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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 1/30/2017

File Folder ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MEMORANDA (8)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 6

HERSHBERG

64

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
188600	LETTER	RR TO PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	3	ND	B1
188603	CABLE	LETTER FROM RR TO CEAUSESCU [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 188600]	4	ND	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]
- 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]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY *(initials)*

SUBJECT: International Fairs

I have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential messages for international fairs in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Bucharest. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

gm
Matlock, Robinson, and State concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins

Tab A	Czechoslovakia Message
Tab B	Bulgaria Message
Tab C	Bucharest Message

Tab II Incoming Memo

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: International Fairs

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential messages (Tabs A, B, and C) for the international fairs in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Bucharest.

State concurs.

Attachment:

Tab A	Presidential Message - Czechoslovakia
Tab B	Presidential Message - Bulgaria
Tab C	Presidential Message - Bucharest

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

The United States is pleased to participate again at the Plovdiv International Technical Fair. I extend warm greetings to all visitors at the exhibition sponsored by the government and people of the United States.

This exhibition is designed to promote international trade through the open exchange of ideas and information. It offers Bulgarians and others an opportunity to learn about the latest American products and services and to make valuable commercial contacts.

Let us build on the foundation of good will provided by this event and work toward stable growth in U.S.-Bulgarian trade. I wish the Plovdiv International Technical Fair and its participants every continued success.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

The United States is pleased to participate again at the Bucharest International Fair. I extend warm greetings to all visitors at the exhibition sponsored by the government and people of the United States.

This exhibition is designed to promote international trade through the open exchange of ideas and information. It offers Romanians and others an opportunity to learn about the latest American products and services and to make valuable commercial contacts.

Let us build on the foundation of good will provided by this event and work toward stable growth in U.S.-Romanian trade. I wish the Bucharest International Fair and its participants every continued success.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

The United States is pleased to participate again at the Brno International Engineering Fair. I extend warm greetings to all visitors at the exhibition sponsored by the government and people of the United States.

This exhibition is designed to promote international trade through the open exchange of ideas and information. It offers Czechoslovaks and others an opportunity to learn about the latest American products and service and to make valuable commercial contacts.

Let us build on the foundation of good will provided by this event and work toward stable growth in U.S.-Czechoslovak trade. I wish the Brno International Engineering Fair and its participants every continued success.

(6904)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



September 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN, JR., NSC

SUBJECT: Messages for International Fairs

Attached for NSC clearance are three Presidential messages for international fairs in Brno, Czechoslovakia; Plovdiv, Bulgaria; and Bucharest, Romania. They were requested by the Under Secretary for International Trade, Department of Commerce.

The first one, in Brno, starts September 11, so Commerce would like to have these by Friday, September 6.

Thank you.

ANNE HIGGINS *cap En ant*

(ck)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message - Romanian-U.S. Economic
Council Meeting - Bucharest

I have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message for the 12th Plenary Session of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

gm *n/a* *Rur*
Matlock, Wigg, Robinson, and State concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins

Tab A Presidential Message

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*SUBJECT: Presidential Message - Romanian-U.S. Economic
Council Meeting - Bucharest

I have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message for the 12th Plenary Session of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

gm *n/a* *Rur*
Matlock, Wigg, Robinson, and State concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins

Tab A Presidential Message

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Presidential Message - Romanian-U.S. Economic
Council Meeting - Bucharest

We have reviewed and concur with the Presidential message
(Tab A) for the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council.

State concurs.

Attachment:

Tab A Presidential Message

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

I am pleased to greet members of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council as you convene for your 12th Plenary Session in Bucharest.

In bringing together industrial leaders from the United States and Romania over many years, the Council has played a leading role in the development of a strong and mature trading relationship between our two countries. Your discussions contribute to greater understanding of the economic opportunities through American-Romanian cooperation.

In recent years the level of Romanian exports to the United States has been much greater than that of our exports to Romania. I hope your deliberations will deal with increasing sales to Romania, consistent with both Romania's economic recovery and the friendship between our peoples. Expanded Romanian imports of U.S. goods and services will benefit the economies of both countries.

I extend best wishes for a successful meeting.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message - Romanian-U.S. Economic
Council Meeting - Bucharest

I have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message for the 12th Plenary Session of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

gm *N/A* *RW*
Matlock, Wigg, Robinson, and State concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins

Tab A Presidential Message

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 10, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Letter to President from Bowker re Human Rights
Violations in Romania

I have reviewed and concur with the draft response to Mrs. Bowker. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Sally Kelley for your signature noting our concurrence.

