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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 1/31/2017

File Folder ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MFN [MOST FAVORED NATION] (2)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 6

HERSHBERG

67

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
188877	LETTER	RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU [COPY OF DOC. 188889]	2	ND	B1
188889	LETTER	RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	2	6/30/1982	B1
188894	LETTER	RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	1	6/2/1982	B1
188896	LETTER	RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU [DRAFT, SAME TEXT AS DOC. 188889]	2	ND	B1
188898	MEMO	RICHARD PIPES TO WILLIAM CLARK RE. PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO CEAUSESCU	1	6/8/1982	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]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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A number of factors have influenced the perceptions of U.S. banks and corporations about Eastern Europe. Profitability has been a major criterion in their decisions to enter a certain East European market. U.S. companies and banks also have responded to the improvement in the economic and business atmosphere resulting from application of different USG instruments of differentiation.

Banks

USG policies that differentiate between the USSR and Eastern Europe, and among individual East European countries, are inherently difficult to translate into differentiated U.S. bank credit decisions.

Most U.S. banks decided to enter the Soviet and Eastern European market in the early-1970s on the basis of senior bank managements' perceptions that East-West detente and improved U.S.-Soviet relations had greatly reduced the political risk of East-bloc lending. Subsequently, bank loan officers aggressively expanded credit to the region, building up the highest exposures in countries where U.S. and Western trade--and hence demand for credit--was greatest. By the end of 1981, U.S. banks has their greatest exposure in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR. While assessments for commercial risks among East European borrowers varied, there is no evidence that banks pursued a conscious policy of differentiating between these countries on political risk factors alone.

Since the late 1970s, U.S. banks have reappraised their earlier commitment to East bloc lending. In response to rising U.S.-Soviet tensions over Afghanistan and Poland, and growing criticism from bank stockholders, directors, and the media, American banks have sharply scaled back, and in some cases terminated, credit lines for Soviet and East European borrowers. According to information provided by U.S. bankers, the high-level decisions to curtail or withdraw credits have been applied across-the-board, with little or no differentiation between the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe or among individual East European countries. Senior banking officials, in contrast to bank loan officers, are less likely to be familiar with the nuances of East-West affairs and are more readily influenced by adverse political developments and attendant publicity than arguments about the distinctiveness of individual Eastern European countries.

Corporations

Improvement in the business atmosphere resulting from U.S. differentiation policy has affected corporations' assessment of the profitability of doing business in Eastern Europe. Key elements of USG differentiation have been MFN tariff treatment; government-supported credits; export licensing differentiation; and joint trade commissions with Hungary, Poland and Romania.

Application of these elements of differentiation has aided in fostering a network of business relationships between U.S. companies and Eastern European enterprises. Total U.S. exports to the six Eastern European countries have grown from \$240 million in 1970 to over \$2 billion in 1981. Although exports to Eastern Europe comprise less than one percent of total U.S. exports, Eastern Europe has been a particularly important market for U.S. agricultural and chemical exports.

Generally, U.S. business presence is more visible in Poland, Romania, and Hungary than it is in the other three Eastern European countries. As an indication of this:

- total trade turnover between the U.S. and Poland, Romania, and Hungary reached \$2.3 billion in 1981, compared to \$785 million total bilateral trade with Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the GDR;
- the number of U.S. companies engaged in industrial cooperation arrangements with Polish, Romanian, and Hungarian enterprises exceeds 100 (including 9 joint ventures), compared to an estimated 20 with enterprises from the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, with which there are no joint ventures.
- the number of U.S. company representation offices in Poland, Romania, and Hungary is 55. This compares to around 11 offices in the other three Eastern European countries.
- U.S. company involvement in major projects in Poland, Romania, and Hungary generally has been more extensive than in the other three countries. The availability of USG financing for major projects has been one factor behind this involvement.
- Private sector cooperator and government agricultural cooperation activities generally are more strongly developed in Hungary, Poland and Romania than in the other countries.

UNCLASSIFIED

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In part, U.S. company physical presence in Eastern Europe has been a function of the regulations in the individual countries governing joint ventures, industrial cooperation, and Western company representation. It also reflects U.S. company response to business operating conditions and the bilateral business atmosphere in a particular country. Generally, U.S. firms have developed more extensive commercial ties in those countries which the USG has treated more favorably in its differentiation policy.

