 DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

UNCLASSIFIED

TAGS: CSBM, PREL, NATO

UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: CSBM: UNPRECEDENTED CRITICISM OF ROMANIAN REPRESSION

REF: VIENNA 14816

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN AN UNPRECEDENTED SHOW OF CRITICISM FROM WESTERN, EASTERN AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS, AND IN SOME OF THE STRONGEST LANGUAGE EVER HEARD IN A CSCE MEETING, 23 STATES TOOK THE FLOOR IN THE DEC 20 CSBM PLENARY TO CONDEMN ROMANIAN REPRESSION. U.S. DELEGATION HEAD MARESCA DELIVERED A STRONG CRITIQUE OF ROMANIAN BEHAVIOR ON BEHALF OF THE NATO GROUP, AND THEN IN HIS NATIONAL CAPACITY CALLED EVENTS AT TIMISOARE, "THE MOST SHOCKING VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS SINCE 1975" (REFTEL). FRANCE MADE A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE EC-12 AND A HOST OF NEUTRAL NON-ALIGNED STATES (INCLUDING YUGOSLAVIA AND THE HOLY SEE) ALSO CALLED BUCHAREST TO TASK. AMONG ROMANIA'S OWN ALLIES, ALL BUT THE GDR CONDEMNED THE REPRESSIVE ROMANIAN TACTICS IN TERMS RANGING FROM HUNGARY'S TOUGH STATEMENT TO A RATHER SOFT CRITICISM FROM THE SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

THE WEST
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3. FRANCE (POUDADE) LED OFF FOR THE WEST, DELIVERING A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE EC-12 WHICH NOTED THE INDIVISIBLE NATURE OF SECURITY FROM HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE HELSINKI PROCESS. THE FRENCH REP ALSO CONDEMNED ROMANIA FOR "WITHDRAWING INTO REPRESSIVE ISOLATION CHARACTERISTIC OF ANOTHER AGE."

4. FOLLOWING THE FRENCH LEAD, U.S. (MARESCA), STATED DIRECTLY IN HIS INTERVENTION THAT REPORTS FROM ROMANIA "FILL US WITH DISGUST," A PHRASE WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY PICKED UP BY SEVERAL OTHER ALLIES. RECALLING HIS OWN LONG

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ASSOCIATION WITH THE CSCE, MARESCA CHARGED THAT ROMANIAN ACTIONS UNDERMINED THE ENTIRE HELSINKI PROCESS. SAYING THAT HE HAD PERSONALLY WATCHED PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SIGN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, MARESCA STATED THAT CEAUSESCU "NOW OWES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AN ABJECT APOLOGY FOR THIS OFFENSE TOWARD THE HUMAN RACE." DURING HIS NATIONAL STATEMENT, MARESCA ALSO DELIVERED A FORMAL CONDEMNATION ON BEHALF OF THE 16 NATO ALLIES, AS REQUESTED BY THE NATO CAUCUS.

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5. THE U.S. STATEMENT WAS STRONGLY SECONDED BY OTHER ALLIED SPEAKERS, INCLUDING CANADA, DENMARK, GREECE, THE FRG, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND TURKEY. NORWAY (BIORN-LIAN), NOTED HIS COUNTRY'S "DISGUST AND OUTRAGE" OVER THE EVENTS AND CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE STOP TO THE VIOLENCE. THE NETHERLANDS (HUBAR) SAID THAT DESPITE THE HORROR OF EVENTS IN ROMANIA,

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 H-01
IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01
TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 NRRC-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12
SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 SDEL-15 SART-01 P-02 T-01
/088 W

-----147703 211833Z /44 38

O 211712Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8462
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET WASHDC PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

JCS WASHDC PRIORITY

USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 9675

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE BE//SPACOS//

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ5/ECPLAD/ECS5//

USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J-53//

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N5//

CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//XP//

CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGC-P/AEAGC-E//

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT//INTAF//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 VIENNA 14893

DEPT ALSO FOR ACDA

ALSO FOR POLADS

USGENEVA FOR CD, START, NST, AND SCC

USVIENNA FOR CFE

USNATO ALSO FOR USDELMC

USIA FOR EU AND P/PACO

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 14893 02 OF 03 211723Z

FROM USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CSBM, PREL, NATO

SUBJECT: CSBM: UNPRECEDENTED CRITICISM OF

NEGOTIATORS SHOULD NOT BE DETERRED FROM THEIR POSITIVE WORK BY "ILL WINDS THAT BRING A BAD SMELL." DENMARK (ROSENTHAL) CHARACTERIZED THE WESTERN REACTION IRONICALLY, SAYING THAT EVENTS IN ROMANIA "CAUSE HORROR, BUT UNFORTUNATELY NOT ASTONISHMENT."

NEUTRALS, NON-ALIGNED

6. SIX NNA REPS TOOK THE FLOOR TO CONDEMN THE ROMANIAN MASSACRES. IN A TOUGH INTERVENTION,

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AUSTRIA (VUKOVICH) CALLED ROMANIA "THE LAST
DICTATORIAL REGIME IN EUROPE," AND PREDICTED
THAT "THIS REGIME OF MURDERERS WILL NOT BE ABLE
TO SURVIVE." SWEDEN (EKEUS) NOTED ITS "PROFOUND
REGRET AND HORROR," SWITZERLAND (JOSEPH)
CONDEMNED THE "BARBARIC REPRESSION," AND
YUGOSLAVIA (VUKOVIC) VOICED ITS CONCERN FOR SERB
AND CROAT MINORITIES UNDER THE CEAUSESCU
REGIME. EVEN CYPRUS NOTED CONCERN FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, "WHEREVER THEY OCCUR."

ROMANIA ISOLATED IN WTO

7. THE EASTERN RESPONSE, WHILE NOT AS STRONG AS
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THE CONDEMNATION VOICED BY THE WEST AND NNA, WAS
NONETHELESS REMARKABLE. POLAND (KONARSKI) NOTED
"PROFOUND REGRET" AT THE "TRAGIC ACT OF
REPRESSION AND VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST HUMAN
RIGHTS." THE USSR (EVSTAFIEV), CALLED FOR
ADHERENCE TO ALL THE HELSINKI PRINCIPLES, BUT
DECIDED NOT TO MENTION ROMANIA BY NAME. HUNGARY
(MEIZSTER) DESCRIBED A SCENE OF "BLACK FLAGS AND
DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT HUNGARY." CITING A
HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENTARY CONDEMNATION OF "THE
MASSACRES," MEIZSTER SAID THAT BUDAPEST WOULD BE
PURSUING THE MATTER IN THE UN AND BILATERALLY,
AND THAT FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS OF ACTION AGAINST
ROMANIA COULD BE EXPECTED LATER IN THE DAY.
CZECHSLOVAKIA (BALCAR), CONTRASTED CZECH USE OF
TRUNCHEONS AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS WITH OUTRAGEOUS
ROMANIAN ACTIONS. AFTER TELLING US JUST BEFORE
THE MEETING THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE THE FLOOR
TO CRITICIZE "A NEIGHBOR," EVEN BULGARIA
(PETROV) ULTIMATELY CHIMED IN TO NOTE "CONCERN."

ROMANIANS BRAZEN IT OUT

8. ROMANIA (MELESCANU) REACTED TO THE BARRAGE
OF CRITICISM FROM ALL QUARTERS WITH AN
UNEMOTIONAL AND TOUGH STANCE. HE FIRST BLOCKED
CONSENSUS ON AN AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL FOR A MOMENT
OF SILENCE IN MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS AT TIMISOARE
(FRG AMB JOETZE GOT AROUND THAT BY INCLUDING THE

UNCLASSIFIED

MOMENT OF SILENCE IN HIS OWN INTERVENTION).

CLEARLY HAVING DECIDED TO BRAZEN IT OUT,
MELESCANU DISMISSED REPORTS OF "ALLEGED EVENTS"
AS NOTHING MORE THAN "UNCONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	H-01
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	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	NRRC-01	INRE-00	ACDA-12
	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01	SDEL-15	SART-01	P-02	T-01
	/088 W						

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O 211712Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8463
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
JCS WASHDC PRIORITY
USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 9676
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE BE//SPACOS//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ5/ECPLAD/ECS5//
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J-53//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N5//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//XP//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGC-P/AEAGC-E//
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT//INTAF//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 VIENNA 14893

DEPT ALSO FOR ACDA

UNCLASSIFIED

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ALSO FOR POLADS

USGENEVA FOR CD, START, NST, AND SCC

USVIENNA FOR CFE

USNATO ALSO FOR USDELMC

USIA FOR EU AND P/PACO
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 14893 03 OF 03 211723Z

FROM USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CSBM, PREL, NATO

SUBJECT: CSBM: UNPRECEDENTED CRITICISM OF

AND UNCONFIRMED RUMORS." HE THEN WENT ON TO
REJECT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN ROMANIAN DOMESTIC
AFFAIRS AND WARNED THAT "FIRM MEASURES WOULD BE
TAKEN AGAINST PROVOCATEURS, ANTI-ROMANIAN
ELEMENTS AND FOREIGN SPECIAL SERVICES." FRANCE
(POUDADE) FOLLOWED UP ON THE ROMANIAN
INTERVENTION BY REGRETTING THAT, IN ALL OF HIS
REMARKS, THE ROMANIAN REP HAD NOT DENIED THE
CHARGES LEVIED AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT.

MARESCA

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RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 BUDAPE 13866 01 OF 03 211635Z

ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	CIAE-00
	EB-00	DODE-00	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00
	HA-09	L-03	LAB-04	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01
	CEA-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01	INRE-00	FRB-03
	ACDA-12	JUSE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	C-01	PRS-01	SCT-03
	E-01	P-02	T-01	/082 W			

-----145341 211736Z /43-47

O 211611Z DEC 89 ZFF4
 FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1797
 INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8851

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BUDAPEST 13866

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, HU, RO
 SUBJECT: ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS

REF: BUDAPEST 13824, NOTAL

1. (C) SUMMARY: AMID DECEMBER 21 NEWS REPORTS OF

 SIGNIFICANT FIGHTING IN BUCHAREST, THE HUNGARIAN
 GOVERNMENT IS MOVING TOWARD U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL
 CONSIDERATION OF THE ROMANIAN SITUATION AND IS
 CONTEMPLATING A BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.
 FOREIGN MINISTER HORN TOLD JOURNALISTS DECEMBER 21
 THAT CONFIRMED DEATHS FROM LAST SUNDAY'S SUPPRESSION
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUDAPE 13866 01 OF 03 211635Z

OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIMISOARA ARE ON THE ORDER
 OF 1,000-2,500, AND THAT HUNGARY WILL ABROGATE ITS
 1948 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WITH
 ROMANIA. HORN DENIED THAT HUNGARY IS MOBILIZING

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
 DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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AND CAUTIONED AGAINST "HYSTERICAL" ACTIONS AND
BILATERALIZING THE ISSUES. HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS HAVE
TOLD US THAT SOME DOZEN ROMANIAN SOLDIERS WERE SHOT
FOR REFUSING TO FIRE ON PROTESTERS IN TIMISOARA, AND
A SENIOR BORDERGUARDS' OFFICIAL HAS TOLD US THAT
ROMANIAN BORDERGUARDS SHOT AND KILLED AT LEAST
FIVE PEOPLE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE INTO HUNGARY.
END SUMMARY.

-
2. (C) COMMENTING ON FOREIGN MINISTER HORN'S
DECEMBER 21 PRESS CONFERENCE (DETAILS BELOW), MFA
OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THAT:

-- HUNGARY IS CONTEMPLATING A BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA AS A RESPONSE TO FURTHER USE
OF FORCE IN SUPPRESSING POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS.

-- THE HUNGARIAN PERMREP IN NEW YORK IS SEEKING A
SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, AND HAS MET WITH THE
DECEMBER UNSC PRESIDENT (COLOMBIA). THE HUNGARIANS
ALSO PLAN TO RAISE OBJECTIONS WITHIN THE SOCIALIST
GROUP TO ROMANIA'S SUCCEEDING YUGOSLAVIA AS A
NON-PERMANENT UNSC MEMBER ON JANUARY 1. THE HUNGARIANS
BELIEVE THE CHINESE WILL OPPOSE A UNSC MEETING, THAT
THE SOVIETS MAY NOT OBJECT, AND THEY WILL BE LOOKING
TO THE U.S., UK, AND FRANCE FOR SUPPORT.

-- HORN'S PRESS CONFERENCE MENTION OF CLASHES BETWEEN
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THE ROMANIAN ARMY AND SECURITATE ACTUALLY REFERRED
TO A DOZEN EXECUTIONS OF ARMY TROOPS WHO HAD DECLINED
TO FIRE ON PROTESTERS IN TIMISOARA.

-
3. (U) EMBASSY DEMONSTRATIONS. A GROUP OF 20

DEMONSTRATORS APPEARED ON THE SIDEWALK IN FRONT OF
OUR CHANCERY WEDNESDAY EVENING TO PROTEST ALLEGED
U.S. SUPPORT FOR CEAUSESCU AND FAILURE TO TAKE
STEPS FOLLOWING THE TIMISOARA MASSACRE. THE GROUP
WAS NOT FROM ANY ORGANIZED POLITICAL PARTY AND DISPERSED
AFTER 15 MINUTES, LEAVING LIGHTED CANDLES IN A
CHANCERY WINDOW-SILL. THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY, IN
CONTRAST, WAS VIRTUALLY SURROUNDED WEDNESDAY EVENING
BY A CROWD OF 200-300 DEMONSTRATORS FROM THE

UNCLASSIFIED

DEMOCRATIC FORUM, FIDESZ, AND OTHER PARTIES. THE DEMONSTRATORS HAD PLACED THOUSANDS OF LIGHTED CANDLES ON THE SIDEWALKS AROUND THE EMBASSY AND HAD AFFIXED POSTERS TO THE FENCES INCLUDING "DRACULESCU" (PHOTOGRAPH OF CEAUSESCU WITH BLOOD DRIPPING FROM HIS MOUTH), "BLOODY-HANDED DICTATOR," "HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA," ETC. SOME 50 BUDAPEST POLICEMEN (NORMAL UNIFORMS, NO RIOT GEAR) SURROUNDED THE EMBASSY AT TWO-METER INTERVALS, HANDS IN POCKETS, TALKING WITH THE DEMONSTRATORS. WEDNESDAY EVENING, A ROMANIAN EMBASSY CAR COMING FROM WITHIN THE COMPOUND STRUCK AND SLIGHTLY INJURED A DEMONSTRATOR. THE DRIVER TOOK OFF AT HIGH SPEED, AND FOREIGN MINISTER HORN TOLD THE PRESS DECEMBER 21 THAT POLICE ARE FOLLOWING UP.

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4. (U) HORN/BERECZ PRESS CONFERENCE. TOGETHER WITH

THE PARLIAMENT'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, JANOS BERECZ, FOREIGN MINISTER GYULA HORN HELD AN INTERNATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE THURSDAY MORNING,

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	CIAE-00
	EB-00	DODE-00	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-00
	HA-09	L-03	LAB-04	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01
	CEA-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01	INRE-00	FRB-03
	ACDA-12	JUSE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	C-01	PRS-01	SCT-03
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O 211611Z DEC 89 ZFF4
 FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1798
 INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8852

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BUDAPEST 13866

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, HU, RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS

DECEMBER 21. KEY POINTS OF HORN'S OPENING STATEMENT:

-- U.N. ACTION. HUNGARIAN PERMREP ESZTERGALYOS IN NEW YORK HAS GIVEN A LETTER TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT ASKING (A) THAT THE UNSC PRESIDENT APPEAL TO THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND MEET THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, AND (B) TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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-- MEETING IN BUCHAREST. THE ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CALLED IN THE HUNGARIAN CHARGE LATE DECEMBER 20 TO REPEAT THE ROMANIAN VIEW THAT DISTURBANCES WERE ORGANIZED FROM ABROAD IN ORDER TO VIOLATE ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY. THE ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CALLED FOR A HALT IN DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST. THE HUNGARIAN CHARGE REJECTED THE ACCUSATIONS AND REFERRED TO HORN'S EARLIER DEMARCHE TO AMBASSADOR POP IN BUDAPEST.

-- TERMINATION OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY. HORN ANNOUNCED THAT THE GOH INTENDS TO TERMINATE THE 1948 HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE SINCE, FROM A MORAL POINT OF VIEW, THE TREATY IS UNTENABLE.

-- MILITARY PREPAREDNESS. HORN SAID THAT HUNGARY DOES NOT PLAN ANY MILITARY ACTION OR INTERVENTION. "THERE IS NO MILITARY THREAT FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY." HE ADDED: "HUNGARIAN MILITARY FORCES ARE PREPARED, HOWEVER, IF CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGE." IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS, HORN DENIED THAT ANY MOBILIZATION HAS OCCURRED.

-- TRAVEL TO ROMANIA. HORN CALLED ON HUNGARIAN CITIZENS NOT TO TRY TO TRAVEL TO ROMANIA SINCE THE GOH COULD NO LONGER ASSURE THE SAFETY OF TRAVELLERS.

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5. (U) IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS, HORN COMMENTED ON.

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-- THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA. HE SAID THE GOH HAS AUTHORITY AND VERIFIED INFORMATION THAT THE DEATH-TOLL FROM VIOLENCE IN AND AROUND TIMISOARA IS 1,000-2,500, AND THAT THERE HAVE BEEN CLASHES BETWEEN ROMANIAN ARMY UNITS AND SECURITATE IN AND AROUND TIMISOARA. HORN SAID THERE APPEARS TO BE A NATIONWIDE POLITICAL MOVEMENT AGAINST THE CEAUSESCU REGIME BUT THERE IS NO INFORMATION ON HOW WIDESPREAD IT MAY BE. HE DECLINED TO SPECULATE ON THE REGIME'S CHANCES FOR SURVIVAL, BUT SAID "I AM OPTIMISTIC" AND NOTED THAT RECENT EVENTS ARE THE FIRST OCCASION OF PROTESTS IN SEVERAL MAJOR ROMANIAN CENTERS.

-- HUNGARIAN POLICY. HORN EMPHASIZED THAT HE OPPOSES ANY "HYSTERICAL" ACTIONS WHICH WOULD INFLAME THE SITUATION, AND OPPOSES ANY BILATERALIZATION OF THE ISSUE AS A DISPUTE BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ROMANIA. THE GOH INTENDS TO PROCEED IN LIGHT OF WORLD OPINION AND ACTIONS BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS. HE CONFIRMED THAT THE HUNGARIANS HAVE CONSULTED WITH THE SOVIETS, BUT NOT AT POLITICAL LEVEL, ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN ROMANIA.

-- PANAMA. HORN SAID THAT, AS A GENERAL MATTER, MILITARY INTERVENTION DOES NOT RESOLVE LOCAL TENSIONS. BEREZCZ ADDED THAT THE U.S. INTERVENTION IN PANAMA WAS UNFORTUNATE IN THAT IT WOULD WEAKEN THE FORCE OF U.S. PROTESTS AGAINST EVENTS IN ROMANIA.

6. (C) CHINESE ON MILITARY PREPAREDNESS. THE CHINESE DCM HAS TOLD US THAT DEFENSE MINISTER KARPATI TALKED BY PHONE WITH HIS ROMANIAN COUNTERPART DECEMBER 20 AND ASSURED THE ROMANIANS THAT THE GOH

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	D-01	SS-00	CIAE-00
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	HA-09	L-03	LAB-04	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01
	CEA-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	STR-18	NRRC-01	INRE-00	FRB-03
	ACDA-12	JUSE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	C-01	PRS-01	SCT-03
	E-01	P-02	T-01	/082 W			

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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1799
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8853

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BUDAPEST 13866

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, HU, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS

WOULD AVOID TAKING ANY ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE
CONSTRUED AS PROVOCATIVE, WHILE HE ASKED FOR
ASSURANCES THAT THE ROMANIANS WOULD DO THE SAME.

7. (C) BORDER SITUATION. SENIOR HUNGARIAN POLICE

AND BORDERGUARDS OFFICERS HAVE BEEN STANDING EXTENDED
WATCHES. A SENIOR BORDERGUARDS OFFICER TOLD DEFATT
THAT HIS TROOPS HAD SEEN ROMANIAN BORDERGUARDS SHOOT
AND KILL FIVE PEOPLE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE INTO HUNGARY.
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8. (U) BUDAPEST ATMOSPHERE. ROMANIAN NEWS CONTINUES

TO DOMINATE THE MEDIA. BUDAPEST TRAMS ARE DECORATED
WITH BLACK MOURNING FLAGS, AND A MASS DEMONSTRATION
ON ROMANIA IS PLANNED FOR 8:00 P.M. THURSDAY

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PAGE 01 EMBBER 09460 211720Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01
	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00
	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	PRS-01
	P-02	T-01	/056 W				

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O 211654Z DEC 89
 FM AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2285
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMCONSUL HAMBURG
 AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
 AMCONSUL STUTTGART
 USDEL NST GENEVA
 USAFSB BERLIN GE
 USDOC WASHDC
 USIA WASHDC 3827

C O N F I D E N T I A L EMBBERLIN 09460

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

USVIENNA FOR CFE DEL

BRUSSELS USEC FOR AMBASSADOR NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, GC, RO
 SUBJECT: BROAD EAST GERMAN CONDEMNATION OF ROMANIAN
 - CRACKDOWN

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
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PAGE 02 EMBBER 09460 211720Z

2. THE PRESIDUM OF THE GDR PARLIAMENT CONDEMNED
 DECEMBER 20 THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S "VIOLENT
 REACTION AGAINST PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS." THE PRE-

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 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
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SIDROM STATED FURTHER THAT "POLITICAL CONFLICTS ARE TO BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY BY POLITICAL MEANS," AND DEMANDED THE REALIZATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS "ALSO IN ROMANIA."

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3. THE SED "DEEPLY CONDEMNED" THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIOLENT REPRESSION OF DEMONSTRATORS, DECRIED THE "USE OF THE MILITARY AND ALL FORCE AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS WHO ARE STANDING UP FOR THE REALIZATION OF THEIR LEGITIMATE HUMAN RIGHTS," AND DEMANDED THAT THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP "IMMEDIATELY END ALL USE OF FORCE AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE, AND STRICTLY OBSERVE INTERNATIONALLY ACKNOWLEDGED HUMAN RIGHTS, AS WELL AS THE CSCE FINAL ACT." NEUES DEUTSCHLAND PUBLISHED A SHARPLY CRITICAL EDITORIAL DECEMBER 21.

4. AN APPARENTLY BROADLY BASED "INITIATIVE AGAINST THE USE OF FORCE IN ROMANIA" HAS ORGANIZED A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 21.

5. COMMENT: EAST GERMAN REVULSION, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE, IS ESPECIALLY DEEP BECAUSE IT IS LINKED WITH A FEELING THAT IT COULD SO EASILY HAVE HAPPENED HERE. ONLY TWO MONTHS AGO, ONE OF THE MANY POINTS OF BUILDING POPULAR ANGER AGAINST THE OLD REGIME WAS ITS OSTENTATIOUS EMBRACE OF CEAUCESCU. END COMMENT.

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00
PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 SIL-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00
SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-03 P-02 T-01
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O 211529Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2164
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY
EC COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
FRG COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 39781

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RO, GE
SUBJECT: CRACKDOWN IN ROMANIA: WEST GERMANS RECALL CHARGE,
- CONDEMN SECURITY FORCES' SCORN FOR HUMAN LIFE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED A STRONG
STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE ROMANIAN ACTION TO CRUSH POPULAR
"ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM" AND RECALLED THE FRG CHARGE.
PUBLIC REVULSION AGAINST THE GOR'S MEASURES IS STRONG.
INDEED, LUFTHANSA MAINTENANCE WORKERS IN HAMBURG HAVE
REFUSED TO PERFORM ANY FURTHER WORK ON ONE OF CEAUSESCU'S
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PRIVATE JETS. END SUMMARY.

3. FOREIGN OFFICE STATE SECRETARY JUERGEN SUDHOFF TOLD
AMBASSADOR WALTERS ON DECEMBER 20 THAT THE FRG GOVERNMENT

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
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HAS NUMEROUS REPORTS OF "HUNDREDS" BEING KILLED IN THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S CRACKDOWN ON DEMONSTRATIONS. SUDHOFF POINTED OUT THAT THE REPORTS WERE NOT FROM HUNGARIANS, BUT MOSTLY FROM GERMANS AND OTHERS.

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4. FOREIGN OFFICE EAST EUROPEAN DEPUTY OFFICE DIRECTOR GERHARD ENVER SCHROEMBGENS STRESSED A FRG GOVERNMENT STATEMENT WHICH CONDEMNED "WITH ALL VIGOR THIS BRUTAL ATTEMPT BY THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP TO OPPRESS THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM." THE STATEMENT ADDED THAT THE "ACTIONS OF THE SECURITY FORCES' SHOW A SCORN FOR LIVES" IN VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. SCHROEMBGENS NOTED THAT SINCE THE FRG AMBASSADOR IN BUCHAREST WAS ALREADY OUT OF ROMANIA FOR CHRISTMAS VACATION, THAT THE CHARGE WAS "RECALLED FOR CONSULTATIONS" IN PROTEST.

5. SUDHOFF NOTED THAT THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR IN BONN HAD BEEN CALLED IN TO RECEIVE A COPY OF THE FRG PROTEST STATEMENT, BUT HAD MADE SEVERAL WEAK EXCUSES AS TO WHY HE COULD NOT GO TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE. WHEN THE FOREIGN OFFICE TRIED TO CALL IN THE ROMANIAN DCM TO RECEIVE THE PROTEST, HE FLATLY REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN ORDERED NOT TO COME IN.

6. THE STATE SECRETARY NOTED WITH APPROVING AMUSEMENT THAT LUFTHANSA MAINTENANCE WORKERS IN HAMBURG, WHO HAD BEEN REFURBISHING ONE OF CEAUSESCU'S PRIVATE JETS, HAVE REFUSED TO PERFORM ANY FURTHER WORK ON THE AIRCRAFT. HE CONFIDENTIAL

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ALSO SAID A ROMANIAN TOURIST OFFICE IN FRANKFURT HAD BEEN BURNED.

7. IN PART BECAUSE OF THE LARGE ETHNIC GERMAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA, FRG MEDIA INTEREST HAS BEEN INTENSE. IT HAS INCLUDING NUMEROUS TV INTERVIEWS WITH PERSONS WHO HAD JUST CROSSED THE BORDER INTO HUNGARY. COMMENT IS VERY CRITICAL AND CONTRASTS THE GOR'S ACTIONS TO PROGRESS IN OTHER EAST EUROPEAN STATES. THE MEDIA'S COMMENT COULD BE SYMBOLIZED BY A CARTOON IN THE "DIE WELT" NEWSPAPER: CEAUSESCU WITH LARGE FANGS AND WEARING A DRACULA-STYLE CAPE IS SEEN RISING OUT OF A COFFIN, WHILE BATS FLITTER AROUND HIS HEAD.

WALTERS

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SP-02 SR-06 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01
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O 211707Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7815
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BELGRADE 13837

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - FOR AMBASSADOR NILES

GENEVA FOR RMA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, YO, RO
SUBJECT: CONTINUED YUGOSLAV CRITICISM OF
- ROMANIAN EVENTS

REF: BELGRADE 13780

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. THE YUGOSLAV MEDIA REPORTS CONTINUING
DEMONSTRATIONS IN BUCHAREST, TIMISOARA,
AND OTHER ROMANIAN CITIES ON DECEMBER 20-21.
TRAVELLERS CROSSING INTO YUGOSLAVIA OUT OF
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ROMANIA, ARE REPORTING THAT THE SECURITY
FORCES MAY HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM TIMISOARA,
APPARENTLY LEAVING THE CITY IN THE HANDS OF
DEMONSTRATORS. THE YUGOSLAV PARTY HAS BROKEN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
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SEE LIES WITH ITS ROMANIAN COUNTERPART.

