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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 1/27/2017

File Folder ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MEMORANDA (3)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 6

HERSHBERG

59

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
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188368 REPORT 1 2/2/1982 B1 B3

D 1/27/2017 NLR145-6-3-1-0 #188368

188371 MEMO PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO WILLIAM CLARK RE. MEETING WITH ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER [PARTIAL] 2 10/4/1982 B1 B3

PAR 1/27/2017 NLR-145-6-3-5-6 #188371

188375 REPORT [COPY OF DOC. 188368] 1 2/2/1982 B1 B3

D 1/27/2017 NLR-145-6-3-5-6 #188375

188377 REPORT 2 4/1/1982 B1 B3

D 1/27/2017 NLR-145-6-3-5-6 #188377

188384 LETTER RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU 2 12/1/1982 B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

~~SECRET~~OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Admiral Murphy *Sam*
FROM: Nancy Bearg Dyke *NBD*
SUBJECT: Meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei,
June 25, 1982, 5:00 p.m.

Your meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Andrei will serve to reassure the Romanians that they continue to enjoy a special position among our relationships with other Eastern bloc countries. This reassurance will be particularly important in light of recent U.S. unwillingness to be forthcoming on credits for Romania and the President's warning in his statement to Congress extending Most Favored Nation trade status for Romania for 1982 that "unless a noticeable improvement in its emigration procedures takes place and the rate of Jewish emigration to Israel increases significantly, Romania's MFN renewal for 1983 will be in serious jeopardy"

You were unable to meet with Andrei as he requested last May due to a previously scheduled trip to Houston. The President met with Andrei on that occasion. You will also recall that President Ceausescu recently extended an invitation for you to visit Romania, which you acknowledged in principle but indicated would be impossible to accept this year. Andrei may raise this invitation with you again.

The State Department briefing paper (Tab A) for your meeting proposes four subjects for your conversation with Andrei:

- Reassuring Andrei of our desire for good bilateral relations with Romania;
- Urging Romania to improve its human rights and emigration practices;
- Raising the Andre Coler emigration case (about which I have sent you a separate memo); and
- President Ceausescu's invitation for your visit.

In addition to these topics, you may wish to touch on three other issues of current concern with Romania:

~~SECRET~~CLASSIFIED BY NANCY BEARG DYKE
REVIEW ON JUNE 24, 2002

DECL/SECRETED

Authority *ML-145-6-3-1-D*
BY *lw* NARA DATE *1/27/17*

~~SECRET~~

- Poland. Andrei will undoubtedly be interested in gauging the depth of Administration commitment to our sanctions policy and may seek an indication of when and under what circumstances the sanctions against the USSR and Poland will be lifted. You may want to explain the President's recent decision to apply our oil and gas equipment sanctions extraterritorially as a barometer of our feeling on this issue. You may also want to encourage the Romanians to influence Polish authorities to comply with our three conditions for the lifting of sanctions and to exert a moderating influence within the Warsaw Pact should developments in Poland lead to consideration of still harsher repression.
- The Middle East. President Ceausescu conveyed an oral message to the President concerning Lebanon last week in which he urged the U.S. to exert its considerable influence in the region to restore peace and to "continue the peace process begun with the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel." Andrei may probe for information on current U.S. thinking and action on the Middle East situation.
- Arms Control. You may recall that President Ceausescu recently issued a message urging a nuclear freeze. In addition, the Romanians are certain to be interested in the prognosis for the INF and START negotiations. You may wish to convey to Andrei the depth and sincerity of U.S. commitments to real arms reductions and to encourage the Romanians to help us keep up the pressure on the Soviet Union for concrete demonstrations of Soviet commitment to arms control.

As background for your meeting with Andrei, you should be aware of the status of two actions which will affect our relations with Romania:

- President Reagan signed a letter to President Ceausescu putting Romania on notice about U.S. concerns over Romanian human rights and emigration policies and linking progress on these concerns to renewal of Romania's MFN trade status next year. The transmission of this letter was blocked by the State Department as Larry Eagleburger felt it untimely to convey this message to Ceausescu. We do not know when the President's letter will be delivered. (A redraft is with Judge Clark now.)
- An NSSD on Eastern Europe was completed in early June and is virtually ready for NSC consideration. In brief, it recommends that the U.S. continue a policy of differentiation toward Eastern European countries, rewarding those which demonstrate independence from the Soviet line in their domestic or foreign policies. The NSC is not expected to formally consider this policy statement before late July.

~~SECRET~~

Andrei's biography is attached at Tab B. He will be accompanied to your meeting by:

Romanian Side:

- Ambassador Mircea Malitza
- Corneliu Bogdan, Director for the Americas, Foreign Ministry
- Boris Ranghet, Counselor of the Romanian Embassy

U.S. Side:

- Ambassador David B. Funderburk
- Admiral Murphy
- Nancy Bearg Dyke
- John Scanlan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
- Paula Dobriansky, NSC Staff

Talking points for use in your meeting are attached at Tab C.

Prepared by: Philip Hughes

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

~~SECRET~~ 4

Visit of Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei, June 22

I. SETTING AND OBJECTIVES

Andrei is concerned about US attitudes towards Eastern Europe in general and Romania in particular. The President's strongly worded reservations when recommending renewal of Romania's Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status is the latest in a series of developments which has given Romania pause. We were hesitant in agreeing to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) stand-by loan program (finally approved June 21), denied Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) guarantees, were reluctant in joining in discussions of official debt rescheduling and have refused to agree to release a \$128 million EXIM Bank loan on which Romania's fledgling nuclear power program hinges. As a result Romania is looking to South Africa and the Far East for agricultural commodities and has approached the Soviet Union for possible assistance in developing a nuclear power program.

Romania's record on human rights and emigration has left much to be desired. The arrest of 15 evangelical bible smugglers and Romanian failure to expedite Jewish emigration to Israel have stimulated strong Congressional criticism of maintaining Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status for Romania.

The purpose of your meeting is to reassure Andrei of continuing top level US Government concern for good US-Romanian relations at a time when some signals suggest our policy might be changing. You should also inquire about the emigration case of Andrei Coler, a relative by marriage to ex-Governor Shapp, who asked your assistance in the case.

1. Assure Andrei that we continue to seek good relations.
2. Stress negative impact which Romania's record on human rights and emigration have on our bilateral relations.
3. Ask about the status of the Andrei Coler emigration case.
4. Express appreciation for President Ceausescu's invitation to visit Romania and regret at not being able to do so in the near future.

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BY PLW DATE 11/27/17

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II. ISSUES

1. Assure Andrei we continue to seek good relations with Romania. Romania is facing its worst economic crisis since World War II. For nearly two decades it has sought to establish greater political and economic independence from the Soviet Union. We have supported that goal since the late 1960's. Romania is concerned that our unwillingness to respond positively to its requests for concrete economic assistance over the past 12 months may indicate a change in U.S. policy. Andrei will want evidence that we continue to differentiate our foreign policy in Eastern Europe and that we do not give them the same treatment as the Soviets. You can only offer him assurances that once Romania completes its debt rescheduling we will be able to look more favorably on requests for economic assistance. You can make no concrete promises of aid or credits.

Talking Points

-- We continue to support Romania's efforts to develop an independent foreign policy and autonomy in its economic dealings.

-- We continue to differentiate our policies towards the countries of Eastern Europe and recognize their individuality.

-- We know Romania has been going through severe financial difficulties. You have taken major steps forward to resolving your economic difficulties. This progress will have a positive impact on Western thinking about Romania's future creditworthiness.

2. Stress the negative impact which Romania's record on human rights and emigration have on our bilateral relations. Concerned human rights and religious interest groups have lost their patience with Romania. They have grown tired of what they see to be Romania's minimal compliance on human rights and emigration. In fact, Romania's human rights and emigration performance this year is hardly changed from last year. However, the mood in the U.S., and particularly in Congress has changed, largely because of events in Poland and because of the growing feeling of confrontation with the East over financial issues. Jewish and Christian critics are using the annual Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status hearings to vent their frustration against Romania, and have considerable Congressional support.

Talking Points

-- MFN renewal is under considerable attack in Congress because of reported mistreatment of some Christians and because of unfulfilled expectations about Jewish emigration to Israel.

-- We strongly support MFN renewal, but unless these human rights and emigration issues are resolved, we will have a hard time convincing the Congress and the public that our relations are sound.

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3. Ask about the Andrei Coler emigration case. You have raised the case of Andrei Coler with the Romanians on behalf of former Governor Shapp who is related to Coler through marriage. Because Coler's father-in-law is one of the "grand old men" of the Romanian Communist Party, Romania has been unwilling to grant Coler permission to emigrate.

Talking Point

-- I continue to be interested in Andrei Coler's emigration case. Can you tell me how things stand?