Drafted: KJurew(IEP)/ROechsler(TD)/DBowie(TD)/Commerce/4-16-82

UNCLASSIFIED

5/24/82

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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We want to share with you our concern about the severe oppression suffered by Christian groups in Romania, the tremendous decline in Romanian Jewish emigration in recent years, and the major cultural and social deprivation experienced by the Hungarian minority in Romania.

You will soon be making a recommendation to the Congress on the renewal of Most Favored Nation trading status for Romania. We urge that before you make the recommendation U.S. officials engage in serious and intensive discussions with the Romanian Government, making clear that your Administration shares the Congressional view of the need for Romania to humanize its treatment of religious and cultural minorities, and to raise the rate of Jewish emigration to the level of the years prior to the granting of MFN to Romania.

Documents and other information reaching the Helsinki Commission, private organizations such as Amnesty International and Radio Free Europe, demonstrate beyond doubt the seriousness of a situation previously underestimated in official quarters in Washington. They indicate ample use of prisons, labor camps and psychiatric facilities by the Romanian authorities in the apparently deliberate harassment of Baptists, Pentecostals, Orthodox and other religious groups, the exclusion of believers from educational institutions and jobs; forced assimilation of two and a half million Hungarians and the remorseless diminution of their educational and cultural facilities; extraordinary obstacles placed in the way of would-be emigrants, including job dismissals and demotions, intimidation, military conscription, and the lengthy separation of families and affianced couples. In a region of the world noted for the general deprivation of human rights and civil liberties, Romania has distinguished itself by enforcing the separation of more affianced couples than in all of the rest of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, put together.

Though section 402 of the 1974 Trade Reform Act relates expressly to emigration, we believe emigration performance has a broader significance as a visible measure of a government's commitment to other basic human rights. We have therefore been alarmed by the precipitous drop in Romanian emigration to Israel from an annual rate of three to four thousand in the years before the 1975 awarding of MFN status to Romania to barely one thousand in recent years. The first three months of 1982, moreover, show a monthly average of only 54, compared with 250 to 350 just a few years ago.

The monthly rate of Romanian emigration to the U.S. during 1980 and 81 was over 200; Israel, with a far larger Romanian family base than the U.S., should not have less.

Accordingly, we would urge the Administration to note the Recommendations of the Senate Finance Committee in the Fall of 1979 following the hearings of its International trade Subcommittee:

to initiate discussions with Romania intended to lead to more specific assurances regarding emigration, such as those which preceded the granting of MFN to Hungary The Committee understands the difficulty of such an undertaking but nevertheless believes a renewed, more aggressive effort must be made.

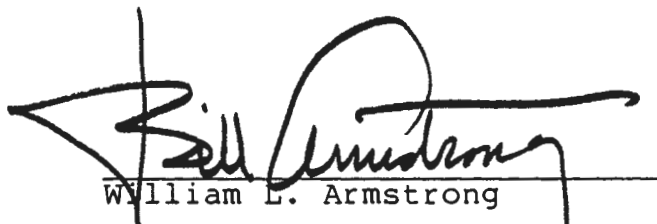
We would also draw your attention to Senator Henry Jackson's 1981 message to the International Trade Subcommittee, with which the rest of us wholeheartedly agree:

It is necessary for the Romanian (authorities) to do much better with regard to emigration to Israel They should more than double the annual number they are approving for emigration to Israel.

Finally, we remind you that there are a number of instances of Romanians who have been trying to emigrate to join family members in the West for as long as a dozen years. These long unresolved cases simply must be resolved if Romania is to continue to enjoy Most Favored Nation trading status.

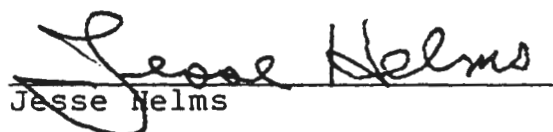
MFN was granted to Romania in 1975 in hopes it would encourage freer emigration and greater freedom at home. Since then, however, emigration has fallen off and repression at home has continued unabated. We hope that your Administration will be able to report to Congress greater progress on these issues than we are currently aware has been made. At this point, we are unpersuaded that another extension of MFN for Romania will have the desired effect.