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BUILDING ON THE YUGOSLAV CABINET'S STRONG DENOUNCIATION OF THE VIOLENCE IN ROMANIA, A NUMBER OF OTHER OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ISSUED SIMILARLY CRITICAL STATEMENTS. YUGOSLAVS ACROSS THE BOARD ARE FOLLOWING EVENTS IN ROMANIA CLOSELY, IN PART OUT OF CONCERN OVER THE SEVERITY OF THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES' REPRESSIVE MEASURES, IN PART OUT OF CONCERN FOR THE FATE OF YUGOSLAV MINORITIES IN THAT COUNTRY. A CROWD OF ABOUT 250 DEMONSTRATED PEACEFULLY IN FRONT OF THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY ON DECEMBER 21. END SUMMARY.

NEWS COVERAGE, EYE-WITNESS REPORTS

3. THE AUSTRALIAN DCM (THE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY IN BELGRADE COVERS BUCHAREST AS WELL) TOLD US DECEMBER 21 THAT SHE HAD MET WITH SEVERAL AUSTRALIAN CITIZENS WHO HAD BEEN IN TIMISOARA OVER THE DECEMBER 16-17 WEEK-END. THEY REPORTED THAT THE CITY WAS IN RUINS. THEY HAD SEEN ONE WOMAN SHOT WITH A PISTOL, AND HAD SEEN SOMEONE DROP A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL INSIDE A TANK. OVER THE WEEK-END, THEY HAD HEARD GUNFIRE THROUGHOUT SUNDAY NIGHT, AND HAD HEARD TANKS AND HELICOPTERS.

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4. THE YUGOSLAV MEDIA CONTINUES ITS HEAVY COVERAGE OF EVENTS IN ROMANIA, INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATIONS

-- ON DECEMBER 20, PROTESTS AND UNREST CONTINUED IN TIMISOARA AND OTHER ROMANIAN CITIES.

-- A TV PROGRAM ON THE 20TH REPORTED THAT ROMANIAN POLICE HAD VIOLATED THE EXTRATERRITORIALITY OF THE YUGOSLAV CONSULATE IN TIMISOARA BY ENTERING THE CONSULATE TO EXTRICATE PEOPLE WHO HAD SOUGHT REFUGE THERE. COMMENT: WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO CONFIRM THIS INFORMATION WITH THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN

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-- ON THE 20TH, SOME 50,000 DEMONSTRATORS
MARCHED ALONG THE STREET ON WHICH THE YUGOSLAV
CONSULATE IN TIMISOARA IS LOCATED, SHOUTING
SLOGANS IN SUPPORT OF YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN
FRIENDSHIP:

-- ACCORDING TO A GROUP OF SYRIAN STUDENTS WHO LEFT
TIMISOARA ON THE MORNING OF THE 21ST, DEMONSTRATIONS
WERE STILL CONTINUING IN THAT CITY. THEY
REPORTED THAT, DURING DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE 20TH,
GROUPS OF SOLDIERS, INCLUDING OFFICERS, JOINED
THE PROTESTERS. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THAT
DEVELOPMENT, THEY SAID, THE SHOOTING HAD STOPPED.

-- ACCORDING TO RUMORS IN THE YUGOSLAV TOWN
OF VRSAK NEAR THE ROMANIAN BORDER, A GENERAL

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
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	HA-09	L-03	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01
	STR-18	SIL-01	INRE-00	OPM-01	RP-10	USIE-00	SP-02
	SR-06	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	P-02	T-01	/097 W

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O 211707Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7816
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BELGRADE 13837

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - FOR AMBASSADOR NILES

GENEVA FOR RMA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, YO, RO

SUBJECT: CONTINUED YUGOSLAV CRITICISM OF

STRIKE WAS SET FOR THE 21ST IN TIMISOARA.

-- THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY TANJUG REPORTS FROM BUCHAREST THAT A MEETING ORGANIZED THERE IN SUPPORT OF CEAUSESCU WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION. IT APPEARS THAT CEAUSESCU WAS ADDRESSING THE MEETING, BUT HIS SPEECH WAS BROKEN UP BY CROWD REACTION AND TV TRANSMISSION OF THE MEETING WAS INTERRUPTED FOR SEVERAL MINUTES WITHOUT EXPLANATION. CEAUSESCU REPORTEDLY ANNOUNCED THAT THE POLITBUREAU HAD DECIDED TO IMPROVE SIGNIFICANTLY THE LIVING
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STANDARD OF THE POPULATION.

PROTEST RALLIES IN BELGRADE

5. THE BELGRADE DAILY "POLITIKA" ON DECEMBER 21 CARRIED A BRIEF REPORT OF A PEACEFUL, APPARENTLY SMALL-SCALE DEMONSTRATION ON THE NIGHT OF THE 20TH, ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY. ON THE 21ST, WITHIN MINUTES OF A MID-AFTERNOON RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT CALLING FOR A DEMONSTRATION IN PROTEST OVER EVENTS IN ROMANIA, A CROWD BEGAN FORMING AT THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY, LOCATED ONE BLOCK AWAY FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY. AS OF 3:30 P.M. LOCAL TIME, EMBOFF OBSERVED ABOUT 150 PROTESTERS, WITH MORE COMING. A LOOSELY FORMED POLICE LINE OF ABOUT 30 OFFICERS SEPARATED THE PROTESTERS FROM THE EMBASSY BUILDING, AND AN ADDITIONAL 10-15 POLICE WERE JUST ARRIVING. SEVERAL

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POLICE WERE DIRECTING TRAFFIC AROUND THE PROTESTERS, WHO WERE SPREADING OUT INTO THE STREET. BY LATE AFTERNOON, THE NUMBERS OF PROTESTERS HAD GROWN TO ABOUT 250.

6. THE PROTESTERS WERE QUIET, SOME HOLDING LIGHTED CANDLES. THERE WERE A FEW SIGNS WITH SLOGANS SUCH AS: DOWN WITH CEAUSESCU; DRACULA, KILL YOURSELF; HAVE MERCY ON THE CHILDREN; WE ARE STANDING BY THE THOUSANDS OF CROATS AND SERBS IN ROMANIA. A COUPLE OF PEOPLE WERE HOLDING SMALL TREE BRANCHES WITH PEARS ATTACHED, IN REFERENCE TO CEAUSESCU'S ALLUSION ABOUT "WHEN PEARS GROW ON POPULARS."

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THE DRIVERS OF SOME CARS PASSING BY IN RUSH-HOUR TRAFFIC HONKED THEIR HORNS IN APPARENT SUPPORT OF THE DEMONSTRATORS. A CROWD OF ON-LOOKERS GATHERED ACROSS THE STREET.

NEW STATEMENTS OF PROTEST

7. FOLLOWING THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S (CABINET) DECEMBER 20 STATEMENT DENOUNCING THE VIOLENCE IN ROMANIA, SEVERAL OTHER OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ISSUED SIMILAR STATEMENTS, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS OF THE 21ST:

-- THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF THE YUGOSLAV FEDERAL ASSEMBLY (PARLIAMENT) EXPRESSED "DEEP SHOCK AND CONCERN" BECAUSE OF THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES, AND APPEALED TO THE ROMANIAN ASSEMBLY FOR AN END TO THE REPRESSION AND FOR PROTECTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS.

-- THE PRESIDENCY OF THE YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (SAWPY, THE COUNTRY'S UMBRELLA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION) SAID THAT THE YUGOSLAV PUBLIC IS DISTURBED AND ANGRY OVER ROMANIA'S "BRUTAL USE OF FORCE" AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE. IT CONDEMNED THE CRUDE USE OF FORCE TO SOLVE

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SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS" AT A TIME WHEN
TRENDS OF DEEP AND UNSTOPPABLE DEMOCRATIC
PROCESSES ARE UNDERWAY IN THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST
WORLD, AND CALLED FOR RESPECT FOR HUMAN

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	SS-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-09	L-03
	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	RP-10	USIE-00
	SP-02	SR-06	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	P-02	T-01

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O 211707Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7817
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BELGRADE 13837

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - FOR AMBASSADOR NILES

GENEVA FOR RMA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, YO, RO
SUBJECT: CONTINUED YUGOSLAV CRITICISM OF
RIGHTS AND FULL DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT.

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-- THE PRESIDENCY OF THE YUGOSLAV LABOR UNION

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FEDERATION REPORTEDLY SENT A TELEGRAM TO ITS ROMANIAN COUNTERPART TO EXPRESS ITS DEEP CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA AND THE NEWS OF A GREAT NUMBER OF CASUALTIES. IT CALLED ON THE ROMANIAN LABOR FEDERATION TO RAISE ITS VOICE IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND IN FAVOR OF DEALING WITH THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS IN A HUMANE AND DEMOCRATIC WAY.
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-
YUGOSLAV PARTY BREAKS TIES

8. THE YUGOSLAV MEDIA REPORTS THAT THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (LCY) HAS BROKEN OFF COOPERATION WITH THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) BECAUSE OF THE BLOODSHED IN TIMISOARA AND ARAD. AS REPORTED IN THE BELGRADE DAILY "POLITIKA" OF DECEMBER 21, THE LCY PRESIDENCY SAID IN A STATEMENT THAT:

-- IT MOST STRONGLY CONDEMNS THE BRUTAL CLASH WITH THE PEOPLE AND THE RELIANCE ON REPRESSION.

-- THE CHANGES AND REFORMS UNDERWAY IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CANNOT BE STOPPED BY CLOSING BORDERS OR BY USING FORCE TO FRIGHTEN PEOPLE AND TO KEEP THEM IN SUBMISSION AND ISOLATION.

-- THE LCY AND THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN ROMANIA BECAUSE IT IS A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY IN WHICH YUGOSLAVS LIVE AS NATIONAL MINORITIES.

-- THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ROMANIAN CP IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TRAGIC DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS.

-- THEREFORE, THE LCY PRESIDENCY HAS
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DECIDED TO STOP CONCRETE COOPERATION WITH
THE ROMANIAN CP FOR NOW.

-- THIS INCLUDES WITHDRAWING THE INVITATION
FOR A ROMANIAN CP DELEGATION TO ATTEND THE
14TH-SPECIAL CONGRESS OF THE LCY (CURRENTLY
SCHEDULED FOR MID-JANUARY).

9. COMMENT: THE LCY HAD COME IN FOR
CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM BOTH WITHIN AND
OUTSIDE PARTY CIRCLES FOR SENDING AN
OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE RECENT ROMANIAN
CP CONGRESS, AND FOR ISSUING A RETURN
INVITATION TO THE ROMANIANS. THIS DECISION
TO BREAK OFF COOPERATION NOW MAY SERVE
TO GET THE LCY A LITTLE BIT OFF THE
HOOK ON THIS ISSUE. END COMMENT.

COMMENT

10. YUGOSLAVS OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE ARE
FOLLOWING THE FAST-MOVING EVENTS IN
NEIGHBORING ROMANIA VERY CLOSELY AND WITH
GREAT INTEREST. THE UNUSALLY QUICK AND
STRONGLY CONDEMNATORY OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV
REACTION TO THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LAST
FEW DAYS REFLECTS YUGOSLAVS' AVERSION TO THE
BRUTAL REPRESSIVE MEASURES USED AGAINST THE
ROMANIAN PEOPLE, AND THEIR CONCERN FOR THE
WELFARE OF YUGOSLAV MINORITIES (MOSTLY CROATS
AND SERBS) IN ROMANIA, MOST OF WHOM ARE
CONCENTRATED IN THE VICINITY OF TIMISOARA.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04018 220346Z
ACTION EUR-00

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	DODE-00	H-01	IO-19	NEA-06	NSCE-00	ARA-00	NSAE-00
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O 220345Z DEC 89
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6410
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
NATO COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 04018

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: UNSC, PGOV, PHUM, RO
SUBJECT: FRG REQUESTS DEBATE IN SECURITY COUNCIL
- CONCERNING SITUATION IN ROMANIA

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT); THIS IS AN ACTION
MESSAGE, SEE PARA 9.

2. SUMMARY: FRG PERM REP AMB. BRAUTIGAM HELD INFORMAL
MEETING TO DISCUSS STRATEGY TO HOLD DEBATE IN SECURITY
COUNCIL CONCERNING SITUATION IN ROMANIA ASAP. END
SUMMARY.

3. AMB. BRAUTIGAM FRG PERM REP CONVENED INFORMAL
MEETING AT 1800, DECEMBER 21 TO PLAN STRATEGY TO HAVE
SITUATION IN ROMANIA DEBATED IN SECURITY COUNCIL. REPS
FROM AUSTRIA, CANADA, FRANCE, FRG, HUNGARY, ITALY. U.K.,
U.S., YUGOSLAVIA AND SC PRESIDENT (COLOMBIA) ATTENDED.
AMB. BRAUTIGAM ACTING AS CHAIRMAN BEGAN MEETING BY
NOTING THAT AUSTRIA, FRG, HUNGARY, AND ITALY HAVE
ADDRESSED NOTES TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONCERNING THE
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SITUATION IN ROMANIA.

4. HE SAID FRG CONSIDERS THIS TO BE A CASE OF THE
HIGHEST URGENCY. HE DECLARED: "SOMETHING MUST BE DONE.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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11 MUST BE DONE NOW. THERE IS NO SENSE IN SIMPLY REVIEWING THE SITUATION. PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY AND EUROPE DEMANDS SOME UN ACTION." HE THEN ASKED FOR VIEWS OF THOSE PRESENT. AUSTRIA RESPONDED FIRST AND AGREED. THERE WAS IMMEDIATE CONSENSUS.

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GAME PLAN - OPTIONS

5. AFTER GENERAL DISCUSSION THE FOLLOWING GAME PLAN WAS FORMULATED. THE FOUR MEMBERS (AUSTRIA, FRG, HUNGARY, ITALY) WOULD MAKE REQUESTS TO SC PRESIDENT FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY A FORMAL MEETING. CANADIAN REP SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO TAKE LEAD AND INTRODUCE A RESOLUTION. U.K. REP ASKED IF FOUR MEMBERS CARED WHETHER A RESOLUTION CARRIED OR NOT BECAUSE CHINA MIGHT VETO OR THE NAM MIGHT NOT SUPPORT. FRG REP RESPONDED THAT WHETHER RESOLUTION FAILED WAS NOT IMPORTANT, CONSTRUCTIVE PRESSURE MUST BE ASSERTED AGAINST ROMANIA. THE OPTION OF HAVING THE SC PRESIDENT ISSUE A STATEMENT WAS ALSO DISCUSSED. IT WAS NOT REJECTED BUT THERE WAS AGREEMENT THERE MUST BE A DEBATE BEFORE A STATEMENT COULD BE ISSUED. IN SUM THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT TO HAVE AN SC DEBATE ASAP THAN WHAT CAME OUT OF IT.

PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND INTERVENTIONS

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6. U.K. REP SUGGESTED THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS MUST STRESS THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE SITUATION OTHERWISE CHINA OR THE NAM MIGHT BLOCK ACTION BECAUSE OF CONCERN OVER INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A STATE. INTERVENTIONS MUST STRESS WORLD OPINION REQUIRES SOME ACTION BY THE U.N.

NAM POSITION

7. YUGOSLAVIAN REP OPINED THERE WOULD BE NO COMMON POSITION BY THE NAM BECAUSE ROMANIA HAD FRIENDS IN THE NAM. BUT THAT IT WAS NOT IMPORTANT THAT THE NAM HAVE A COMMON POSITION. HE AGREED WITH THE COURSE OF ACTION OF HAVING A DEBATE ASAP, TOMORROW AFTERNOON AT THE LATEST.

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	PM-10	PA-01	NRRC-01	INRE-00	CA-02	ACDA-12	USIE-00
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FM USMISSION USNATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8175
INFO NATO COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 07103

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM; VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR USDEL CFE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: NATO, RO, PREL, PARM
SUBJECT: POLADS DISCUSSION OF ROMANIA - DECEMBER 22, 1989

REF: (A) USNATO 7057, (B) USUN 4018, (C) BUCHAREST
10832, (D) STATE 405938, (E) STATE 405711, (F) BUDAPEST
13866

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. AT THE REQUEST OF A NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE CONVENED FOR A DISCUSSION OF EVENTS IN ROMANIA. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE JUST PRIOR THE CIRCULATION OF REPORTS ON THE FALL OF CEAUCESCU. THE UK REP. PROVIDED A GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION IN BUCHAREST THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 21. ADMITTING THAT LIMITED TIES WITH THAT COUNTRY RESTRICTED THE ACTUAL STEPS WHICH COULD BE UNDERTAKEN, ALLIED REPS REVIEWED ACTIONS THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE TAKING IN
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RESPONSE TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS. THERE WAS A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE REACTION OF OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES TO THE EVENTS IN ROMANIA. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE NATO PRESS

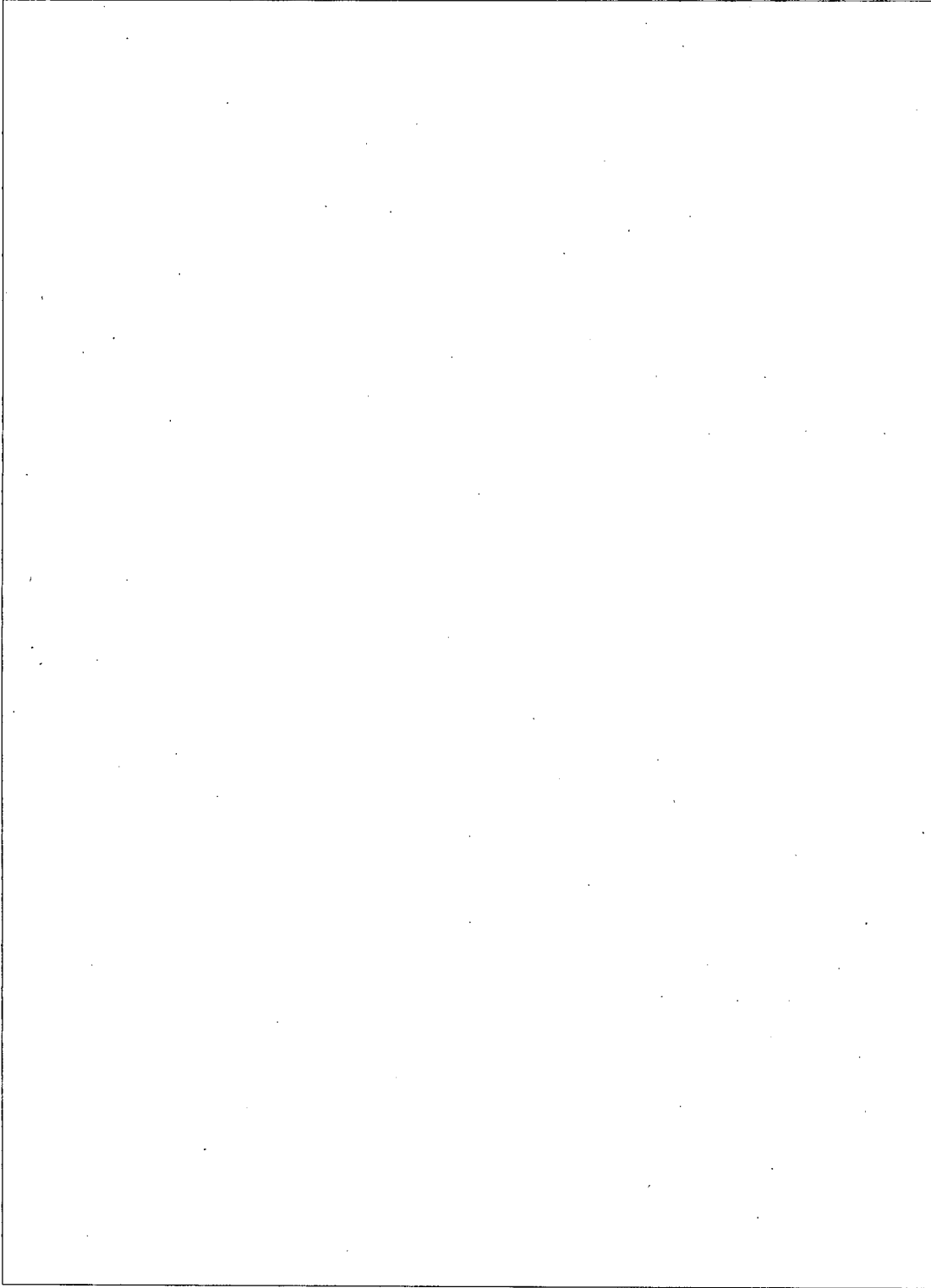
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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AGENCIES COULD ON AN "IF ASKED" BASIS STATE THAT NATO
WAS ACTIVELY KEEPING THE SITUATION UNDER REVIEW AND
REITERATE THE CONCERN IN THE STATEMENT ISSUED EARLIER IN
THE WEEK. (REF A). END SUMMARY.

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7. THIS LED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE REACTIONS OF OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES. MANY NOTED THAT IN GENERAL EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WERE EQUALLY CRITICAL AND MANY HAD WITHDRAWN THEIR AMBASSADORS FROM BUCHAREST. THE SOVIETS WERE AMONG THE MORE CAUTIOUS BUT IT WAS REPORTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD CALLED IN THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW AND PROTESTED TO HIM WHICH WAS AN EXCEPTIONAL STEP AMONG EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HUNGARY SEEMED TO BE TAKING THE LEAD AND DRAWING ON REF F, THE U.S. REP REPORTED ON FOREIGN MINISTER HORN'S SPEECH AND COMMENTS FROM THE HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY INCLUDING HUNGARY'S SUPPORT FOR FRG EFFORTS TO RAISE THE

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ACTION EUR-00

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00
HA-09 L-03 CTME-00 PM-10 PA-01 CCO-00 OMB-01
INRE-00 OCS-06 CA-02 ANAE-00 FBO-07 A-00 USSS-00
SP-02 M-01 SR-06 PRS-01 DS-01 IMMC-01 SCT-03
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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5974
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC 0185
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 10852

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USIA FOR EU/IGNATIUS AND VOA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, SCUL, CSCE, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP ONE
- CEAUSESCU'S "GOLDEN EPOCH" ENDS -- WHERE TO
- FROM HERE?
REF: BUCHAREST 10832 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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SUMMARY

2. THE PARTY LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO HAVE ABANDONED ITS
BUCHAREST HEADQUARTERS AROUND 1100 HOURS ON
DECEMBER 22 AND HEADED FOR PARTS UNKNOWN. DESPITE
A STATE OF EMERGENCY ISSUED AT 1130 AM LOCAL IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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HIS NAME, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CEAUSESCU HAD LEFT BY THEN, AND HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ARRESTED SIXTY MILES NORTH OF BUCHAREST. (THIS HAS NOT BEEN CONFIRMED, HOWEVER.) THE ATMOSPHERE IN BUCHAREST WAS JUBILANT BUT PEACEFUL DURING THE DAY. BY NOON ON DECEMBER 22, SECURITY FORCES HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE CENTER OF THE CITY OR STOOD DOWN. THOSE LEFT ARE MINGLING PEACEFULLY WITH THE POPULATION. THERE HAS THUS FAR BEEN NO BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER, BUT AS NIGHT FALLS AND THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL INCREASES, THE CROWDS COULD GET UNRULY.

3. THE LEADERSHIP OF WHAT ONLY HOURS AGO HAD BEEN LITTLE MORE THAN A DETERMINED MOB IS STRUGGLING TO ESTABLISH SOME SORT OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. USING THE NATIONAL RADIO AND TELEVISION, THEY ARE INTRODUCING A NEW GROUP OF LEADERS, THE "PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE," WHICH APPEARS TO BE HEADED BY ION ILIESCU. THE ORIENTATION OF THE NEW LEADERSHIP IS REFORMIST DEMOCRATIC, AND PRO-WEST. IT WILL, HOWEVER, BE SOME TIME BEFORE THE COUNTRY'S NEW LEADERS, WHOEVER THEY TURN OUT TO BE, GET THEIR ACT TOGETHER AND BEGIN TO ADDRESS THE COUNTRY'S MASSIVE PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

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THE GOVERNMENT COLLAPSES

4. THE DECISIVE MOMENT IN BUCHAREST CAME AROUND 1000 AM LOCAL WHEN THE ARMY ALLOWED CROWDS OF PEOPLE TO CLIMB OVER FOUR TANKS BLOCKING THE BOULEVARD OF THE REPUBLIC, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF A FEW HUNDRED ARMED SOLDIERS STANDING NEARBY. DEMONSTRATORS, WITH THE ACQUIESCENCE AND PERHAPS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OF THE SOLDIERS, DREW UP THE TANKS IN A COLUMN. ABOUT THIRTY MINUTES LATER THE ARMY UNITS AT THE PIATA UNIVERSITATII WERE ORDERED TO WITHDRAW TO THE SOUTH, LEAVING THE TANKS IN THE HANDS OF THE CROWD. THE PEOPLE SHOUTED AGAIN THAT THE ARMY WAS WITH THEM. THE TROOPS WITHDREW IN GOOD ORDER, WITH MOST OF THE SOLDIERS SMILING. THE WORD THEN SPREAD THROUGH THE STREETS THAT CEAUSESCU HAD RESIGNED, AND THE ENTIRE ATMOSPHERE TURNED INTO ONE OF JOY.

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5. THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR BUILDING STILL HAD TWO ROWS OF SECURITATE TROOPS IN COMBAT KIT CIRCLED AROUND IT, RIFLES AT THE READY. CROWDS PASSED THE BUILDING, STILL SHOUTING THAT THE ARMY WAS WITH THE PEOPLE, AND ABOUT 1045 AM THE SECURITATE TROOPS ORDERED ARMS, TO THE CHEERS OF THE CROWD.

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THE LAST BASTION
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6. THE LAST BASTION WAS THE RING AROUND THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS, WHERE NERVOUS TROOPS FACED A CROWD TASTING VICTORY. AS EMBOFFS WALKED IN BACK OF THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC, THE QUIET CONFIDENTIAL

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SIDE OF THE RING, THEY SAW FIVE MILITIA VANS, WITH GRILLED, PAINTED WINDOWS, DRIVE OFF TO THE EAST. THIS WAS LIKELY SOME OF THE PARTY BIGWIGS, AS ALMOST IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER, AT ABOUT 1115, THE ARMY AND MILITIA GOT THE WORD TO MOUNT THEIR VEHICLES AND LEAVE. THIS WAS DONE TO THE CHEERS OF THE CROWD, WHO WAVED AT THE ARMY AND EVEN LET THE SECURITATE BUSES LEAVE WITHOUT INTERRUPTION OR VIOLENCE.

7. IN LESS THAN TEN MINUTES IT WAS ALL OVER: THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE Poured INTO THE SQUARE HEADING FOR THE PARTY BUILDING. THE BUILDING ITSELF WAS STILL GUARDED, AND CEASESCU MAY STILL HAVE BEEN INSIDE. A LOUDSPEAKER TRUCK, STOLEN FROM THE STATE RADIO, APPEARED ALMOST INSTANTANEOUSLY AND THE STUDENTS INSIDE BEGAN READING A DECLARATION BY THE "FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION." (OTHERS UNDERSTOOD "NATIONAL SALVATION.")