4. Express regret at not being able to visit Romania in the near future. You were invited by President Ceausescu in May to visit Romania at your next convenience. You have responded by letter to President Ceausescu on May 24 that you have no plans to travel to Europe for the remainder of the year and, therefore, will not be able to accept his invitation at this time. Your letter may not have been received in Bucharest prior to Andrei's departure for the United States, and it is possible he will renew President Ceausescu's invitation to you.

Talking Points

I sincerely appreciate President Ceausescu's kind invitation to visit Romania. I would welcome the opportunity to visit your country and hold discussions. At the moment, however I have no plans to travel to Europe. Would you assure your president, however, that I will give every consideration to his invitation as my future plans develop.

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Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

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FOIA

F1640/3

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188368	REPORT	1	2/2/1982	B1 B3

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Talking Points
for
Meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei
June 25, 1982

Bilateral Issues

- We continue to support Romania's efforts to develop an independent foreign policy and autonomy in its economic dealings.
- We continue to differentiate our policies towards the countries of Eastern Europe and consider Romania to be unique among Eastern European countries.
- Continued progress on concrete steps to resolve Romania's economic problems will be essential to favorably influence Western attitudes about Romania's creditworthiness.

Human Rights and Emigration

- MFN renewal is under considerable attack in Congress because of human rights concerns and unfulfilled expectations about Jewish emigration to Israel.
- 121 Congressmen and 36 Senators have written to the President and to President Ceausescu concerning these issues.
- We support MFN renewal, but unless these human rights and emigration issues are resolved, we will have a hard time convincing the Congress and the public.

Andre Coler

- I continue to be interested in Andre Coler's emigration case. Can you tell me how things stand?

Invitation to Visit Romania

- I sincerely appreciate President Ceausescu's kind invitation to visit Romania.
- At the moment, however, I have no plans to travel to Europe, but I will give every consideration to his invitation as my future plans develop.

Poland

- The President's recent decision to extend our oil and gas equipment sanctions against the Soviet Union to U.S. subsidiaries and licensees abroad is a barometer of the depth of feeling here about Polish developments.
- What is Andrei's assessment of likely future developments in Poland?
- We hope that Romania can help encourage the Polish authorities to lift martial law, release the detainees, and resume a dialogue with Solidarity, and that

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BY RW NARA DATE 10/16/17

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Authority NSA-Warner 8/6/10
BY RW NARA DATE 1/27/17

you will exert a moderating influence in Eastern bloc deliberations about Polish developments.

Middle East

- Our position remains support for UNSC resolutions 508 and 509 and an end to the violence and destruction.
- We are encouraging a viable government for Lebanon free from foreign troops and terrorist sanctuaries.

Arms Control

- The President's recent speeches in Bonn and at the UN SSOD, and our INF and START negotiating proposals reflect the sincerity of our commitment to real arms reduction.
- We hope that Romania and other countries will help to keep up the pressure on the Soviets to negotiate in the same spirit of good faith.

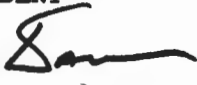
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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Admiral Murphy 
FROM: Nancy Bearg Dyke 
SUBJECT: Andre Coler

In preparation for your meeting tomorrow afternoon with Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei, I wanted to bring you up to date on a Romanian emigration case on which your assistance was requested by former Governor of Pennsylvania Milton Shapp.

- Last July Governor Shapp called you (I talked to him) to ask your personal intervention with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to obtain permission for Andre Coler, the brother of Shapp's daughter-in-law, (who is herself a Romanian emigre) to emigrate to the United States, along with his wife and daughter. Shapp referred this matter to your office because former Vice President Mondale had been instrumental in obtaining permission for Shapp's daughter-in-law to emigrate from Romania.
- The emigration of the Coler family was obstructed because Coler's father-in-law, Leonte Rautu, was a ranking member of the Romanian Communist Party's Politburo. However, Rautu has since been dismissed from his Party posts and has severed all contact with the Coler family, seemingly eliminating this obstacle to emigration.
- When Governor Shapp originally brought this case to my attention, I referred it to the State Department. It was raised with Corneliu Bogdan, the Romanian Foreign Ministry Director for Western Hemisphere Affairs in Bucharest. (Bogdan will be participating in your meeting with Andrei.)
- We have since followed periodic developments in this case.
- This case has been raised with the Romanians on at least three additional occasions:

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REVIEW ON JUNE 24, 1988

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

NSC Waiver 8/6/10

BY

BW

NARA DATE

1/27/17

- By Secretary Haig with Foreign Minister Andrei and by Deputy Assistant Secretary Scanlan with Bogdan during Haig's visit to Romania earlier this year; and
- By Deputy Assistant Secretary Scanlan and Paula Dobriansky of the NSC Staff with Bogdan during his visit to Washington earlier this year;
- With newly appointed Romanian Ambassador Malitza in conjunction with Malitza's return to Bucharest for consultations last month.
- Although Coler and his family were reportedly denied permission to emigrate for the final time in late April, Bogdan and Malitza indicated to Ambassador Funderburk in Bucharest earlier this month that with patience Coler would eventually be allowed to leave (Tab A).

During your conversation with Foreign Minister Andrei, I recommend that you raise Andre Coler's case, asking whether there has been any further progress on his emigration request and expressing personal concern that a relative through marriage of a former high elected official be permitted to emigrate. State and NSC concur.

Prepared by: Philip Hughes

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUCHAREST 4141

FOR EUR/EE
E.O. 12065: GDS 6/4/88 (FUNDERBURK, DAVID B.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, RO
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH AMBASSADORS MALITZA AND BOGDAN

1. DURING A LUNCHEON MEETING WITH ROMANIAN AMBASSADORS MIRCEA MALITZA AND CORNELIU BOGDAN, MALITZA MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU CONSIDERS IMPROVED US-ROMANIAN RELATIONS A HIGH PRIORITY DESPITE SOME FRUSTRATIONS OVER IMF AND MFN PROBLEMS, AND HOPES TO DOUBLE BILATERAL TRADE DURING THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS.
B. ROMANIA CONSIDERS HER HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD A GOOD ONE, INASMUCH AS RELIGIOUS SERVICE IS ALLOWED, ROMANIANS ARE TRADITIONALLY A TOLERANT PEOPLE, AND ROMANIA HAS CONTRIBUTED MORE THAN ANY COUNTRY EXCEPT PERHAPS MOROCCO TO JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL.
C. WHEN I BROUGHT UP SPECIFIC CONSULAR/HUMAN RIGHTS, MALITZA AND BOGDAN SAID THAT THE ALEXANDROIAIE'S HAVE PASSPORTS (UNCONFIRMED BY US); BOGDAN WAS UNAWARE OF TEODOSIU APPLICATION FOR EMIGRATION (I HAD PERSONALLY MENTIONED IT TO HIM ON TWO PREVIOUS OCCASIONS); THE FATHER CALCIU CASE VISITATION WAS SIDESTEPED: AND ANDREI COLER CASE WOULD BE SOLVED BEFORE TOO LONG. A NOTE WAS ADDED TO THE EFFECT THAT (OVERT) PRESSURE ON ROMANIA WOULD BACKFIRE, BUT WITH PATIENCE COLER WOULD BE ALLOWED TO GO.

D. CEAUSESCU MENTIONED PRESIDENT REAGAN FAVORABLY IN HIS FIVE AND ONE-HALF HOUR SPEECH THE OTHER DAY, WHEN MALITZA DID NOT THINK THAT EVEN MARX OR LENIN WERE REFERRED TO.

2. COMMENT: WHILE APPEARING VERY SMOOTH IN HIS DELIVERY AND SINCERE IN DEMEANOR, MALITZA DISAPPOINTED ME BY RIGIDLY STICKING TO THE POSITION THAT NOTHING NEEDS TO BE DONE TO FUNDAMENTALLY IMPROVE THE BAD HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES/RECORD OF THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT ESPECIALLY REGARDING RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS, EMIGRATION PROCEDURES, AND PERSECUTION (POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS).

AS FEARED, THE AMBASSADORS FOCUSED ON AN ATTEMPT TO TECHNICALLY DISCREDIT THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON MFN RENEWAL REGARDING JEWISH EMIGRATION, TO THE EXCLUSION (AND APPARENT NON-CONCERN) OF CONGRESSIONAL "DEAR COLLEAGUE" CONCERNS WHICH COVER A WIDER RANGE.