Sincerely,


William L. Armstrong


Daniel Patrick Moynihan


George J. Mitchell


Jesse Helms

Jim McClure

James A. McClure

J. James Exon

J. James Exon

Carl Levin

Carl Levin

John P. East

John P. East

Chuck Grassley

Charles E. Grassley

Claiborne Pell

Claiborne Pell

Christopher J. Dodd

Christopher J. Dodd

William S. Cohen

William S. Cohen

Mack Mattingly

Mack Mattingly

Edward Zorinsky

Edward Zorinsky

Robert W. Kasten, Jr.

Robert W. Kasten, Jr.

Patrick J. Leahy

Patrick J. Leahy

H. John Heinz, III

H. John Heinz, III

Steven D. Symms

Steven D. Symms

Roger W. Jepsen

Roger W. Jepsen

Rudy Boschwitz

Rudy Boschwitz

Dennis DeConcini

Dennis DeConcini

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Howard M. Metzenbaum

Howard M. Metzenbaum

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 24, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*SUBJECT: Most Favored Nation (MFN) Status Renewal: Romania,
Hungary and the People's Republic of China

Walter Stoessel's memorandum to the President (Tab C) recommends MFN be renewed for Romania, Hungary and the PRC. Your memorandum to the President (Tab I) endorses State's recommendations but proposes that the President a) issue a strong statement to Congress warning that if Romania's emigration procedures do not improve, its 1983 MFN status would be jeopardized (Tab A-1), and b) send a letter of concern to Romanian President Ceausescu (Tab B). The President's statement should not be released until after June 1 -- to do so would adversely affect the Buckley credit discussions in Europe. (C)

NSC (Bailey, *m* Pipes and I) and Treasury support these proposals as:

- MFN extension to Romania has not fostered freer emigration. Since Romania had been granted MFN in 1975, Jewish emigration to Israel dropped from 4,000 to 1,000 in 1981.
- In Congress, both conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats (Tab D), have urged the President to exert strong pressure on Romania to improve its unsatisfactory emigration record.
- The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations also has urged the President to make a strong statement on Romania to Congress this year (Tab II).
- In 1981, Secretary Haig and other U.S. officials repeatedly raised our serious concerns about Romania's emigration record in discussion with President Ceausescu, Foreign Minister Andrei and the former Romanian Ambassador to the U.S., Ionescu -- all with marginal results. (C)

OMB recommends (Tab III) that MFN status be renewed with these countries. At Tab A-2 is the Presidential Determination. Speechwriters have cleared all texts. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review May 24, 1988.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/80
BY *RW* NARA DATE 1/31/71

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

 Tab A-1 Statement to Congress with Recommendation
 Tab A-2 Presidential Determination
 Tab B Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu
 Tab C Memorandum from Walter Stoessel
 Tab D Letter from 23 Senators

Tab II Letter from the Conference of Presidents of
 Major American Jewish Organizations

Tab III Recommendation from OMB

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Most Favored Nation (MFN) Status Renewal: Romania,
Hungary and the People's Republic of China

Issue: Should MFN status for Romania, Hungary and the PRC be extended for 1982? (C)

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 before June 3, if you determine that a waiver will foster freer emigration and if you receive appropriate assurances from the country concerned. (C)

Discussion: MFN should be extended to Hungary and the PRC as both have established acceptable emigration practices which largely comply with the terms of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. MFN should be extended also to Romania this year since Romanian emigration to the U.S. has been satisfactory, the U.S. has benefitted from an independent Romanian foreign policy, and U.S.-Romanian relations are viewed as a litmus test of a policy of differentiation toward Eastern Europe. However, Romania has not promoted freer Jewish emigration. Since Romania had been granted MFN in 1975, Jewish emigration to Israel annually dropped from 4,000 to 1,000 in 1981. Moreover, Romania has a backlog of over 672 emigration cases. In 1981, this matter was raised repeatedly by Al Haig and other U.S. officials in discussions with Romanian President Ceausescu, Foreign Minister Andrei and the Romanian Ambassador to the U.S. -- with marginal results. (C)