8. THIRTY MINUTES LATER, THE PRESIDENTIAL HELICOPTER LANDED ON THE ROOF OF THE PARTY BUILDING. WE ARE NOT SURE WHO GOT INTO IT, BUT AFTER ITS DEPARTURE, THE LOUDSPEAKER TRUCK SLOWLY MADE ITS WAY TO THE FRONT OF THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS. THE LOCAL LEADERS OF THE "NATIONAL FRONT" WENT FROM THE TRUCK TO THE FIRST FLOOR BALCONY, AND BEGAN ANNOUNCING THE MEASURES TAKEN FOR A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. EMBOFF WAS TOLD THAT THE ENTIRE ARMY, WITH SOME SCATTERED AND MINOR EXCEPTIONS, HAD SIDED WITH THE

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PEOPLE. AT APPROXIMATELY THE SAME TIME, ANOTHER
MASSIVE CROWD HEADED FOR THE TELEVISION
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STATION, WHERE THE FORCES GUARDING IT WERE
OVERWHELMED. THE LEADERS THERE BEGAN TO BROADCAST
STATEMENTS, ISSUE PROCLAMATIONS AND STARTED TO
ORGANIZE A POLITICAL FUTURE FOR ROMANIA, A REAL
EXERCISE IN GRASSROOTS/MEDIA DEMOCRACY.

WHAT NEXT?

9. THERE IS YET NO, REPEAT NO, EFFECTIVE
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN ROMANIA, ALTHOUGH A PROVISIONAL
GOVERNMENT IS SLOWLY TAKING SHAPE. THE SPOKESMAN
FOR THE MASSIVE GROUP OF DEMONSTRATORS WHICH
"LIBERATED" THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS INDICATED THAT
THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT WAS COMPOSED
OF A GROUP OF FAMILIAR DISSIDENT FIGURES:
HEADED BY CORNELIA MANESCU AND INCLUDING
SILVIU BRUCAN, DAN PETRESCU, MIRIEA DINESCU,
DOINA CORNEA AND ANA BLANDIANA. BUCHAREST ITSELF
IS UNDER A PROVISIONAL MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE. THERE
IS AT PRESENT NO EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT, THOUGH
THE MILITARY SEEMS TO HAVE RETAINED ITS COHESION.
STEFAN GUSA IS STILL THE CHIEF OF STAFF, BUT
COLONEL-GENERAL NICOLAE MILITARU HAS BEEN NAMED AS
COMMANDER OF THE ARMY AND VICTOR STANCULESCU HAS
BEEN NAMED MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

10. THE ARMY HAS BEEN TOLD TO STAY IN ITS BARRACKS,
BUT TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM ANY ATTACKS. WE HAVE
REPORTS THAT HEAVY FIGHTING IS TAKING PLACE IN
SIBIU BETWEEN SECURITATE FORCES AND THE ARMY,
AND THAT THE ARMY THERE IS RUNNING SHORT ON AMMUNITION.
IN BUCHAREST ITSELF, THERE IS STILL CONCERN THAT
SECURITATE ELEMENTS MAY SURFACE, AND THE RADIO
HAS APPEALED FOR VOLUNTEERS TO DEFEND THE RADIO/
TELEVISION STATION.

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11. THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS CALLED FOR DEMOCRATIC
ELECTIONS IN MARCH, AND HAS DECLARED THAT THERE
WILL BE AT LEAST TWO PARTIES AND TWO TRADE

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UNIONS. FLORIAN DRAGOMIR ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FROM THE BALCONY

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OF THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS, BUT WE KNOW NOTHING ELSE ABOUT THIS. WE ARE NOT SURE WHAT THE OTHER PARTY IS, THOUGH WE HAVE ALSO HEARD OF THE UNITED WORKERS FRONT (FRONTUL UNIT MUNCITORESC), HEADED BY CORNEA, PETRESCU, AND DINESCU. WHEN EMBOFF ASKED IF THIS WAS A PARTY, ORGANIZERS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENTS SAID THAT IT WAS A MOVEMENT TO DATE, BUT MAY BE A PARTY. ANOTHER SPEAKER AT THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS CLAIMED TO REPRESENT THE FREE UNION (SINDICATUL LIBER). THE FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION SPEAKERS, MOST OF THEM STUDENTS, ANNOUNCED THE END OF PRESS CENSORSHIP AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR ALL. THE THRUST OF THEIR DREAMS IS TO CREATE A WESTERN-STYLE DEMOCRACY.

12. AT THE TIME OF DRAFTING, 1830 HOURS LOCAL, ION ILIESCU IS ADDRESSING THE NATION ON RADIO. HE SEEMS TO BE THE LEADER OF A "PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP COUNCIL," WHICH APPEARS TO BE THE EMERGING EXECUTIVE BODY OF THE "NATIONAL FRONT" (VARIOUSLY CALLED "FRONTUL DE APARARE/LIBERARE/SALVARE NATIONAL), ILIESCU SEEMS TO BE THE MAN IN CHARGE OF THE COMMITTEE, WHICH APPARENTLY INCLUDES SOME FAMILIAR FACES (FORMER PM ILIE VERDET, FOR EXAMPLE) BUT INCLUDES MANY FACES WHICH WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE. HIS LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC "PLATFORM" WILL BE ANALYZED
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IN SEPTEL.

WHITHER THE NEW ROMANIA?

13. THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE HAVE WON A BLOODY STRUGGLE TO REJOIN THE COMMUNITY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS. THE ATTITUDES OF THE CROWD, AS WELL AS THE STATEMENTS OF ITS NEW LEADERS, ARE RESOLUTELY IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS, PERSONAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, AND PRO-WEST IN ORIENTATION. ILIESCU, FOR HIS PART, HAS LONG BEEN BILLED AS ROMANIA'S "GORBACHEV," BUT GIVEN THE VIRULENTLY ANTI-COMMUNIST REVOLUTION WHICH TOOK PLACE WILL NOT LIKELY BE ABLE TO IMPOSE OR MAINTAIN EVEN THE ILLUSION OF A COMMUNIST-LED GOVERNMENT. (THERE IS ALREADY TALK OF DROPPING THE "SOCIALIST" FROM THE REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA.)

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14. THE CROWDS ALSO SHOWED A GOOD DEAL OF WARMS, ENTHUSIASTIC PRO-AMERICANISM. EMBOFFS WERE FREQUENTLY STOPPED AND THANKED BY INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS OF DEMONSTRATORS WHO USUALLY THANKED THE US FOR ITS SUPPORT OVER THE YEARS. A SMALL BUT BOISTEROUS CROWD MARCHED BY THE EMBASSY DURING THE AFTERNOON CHANTING "BUSH| BUSH|" AND SALUTED THE AMBASSADOR WHO WAVED FROM A WINDOW.

15. WHATEVER FORM THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES, IT FACES OVERWHELMING PROBLEMS. THE ECONOMY, AFTER DECADES OF SOCIALIST MISMANAGEMENT, IS IN SHAMBLES. (THE ONLY BRIGHT SPOT IS THAT IT IS THE ONE WARSAW PACT MEMBER ESSENTIALLY FREE OF FOREIGN DEBT). IT ALSO HAS THE FORMIDABLE TASK OF TRYING TO BUILD A DEMOCRATIC AND WORKABLE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN A COUNTRY USED TO AUTOCRATIC RULE AND BASICALLY CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 BUCAR 10852 00 OF 04 212231Z

DEVOID OF DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.

NOTE

16. AN EXCHANGE OF AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRE BROKE OUT IN CENTRAL BUCHAREST AT 1900 HOURS LOCAL. AN EMBASSY MILITIA NCO EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS A FIREFIGHT BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND SOME SECURITATE UNITS WHO HAD BEEN HOLED UP AND CHOSE TO FIGHT RATHER THAN GIVE IN. THERE ARE PRESUMABLY SECURITATE UNITS WHO RETAIN THEIR WEAPONS AND MAY CAUSE

TROUBLE FROM TIME TO TIME. NONE REPEAT NONE OF THIS FIRING HAS BEEN DIRECT AT THE EMBASSY. ALL AMERICANS FIRING HAS BEEN DIRECTED AT THE EMBASSY. ALL AMERICANS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO REMAIN AT HOME AFTER DARK.

17. THE LUFTHANSA EVACUATION FLIGHT WITH 23 EMBASSY PERSONNEL ON BOARD DEPARTED OTOPENI AIRPORT AT 1930 HOURS LOCAL FOR FRANKFURT. AIRPORT OPERATIONS ARE RETURNING TO NORMAL. THE AREA IS CONTROLLED BY ARMY UNITS WHO HAVE DISARMED THE AIRPORT MILITIA PEACEFULLY. GREEN

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SECRET

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S E C R E T MOSCOW 37123

NODIS DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, RO, UR
SUBJECT: LETTER TO SHEVARDNADZE ON SITUATION IN ROMANIA

REF: STATE 409712

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AMBASSADOR MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AT 1900 ON DECEMBER 22 IN ORDER TO HAND OVER THE SECRETARY'S LETTER ON ROMANIA (REFTEL). IN ADDITION AMBASSADOR USED POINTS PROVIDED TELEPHONICALLY BY DEPARTMENT THAT:

-- DESPITE THE CHANGE IN CIRCUMSTANCES SINCE THE LETTER WAS WRITTEN, THE SECRETARY WANTED THE LETTER DELIVERED BECAUSE THE SUBSTANCE WAS STILL VALID;

-- THE U.S. STILL WISHES TO WORK WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHERS TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE AND DIGNITY OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE;

-- WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE READY FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON SECRET

SECRET

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THE MATTER; AND

-- WE WOULD ALSO LIKE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ROMANIA.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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3. IN RESPONSE, SHEVARDNADZE REPLIED THAT EVENTS WERE INDEED OUTPACING THE ABILITY TO INTERPRET AND CONSULT WITH OTHERS. THE SOVIET UNION HAD INITIALLY TAKEN A CAUTIOUS POSITION ON DEVELOPMENTS IN ROMANIA. SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES HAD TALKED WITH THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP ABOUT THE MANY PROBLEMS THAT WERE DEVELOPING, BUT REFUSED AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPAL TO INTERFERE IN ROMANIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WHEN IT BECAME EVIDENT THAT VIOLENCE WAS BEING USED AGAINST THE PEOPLE, THE SOVIET UNION PUBLICLY CONDEMNED THIS IN THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AND ELSEWHERE. NOW THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE HAD SPOKEN, AND ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA WAS STILL VERY FLUID, IT APPEARED THAT THE FRONT FOR NATIONAL SALVATION HAD THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE. THIS RESULT WAS NATURAL (ZAKONOMERNO). SHEVARDNADZE RECALLED HIS REMARK IN BRUSSELS THAT LEADERS WHO ARE BEHIND THE TIMES AND REFUSE TO REFORM WILL INEVITABLY BE OVERTAKEN BY THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. WHAT HAPPENS NOW IN ROMANIA IS THE BUSINESS OF ITS PEOPLE, HE CONCLUDED.

4. WITH REGARD TO THE SUGGESTION THAT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL ENGAGE IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON ROMANIA, SHEVARDNADZE SAID THAT FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD ASKED THIS VERY QUESTION EARLIER IN THE WEEK, AND THE SOVIETS HAD SAID NO. "I TOLD HIM (GENSCHER) THAT WE HAD OUR DOUBTS ABOUT THIS PROCESS, THAT IT COULD BE CONSIDERED INTERFERENCE IN ROMANIA'S

SECRET

SECRET

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INTERNAL AFFAIRS." HOWEVER, SHEVARDNADZE ADDED, THE SOVIETS WOULD SUPPORT THE IDEA OF EXCHANGING INFORMATION ON THE DEVELOPING SITUATION, EITHER BILATERALLY AT THE U.N. OR IN CAPITALS, AS WELL AS IDEAS ON HOW TO HELP THE ROMANIANS ONCE THE SITUATION STABILIZED.

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FOR PAOS INFORM CONSULS GENEVA PASS NST AND CD DELS

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCES - DECEMBER 22, 1989

1. FOLLOWING ARE TODAY'S PRESS GUIDANCES OF EUROPEAN INTEREST. DEPUTY SPOKESMAN RICHARD BOUCHER WAS THE BRIEFER.

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2. ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS (VERBATIM EXCERPT)

MR. BOUCHER: GOOD AFTERNOON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. I HAVE ONE ANNOUNCEMENT AND ONE STATEMENT. THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS THAT WE WON'T BE BRIEFING HERE ON MONDAY BECAUSE IT'S

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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CHRISTMAS. WE WILL DEFINITELY NOT BE BRIEFING ON TUESDAY BECAUSE YOU ALL WANT TO HAVE A NICE, LONG WEEKEND AND WE DO, TOO. WE'LL SEE ABOUT OTHER BRIEFINGS NEXT WEEK. WE HAVEN'T FINALLY DECIDED. IT WILL DEPEND ON EVENTS, BUT THERE'S A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY THAT WE WON'T BE DOING ANY BRIEFINGS NEXT WEEK, AND YOU CAN CHECK WITH THE PRESS OFFICE BY TELEPHONE OR IN PERSON, IF YOU'RE BOLD, TO FIND OUT ON TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY MORNING WHAT THE SCHEDULE IS GOING TO BE. THE PRESS OFFICE, OF COURSE, WILL OPEN AND YOU CAN CHECK IN WITH THEM BY TELEPHONE, OR HOWEVER YOU WISH, NEXT WEEK AND THEY WILL BE GLAD TO ENTERTAIN YOUR QUESTIONS.

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Q: WELL, HOW ABOUT ANSWERING THEM?

A: IT'S A PHRASE THAT I'VE COME TO LIKE. I'D LIKE TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON ROMANIA.

FIRST, LET ME NOTE -- I'M SURE YOU'VE ALL SEEN THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT FROM THIS MORNING AND SO I'LL TRY TO CONCENTRATE A LITTLE BIT ON OTHER THINGS.

THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES THE NEWS THAT THE BRUTAL CEAUSESCU REGIME HAS FALLEN THIS MORNING AS A RESULT OF THE COURAGEOUS AND PERSISTENT ACTION BY THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE. THEY HAVE WON THIS VICTORY IN THE FACE OF GREAT UNCLASSIFIED

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ODDS AND DESPITE BLOODY REPRESSION.

WE UNDERSTAND THAT A NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT, APPARENTLY HEADED BY FORMER DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMAT CORNELIU MANESCU IS IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT FORMED A TASK FORCE LAST NIGHT AND WE ORDERED A PARTIAL EVACUATION OF OUR EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST AT A TIME WHEN THE SITUATION APPEARED TO BE WORSENING. WITH THE DRAMATIC TURN OF EVENTS THIS MORNING, WE'VE RESCINDED THE EVACUATION ORDER BUT HAVE ALLOWED MISSION DEPENDENTS WHO WISH TO DEPART THE COUNTRY TO DO SO. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ABOUT 20 OF OUR DEPENDENTS HAVE CHOSEN TO LEAVE TODAY.

THE DEPARTMENT IS IN THE PROCESS OF UPDATING THE TRAVEL ADVISORY ON ROMANIA, WHICH WAS ISSUED ONLY LATE LAST NIGHT, IN LIGHT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS. WE NONETHELESS CONTINUE TO ADVISE AMERICANS TO AVOID TRAVEL TO ROMANIA UNTIL THE SITUATION CLARIFIES. AMERICANS IN ROMANIA

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WE ARE CONTINUING TO MONITOR THE UNSETTLED SITUATION ON THE GROUND. IN BUCHAREST, IT APPEARS THAT SOLDIERS OF THE ROMANIAN ARMY ARE SUPPORTING JOYOUS DEMONSTRATORS IN THE STREETS AND THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS NOW BEING FORMED. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPEAK DEFINITELY ABOUT NEXT STEPS IN ROMANIA, EXCEPT THAT WE HOPE THAT EVENTS WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE TOWARDS FREEDOM AND THE MUCH-NEEDED REFORM, WHICH IS THE CLEAR DIRECTION THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE HAVE CHOSEN FOR THEMSELVES.

THE UNITED STATES LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING WITH THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR ITS PEOPLE.

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HAVING SAID THAT, I WOULD LIKE TO ENTERTAIN YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q: DO YOU KNOW WHERE CEAUSESCU IS?

A: I'M AFRAID WE DON'T. REPORTS ARE PARTIAL AND FRAGMENTARY. CEAUSESCU AND HIS WIFE FLED THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AT ABOUT 11:30 A.M. BUCHAREST-TIME BUT HIS CURRENT WHEREABOUTS ARE NOT KNOWN.

Q: CAN YOU CONFIRM THIS REPORT, I GUESS THAT JUST CAME OUT OVER REUTERS WIRE, THAT POLISH TELEVISION SAYS THAT TROOPS HAVE OPENED FIRE ON CROWDS IN BUCHAREST?

A: YOU MEAN JUST IN RECENT MINUTES?

Q: WITHIN THE LAST 20 MINUTES?

A: NO, I'M AFRAID I CAN'T.

Q: CAN YOU SAY ANYTHING ABOUT CLASHES REPORTED ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND THE MILITARY?

A: NO, I CAN'T. WE'VE SEEN THE REPORTS AS WELL. I JUST DON'T HAVE CONFIRMATION.

Q: IS THE EMBASSY AT THIS POINT ABLE TO SEND ITS PEOPLE OUT TO OTHER LOCATIONS IN THE COUNTRY TO CHECK OUT THESE REPORTS?

A: WE HAVEN'T BEEN FOR THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS; AND I THINK

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GIVEN THE SITUATION IN BUCHAREST, IT WOULD BE VERY
DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO DO SO. I'M NOT SURE IF THERE ARE
FORMAL RESTRICTIONS ON IT, BUT I HAVEN'T HEARD OF ANY SUCH
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TRAVEL BEING STARTED.

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY ESTIMATE OF THE CASUALTIES THAT HAVE
BEEN SUSTAINED IN THE LAST 24 HOURS?

A: NO, I DON'T. WE KNOW THERE WAS ADDITIONAL SHOOTING
LAST NIGHT. THERE WERE REPORTS OF VEHICLES BEING RUN INTO
CROWDS OF DEMONSTRATORS AND THINGS LIKE THAT, BUT WE DON'T
HAVE THE ESTIMATES.

Q: HOW ABOUT THE CASUALTIES FROM THE WEEKEND AT
TIMISOARA? DO YOU KNOW ANYTHING FURTHER ABOUT THE EXTENT
OF THOSE CASUALTIES?

A: AGAIN, IT HAS BEEN A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION TO GET
GOOD INFORMATION. WE HAVE PRESS REPORTS, OTHER REPORTS, A
FEW THINGS I SPOKE OF YESTERDAY BUT NO MORE DEFINITIVE
INFORMATION.

Q: YESTERDAY, YOU INDICATED YOU WERE PREPARED TO IMPOSE
SOME SORT OF SANCTIONS AGAINST ROMANIA. ARE YOU PREPARED
TO SAY WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED HAD CEAUSESCU NOT FALLEN?

A: NO.

Q: RICHARD, DID THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR SHOW UP THIS
MORNING?

A: NO, HE DIDN'T. THE MEETING WAS CANCELLED.

Q: BY THE UNITED STATES OR BY THE ROMANIAN?

A: I'M PRETTY SURE IT WAS ON OUR SIDE.

Q: DID YOU MEET WITH THE FOLKS WHO WERE OVER AT THE
ROMANIAN EMBASSY THIS MORNING CLAIMING TO WANT TO TAKE IT
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OVER?

A: THE "FOLKS?"

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Q: YEAH. THERE WAS A GROUP OF PROTESTERS, INCLUDING A PRIEST -- A DISSIDENT PRIEST FROM ROMANIAN -- WHO SAID THEY WANTED TO TAKE IT OVER AND THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO COME OVER HERE FOR MEETINGS?

A: I DON'T THINK SO, NO. I DON'T THINK WE DID. I'LL CHECK ON IT.

Q: RICHARD, I NOTICE THAT THE EC HAS SENT OVER -- IS SAYING THAT IT'S WILLING TO SEND OVER PLANE-LOADS OF FOOD AND MEDICINE AND THE RED CROSS OUT OF GENEVA IS ALREADY SENDING THINGS. IS THE UNITED STATES PREPARED TO HELP IN ANY SORT OF IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE LIKE THAT?

A: I DON'T THINK WE'VE ACTUALLY ADDRESSED THAT QUESTION YET. I'LL JUST HAVE TO PUT IT IN A GENERAL CONTEXT OF WHAT WE'VE DONE IN OTHER COUNTRIES AND WHAT WE SAID -- OR WHAT THE SECRETARY SAYS OFTEN, "THAT AS PEOPLE CHOOSE THE PASSIVE REFORM, WE'LL HELP WHERE WE CAN.?"

Q: WHAT HAVE THE PEOPLE AT THE EMBASSY TOLD YOU THE ATMOSPHERE IS LIKE AROUND THE EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST -- AREAS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GET OUT TO? THERE WAS A REPORT THAT THE AMBASSADOR WENT OUT AND RAISED THE U.S. FLAG OUT THERE TODAY TO CHEERS OF THE CROWD. CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT?

A: THAT'S SOMETHING I'LL HAVE TO LOOK INTO. I APOLOGIZE FOR NOT HAVING GOTTEN THAT SORT OF ATMOSPHERICS, BUT I UNCLASSIFIED

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DIDN'T ASK.

Q: YOU CHARACTERIZE THE MAN WHO IS NOW APPARENTLY IN CHARGE AS A DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMAT. IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF HIS RECORD THAT HE ADVOCATES THE KIND OF REFORMS THAT YOU'RE HOPEFUL THAT ROMANIA WILL IMPLEMENT?

A: YES. I HAVE SOME DETAILED INFORMATION ON HIS RECORD WHICH I CAN SHARE WITH YOU. LET ME JUST SORT OF GIVE YOU THE HIGHLIGHTS. THAT HE WAS FOREIGN MINISTER FROM 1966 TO 1972. HIS LAST OFFICIAL POSITION WAS AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE AND PERMANENT ROMANIAN DELEGATE TO UNESCO. HE LOST HIS SEAT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN 1984. HE WAS ONE OF SIX FORMER RANKING PARTY MEMBERS TO SIGN A LETTER TO CEAUSESCU IN EARLY 1989, WHICH DEMANDED POLITICAL REFORM.

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1 I WOULD LIKE TO TRACK RECORD AND THE LETTER THAT HE WROTE
EARLIER THIS YEAR SHOW THAT WHAT HE'S LOOKING FOR.

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Q: WHAT'S THE STATUS OF THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR HERE IF THE NEW GOVERNMENT DISAVOWS HIM? WOULD HE THEN HAVE TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY?

A: AT THIS POINT THAT'S HYPOTHETICAL. A QUICK CHECK WITH THE LAWYERS THIS MORNING TOLD ME THAT THE PRESENT AMBASSADOR SORT OF REMAINS IN PLACE UNTIL WE RECEIVE NOTIFICATION FROM THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT THAT HE'S BEEN CHANGED AND A NEW PERSON HAS BEEN APPOINTED. I GUESS AT THAT POINT HE WOULD BE EXPECTED TO LEAVE, IF THAT TOOK PLACE.

Q: HAS ENOUGH OF A NEW GOVERNMENT BEEN FORMED TO SEEK FORMAL RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES?

A: THIS GETS INTO A VERY COMPLICATED LEGAL QUESTION WHICH I'M GOING TO EXPLAIN VERY BRIEFLY AND IF I'M WRONG, I'M UNCLASSIFIED

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WRONG. THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES STATES. WE WORK WITH GOVERNMENTS. WE HAVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH GOVERNMENTS, AND THERE IS NO REAL QUESTION OF RECOGNITION THAT ARISES. IT'S A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, AND WE LOOK TO ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP AND WORK AS WELL WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT AS WE CAN.

Q: WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS LAST WARSAW BLOC STATE THROWING OVER A HARDLINE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP? IS IT PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT NOW THAT ALL OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE EAST BLOC ARE APPARENTLY MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS?

A: IT'S PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT IN ROMANIA IN THAT DESPITE THE VERY STRONG AND VERY BLOODY REPRESSION BY THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE DESIRE OF PEOPLE FOR REFORM, THE DESIRE OF PEOPLE FOR MORE FREEDOM, WAS SO STRONG THAT IT WAS ABLE TO OVERCOME THAT. IT'S SIGNIFICANCE, IN MORE GENERAL TERMS, LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE ASPIRATIONS FOR REFORM, FOR MORE FREEDOM, FOR MORE OPEN ECONOMIES, ARE EVIDENT THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE.

Q: DO YOU THINK THIS IS LIKELY TO DISCOURAGE OTHER COMMUNIST LEADERS WHO STILL HOLD SOME MEASURE OF POWER IN SOME OF THESE OTHER COUNTRIES, IT WOULD DISCOURAGE THEM FROM THINKING AGAIN ABOUT MORE REPRESSIVE MEASURES?

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A: I'LL TRY NOT TO MAKE PREDICTIONS ABOUT WHAT OTHERS WILL DO, BUT WE CERTAINLY HOPE THAT EVERYONE LISTENS TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE.

Q: DO YOU HOPE YOU SEE A NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN ROMANIA NOW?
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A: I CAN'T REALLY ANSWER THAT. I THINK THEY NEED TO FORM AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. WE'RE HOPING TO SEE, AS WE'VE SAID ELSEWHERE, A GOVERNMENT WHICH REFLECTS THE ASPIRATIONS AND DESIRES OF THE PEOPLE.

Q: WHAT ROLE DO YOU NOW SEE FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WITH THE CHANGED SITUATION IN ROMANIA?

A: I HAVE TO, I THINK, REFER YOU BACK TO THE COMMENTS THAT THE SECRETARY HAS OFTEN MADE AND THE PRESIDENT'S MADE, THAT WE SEEK AND WILL TRY TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT REFORM AND PEOPLE WHO HAVE DECIDED THEMSELVES ON STEPS TO REFORM THEIR ECONOMIES AND ENHANCE DEMOCRACY. THAT'S ABOUT AS FAR AS I CAN GO. IN TERMS, AS I SAID BEFORE, WE HAVEN'T REALLY LOOKED AT SPECIFIC STEPS OR THINGS LIKE THAT, BUT THAT'S THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK THAT WE'LL BE APPROACHING THE SITUATION. BUT WE'RE NOT AT THE POINT YET OF HAVING REQUESTS OR DECIDING THINGS.

LET ME ADD TO THAT, WE DON'T REALLY KNOW AT THIS POINT HOW FAR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO GO AND WHAT THEY'RE GOING TO DECIDE IN THOSE TERMS.

CONNIE?

Q: I KNOW THERE'S A LOT MORE ON ROMANIA, BUT COULD WE JUMP TO PANAMA VERY BRIEFLY, JUST ON THE CASUALTIES, AND THEN GO BACK? IS THAT OKAY?

A: WELL, WE CAN MOVE TO PANAMA FOR A WHILE, IF THAT EXHAUSTS ROMANIA.

Q: IT DOESN'T.

A: LET'S DO ROMANIA A LITTLE WHILE.
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Q. CAN YOU TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT? WHO MAKES THAT UP? HAVE YOU HEARD OF THEM BEFORE?

A: WELL, JUST WHAT I SAID IN THE STATEMENT. THEY'RE HEADED BY CORNELIU MANESCU. I DON'T HAVE ANY OTHER DETAILS ON THAT. I'LL SEE IF WE CAN GET SOME DURING THE COURSE OF THE DAY.

