

Romania who did tell lies?

I'm neither a reporter nor a medical man, but I wanted to take part to this preliminary examination, manifesting a personal point of view, elucidating what I felt and what I thinking today about all these. It might, that everything I shall tell you, help us in the obtaining of an answer.

The Romanian revolution, the sublime one, then, the strange revolution, it was the event of the year 1989, even if today we are looking critical to this event.

CHAPTER I To the research of the common speech

This essay, try to give us elements of analysis and also answers. Every social phenomenon has such a complexity that its elucidation is arduous. Being a graduate of the exalt faculty of foreign trade, I have been well trained in the intercourse with the west countries. The divorce made me unable for this job, and I was content to continue a tradition from my family, working in tourism. And now, appears the first mark questions: it is possible that a simple divorce could change the whole life of a human being? Yes, this is possible in a country from east. As a member of the temporary National Unity council from Sibiu, being in a direct touch with important persons from West Europe, I have once again the opinion that haven't a common language, that we are two different worlds and that we couldn't understand each other, although, the decisive exists for the both parts. We both have the preconceived idea that we one Europeans and so we are very closer and we realized in the same time the fact that we are so distant. A very good example is: when I organized the Association of Economists from the merchandise in Sibiu, I realized that Romanian economists have no value in this matter, they have only a paper, called-diploma-in economics-, and this situation is the pursue of the fact that we were isolated and the only information were without a link between theory and practice of the offers speech. If some privileges people from Bucharest, who has traveled outside from Romania, have the chance for reading some newspapers, many of the people didn't have another solution: the only way, was to modulate theirs ideas in the existent system. This was the situation before the revolution. I insisted on this fact, because the revolution, the streets were full of people, many of them closed in the system, even if, have appeared leaders who have had a European commencement. So, the facts have been made by the people and we must see that the facts were manipulated. There is why, I try to find a common language. Therefore, I understood that we have answered to the question if the information have been manipulated and by whom? For an answer to this question we shall large the rehearsal and the answer about the whole revolution being only an element of it. Let's see the mass-media in the general effect of the revolution, much more in the whole Romanian context of East Europe, of the entire world.

CHAPTER II - To a fair intercourse and understanding

Today, we are living in a total world. The village became like a sphere and that situation isn't due to the quickness's spreading of the information, of the omnipotence of mass-media, but from the own nature of the development's period. The mankind has always been an unsatisfied system. This lack of balance in the satisfaction of the self desire of the human system had continuously in view progress of the human society. I considered three degrees of the human life: the subsistence understanding by this : the food, the clothes, the perpetuity taken down in the genetic code by the perfect cover of love and culture, the new zone created by the biological substance of the highest by subsistence. You all, who have lived in west, couldn't understand what does it means the pain and the suffering of being satiate, because you didn't know how it is to stay at queue in front of the empty shops. The Romanian revolution and all those which were happened with the

Romanian and the foreigner mass-media, it isn't only a local problem, and it is also a total one. The revolution and the mass-media were influenced one other.