FUNDERBURK
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW NADA DATE 1/27/17

62582 Romania

3. PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA (Ma-LEET-suh)
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

- PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - UNACCOMPANIED
WH - WILLIAM P. CLARK
NSC - RICHARD PIPES
STATE - JOHN D. SCANLAN
ESCORT - RICHARD MASSEY
- PREVIOUS DIPLOMATIC ASSIGNMENTS AT UN
IN NEW YORK AND GENEVA, AMBASSADOR TO
SWITZERLAND; MINISTER OF EDUCATION;
PROFESSOR OF DIPLOMACY (UNIV.OF BUCHAREST.)
- MARRIED, 3 CHILDREN

AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA

2

- ° REAFFIRM OUR APPRECIATION OF ROMANIA'S
INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY.
- ° EXPRESS HOPE THAT PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE
ARISEN IN CONNECTION WITH RENEWAL OF
ROMANIAN MEN DUE TO JEWISH EMIGRATION
DIFFICULTIES WILL BE READILY SOLVED.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROGER FONTAINE
FRED WETTERING
RICHARD PIPES
DONALD GREGG

FROM: CHARLES P. TYSON *ct*
SUBJECT: Diplomatic Credentials Ceremony --
Friday, June 25, beginning at 1:30 p.m.

Attached is a listing in the order in which six Ambassadors will present credentials to the President on Friday, June 25, beginning at 1:30 p.m., in the Oval Office.

Please review the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador and the President's reply -- which were sent to you under separate cover. If a problem arises with State's prepared Presidential reply, please contact State's desk officer to resolve and coordinate.

Also attached is a biographic sketch of the appointed Ambassador in your global area.

Please prepare 3x5 cards listing participants, pertinent background information, and talking points for the President's use during the ceremony. Sample attached.

Reminder: Please clear participants.

Three-by-five cards due in my office by 1:00 p.m., Thursday, June 24.

Thank you.

Romania
Credentials 6/25/82
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15

Mircea Malitza (MEAR-cha Ma-LEET-suh) - Appointed Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Head of State - Nicolae Ceausescu, (pronounced Chow-SHESH-koo), President of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Head of Government - Nicolae Dascalescu, (pronounced Das-ka-LESS-ku), Prime Minister.

Ambassador Malitza, 56, married, 3 children. Previous assignments include: Counselor of the Romanian Mission to the UN; Deputy Foreign Minister, concurrently Professor of Diplomacy, University of Bucharest; Minister of Education; Adviser to President for Educational Affairs and Ambassador to Switzerland and UN Offices in Geneva.

Pertinent Background: President and Mrs. Ceausescu visited the US in 1978. President Ford visited Romania in 1975. President Ceausescu has invited you to visit Romania at your convenience. Secretary Haig visited Romania and met President Ceausescu in February.

Significant Programs or Issues: Romania's foreign policy is relatively independent despite its Warsaw Pact membership. It supported your zero option INF missile proposal for Europe and applauded your May 9 call for a reduction in strategic missiles. Unfortunately, Romania's internal regime is one of the most repressive in Eastern Europe, causing particular concern to Evangelical Christians in the US. Romania continues to experience serious economic problems but is working constructively with western bankers and the International Monetary Fund and plans to negotiate soon a rescheduling of its nearly \$12 billion debt with Western nations.

Issues for Discussion:

- Reiterate your appreciation for Romania's support for the U.S. zero option proposal and our call for a reduction of strategic missiles. Express our intention to continue to support Romania's efforts to pursue an independent foreign policy.
- Underscore your hope that Romania will respond positively to our concerns on human rights, including emigration, family reunification and religious freedom because these have the potential of causing friction between our countries if not satisfactorily resolved.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GDS 6/3/88

State Waiver 11/6/15
BY: [signature] 11/27/17
NRADAT

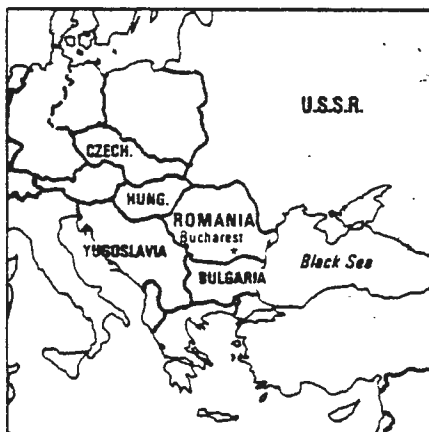
background notes

Romania



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

July 1980



Official Name:
Socialist Republic
of Romania

PROFILE

People

POPULATION (1978 est.): 21.9 million.
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE: 0.9%.
ETHNIC GROUPS: Romanians 88.1%,
Magyars 7.9%, Germans 1.6%, Jews,
Ukrainians, Serbs, Croats, Russians,
Turks. RELIGIONS: Orthodox 80%,
Roman Catholic 6%, Calvinist, Lutheran,
Jewish. LANGUAGES: Romanian, Hun-
garian, German. EDUCATION: *Years*
compulsory—10. *Attendance*—98%.
Literacy—98%. HEALTH: *Infant mor-*
tality rate—31/1,000 (US=15/1,000). *Life*
expectancy—(1974-77) 69.3 yrs. (males),
71.8 yrs. (females). WORK FORCE (10.2
million): *Agriculture*—40%. *Industry and*
commerce—25%. *Other*—35%.

Geography

AREA: 237,499 sq. km. (91,699 sq. mi.);
somewhat smaller than NY and PA com-
bined. CITIES: *Capital*—Bucharest (pop.
2.1 million). *Other cities*—Constanta
(290,226), Iasi (284,308), Timisoara
(282,691), Cluj-Napoca (262,421), Brasov
(262,041). TERRAIN: Consists mainly of
rolling and well-watered plains with fer-
tile soil; hilly in the eastern regions of
the middle Danube basin. CLIMATE:
Moderate.

Government

TYPE: Communist. DATE OF CON-
STITUTION: August 21, 1965.

BRANCHES: *Executive*—President
(Chief of State), Prime Minister (Head of
Government), Council of Ministers.
Legislative—unicameral Grand National
Assembly (GNA) and its Council of State.
Judicial—Supreme Court, county courts,
people's courts.

SUBDIVISIONS: 40 Counties (in-
cludes city of Bucharest).

POLITICAL PARTIES: Romanian
Communist Party. SUFFRAGE: Univer-
sal and compulsory over age 18.

DEFENSE: 3.8% of GNP (1978 est.).

FLAG: Three vertical bands from left
to right—blue, yellow, and red. Centered
is a coat of arms depicting a mountain
forest and wheat field, with a red star
atop the emblem.

Economy

GNP (1978 current prices): \$67.5 billion.
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE: 7.6%. PER
CAPITA INCOME: \$3,100.

NATURAL RESOURCES: Oil,
timber, natural gas, coal.

AGRICULTURE (15% of GNP):
Products—corn, wheat, oil seeds,
potatoes.

INDUSTRY (57% of GNP): *Types*—
mining, forestry, construction materials,
metal production and processing, chemi-
cals, machine building, food processing.

TRADE (1978): *Exports*—\$8.2 billion:
foodstuffs, light manufactures, fuel.

Partners—USSR, FRG, GDR.

Imports—\$8.9 billion: machinery, fuel,
iron ore, coking coal, cotton.

Partners—USSR, FRG, GDR.

OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE: 4.47
lei=US\$1 (commercial); 12 lei=US\$1
(tourist).

US ECONOMIC AID RECEIVED:
None. ECONOMIC AID SENT: None.

MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNA-
TIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: UN and
most of its specialized agencies, Council
for Mutual Economic Assistance
(CEMA), Warsaw Pact, World Bank, In-
ternational Monetary Fund, GATT,
Danube Commission, Interpol.



519427 3-60

PEOPLE

About 88% of the people are ethnically Romanian, a group which, in contrast to that of Slav or Magyar (Hungarian) neighbors, is traced back to ancestors related to the French, Italians, Spanish, and other "Latins." As a result, the Romanian language, although containing many elements of Slavic, Turkish, and other languages, is related to French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. Romania was a Roman colony during the second and third centuries, and modern Romanians consider themselves to be descendants of the Roman civilization. Hungarian and German are also spoken in some parts of the country.

Most of the minority populations reside in Transylvania or areas to the

north and west of Bucharest. Among the principal minorities are the Hungarians, Germans, and Jews, with smaller numbers of Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, and Great Russians.

Before World War II, minorities represented more than 28% of the total population, but that percentage was halved in large part by the loss of the border areas of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina (to the U.S.S.R.) and southern Dobrudja (to Bulgaria), as well as by the postwar flight or deportation of ethnic Germans. However, in Transylvania, which was part of the pre-1918 Austria-Hungary, Romania retains areas where the ethnic "minority" sometimes makes up three-fourths of the local population and is therefore politically significant.

The official Romanian Government policy toward the national minorities is nondiscriminatory and allows them a degree of cultural autonomy. But it insists on their integration into the national economy and provides for compulsory study of Romanian, in addition to the minority languages.