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Q: A QUESTION ON ROMANIA. DO YOU HAVE ANY INDICATIONS, JUST INCIDENTALLY, AS TO WHERE CEAUSESCU WAS LEAVING FOR?

A: WHERE HE WAS . . . ?

Q: WHERE HE WAS HEADING FOR?

A: NO. AS I SAID, HIS WHEREABOUTS ARE NOT KNOWN AT THIS POINT.

Q: ONE OTHER THING. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THE DEFENSE MINISTER COMMITTED SUICIDE, WAS ASSASSINATED -- WAS THERE ANY EMBASSY REPORT ON THAT?

A: NO.

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON WHAT SPECIFICALLY TRIGGERED CEAUSESCU'S FLIGHT? DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA IF THERE WAS A PARTICULAR EVENT WHICH SENT HIM RUNNING?

Q: THE THREAT OF SANCTIONS.

A: MY STATEMENT YESTERDAY. (LAUGHTER)

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A: I DON'T KNOW IF WE CAN POINT TO THAT KIND OF EVENT. CLEARLY, THE EVENTS OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS, THE WAY THE FRUSTRATION OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE CAME OUT, THE FACT THAT THEY WERE PRESSING SO HARD AND SO COURAGEOUSLY FOR REFORM WAS A FACTOR THAT LED TO CEAUSESCU'S DEPARTURE.

Q: THERE ARE REPORTS THAT HE STILL COMMANDS THE LOYALTY OF SECTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES. DO YOU HAVE AN EVALUATION ON WHETHER THIS REVOLUTION IS PERMANENT, WHETHER HE'S GONE FOR GOOD?

A: THAT REALLY GETS BACK TO THE QUESTION EARLIER THAT I COULDN'T ANSWER ON CLASHES BETWEEN MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES. I'LL SEE IF WE CAN GET SOMETHING ON THAT.

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Q: I'M SORRY. IT'S A BROADER QUESTION THAN THAT, WHICH IS -- THE EMBASSY REPORTING IF THERE IS A SENSE THAT THESE POCKETS OF RESISTANCE ARE SIMPLY POCKETS OF RESISTANCE, OR DOES THE EMBASSY HAVE A SENSE THAT THERE REALLY ARE A WHOLE BUNCH OF LOYAL TROOPS THAT CEAUSESCU CAN RALLY? BECAUSE YOU START OUT WITH THIS STATEMENT, TAKING IT AS FOR GRANTED THAT CEAUSESCU HAS FALLEN.

A: I STAND BY THE STATEMENT. I THINK THAT'S OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AT THIS POINT. AT VARIOUS TIMES, THINGS WERE REPORTED TO BE QUIETING DOWN. BUT WHETHER THEY STAYED THAT WAY IN THE LAST HALF HOUR, OR HOUR, I DON'T REALLY KNOW. I THINK THERE WERE SIGNS IN OTHER PLACES LIKE TIMISOARA THAT THE TROOPS HAD GONE OVER TO THE SIDE OF THE PEOPLE. AS I NOTED IN BUCHAREST ITSELF, TROOPS HAD JOINED THE DEMONSTRATORS; MILITARY FORCES WERE REPORTED MOVING OUT OF TOWN. SO THOSE ARE THE KIND OF REPORTS WE'RE GETTING. I'LL CHECK AND SEE LATER IF WE HAVE ANYTHING MORE ON THE IDEA THAT THERE MAY BE SOME CLASHES OR SOME LOYAL TROOPS THAT ARE RALLYING.

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Q: SO YOU'RE TRYING TO SUGGEST THAT THERE IS -- YOU'RE NOT PUSHING IN TERMS OF CIVIL WAR? YOU DON'T SEE THAT THIS IS SPLITTING THE COUNTRY WITH ARMED FORCES ON BOTH SIDES?

A: WHEN I LAST CHECKED, I WAS NOT GIVEN ANY INFORMATION OR THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OR INDICATIONS OF THAT. BUT LET ME CHECK ON IT AGAIN SINCE THERE HAD BEEN THESE REPORTS WHICH WERE OF VARIOUS CLASHES.

Q: THE SECURITY FORCES ARE SEPARATE AND DISTINCT FROM THE MILITARY FORCES. YOU HAVE A DIFFERENT CHAIN OF COMMAND, AND SO FORTH; DO YOU KNOW THAT?

A: THAT'S THE ASSUMPTION MADE IN SOME OF MY GUIDANCE, BUT I DON'T KNOW FOR SURE. YOU'D HAVE TO CHECK THAT OUT. (END VERBATIM EXCERPT)

3. ROMANIA UPDATE (GUIDANCE DONE ABOUT 7:00 PM EST)

-- A REFORMIST GROUP CALLING ITSELF THE ROMANIAN FRONT FOR NATIONAL SALVATION HAS ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A

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-- THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE HAS PROMISED THE ABOLITION OF THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM AND INSTITUTION OF DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM. IT HAS ALSO CALLED FOR SEPARATE JUDICIAL, LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES; RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS; AND MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC REFORMS. IT PLEDGED AN END TO RURAL SYSTEMIZATION AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS
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OF MINORITIES.

-- THE COMMITTEE IS MADE UP OF DISSIDENTS, FORMER GOVERNMENT MEMBERS AND HIGH-RANKING MILITARY OFFICERS.

-- THE SITUATION IN BUCHAREST REMAINS UNSETTLED. THE EMBASSY CONTINUES TO REPORT SPORADIC GUNFIRE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CITY, APPARENTLY FROM FIREFIGHTS BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES STILL LOYAL TO CEAUSESCU AND ARMY TROOPS SUPPORTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT. CROWDS ARE STILL GATHERED IN SOME PARTS OF THE CITY. THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AND OTHER BUILDINGS ARE ON FIRE.

-- EARLIER IN THE DAY, ROMANIAN SOLDIERS ENGAGED AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF SECURITY PERSONNEL TRYING TO ESCAPE THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. THERE WAS A HEAVY EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE AND TANKS WERE USED. CROWDS WHO REMAINED IN THE AREA CHEERED THE ARMY ON. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION AS TO NUMBER OF CASUALTIES.

-- WE ALSO HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF CEAUSESCU'S WHEREABOUTS. ONE OF CEAUSESCU'S SONS, NICU, THE PARTY CHIEF IN SIBIU COUNTY IN TRANSYLVANIA, HAS BEEN TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY REFORMISTS.

-- ALL AMERICAN EMBASSY PERSONNEL ARE ACCOUNTED FOR AND SAFE. TWENTY-TWO AMERICANS -- 17 DEPENDENTS, 3 EMBASSY EMPLOYEES AND 2 PRIVATE CITIZENS -- CHOSE TO LEAVE ON A SCHEDULED LUFTHANSA FLIGHT TO FRANKFURT.

-- MOST AMERICAN EMBASSY EMPLOYEES MANAGED TO GET TIME OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY TODAY. THEY REPORTED CROWDS AS EUPHORIC AND LOUD, BUT ORDERLY.

-- WE ARE GEARING UP TO HELP ROMANIA WITH MEDICAL SUPPLIES, FOOD AND OTHER DISASTER RELIEF AS SOON AS THE
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SITUATION STABILIZES SUFFICIENTLY FOR US AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO DETERMINE PRECISELY WHAT IS NEEDED. PRIVATE AMERICANS WHO WANT TO OFFER ASSISTANCE CAN CALL (703) 276-1914.

4. STATUS OF EVENTS AT UN (NOT USED)

Q: WHAT IS GOING ON AT THE UNITED NATIONS REGARDING PANAMA AND ROMANIA?

A: --- THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS EXPECTED TO MEET INFORMALLY TODAY AT 3 P.M. TO DISCUSS ROMANIA AND PANAMA. A FORMAL SESSION ON EITHER SUBJECT COULD FOLLOW.

-- THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL CONSIDER THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT ON PANAMANIAN CREDENTIALS. THE U.S. BELIEVES STRONGLY THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LEGITIMATE AND FREELY CHOSEN GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA -- THE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT ENDARA -- SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AND SEATED.

-- THERE IS CURRENTLY NO RESOLUTION ON PANAMA UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Q: WHAT ABOUT A NON-ALLIGNED MOVEMENT CALL FOR RESOLUTIONS - ALL UN FORA CONDEMNING U.S. ACTIONS IN PANAMA?

A: -- WE ARE FIRMLY OPPOSED TO THE POLITICIZATION OF THE SPECIALIZED TECHNICAL AGENCIES IN THE UN SYSTEM.

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5. DUBININ-ZOELLICK MEETING

Q: WAS DUBININ IN THE BUILDING TODAY?

A: -- AMBASSADOR DUBININ CALLED ON COUNSELOR ROBERT ZOELLICK TODAY TO REVIEW THE U.S. SOVIET ECONOMIC AGENDA, IN PARTICULAR THE PROPOSALS THE PRESIDENT MADE AT MALTA.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04032 230205Z
ACTION IO-19

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 04032

E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: UNSC, PGOV, PHUM, RO
SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL DEFERS CONVENING FORMAL MEETING
- ON SITUATION IN ROMANIA

REF: A) USUN 3999, B) USUN 4018

1. (C) AMB. BRAUTIGAM FRG PREMREP MET WITH SC PRESIDENT AMB. PENALOSA (COLOMBIA) AT 11:45, DECEMBER 22, AND REQUESTED THAT BECAUSE OF THE RECENTLY CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES IN ROMANIA THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF A FORMAL MEETING ON THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA. (FRG'S INITIAL REQUEST FOR A MEETING WAS REPORTED IN REFTELS.)

2. (U) THE SECURITY COUNCIL HELD INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AT 1537, DECEMBER 22 AND AGREED TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA.

3. (LOU) THE SC PRESIDENT BEGAN THE INFORMAL
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CONSULTATIONS BY NOTING THAT ROMANIA HAD OBJECTED TO SC CONSIDERATION AND THAT THE FRG HAD REQUESTED A DELAY IN CONVENING A FORMAL MEETING BECAUSE OF THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES.

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4. (C) AMB. PICKERING PRESENTED TALKING POINTS COVERING SITUATION IN ROMANIA BASED ON PRESS RELEASE AND DRAFT RESOLUTION DATAFAXED BY IO. HE STRESSED THAT BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUED FIGHTING, THE SC SHOULD CONTINUOUSLY MONITOR THE SITUATION RATHER THAN SET A SPECIFIC DATE FOR RECONSIDERATION. HE WAS SUPPORTED BY CANADA AND U.K.

5. (LOU) AFTER AMB. PICKERING SPOKE, CHINA RAISED POINT THAT COUNCIL WAS NOT DISCUSSING ROMANIA AND QUESTIONED WHETHER SECURITY COUNCIL HAD AUTHORITY TO REVIEW THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ROMANIA. USSR SUPPORTED CHINA BY SUGGESTING THAT BECAUSE THERE WAS NO THREAT TO ANY STATE BORDERING ROMANIA THE SECURITY COUNCIL DID NOT HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO REVIEW THE SITUATION.

6. (LOU) THE SC PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD ISSUE A PRESS RELEASE SIMPLY STATING THE SC HAD COMPLIED WITH FRG'S REQUEST TO DELAY ANY FORMAL MEETING.
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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 13914 240959Z
ACTION EUR-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 13914

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR.
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RO, HU, US, UR
SUBJECT: TFR001:ROMANIAN CRISIS -- HUNGARIAN POSITION

REF: STATE 408108 (NOTAL)

1. (CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. SUMMARY. AS OF SUNDAY MORNING DECEMBER 24, THE

HUNGARIANS DO NOT INTEND TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE
TO THE ROMANIAN ARMY. THE ROMANIAN DEFATT, COL.
TODERICIU, ADVISES US THAT CEAUSESCU, ELENA, AND
RANKING RELATIVES HAVE BEEN APPREHENDED. END SUMMARY.
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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 13914 240959Z

3. HUNGARIANS ARE FOLLOWING THE NEWS REPORTS FROM
ROMANIA CLOSELY AND WITH GROWING FRUSTRATION AS THE
FIGHTING DRAGS ON. CITING REPORTS OF FOREIGN
MERCENARIES IN ROMANIA SUPPORTING THE SECURITATE,

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DECEMBER 23 TO PRESS FOR A UNSC RESOLUTION AND U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCES. APPEARING ON TELEVISION SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 23, FOREIGN MINISTER HORN STRESSED THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION AND COUNSELLED LEVEL-HEADEDNESS.

-- MFA SPOKESMAN ANDRAS GULYAS REVIEWED THE HUNGARIAN POSITION WITH US IN A SUNDAY MORNING TELCON:

-- THE GOH HAS SET UP AN INTER-MINISTERIAL WORKING GROUP INCLUDING SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (RED CROSS) AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES TO COORDINATE RELIEF AND ASSISTANCE EFFORTS.

-- THE GOH HAS URGED THAT INDIVIDUALS REFRAIN FROM GOING TO ROMANIA FOR RELIEF PURPOSES, WHICH SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY IN TRUCK CONVOYS.

-- THE HUNGARIANS REMAIN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE SOVIETS ABOUT ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS, AND HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CHAIRMAN NYERS HAS APPEALED TO GORBACHEV FOR SOVIET AID AND ASSISTANCE TO ROMANIA.

-- THERE HAS BEEN NO REQUEST FROM THE NEW ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AND GULYAS BELIEVES THE POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS DECLINING DUE TO SUNDAY MORNING REPORTS THAT THE SITUATION IN BUCHAREST HAS SOMEWHAT IMPROVED.
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5. IN HIS SATURDAY EVENING TELEVISION APPEARANCE, HORN DENIED THAT THE HUNGARIANS CURRENTLY CONTEMPLATE SENDING WEAPONS OR AMMUNITION TO ROMANIA. (OTHER PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE HUNGARIAN ARMY HAS RELEASED FOOD RATIONS FOR RELIEF PURPOSES. DEFENSE MINISTER KARPATI, WHO HAS HAD SEVERAL PHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH SENIOR ROMANIAN OFFICERS IN RECENT DAYS, HAS PUBLICLY DISCOUNTED REPORTS THAT THE ROMANIAN ARMY IS RUNNING LOW ON AMMUNITION.) A DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIAL TOLD US IN A SUNDAY MORNING TELCON THAT THE HUNGARIANS ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH ROMANIAN ARMY COMMANDERS IN BUCHAREST, AND THAT THE ROMANIAN ARMY HAS NOT REQUESTED WEAPONS OR AMMUNITION.

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6. At 1900 DECEMBER 23, DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIALS TOLD US THEY DID NOT BELIEVE CEAUSESCU HAD BEEN APPREHENDED, AS HAD BEEN REPORTED ON HUNGARIAN TELEVISION. THEY ALSO SAID THE TV BROADCASTS FROM BUCHAREST WERE NOT COMING FROM THE CENTRAL TV STATION. ON SUNDAY MORNING, HOWEVER, ROMANIAN DEFATT COL. TODERICIU ADVISED DEFATT THAT CEAUSESCU, ELENA, AND RANKING RELATIVES HAVE BEEN CAPTURED, "TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THE TERRORISTS."

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7. A MASS CHRISTMAS EVE CANDLELIGHT GATHERING IS PLANNED FOR MIDNIGHT DECEMBER 24/25 IN BUDAPEST'S HEROES' SQUARE. DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE SUBSIDED AT THE LOCAL ROMANIAN EMBASSY, WHICH IS DISPLAYING A ROMANIAN FLAG WITH THE EMBLEM IN THE CENTER CUT OUT.

8. BUCHAREST MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

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PAGE 01 STATE 408121
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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
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UNCLAS STATE 408121

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL

SUBJECT: TFR001: DEPARTMENT PRESS STATEMENT ON ROMANIA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF A DEPARTMENT STATEMENT ISSUED
DECEMBER 23.

2. BEGIN TEXT. YESTERDAY IN ROMANIA A NEW PROVISIONAL
GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED IN RESPONSE TO POPULAR DEMANDS FOR
DEMOCRATIC CHANGE AND FOR AN END TO THE DICTATORIAL RULE
OF DEPOSED PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU. THIS NEW
GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED A "TRANSITION FROM DICTATORSHIP
TO DEMOCRACY" AND ISSUED AN ACTION PROGRAM OF
DEMOCRATIC REFORMS BY MARCH 1990. THAT GOVERNMENT IS
NOW BESIEGED BY OUTLAW MEMBERS OF THE ROMANIAN
SECURITATE, WHO ARE PROLONGING THE BLOODSHED THAT HAS
ALREADY CAUSED THOUSANDS OF DEATHS.

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3. THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE NEWLY CONSTITUTED
ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC
REFORMS. WE CONSIDER THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT TO BE

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ROMANIANS LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND PUT AN END TO THE
TRAGIC BLOODSHED IN ROMANIA.

4. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY OFFERED HUMANITARIAN
AID AND IS SEEKING WAYS OF SUPPLYING FURTHER EMERGENCY
MEDICAL ASSISTANCE. WE ARE ALSO CONSULTING WITH OUR
ALLIES AND OTHERS INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, ON THE
EVOLVING SITUATION. THE UNITED STATES CALLS ON THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO OFFER ITS MORAL AND POLITICAL
SUPPORT TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY IN ROMANIA. END TEXT. KIMMITT

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AMEMBASSY EMBERLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 37139

EXDIS DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RO, US, UR
SUBJECT: SITUATION IN ROMANIA -- SOVIET INTENTIONS

REFS: A. STATE 408108, B. USINFO DTG 232333Z WF-U22

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. DURING A DECEMBER 24 AFTERNOON MEETING AT THE MFA, SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABOIMOV PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR WITH HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE SECURITY SITUATION IN ROMANIA, AND DETAILED ONGOING SOVIET EFFORTS TO EVACUATE DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL AND PROVIDE FOOD AND MEDICAL AID FOR THE NEW ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT. HE SAID TWO SOVIET TRADE MISSION
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PERSONNEL HAD BEEN WOUNDED DURING A BATTLE NEAR A SOVIET APARTMENT BUILDING WHICH HAD BEEN SET ON FIRE, BUT THAT ALL SOVIET PERSONNEL WERE SAFE NOW. HE EXPRESSED HIS VIEW THAT THE NEW ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT,

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WHICH THE SOVIET UNION FULLY SUPPORTED, WAS IMPROVING ITS HOLD ON THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY IN THE CAPITAL, BUT SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN OUTLYING REGIONS WAS UNCLEAR. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S DIRECT QUESTION, ABOIMOV ONCE AGAIN STRONGLY REITERATED THE SOVIET UNION'S DETERMINATION NOT TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN ROMANIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NOTING IN A CLEAR REFERENCE TO PANAMA THAT "WE HAVE GIVEN THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE TO YOU, WITH OUR COMPLIMENTS."

END SUMMARY

3. AMBASSADOR MET WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IVAN PAVLOVICH ABOIMOV AT 1230 LOCAL ON DECEMBER 24 TO CONVEY POINTS IN REFTEL A. AMBASSADOR ALSO TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAND OVER THE DECEMBER 23 STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT DECLARING U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE NEW ROMANIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT (REF B).

4. IN RESPONSE, ABOIMOV PROVIDED MFA'S CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA, AND REITERATED STRONGLY THE SOVIET UNION'S POLICY THAT IT WOULD NOT INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ROMANIA. ABOIMOV NOTED THE TWO MOST RECENT POLICY STATEMENTS BY THE SOVIET UNION: A DECEMBER 23 MFA STATEMENT SUPPORTING THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT AND OFFERING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, AND A TASS STATEMENT ON THE SAME DAY EXPRESSING SERIOUS CONCERN
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ABOUT THE SAFETY OF MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET TRADE MISSION IN BUCHAREST.

THE SECURITY SITUATION

5. WITH REGARD TO SOVIET TRADE MISSION PERSONNEL, ABOIMOV SAID THAT THE APARTMENT BUILDING WHERE MANY OF THE MISSION'S PERSONNEL LIVED HAD BEEN THE SCENE OF SERIOUS FIGHTING YESTERDAY. "TERRORISTS" (BY WHICH ABOIMOV CLEARLY INDICATED HE MEANT SECURITATE) HAD ACTUALLY BEEN IN THE BUILDING AT ONE TIME. THERE WAS HEAVY SHOOTING AND THE BUILDING ITSELF WAS SET ON FIRE. THE SHOOTING CONTINUED UNTIL MIDDAY, WHEN THE SOVIET EMBASSY MANAGED TO EVACUATE TRADE MISSION

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6. ABOIMOV SAID THE SECURITY SITUATION AROUND THE SOVIET EMBASSY ITSELF WAS NOT GOOD. A SERIOUS FIREFIGHT HAD ERUPTED FOR ONE OR TWO HOURS YESTERDAY NEAR THE EMBASSY WHEN A "NEST OF TERRORISTS" WAS WIPED OUT BY GOVERNMENT FORCES. THE EMBASSY WAS ATTEMPTING TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO EVACUATE SOME OF ITS PERSONNEL, BUT THUS FAR HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL. THE AIRPORT WAS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL, BUT WAS NOT FUNCTIONING DUE TO FIRING NEAR THE RUNWAY. THE EMBASSY HAD ARRANGED YESTERDAY FOR THE EVACUATION OF 25 FAMILIES BY TRAINS BUT THE TRAIN HAD BEEN STOPPED OUTSIDE BUCHAREST BY RANDOM SHOOTING AND THE FAMILIES

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 37139

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RO, US, UR
SUBJECT: SITUATION IN ROMANIA -- SOVIET INTENTIONS

WERE STILL WAITING AT THE EMBASSY. SOME THOUGHT HAD BEEN GIVEN TO EVACUATION BY ROAD, SINCE THE BORDERS WITH BULGARIA AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE OPEN, BUT THE ROADS THEMSELVES WERE STILL VERY UNSECURE.

7. AS FAR AS THE GENERAL SECURITY SITUATION WAS CONCERNED, ABOIMOV SAID THAT IT APPEARED THAT THE CENTER OF BUCHAREST WAS RETURNING TO NORMAL, ALTHOUGH THE EMBASSY REPORTED THAT THERE WAS STILL A LOT OF SHOOTING IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE CITY. OUTSIDE OF BUCHAREST, THE SITUATION WAS UNCLEAR. THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT HAD ESTABLISHED A GOVERNMENT AND APPOINTED A DEFENSE MINISTER, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT YET CONTROL THE
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SITUATION, PARTICULARLY AS ONE GOT FURTHER AWAY FROM BUCHAREST. THERE HAD BEEN PANICKY RUMORS ABOUT POISONED WATER SUPPLIES, BUT THESE HAD PROVEN TO BE FALSE. HOWEVER, TERRORIST BANDS WERE CONTINUING TO OPERATE.

SOVIET ASSISTANCE EFFORTS

8. ABOIMOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET EMBASSY WAS "MAINTAINING TELEPHONE CONTACT" WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT, BUT HAD NOT YET HAD ANY FACE TO FACE MEETINGS. "WE HAVE INFORMED THEM OF OUR OFFER OF AID, AND THAT WE WILL BE SENDING IT THROUGH MOLDAVIA." ABOIMOV SAID THAT THUS FAR THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH OBVIOUSLY HAD MANY OTHER THINGS ON ITS MIND, HAD NOT TOLD THE SOVIETS WHAT SPECIFICALLY WAS NEEDED, ALTHOUGH FOOD AND MEDICINE WERE OBVIOUS CANDIDATES. ABOIMOV REPORTED THAT 500,000 RUBLES

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WORLD OF FOOD AND MEDICAL AID WAS BEING SENT BY TRAIN THROUGH MOLDAVIA IN 11 FREIGHT CARS. THE MOLDAVIAN SSR WAS WORKING WITH ROMANIAN BORDER AUTHORITIES TO PROVIDE SAFE PASSAGE. THE SOVIETS HAD ALSO INFORMED THE NEW ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS AND THE RED CROSS, THAT 600 HOSPITAL BEDS WERE BEING READIED IN KISHINEV AND ODESSA TO RECEIVE THOSE WOUNDED IN THE FIGHTING IN ROMANIA. IN RESPONSE, THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING HOW IT COULD HELP THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND DELIVERY APPEARED TO BE A BIG PROBLEM FOR US TOO. IF THE SOVIET UNION HAD ANY HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS ON THAT SCORE, THEY WOULD BE MOST WELCOME.

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THE SOVIETS WILL NOT INTERVENE

9. ABOIMOV NOTED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS CONSULTING WITH ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES ABOUT THE ROMANIAN SITUATION. HOWEVER, HE STRESSED, THESE DISCUSSIONS MAINLY CONCERNED FOOD AND MEDICAL AID EFFORTS. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S DIRECT QUESTION WHETHER THE SOVIET DECISION NOT TO SEND MILITARY SUPPORT WAS DEFINITIVE, ABOIMOV ANSWERED "WE HAVE NOT TAKEN UP THAT QUESTION EVEN THEORETICALLY. WE HAVE NO INTENTION WHATSOEVER OF INTERVENING IN ROMANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS." IN A CLEAR REFERENCE TO PANAMA, ABOIMOV THEN ADDED "WE HAVE GIVEN THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE TO YOU, WITH OUR COMPLIMENTS." ABOIMOV ADDED THAT THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUED TO OPPOSE UN SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE ROMANIAN SITUATION, SINCE SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD CONSTITUTE A FORM OF INTERVENTION. IN ANSWER TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION, ABOIMOV NOTED THAT "IF, HYPOTHETICALLY, THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT ASKS THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL" TO TAKE UP CONSIDERATION OF ROMANIA, THEN "WE WILL ADDRESS THAT QUESTION WHEN IT ARISES."

10. BUCHAREST MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. MATLOCK

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BUCHAREST 10931

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CACE, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT
- THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION: ITS YOUTHFUL
- FOOTSOLDIERS WORRY THAT IT MAY NOT BE
- LIVING UP TO ITS IDEALS

REF: BUCHAREST 10920 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: ONE OF THE UNUSUAL ASPECTS OF THE RECENT ROMANIAN REVOLUTION IS ITS LACK OF ANY OUTSTANDING CONFIDENTIAL

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LEADERSHIP FIGURES. IT WAS A REVOLUTION IN WHICH THE HERO WAS TRULY THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE. THERE HAS BEEN AN OUTPOURING OF JOY IN A FREEDOM NOT EXPERIENCED HERE IN THE LAST 45 YEARS, BUT SOME CONCERN IS INCREASINGLY EXPRESSED TO POLOFFS. SOME OF THE MORE IDEALISTIC PARTICIPANTS IN THE REVOLUTION, WHO HOPED THAT COMMUNISM COULD BE TOTALLY EXPURGATED

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DEMOCRATS", FEAR THAT THE BASIC POWER STRUCTURE IN THE COUNTRY HAS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED. DESPITE THE APPEAL OF THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION'S TEN-POINT PROGRAM -- DRAFTED BY DUMITRU MAZILU -- THEY FEEL THAT THE INCREASING CONTROL EXERCISED BY THE CONSERVATIVE EX-COMMUNISTS WILL HINDER THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRUE PLURALISTIC SOCIETY IN ROMANIA. THEY HAVE REGISTERED THEIR CONCERNS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT KEEP PRESSURE ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT HERE TO ENSURE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IDEALS CONTAINED IN THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM. ON THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 26, THE NSF MANAGED TO DEFUSE A SMALL STUDENT DEMONSTRATION THAT HAD BEEN CALLED TO EXPRESS DISSATISFACTION WITH CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. MEANWHILE THE STREETS IN BUCHAREST ARE QUIET AND SECURITY IS MORE RELAXED THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE THE ONSET OF THIS CRISIS. END SUMMARY.