CHAPTER III Premises

I try to introduce you in your world, in the world of the Romanian people with reference in the easterly world and in the Stalinist socialism. In 1973, as a student of the faculty of foreign trade, as a son of a modest family, I had to choose a specialization in a field of commerce. I had no influential people around me and in the Romanian world the relationship was more important than financial power, than the value of the human beings. The diplomacy was out of the question, and for this I chose the merchandise trade and looking for a virgin department I discovered the international trade, about which no one did know anything in Romania. I was helped by the UNESCO and ONU library and I found the school from ROBERT ESCARPIT and the study from Sweden. In 1974 putting forward a writing for practical use about the theory of rumors. I was acquainted by the government bodies to cease any investigation in this scope. I am able to say, that I'm a versed man in mass-media. In Romania, appeared only four or five works in this field which practical is unnoticed; these works have been writings about theory. From 1977 I have discovered a very distinct situation in the using of rumors 'theory. The only one capably to use it, were the government bodies (the Romanian Party and the troops of security). I underline that the theory of rumor is different from the propaganda. The K.G.B. has taken over very late the theory of rumors and this was more delicate. In Romania, there were more systems of communication and these, were simultaneously. After the popular movements from Brasov, in all the industrial units were organized protests meeting. Finally, still reminded something in the conscience of human beings! First, the sentiment of the helplessness, of the disgrace that you must blame what you prized highly, then, even the real disapproval confronted by the destruction. Normally, the propaganda used both mass-media and a mass-media unknown in west: just the method and the system of the organization of the conferences, the meetings of protest or solidarity with. After the meeting of solidarity with, at a conference of agriculture or of the fight for peace, you were with broken heart. This way of mass-media is unknown in west, but in Romania it was well organized. The way diffusion was rapidly. If a person didn't take part at a conference or at a meeting he or she was finished. This system is also known in all the socialist countries, but nowhere was so operative like in the North Korea, Romania and USSR, from where was taken over the pattern. This method will have an important part in the revolution. Another way of a great penetration of mass-media was the foreigner radio sets with broadcasting in Romanian language. By the cause of the secret manner of the listening, their power of penetration were much more individual without be able to contaminate a great number of people but only individuals or small groups. More than, after forty years of listening, but without any practical turned, these methods, had more a role of solace. The official counter-propaganda, put an opposite question mark to the decision of action by didn't of their information. Nevertheless, they will have an important role in the psychological preparing of the revolution, but a baneful one in the absence of any news in the Timisoara stage. The foreign journals, periodicals, didn't exist in Romania; anyhow they didn't have any influence over the mass. Practically, Romania has isolated her nation carefully, particularly the provinces. The listening of the foreigner's radio sits it didn't makes in a foreign language practically. Those, who knew foreign languages, were a little interested in the news bulletins of the west mass-media, which didn't have an immediate interest for the Romanian people. A move important part was possessed by the mass-media of the neighborhood native countries, particularly the television, which practically prepared the psychology of the revolution due to the pursuit of the transformers occurred to the neighbors. I underline the fact, that, theirs capacity of penetration it was maximum, but this only on the zone, areas, after their capacity of penetration. In Sibiu, we didn't have anything. Now, I'm having to talk about the simultaneous system of communication in a body : the rumor.

Concomitantly with the official propaganda, it was created an occult, hidden system of communication with a tremendous velocity of propagation and also an uncommon capacity of penetration: the rumor, the gossip of people. For example: beginning with the changing of a head manager and arriving at the international problems. You didn't know this system which was used by all the communist people from East. I don't believe that I know neither the importance of this system, nor the rules of the own functioning and the possibilities of the employment. All it was known through the rumors: I used this word for designating the informal information, which was a floated, hinting all the spheres of action. This mood of propaganda has appeared, has developed and has functioned as a reaction at the official propaganda and it had a very highly credulity aspect. In this case, they can speak about more subsystems or channels. First, both the official systems, so incomplete, and that of the Security Department. These systems were well organized and controlled. During the revolution, the existence and the operating of this channel it appeared very clear. The system is still functional, and this gave me anxiety for the spreading of this writing. Simultaneously, it was also an unofficial system of communication: the public tattler - which broadcast the news and the information particularly orally the phones being avoided. The weakness of the system consisted in the possibility of the checking of its truthfulness. Another efficacious system of mass-media it was the institutional system which existed in Romania. It's leaders could be summoned in one hour maximum; in a few hours the information attained in every place of work with an incredible swiftness I mention that this way of intercourse it was highly operative, mobilizing lots of people. Besides, if you had been in the factory you should have been included in the system and had to answer to the orders, otherwise you lost the possibility of being. You had the possibility for the listening on the spare time, but not also that one to act because the verification was strictly and you must subdued to it. The official mass-media in the last years didn't have any value. It was used only for the promotion of the cult of personality. However, also these channels were listened because a special language was created, that of the drawing an inference comparing the information diffused with those which are coming from the foreign radio station and with the public rumor. Besides, existed also s specifically language of the nuances. Turning the sentence you could draw a conclusion. Naturally this play of nuances required a certain practical training, but particularly, an intellectual training. I couldn't believe that the attendants of television and radio weren't experts in the use of mass-media. Among them, there were lots of professional people who didn't have the opportunity to employ, to practice the mass-media. First, they didn't have an informing source. The only one, the official source from the Culture Council or the department of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, under the severe check-up of the Security Service. Even if they also had others information they couldn't diffuse them. At any rate, in the misinforming action there were efficient persons who misstated the truth and the news, and these actions are every day. A censorship practically didn't mean anything, because the right obliged the employments to have a reflex action for the diffusion of the information given by the camarilla. I don't know how conscious have been the employments from the T.V. station, but the way in which the television has worked since the revolution till now, indicate both the dilettantism in the organizing of the information and the reminiscence of the reflex of listening of the orders came from the superiors, more exact come from the Culture Council and the Central Committee under the severe check-up of the Security Service. They were very artful and particularly they were greedily for power and frightened of loss it. The quality of the delivered information was deeply verified by the whole camarilla, inclusively by Ceausescu. Behind them there were and worked very capable persons experts, most of them being still on jobs. Adrian Paunescu was in the building of the Central Committee until the last moment and he had an ample experience in the use of mass-media. Anyhow the Culture Council and the Security service could know many things about the importance of the use of mass-media, from Paunescu's work dated from the years 1974-1975. Ceausescu insisted on, and he obtained the exclusiveness for keeping all under control. Anther performing system was that one of the Security Service which listened everything. All