JM Matlock, *NR* Raymond, *47* Steiner, *RW* Robinson, and *SS* Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memo to Sally Kelley

Tab A Draft Letter with background material

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

13

September 10, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Letter to President from Bowker re Human Rights
Violations in Romania

We have reviewed and concur with the draft response to Mrs.
Ann Bowker.

Attachment:

Tab A Draft Letter with background material

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

6912

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 852-3787

Date AUG 30 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: Patrick Buchanan From: Mrs. Anne Bowker
Date: July 10, 1985 Subject: Human Rights Violations
in Romania
WH Referral Dated: August 13, 1985 NSC ID# 336224
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

XXX A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other.

Remarks:

for Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

5

Dear Mrs. Bowker:

Thank you for your letter of July 10 to Mr. Buchanan, which encloses a letter to the President endorsing former Ambassador Funderburk's complaints about US policy toward Romania.

The Administration shares former Ambassador Funderburk's concerns about the religious and human rights situation in Romania. We agree fully that the Romanian regime is highly repressive and that individual freedoms are highly restricted and frequently abused in that country.

We differ, however, in some important respects on what policy the US should adopt toward Romania. In our view, continued extension of MFN to Romania has provided needed leverage to work for improvements in the overall human rights situation in that country. US law links the extension of Most Favored Nation status to Romania with that country's emigration performance. As a result of MFN, 4,575 Romanians departed legally for the US in 1984, as opposed to 402 in 1974, the last year before Romania had MFN. Virtually all of these people were rejoining close family members already in the US. Total Romanian emigration to the US, Israel and West Germany accounts for more than half of all the legal emigration from the countries of Eastern Europe. Denying MFN to Romania would inevitably cause this important flow of people to dwindle and create additional hardships for people who have applied for permission to emigrate.

Second, denial of MFN status to Romania would also seriously undercut our ability to press the Romanian Government for improvements on specific human and religious rights issues. For example, we successfully urged the Romanian Government to provide a completed replacement for one Baptist Church before demolishing an older building. We have encouraged the official licensing of dissident pastors and tolerance of religious groups beyond the 14 currently recognized by the Romanian Government, and freer circulation of Bibles and religious materials. Our persistent efforts on behalf of Father Gheorghe Calciu, a prominent dissident, secured his release from prison in August 1984 and, more recently, led the Romanian Government to agree to his departure. He and his family arrived in New York August 9.

We appreciate your concerns, and we understand that these results are modest and that the process is frustrating. However, we believe it is in our interest to preserve positive difference which MFN has enabled the US to make in the Romanian scene.

Sincerely,

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

AUGUST 13, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 336224

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 10, 1985

TO: PATRICK BUCHANAN

FROM: MRS. ANNE BOWKER
1628 SOUTH 118TH EAST AVENUE
TULSA OK 74128

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ROMANIA

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

336224

ID #

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

AF

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1Name of Correspondent: Anne Bowker☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: human rights violations in Romania

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>PL KWE</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>85108109</u>	<u>TR</u>		<u>1 / 1</u>
<u>✓ 99 DOS</u>	Referral Note:	<u>D</u>	<u>85108109</u>		<u>1 / 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 / 1</u>			<u>1 / 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 / 1</u>			<u>1 / 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 / 1</u>			<u>1 / 1</u>
	Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

Linas

17

1628 South 118th East Avenue

Tulsa, OK 74128

July 10, 1985

Phone: (918) 437-1977

336224

Patrick Buchanan

Director, White House Communications

The White House

Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] I would appreciate your efforts in seeing to it that the concerns in this letter are brought to the attention of the president.

In the years before you were appointed to the White House, we conservatives had no assurance that our letters to the president ever got past the "palace guard." Now that those particular "pragmatists" have gone to other positions, the climate of receptivity may have improved.

[REDACTED] Now maybe the barriers that previously kept the president in ignorance of conservative concerns have been removed.

In regard to the contents of the enclosed letter, I do not believe the president would condone the human [REDACTED] but it may be in the interest of particular career officers in the [REDACTED] " That is why I believe it is so important for the president to talk directly to Mr. David Funderburk, former ambassador to Romania.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Sincerely,

Anne Bowker

Anne Bowker

(Mrs. Robert W.)

COPY

22

1628 South 118th East Avenue
Tulsa, OK 74128
July 10, 1985
Phone: (918) 437-1977

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
Dear Mr. President:

I listened to Pat Robertson's "700 Club" this morning and the topic was "Most Favored Nations" status for Romania. The guest speaker was David Funderburk, recent former ambassador to Romania, who urges that the United States drop the MFN status for Romania because of the continued human rights violations by that communist government against Christians and other religious groups.