The Jewish community surviving World War II has been reduced perhaps 90% over the past three decades by emigration to Israel. In recent years, up to 10,000 of the nearly 400,000 ethnic Germans in Romania have emigrated annually to the Federal Republic of Germany. Since World War II there has been little emigration of ethnic Hungarians to Hungary.

Religious observance in Romania has traditionally been extensive, and

religious allegiances generally follow ethnic lines, with about 80% of all Romanians nominally belonging to the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, to which about 10% of the populace belonged, was incorporated into the Romanian Orthodox Church by fiat in 1948. Roman Catholics, largely Magyar and German, constitute about 6% of the population; Calvinists, Jews, Baptists, and Lutherans make up most of the remaining 4%.

Romania is a land rich in traditions and folklore. Drawing on its Latin ties, blended with the Slavic influence and the contributions of the various ethnic groups, Romania has made significant contributions to the arts and humanities.

Among the best known of its writers are Mihail Eminescu, one of the great poets of the 19th century; Mihail Sadoveanu, author of many novels which have been widely translated; the poet Tudor Arghezi; and the playwright Eugene Ionescu. Particularly significant has been the Romanian contribution in the musical field, including the pianist Dinu Lipatti; the violinist and composer George Enescu, and many opera singers. Romania is rightly famous for the painted monasteries of Bukovina, with outside frescoes of unique beauty and quality. Two of the best known artists of the 20th century were Romanian: Tristan Tzara and Constantin Brancusi. Romania also has a rich tradition in the performing arts; the Bucharest Bulandra Theater has acquired worldwide renown.

GEOGRAPHY

Extended inland halfway across the Balkan Peninsula and covering a large elliptical area of 237,499 square kilometers (91,699 sq. mi.), Romania occupies the greater part of the lower basin of the Danube River system and the hilly eastern regions of the middle Danube basin. It lies on either side of the mountain system—the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps—which forms, with the Balkan Mountains, the natural barrier between the two Danube basins. In the past two centuries Romania has served as the natural gate for Russian expansion in the Balkans and the Mediterranean basin.

Romania's location gives it a definitely continental climate, particularly in the Old Kingdom (that part east of the Carpathians and south of the Transylvanian Alps), where temperatures approximate the extremes of the Russian climate, and to a lesser degree in Transylvania, where the climate is

more moderate. A long and at times severe winter (December-March), a hot summer (April-July), and a prolonged autumn (August-November) are the principal seasons of the year. The change from winter to summer is so rapid that there is very little springtime. At Bucharest the daily minimum temperature in January averages -7°C (20°F), and the daily maximum in July averages 29°C (85°F).

HISTORY

Romania has had 22 centuries of violent and dramatic history. From about 200 B.C., when it was first colonized by the Dacians (a Thracian tribe), to modern times this territory has been the scene of many invasions and migrations that have left their mark on the country and its inhabitants. Today the Romanians form an island between the Slavic and the Hungarian peoples.

Before the postwar Communist regime, Romania looked to the Western countries, particularly France, for cultural, educational, scientific, and social inspiration and development. Among all the Balkan countries, Romania was considered the most Gallicized; the French language, along with Romanian, was compulsory in the schools. In 1948, the Russian language and Soviet institutions supplanted the French language and other Western influences in Romanian cultural life. Since the late 1960s, however, Russian has not been compulsory, and German, French, and English are widely taught in the schools.

Romania was an independent kingdom from 1881 until December 30, 1947, when the Communist-dominated government forced the abdication of King Michael. Before 1938 Romania had a series of governments dominated by a landowning aristocracy, based only nominally on a liberal constitutional system, with a de facto limitation of suffrage. The Social Democratic Party, which controlled the small labor movement, was tolerated by the monarchy but never had political power. In the 1930s, an anti-Semitic, anti-Soviet, Fascist Iron Guard movement threatened the government, which was taken over in 1940-41 by the authoritarian General Antonescu. In June 1941 Romania entered World War II on the side of the Axis powers.

A coup led by King Michael and opposition politicians, with the support of the army, deposed the Antonescu dictatorship on August 23, 1944 (Romania's national holiday). An armi-

stice, secretly negotiated at Cairo, was signed September 12 and brought Romanian forces into the war on the side of the Allies against the Germans in Transylvania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Romania, which had suffered extensive losses in the war against the U.S.S.R., incurred additional heavy casualties.

The peace treaty, signed at Paris on February 10, 1947, confirmed the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina (originally occupied in 1940) and ceded a largely Bulgarian-populated area of southern Dobruja to Bulgaria. It also reincorporated into Romania that portion of northern Transylvania granted to Hungary in 1940 under German and Italian arbitration between Romania and Hungary. In addition, the treaty required substantial war reparations by Romania to the Soviet Union.

Soviet occupation forces supported Communist organizers, and the non-Communist political leaders were purged. In March 1945 King Michael was forced to appoint a Communist-front government. The King abdicated under pressure in December 1947 when the Romanian People's Republic was declared. With their accession to power, the Communists effectively subordinated national Romanian interests to those of the U.S.S.R. Since late 1961, however, Romanian communism has assumed an increasingly nationalistic cast. A substantial shift in Romania's foreign policy has resulted.

A new Constitution was adopted in 1965. It provided that the name of the country be changed to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

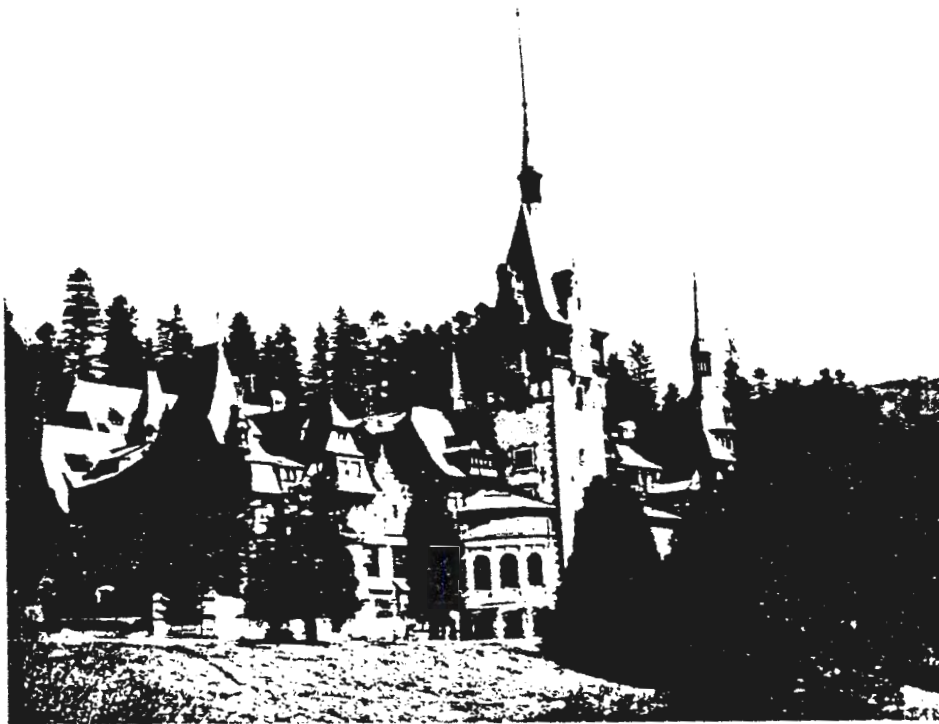
In 1968 a sweeping reorganization of the administrative structure and territorial division was carried out. The new territorial division was reminiscent of that existing before the imposition of the Soviet-style regime.

GOVERNMENT

Romania is governed by a centralized executive appointed by the Grand National Assembly. Real power, however, lies in the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP; until July 1965, the Romanian Workers' Party). The party's leading role has been written into the Constitution.

The three principal branches of the government are the Grand National Assembly, with its Council of State; an executive consisting of a Council of Ministers, operating ministries, and state committees; and a judiciary.

Like the 1952 Constitution it re-



Peles Castle, former royal residence and 17th-century monastery, in Sinaia (south of Brasov, central Romania).

placed, the Constitution of 1965 provides for a unicameral Grand National Assembly (GNA). Its 349 Members are elected from single-member electoral precincts of equal population for regular 5-year terms, which may be extended in times of emergency.

The GNA is charged with electing the President of the Republic, the Council of State, the Supreme Court, the Chief Public Prosecutor, and the Council of Ministers. Its other constitutional powers include amending the Constitution, reorganizing the bureaucracy, and granting amnesties. The GNA follows party policy on all these matters.