The existing Congressional and American-Jewish community's mood this year is one of grave concern about Romania's emigration policies. The Conference of Presidents of the Major American Jewish Organizations urges you to encourage the Romanians "to improve their performance substantially." Twenty-three Senators sent you a letter (Tab D) indicating they are "unpersuaded that another extension of MFN for Romania will have the desired effect." (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review May 24, 1988.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY KW DATE 1/31/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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To meet these objectives, you should a) send a strong statement to Congress (Tab A-1, Transmittal and Recommendation for Extension of Waiver Authority) warning that if Romania's emigration procedures do not improve and the rate of Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel does not increase substantially in 1982, Romania's MFN status in 1983 would be jeopardized and b) send President Ceausescu a letter (Tab B) explaining your concerns and outlining the Congressional and public sentiment on this issue. Your statement and determination should not be released until after June 1, otherwise Buckley's credit discussions in Europe would be adversely affected. (C)

State, Treasury and OMB recommend that MFN be renewed for these countries. Walter Stoessel's memorandum to you is at Tab C; your determination is at Tab A-2. Speechwriters have cleared all texts. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

Yes No

1. That you execute the Determination and approve the Recommendation for Extension of Waiver Authority at Tabs A-1 and A-2 for transmittal to Congress on June 2.

2. That you sign the letter to President Ceausescu of Romania at Tab B.

Attachments:

Tab A-1	Statement to Congress with Recommendation
Tab A-2	Presidential Determination
Tab B	Letter to President Ceausescu of Romania
Tab C	Memorandum from Walter Stoessel
Tab D	Letter from 23 Senators

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A

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2

THE WHITE HOUSE

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with subsection 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act of 1974, I transmit herewith my recommendation for a further 12-month extension of the authority to waive subsection (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act.

I include as part of my recommendation my determination that further extension of the waiver authority, and continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

This recommendation also includes my reasons for recommending the extension of waiver authority and for my determination that continuation of the three waivers currently in effect will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. It also states my concern about Romania's emigration record this year and the need for its reexamination.

RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

June , 1982

RECOMMENDATION FOR EXTENSION OF WAIVER AUTHORITY

I recommend to the Congress that the waiver authority granted by subsection 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 (hereinafter "the Act") be further extended for twelve months. Pursuant to subsection 402(d)(5) of the Act, I have today determined that further extension of such authority, and continuation of the waivers currently applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. However, I am concerned about Romania's emigration record this year and suggest it be reexamined. My determination is attached to this Recommendation 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 Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. 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 subsection 402(a) and (b) of the Act, should circumstances permit. I believe that these considerations clearly warrant this recommendation for renewal of the general waiver authority.

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

Romania: Emigration from Romania to the United States has increased substantially since the waiver has been in effect. In 1981, nearly 2,400 persons emigrated from Romania to the U.S. This is nearly six times the pre-MFN level of emigration and represents an optimum number of emigrants under U.S. immigration procedures in effect that year.

However, I am gravely concerned about the Romanian Government's failure to improve its repressive emigration procedures and the significant decrease in Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel, which is disturbing. This emigration has dropped from an annual rate of 4,000 prior to the 1975 extension of MFN to Romania, to the current (1981) low level of 972. Furthermore, contrary to the 1979 agreement with American Jewish leaders, Romania continues to maintain a considerable backlog of unresolved long-standing emigration cases. This backlog at present involves at least 652 cases. Also, contrary to the 1979 agreement, the

Romanian Government has not improved its emigration procedures. The process is cumbersome and plagued with obstacles for those who merely wish to obtain emigration application forms. All these factors demonstrate Romania's negativistic emigration policy which clearly contravenes the intent and purpose of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

In waiving the prohibition of MFN renewal for Romania this year, I have weighed the above factors within the context of the satisfactory state of overall U.S.-Romanian relations. However, I intend to inform the Romanian Government 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.

Hungary: Hungary's performance during the past year has continued to reflect a positive approach to emigration cases. The majority of Hungarians seeking to emigrate receive permission to do so without great difficulty. Few problem cases arise and these can be discussed constructively with the Hungarian Government. Most difficult cases ultimately are favorably resolved. The relatively liberal Hungarian domestic situation seems to defuse any pent-up demand to emigrate and the actual number of citizens who apply to leave Hungary is apparently small.