This is to urge you to call in David Funderburk so that you may have access to this vital information. When he was the ambassador his complaints went unheeded because particular career officers in the State Department blocked his communiques to the Secretary of State and to you.

These career officers prefer to maintain the status quo "Most Favored Nations" trade agreement with Romania under the delusion we are preventing Romania from turning to the Soviet Union for aid. In reality the MFN status for the past 15 years has propped up that communist regime and has done nothing to alleviate human rights violations against the Romanian people. Nor has Romania become any less communist. Mr. President, through the MFN Romania is using us.

David Funderburk told of brutal beatings by the Romanian government of a Catholic priest who eventually died from such treatment. The priest committed the "sin" of merely declaring that Christmas should be a national holiday. Other religious leaders have disappeared with the reasonable suspicion that the government has either imprisoned or killed them.

Unfortunately the State Department career officers (hold-overs from the days of Kissinger or pervious administrations) are not paying attention because human rights violations do not have the priority that business trade with Romania has.

Second-hand information about this tragic situation is of little value to you. Please contact David Funderburk directly for first-hand information. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Anne Bowker
Anne Bowker

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505~~SECRET~~

December 4, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM TO ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ^{PD}SUBJECT: Letter from President Reagan to President
Ceaurescu

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President which forwards a letter from him to Romanian President Ceaurescu (Tab A). State would like to deliver this letter to Romanian Foreign Minister Vaduva prior to Secretary Shultz' visit to Romania (December 15). This letter will lay the groundwork for Shultz' discussions with Ceaurescu on U.S./Romanian bilateral relations and in particular, the ongoing problem of human rights violations.

^{JK} Matlock, ^{SE} Danzansky, ^{ON} North and ^{RL} Linhard concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memo to Mr. McFarlane
Tab A Memo to President
Tab II Incoming

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFY on: OADR

AW

1/30/17

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

22

~~SECRET~~ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SUBJECT: Letter to President Ceausescu

Issue

Letter to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu regarding U.S./Romanian bilateral relations.

Facts

Secretary Shultz will be meeting with President Ceausescu in Romania on December 15. State recommends that prior to his trip a letter be sent from you to Ceausescu discussing the status of U.S./Romanian bilateral relations. A letter from you will lay the groundwork for Secretary Shultz' discussions on Romania's human rights violations.

Discussion

Attached at Tab A is a letter from you to President Ceausescu which briefly discusses the results of the Geneva Summit, expresses concern about Romania's poor human rights record and underscores the importance we attach to a resolution of these problems.

RecommendationOKNo

That you sign the letter to President Ceausescu at Tab A.

Attachment:

Tab A Letter to President Ceausescu

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
Dec 21 1998
Wills
BY NARA RW
1/31/17

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RB 1/30/2017

W

File Folder

ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MEMORANDA (8)

FOIA

F1640/3

HERSHBERG

Box Number

6

64

<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>
188600	LETTER RR TO PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	3	ND	B1

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

CLASSIFICATION
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
CROSSMATCH ACTION SHEET

1/30/17 20

MESSAGE # 323
DATE TIME: _____

IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMENT OFFICER TO CLEAR WITH THE
DEP EXEC SEC PRIOR TO THE ASSIGNED DUE DATE.

ACTION OFFICER

COMMENT OFFICER

INFO

FLAYSON

Bob -

OK to

clear
(WAIT til 12/3)

Should be Pres!

(GREEN)

Dobriansky
Matlock
Danzansky

ACTION: CONCUR TO DEP EXEC SEC VIA PHONE AND/OR COMMENT HERE AND HANDCARR
TO DEP EXEC SEC DUE DATE: 12/2

ACTION OFFICER COMMENTS:

Make this Presidential green-

[REDACTED]

CLEARED BY: Dobriansky to 12 DATE: 12/2 TIME: 10:55
MATLOCK Dobriansky
DANZANSKY 12/2 8:15

CLEARED TO: _____ DATE: _____ TIME: _____

CLASSIFICATION

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

1000
OFFICE

9609

C

MESSAGE NO. 003222 CLASSIFICATION SECRET ^{2w} 11/30/17 No. Pages X4

FROM: Ken Quinn S/S 632-8448 7224
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Letter to Bucharest -- SUBJECT: Letter from President
Reagan to Ceausescu

<u>TO: (Agency)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Room No.</u>
<u>NSC</u>	<u>ROBERT PEARSON</u>	<u>395-3044</u>	
<u>NSC</u>	<u>EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT</u>		
	<u>MARTIN</u>		

FOR CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS PLEASE CLEAR BY 11/29

S/S Officer

K. J. Andrews

CROSSHATCH

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RB 1/30/2017
W

File Folder

ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MEMORANDA (8)