the channels which existed on Romania permitted the manipulation and only subsidiary the public information. I wanted to explain at length the structure of the systems of communication existed in Romania and in the East countries, because the majority were and have also been unknown in your countries. The reports could be manipulated spreading about the information which was elaborated with scrupulousness being apparently credible, especially when you diffused from the spot, when you see everything with your own eyes. Unknowing the country and the system, you don't realize that you breath in an aquarium and not in the sea. The analysis method that I shall propose to you, it must estimate all the information came on these channels. The Western mass-media can also be manipulated through an unwritten law, the one who was of high interest, which carry also in your countries at the prohibition of some information. Hence, also the western methods could be swayed. As far as the Romanian revolution is concerned, the employers of the western mass-media were put face to face with an extraordinary situation, with an unprecedented one. First, in the telecast revolution, an epochal event, which was self-acting taken over without a heedful examination and tough rebroadcasted on the whole world. Those, who are coming in the country to glean information, first they arrived too late (the stage Timisoara was closed) and then they found oneself in an unknown world with laws and customs in all unfamiliar. The isolation from the last years of Romania didn't afford to those who are coming to see the entire situation were cut off, confronted by the images taken over from the television which by the dramatic character were grew blurred everything, any information from another source. And now, let's try to answer at the question: Romania, who did tell lies? For a true answer, we shall first see, to whom the manipulation of the information had served. The Romanian revolution had more stages:

- The 1989 when the revolution was local and the information are all subsequent to the events. In this period the Ceausescu's political system was untouched

- the second stage: the extension of the revolution in all the country and in Bucharest, with incomplete information, the moment of the breakdown of Ceausescu's system, when the whole nation and the system were face to face

- the third stage had two moments : the fight of helicopter, up to the building of the television and the beginning of the televised transmission

- the fourth stage -the first T.V. and radio transmission in an unorganized form with a free admittance to the sources of transmission. This stage is along one because it is the stage of the disorganization of the resources of information, but also of the direct participation of the T.V. which exercise an influence over the street. It is closed before December 25 the, the day of the dictators' execution, when the system Radio-T.V. rediscovered the organization, even if they still had great gags. Also, in this stage in the moment of the birth of F.S.N., as the first political frame work.

- the fifth stage follows after December 25th : an attentive analyze which we are obligated to subdivide in more periods. For this investigation the temporal localizing of each is little important.

In every stage, there were forces which determined both the revolution and the information diffused. I didn't have the means of a complete analyze for knowing better the truth. I didn't have access to the history archives, to the archives of information. So that, I can't indicated than the only method which can guide us to discover of the truth. It must be created a system of critical examination for each stage. For each stage they must know from where or from whom the information came, the source of information came, the source of information, the proper information and the effect. They can find through a comparison with the effective facts of the

revolution, who had the benefit to lie, to manipulate the information and for what. The methodological proposal will be clearer after the specifications which I'll make without interruption. I repeat again, I can't do such a detailed analyses, because I have only the memories which are very unprocessed how and very hard to localize the events on time and on hours. Form is very clear that, this method could be a very efficacious one. First, we must separate two phenomena: the revolution and the information about it. This investigation is occupied with the information about the revolution and for an answer at that question, and normally that none an analyst couldn't be made without a continue reference to the proper revolution.