People's Republic of China: During the past year, China has continued its commitment to open emigration, exemplified by its undertaking in the September 1980 U.S.-China Consular Convention to facilitate family reunification. The Convention was approved by the Senate on December 17, 1981. The instruments of ratification were exchanged on January 19, 1982. U.S. Foreign Service posts in China issued over 6,920 immigrant visas in FY-1980, and over 15,293 nonimmigrant visas for business, study, and family visits. The comparable figures for 1980 were 3,400 and 15,893, respectively. More than 8,000 Chinese are now in the United States for long-term study and research (approximately half of this number is privately sponsored). As has been the case for the past several years, the numerical limits imposed on entry to the U.S. by our immigration law continue to be a more significant impediment to immigration from China than Chinese Government exit controls. The Chinese Government is aware of our interest in open emigration, and extension of the waiver will encourage the Chinese to maintain liberal travel and emigration policies.

In light of these considerations, I have determined that continuation of the waivers applicable to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination under Subsection 402(d)
(5) and (d)(5)(C) 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 402(d)(5) and (d)(5)(C) 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 the continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Act.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.



WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

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File Folder

ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MFN [MOST FAVORED
NATION] (2)

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



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1982

SECRETARY OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Acting

SUBJECT: Recommendation to Congress for Extension
of Jackson-Vanik Waiver Authority

The Jackson-Vanik waivers for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China, and the three related trade agreements establishing nondiscriminatory ("MFN") trade treatment, are important elements in our overall relations towards Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China. Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 prohibits the granting of most favored nation treatment, or of government financing or credits, or the conclusion of trade agreements, with any nonmarket 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 recommend to Congress each year that this waiver authority be continued.

Section 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974 requires that you recommend extension of your waiver authority to Congress by June 3. If you do not, the existing waivers for Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China (PRC), and your authority to extend MFN to those countries will lapse and our trade agreements will have to be suspended.

MFN treatment and bilateral trade agreements are very important components of our overall bilateral relationships with all three countries. A termination of MFN eligibility would seriously set back our relations without any corresponding benefits for us. It would give all three countries, in their separate ways, reason to consider reversing efforts of past years to reduce their dependence on the USSR. Failure to renew MFN would deprive us of an effective instrument which we have used to promote freer emigration. It would also hurt our efforts to ensure equitable treatment for U.S. companies in these markets and protect our firms' industrial property rights. Loss of MFN would lead to a very significant drop in our 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.

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(GDS 4/11/88)

Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW DATE 11/31/17

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- 2 -

A majority vote by either House of Congress may override your recommendation to extend either your general waiver authority or any of the individual waivers. Our consultation with Congress indicates there is little opposition to renewal of waivers for any of the three countries. Of the three, Romania is most likely to cause difficulties. Romanian emigration policies, though improved, continue to attract criticism from some quarters and there has been concern from certain U.S. church groups over alleged Romanian harassment of individuals engaged in the distribution of Bibles.

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Transmittal Message
- Tab 2 - Recommendation for Extension
- Tab 3 - Presidential Determination

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Drafted by: EB/TDC/EWT - DBKursch
Clearances: EB/TDC - DLamb
STR - MOrr
Commerce - JBurgess
EUR/EE - RBecker
MPatterson
EA/C - RMueller
L/EB - RElliot



DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

24

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We want to share with you our concern about the severe oppression suffered by Christian groups in Romania, the tremendous decline in Romanian Jewish emigration in recent years, and the major cultural and social deprivation experienced by the Hungarian minority in Romania.

You will soon be making a recommendation to the Congress on the renewal of Most Favored Nation trading status for Romania. We urge that before you make the recommendation U.S. officials engage in serious and intensive discussions with the Romanian Government, making clear that your Administration shares the Congressional view of the need for Romania to humanize its treatment of religious and cultural minorities, and to raise the rate of Jewish emigration to the level of the years prior to the granting of MFN to Romania.