3. WE ARE NOW GETTING A BETTER PICTURE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE FALL OF THE CEAUSESCU GOVERNMENT ALTHOUGH MANY OF THE DETAILS HAVE YET TO BE CONFIRMED, THE PIECES DO FORM A COHERENT PICTURE. POLOFF HAS BEEN TOLD THAT THE REVOLT WAS NOT SPONTANEOUS, BUT THAT IT HAD BEEN PREPARED BY GROUPS OF STUDENTS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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INTELLECTUALS FOR SOME MONTHS. THE STAND BY PASTOR TOKES PRESENTED A GOOD PRETEXT AND A SPARK TO SET OFF THE EXPLOSION. THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION FOR THIS WAS NAMED THE NATIONAL FRONT OF LIBERATION (FRONTUL NATIONAL DE ELIBERARE).

4. IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE DEMONSTRATION WAS PREPARED IN ADVANCE. STUDENT LEADERS CONTINUOUSLY TRIED TO KEEP THE CROWD IN ORDER, TO PREVENT VIOLENCE, AND TO KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM OF THE CHANTS. THE MOMENT FOR THE ORGANIZATION TO DECLARE ITSELF PUBLICLY CAME AT ABOUT 1115 ON 22 DECEMBER, WHEN THE SECURITY SCREEN AROUND PIATA GHEORGHIU-DEJ WAS WITHDRAWN. AS THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FLOCKED ONTO THE EMPTY SQUARE, A LOUDSPEAKER TRUCK, STOLEN FROM THE STATE RADIO AND PACKED WITH THE BUCHAREST LEADERS OF THE FRONT, DROVE ONTO THE SQUARE AND STOPPED NEAR THE FORMER UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

5. THE LOUDSPEAKER TRUCK ANNOUNCED THE EXISTENCE OF THE NATIONAL FRONT OF LIBERATION, WITH A COMMITTEE HEADED

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By CORNELIU MANESCU AND INCLUDING SILVIU BRUCAN, DAN PETRESCU, MIRCEA DINESCU, DOINA CORNEA, AND ANNA BLANDIANA. THE PROGRAM INCLUDED A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM WITH FREE ELECTIONS BY MARCH 1990, FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND RELIGION, AND MANY OTHER LIBERAL INNOVATIONS. POLOFF SQUEEZED INTO THE TRUCK AND, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF PURE CHAOS, TRIED TO GET FURTHER DETAILS CONCERNING THE FRONT.

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6. AFTER ABOUT AN HOUR, WAY TO THE FRONT DOOR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS. AS THE MICROPHONE WAS BEING INSTALLED ON THE FIRST FLOOR BALCONY, THE LEADERS OF THE FRONT, INCLUDING THE STUDENT LEADERS OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS, WENT INTO THE BUILDING. THEY WERE MET THERE BY CONSTANTIN DASCALESCU, ILIE VERDETI, AND GENERAL VLAD.

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OUR SOURCE ADMITTED THAT THE FRONT WAS ILL PREPARED TO RUN A GOVERNMENT. THE ARMY SOON APPEARED, IN THE FORM

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	INRE-00	OCS-06	BIB-01	CA-02	ACDA-12	USSS-00	USIE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6045
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BUCHAREST 10931

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

UNCLASSIFIED

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CACE, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT

OF MAJOR GENERAL VOINA, AND NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN. (LANE HARDIN OF THE WASHINGTON POST WAS PRESENT FOR THE BEGINNING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT POST HAS NOT RECEIVED ANY OF HIS COPY.) DUMITRU MAZILU, WHO HAD DRAFTED THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM THAT WAS LATER PUBLISHED, JOINED THE NEGOTIATIONS SOMETIME LATER, AS DID ION ILIESCU.

7. THE MORE RADICAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF THE FRONT WERE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT NEGOTIATING WITH FORMER CONFIDENTIAL

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CEAUSESCU OFFICIALS, BUT AS TIME WENT ON THE DISCUSSIONS LED TO A COMPROMISE. MAZILU'S PROGRAM WAS ACCEPTED, BUT ILIESCU BECAME THE LEADER OF A MORE EXTENDED GROUP. THIS WAS INITIALLY NAMED THE FRONT OF NATIONAL REBIRTH (FRONTUL RENASTERII NATIONAL), BUT THIS NAME WAS QUICKLY CHANGED TO THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION (FRONTUL DE SALVARE NATIONALA). OUR SOURCE SAID THAT ILIESCU WAS PICKED AS THE LEADER BECAUSE HE HAD OPPOSED CEAUSESCU AND BECAUSE HE HAD A DEMONSTRATED ABILITY TO DIRECT A POLITICAL OPERATION. HE ALSO NOTED THAT ILIESCU WAS RATHER RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM, BUT AGREED IN THE END.

8. THE NET EFFECT OF CREATING THIS LARGER FRONT WAS THE ABSORPTION OF A NUMBER OF OTHER POLITICAL GROUPINGS THEN IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING, SUCH AS THE UNITED WORKING FRONT (FRONTUL UNIT MUNCITORESC), ANNOUNCED FROM THE BALCONY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 22. IN EFFECT, THE CREATION OF THE NSF MAY HAVE DISCOURAGED MANY INTELLECTUALS AND FORMER DISSIDENTS FROM FORMING THEIR OWN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS. THAT SAID, MANY SUCH GROUPINGS ARE EMERGING AND WILL PROBABLY CONTEST ELECTIONS WHEN THEY DO OCCUR.

9. THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM DRAFTED BY MAZILU WAS DECLARED ON TV THE EVENING OF 22 DECEMBER, AND PUBLISHED IN THE NEW NEWSPAPERS THE NEXT DAY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE NSF DECLARED A PROVISIONAL COUNCIL OF 39 PEOPLE, LISTED IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER: DOINA CORNEA, ANA BLANDIANA, MIRCEA DINESCU, LASZLO TOKES, DUMITRU MAZILU DAN DESLIU, GENERAL STEFAN GUSE, GENERAL VICTOR STANCALESCU, AUREL DRAGOS-MUNTEANU, CORNELIU MANESCU, ALEXANDRU BIRLADEANU, SILVIU BRUCAN, PETRE ROMAN, ION

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GELU VOICAN VOICULESCU, DAN MARTIAN, CAPITAN LUPOIU MIHAIL, GENERAL VOINEA, CAPITAN DE RANGUL I DUMITRESCU EMIL, NEACSA VASILE, COINTRU CRISTINA, BACIU MARIAN, BOGDAN TEODORIU, EUGENIA IORGA, NEGRETIU PAUL, MANOIE GHEORGHE, VLADIMIR IONESCU, ADRIAN SIRBU, CIRJAN CONSTANTIN, DOMOKOS GEZA, MAGDALENA IONESCU, MARIAN MIERLA, CONSTANTIN IVANOVICI, OVIDIU VLAD, BUCURESCU VALERIU, AND ION ILIESCU. (SOME NAMES ARE REVERSED, BUT THEY ARE GIVEN HERE AS PRINTED.) ILIESCU BY THEN WAS CLEARLY THE LEADER OF THE FRONT.

10. THE SEVERE FIGHTING IN THE CITY, STARTING EVEN AS THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE IN PROGRESS ON THE EVENING OF 22 DECEMBER, HAS PREVENTED ANY ACCESS TO, OR EVEN KNOWLEDGE OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF, THE COMMITTEE OF THE NSF. FOR SOME TIME WE HAVE BEEN THINKING THAT THE TV STATION, CONTINUALLY UNDER SIEGE, HAS BEEN THE CENTER OF THE GOVERNMENT. INDEED, THIS WAS THE ONLY PLACE THAT WE HAVE SEEN ANY OF THE LEADERS APPEAR PUBLICLY, AND THIS WAS THE PLACE WHERE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONTACT A FEW OF THEM BY TELEPHONE.

11. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, HOWEVER, THE CENTER OF GOVERNMENT IS IN THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. ALTHOUGH MANY NAMES APPEAR ON THE COMMITTEE LIST, OUR SOURCE STATES THAT THE WORKING PART OF THE COMMITTEE, EFFECTIVELY ITS CONTROLLING BODY, CONSISTS OF ONLY ILIESCU, MAZILU, GUSA, VOINEA, STANCULESCU, DUMITRESCU, AND TWO OR THREE OTHERS. WHEN ONE SPEAKS OF THE "GOVERNMENT," ONE MEANS ONLY THESE FEW PEOPLE.

12. DEMOCRATS POINT OUT THAT ILIESCU AND MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE REAL DECISION-MAKING GROUP PLAYED NO ROL IN THE REVOLUTION, AND WERE IN FACT IMPORTANT FIGURES I THE OLD POWER STRUCTURE. THE RADICAL DEMOCRATS SAY THAT THEY DO NOT WANT A REFORMED COMMUNISM, BUT A
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TRULY FREE SOCIETY. THEY FEEL, HOWEVER, THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE FORMER CEAUSESCU OFFICIALS CONTINUES TO GROW STRONGER AS THESE INDIVIDUALS APPOINT OTHER

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 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BUCHAREST 10931

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CACE, RO
 SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT

FORMER PARTY LOYALISTS. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS CLEAR I
 THEIR MANIFEST ASTONISHMENT WHEN POLOFF MENTIONED THAT
 CONSTANTIN OANCEA MIGHT BECOME THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER
 (NOTE: THIS POSSIBILITY WAS NOT CONFIRMED BY DEPUTY
 FOREIGN MINISTER SOLOMONESCU IN HER DECEMBER 26 MEETING
 WITH THE AMBASSADOR. ACCORDING TO SOLOMONESCU, THE
 NEW GOVERNMENT IS NOT YET PREPARED TO NAME A FOREIGN
 MINISTER. END NOTE.)

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13. THE FUNDAMENTAL COMPLAINT OF THE SOURCES,
 PARTICULARLY THE ONE WITH WHOM EMBOFF SHARED THE RIDE
 TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN THE LOUDSPEAKER TRUCK, WAS
 THAT THE BASIC POWER STRUCTURE IN THE COUNTRY HAD NOT
 REALLY CHANGED. THE PEOPLE WHO REALLY CARRIED OUT THE
 REVOLUTION, THE STARRY-EYED IDEALISTS WHO STOOD AND

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LIED IN THE STREETS, WERE NOW BEING "PUSHED ASIDE" FROM ANY ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENT AS THE PRACTICAL DEMANDS OF RUNNING THE COUNTRY GAVE MANY OF THE OLD APPARATCHIKS A CHANCE TO HANG ON TO POWER.

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14. THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF STUDENTS IN THE CAPITAL, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS VIRTUALLY NO REAL INFLUENCE; THE LOCAL FRONT COMMITTEES STILL WORK WITH THE PRE-EXISTING ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS AND MACHINERY; AND MOST OF THE PLANNED MEETINGS AND ASSEMBLIES IN FACTORIES AND SCHOOLS HAVE NOT COME OFF. OUR SOURCE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THE PROMISED NEW CONSTITUTION WOULD BE DRAFTED, AND THAT THE CHANCES FOR A REAL DEVELOPMENT OF A PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SYSTEM WERE BEING HINDERED FROM THE START. NOTING THAT WHILE THE PRESIDENTIAL DECREES OF CEAUSESCU HAD ALL BEEN REVOKED, HE ADDED THAT THE EQUALLY STRINGENT RESTRICTION IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH HAD BEEN PASSED BY THE RUBBER-STAMP GNA IN THE CEAUSESCU ERA HAD NOT. WHILE EVERYONE APPEARED TO BE EXERCISING UNLIMITED FREEDOM, THE MACHINERY WAS STILL IN PLACE FOR CRACKING DOWN ON PEOPLE WHO VOICE DISAPPROVAL OF ACTIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT. (COMMENT: THE COURTMARTIAL AND IMMEDIATE EXECUTION OF NICOLAE AND ELENA CEAUSESCU IS EVIDENCE OF WHAT CAN STILL OCCUR HERE. END COMMENT.)

15. THE RADICAL DEMOCRATS SAID THAT THEY HAD NO CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OR POWER, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT POWER CAME FROM THE PEOPLE. THE ABILITY OF THE PEOPLE TO PRESS FOR THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE, AS SEEN IN THE GRAFFITI IN THE STREETS DURING THE DEMONSTRATIONS, WERE BEING HAMPERED BY THE SECURITY RESTRICTIONS IN PLACE THROUGHOUT THE CITY AND PROBABLY THE COUNTRY TO COUNTER THE CONTINUING ATTACKS BY DIE-HARD ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITATE. IN A PERVERSE WAY, THE TERRORISM IS FACILITATING THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER BY THE CURRENT LEADERS.

16. COMMENT: IT IS INEVITABLE THAT SUCH CONCERNS WOULD ARISE AS THE IDEALISTIC FOOTSOLDIERS WHO MADE A REVOLUTION CONCLUDE THAT THEY ARE BEING EDGED TO THE SIDELINES BY PEOPLE WHO KNOW HOW TO ORGANIZE A GOVERNMENT AND GET SOMETHING DONE. UNFORTUNATELY, THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUCH EXPERIENCE IN ROMANIA MUST NECESSARILY HAVE GAINED IT UNDER THE OLD REGIME. INDEED SOME OF THE SPOKESMEN FOR THE NSF, SUCH AS GENERAL

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VERY, AND EXTREMELY UNSAVORY CAREERS UNDER CEAUSESCU.
EVEN THOUGH MANY OF THE NSF LEADERS, SUCH AS ILIESCU,
BROKE WITH CEAUSESCU YEARS AGO, OUR INTERLOCUTORS ARE
SUSPICIOUS THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PLURALISTIC
SOCIETY MAY TAKE SECOND PLACE TO THE "OLD THINKING"
OF MANY OF THE NSF LEADERSHIP. OUR CONTACTS HAVE ASKED
THAT THE U.S. KEEP PRESSURE ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF
ION ILIESCU TO ENSURE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PROVISIONS
OF MAZILU'S PROGRAM ARE IMPLEMENTED.
STUDENTS RETURN TO THE STREETS

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17. AS IF TO ILLUSTRATE THE MOVING TRAIN WE MAY BE ON,
STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE IN BUCHAREST
THIS AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 26. THE CALL FOR THESE
DEMONSTRATIONS WAS MADE VIA WORD OF MOUTH AND
LOUDSPEAKERS AT METRO STATIONS. THE RADIO/TV VOICE
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OF THE NSF ATTEMPTED TO TURN OFF THE DEMONSTRATIONS
BY WARNING THAT THEY WERE "UNNECESSARY" AND BY
BROADCASTING APPEALS BY SILVIU BRUCAN AND ANA BLANDIANA

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6047
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 BUCHAREST 10931

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CACE, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT

FOR STUDENTS NOT TO FALL PREY TO PROVOCATIONS ORGANIZED BY THE "TERRORISTS". IT HAS ALSO BEEN ANNOUNCED THAT ION ILIESCU MET WITH THREE STUDENT LEADERS TO ASSURE THEM THAT THE NSF HAS NOT FORGOTTEN THE YOUTH AND SUPPORTS THE FORMATION OF A "FRONT OF DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS". ALTHOUGH ABOUT 1,000 STUDENTS INITIALLY TURNED OUT, THE DEMONSTRATION HAD FIZZLED BY 6 P.M. AS INCREASINGLY COLD WEATHER SET IN. THE NSF WAS THEREFORE ABLE TO DEFUSE THE FIRST SUBSTANTIAL
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PUBLIC MANIFESTATION OF DISSATISFACTION WITH ITS POLICIES. MEANWHILE, BUCHAREST'S STREETS ARE QUIET AND SECURITY IS MORE RELAXED THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE THE ONSET OF THIS CRISIS. GREEN

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6050
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 USIA WASHDC 0206
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BUCHAREST 10935

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USIA FOR EU/IGNATIUS AND VOA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CSCE, RO
 SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT
 - NICOLAE CEAUSESCU'S "GOLDEN EPOCH" COMES TO A
 - BLOODY END

REF: BUCHAREST 10920 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

CEAUSESCU'S EXECUTION
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2. ROMANIAN TELEVISION BELATEDLY SHOWED PICTURES OF
CEAUSESCU BEING MEDICALLY EXAMINED BEFORE HIS

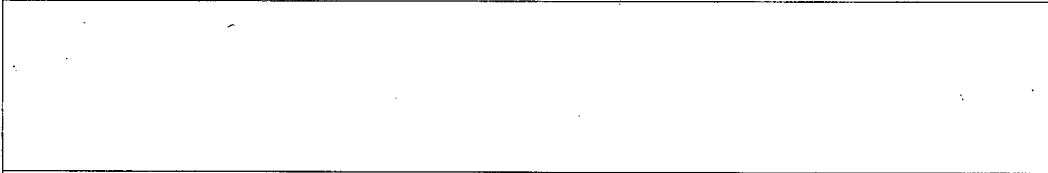
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 25 DEC 2014
 DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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EXECUTION, A SHOT OF A BULLET-POCKED WALL, AND THEN A SHOT OF HIS CORPSE. JOURNALISTS HERE WERE PRESENT WHEN THE DEBATE WAS UNDERWAY IN THE TELEVISION STATION AS TO HOW MUCH OF THE FILM TO SHOW. THE REASON FOR THE DELAY, ACCORDING TO THE FSN, IS THAT ONLY ONE COPY OF THE FILM EXISTS AND IT HAD TO BE SAFEGUARDED DURING ITS DISPATCH TO THE STATION.

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3. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CURIOUS ASPECTS ABOUT THE ENTIRE AFFAIR. WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT (FSN) FELT THAT POPULAR OUTRAGE DEMANDED IMMEDIATE ACTION, ONE COULD ARGUE THAT THE PUBLIC WOULD HAVE ENJOYED AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF HUMILIATION IN A PROLONGED PUBLIC TRIAL JUST AS MUCH.



B1

ANOTHER EXPLANATION IS THAT THE IMMEDIATE EXECUTION MIGHT HELP TO TAKE THE WIND OUT OF THE SAILS OF THE REMAINING GROUPS OF SECURITATE NOW TERRORIZING THE COUNTRY, BUT WE SUSPECT THAT MOST OF THESE ARE NOW FIGHTING FOR SHEER SURVIVAL, RATHER THAN LOYALTY TO CEAUSESCU.

4. ILIESCU WAS ASKED IN AN INTERVIEW WHY THE GOVERNMENT ACTED AS QUICKLY AS IT DID. HIS ANSWER WAS RATHER VAGUE, TALKING ABOUT "A GENERAL DEMAND CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT PRESSED US TO CARRY OUT THIS PROCESS." INCLUDING, FIRST OF ALL, FEAR OF TERRORIST ATTEMPTS TO FREE HIM. HE NOTED THAT IT WAS DONE IN FULL LEGALITY, ACCORDING TO CEAUSESCU'S OWN LAWS. PERHAPS IT WAS A MISTAKE, HE ADMITTED, BUT NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO JUDGE THAT.

5. WE CAN NOT BE SURE OF THE MAGNITUDE OF A THREAT THAT SECURITATE GROUPS MIGHT HAVE POSED, BUT THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION HAS INCURRED CRITICISM FROM SOME ROMANIANS WHO FEEL IT WAS NOT THE RIGHT WAY TO START ESTABLISHING A SOCIETY BASED ON THE RULE OF LAW. OVERALL, WE WOULD TEND TO THINK THAT CEAUSESCU MIGHT HAVE PROVEN AN AWKWARD WITNESS, GIVEN THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH A STABLE REGIME, AND THE NEED

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FOR EFFICIENCY CARRIED THE DAY. AS ILIESCU HIMSELF

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SAID, IT MAY BE SOME TIME BEFORE WE CAN JUDGE IF THIS WAS A MISTAKE OR NOT. FOR WHATEVER REASON, IT WAS SOMETHING THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT THOUGHT WAS INEVITABLE. BY DOING IT IMMEDIATELY, IN THE HEAT OF THE CONTINUING FIGHTING, THE FSN HAS PUT THE INEVITABLE DECISION BEHIND IT AND CAN FOCUS MORE EASILY ON THE FUTURE.

AMBASSADOR GREEN MAKES A HOSPITAL VISIT

6. AMBASSADOR GREEN AND EMBASSY OFFICERS PAID A VISIT TO THE BUCHAREST HOSPITAL OF PLASTIC AND RECONSTRUCTURE SURGERY TO VISIT WOUNDED AMCIT CATALIN TUTUNARU. HE TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE A TOUR OF WARDS, SAID HELLO AND SHOOK HANDS WITH A NUMBER OF THE ROMANIAN VICTIMS AND THE HOSPITAL STAFF. THERE WAS PRESS COVERAGE, INCLUDING TELEVISION

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INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BUCHAREST 10935

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USIA FOR EU/IGNATIUS AND VOA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CSCE, RO

SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT

THE RECEPTION BY EVERYONE AT THE HOSPITAL WAS FRIENDLY AND APPRECIATIVE.

MILITARY SITUATION CALMER:

7. DESPITE THE NOW "ROUTINE" SHOOTING IN BUCHAREST, CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIMARILY AFTER DARK, THE SITUATION ON DECEMBER 26 IS CALMER THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE THE FIGHTING STARTED. THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE CITY IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY RELAXED AS PEOPLE GO ABOUT THEIR BUSINESS.

PEOPLE HAVE SET UP LARGE CHRISTMAS TREES AT AREAS IN THE CENTER OF TOWN THERE WERE STUDENT DEATHS (PIATA ROMANA AND IN FRONT OF THE CONTINENTAL HOTEL, FOR EXAMPLE), AND FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES ARE DROPPING BY TO DROP FLOWERS, LIGHT CANDLES, OR SIMPLY TO REMAIN IN SILENT PRAYER. IT IS BEAUTIFUL AND MOVING.

THE SITUATION IS ALSO QUIETER IN THE PROVINCES. CONOFF SPOKE TODAY WITH AMCITS IN VARIOUS ROMANIAN CITIES INCLUDING BACAU, BRASOV, CRAIOVA, FAGARAS, SIBIU, IASI AND TIMISOARA. ALL REPORTED THAT THE FIGHTING IN THEIR CITIES HAS VIRTUALLY CEASED, WITH ONLY SCATTERED SHOTS RINGING OUT, PRIMARILY AFTER DARK.

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PEOPLE REMAIN JITTERY AND KEEP THEIR CHILDREN INSIDE MUCH OF THE DAY, BUT LIFE APPEARS TO BE RETURNING TO NORMAL. FOOD SUPPLIES AS OF YET DO NOT POSE A GREAT PROBLEM BUT THE DISTRIBUTION IS MORE PROBLEMATIC. THE UNIVERSITY OF TIMISOARA HAS NOTIFIED ITS STUDENTS THAT IT INTENDS TO RE-OPEN IN EARLY JANUARY.

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SECURITATE SWALLOWED BY MOD

8. ON DECEMBER 26 THE FSN BROADCAST A DECREE SIGNED BY ITS CHAIRMAN, ION ILIESCU, AND DEFENSE MINISTER MILITARU WHICH INCORPORATED SECURITATE FORCES INTO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. THE BORDER TROOPS, WHICH
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HAD ONLY RECENTLY BEEN TRANSFERRED TO SECURITATE COMMAND, WERE RETURNED TO THE MOD. THIS WILL NOT, OF COURSE, SOLVE THE CURRENT TERRORIST PROBLEMS POSED BY THE RENEGADE "UNITATI SPECIALE DE LUPTA ANTI-TERRORISTA" (USLA), THE WELL TRAINED "ANTI-TERRORIST" UNITS WHICH CONTINUE TO MARAUD ABOUT BRAZENLY.

NOTE ON PARTY ACRONYMS

9. AS WE APPROACH THE BEGINNING OF A FUNCTIONING MULTIPARTY SYSTEM, WE HAVE TO MAKE A DECISION ON STYLE, I.E., WHETHER THE ACRONYMS FOR ROMANIAN PARTIE SHOULD USE THE ROMANIAN OR THE ENGLISH FORMS. UNLESS DEPARTMENT OBJECTS, BUCHAREST WILL HENCEFORTH USE THE ROMANIAN VERSIONS. THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION, OR FRONTUL DE SALVARE NATIONALA, WILL THUS BE THE FSN. THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN PEASANT PARTY WILL BE THE P.C.N.T.; THE ROMANIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILL BE THE P.D.R.; AND SO FORTH.

AMERICAN JOURNALISTS POUR IN

10. AS OF DECEMBER 26 ABOUT 20 JOURNALISTS WORKING FOR AMERICAN MEDIA HAVE ARRIVED IN ROMANIA. THE NEW YORK TIMES, WASHINGTON POST, TIME, CNN, NEWSWEEK, NBC, CBS, CHICAGO TRIBUNE ARE ALL REPRESENTED. THE HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL IS OVERFLOWING WITH JOURNALISTS

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REPRESENTING 25 COUNTRIES. AT 2 P.M. TODAY APAO
KUPERMAN HEALD A PRESS BRIEFING "BACKGROUND" FOR
AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, TWELVE OF WHOM SHOWED UP AND
INTERACTED WITH POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CONSULAR

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-09	L-03
	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	NRRC-01	INRE-00
	CA-02	SP-02	M-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	SCT-03
	P-02	T-01	/066 W				

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O 262103Z DEC 89 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6052
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USIA WASHDC 0208
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BUCHAREST 10935

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USIA FOR EU/IGNATIUS AND VOA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

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TAGS: EGOV, PREL, PINR, PHUM, CSCE, RO

SUBJECT: TFR001: SITREP EIGHT

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OFFICERS OF THE EMBASSY. JOURNALISTS ARE PAYING A PRICE FOR THE BEST STORY IN THE WORLD. SO FAR WE HAVE TWO DEAD, A BELGIAN AND A FRENCHMAN, AND SEVEN WOUNDED, INCLUDING TWO AMCITS.

ROMANIA'S JEWISH COMMUNITY SAFE AND SOUND

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11. POLCOUNS CALLED JEWISH COMMUNITY PRESIDENT BLUMENTAL TO ENQUIRE ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE COMMUNITY. HE SAID THINGS WERE FINE. BOTH INDIVIDUALS AND PROPERTY HAD THUS FAR REMAINED VIRTUALLY UNTOUCHED BY THE VIOLENCE.

POLITICAL THEATER IN THE NEW ROMANIA: HANDLING THE STUDENTS

12. THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT (FSN) CREATIVELY USED TV TO HELP DEFUSE STUDENT PROTESTS ON DECEMBER 26. RATHER THAN SUPPRESSING THE STUDENT'S MESSAGE, THE FSN INVITED A STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE, ADRIAN STEFANESCU, TO APPEAR ON T.V. TO EXPLAIN HIS GROUP'S PROGRAM. THE ANNOUNCER NOTED THAT STEFANESCU'S APPEARANCE ESTABLISHED A "MODE OF OPERATIONS" IN WHICH POLITICAL DEBATE WOULD "TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE WHOLE COUNTRY." HE THEN INVITED STEFANESCU TO PRESENT HIS POLITICAL PROGRAM. STEFANESCU THEN READ A TEN POINT PROGRAM THAT IN MOST RESPECTS TRACKED WITH THE PROGRAM ALREADY ANNOUNCED BY THE FSN. WHEN THE ANNOUNCER ASKED WHETHER STEFANESCU HAD READ THE FSN'S PROGRAM, THE CHAGRINED STUDENT REPLIED THAT HE'D BEEN TOO BUSY DEMONSTRATING LATELY TO READ MUCH. HE ADDED THAT, IF THE STUDENTS AND THE FSN HAD SIMILAR IDEAS, THIS MIGHT INDICATE THAT THEY THOUGHT IN THE SAME WAY.