Therefore, besides it's intrinsic character of revolution. This revolution has a certain specific feature: it is the first revolution radio-televised, seen directly by the large majority of the world, so the interest and the result don't are locally and became world-wide. This is the first answer at the question: the Romanian revolution was a general repetition of using the mass-media in moments of crisis, an experimental through which the methods of action could be improved. A preceding existed: before the World War II in USA was broadcast an uncommon play by H.G. Wells. They broadcast an invasion of the extra-terrestrials on the USA territory. The effect of the play was very different over the inhabitants. Corroborating the results from the archives, the way in which the radio was used in the World War II, result of it that the television is totally, we can liken to the diffusion through mass-media of the Romanian revolution with the American experiment.

Who was interested in? Either the system of mass-media of television, or the political power which reigned over these systems. And, in this way, we could give an explanation to your first anxiety. As journalist, people that you considered relative free and well informed, you realized that in fact they can become instruments, unconscious in an informational holocaust. You have the sensation that in front of you is a sly, a cunning person, who can unleash the apocalypse. There is, why is important to know, who was behind this phenomenon. I believe that the question "Romania, who did tell lies ?" is minor vis-a-vis by the great question : who had manipulated, who had organized this general rehearsal at the world standard and also the results at what follows to be used ? And now, I try to underline from the inner this fact, on the basis of the information existed here, living the whole revolution. I shall explain my point of view, confronted with the main elements involved in the revolution. Admitting the reality without equivocal that the Romania revolution had international bearings through the use of mass-media, I should have been with the external causes. However, I shall deal with the internal causes. From the beginning I underline that the revolution was a movement of the whole nation, of the whole social closes, which were out on the street, in front of the bullets and this, for the desperation of the people, for star ration and cold for the upheaval of the form of the government. The despondency of mass-media was so great that it acted without any reserve. Practically is impossible for me to admit that this crowd was organized. Under the Ceausescu's regime this, was impossible. But, it is possible, that in the middle of the mass, should be individuals informed, representing certain interests, having inner become operative only in the 3rd and the 4th stage, even if some of them had influences in the 2nd stage. They couldn't admit that Ceausescu didn't know the seriousness of the reality. He could interfere: his personal experience, then, the happenings from Brasov 1987, the great forces of the Security Service, could do something to stop immediately any action. With all that he preferred to go to Iran and not to Timisoara. He knew, that the world games have been done land his cause was lost and he thought that his only escape has been in Iran, at the Arabs. Did he has the interest to amplify the repression, multiplied the victims number? This, should have happened only if he had been sure of his victory, but the deeds proved the opposite: he desire for cleaning any trace. In the region appeared military attaché, but who were they, I really don't know. There is a question for finding out the international interests

and Ceausescu should have known this. The Security authority, were disorganized but being an extraordinary system, the disorganization couldn't trouble the mechanism of foundation. Is clear for me, that, they had the supervision over the information, and in the stage of Timisoara, they had real supervision. The international system had functional irreproachable in the stage of Timisoara and in the second stage. They could know also the names of the people who were absented from enterprise. On the places, where these were victims (hospital, mortuary, cemetery) the Security forces had everything under control. They didn't know the result of the revolution, many of them were collaborators, hence aims uncontrolled information was impossible: the fight was too great and the arrival of a journalist on these places were impossible without having an official commission. Had the Security forces the interest for amplifying the number of the victims for intimidation? If they stayed on the Ceausescu's victory, yes, but also the Security forces should betrayed him. The Security had precise information about the position of the international elements and they shouldn't have admitted their compromising and the punishment only under a certain warranty. It was maybe another plan: they exaggerated by gossip the number of victims, and at the trial they will see the opposite: advantage for the Security Service. The standing army was being at Timisoara. They didn't know the real situation? This is out of question. Theirs leader who are today ahead of the army were educated in Moscow and they had certain information. They had the sentiment of fight until the clearing up of the situation, but is unimaginable that they were in opposition with the Security forces, but I don't know which was its interest to multiply the number of victims? The compromising of the Security Service? This is hard to believe, because, this fact will involve also their units when the truth will involve also their units when the truth will be discovered: and this, was happened. In both systems the position of the standing army and the Security forces weren't so clear because of the extremists and the majority betraying Ceausescu. Maybe the rumors had diffused by extremists / It is certain that during the revolution were the Security Service, The Culture Council and the Central Committee. During the revolution they shot a lot : behind of my house, in the neighborhood, on my street, they are shooting every day, day and night, but no victims. At what served all that terror? To make panic? Maybe they would bequeath the reaction of the scared people. As we know, Timisoara was under control; but it was a doubt. In the whole country, they knew everything that what was happened, due to the confused rumor or due to the institutionalized system. The Ceausescu's departure, increased the uncertainty of the mass and in the same time make the reaction of the people to be a very rereddone and also of those who were interested in his end. In any case none a journalist didn't have admittance to the information. They couldn't spread abroad everything which are coming directly from the street, but not the general situation. Hence, who was diffused the first news and from where did they obtained it? Please, unroll the film of the history and you would find a variant of the truth. In the confusion and panic created, the imagination of each person was incendiary. If the news were from the street, then everything should be an uncontrolled exaggeration, full of mistakes. I didn't believe that they had a lot of organized fort is neither in Timisoara nor in the others town of the country.