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Though section 402 of the 1974 Trade Reform Act relates expressly to emigration, we believe emigration performance has a broader significance as a visible measure of a government's commitment to other basic human rights. We have therefore been alarmed by the precipitous drop in Romanian emigration to Israel from an annual rate of three to four thousand in the years before the 1975 awarding of MFN status to Romania to barely one thousand in recent years. The first three months of 1982, moreover, show a monthly average of only 54, compared with 250 to 350 just a few years ago.

The monthly rate of Romanian emigration to the U.S. during 1980 and 81 was over 200; Israel, with a far larger Romanian family base than the U.S., should not have less.

Accordingly, we would urge the Administration to note the Recommendations of the Senate Finance Committee in the Fall of 1979 following the hearings of its International trade Subcommittee:

to initiate discussions with Romania intended to lead to more specific assurances regarding emigration, such as those which preceded the granting of MFN to Hungary The Committee understands the difficulty of such an undertaking but nevertheless believes a renewed, more aggressive effort must be made.

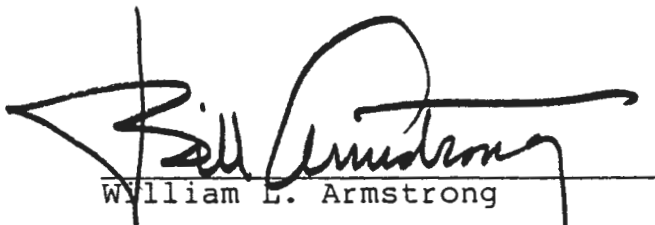
We would also draw your attention to Senator Henry Jackson's 1981 message to the International Trade Subcommittee, with which the rest of us wholeheartedly agree:

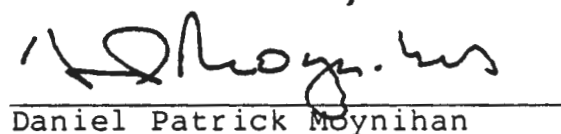
It is necessary for the Romanian (authorities) to do much better with regard to emigration to Israel They should more than double the annual number they are approving for emigration to Israel.

Finally, we remind you that there are a number of instances of Romanians who have been trying to emigrate to join family members in the West for as long as a dozen years. These long unresolved cases simply must be resolved if Romania is to continue to enjoy Most Favored Nation trading status.

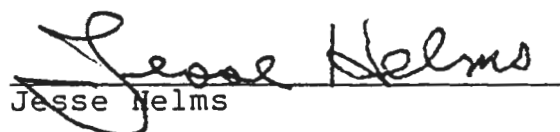
MFN was granted to Romania in 1975 in hopes it would encourage freer emigration and greater freedom at home. Since then, however, emigration has fallen off and repression at home has continued unabated. We hope that your Administration will be able to report to Congress greater progress on these issues than we are currently aware has been made. At this point, we are unpersuaded that another extension of MFN for Romania will have the desired effect.