FOIA

F1640/3
HERSHBERG

Box Number

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188603	CABLE LETTER FROM RR TO CEAUSESCU [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 188600]	4	ND	B1

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: The Vice President's Meeting with Major General Vasile Pungan, Romanian Minister of Foreign Trade

PARTICIPANTS: The Vice President
Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige
Donald P. Gregg, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs
Ambassador David Funderburk, U.S. Ambassador to Romania
Roland Kuchel, Deputy Director, East European Affairs, Department of State
Paula Dobriansky, National Security Council
William D. Eckert, Office of the Vice President

His Excellency Vasile Pungan, Romanian Minister of Foreign Trade
Ambassador Mircea Malitza, Romanian Ambassador to the United States
~~Eugen Eij Marescu, Romanian Interpreter~~

DATE, TIME Tuesday, December 4, 1984; 3:00 - 3:25 p.m.;
AND PLACE: The Vice President's Office, The White House

The Vice President welcomed the Romanian Minister of ^{foreign} Trade, Vasile Pungan. He ^{congratulated} ~~commended~~ Secretary Baldrige and the Minister on ~~having just concluded~~ the tenth anniversary of the U.S.-Romanian Joint Economic Commission ~~meeting~~. (u)

Minister Pungan extended best wishes and greetings from Romanian President Ceausescu to the Vice President and to President Reagan. (u)

The Vice President thanked the Minister ~~Pungan~~ and asked if he would convey his greetings to President Ceausescu. He said that

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
AUTHORITY NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY RW DATE 1/30/17

he remembered the President's extraordinary hospitality when he visited Bucharest. ⁱⁿ ~~last~~ September 1983. He also mentioned, that the U.S. appreciated Romanian participation in the Los Angeles Olympics. As a result of their participation, Americans have felt greater affection for Romania. ~~and it has enhanced even further~~ ^{Also} our respect for Romania's independent foreign ~~and commercial~~ policies. ^{has been enhanced as well,}

Minister Pungan remarked that sports enable the younger generation to excel and to come into contact with new experiences. He went on to say that in the Joint Economic Commission, ^{useful} discussions ^{took place on} ~~ensued of~~ bilateral economic issues during the past year. He remarked that there is a need for greater flexibility in our bilateral economic relations. He ^{noted} ~~cited~~ that, when Vice President Manescu visited Washington earlier this year, he raised with the Vice President the issue of ^{multi-year} most-favored-nation status. The Minister stated that he has dealt with U.S.-Romanian economic relations for over 25 years. Originally, most-favored-nation status was a success, but at this time it has become an obstacle. ^{in our bilateral relations} Basically, it hinders U.S. businessmen from ~~engaging or~~ investing in Romania. The Minister ^{concluded by extending his} ~~also added~~ congratulations on the results of the November elections.

The Vice President ^{remarked} ~~commented~~ ^{the granting} that ~~the issue~~ ^{multi-year} of MFN is a Congressional decision. He turned and asked Secretary Baldrige if he would like to comment on this issue.

Secretary Baldrige mentioned that the Commerce Department is for multi-year most-favored-nation status. He said that there is a need to establish more joint ventures between the United States and Romania. ~~He emphasized that US it would be useful for US~~ ~~It is true that businessmen want to know how long Romania will have most-favored-nation status.~~ He also added that MFN is a Congressional decision, but he assured Minister Pungan that the Department of Commerce will look again into this matter.

Minister Pungan went on to say that another obstacle in our current bilateral ~~X~~ economic relations is that of export licensing. He said that there have been two cases which have not been resolved. He ~~referenced~~ ^{referred to} the fact that the Romanians have asked for some computers and have been refused. He also cited the fact that Romania has only one joint venture with the United States (Commodity Credit Corporation) ~~the~~ ^{or} the only request they have made has been refused. He said that this puts this joint venture into a very awkward position. It will become a precedent and will result in no future joint ventures being established.

Secretary Baldrige commented that these issues are still being discussed in an inter-agency process. He stated that we are aware of Romania's position, we are addressing it and we hope to come forward with a resolution.

The Vice President commented that the issue of technology transfer is a difficult one given the uncertainty of third-party/country pressures.

Secretary Baldrige agreed and said that given the diverse levels of technologies being discussed, that it is a very complicated issue and not one that can be easily resolved.

Minister Pungan remarked that Romania has no foreign troops on its territory and that it only intends to utilize the equipment that it has requested for agricultural purposes. He stated that Romania would give its complete assurances that it would not permit any third party or country usage of any technology rendered. He said, however, that Romania feels it is entitled to be treated differently from other East European countries.