The bulk of legislative work is performed by the Council of State, a permanent body of 28 members elected by the GNA, which acts when the Assembly is not in session. The Council consists of a President, three Vice Presidents, 23 members, and a secretary. Its President is the President of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, who was elected to this position as the country's first President in March 1974. The Council of State has the power to issue decrees with force of law.

The Constitution defines the Council of Ministers as the "supreme administrative organ" of the state. The Council is formally appointed by and theoretically subordinate to the Assembly. In fact, however, it executes

the policies established by party leadership. The Council is composed of the Prime Minister (Head of Government), vice premiers, and ministers and heads of various other central administrative organs.

The Constitution gives the Council of Ministers extensive powers to carry out the state economic plan, manage the country's economy, insure public order, defend the interests of the state, protect the rights of the citizens, direct the country's armed forces and military conscription, conduct foreign affairs, and suspend decisions of the county people's councils which do not conform to the law. In fulfilling its functions, the Council of Ministers is authorized to issue decisions and orders. In March 1969 a Defense Council was formally set up to take over many of the prerogatives of the Council of Ministers with regard to defense matters.

Following the July 1972 National Party Conference, several combined party and state bodies were formed to control a wide variety of party and government activities, further eroding the authority of the Council of Ministers. The Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, headed by President Ceausescu, was established in 1973 to coordinate all social and economic planning. Other new party and state organs are the Council for Social and Economic Organizations, which

controls the size and functions of ministries and economic enterprises, and the Central Council of Workers' Control Over Economic and Social Activities, which oversees fulfillment of economic plan targets.

The judiciary is constitutionally limited to "defending the Socialist order and personal rights, educating citizens to the respect of law," and by applying sanctions, "reeducating lawbreakers and preventing the commission of new infractions." A new revision of the judicial system is being designed to remove misdemeanors from the court system, reduce punishments for felonies, reduce the number of crimes punishable by death from 28 to 5 (exempting altogether youth and some women), and create workers' judicial councils to handle 40-50% of cases previously requiring court appearance.

None of the courts—the Supreme Court, the county courts, the people's courts, etc.—has authority to review the constitutionality of laws. The Supreme Court guarantees uniformity of procedures by supervision and decision in procedural matters. It is elected anew by each GNA and is responsible to it or (between GNA sessions) to the Council of State. Theoretically, judges and assessors (lay judges) are independent and subject only to the law.

The office of the Chief Public Prosecutor, an important institution borrowed from the U.S.S.R., is also given constitutional status. The Chief Public Prosecutor is vested with the "supreme supervisory power to insure the observance of the law by ministries and other central organs, by the local organs of state power and administration, as well as by officials and other citizens."

For territorial/administrative purposes, Romania is divided into 39 Counties and the city of Bucharest. Each county is governed by a People's Council, whose chairman is also the First Secretary of the county's Communist Party organization.

Principal Government Officials

President and Chairman of the Council of State—Nicolae Ceausescu
 Prime Minister—Ilie Verdet
 Minister of Foreign Affairs—Stefan Andrei
 Minister of Foreign Trade—Cornel Burtica
 Ambassador to the United States—Nicolae Ionescu
 Ambassador to the UN—Teodore Marinescu

Romania maintains an Embassy in the United States at 1607 23d Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-232-4748).

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The transition immediately after World War II from the pro-German dictatorship of Ion Antonescu to the dictatorship of Moscow-trained Communists was relatively rapid. After 1947, the new government followed the Soviet example of agricultural collectivization and forced industrialization accompanied by a remodeling of the state along totalitarian Communist lines.

However, a general "de-Russification" of the country began in 1961 as the Romanian leadership displayed increasing independence of the Soviet Union, whose troops were withdrawn in 1958. The growth of political nationalism has also been intermittently accompanied by some relaxation of internal restrictions. In 1965, 1967, and 1977 nearly all political prisoners were released, and prison sentences of others were reduced or rescinded. A degree of liberality toward cultural creativity was shown in the 1969-71 period. Since 1964, Romania has also permitted a sharp increase in cultural relations with the West, although the level remains low in absolute terms. However, an extensive internal security apparatus has maintained a powerful influence on Romanian life.

The Romanian Government's nationalistic policies have won considerable popular acceptance. Increasing numbers of persons from those strata previously most antagonistic to the system—intellectuals and agricultural workers—joined the Romanian Communist Party. The party's membership rose from 1.3 million in 1965 to over 2.7 million, or more than 10% of the total population, by 1977.

Political leadership since the late 1950s has been remarkably stable, and the passage of power from longtime party/government chief Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who died in 1965, to Nicolae Ceausescu was evidently smooth and uncomplicated. Ceausescu's 15 years in office (party chief since 1965, Chief of State since December 1967, and President of the Republic since 1974) have been characterized by a slowly improving living standard and popular acceptance of the government's independent foreign policy.

There has been no evidence of any prospective change in Romania's policy of independence within the Communist

system or its active development of relations with non-Communist governments. Responsible officials have repeatedly declared that these policies will be continued.

While the government's independent foreign policy remains popular, 1977 also witnessed important manifestations of unrest on the domestic scene, including an illegal strike in the coal mining area of the Jiu Valley, which the government broke through a combination of concessions and toughness.

ECONOMY

After the Communist takeover in 1945, Romania's economy was patterned after the highly centralized and controlled Soviet model. Although Romania is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), it maintains its right to decide on participation or nonparticipation in multilateral activities and has resisted supranational planning on the grounds that economic planning is a sovereign national prerogative.

Still one of the less-developed countries of Europe, Romania has many natural resources. Its government is determined to show continued impressive growth rates along with a large

measure of economic independence. In fact, Romania has sustained one of the highest annual GNP growth rates in post-World War II Europe (about 8% per year, 1965-74, according to World Bank estimates).

Its main economic goals are the rapid development of industrial capacity and output, especially in heavy industry; continued state ownership of industrial facilities and collectivized agriculture; rapid improvement of technology and diversification of industrial production; and, a goal since 1963, reduction of economic dependence on any single country or group of countries through an expansion of trade with many states.

Most of the increase in national income has come from industrial production growth. This has resulted in a high priority on a high rate of investment at the expense of consumption; increased availability of inputs from agriculture and imports; growth of the industrial labor force; and large imports of advanced technology and equipment, particularly from industrialized non-Communist countries.

The relative backwardness of agricultural methods and the low productivity of the agricultural labor force, which consists now primarily of older men and women, continue to be serious

TRAVEL NOTES

Tourist attractions—The monasteries of Bukovina, the Transylvanian Alps, and the beach resorts of the Black Sea are attractive places to visit, as are the cities of Cluj-Napoca, Iasi, Sighisoara, Sibiu, and Brasov, which retain old sections with many valuable civic and religious monuments.

Travel accommodations—Many foreign tourist agencies arrange travel and hotel reservations in advance for groups or individuals. The official Romanian travel agency, Carpati, has an office at 500 5th Ave., Room 328, New York City.

Visa and currency requirements—Visas are available, without fee, from Romanian Consulates or on arrival. Be aware, however, that each visitor is required to spend the equivalent of \$10 in hard currency each day in Romania, unless traveling on a prepaid, all-inclusive tour. Carefully retain receipts for all money exchanges and purchases to present on departure.

Climate—Romania has hot Mediterranean summers and cold, dry winters.

Health—Although no inoculations are required for travelers coming from the US or Europe, it is advisable to be immunized against polio and hepatitis for travel outside urban areas. *Health requirements change. Travelers should check most recent information.*

Telecommunications—Local telephone service is automatic and fairly dependable. International telephone and telegraph connections are generally good, but delays may occur in placing calls. Romania is seven time zones ahead of the eastern US.

Transportation—Bucharest has many inexpensive, but often crowded, buses and streetcars. Taxis are fairly inexpensive. A new subway system was inaugurated in 1979 and will be expanded in the next few years.

Driving to Bucharest from December through February is not advised, as mountain passes can be hazardous. Otherwise, the main roads are reasonably good. Rail and air facilities are available for domestic and international travel. The daily Wiener-Walzer Express from Vienna takes roughly 20 hours to reach Bucharest.

economic problems for Romania. In the past 2 years, agricultural production has had little growth. The agricultural sector has recently been receiving greater attention as a valuable source of hard-currency earnings, but Romania's development strategy remains overwhelmingly focused on heavy industry.

Among East European countries Romania is second only to Poland in area and population and has long been a major European corn- and wheat-growing country as well as an important producer of oil, timber, and, more recently, natural gas. The principal emphasis of postwar economic programs has been on developing power, mining, forestry operations, construction materials, metal production and processing, chemicals, and machine building. These industries now account for about 60% of the gross industrial output. The rapidly expanded machine-building industry, a key part of the industrial process, accounts for about one-fourth of the gross industrial product. The current 5-year plan (1976-80) also places heavy emphasis on the development of the chemical industry, which is slated to grow at an annual rate of 15%. The 1981-85 plan is likely to continue this emphasis, although the growing energy crisis may affect this plan negatively.