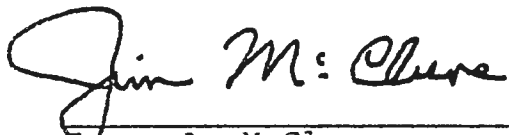
Sincerely,


William L. Armstrong

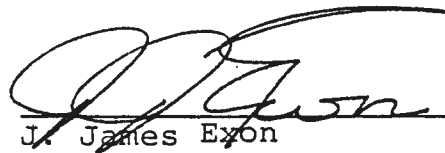

Daniel Patrick Moynihan


George J. Mitchell


Jesse Helms



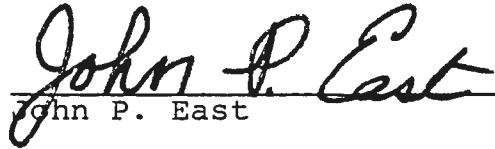
James A. McClure



J. James Exon



Carl Levin



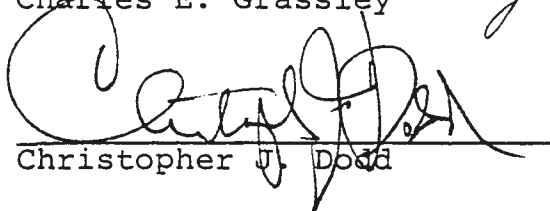
John P. East



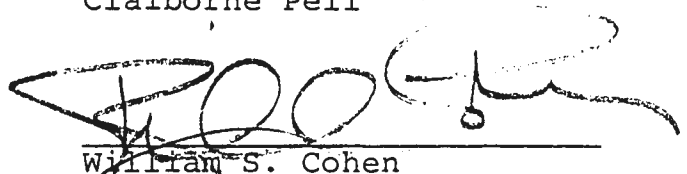
Charles E. Grassley



Claiborne Pell



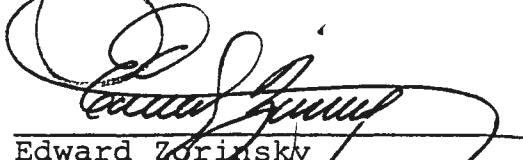
Christopher J. Dodd



William S. Cohen



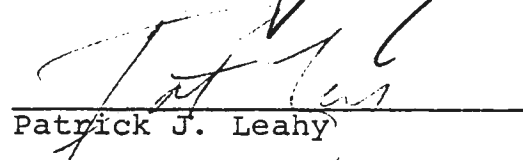
Mack Mattingly



Edward Zorinsky



Robert W. Kasten, Jr.



Patrick J. Leahy



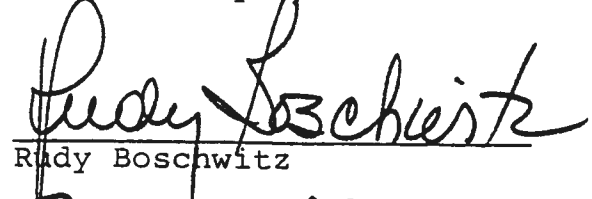
H. John Heinz, III



Steven D. Symms



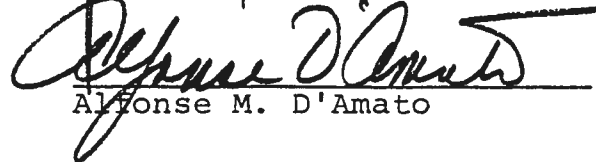
Roger W. Jepsen



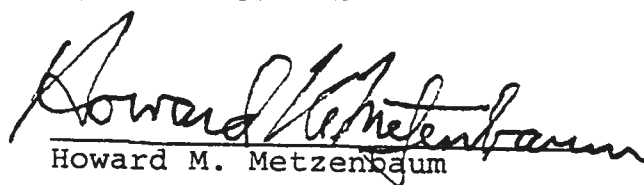
Rudy Boschwitz



Dennis DeConcini



Alfonse M. D'Amato



Howard M. Metzenbaum

** This letter is still being circulated in the Senate for further signatures. The above reflects all the signatures as of May 24, 1982.



27

Memorandum

TO: Dr. Richard Pipes, National Security Council

FROM: Howard Squadron, Chairman, Conference of Presidents
of Major American Jewish Organizations

DATE: May 19, 1982

Since Congress first approved MFN for Romania in 1975, Jewish emigration has steadily declined and now seems frozen at just under 1,000 persons a year.

Although that decline can be partially explained by the shrinking pool of would-be emigrants, an additional reason for the decline is the Romanian government's policy of active discouragement of all emigration, taking the form of harrassment and even intimidation of applicants.

Emigration to Israel has dropped from 2,372 in 1975, to 1,982 in 1976, 1,347 in 1977, 1,141 in 1978, to 991 in 1979. It rose slightly in 1980, to 1,043, but dropped again last year to 973. The number of persons leaving this year does not provide much encouragement.

In 1979, the Conference of Presidents reached an agreement with the Romanian government which the Conference hoped and expected would facilitate emigration. That agreement created a mechanism by which the Presidents Conference would, on a regular basis, receive lists of Jews seeking to emigrate, which could then be brought to the attention of Romanian authorities for favorable action. However, there continues to be large backlogs of cases, some of them going back as far as 1978 and 1979. This year the backlog is 652 names, but since the President's Conference has not received any lists since last October, it may be that the backlog is actually larger.