The Vice President commented that we do have a differentiated approach vis-a-vis Eastern Europe. He asserted that we do view Romania as different from other East European countries and, hence, the issue at hand needs to be addressed. He said that we do respect the differentiated approach and our relations with Romania have improved.

Secretary Baldrige added that we do respect Romania's independent foreign policy and, therefore, in keeping with our differentiated policy, we have strived to manifest our satisfaction in various ways. He turned to the Vice President and assured him that he would keep the Vice President apprised of our progress on these issues. He mentioned that we still have not received the application for the Romanian nuclear plant.

The Vice President remarked that he would like to be kept in informed on the progress on all of these issues.

Secretary Baldrige commented at this time that Romania has been buying too little from the United States. He pointed out that our trade with Romania used to be in the billions of dollars in 1980. In 1981, our bilateral relations hit upon difficult times. In 1983, our bilateral trade went back to the billions of dollars. He said that we are very happy to see that our trade has increased with Romania and that we hope to maintain and even further that level of trade in the future.

The meeting ended at 3:25 p.m.

- VP
- Baldrige
- Purgan
- Matiza
- Don Greg
- Bill Eckart
- PJD
- 3:00 pm - Roland K.
- Funderburk

13:00 - 3:25

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY EW NARA DATE 1/30/17

37

VP - Greetings

Mr. B Just finished 10th anniv. of inty, JEC.

VP - Good thing.

Purgan - try to reach 1.5 billion; imp. things are growing
conveyed greetings & best wishes from Ceau. to VP & to Pres.

VP - ↓ his extraordinary hospitality - long dinner & talk

Got a big thrill w/ the R. olymp. team -
showed affection for your country; respect for
your foreign policy & commercial policy

P - Sports - permits young generation to excel

↓ we discussed w/ Batd. ^{bilateral econ.} issues for 1 yr. -
need for flexibility.

When Manescu was here -- mentioned MFN;
I have dealt w/ ~~US~~ - R. financial relats -
for 25 years - MFN originally success -
now an obstacle - hinders US businessmen,

results of
Congratulations on elections

VP - MFN - on
You know Congressional & executive decision.

B - Commerce Dept. is for extended MFN -
need more joint ventures w/ Rom.; & Amer.
businessman ask how long is MFN? -
it is a Congressional decision. - Can assure
you that we will look into this.

P - on licensing, there are 2 issues:
ask for some computers & have been refused
[have a joint venture - ADC -
↓ been refused. - puts this joint company

(B)

not much - I can say - won't give false hopes or reject.

(P)

- no foreign troops in R. / utilize this equipment for agricultural purposes; would not permit any 3 party usage of this technology.

we feel we are entitled to be dealt w/ differently from other E European countries

(VP)

- we have a differentiated approach - we do view you differently & your plea is not out of order. we respect the approach; we have relate w/ you that are better

(B)

- we respect differentiation & have manifested in various ways.

> we will keep you ^{VP} apprised of our progress on these issues.

↓ we didn't have applic. for nuclear plant.

(VP)

- wants to be kept informed on progress.

(B)

- (Romania - is buying too little)

Our trade w/ hit a diff. time in 82 ~~4-83~~

billion \$ in 1980; now in 83 - went back to

↓ ↓ * → we are happy to see the

trade ↑ w/ Romania.; The Rs have to make a balance of payments.

filed 4/12/85

ROMANIA

39

PD -- McFarlane

Confidential/Action

Subject: Romania's Failure to Implement Educational Exchanges

Charles Wick forwarded you a memorandum (Tab II) which reports on Roamnia's deficient performance in implementing the Educational Exchange component of our bilateral exchanges agreement in the fields of education, culture, science and technology. Except for educational exchanges, the Agreement in general is working well. Some of the problems Wick cites with this aspect of the agreement include: failure to comply with agreed deadlines for responses and decisions, American scholars' limited access to research sources, rejection of American research applications on seemingly unjustified grounds, etc. Embassy Bucharest reports that our students there are disgusted and discouraged. USIA also tried to arrange a meeting with the Romanian Education Ministry to address these problems. A meeting was planned for October 16 and then was cancelled. Wick points out that it has been nearly four weeks since his visit to romania with no indication of movement by the Romanians. A meeting has not been scheduled and all Embassy inquiries have been put off. Embassy Bucharest has proposed that if there is no repsonse this week, we should, iimpllemtn at plan for a slective slow-down in responding to the Ministry of Education.

Among the measures being considered are :

- Deny requests of Romanina fulbright grantees for what has been heretofore almost automatic extensions to spend another year at an Ameican insitution,
- No extensions for a thrid year to any Romanian grantee unless unusual circunstances prevail.
- Reevaluation of support for specific National Science foundation exchange projects to assure romanian complicance in fulfilling olbligations to communicate information to the Embassy.