13. COMMENT: THE IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THIS LITTLE VIGNETTE IS THAT THE FSN HAD SENSE ENOUGH TO GET
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THE STUDENTS ON T.V. AND LET THEM HAVE THEIR SAY.
IN SO DOING, IT TOOK AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD
DEFUSING THE STUDENT PROTEST SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 26.
THE STUDENTS WILL REMAIN DISGRUNTLED, BUT THEY WILL
NOT BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT THEY WERE MUZZLED OR
REPPRESSED. IF THE FSN HANDLES ALL OF ITS CHALLENGES
WITH SIMILAR FINESSE, IT MAY BE ABLE TO STAY A STEP
AHEAD OF ESCALATING PRESSURE FOR A COMPLETE POLITICAL
TRANSFORMATION IN ROMANIA.

-
GREEN

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 09112 271506Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
NSAE-00 PM-10 PA-02 INRE-00 OCS-06 CA-02 USIE-00
SP-02 M-01 PRS-01 DS-01 IMMC-01 SCT-03 P-02
/036 W

-----103355 271837Z /49

P 271459Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7119
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 09112

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RO, SW
SUBJECT: SWEDISH REACTIONS TO DEVELOPMENTS IN ROMANIA

1. THE SWEDISH PRESS DID NOT REPORT ANY GOS REACTION TO THE EXECUTION OF CEAUSESCU, BUT PM INGVAR CARLSSON HAD EARLIER TOLD THE PRESS ON DECEMBER 22 THAT NEWS OF CEAUSESCU'S OVERTHROW WAS "TREMENDOUSLY GRATIFYING". THE PRESS REPORTED ON A CHRISTMAS DAY MASS OUTSIDE THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN STOCKHOLM IN WHICH SOME 550 PERSONS PARTICIPATED, MOSTLY ROMANIANS IN EXILE, BUT ALSO INCLUDING PM CARLSSON, FM STEN ANDERSSON AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL THE OPPOSITION PARTIES. FM ANDERSSON TOLD THE PRESS THERE THAT SWEDEN REGARDS THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT AS THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT. "WE HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT THE WHOLE TIME, THAT IS IN FACT A RECOGNITION. WE DO NOT NEED A SPECIAL DECISION FOR THAT," FM ANDERSSON SAID. ANDERSSON REPORTEDLY PLANS TO VISIT ROMANIA AS SOON AS "A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY OCCURS".

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2. THE PRESS ALSO REPORTED ON DECEMBER 27 THAT A NUMBER OF SWEDISH RELIEF SHIPMENTS TO ROMANIA ARE LEAVING SWEDEN, BUT THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ROMANIA CAUSES

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~~SOME PROBLEMS.~~ A SWEDISH RED CROSS PLANE WITH SWEDISH PHYSICIANS ON BOARD WAS UNABLE TO LAND IN BUCHAREST ON DECEMBER 26, BUT THE GROUP WILL TRY TO REACH ROMANIA IN SOME OTHER FASHION. THE SWEDISH RED CROSS ALSO HAS ONE TRUCK EN ROUTE TO ROMANIA WITH SURGICAL EQUIPMENT, AND ANOTHER READY TO LEAVE WITH 10,000 BLANKETS. CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS ALL OVER SWEDEN REPORTEDLY ARE BUSY COLLECTING MONEY AND NECESSITIES TO SEND TO ROMANIA, AND THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN COLLECTED LARGE SUMS OF MONEY OVER THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS EARMARKED FOR ROMANIA.

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3. THE NEW SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN BUCHAREST, NILS ROSENBERG, TOLD THE PRESS THAT LIBYAN AND SYRIAN STUDENTS REPORTEDLY HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE FIGHTING ON THE SIDE OF CEAUSESCU'S SECURITY FORCES. ACCORDING TO ROSENBERG, UNDER THE EXECUTED DICTATOR ROMANIA HAD SERVED AS A CENTER FOR THE TRAINING OF TERRORISTS AND HAD SUPPORTED INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.
REDMAN

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04059 272325Z
ACTION IO-19

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 EUR-00 SS-00 SSO-00 CPR-02 USSS-00
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-----116077 272330Z /60

O 272321Z DEC 89
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6473
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN NEW YORK 04059

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, ASEC, RO
SUBJECT: SECURITY FOR ROMANIAN MISSION STAFF AND PREMISES

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A NOTE VERBALE DATED
DECEMBER 24, 1989, SENT BY THE ROMANIAN MISSION TO THE
UN TO USUN, REGARDING THE PROTECTION OF THE STAFF AND
PREMISES OF THE ROMANIAN MISSION TO THE UN.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

- THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMANIA TO THE UNITED
NATIONS PRESENTS ITS COMPLIMENTS TO THE MISSION OF THE
UNITED STATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND HAS THE HONOUR
TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING COMMUNICATION IN CONNECTION
WITH THE CONFIRMATION OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMANIA
AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION
FRONT OF ROMANIA:

- "THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ROMANIA KINDLY
REQUESTS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES THAT ON THE
BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES FULL ASSISTANCE AND
SUPPORT BE GRANTED TO THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMANIA
SO THAT NO PREJUDICE OR DAMAGE BE CAUSED TO THE MISSION
DURING THIS TIME OF ROMANIA'S TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO
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NEW STRUCTURES.

- IN THE SPIRIT OF GOOD RELATIONS WHICH THE COUNCIL
OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT OF ROMANIA IS WILLING

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TO DEVELOP WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, COUNTRY WHICH WAS ALWAYS ON THE SIDE OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE DURING THE DIFFICULT TIME OF TYRANNY, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ROMANIA KINDLY REQUEST THAT ALL NECESSARY MEASURES BE TAKEN FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF IMMUNITIES AND SECURITY OF THE STAFF AND OF ALL PREMISES OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMAN

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- THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ROMANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS AVAILS ITSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE ASSISTANCE GRANTED SO FAR AND TO RENEW THE ASSURANCES OF ITS HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

END TEXT.

3. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE OF THE ROMANIAN MISSION CONDUCTED BY INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS PROTESTING THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND MISSION TO THE UN IN NEW YORK. IN ADDITION, THREATS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BY THE ROMANIANS ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS. INVESTIGATION OF THESE THREATS ARE BEING CONDUCTED BY THE NYPD, FBI AND DSS.

4. FOR THE DURATION OF THE ROMANIAN CRISIS, THE NYPD IS PROVIDING FIXED UNIFORM COVERAGE OUTSIDE THE ROMANIAN MISSION, 24-HOURS A DAY, 7 DAYS A WEEK. IN THIS REGARD, THE ROMANIAN MISSION IS SITUATED IN A LARGE APARTMENT HOUSE, WHICH ALSO CONTAINS APARTMENTS OCCUPIED BY MEMBERS OF THE ROMANIAN MISSION AND OTHER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ROMANIAN GOVERNMENTAL OFFICES IN NEW YORK. AS A CONSEQUENCE, MOST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE RECEIVING PROTECTION WHILE THEY ARE ON THE PREMISES OF THE MISSION. IN ADDITION, DSS IS PROVIDING SURVEILLANCE OF THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR AS HE TRAVELS TO AND FROM THE UNITED NATIONS.
WILKINSON

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-05	SS-00	OIC-02	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-00	HA-09	L-03
	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	NRRC-01	INRE-00
	SSC-01	CA-02	SP-02	M-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01
	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/067 W			

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O 272150Z DEC 89 ZFF4
 FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6074
 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USIA WASHDC 0212
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 10958

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USIA FOR EU/IGNATIUM AND VOA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PHUM, CSCU, RO
 SUBJECT: TFR001: THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRST PRESS
 CONFERENCE -- REAL ANSWERS|

REF: BUCHAREST 10936 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
 2. SUMMARY: THE FIRST OFFICIAL PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS CONDUCTED ON 27 DECEMBER AT THE MFA BY CORNELIU BOGDAN, NEWLY-APPOINTED MINISTER OF STATE
- CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE ANNOUNCED THAT SERGIU CELAC WAS THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. IN THE COURSE OF HIS ANSWERS HE MADE THE POINT THAT THE COUNCIL OF THE FSN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA WERE TWO DIFFERENT

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EMBRYO PARTY, WITH ONLY ONE MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, PETRE ROMAN, HOLDING A POSITION SIMULTANEOUSLY IN BOTH. HE ALSO DECLARED THAT, WHILE THE FSN WOULD ORGANIZE THE ELECTIONS, IT WAS NOT AN EMBRYO PARTY AND WOULD NOT RUN ITS OWN CANDIDATES. HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES, IN ORDER, WERE TO END THE TERRORISM, TO GET THE EXISTING MACHINERY OF STATE FUNCTIONING AND TO TEND TO THE ECONOMY, AND TO PREPARE ELECTIONS. THE NATION DID NOT NEED A "WITCH HUNT" OF FORMER COMMUNISTS, AND EVERY CASE WOULD BE LOOKED AT INDIVIDUALLY. NO NEW STATEMENT WAS MADE ON FOREIGN POLICY PER SE. END SUMMARY.

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3. THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT HELD ITS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE MFA AT 1400 ON 27 DECEMBER. THE HALL WAS PACKED WITH JOURNALISTS, AS CORNELIU BOGDAN, NEWLY-APPOINTED MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SAID THAT HE HAD NO STATEMENT BUT WAS PREPARED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER WAS SERGIU CELAC, BUT NOTED THAT THE APPOINTMENTS WERE SO NEW THAT BOTH MEN HAD NOT YET HAD TIME TO MEET, AND HE HAD NOT HAD TIME TO STUDY ANY PAPERS. HE SAID THAT THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS HIS FIRST OFFICIAL ACT, BUT HE FELT IT IMPORTANT TO MEET TH PRESS AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

4. WHEN ASKED IF ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAD MET TOGETHER AT ANY TIME, BOGDAN REPLIED THAT THERE WAS "NO GOVERNMENT TO MEET." HE MADE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE COUNCIL OF THE FSN, WHICH INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES OF MANY GROUPS, AND THE GOVERNMENT, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHICH NOW COMPRISED ONLY THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTERS OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE NOTED THAT THE ONLY MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS PETRE ROMAN. (AS THIS WAS BEING DRAFTED, THE COUNCIL HAS DECREED THAT ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE SHOULD BE SEPARATED FROM "POLITICS.")

5. BOGDAN SAID THAT THE PRIORITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE, IN ORDER, THE ELIMINATION OF THE TERRORISTS, THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF THE EXISTING MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT AND OF THE ECONOMY, AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS. THESE PRIORITIES WERE REFLECTED IN THE FACT THAT THE FIRST MINISTER APPOINTED WAS THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE.

6. HE NOTED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAD TO BE BUILT STEP BY STEP. WHILE THE OLD "GOVERNMENT" HAD BEEN

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DISMISSED, MINISTRIES WERE FUNCTIONING NOW UNDER THE DEPUTY MINISTERS, THE REGULAR "BUREAUCRATS." HE STRESSED THAT THE NATION DID NOT NEED A "WITCH HUNT" AND THAT THE EXISTING MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT MACHINERY WOULD HAVE THEIR CASES LOOKED AT INDIVIDUALLY. ALMOST EVERYONE HAD TO MAKE SOME COMPROMISES UNDER THE OLD REGIME, AND A PRIMARY REQUIREMENT NOW WAS TO GET OR KEEP COMPETENT PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT.

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7. THE QUESTION WAS RAISED ABOUT OPPOSITION FORMING TO THE NSF. ONE REPORTER CLAIMED THAT DOINA CORNEA HAD SAID THAT THE COUNCIL HAD BEEN INFILTRATED BY SOME UNSAVORY PEOPLE. BOGDAN SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO REASON FOR OPPOSITION TO THE FSN, AS IT INCLUDED ALL ELEMENTS AND WAS ONLY INTENDED TO HELP PREPARE THE NEW ELECTIONS. HE DENIED THAT THE FSN WAS AN EMBRYO PARTY AND DECLARED IT HAD NO INTENTIONS OF RUNNING ITS OWN CANDIDATES IN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS.

8. BOGDAN NOTED THAT NOT EVERYTHING COULD BE DONE IMMEDIATELY, BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY

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	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	NRRC-01	SVC-00	INRE-00
	SSC-01	CA-02	SP-02	M-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01
	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/067 W			

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6075
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USIA WASHDC 0213

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 10958

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

USIA FOR EU/IGNATIUM AND VOA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PHUM, CSCU, RO

SUBJECT: TFR001: THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRST PRESS

ABROGATED MANY OF THE ODIOSUS LAWS OF THE OLD REGIME. HE DEFENDED THE ACTION AGAINST CEAUSESCU, ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT THAT FAMILIAR WITH THE DETAILS OF THE CHARGES THEMSELVES. (HE THOUGHT THAT THE 60,000 DEAD WERE ONLY THOSE FROM THE REVOLUTION, FOR EXAMPLE.)

9. (##)

PREDICTIONS WERE LACKING. BOGDAN THOUGHT THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE COUNTRY WAS ENTERING A PERIOD OF PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST EVEN MORE FAR-REACHING THAN THAT IN THE USSR, BUT COULD GIVE NO DETAILS ON WHAT THE FUTURE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE WOULD LOOK LIKE. AS REGARDS FOREIGN POLICY, HE MERELY SAID THAT HE COULD DO NO BETTER THAN THE FIRST STATEMENT MADE BY THE FSN. HE NOTED THAT ROMANIA HAD ONCE PLAYED A USEFUL ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, AND DECLARED THAT SHE MUST RECOVER HER PLACE AND MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION.

10. HE ALSO REFERRED QUESTIONERS ON THE MINORITIES ISSUE TO THE FIRST FSN STATEMENT, BUT TO GERMAN JOURNALISTS HE SAID THAT CULTURAL AUTONOMY WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

11. DURING THE MEETING AN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE THAT ANY MEMBERS OF THE FSN COUNCIL PRESENT IN THE ROOM SHOULD ATTEND A FSN COUNCIL MEETING THEN TAKING PLACE IN THE MFA. IT APPEARS THAT THE FSN COUNCIL IS SOMETHING LIKE AN OLD MEDIEVAL COURT, ALWAYS ON THE

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MOVE, AS THE PERSONNEL TOLD EMBOFFS IT HAD NOT BEEN
THERE YESTERDAY, AND WERE NOT SURE IT WOULD BE THERE
TOMORROW.

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12. COMMENT. THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE GOT
THINGS OFF TO A GOOD START. BOGDAN TOLD EMBOFFS THAT
HE REALLY FELT ON EDGE, BUT THE CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE
WAS SO GREAT THAT NO ONE WAS REALLY CONCERNED ABOUT
THE ROUGH SPOTS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ONCE AGAIN
DECLARED ITS GOOD INTENTIONS, AND THE OUTLINE OF
FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS HERE HAS BECOME A BIT MORE CLEAR.
THE FSN IS ACQUIRING A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF POWER
DURING THE PRESENT PERIOD OF FLUX, AND THE TRANSITION
TO A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM WILL BE A DELICATE BUSINESS.
AS IN YESTERDAY'S THREATENED DEMONSTRATIONS,
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HOWEVER, THE FSN/GOVERNMENT IS STARTING TO PROVE ITSELF
ADEPT IN THE GAME OF REAL POLITICS. GREEN

NOTE: (##) OMISSION PARA 9, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-05 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00
DODE-00 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-10 PA-01
INRE-00 OCS-06 CA-02 USIE-00 SP-02 M-01 PRS-01
DS-01 IMMC-01 SCT-03 P-02 /056 W

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O 271522Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1842
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUDAPEST 13950

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, HU, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM CALLS
- FOR NATO/WARSAW PACT ACTION TO END THE
- FIGHTING IN ROMANIA

1. (C) SUMMARY: FOLLOWING THE CHINESE VETO OF

UNSC ACTION ON ROMANIA, THE DEMOCRATIC FORUM, HUNGARY'S
LARGEST OPPOSITION PARTY, HAS CALLED FOR SPECIALLY-
TRAINED ANTI-TERRORIST TROOPS FROM BOTH NATO AND
WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO BE SENT TO ROMANIA. WHILE
FOREIGN MINISTER HORN HAS PRIVATELY DISMISSED THE
FORUM'S SUGGESTION AS "UNREALISTIC," IT IS A LIKELY
FORETASTE OF MORE NEUTRALIST, LESS BLOC-ORIENTED
HUNGARIAN DIPLOMACY FOLLOWING THE FORMATION OF A
DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN APRIL.
END SUMMARY.

2. (C) HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SPOKESMAN GEZA JESZENSZKY VISITED POLOFF AT HOME
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LATE CHRISTMAS EVE WITH A COPY OF THE FORUM'S APPEAL
FOR SENDING OF ANTI-TERRORIST TROOPS TO ROMANIA FROM
BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. JESZENSZKY SAID
THE FORUM'S APPEAL FOLLOWED ON THE CHINESE VETO OF

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON ROMANIA, AND THAT HE HAD PRESENTED IT PERSONALLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER GYULA HORN EARLIER IN THE DAY. JESZENSZKY SAID HORN HAD DISMISSED THE IDEA AS UNREALISTIC. HE URGED POLOFF THAT SOME INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ACTION IS NECESSARY LEST FIGHTING INVOLVING REBEL SECURITY UNITS DRAG ON FOR WEEKS. JESZENSZKY SAID INTERNATIONAL ACTION IS ALSO MERITED BY NUMEROUS REPORTS OF ARAB MERCENARIES FIGHTING AGAINST THE ROMANIAN ARMY AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

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3. (U) FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF THE FORUM'S APPEAL.

4. (U) BEGIN TEXT.

MIKLOS NEMETH, PRIME MINISTER
GYULA HORN, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FERENC KARPATI, MINISTER OF DEFENCE

-- A FEW HOURS BEFORE CHRISTMAS THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA CONTINUES TO BE GRAVE. THE DEFEAT OF THE DICTATORSHIP AND ITS HIREINGS ALREADY APPEARS TO BE CERTAIN, BUT TERRORIST ACTIONS STILL CLAIM THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS AND THEY MAY ENDANGER PUBLIC SAFETY AND THE RELIEF OPERATIONS FOR WEEKS. THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- AS A RESULT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'S EXERCISING THE RIGHT OF VETO -- IS NOT IN A POSITION TO LIVE UP TO EXPECTATIONS, SO NEW WAYS HAVE TO BE SOUGHT TO STOP
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FURTHER BLOODSHED IN ROMANIA AND TO MAKE THE DELIVERY OF AID POSSIBLE. IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, AND THE CHANGES IN EUROPE MAKE SUCH AN ACTION A REAL POSSIBILITY. WE PROPOSE THAT THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO, SETTING AN EXAMPLE, SHOULD TAKE JOINT STEPS TO STOP GENOCIDE AND TERRORISM, TO HELP THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE IN ROMANIA.

-- AS A FOLLOW-UP TO OUR PREVIOUS APPEALS AND STATEMENTS WE CALL ON THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION IN ROMANIA (WHICH HUNGARY HAS ALREADY RECOGNIZED) AND OFFER THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY TO ORGANIZE THE SENDING OF ANTI-TERRORIST FORCES INTO

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ROMANIA, NAJURALLY UNDER SUPREME ROMANIAN COMMAND.
IF ROMANIA CONCURS, SOME STATES FROM THE WARSAW PACT
AND NATO COULD BE REQUESTED TO OFFER SPECIALLY TRAINED
ANTI-TERRORIST TROOPS FOR THIS END. THEIR ROLE
WOULD BE TO CARRY OUT URGENT MOP-UP OPERATIONS IN
ROMANIA AGAINST THE REMNANTS OF THE SECURITATE AND
THE BANDS THAT JOINED THEM. IF NECESSARY, HUNGARY
COULD OFFER HER TERRITORY AND DIRECT PARTICIPATION
IN THE USE OF SUCH FORCES.

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-- THERE IS NO TIME TO LOSE, EVERY HOUR'S DELAY MIGHT
CLAIM HUNDREDS OR THOUSANDS OF LIVES.

BUDAPEST, 24 DECEMBER, NOON.

FOR THE PRESIDUM OF THE HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM:

GEZA JESZENSZKY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUDAPEST 13950

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, HU, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM CALLS

HEAD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

END TEXT.

5. (C) COMMENT: WHATEVER ITS TECHNICAL DEMERITS,

THE FORUM'S APPEAL AND PREVIOUS CALLS BY HUNGARY'S
OPPOSITION PARTIES FOR U.N. ACTION WORK FROM TWO
BASIC PERCEPTIONS:

-- FIRST, THAT FOR HISTORIC REASONS, HUNGARIANS
HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN WHAT'S GOING ON IN
ROMANIA AND PROSPECT OF CONTINUED WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE
THERE IS A SPECIAL CONCERN FOR HUNGARY.

-- SECOND, THAT ANY OUTSIDE ACTION TO HALT THE
FIGHTING IN ROMANIA MUST BE INTERNATIONAL AND NOT
AMOUNT TO SOVIET OR WARSAW PACT ACTION ONLY.

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NUMEROUS HUNGARIAN CONTACTS -- INCLUDING SOME POLICY
THINKERS IN THE MFA -- HAVE EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN
OVER A SUEZ/PANAMA PARALLEL, FEARING THAT THE U.S.
INTERVENTION IN PANAMA COULD TIE UP WESTERN DIPLOMACY
DURING THE ROMANIAN CRISIS AS SUEZ DID DURING THE
1956 HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. THERE HAS BEEN CONCERN
THAT SOVIET/WARSAW PACT INTERVENTION IN ROMANIA
MIGHT CONVEY A WHIFF OF SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM
(PANAMA FOR ROMANIA) AND REAFFIRM UGLY PRECEDENTS
FOR SOVIET INTERVENTION IN EASTERN EUROPE.

6. (C) ALL THINGS BEING EQUAL, THE FORUM'S APPEAL
IS A LIKELY FORETASTE OF A MORE NEUTRALIST, LESS
BLOC-ORIENTED HUNGARIAN DIPLOMACY FOLLOWING THE
INSTALLATION OF A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT
IN APRIL.

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

UNCLAS THE HAGUE 10310

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, PREL, RO, NL
SUBJECT: DUTCH PROVIDE EMERGENCY AID TO ROMANIA

1. THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE RELIEF AGENCIES RESPONDED QUICKLY TO THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN ROMANIA. THE MFA PROVIDED ROUGHLY 4 MILLION GUILDERS (USDOLS 2 MILLION) IN EMERGENCY AID TO THE DUTCH RED CROSS, FOR USE IN PROVIDING FOOD AND EMERGENCY MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO ROMANIA. MOREOVER, THE DUTCH RED CROSS ESTABLISHED A SPECIAL BANK FUND FOR ROMANIA, TO WHICH DUTCH CITIZENS HAVE BEEN GIVING GENEROUSLY DURING THIS CHRISTMAS SEASON. THE DUTCH PRESS HAS REPORTED EXTENSIVELY ON THE ROMANIAN SITUATION AND ON THE DUTCH RELIEF EFFORT. SO FAR, THE RED CROSS HAS SENT TWO PLANELOADS OF 19,000 KILOS OF MEDICAL
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SUPPLIES, 25,000 BLANKETS, AND MEDICAL TEAMS TO ROMANIA. THE DUTCH BRANCH OF MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERS HAS SENT 4 MEDICAL TEAMS, WITH ANOTHER TEAM TO FOLLOW TODAY.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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2. THE DUTCH MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IS COOPERATING WITH THE DUTCH RED CROSS IN TRANSPORTING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO ROMANIA. THE DUTCH AIR FORCE WILL FLY A TOTAL OF NINE FLIGHTS TO BUCHAREST FROM ITS AIRBASE IN SOESTERBERG. EACH OF THE FOKKER FRIENDSHIPS CAN CARRY UP TO 3 TONS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. THE RED CROSS HAS SAID ITS RELIEF EFFORTS WILL CONCENTRATE ON PROVIDING FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, PRIMARILY TO CENTRAL ROMANIA. ACCORDING TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DUTCH RED CROSS, MR. J.J. VAN DER WEEL, RED CROSS PHONE LINES HAVE BEEN FLOODED BY CALLS FROM DUTCH CITIZENS WANTING TO HELP.

3. ONE FRIESIAN COMMUNITY, DRACHTEN, SPONTANEOUSLY ORGANIZED THREE TRUCKLOADS OF FOOD TO BE SHIPPED TO ROMANIA. THE ORGANIZERS, AFTER REACHING ONLY ANSWERING MACHINES AT VARIOUS CHARITIES, DECIDED THE EMERGENCY SITUATION IN ROMANIA WARRANTED IMMEDIATE ACTION DESPITE THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS AND STARTED A COLLECTION EFFORT THROUGH VARIOUS CHURCHES. TWO TRUCKLOADS OF GOODS LEFT THE NETHERLANDS ON 12/26, AND THE LAST ONE WILL DEPART SOON. WILKINS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BUCHAREST 10959

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECLOADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PHUM, CSCE, RO
SUBJECT: TFR001: THE AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH (##)
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH ION ILIESCU AND VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE EMERGING ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT FOR ONE HOUR ON DECEMBER 27. AFTER CONVEYING THE PRESIDENT'S CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE (REFTEL), THE AMBASSADOR ASKED ILIESCU FOR HIS VIEWS OF THE CURRENT MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION. ILIESCU POINTED TO THE UNIQUE SPONTANEOUS NATURE OF THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION, FRANKLY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THIS PRESENTED THE NEW LEADERSHIP WITH BOTH ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. ILIESCU'S ASSESSMENT OF THE MILITARY SITUATION WAS UPBEAT, ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT
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CEAUSESCU'S TRAINED TERRORISTS WERE DETERMINED AND CAPABLE. ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, ILIESCU ELOQUENTLY DESCRIBED THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND GENUINE POLITICAL PLURALISM.

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
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HE NEVERTHELESS STATED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT THIS DID NOT NECESSARILY EQUATE TO A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. RATHER HE DESCRIBED THE FSN AS A BROAD FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH "TWENTY-THREE MILLION" (ROMANIA'S POPULATION) POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS COULD CO-EXIST. WHILE ILIESCU AND HIS COLLEAGUES GAVE EVERY EVIDENCE OF GENUINE COMMITMENT TO THEIR DEMOCRATIC TEN POINT PROGRAM, IT WAS CLEAR THAT (AS ILIESCU HIMSELF PUT IT) THEY ARE STILL "LEARNING THE ART OF POLITICS." END SUMMARY.

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3. THE AMBASSADOR'S INITIAL MEETING WITH ION ILIESCU TURNED OUT TO BE A REMARKABLY FREE-WHEELING EXCHANGE WITH VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. ILIESCU WAS JOINED BY PRIME MINISTER PETRE ROMAN, FOREIGN MINISTER SERGIU CELAC (WHO WAS APPOINTED EARLIER THE SAME AFTERNOON), AND DIRECTOR OF RADIO AND TV AUREL DRAGOS MUNTEANU. THE AMBASSADOR WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE DCM AND POLCOUNS. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE AT 8:00 PM, FOLLOWING WHAT HAD OBVIOUSLY BEEN A GRUELLING DAY FOR THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION (FSN) LEADERSHIP. THEY HAD JUST COME FROM AN EXTENDED MEETING OF THE FRONT, AND CIVILIAN AND UNIFORMED MEMBERS STILL FILLED THE MFA HALLWAYS AS THE AMBASSADOR PARTY ARRIVED.