Light industry occupies a less important position in the economy relative to the prewar years when it supplied about 66% rather than the present 40% of industrial output. Food processing and textiles lead light industry, with production and consumption of durable consumer goods being rather low. Consumer goods are receiving somewhat more attention in current plans, but continued emphasis on heavy industry sharply limits expansion in this area.

Although Romania is not as dependent on foreign trade as other East European countries and is largely self-sufficient in foodstuffs and fuels, the development of Romanian industry requires imports of technology, machinery, equipment, and industrial materials—principally rolled steel, iron ore, coke and coking coal, and cotton. An increase in imports has forced expansion of traditional exports of food, lumber, and fuel in order to avoid trade deficits. It is also noteworthy that in 1976 Romania for the first time became a net importer of crude oil. Manufactures, including a wide variety of capital equipment, have lately accounted for about one-quarter of exports. In 1977 imports and exports were each balanced at \$7.02 billion.

Before World War II less than 20% of Romania's trade was with nations that are now Communist, and half of this amount was with Czechoslovakia. However, during the period 1947-59 annual trade with the Communist world reached as high as 86%. In more recent times Romania has increased its share of trade with non-Communist countries. The non-Communist share of 1959-69 Romanian trade increased three to four times faster than that of Communist countries, and in 1973 Romania became the first Warsaw Pact country to conduct less than half of its trade with Communist nations. In 1977 about 55% of Romania's trade was with non-Communist countries.

Approximately 17-18% of Romania's trade is with the Soviet Union, which is the most important supplier of iron ore, coke, and other raw materials. Romania's second largest trading partner is the Federal Republic of Germany, which held a 9% share of Romanian trade in 1977. The United States became Romania's fourth largest trading partner in 1979. Since 1960 Romania has received substantial credits from Western Europe. Romania has also attached great importance to developing economic ties with the Third World for economic and political reasons. In accordance with announced policies, the Third World's share of Romanian trade is about 20%.

FOREIGN BUSINESS INFORMATION

For information on foreign economic trends, commercial development, production, trade regulations, and tariff rates, contact the Bureau of Export Development, US Department of Commerce, Washington, DC 20230. This information is also available from any of the Department of Commerce district offices located throughout the US.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since the early 1960s Romania has increasingly asserted its national sovereignty and has sought closer ties with non-Communist countries. Major disputes with the U.S.S.R. arose over Soviet proposals in 1962 to subordinate Romanian economic development to a supranational planning body within CEMA. In a "declaration of independ-

ence" of April 22, 1964, the Romanian leadership sharply criticized these proposals and emphasized the right of each Communist Party to work out its own policies in all fields on the basis of national self-interest. Romania consistently followed this policy during the Czechoslovak crisis in the summer of 1968, when it publicly criticized and did not participate in the invasion of that country by the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact.

Since 1964 Romania has frequently taken positions on international issues markedly different from those taken by the Soviet Union. These have included, among many others, neutrality in the Sino-Soviet dispute and continuing pursuit of good state and party relations with the People's Republic of China; recognition of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1967; maintenance of relations with Israel after the 1967 war and an independent view of Middle East developments during the 1967 and 1973 wars, as well as during the current negotiating phase; early approaches and formal relations with the European Common Market; an independent position (close to Yugoslavia and the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties) in international Communist affairs; an active individual role both in the United Nations and in the CSCE process; "guest" status at nonaligned meetings. In addition to good relations with its neighbor Yugoslavia, it has promoted Balkan regional cooperation efforts.

The Romanians describe their foreign policy as one of amicable relations with all countries regardless of differing social systems, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, the pursuit of peace, and the advancement of Romanian national interests. The record substantiates this policy. They have maintained proper relations with the Soviets while rejecting Soviet domination, both directly and indirectly. At the 1976 conference of European Communist Parties, they were among the successful proponents of the right of each party to develop and pursue policies on the basis of its own experiences and of the conditions in which it operates. Their participation in Soviet-sponsored international Communist activities has been unpredictable.

Romania is a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It joined the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in December 1972. Although a member of the Warsaw Pact, Romania sharply

limits the participation of its armed forces in that body and has neither participated with troops in Pact maneuvers abroad since 1962 nor permitted such maneuvers within Romania since 1964.

DEFENSE

Romania maintains a relatively large army and a small air force and navy but looks upon these forces as strictly defensive. It also has set up paramilitary bodies in which all male citizens can be drawn in case of an emergency affecting the security of the nation.

U.S.-ROMANIA RELATIONS

After a 15-year period of coolness, the United States and Romania began in 1960 to improve relations by signing an agreement providing for partial settlement of American property claims. In the same year, cultural, scientific, and educational exchanges were initiated. In 1964 the legations of both nations were raised to the level of Embassies.

In August 1969 President Nixon paid an official visit to Romania, the first by a U.S. President to Eastern Europe since World War II. During that visit agreement was reached to establish a U.S. library in Bucharest, a Romanian library in New York, and a U.S. bank office in Bucharest.

High-level contacts between U.S. and Romanian leaders have multiplied despite continuing political differences. President Ceausescu's April 1978 visit to the United States to meet with President Carter was his fourth visit since October 1970. President Ford (in 1975) and Secretaries of State Rogers and Kissinger each visited Bucharest. Also in 1975, the Romanian First Deputy Minister of Defense and Chief of the General Staff exchanged visits with the U.S. Army Chief of Staff. High-level visits have also included trips by American Cabinet officers and Romanian Ministers, Parliamentarians, and leaders in many fields.

READING LIST

This list provides a general indication of the material currently available on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

- American University. *Area Handbook for Romania*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Fischer-Galati, Stephen A. *The New Romania*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1967.
- Gilberg, Trond. *Modernization in Romania Since World War II*. New York: Praeger, 1975.
- Hale, Julian. *Ceausescu's Romania*. London: Harkar, 1971.
- Ionescu, Ghita. *Communism in Rumania, 1944-1962*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Jowitt, Kenneth. *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944-1965*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Seton-Watson, R.W. *A History of the Romanians From Roman Times to the Completion of Unity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939.

In 1972 Secretary Rogers and Foreign Minister Manescu signed a Consular Convention to facilitate the protection of citizens and their property in both countries. In the same year, Overseas Private Investment Corporation facilities were granted, and Romania became eligible for U.S. Export-Import Bank credits. An agreement signed in 1974 for cultural, educational, scientific, and technical exchanges and cooperation has resulted in a steady growth of contacts and exchanges of information in those fields.

A 3-year trade agreement signed in April 1975 and renewed in 1978 accorded most-favored-nation status on Romania, the only East European country willing at that time to receive this treatment under the terms of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1974. This status has been renewed yearly since 1975 after congressional review.

Subsequently, the two countries signed a long-term agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation. Total trade in 1979 amounted to \$829 million. A joint declaration issued during President Ceausescu's 1978 visit restated the desire of both countries to continue and expand their relations.

Because of its connection with the most-favored-nation status, emigration remains a related issue for discussion between the two governments. A dialogue has been maintained concerning problems of dual nationals, binational marriage cases, and reunification of divided families. Approximately 1,500-1,700 Romanians now emigrate to the United States each year.

Following a series of natural disasters in the 1970s—major flooding as well as the earthquake of 1977—assistance from private Americans and from the U.S. Government (including a \$20 million grant for earthquake relief) was a positive factor in U.S.-Romanian relations.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—O. Rudolph Aggrey
Deputy Chief of Mission—Herbert Kaiser
Counselor for Press and Culture—Al Pearlman
Political Affairs Counselor—Stephen Johnson
Economic Affairs Counselor—Clint Smith
Science and Technology Attache—John Zimmerman
Consul—James Lassiter

The U.S. Embassy in Romania is located at Strada Tudor Arghezi No. 7/9 Bucharest (tel. 12-40-40). ■

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THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY
TO THE REMARKS OF THE
NEWLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
MIRCEA MALITA
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF
HIS LETTER OF CREDENCE

Mr. Ambassador:

I am pleased to welcome you today, and to receive your letters of accreditation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the United States. I accept as well the letter of recall of your distinguished predecessor.

Please convey my thanks to President and Mrs. Ceausescu for their good wishes, and convey to them and to the Romanian people our best hopes for success, prosperity and abiding peace.

The United States pursues its relations with other nations on the basis of mutual respect, the recognition of equal sovereignty and national independence. Our bilateral relations with Romania have developed so well in recent years because we

- 2 -

have proceeded on the basis of these principles and because we have sought to find common ground to resolve our differences whenever they have arisen.