FILE MFW
Robinson, J
Romania
Hungary
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1985

The White House
Washington, 1985
Presidential Determination
No. 85-13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination under Subsection 402(d) (5) of the
Trade Act of 1974-Continuation of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618), January 3, 1975 (88 Stat. 1978) (hereinafter "the Act"), I determine, pursuant to subsection (d) 402 (5) of the Act, that the further extension of the waiver authority granted by subsection 402 (c) of the Act will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. I further determine that the continuation of the waivers applicable to the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

Ronald Reagan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

4405

41

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

June 3, 1985

Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY RW DATE 1/30/17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *for*

SUBJECT: Determination to Extend Jackson-Vanik Authority

Issue: Should MFN status for Romania, Hungary and the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) be extended for 1985?

Facts: The Trade Act of 1974 prohibits the granting of MFN treatment to any nonmarket economy country which restricts emigration. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment authorizes you to waive these prohibitions by June 3, if you determine that a waiver will foster freer emigration and if you receive appropriate assurances from the country concerned.

Discussion: Secretary Shultz forwarded you a memorandum (Tab C) which recommends that MFN be extended to Hungary, Romania and the PRC for 1985. MFN has been an effective instrument in monitoring and promoting freer emigration in these countries. Moreover, their emigration records for the last year have been satisfactory. Both Hungary and the PRC have established acceptable emigration practices which largely comply with the terms of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Although significant human rights problems still exist in Romania, its emigration record for 1984-85 improved. More than 21,000 Romanians departed for the U.S., Israel and West Germany -- the highest number for any East European country in 1984.

As State's memorandum notes, minimal Congressional opposition to MFN renewal is anticipated. However, some Congressmen have expressed concern about Romania's overall human rights record and have urged the Administration to continue to press for improved conditions. They have been reassured that we will continue to work toward this end.

At Tab A is the transmittal message and the Report to Congress; at Tab B is the Presidential Determination. All texts have been cleared by Speechwriters.

RECOMMENDATIONOKNo*Pres Signed Per Executive Clerk. 6/4*

That you sign the transmittal message at Tab A and the Presidential Determination at Tab B.

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc Vice President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

42

Attachments:

Tab A Transmittal Message and Report to the Congress
Tab B Presidential Determination
Tab C Shultz Memorandum, May 31

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit the documents referred to in subsection 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974 with respect to a further 12-month extension of the authority to waive subsection (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act. These documents constitute my decision to continue in effect this waiver authority for a further 12-month period.

I include as part of these documents my determination that further extension of the waiver authority will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. I also include my determination that continuation of the waivers applicable to the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of China, and the Socialist Republic of Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. The attached documents also include my reasons for extension of the waiver authority; and for my determination that continuation of the waivers currently in effect for the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

Ronald Reagan

The White House, 1985.

Report to Congress Concerning
Extension of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to subsection 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974 ("The Act") I have today determined that further extension of the waiver authority granted by subsection 402 (c) of the Act for twelve months will substantially promote the objectives of section 402, and that continuation of the waivers currently applicable to the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of China, and the Socialist Republic of Romania will also substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. My determination is attached and is incorporated herein.

The general waiver authority conferred by section 402 (c) of the Act is an important means for the strengthening of mutually beneficial relations between the United States and certain countries of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China. The waiver authority has permitted us to conclude and maintain in force bilateral trade agreements with Hungary, the People's Republic of China, and Romania. These agreements continue to be fundamental elements in our political and economic relations with those countries, including our important, productive exchanges on human rights and emigration matters. Moreover, continuation of the waiver authority might permit future expansion of our bilateral relations with other countries now subject to subsections 402(a) and (b) of the Act, should circumstances clearly warrant this renewal of the general waiver authority.

I continue to believe that extending the current waivers applicable to Hungary, the People's Republic of China, and Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

Hungary. - Hungary has continued to take a relatively positive and constructive approach to emigration matters. Although three new emigration cases were recorded during the past year, all of them are on the way to being resolved. The number of Hungarian citizens who apply to leave Hungary remains small, and emigration permission is granted without undue difficulty. No sanctions are imposed on those who seek to emigrate, nor do emigration procedures appear excessive.

People's Republic of China. - China continued its relatively open emigration policy throughout the past year. In fiscal year 1984, our Embassy and Consulates in China issued nearly 13,000 immigrant visas, 30 percent more than the 10,000 issued in the previous fiscal year. The number of immigrant visas issued has increased every year since the U.S. normalized relations with China in 1979. In addition, our posts in China issued 24,000 non-immigrant visas during FY-1984, compared with 16,000 the previous year, to Chinese who wished to study, conduct business, or visit relatives in the United States. Other Western countries have also experienced increases in Chinese travel and emigration.