4. THE ATMOSPHERE THROUGHOUT WAS OPEN, FRIENDLY, AND CASUAL (MUNTEANU WAS THE ONLY ROMANIAN SPORTING A TIE). ALL FOUR OF THE ROMANIAN LEADERS SPOKE ENGLISH FOR AT LEAST PART OF THE CONVERSATION, AND FOREIGN MINISTER CELAC PITCHED IN TO INTERPRET WHERE NECESSARY. ON THE WAY OUT, THE AMBASSADOR BUMPED INTO CORNELIU MANESCU

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IN THE HALLWAY, AND THE TALL, FRAIL FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER WISHED PRESIDENT BUSH WELL. IT WAS ALL QUITE A REFRESHING CHANGE FROM THE STULTIFYING PROTOCOL OF CEAUSESCU'S IMPERIAL COURT.

5. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED AMERICA'S ADMIRATION FOR THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION AND CONVEYED PRESIDENT BUSH'S PERSONAL MESSAGE TO THE FSN, PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE COURAGE OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE AND SYMPATHY FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE VIOLENCE. HE NOTED THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND ASKED WHAT OTHER FORM U.S. ASSISTANCE MIGHT TAKE. THE AMBASSADOR APPLAUDED THE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS THE FRONT HAD PLEDGED TO UNDERTAKE AND ASKED FOR ITS HELP IN MAKING VISITS BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS A SUCCESS.

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6. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO NOTED THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE U.S. OF THE FSN'S PLEDGE TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ROMANIA'S ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES. IN THIS CONTEXT HE UNDERLINED THE CONTINUING U.S. CONCERN FOR ROMANIA'S SMALL AND AGING JEWISH COMMUNITY. HE NOTED THAT OUR STRONG SUPPORT OF THE FRONT THUS FAR WAS BASED ON ITS STATED PROGRAM IN THIS AND OTHER AREAS, AND ON ITS EFFORTS THUS FAR TO PUT THEM INTO PRACTICE.

7. ILIESCU, WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CELAC SERVING AS INTERPRETER, THANKED THE USG FOR ITS SOLIDARITY WITH THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE AND PRESIDENT BUSH FOR HIS KIND MESSAGE. THE FRONT IS GRATEFUL FOR THE IRC DONATION AND APPRECIATED OFFERS OF FURTHER AID. THE HEALTH AUTHORITIES ARE WORKING ON ASSESSING WHAT FURTHER HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED.
HOW WE GOT WHERE WE ARE

8. ILIESCU NOTED HOW DIFFERENTLY THINGS EVOLVED IN ROMANIA, IN COMPARISON WITH HOW CHANGES CAME ABOUT IN

NOTE: (##) OMISSION IN SUBJECT LINE, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.
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THE SOVIET UNION, FOR EXAMPLE, WHERE THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAD PRODUCED FORCES FOR RENEWAL AND CHANGE FROM WITHIN ITSELF. IN ROMANIA, NICOLAE CEAUSESCU HAD MADE THE PARTY A PART OF HIS ORGAN OF REPRESSION IN THE CREATION OF A PRIMITIVE TOTALITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM GEARED TO KEEPING HIM IN POWER. IT WAS A NARROW AND CONSTRAINING FRAMEWORK WHICH COULD NOT COPE WITH THE COUNTRY'S MOUNTING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THE ECONOMIC MISERY FED THE PEOPLE'S DISCONTENT AND FOSTERED COMPLETE MORAL DEGRADATION. ROMANIA HAD BECOME A PRESSURE COOKER WITHOUT A SAFETY VALVE.

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9. THE ONLY POSSIBLE OUTCOME WAS A SOCIAL EXPLOSION, WHICH TOOK PLACE SUDDENLY AND VIOLENTLY AND COULD NOT BE CONTAINED ONCE THE ARMY REFUSED TO MASSACRE ROMANIAN CITIZENS (AND, IN FACT, JOINED WITH THEM). THERE WAS NO PLOT OR ORGANIZED CONSPIRACY, ILIESCU EMPHASIZED. WHAT TOOK PLACE WAS A GENUINE MASS UP-RISING WHICH SWEEPED AWAY THE PARTY AND THE EXISTING (##) WERE BROUGHT TOGETHER AND "BOBBED TO THE TOP."

-
10. THE DISADVANTAGE POLITICALLY WAS THAT THE FRONT HAD TO START BUILDING FROM "ZERO" IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO FIND A NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY FACING A MULTITUDE OF URGENT PRACTICAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IT WAS FORCED TO USE THE EXISTING MECHANISMS OF ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT WHILE GROPING TO CREATE NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURES. THE ADVANTAGE IS THAT THERE ARE NO PRECONCEIVED IDEAS AND NO IDEOLOGICAL BAGGAGE TO DRAG ALONG. THE FRONT HAS BEEN ABLE TO START ITS CONSTRUCTION WITH A CLEAN SLATE AND AN OPEN MIND.

-
11. THE ROLE OF THE FRONT IN ALL THIS WAS TO MAINTAIN A BROAD NATIONAL CONSENSUS. THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM WAS MADE BROAD ENOUGH (AND SO DIFFERENT ENOUGH FROM THE FORMER TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM), SO AS TO ATTRACT WIDE SUPPORT. THE HOPE IS TO CONTROL AND CHANNEL THE ENERGIES OF A POPULAR EXPLOSION CONSTRUCTIVELY IN ORDER TO TRANSFORM THEM INTO A FUNCTIONING POLITICAL SYSTEM. THIS WOULD LIKELY TAKE A TYPICALLY ROMANIAN SHAPE,

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ADDED ILIESCU, WHO NOTED THAT THE FRONT'S GOAL OF
POLITICAL PLURALISM WAS NOT NECESSARILY IN CONTRADICTION
WITH THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE OVERARCHING
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STRUCTURE.

-
12. ACCORDING TO ILIESCU, THE FSN IS STILL GROPING
ITS WAY FORWARD. IT WOULD NOT BECOME A FORMAL POLITICAL
PARTY PRIOR TO THE APRIL ELECTIONS, WHOSE TIMING MIGHT
WELL BE PREMATURE, IN ANY CASE. THE FRONT LEADERSHIP
WOULD LIKE TO POSTPONE THE ELECTIONS, BUT DOES NOT WANT
TO BE PERCEIVED AS ATTEMPTING TO HANG ONTO POWER, SO
THE APRIL SCHEDULE MIGHT WELL HOLD.

-
LOOKING AHEAD: THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION

13. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION ABOUT
YOUTHFUL DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE,
ILIESCU STRESSED THAT YOUNG PEOPLE HAD BEEN IN THE
FOREFRONT OF THE UPRISING TOUCHED OFF BY CEAUSESCU'S
GREAT TACTICAL MISTAKE OF TRYING TO ORGANIZE A MASS
PRO-REGIME RALLY IN BUCHAREST FOLLOWING THE MASSACRE
IN TIMISOARA. AS IF TO UNDERSCORE THAT DISSIDENT
POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS WOULD BE GIVEN THEIR SAY, ILIESCU
RECOUNTED WITH EVIDENT PLEASURE THE TELEVISED INCIDENT
THE OTHER NIGHT, IN WHICH AN ANGRY DISSENTER WAS
GIVEN TV TIME TO MAKE HIS POINTS, ONLY TO BE
EMBARRASSED BY HOW MUCH THEY COINCIDED WITH THE FSN'S
TEN POINT PROGRAM (WHICH THE DISSENTER ULTIMATELY
ACKNOWLEDGED HE HADN'T READ). ILIESCU'S POINT WAS
CLEAR: THE FSN DOES NOT INTEND TO REPRESS DISSENTING
VIEWS OR PREVENT THEIR EXPRESSION IN POLITICAL FORM.

14. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED ILIESCU TO DESCRIBE WHAT THE
FSN MEANT BY ITS ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO KEEP STATE

NOTE: (##) OMISSION PARA 9, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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 AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BUCHAREST 10959

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECLOADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PHUM, CSCE, RO
 SUBJECT: TFR001: THE AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH

POWER SEPARATE FROM THE POLITICAL PROCESS. ILIESCU
 REPLIED THAT THE FSN FAVORED THE PRINCIPLE OF A
 SEPARATION OF POWERS, UNLIKE THE CEAUSESCU REGIME'S
 OBSESSION WITH BRINGING TOGETHER ALL POWER IN THE HANDS
 OF THE DICTATOR. DESCRIBING HIS NOTION OF SEPARATION OF
 POWER, ILIESCU SAID THAT, IN THE CURRENT TRANSITION
 PHASE BEFORE FREE ELECTIONS, THE FSN SERVED AS A FORM
 OF LEGISLATIVE BODY. THE GOVERNMENT, HEADED BY PRIME
 MINISTER ROMAN, WOULD BE A SEPARATE ENTITY BUT
 ULTIMATELY SUBORDINATE TO THE FSN. THERE ALSO NEEDED
 TO BE AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

15. ON THE QUESTION OF WHEN A NEW CONSTITUTION MIGHT

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BE DRAFTED, ILIESCU SAID THAT THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO WOULD BE FOR THE FSN TO DEVELOP A SET OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH A NEW ELECTORAL LAW COULD BE DRAWN UP. ELECTIONS WOULD THEN BE HELD IN APRIL, AND THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT WOULD ACTUALLY DRAFT THE NEW CONSTITUTION. POLCOUNS ASKED WHETHER THE FSN WOULD DISSOLVE ITSELF AFTER THE ELECTIONS. ILIESCU REPLIED THAT HE FRANKLY WASN'T SURE. IT MIGHT BE THAT THE PEOPLE WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THE FSN HAD DONE A GOOD JOB AND SHOULD CONTINUE TO EXIST AS A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH POLITICAL DEBATE WOULD TAKE PLACE. ILIESCU CONTINUED THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT PLURALISM HAD TO BE EQUATED WITH A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. RATHER, THE KEY WAS TO PRESERVE THE NATIONAL CONSENSUS FORGED IN THE REVOLUTION WHILE FINDING A WAY TO ALLOW DIVERGENT VIEWPOINTS TO BE EXPRESSED. THE FSN MIGHT BE A FRAMEWORK IN WHICH, HE JOKED, THERE COULD BE TWENTY-THREE MILLION POLITICAL VIEWS (E.G., ONE FOR EACH ROMANIAN). INTERESTINGLY, NONE OF ILIESCU'S COLLEAGUES SUPPORTED HIS QUESTIONING OF MULTI-PARTY POLITICS. PETRE ROMAN, FOR INSTANCE, AT SEVERAL POINTS IN THE CONVERSATION SAID THAT ROMANIANS COULD FORM AS MANY PARTIES AS THEY WISHED.

COMMENT

16. THE DEPTH OF COMMITMENT BY ILIESCU AND HIS COLLEAGUES TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES WAS BOTH EVIDENT AND APPARENTLY GENUINE. BUT IT WAS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THEY ARE STILL STRUGGLING WITH HOW TO IMPLEMENT THESE PRINCIPLES IN THE UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION. AS ILIESCU HIMSELF PUT IT, WE ARE "STILL LEARNING THE ART OF POLITICS." THEY WILL BE DOING

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SO THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD BEFORE AND AFTER ROMANIA'S FIRST FREE ELECTIONS IN MORE THAN FOUR DECADES. ILIESCU AND HIS COLLEAGUES UNDERScoreD THEIR OPENNESS TO DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S. AS THEY TRY TO MEET AN ELECTORAL DEADLINE THAT THEY FREELY ACKNOWLEDGE IS EXTREMELY AMBITIOUS. THE AMBASSADOR IN TURN MADE CLEAR

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OUR COMMITMENT TO DO EVERYTHING WE COULD TO HELP

ROMANIA THROUGH A DIFFICULT TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY.

GREEN

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
USIA WASHDC 8871

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUDAPEST 13956

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PREL, HU, RO
SUBJECT: HUNGARY AND THE ROMANIAN CRISIS

1. (CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: THE ROMANIAN EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK

HAVE HAD PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE FOR HUNGARIANS WHO
ARE OVERJOYED AT THE PASSING OF THE CEAUSESCU REGIME
BUT WARY OF THE NEW ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S POSSIBLE
MINORITIES POLICY. CONTACTS BETWEEN THE HUNGARIAN
AND ROMANIAN MILITARIES AND FAILURE OF MAGYAR
IRREDENTISM TO FIND ANY SIGNIFICANT MANIFESTATION
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DURING THE CRISIS HAVE BEEN MAJOR FEATURES OF THE
SCENE. HUNGARIANS ARE NOW LOOKING FOR THINGS TO BE
DONE IN AIDING ROMANIA AND STOPPING THE FIGHTING.
END SUMMARY.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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3. FOR HUNGARIANS, ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENTS ARE CLOSE TO BEING DOMESTIC NEWS. AT LEAST EVERY TENTH HUNGARIAN HAS A CLOSE RELATIVE IN ROMANIA; A GREAT PART OF THE NATIONAL PAST IS LODGED THERE. THE CEAUSESCU DICTATORSHIP WAS AN ACUTE STRAIN ON THE NATIONAL PSYCHE FOR A GENERATION, BOTH IN INCREASING DENIAL OF RIGHTS TO ROMANIA'S HUNGARIAN MINORITY AND BECAUSE WHAT CEAUSESCU WAS ALL ABOUT SEEMED A VISCERAL THREAT TO HUNGARY'S BRAND OF REFORM COMMUNISM DURING THE KADAR AND GROSZ YEARS, AND MORE RECENTLY A BASTION AGAINST HUNGARIANS' AND OTHERS' MOVES TOWARD REAL DEMOCRACY. THE COUNTRY IS BUZZING OVER THE DECEMBER 26 TELEVISION BROADCAST OF THE TRIAL OF NICOLAE AND ELENA, AND THE PICTURES OF THEIR BULLET-RIDDLED BODIES. WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST WEEK HAS BEEN IMPORTANT HISTORY FOR HUNGARIANS; FOLLOWING ARE SOME SALIENT THEMES.

4. WHAT HAPPENED TO MAGYAR IRREDENTISM?

AS COMMENTATORS, INCLUDING SOME LEADING FIGURES IN THE HUNGARIAN REGIME, HAVE REMARKED IN RECENT YEARS, THE IDEA OF MARCHING ON ROMANIA IS PERHAPS

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THE ONLY THING WHICH COULD INSTANTLY UNITE TEN MILLION HUNGARIAN CITIZENS. DESPITE MAJOR VIOLENCE AND INSTABILITY IN ROMANIA, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE BEHAVED WITH REMARKABLE PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT, ORGANIZING RELIEF EFFORTS, AVOIDING ANY APPEARANCE OF A BILATERAL CONFLICT, AND PUSHING FOR AN INTERNATNIONAL SOLUTION VIA U.N. ACTION. THE US. INTERVENTION IN PANAMA, COMING SHORTLY AFTER THE TIMISOARA MASSACRE DECEMBER 17, RAISED HUNGARIAN FEARS OF A SUEZ/PANAMA PARALLEL IN WHICH WESTERN DIPLOMACY WOULD BE PARALYZED BY PANAMA AS IT WAS BY SUEZ IN 1956, DURING THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. A SENIOR MFA OFFICIAL AIRED FEARS OF SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM

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LAST WEEK (PANAMA FOR ROMANIA). MATTERS HAVE COME FULL CIRCLE: HAVING BEEN SKEPTICAL OF U.S. DIPLOMACY TOWARD ROMANIA DURING THE BREZHNEV ERA AND U.S. CONCERN THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT "TAKE BACK" ROMANIA, MANY HUNGARIANS ARE NOW CONCERNED THAT ANY INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO RESTORE ORDER IN ROMANIA SHOULD NOT INVOLVE THE SOVIETS AND WARSAW PACT ONLY. TO BE SURE, SOME IRREDENTISM IS STILL THERE AND FEELINGS ARE HIGH. A DEMOCRATIC FORUM DINNER GUEST DECEMBER 26 EXPRESSED HOPE THAT HUNGARY MIGHT COME OUT OF THE ROMANIAN CRISIS WITH THE BORDER CITIES (TIMISOARA/TEMESVAR, ARAD/ARAD, ORADEA/NAGYVARAD) TRANSFERRED TO ROMANIA UNDER THE TREATY OF TRIANON. BUT THIS IS A LIMITED VIEW, THE PREVAILING FEELING BEING THAT ROMANIA IS A LARGE PLACE AND THAT UNILATERAL INTERVENTION WOULD BE A FOOLHARDY PROSPECT.

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 13956 02 OF 02 271615Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00
DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09
L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00
ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-03 P-02
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O 271553Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1850
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS

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AMEMBASSY BUNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USIA WASHDC 8872

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUDAPEST 13956

DEPARTMENT PASS AID FOR AID/ANE/EE

USIA FOR EU AND A/D:RAYMOND

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PREL, HU, RO
SUBJECT: HUNGARY AND THE ROMANIAN CRISIS

5. THE MILITARY/MILITARY DIMENSION.

ONE OF THE MORE SURPRISING FEATURES OF THE PAST WEEK'S EVENTS HAS BEEN CLOSE HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN MILITARY/MILITARY CONTACTS. THE LOCAL ROMANIAN MILITARY ATTACHE HAS MET TWICE WITH THE DEFENSE MINISTER; THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS PHONE CONVERSATIONS AND CONTACTS IN BUCHAREST. A MONTH AGO, THE MFA'S ROMANIAN DESK OFFICER CONIDED THAT BILATERAL POLITICAL DIALOGUE HAD SUNK TO CONFIDENTIAL

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THE POINT THAT THE PRESS WAS THE ONLY REMAINING DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL. MILITARY/MILITARY CONTACTS ACTIVATED PROMPTLY AFTER THE TIMISOARA MASSACRE WITH MUTUAL DISCLAIMERS OF HOSTILE INTENTIONS, RELEASE OF HUNGARIAN ARMY RATIONS FOR RELIEF EFFORTS, AND THE DISPATCH OF A HUNGARIAN TROOP COLUMN TO TIMISOARA WITH RELIEF SUPPLIES. POSSIBLY THE HUNGARIANS KNEW FROM THE ROMANIAN MILITARY THAT SOMETHING WAS UP

6. ASSISTANCE EFFORTS.

HUNGARY HAS MOBILIZED FOR RELIEF EFFORTS. PUBLIC RESPONSE TO APPEALS HAS BEEN OVERWHELMING, AND MONEY, FOOD, CLOTHES, MEDICINES, AND OTHER RELIEF SUPPLIES ARE BEING GATHERED OR HAVE ALREADY BEEN SENT. ON DECEMBER 26, BUDAPEST'S AIRPORT HAD LARGE NUMBERS OF HUNGARIAN RED CROSS VOLUNTEERS LOADING FLIGHTS TO ROMANIA.

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7. APPREHENSIONS ABOUT THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

THOUGHTFUL HUNGARIANS WELCOME THE NEW ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT BUT RECOGNIZE THAT ITS FORMATION REPRESENTS COMPROMISES WRIT LARGE. THERE IS NERVOUSNESS ABOUT ITS MINORITIES POLICIES. CORNELIU MANESCU'S INITIAL PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT THAT "WE DON'T FEAR THE HUNGARIANS OR ANY NATIONALITY," WAS HEADLINED BY ONE HUNGARIAN DAILY AS MULTI-EDGED; A LEADING EXPERT ON MINORITIES ISSUES COMPLAINED TO US DECEMBER 26 THAT MAZILIU HAD OMITTED MINORITIES FROM AN ACCOUNT OF THE CEAUSESCU REGIME'S
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FAILURES. HUNGARIANS FEAR THAT FREE ELECTIONS, ROMANIAN-STYLE, WILL NOT BE OF THE SAME GENRE AS THEIR OWN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S, OR THE GDR'S. CONSCIOUS OF THE WEAKNESS OF THEIR OWN DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS, THEY NOTE ROMANIA'S NEAR-TOTAL LACK OF THEM.

8. CEAUSESCU'S DEATH. REACTION HAS BEEN RESTRAINED.

A YOUNG BORDERGUARDS OFFICER AT THE AIRPORT DECEMBER 26 SAID HE HAD NOT EXPECTED THE CEAUSESCUS' DEMISE TO COME SO QUICKLY OR BRUTALLY; A GATHERING OF INTELLECTUALS OVER DINNER DEBATED WHETHER THE EXECUTIONS WERE MORE REPUGNANT THAN NECESSARY AND CAME DOWN, SLIGHTLY, IN FAVOR OF THE NECESSARY.

9. JOY. FOR MANY HUNGARIANS, WHAT HAS HAPPENED

IN ROMANIA OFFERS JOYOUS PROSPECTS: NOT HAVING TO SMUGGLE FOOD PARCELS FOR RELATIVES PAST ROMANIAN BORDERGUARDS, GIVING HELP TO HUNGARIAN CHURCHES IN ROMANIA, BEING ABLE TO TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATE FREELY IN ROMANIA. THEIR HERO IS PASTOR LASZLO TOKES, WHOSE ACTIVISM HELPED PRECIPITATE THE EVENTS IN TIMISOARA, AND THERE IS TALK THAT EMIGRE TRANSYLVANIAN MAGYAR INTELLECTUALS SHOULD NOW GO BACK TO KEEP THE FIRES BURNING.

10. BUCHAREST MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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ACTION EAP-00

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R 280852Z DEC 89
FM AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7125
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AIT TAIPEI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 SHANGHAI 11418

ZEN AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST (POUCH).
BEIJING PASS CHENGDU

E.O.12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, CH, RO
SUBJ: SHANGHAI INTELLECTUALS -- ROMANIAN SHOCK WAVES

REF: SHANGHAI 9827

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SHANGHAI INTELLECTUALS ARE PONDERING THE IMPLICATIONS OF CEAUSESCU'S FALL FOR POLITICAL REFORM IN CHINA. OUR CONTACTS REPORT THAT INTELLECTUALS FEAR BEIJING OLDTIMERS WILL DETERMINE THAT INCREASING SECURITY AND CRUSHING DISSENT EARLY ARE THE ONLY WAYS TO HOLD POWER AND PREVENT ROMANIAN-STYLE CHAOS. THEY BELIEVE THAT IMPROVING U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IS CLEARLY A PERSONAL PRIORITY OF DENG XIAOPING, BUT PREDICT THAT THE NEWS FROM ROMANIA WILL MAKE
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IT HARDER FOR HIM TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. CONGENOFFS HOSTED A SERIES OF HOLIDAY GET-TOGETHERS WITH SHANGHAI INTELLECTUALS DECEMBER 23-24. WE EXPECTED

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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BUT THE CONVERSATIONS CENTERED MORE ON ROMANIA, AND THE SHOCK WAVES CEAUSESCU'S FALL WAS SENDING THROUGH THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP. WE FOUND OUR CONTACTS WELL-INFORMED AND OPINIONATED.

4. [REDACTED] SAID THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA DOMINATED CONVERSATIONS AMONG COLLEAGUES AT THE PAPER ON THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 23. SOME INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED VIA XINHUA, BUT THE MAJOR NEWS SOURCES WERE VOA AND BBC. [REDACTED] B6

[REDACTED] TOLD US THE NEXT DAY THAT HIS OFFICE-MATES COULD SPEAK OF NOTHING ELSE OVER THE WEEKEND. HE ADDED THAT HE MADE A DECEMBER 24 VISIT TO FRIENDS ON THE FUDAN UNIVERSITY FACULTY, AND FOUND THEM EXCITEDLY DISCUSSING THE LATEST NEWS. [REDACTED] B6

[REDACTED] ACCEPTED OUR INVITATION TO A PRIVATE COFFEE AND TOLD US THAT HIS INTELLECTUAL FRIENDS WERE HEARTENED BY THE NEWS FROM ROMANIA, BUT CONCERNED BY THOUGHTS OF HOW BEIJING LEADERS MIGHT REACT. B6

5. [REDACTED] CONCERNS. HE SAID THERE WERE STILL SOME IDEALISTS WHO HOPE THE BLOODY END OF THE CEAUSESCU REGIME WILL SERVE AS A WARNING TO CHINESE LEADERS, WHO WOULD THEN DETERMINE THAT POLITICAL REFORMS MUST BE CARRIED FORWARD. THE MAJORITY OPINION, HOWEVER, HAS CHINESE LEADERS MORE RESOLVED THAN EVER TO CRUSH DISSENT EARLY TO PREVENT ITS SPREAD IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THEIR POSITIONS. B6

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6. [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT HIS FRIENDS THOUGHT THE ONLY LESSON THE LEADERSHIP COULD DRAW WAS "BEEF UP SECURITY." ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] B6

[REDACTED] MADE PRECISELY THIS POINT IN AN INTERNAL REPORT TO CITY LEADERS ON HER VISIT. (NOTE: [REDACTED] B6

[REDACTED] THESE TIES GIVE HIM ACCESS TO RESTRICTED DOCUMENTS. (END NOTE.) [REDACTED] SAID THAT THIS VIEW MAY NOT ACTUALLY BE HER PERSONAL OPINION, HOWEVER, AS IT IS NOT POLITICALLY POSSIBLE TO STATE PUBLICLY THE OPPOSITE CONCLUSION NOW. B6

U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS -- COMPLICATING FACTORS

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7. ALL AGREED THAT THE SCOWCROFT VISIT PRESENTED OPPORTUNITIES, BUT COMPLICATED THE SITUATION FOR BEIJING LEADERS. THEY ASSESSED THE NEW COVERAGE IN CHINA AND INTERNAL REPORTS OF THE VISIT AS CONFIRMATION THAT DENG IS PERSONALLY SEEKING TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS, BUT THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT THE NEED TO REACT TO THE ROMANIAN SITUATION WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO BUILD CONSENSUS FOR CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO PRE-EMPT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION NEXT MONTH.

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8. DESPITE THESE CONCERNS, CEAUSESCU'S FALL HAS BROUGHT JOY TO SOME HEARTS CLOSED SINCE JUNE 4. [REDACTED] A FORMER PLA OFFICIAL AND AN ACTIVIST DURING STUDENT DEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATIONS, TOLD US THAT SATURDAY WAS THE "HAPPIEST DAY" SHE'D PASSED SINCE TIANANMEN. SHE SAID THAT FRIENDS HAD BEEN CALLING HER AT HOME ALL MORNING TO MAKE SURE SHE WAS TUNED TO THE SHORTWAVE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY KNOW THE PHONE IS BUGGED.

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9. COMMENT: SHANGHAI INTELLECTUALS ARE CONCERNED THAT

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ACTION EAP-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /039 W

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R 280852Z DEC 89
FM AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7126
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

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AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AIT TAIPEI

UNCLASSIFIED

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 SHANGHAI 11418

ZEN AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST (POUCH).
CEAUSESCU'S FALL WILL REINFORCE CHINESE LEADERS' PROCLIVITY
TO ADOPT REPRESSIVE MEASURES TO STAMP OUT DISSENT. OUR CONTACTS
FEAR THE NEWS ALSO MAY COMPLICATE EFFORTS TO RESTORE U.S.-CHINA
TIES, AS CHINESE LEADERS CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH THE UNSETTLING
QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT THEIR OWN STABILITY. END COMMENT.
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PAGE 01 DAMASC 07927 291106Z
ACTION NEA-11

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R 291105Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3305

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAMASCUS 07927

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, SY, RO
SUBJECT: SARG OFFICIAL REACTS TO EVENTS IN ROMANIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DURING LATE EVENING SESSION DECEMBER 28, [REDACTED]

B6

INITIATED DISCUSSION OF THE EVENTS IN ROMANIA WITH
CHARGE'. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] VOICED HIS STRONG OPINION THAT CEAUSESCU
WAS THE VICTIM OF A "MILITARY COUP D'ETAT" AND NOT
A POPULAR UPRISING AS WAS BEING DESCRIBED. THE
SUBJECT OBVIOUSLY PAINED [REDACTED] BECAUSE OF THE
PARALLELS BETWEEN CEAUSESCU REGIME AND HIS OWN.