Mr. Ambassador, we value our relations with Romania. We appreciate the efforts which Romania has made to establish an independent position in foreign affairs. We understand and share the desire to reduce tensions in the world so that all people may have the opportunity to pursue their destinies in peace, and without the fear of repression. We trust that, as our relations develop further, our concerns and views will continue to grow closer and lead to further cooperation and understanding between us.

I look forward to working with you during your assignment in Washington, Mr. Ambassador, and wish to assure you that you will receive the full cooperation of the United States Government in the pursuit of your official duties.

REMARKS OF THE
NEWLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
MIRCEA MALITA
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF
HIS LETTER OF CREDENCE

Mr. President:

I am highly honored to present to Your Excellency, together with the recalling letters of my predecessor, the letters through which I am accredited as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the United States of America.

On this occasion I am happy to convey to Your Excellency and to Mrs. Nancy Reagan from the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu and Mrs. Elena Ceaușescu, the best wishes of good health and personal happiness, and to the friendly American people wishes of prosperity, peace and progress.

Appreciating the role and the particular responsibility incumbent on the United States in international life, Romania pays a special attention to her relationship with your country.

The fact that these relations have found a sound basis of development on the principles of the full equality in rights,

national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs and the mutual advantage of renunciation to force in international relations, principles consecrated in the high level Romanian-American agreements and that on this basis our two Governments and peoples have set up a fruitful relationship in all fields of activity, represent for us a source of deep satisfaction.

We also consider there still are manifold possibilities to extend and deepen the cooperation and collaboration between Romania and the United States both in the field of the bilateral relations, of commercial, scientific, cultural and artistic exchanges, and in the sphere of international life, aiming at the peaceful settlement, through negotiations, of differences among states, for a constructive solution to the major issues confronting mankind.

I feel confident that, through joint efforts, we will succeed to use these possibilities, in the interest of our two countries and peoples, in the interest of peace, national independence and understanding among all peoples.

For me personally, Mr. President, it is a great honor and satisfaction to be able to contribute, by accomplishing the mission my President has entrusted me with, to the achievement of this high goal and I am convinced that, in my efforts, I will be able to rely on your personal support and understanding and on the support and understanding of the American Government as well.

~~6376~~ re-do

6376 re-do

~~2 per.~~

September 20, 1982

Pending
27

27

Y 

The Department of State and Richard Pipes concur.

That you indicate your preference:

7

No. 1.

- Date Mon, Oct 4 Time 3:15

(“squeeze play”)
short meeting
15"

2. Regret, no meeting can be scheduled.

Declassify on: OADR

Sec. 3. (b) (1) (A) White House, Gilcom
BY NARA *RW*, DATE *11/27/08*

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 16, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Andrei

The Political Counselor at the Romanian Embassy, Boris Ranghet, called to request that a meeting be arranged between you and Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei on Monday, October 4. However, since the Foreign Minister will be in the United States from September 27 until October 6, I was informed he is willing to meet with you anytime during this period. Secretary of State Shultz is scheduled to meet with Foreign Minister Andrei in New York at the UNGA.

RECOMMENDATION

That you indicate your preference:

Yes No

1. That a meeting be arranged on October 4 or on another mutually convenient date.
Date Time .
2. Regret, no meeting can be scheduled.

cc: Richard Pipes

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
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**National Security Council
The White House**

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Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
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I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

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COMMENTS

What is State's position and what is your recommendation?

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**National Security Council
The White House**

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Package # 6374

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I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action

cc: VP

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
188371	MEMO PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO WILLIAM CLARK RE. MEETING WITH ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER [PARTIAL]	2	10/4/1982	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

October 4, 1982

31

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister
(Monday, October 4, 1982; 3:15 p.m.)

WPC H-FCN

Last Friday, Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei met with Secretary Shultz in New York and discussed a panoply of bilateral and international subjects. In your meeting, you can expect the Foreign Minister to raise the following issues:

- Bilateral Relations: He will seek reassurance that the U.S. assigns a special importance to its relations with Romania and in general, adheres to a policy of differentiation toward Eastern Europe. You should affirm that the U.S. Government pursues a policy of differentiation and especially respects Romania's autonomous foreign policy.
- Human Rights/Emigration: The Foreign Minister might attempt to clarify Romania's position that no emigration or human rights problems exist and seek your comments. In response, you should refer to the President's June message to Congress concerning Romania's MFN renewal. Specifically, it stated, "that unless a noticeable improvement in its emigration procedures takes place and the rate of Jewish emigration to Israel increases significantly, Romania's MFN renewal ~~in~~ 1983 will be in serious jeopardy." You should express your hope that the emigration talks, October 6-7, between Romanian officials and Assistant Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs Abrahms, will be productive.
- Economy: Andrei is likely to mention Romania's debt rescheduling. Your reply should emphasize the importance of adhering to the IMF program and providing the appropriate information on the Romanian economy, and should indicate that the upcoming Romania-United States Economic Council meeting in Bucharest will provide a useful forum for discussion of bilateral economic issues.
- Middle East: Romania is the only country in the Eastern bloc which maintains favorable relations with Israel. In fact, Romania is currently supporting the Israeli right to be represented in the UNGA and has tabled a recommendation at the U.N. toward this end. Andrei might want to discuss the ramifications of the Administration's September 1 Middle East initiative for the overall peace process. You should affirm that the first priority is to achieve the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and to restore Lebanese sovereignty, and should mention our commitment to a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

BY *RLW*
NLR-145-6-3-5-6#188371
DATE 1/27/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

32

-- Carlucci Trip: You should be aware that Deputy Secretary of Defense Carlucci will visit Romania, October 11-13. This is the first visit to Romania by a Pentagon official.

25X1

Attachments:

Tab I

25X1

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188375	REPORT [COPY OF DOC. 188368]	1	2/2/1982	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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188377	REPORT	2	4/1/1982	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Dobriansky

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*FILE -
KOMPWIA*

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR DODIE LIVINGSTON

FROM: MICHAEL O. WHEELER *MW*
SUBJECT: Romanian-U.S. Economic Council

With regard to your request for comments on whether an exception should be made to issue a Presidential message for the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council's Ninth Plenary Session (Tab A), we see no reason to make an exception and recommend that a message not be issued.

Attachment
Tab A Your Memo to Me

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL WHEELER, NSC

SUBJECT: Romanian-U.S.Economic Council - Ninth Plenary
Session in Bucharest, Romania

I understand that Presidential messages for these Economic Councils have only been sent when the meeting is held in the United States. If you think an exception should be made in this instance, I would appreciate your comments as soon as possible.

Thank you.



DODIE LIVINGSTON
Room 480-OEOB/EXT. 2941

PROPOSED TEXT FOR PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

I am pleased to greet the members of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council as you convene for your Ninth Plenary Session in Bucharest, Romania.

I welcome this opportunity to commend the Council for fostering goodwill and mutual confidence in U.S.-Romanian business relations, and particularly to recognize the American delegation for promoting among our Romanian friends an appreciation for the strength and vitality of American industry.

Economic and commercial relations between the United States and Romania have advanced impressively in recent years. Bilateral trade surpassed one billion dollars in 1980 and again in 1981. The U.S.-Romanian Economic Council has made an important contribution to the realization of these favorable developments.

I know the Council is interested in improving economic and financial conditions which this year have hindered bilateral commerce. A good start has been made toward achieving the desired improvements, and I am sure that the Ninth Plenary Session will further this effort.

I strongly support and encourage the work of the Council and wish you success in all of your endeavors.

Ronald Reagan

September 29, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR DODIE LIVINGSTON

FROM: Mary A. Nimmo

Gus Knowles discussed the attached request for a message for the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council with Claudia. Please return the signed message to me. We need it in time for it to be hand carried to Bucharest on October 14.

Enclosure

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 4, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL O. WHEELER

FROM: NORMAN A. BAILEY *NB*
SUBJECT: Romanian-U.S. Economic Council

Dodie Livingston has asked for our comments on whether an exception should be made to issue a Presidential message for the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council's Ninth Plenary Session in Bucharest, Romania. I see no reason to make an exception and recommend that a message not be issued.

Richard Pipes, Paula *PD* Dobriansky and Roger *RR* Robinson concur.

RECOMMENDATION:

=

That you sign the memorandum to Livingston at Tab I.

Approve NW Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Livingston
Tab A Memo from Livingston

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ + 112 - Romania
Dobriansky

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 30, 1982

Dear Ambassador Funderburk:

Thank you for your letter of October 22, which outlines the issue of providing highly sensitive technology to Romania. Your analysis is insightful and your recommendations are sound. I believe that the considerations you have raised will certainly have an impact on United States Government decisions on technology transfers to Romania. Your views on this sensitive matter are appreciated.

It was with sorrow that I learned of your mother's death. Please accept my deepest sympathy.