11-2

Romania. - Emigration from Romania to all countries has more than tripled since 1975, the first year Romania enjoyed MFN status, and emigration to the United States was five times higher in 1984 than in 1975. In 1984, over 4,500 people departed Romania for the U.S., ethnic German departures for the FRG set another all-time high of nearly 15,000, and 1,908 Romanian Jews left for Israel, the highest annual figure since 1976. So far this year, departures for Israel have been running behind last year's peak levels, and there has been an upturn in ethnic German emigration following a reduced level of departures during the winter months of 1984-85. The Administration is continuing to seek improvements in Romanian emigration procedures, and will continue closely to monitor Jewish emigration to Israel.

The Romanian government has continued to honor its assurances, which I received from President Ceausescu in June 1983, that Romania would not require reimbursement of education costs as a precondition to emigration.

While many problems remain in the emigration area, Romania's performance has continued to improve over the last year in respect to the numbers of people receiving exit documentation and time required to process their applications. On the basis of Romania's performance and the progress it has made in the area of emigration since last year, I believe that continuation of the waiver applicable to Romania will substantially promote the objectives of the Act.

For the above reasons, I have determined that continuation of the waivers for Hungary, the People's Republic of China and Romania will substantially promote the objectives of the Act.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*
SUBJECT: Determination to Extend Jackson-Vanik Waiver Authority

The Jackson-Vanik general waiver authority and the separate waivers for Hungary, the People's Republic of China (PRC), and Romania will expire on July 3 unless, by June 3, you transmit to Congress a determination to extend this waiver authority. The waivers for Hungary, the PRC, and Romania and the related trade agreements establishing nondiscriminatory trade treatment continue to be important elements in our overall relations with Eastern Europe and the PRC.

Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 prohibits the granting of most-favored-nation ("MFN") treatment, the granting of government financing or credits, or the conclusion of trade agreements, with any non-market economy country which imposes restrictions on emigration. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment authorizes the President to waive these prohibitions if he determines that waivers will promote the objective of freer emigration from the country concerned and if he receives appropriate assurances from that country. The Trade Act requires that you transmit to Congress each year a determination that the authority for these waivers be continued. Under Section 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act, a determination concerning extension of the waiver authority must be transmitted to Congress by June 3. If not, the existing waivers for Hungary, the PRC, and Romania and your authority to extend MFN to those countries will lapse on July 3, and basic elements of our bilateral trade agreements will be placed in jeopardy.

MFN treatment and the bilateral trade agreements are very important components of our overall bilateral relationships with Hungary, the PRC, and Romania. A termination of MFN eligibility would seriously set back our relations without any corresponding benefits for us. Failure to renew MFN would deprive us of an effective instrument which we have used to promote freer emigration. It would also set back our efforts to ensure equitable treatment for U.S. companies in these markets and to protect our firms' industrial property rights. Loss of MFN would lead to a very significant drop in levels of bilateral trade and would result in these countries' treating U.S. firms as suppliers of last resort, with significant damage to our export sales.

Under the terms of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, no Congressional action is necessary to make the extensions effective. The one-house veto provision formerly applicable under the statute is constitutionally invalid as a result of the Supreme Court's 1983 decision in Chadha. We have assured the Congress, however, that we will continue to observe the statute's requirements for Presidential determination and reporting.

Our consultations with Congress indicate there is little opposition to the continuation of waiver authority for Hungary and the PRC.

Romania's emigration performance has continued to improve. More than 21,000 Romanians departed for the FRG, Israel, and the U.S. in 1984, the highest number for any Eastern European country and more than three times the total of emigration permitted in 1975 or 1976. Romanian emigration to Israel this year has fallen back from last year's peak levels, but a falloff in Romanian Jewish emigration applications may have been a significant factor in this and the Israelis have not expressed dissatisfaction. Departures for the FRG dropped in the wake of reciprocal expulsions of diplomats from Bonn and Bucharest in November, but returned to high levels following Foreign Minister Genscher's visit to Bucharest in February. Emigration to the U.S. has remained substantial, and the Romanians have approved passports for more people qualified to go to the U.S. than we have been able to process promptly. The Romanians have honored their undertakings in the June 1983 exchange of letters between you and President Ceausescu not to require that emigrants repay higher education costs. Other procedural problems remain; we think we are making some progress on them.