The revolutionary protest movements were isolated. The first information which are broadcast to the radio specialized in the Romanian Language, there were very lapidary. It must be checked-up every information diffused to radio and television. Until the departure of the helicopter however, also, in Sibiu the shot, these were dead people, nevertheless, all the forces were present and they all were standing face to face : the Security Service, the standing army, the mass without auctioning in a way or other. I'm thinking that an organized plan wanted the Ceausescu's upheaval and, then the setting-up of an opposite regime, also security service, those who will survive from the internal battle. Also the standing army and the security service were based on the system of "relations", of the fidelity for one group or another.

Anyhow, until the departure of the helicopter we weren't be able to speak of revolutions' leader. As a red line, I thought that have existed two possibilities : those who were broadcast the first

news must tell who was the exactly person who made this and also they must verified the hour when the news came from west and the news were coming from the middle of the mass and without any verification.

From the third stage, appeared another group of forces, who being isolated, with the help of television become stronger. The first moments of the T.V. were spontaneously, but the conquering of the T.V. department wasn't only an appearance. They wanted to enter in the T.V. department and also they wanted to use it. By whom? A specialist in the utilization of the information, Iliescu, has represented just the wing of Moscow, who desired the elimination of Ceausescu and also socialism with human face. He tried through his actions to find the calm and to introduce a coherent system in all that helter-skelter. Did Iliescu declared then the number of dead? I don't recall. Brucan, a link between West and East, skilled in politics and in broadcasting of the news. All his declarations must be verified. Mazilu represents the interests of whom? What did he declare to the T.V. and which was the effect of his declarations? The demonstration from January it was only an effort of constraining the power, or, they wanted to perpetuate the panic and to compromise the nobility of the Romanian revolution. The liberals and the Rural declared that they were in the building of T.V. What did they done? I don't have any kind of information about revolution. The performers, representing the raising of the revolution. In a period of disorder and panic, it was very simple that only a single person, well involved and with a strong personality, could diffuse any new to the T.V. or to the radio. It must be revised all the film from T.V. and, if a declaration is susceptible for being manipulated it must be seen very clear who was behind that information. But that it was more important, is the appearance of the standing army, the militia and of the security troops and the orders that all gave with the help of T.V. I don't believe that this was on initiative of the Romanian standing army.