B6

[REDACTED] SAID HIS HYPOTHESIS ABOUT A COUP HAD BEEN
CONFIRMED BY "WATCHING CEAUSESCU'S EYES" DURING THE
TRIAL. HE WENT ON TO DEFEND CEAUSESCU'S POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE NOTING THAT IN THE PAST
EIGHT YEARS CEAUSESCU HAD ELIMINATED ROMANIA'S
FOREIGN DEBT. HE SAID CEAUSESCU HAD BEEN A CREATIVE
THINKER ON ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUES AND HE SAID THAT
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PAGE 02 DAMASC 07927 291106Z

SADAT RECEIVED CRUCIAL ENCOURAGEMENT FROM CEAUSESCU
PRIOR TO THE 1977 VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

3. TALKING OF THE EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, [REDACTED]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
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SAID SYRIA OBVIOUSLY HAD SOME ADJUSTMENTS UNCLASSIFIED

THE SOCIALIST BROTHERHOOD, WHICH HAD FORMED THE BACKBONE OF SYRIA'S FOREIGN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES, HAD BEEN DESTROYED. THIS IS NO REASON,

[REDACTED] QUICKLY ASSERTED, FOR SYRIA TO QUESTION THE WISDOM OF ITS OWN SOCIALIST SYSTEM. TO THE CONTRARY, THERE HAVE BEEN VERY GREAT STRIDES IN TERMS OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION, SCHOOLS AND ROADS REACHING EVERY VILLAGE IN SYRIA. THERE MAY HAVE TO BE SOME "SMALL CHANGES" TO MEET THESE EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, BUT SYRIAN SOCIALISM IS SOUND. CHARGE' POINTED OUT THAT DESPITE THE ADVANCES IN EDUCATION, THE GRADUATES NEED JOBS AND JOBS ARE NOT BEING CREATED BY THE INEFFICIENT STATE INDUSTRIES. SYRIA MUST STIMULATE THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN ORDER TO CREATE THE NECESSARY GROWTH AND JOBS. [REDACTED] REGRETTABLY, FELL BACK ON THE ARGUMENT THAT THE ASAD REGIME HAD ALREADY CREATED THE MECHANISM FOR SUCH PRIVATE SECTOR ACTIVITY IN THE "MIXED SECTOR." CHARGE' ASKED ABOUT THE REPEAL OF AW 14 REGARDING BLACK MARKET ACTIVITIES, REMINDING [REDACTED] THAT THIS IS A CRITICAL ELEMENT, EVEN IN MIXED SECTOR GROWTH. [REDACTED] REPEATED THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE SOME CHANGES, BUT IN SYRIA THESE CHANGES COULD BE SMALL.

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4. COMMENT: THE PARALLEL TO ROMANIA IS OBVIOUSLY ON EVERYONE'S MIND. [REDACTED] MAY HAVE BEEN FISHING FOR A U.S. REACTION. [REDACTED] HIMSELF REFLECTS THE REGIME'S OFFICIAL CONFIDENCE IN LIBERAL, SECULAR CONFIDENTIAL

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BA'ATH PARTY SOCIALISM AS AN ADEQUATE IDEOLOGY FOR SYRIA. CONVENIENTLY IGNORED IS THE PROBLEM OF A STAGNANT ECONOMY. THE FOCUS IS ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PAST WHICH, ALTHOUGH SIGNIFICANT, DO NOT FOSTER THE KIND OF RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH SYRIA REQUIRES AT THIS JUNCTURE. WE CONTINUE TO BE AWARE THAT THE POLITICAL/ECONOMIC CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE HAVE CLEARLY SHAKEN BOTH THE LEADERSHIP AND POPULATION OF SYRIA.

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PAGE 01 OUAGAD 06737 291108Z
ACTION AF-00

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R 291056Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2502
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L OUAGADOUGOU 06737

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RO, UV
SUBJECT: SUPPORT FOR ROMANIAN NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT
-- IN BURKINA FASO

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON MORNING OF DECEMBER 27, DCM RECEIVED DELEGATION OF THREE ROMANIAN WOMEN WHO CALLED AT EMBASSY TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THE CURRENT NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN ROMANIA. GROUP INDICATED THAT THEY WERE PART OF A LARGER BODY OF ABOUT TEN ROMANIAN WOMEN RESIDENT IN BURKINA WHO HAD COME TOGETHER SPONTANEOUSLY IN RESPONSE TO "LIBERATION OF THEIR COUNTRY." THE SPOKESWOMAN, A HISTORY TEACHER AT A OUAGADOUGOU LYCEE, EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR USG SUPPORT OF NEW POLITICAL FORCES, AND HOPED THE UNITED STATES WOULD CONTINUE TO AID ROMANIA IN ITS STRUGGLE. SHE NOTED THAT PRESENT LIVING CONDITIONS THERE WERE HARSH, WITH SEVERE SHORTAGES OF FOOD AND MEDICINE.

3. THE GROUP INDICATED THAT THEY WERE ATTEMPTING TO RAISE MONEY TO PROVIDE BARE NECESSITIES OF LIFE FOR
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THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN ROMANIA. THEY PRODUCED A LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH THEY WERE FORWARDING TO PARIS (ADDRESS IN PARA 5). DCM RESPONDED THAT WHILE THE EMBASSY COULD NOT MAKE AN OFFICIAL CONTRIBUTION, HE

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WOULD INFORMALLY PASS WORD OF THEIR UNCLASSIFIED

COLLEAGUES WISHING TO MAKE DONATIONS. THE GROUP

EXPRESSED DEEP GRATITUDE.

4. COMMENT: WE HAD NO IDEA THERE WERE AS MANY AS TEN ROMANIAN NATIONALS IN BURKINA FASO. SEVERAL ARE WIVES OF BURKINA CITIZENS; OTHERS ARE TECHNICAL ADVISORS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. THE LYCEE TEACHER OBSERVED THAT SHE HAD FOUND IT NECESSARY TO RELEARN WORLD HISTORY IN BURKINA ON HER OWN TIME, SINCE HISTORY STUDIES IN ROMANIA HAD CONSISTED LARGELY OF THE LIVES AND DEEDS OF THE CEAUSESCU FAMILY. END COMMENT.

5. FOR PARIS: EMBASSY STAFF PLANS TO FORWARD GROUP CONTRIBUTION FOR ROMANIAN RELIEF IN FORM OF INTERNATIONAL MONEY ORDER TO EMBASSY PARIS, ATTENTION REED FENDRICK. IN LIGHT OF REPORTED FACTIONAL STRUGGLES AT ROMANIAN EMBASSY PARIS, ROMANIAN DELEGATION IN OUAGADOUGOU SUGGESTED FUNDS BE GIVEN TO THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATION; WE WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY PARIS' ASSISTANCE IN DOING SO.

BUREAU L'INFORMATION DES DONS POUR LA ROMANIE

(TEL: 48.67.28.44)

B.P. 050775327

PARIS CEDEX 07

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PAGE 01 ISTANB 06179 300816Z
ACTION HA-09

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R 300814Z DEC 89
FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4326
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL IZMIR

UNCLAS ISTANBUL 06179

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, TU

SUBJECT: SCRAPING THE BARREL FOR A CAUSE: "REVOLUTIONARY
YOUTH" ORGANIZES PRO-CEAUSESCU DEMONSTRATION

1. TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN A DEMONSTRATION
CONDEMNING THE "COUNTER-REVOLUTION" IN ROMANIA AT THE
ECONOMIC FACULTY OF ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY DECEMBER 28,
ACCORDING TO THE DAILY NEWSPAPER "GUNES". THE
DEMONSTRATION WAS ORGANIZED BY "REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH," A
HARD-LINE STUDENT MARXIST FACTION.

2. ORGANIZERS CLAIMED THAT CEAUSESCU'S MISTAKE WAS TO
HAVE BEEN A "HUMANIST." HAD HE BEEN A COMPLETE
STALINIST, HE WOULD HAVE SAVED SOCIALISM IN ROMANIA.
THEY ALSO CLAIMED THE SECURITATE WAS A PEOPLE'S MILITIA
DEFENDING SOCIALISM AGAINST AN COUNTERREVOLUTION
SPONSORED BY WESTERN IMPERIALISTS, AND THAT THEY
THEREFORE SUPPORTED ITS EFFORTS TO THE END. THEY ENDED
THEIR DEMONSTRATION WITH CRIES OF "LONG LIVE OUR
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PAGE 02 ISTANB 06179 300816Z

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE" AND "LONG LIVE SOCIALISM."

3. COMMENT: HOWEVER SURPRISING ANY SYMPATHY ANYWHERE
FOR THE LATE UNLAMENTED MAY SEEM, THE DEMONSTRATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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C17584891 U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2008-06437 Doc No. C17584891 Date: 06/18/2013
SHOWS TO WHAT LENGTHS IDEOLOGY GRIE UNCLASSIFIED
OF THE STUDENT LEFT IN ISTANBUL AND HOW FAR THEY WILL GO
IN SEARCH OF A PRETEXT FOR A DEMONSTRATION. END COMMENT.
CAROLAN

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2008-06437 Doc No. C17584891 Date: 06/18/2013

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ACTION EUR-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BUCHAREST 11039

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

LAGS: PGOV, RO

SUBJECT: THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT:

THE UNCERTAIN PATH TO ROMANIAN DEMOCRACY

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN THE ONE TUMULTUOUS WEEK OF ITS
EXISTENCE, THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION (FSN) HAS
ALREADY DEFINED THE CRITERIA BY WHICH ITS STEWARDSHIP
OF THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION WILL BE JUDGED. THE
FIRST AND OVERRIDING FSN OBJECTIVE IS TO ELIMINATE
REMAINING SECURITATE DIEHARDS AND RESTORE PUBLIC
ORDER AND CONFIDENCE. THE FSN'S SECOND MAJOR
PREOCCUPATION IS TO PRESERVE THE REVOLUTIONARY
"CONSENSUS", AND ESPECIALLY THE ALL-IMPORTANT LINK
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BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE ARMY THAT SEALED
CEAUSESCU'S FATE. THE THIRD, AND SOMEWHAT LONGER
TERM, FSN OBJECTIVE IS THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF
ROMANIAN POLITICAL LIFE AS THE NATION PREPARES FOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ROBERT O HOMME
DATE/CASE ID: 08 DEC 2009 200806437

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his first free ELECTIONS IN MORE THAN FORTY YEARS.
THE CHALLENGE FACING THE HARD-PRESSED AND MOSTLY
INEXPERIENCED FSN LEADERS IS TO MAINTAIN REAL PROGRESS
TOWARD ALL THREE OBJECTIVES BETWEEN NOW AND THE
APRIL ELECTIONS. THE DANGER IS THAT PROGRESS TOWARD
DEMOCRATIZATION COULD BE SIDE-TRACKED IF EITHER
SECURITY OR UNITY APPEAR TO BE JEOPARDIZED BY THE
STRAINS INHERENT IN ORGANIZING A NEW POLITICAL
ORDER FROM SCRATCH. WE AND OTHER WESTERN SUPPORTERS
CAN BEST HELP DEMOCRATIC FORCES BY RECOGNIZING
THAT ALL THREE OBJECTIVES ARE LEGITIMATE AND
ESSENTIAL, AND BY CONSTANTLY REMINDING THE FSN
LEADERSHIP THAT ONLY A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC OUTCOME
WILL JUSTIFY THE SACRIFICES OF THE ROMANIAN
REVOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

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3. THE FRONT OF NATIONAL SALVATION (FSN) HAS IN
ONE MOMENTOUS WEEK SOLIDIFIED ITS POSITION AS
THE TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY IN REVOLUTIONARY ROMANIA.
IT HAS BEGUN TO FLESH OUT A GOVERNMENT, ANNUL
MANY OF MORE ONEROUS PUBLIC POLICIES OF THE CEAUSESCU
REGIME, AND ESTABLISH PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH
GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD. THE FSN'S TEN POINT
PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL HAS GIVEN THE
ROMANIAN PEOPLE A BOLD, IF STILL QUITE GENERAL,
VISION OF A BETTER FUTURE. THE FSN LEADERSHIP
EVEN DEMONSTRATED CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL FINESSE
IN DEFUSING STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING
TO STRONG ARM TACTICS. HOWEVER, DESPITE AN IMPRESSIVE
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BEGINNING, THE FSN HAS A LONG WAY TO GO IN MANAGING
THE RUN-UP TO THE APRIL ELECTIONS. THE FSN HAS
ITSELF DEFINED THE CHALLENGES IT FACES AND THE
CRITERIA BY WHICH ITS STEWARDSHIP OF THE ROMANIAN
REVOLUTION WILL BE JUDGED.

ORDER AND CONFIDENCE: THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM

4. JUST A FEW DAYS AGO THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION
WAS DEFENDING ITSELF AGAINST A SERIOUS COUNTER-
REVOLUTIONARY CHALLENGE BY DETERMINED AND HEAVILY
ARMED CEAUSESCU LOYALISTS. DURING THE FIRST
48-HOURS FOLLOWING CEAUSESCU'S FLIGHT, IT WAS BY
NO MEANS CERTAIN THAT REVOLUTIONARY FORCES COULD

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MAINTAIN CONTROL OF KEY INSTALLATIONS SUCH AS THE AIRPORT AND THE TELEVISION COMPLEX. WHILE NO ACCURATE CASUALTY FIGURES ARE AVAILABLE, IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE TOLL OF DEAD AND WOUNDED IN THESE BATTLES RAN INTO THE THOUSANDS IN BUCHAREST ALONE. SIMILAR SHARP BATTLES TOOK PLACE THROUGHOUT ROMANIA.

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5. AGAINST THIS BLOODY BACKGROUND, IT IS REMARKABLE HOW MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN ELIMINATING SECURITATE DIEHARDS AND RESTORING PUBLIC ORDER. WHILE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS STILL EXIST AND MAY FOR SOME TIME CONSTITUTE A TERRORIST THREAT, THEY NO LONGER POSE A THREAT TO FSN-ARMY CONTROL OF BUCHAREST AND OTHER CITIES. CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN RECONSTITUTING NORMAL LIFE. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION HAS BEEN RESTORED, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HAS FULLY RESUMED, AND THE SECURITY PRESENCE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BUCHAREST 11039

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

LAGS: PGOV, RO

SUBJECT: THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT:

ON BUCHAREST'S STREETS HAS DRAMATICALLY DIMINISHED. THE EXECUTION OF THE CEAUSESCUS, THE FSN'S AMNESTY OFFERS COUPLED WITH THE THREAT OF MILITARY TRIBUNALS FOR "TERRORISTS", AND GRADUAL ARMY EFFORTS TO CLEAR OUT SNIPERS HAVE COMBINED TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON THE SECURITATE ELEMENTS THAT REMAIN AT LARGE.

6. THE FSN STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO, HOWEVER, IN RESTORING THE CONFIDENCE OF A DEEPLY TRAUMATIZED POPULATION. THE FEROCITY OF THE CHRISTMAS WEEKEND BATTLES AND THE HEAVY LOSSES INCURRED AMONG THE

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YOUTHFUL HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION HAVE DEMORALIZED AND DISORIENTED THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE. MANY ROMANIANS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED ARE HUNGRY FOR REASSURANCE THAT THE REPRESSION, DEGRADATION, AND VIOLENCE OF THE CEAUSESCU ERA WILL NOT RETURN. THE FSN HAS TRIED TO PROVIDE SUCH ASSURANCES BY ANNULLING MANY OF THE MOST REPRESSIVE DEGREES OF THE CEAUSESCU REGIME AND TRANSFERRING CONTROL OF ALL SECURITY ORGANS EXCEPT THE POLICE FROM THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR TO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. EVEN THE TITLE OF POLICE HAS BEEN CHANGED FROM "MILITIA" TO "POLICE". THE FSN WILL DOUBTLESS CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR SUBSTANTIVE AND SYMBOLIC WAYS TO DEFUSE PUBLIC SKEPTICISM THAT IT TOO MAY ULTIMATELY RESORT TO POWER RATHER THAN PERSUASION TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVES. GIVEN THEIR TRAGIC POST-WAR HISTORY, THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE WILL BE HARD TO CONVINCE ON THAT SCORE.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSENSUS: "ARMATA E CU NOI!"

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7. AS ION ILIESCU SAID TO THE AMBASSADOR, THE FSN LEADERSHIP BOBBED TO THE SURFACE OF A BUBBLING CAULDRON OF POPULAR RAGE FOLLOWING THE MASSACRES IN THE STREETS OF TIMISOARA AND BUCHAREST. THE PASSIONS STIRRED BY THOSE DRAMATIC EVENTS PROVED MANAGEABLE ONLY BECAUSE OF THE OVERWHELMING POPULAR CONSENSUS ON TWO BROAD OBJECTIVES: THE TOTAL EXPURGATION OF THE CEAUSESCU REGIME AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF ROMANIAN SOCIETY. BEYOND THESE TWO BROAD OBJECTIVES, HOWEVER, THERE WAS AND IS A YAWNING GAP CONCERNING THE DETAILS OF WHAT COMES NEXT. THE POWERFUL BUT LIMITED NATURE OF THE POPULAR CONSENSUS ON WHICH

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THE FSN MUST BUILD IS PERHAPS BEST ILLUSTRATED BY THE MOST DRAMATIC AND ENDURING SYMBOL OF THIS REVOLUTION -- ROMANIA'S BLUE, YELLOW AND RED TRICOLOR FLAG WITH THE COMMUNIST SYMBOL CUT OUT, LEAVING A HOLE TO BE FILLED.

8. THE TEN POINT FSN PROGRAM DRAFTED BY DUMITRU MAZILU WITHIN HOURS OF CEAUSESCU'S FLIGHT IS THE MOST PROMISING INITIATIVE THUS FAR TO FILL THAT CRITICAL GAP. THE FSN LEADERSHIP HAS THUS FAR BEEN ABLE TO STAND ON THAT PLATFORM AND FEND OFF PRESSURES FROM THE "IDEALISTS" FOR ROMANIA'S RADICAL TRANSITION TO FULL DEMOCRACY. WHILE KEEPING AN EYE ON THE IDEALISTS, THE FSN HAS RECOGNIZED THAT THE ONE RELATIONSHIP IT MUST CULTIVATE AND MAINTAIN ABOVE ALL OTHERS IS ITS LINK WITH THE ARMY. THE VICTORIOUS BATTLE CRY IN THE STREETS DECEMBER 22 WAS "ARMATA E CU NOI" (THE ARMY IS WITH US). WITH SECURITATE ELEMENTS STILL AT LARGE AND THE ARMY RIDING A WAVE OF UNPARALLELED NATIONAL POPULARITY, THE FSN CLEARLY RECOGNIZES THAT ITS ABILITY TO GET THROUGH THE NEXT FEW MONTHS DEPENDS CRITICALLY ON THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THAT SLOGAN. THIS ALMOST CERTAINLY ACCOUNTS FOR THE LONG LIST OF GENERAL OFFICER PROMOTIONS JUST ANNOUNCED BY THE FSN. WE CAN ALSO ANTICIPATE THAT THE FSN WILL CAREFULLY COORDINATE PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS WITH THE ARMY TO ENSURE THAT DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ACTIVITY DOES NOT BOIL OVER INTO TURMOIL. THE ARMY LEADERSHIP ALMOST CERTAINLY WISHES TO AVOID AT ALL COSTS ANOTHER

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DEPLOYMENT IN THE STREETS THAT COULD ONLY TARNISH
ITS NOW SHINING REPUTATION. THE FSN LEADERSHIP
IS ASTUTE ENOUGH TO REALIZE THAT, WERE IT TO ALLOW
SUCH A SITUATION TO DEVELOP, ITS FUTURE, AS WELL AS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BUCHAREST 11039

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RO
SUBJECT: THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT:

PROSPECTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC ROMANIA, COULD BE

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DEMOCRATIZATION: "WE ARE LEARNING THE ART OF POLITICS."

9. THE ABOVE QUOTE FROM ION ILIESCU'S CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR ACCURATELY SUMS UP THE FSN'S CAUTIOUS APPROACH THUS FAR TO THE LONG-TERM TASK OF BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC ROMANIA. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS PRECIOUS LITTLE RAW MATERIAL WITH WHICH

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TO BUILD. ROMANIA LACKS A HISTORIC TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY, AND CEAUSESCU'S DICTATORSHIP RUTHLESSLY SUPPRESSED THE FORMATION OF ANY GROUP THAT MIGHT REMOTELY THREATEN TO ASSERT POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. THE PROCESS OF PARTY FORMATION HAS NONETHELESS BEGIN, AND WILL DOUBTLESS ACCELERATE OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. THESE NASCENT PARTIES FACE DAUNTING OBSTACLES: THE ABSENCE OF LEADERS EXPERIENCED IN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS, LACK OF FUNDING, AND THE DIFFICULTY OF SHAPING AN APPEALING PROGRAM FOR AN ELECTORATE THAT HAS NEVER HAD A FREE ELECTION. WITH PARTY FORMATION STILL IN THIS CHAOTIC PHASE, THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY FSN LEADERS ABOUT AN APRIL ELECTION SEEM GENUINE. THE FSN LEADERS WILL NEVERTHELESS FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO BACK OFF FROM THAT COMMITMENT WITHOUT DAMAGING THEIR CREDIBILITY WITH THE POPULATION.

10. THERE ARE ROMANIANS WHO HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERNS TO US ABOUT THE FSN'S LONG TERM COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND WHO FOCUS ON TWO PRIMARY ISSUES THAT HAVE ALSO DRAWN THE ATTENTION OF THE WESTERN MEDIA. THE FIRST OF THESE CONCERNS THE PRESENCE, BOTH IN THE BUREAUCRACY AND IN THE RANKS OF THE FSN ITSELF, OF MANY OFFICIALS WHO HAD JOBS UNDER THE OLD REGIME, INCLUDING THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. FOR THE PRESENT, THE FSN'S POSITION IS THAT SOCIETY MUST CONTINUE TO FUNCTION AND THAT PEOPLE WHO KNOW HOW TO PERFORM KEY TASKS CANNOT BE MOVED OUT UNTIL THERE IS SOMEONE TO REPLACE THEM. THE FSN HAS ALREADY BEGUN THIS PROCESS, BUT IT MUST CONTINUE TO PUSH THE PACE OF THIS TRANSFORMATION TO KEEP ABREAST OF POPULAR EXPECTATIONS.

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11. THE SECOND COMPLAINT WE HEAR FROM SOME ROMANIANS CONCERNS WHAT THEY SEE AS THE FSN'S TENDENCY TO SEE ITSELF AS THE OVER-ARCHING POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH DIFFERING OPINIONS AND INTERESTS MUST BE EXPRESSED. INDEED, ILIESCU HIMSELF DESCRIBED THE FSN'S ROLE IN SIMILAR TERMS TO THE AMBASSADOR IN THEIR INITIAL CONVERSATION. THIS HAS GIVEN RISE TO A CONCERN IN SOME QUARTERS THAT ROMANIAN ASPIRATIONS FOR GENUINE POLITICAL PLURALISM WILL SOMEHOW BE SQUELCHED.

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12. THERE DO APPEAR TO BE REAL DIFFERENCES AMONG THE FSN LEADERSHIP CONCERNING THE NECESSITY OF A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. PERHAPS REFLECTING HIS REPUTED SYMPATHY FOR PERESTROIKA, ION ILIESCU HAS EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM ABOUT MULTI-PARTY POLITICS IN GORBACHEVIAN TERMS. THE PRIME MINISTER, PETRE ROMAN, HAS ALSO INDICATED THAT THE FSN ITSELF REPRESENTS A "NEW FORM OF POLITICAL PLURALISM." OTHER FSN FIGURES, SUCH AS SILVIU BRUCAN, HAVE ENCOURAGED THE FORMATION OF AS MANY POLITICAL PARTIES AS ROMANIANS WANT. THE BOTTOM LINE FOR THE PRESENT IS THAT THE FSN HAS NOT IMPEDED FORMATION OF PARTIES, BUT IT HAS ACQUIRED A LARGE DEGREE OF CENTRALIZED POWER AND MEDIA CONTROL. SOME OF THE NEW PARTY ORGANIZERS DEFINITELY FEEL THAT THEY ARE IN OPPOSITION TO THE FSN. THE FSN DOMINATES THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE, AND COULD, IF IT WERE TO RUN ITS OWN CANDIDATES IN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS, UNDERMINE THE PROSPECTS FOR A TRUE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM.

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13. MEANWHILE THE FSN HAS SHOWN A POPULIST FLAIR THAT COULD WELL BE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT IN THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 BUCHAREST 11039

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RO
SUBJECT: THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT:

COMING WEEKS. FOOD STORES REMAIN WELL-STOCKED AS ROMANIANS PREPARE TO CELEBRATE THE NEW YEAR HOLIDAY. THE HEAT IN APARTMENT BLOCKS HAS BEEN INCREASED SO DRAMATICALLY THAT ROMANIANS WHO WERE FREEZING TWO WEEKS AGO NOW TELL US IT'S TOO HOT TO SLEEP| WITH BUCHAREST DIGGING OUT FROM A FOOT OF FRESH SNOW, CITIZENS OF THE CAPITAL HAVE APPLAUDED THE DEPLOYMENT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN COLLECTIVE MEMORY, OF SNOW REMOVAL EQUIPMENT. FOR A POPULATION THAT HAS BEEN DEMORALIZED BY YEARS OF HARSH AUSTERITY, THESE ARE WELCOME SIGNALS THAT LIFE MAY INDEED BE
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DIFFERENT IN THE FUTURE.

WHAT CAN THE WEST DO TO HELP?

14. THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES MADE THIS REVOLUTION, AND ONLY THEY CAN SHAPE ITS FUTURE. THOSE IN THE WEST WHO WISH THE REVOLUTION WELL CAN, HOWEVER, HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS HERE. INDEED, ONE OF THE MOST HEARTENING CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS REVOLUTION THUS FAR IS ITS OPENNESS TO AND AFFINITY FOR WESTERN DEMOCRATIC VALUES. IF WE AND OTHERS IN THE WEST ARE TO MAKE THE MOST OF THIS OPENING, WE WILL NEED TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE FSN MUST PURSUE ITS THREE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVES: SECURITY, UNITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN CONCERT. A SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION TO A FREE ROMANIA WILL REQUIRE THAT NONE OF THESE OBJECTIVES BE SACRIFICED TO ACHIEVE THE OTHERS. THIS CALLS FOR A POLITICAL BALANCING ACT THAT WOULD PRESENT A DAUNTING CHALLENGE TO POLITICIANS FAR MORE EXPERIENCED THAN THE FSN LEADERS. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, WE CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO THE EMERGENCE OF A FREE ROMANIA BY RECOGNIZING THAT, WHILE ALL THREE OBJECTIVES (SECURITY, UNITY, AND DEMOCRATIZATION) ARE LEGITIMATE AND ESSENTIAL, WE NEED TO CONSTANTLY REMIND THE FSN LEADERSHIP THAT ONLY A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC OUTCOME WILL JUSTIFY THE SACRIFICES OF THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION. GREEN

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