As required by the Trade Act, the attached draft transmittal to Congress explains the value of the general waiver authority in our economic and political relations with the countries involved. It also explains the reasons for determining that continuation of three existing waivers will promote the objective of freer emigration from Hungary, the PRC, and Romania.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you execute the attached Determination, approve the attached Extension of Waiver Authority, and transmit both documents to Congress by June 3.

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Transmittal Message
- Tab 2 - Report to Congress Concerning Extension of Waiver Authority
- Tab 3 - Presidential Determination

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

June 3, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Determination to Extend Jackson-Vanik Authority

Secretary Shultz has forwarded a memorandum (Tab C) which recommends that the President transmit to Congress by June 3, a determination to renew MFN status for Romania, Hungary and the PRC. (Note: I received State's memorandum early today). Your memorandum to the President (Tab I) endorses State's recommendations since MFN has been an effective instrument in monitoring and promoting freer emigration, and the emigration records for these countries during the last year have been satisfactory.

Although Romania's emigration record has improved this past year (over 4,500 people departed Romania to the US and 1,908 Romanian Jews left for Israel -- the highest annual figure since 1976) many problems still remain. We have received some letters from concerned members of Congress requesting that we continue to press the Romanians to improve their human rights record. I have informed the involved Congressmen that we shall continue to work with the Romanians toward this end -- particularly toward improved emigration procedures.

At Tab A is the transmittal message and Report to Congress and the Presidential Determination is at Tab B. Speechwriters have cleared all texts. OMB concurs.

RM Matlock, *S* Sigur, *TL* Laux, *PD for* Robinson and *if not available* Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and forward the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve *[Signature]*

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Transmittal Message and Report to the Congress
Tab B Presidential Determination
Tab C Shultz Memorandum to the President, May 31

cc: Chris Lehman/Ron Sable

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY *RW* DATE 11/30/12



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JUN 3 1985

MEMORANDUM TO: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: Philip A. DuSault *Philip A. DuSault*

SUBJECT: Determination to Extend Jackson-Vanik Waiver
Authority

OMB has no objection to the proposed Determination to extend
Jackson-Vanik waiver authority.

MR. SHULTZ IN BUCHAREST

Anncr:

Next, a VOA Editorial, reflecting the views of the U. S. Government.

Voice:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will arrive in Bucharest tomorrow (Dec. 15) for long-anticipated talks with Romanian leaders. His visit comes at a critical time. As winter approaches, Romanians face severe shortages of food and fuel, shortages that led the Ceausescu regime to increase rationing and other austerity measures a year ago. Since 1981, the Government has substantially reduced the country's large foreign debt, but at the cost of increased economic hardships for consumers. For these reasons, it is important for Romania to maintain its most-favored-nation tariff status with the United States. Last year alone, trade between our two countries rose to 1.2 billion dollars, with the balance -- mostly due to petroleum imports -- heavily in Romania's favor. And yet, over the past few months, legislators have introduced several bills and resolutions in the U.S. Congress that could cancel Romania's most-favored-nation benefits. Many Senators and Congressmen are concerned about reports of human rights violations in Romania.

Like most other nations, Romania is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and, together with other European and North American countries, it signed the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. These covenants committed Romania's government to respecting the basic civil, political, economic, and social rights of its citizens -- the freedoms of

speech, conscience, religion, information, and movement that people enjoy in Western democracies, but are generally suppressed in the Soviet Bloc. With regard to legal emigration, Romania's record is impressive. In the recent past, between twelve and fifteen thousand ethnic Germans have left Romania each year for West Germany and about two thousand Romanian Jews have emigrated to Israel. Last year, four thousand five hundred Romanians emigrated to the United States. Romania's total legal emigration exceeds the combined figure for the Soviet Union and most other nations of Eastern Europe.

Nevertheless, allegations of Romanian human rights violations continue to be made. Members of Romania's Hungarian minority have been arrested for demanding opportunities to teach and preserve their ethnic culture and ancestral language. Political dissidents have received long prison sentences for nothing more than distributing leaflets. There are frequent reports of arrests and arbitrary imprisonment of Christians who belong to unrecognized denominations -- Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, Romanian Uniates, Nazarenes, and some Baptists. Churches -- mainly those of Baptists and Pentacostalists -- have been demolished and bibles destroyed. We hope to convince the authorities to permit non-governmental and international religious organizations to import bibles into Romania.

As Secretary Shultz will explain to his hosts in Bucharest, the United States seeks improved ties with Romania across the board. But no area of our bi-lateral relationship can be considered apart from the others. It would indeed be unfortunate if Romania's human rights performance dampened chances for increased cooperation in other areas.

Anncr:

That was a VOA Editorial, reflecting the views of the U.S. Government.