It might be a wider plan, which passes beyond of our borders. The exaggeration of the number of dreads didn't benefit by nothing for them. The standing army, at all times, an essential element and it had a certain inner self government. The main present-day army forces are: the American Army, then the Soviet, the Chinese and most likely the Arabic. I don't know anything about the NATO forces, because not even an information didn't get up in Romania. The Chinese army well equipped, it is in opposition with her nation. The events have demonstrated it. The Romanian revolution through the use of mass-media can be an example. There were Chinese in the country and at Timisoara? The Soviet army is the most numerous. Gorbaciov is not the leader of the army. I was in November 1989 in Tbilisi, Moscow and Kiev and I saw the reaction of the army. A proper statute of maintaining the integrity of the Soviet army. All the military commanders from East, they have a common feature: they are educated in the Soviet school. There is a danger inside of the Soviet army, that, of an inner fight because of the nationalities. Is that danger a real one? Breaking down the Yalta Pact, the armies hazarded the new cards of the game of future. Did the Soviet army have the intention to misrepresent the informational in Romania? Who were the military attachés who were present at Timisoara? For what reason the security forces didn't neutralize then? And what reason Ceausescu hastened to go to Iran instead of a straight action / The Arabic forces which were very intimate with Ceausescu could be them present? Categorical not. Romania had served for them, as a place of study and training. Their own interest - thinking at the Arabs students from Timisoara and Romania - was the finding of extenuating circumstances for Ceausescu. The revelation of the reality, of the real number of dreads, should have found an echo and also it will worth with difficulty in a public law of Ceausescu. Maybe this is a reason of the swiftness of his execution. Anyhow, we must bestow attention to the Arabic force that appears as the fourth military power. Soviet Union is confronted with very service problems. It represent an immense vital space, an immense receiver of raw materials, but also an empire with the former an actual state. The national problem is very actuating, because of those 60 millions of problems from Central Asia. Gorbaciov's politic, is a causal one, or is one of

a well done plan, together with the others, guiding forces of the world and wishes the organization of the events which will follow. The exaggerations in the Romanian revolution could moderate the revolutionary impetus in the Soviet Union. What kind of news broadcast mass-media in U.S.S.R., and what sort of information arrived, on the informal channels in the torrid areas?! However subtitle is the KGB, I don't believe that it worth such a trouble. Or, on the contrary. I don't know anything about the Japanese, the financial power of the world. Only two students who were in holiday and who are coming through Budapest in Romania. The Japanese will have an important role in the world game, it supervise financial a great part of mass-media being great specialists in this field. I don't believe that the Nippon people should have had an important interest in the misrepresentation on the truth, although the experiment of the televised revolution will be well analyzed at Tokyo. After the division between Stalin and Roosevelt 10 % was dyeing to the west, from the Romanian territory. Was it present a military attaché or a western diplomat at Timisoara? What sort of information has appeared from this source? It is known that the maiden experts from the whole world in persuasion one the English people. In my opinion, the greatest affair of the industrialized west, was the invention of Lenin and the socialism. Through this doctrine was possible the turn on of the industry from the East countries towards the industries which have no interest for West, towards the manufacturing industry at the time when in the west was a big importance the mechanical engineering, the chemical and then the biotechnological industry. What kinds of calculations were done between west and east? Germany was preoccupied with the reunification of the both countries and also with the great number of emigrants. England, takes to USA; France, remains alone. The alliances with the eastern countries become visible before the World War II. In the world-wide game, which includes USA, USSR, Japan, China, and the third world, the Europe can't resist, only through the European Community. What sort of interests should have all these forces, to exaggerate the vents from Romania? Only one: the retired of Romania under the command of USSR, but I don't believe that. Maybe, when the revolution started in Romania, our country was in the same situation like Yugoslavia after the War: 50 % - 50 %? Did the Hungarian people have the interest to exaggerate? Maybe, you can discover the whole truth. I have the feeling that we were the instruments of a well produced game, which goes beyond the Romanian borders. Masters of the world-wide power, what did you all wanted using us, what kind of future have you prepared for us? Guided by the curiosity of knowing the truth, by the desire of an economist, nearby old and mental worn-out, I wrote these lines. If these short ideas present an interest for you, I can give you a stylistically adequate shape for a possible booklet or even a book. I pleased you to excuse the style, the inconsistencies, and the absence of settlement and to keep the essence. It might be that, this research to be only a bottle thrown in the sea. Maybe, it will have the good fortune to be someone interested for it. I want to thank you for your attention.

Paltinis March 1990

Ilie ROTARIU

NOTES: the paper was sent to the Conference organized by Médecins sans Frontières in France

November 1990: I shall say no word about the subject. I am glad I am still leaving after my crash!

2010: I leave the text as it was. It was written in French and than translated into Romanian and English, as much as I knew English at the time!

Looking now at the info in Romanian media about this subject, I realize I have made a good analyze with the info I had had at the time. I have written the assertion "Romanian revolution was the reversal of the first on line TV war" much too early. The way I have indicated to search the truth is so easy that it was too dangerous, at the time. I was at the time an outsider, much too treaty for some of the involved people! Now it is only about history and recalls.