Sincerely,



William P. Clark

The Honorable David B. Funderburk
United States Ambassador
American Embassy
Bucharest

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NSC Waiver 8/6/10
RW NARAD 1/27/17

REFERRAL

DATE: 30 NOV 82

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: FUNDERBURK, DAVID B

SOURCE: CLARK

DATE: 30 NOV 82

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

USSR

CARLUCCI, F

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS HUMAN RIGHTS

SUBJ: CLARK RESPONSE TO AMB FUNDERBURK 22 OCT LTR

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH VIA POUCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:


FOR MICHAEL O WHEELER
STAFF SECRETARY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 22, 1982

ACTION**SIGNED**

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ^{PD}

SUBJECT: Letter from U.S. Ambassador to Romania

At Tab II is a letter from U.S. Ambassador to Romania, David B. Funderburk, which addresses the issue of technology transfers to Romania and forwards a copy of a letter which he recently sent to Deputy Secretary of Defense Carlucci. Specifically, Ambassador Funderburk asserts that given Romania's dire economic situation and its expressed need for COMECON assistance, Romania is highly susceptible to Soviet pressure. In fact, he posits that Romania's susceptibility to potential Soviet pressure is greater than it has been for 20 years. Hence, he urges that extreme caution be exercised when evaluating Romania's requests for technology.

At Tab I is a proposed reply to Ambassador Funderburk.

^{Shb} McGaffigan, ^{GMS} Pipes and Weiss concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I to Ambassador Funderburk.

Approve C Disapprove

Attachments:

Tab I Proposed reply to Ambassador Funderburk

Tab II Incoming correspondence, dated October 22

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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BY RW NADME 1/27/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

44

7531

EMBASSY OF THE

7 OCT 08 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest

American Embassy Bucharest
APO, New York 09757
October 22, 1982

The Honorable William P. Clark
National Security Adviser, White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Judge Clark:

I am enclosing for your information and attention a copy of a letter sent to Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci, who visited Bucharest last week. As a follow-up to conversations we had here, we have provided Mr. Carlucci information regarding Romanian requests and about our concerns in the area of high technology transfer to Romania. Our reading of the situation had led us to believe that we would run serious risk of aiding the Soviets if we transfer truly "sensitive" high technology items to Romania. In sum, we think that Romania may be more susceptible to Soviet pressure today than it has been in twenty years; hence, the risk may well be increasing.

We have been heartened to learn that Romania's requests for technology have been subjected to close scrutiny and we would urge that such scrutiny be continued.

Regarding the area of human rights, Romania's Communist regime has become more repressive and controlled in recent years. Having the personal perspective of stays in the country dating back over eleven years, Ceausescu's rule has an increasingly ugly face with little popular support which brings up the question of how far we should go in getting close to him. As our policy is one striving for human rights, democratization in communist countries, and increased internal reforms and foreign policy divergence from the Soviets, the desired effect has not to date taken place in Romania - rather the opposite.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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BY RW MARA DATE 1/27/17

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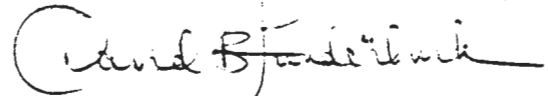
Page 2

US

Best wishes to you and the President in your efforts to strengthen the defenses and image of the United States and the economy internally on a permanent basis. We support you wholeheartedly and hope for a good election result in two weeks.

My wife and I will be forever grateful for your kindness at the swearing-in ceremony last fall. My mother who was present has since died, but we feel that it meant a lot to her as well.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David B. Funderburk". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "D".

David B. Funderburk
Ambassador

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest

American Embassy Bucharest
APO, New York 09757
October 22, 1982

The Honorable Frank C. Carlucci
Deputy Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Carlucci:

In your October 11 meetings with Minister of Defense Lt. Gen. Constantin Olteanu and Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei they -- especially Andrei -- asked you about the status of the United States response to Romania's request for seismic equipment. As you are aware they were referring to the Romanian request, most recently made to USAID in early September, for a variety of seismic and other equipment to be funded by USAID's Disaster Relief Program.

We understand from other Washington visitors that the Romanian Embassy in Washington has been told already that the United States cannot supply some of the items requested and that the remainder of the list is being scrutinized.

These Romanian requests bring into focus concerns that I and several of my staff have had with the matter of technology transfer to Romania. Upon reading NSDD-54 we noted that Romania is to be treated differently than other Warsaw Pact members with regard to the transfer of sensitive technology. We have serious reservations about such an exception. We realize that the NSDD was a laboriously negotiated document and that the various elements of it are in effect encapsulations that have specific meaning to those who deal with the subject in Washington. We also realize that sensitivity is relative and that there are items and technology governed by COCOM that are not particularly sensitive. We also understand that we have interests to promote by permitting the transfer of less sensitive items. Romania, probably for commercial reasons, would resist Soviet efforts to get less sensitive items more than highly sensitive items.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IFIED

State Waiver 11/6/15

RW

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11/22/71

Our concerns are with truly sensitive items and technology-- material that the Soviets would covet and that would bestow on the Soviets military benefits which they do not now possess-- and with NSDD-54's perception of Romania.

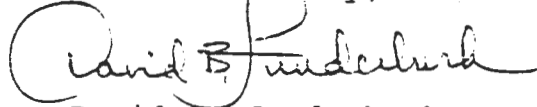
Regarding the sensitivity of export items, we would defer to the experts to determine what is truly sensitive and what is not. If an item is truly sensitive, however, we believe that it should not be transferred to Romania.

Briefly, we believe that, were we to transfer to Romania highly sensitive technology which the Soviets coveted, the Soviets could bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Romanians to obtain it. Moreover, we believe that in their present economic straits, in which they are seeking Soviet and CEMA aid, the Romanians' susceptibility to Soviet pressure is increasing and is greater than it has been for twenty years.

Thus, we are encouraged by the close scrutiny that Romania's requests apparently are receiving and urge that it be continued. Copies of this are being sent to Secretary of State Shultz and National Security Adviser Clark. Thank you for your consideration.

Betty and I enjoyed your visit and meeting your wife. Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,



David B. Funderburk
Ambassador

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

Jobriandcy:

December 16, 1982

48

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR L. PAUL BREMER, III
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Special Envoy to Romania (C)

We have reviewed and wholeheartedly concur in the State Department's recommendation that Under Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger be appointed as a special envoy to Romania to discuss the implications under U.S. law of their new education repayment decree and related matters of mutual interest. (C)

Michael O. Wheeler

Michael O. Wheeler
Staff Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE

C

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1930 DEC 16 PM 10 19

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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
<u>3</u>	<u>Secretariat</u>		

REMARKS: _____

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 13, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT:

Proposed Special Envoy to Romania

In his letter to Ceausescu of December 1, in which he warned the Romanians of possible U.S. reprisals for their recent emigration tax, the President suggested a special envoy to discuss this issue with Ceausescu. The Romanian President has accepted the offer. State suggests (Tab II) that Larry Eagleburger take on this mission in the next two weeks. I strongly endorse State's proposal: our disagreements with Romania are potentially very explosive, and Eagleburger is a diplomat with great experience in this part of the world, well qualified to deal with the problem.

At Tab I is a memorandum for Michael Wheeler's signature indicating our approval.

RP
Dobriansky, Guhyn, Lord and Robinson concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memorandum at Tab I for signature.

Approve ✓ Disapprove

Attachments:

Tab I	Memorandum for signature by Mike Wheeler
Tab II	Incoming memorandum from State, December 10

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BY *RW* NARA DATE *1/27/17*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



December 10, 1978

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Special Envoy to Romania

Reference: The President's letter to President Ceausescu of
December 1

The President's letter of December 1 to Romanian President Ceausescu included the offer of a special envoy to discuss privately with the Romanians the implications under U.S. law of their new education repayment decree and related matters of mutual interest. President Ceausescu has accepted that offer. We recommend that Under Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger be chosen as the special envoy and sent to Romania in the next week or so for that purpose. He would be free to travel to Eastern Europe within the next two weeks.

L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DELC: 12-7-88

Auth State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW DATE 11/27/17

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520



52

December 10, 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Special Envoy to Romania

Reference: The President's letter to President Ceausescu of
December 1

The President's letter of December 1 to Romanian President Ceausescu included the offer of a special envoy to discuss privately with the Romanians the implications under U.S. law of their new education repayment decree and related matters of mutual interest. President Ceausescu has accepted that offer. We recommend that Under Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger be chosen as the special envoy and sent to Romania in the next week or so for that purpose. He would be free to travel to Eastern Europe within the next two weeks.


L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DELC: 12-7-88

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BY: RW WARD DATE: 11/27/17

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188384	LETTER RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	2	12/1/1982	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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