The 1979 agreement also carried the understanding that there would be no official obstacles to Jews seeking to leave or to obtaining application forms in the first place. Our experience since that time, however, suggests that would-be Jewish emigrants continue to face impediments.

We believe that MFN has been a useful tool for the United States to encourage Romania to continue its relatively independent foreign policy. We also believe that MFN is useful as leverage to induce the Romanians to relax their emigration policies. However, we do not believe that this leverage has been used as effectively as it might be.

We would hope that the President's message to Congress on Romanian MFN will reflect our concerns with Romania's performance. We would also hope that what the President will say will encourage the Romanians to improve their performance substantially between now and the deadline for Congressional approval of another renewal. We believe that this is the optimum time for the Romanians to make that improvement, before the pressures of the Congressional hearings on MFN are brought to bear.

HS/bas





EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

3396

MAY 20 1982

MEMORANDUM TO: MICHAEL O. WHEELER

FROM: Philip A. DuSault

SUBJECT: Extension of Jackson-Vanik Waiver Authority

This responds to your request of May 17 for OMB comments on a proposal by the Department of State that the President waive the prohibitions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment for Hungary, Romania, and the People's Republic of China. This would extend MFN tariff treatment to these countries for an additional year.

OMB supports the State analysis of the importance of extension of MFN treatment to the U.S. trade relationship with these countries. As to whether the extension of the Jackson-Vanik waiver will encourage emigration from Eastern Europe and promote East-West policy objectives of the United States, we defer to the National Security Council.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1982

82 MAY 15 AM 12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Acting
SUBJECT: Recommendation to Congress for Extension
of Jackson-Vanik Waiver Authority

The Jackson-Vanik waivers for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China, and the three related trade agreements establishing nondiscriminatory ("MFN") trade treatment, are important elements in our overall relations towards Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China. Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 prohibits the granting of most favored nation treatment, or of government financing or credits, or the conclusion of trade agreements, with any nonmarket 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 recommend to Congress each year that this waiver authority be continued.

Section 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974 requires that you recommend extension of your waiver authority to Congress by June 3. If you do not, the existing waivers for Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China (PRC), and your authority to extend MFN to those countries will lapse and our trade agreements will have to be suspended.

MFN treatment and bilateral trade agreements are very important components of our overall bilateral relationships with all three countries. A termination of MFN eligibility would seriously set back our relations without any corresponding benefits for us. It would give all three countries, in their separate ways, reason to consider reversing efforts of past years to reduce their dependence on the USSR. Failure to renew MFN would deprive us of an effective instrument which we have used to promote freer emigration. It would also hurt our efforts to ensure equitable treatment for U.S. companies in these markets and protect our firms' industrial property rights. Loss of MFN would lead to a very significant drop in our 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
(GDS 4/11/88)

Authority State Waiver 11/10/15
BY RW NARA DATE 1/31/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

A majority vote by either House of Congress may override your recommendation to extend either your general waiver authority or any of the individual waivers. Our consultation with Congress indicates there is little opposition to renewal of waivers for any of the three countries. Of the three, Romania is most likely to cause difficulties. Romanian emigration policies, though improved, continue to attract criticism from some quarters and there has been concern from certain U.S. church groups over alleged Romanian harassment of individuals engaged in the distribution of Bibles.

32
Noted
Romanian
Presidential

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Transmittal Message
- Tab 2 - Recommendation for Extension
- Tab 3 - Presidential Determination

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

73

Drafted by: EB/TDC/EWT - DBKursch ~~4~~
Clearances: EB/TDC - DLamb
STR - MOrr
Commerce - JBurgess
EUR/EE - RBecker
MPatterson
EA/C - RMueller
L/EB - RElliot

THE WHITE HOUSE

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with subsection 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act of 1974, I transmit herewith my recommendation for a further 12-month extension of the authority to waive subsection (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act.

I include as part of my recommendation my determination that further extension of the waiver authority, and continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

This recommendation also includes my reasons for recommending the extension of waiver authority and for my determination that continuation of the three waivers currently in effect will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

June , 1982

35

RECOMMENDATION FOR EXTENSION OF WAIVER AUTHORITY

I recommend to the Congress that the waiver authority granted by subsection 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 (hereinafter "the Act") be further extended for twelve months. Pursuant to subsection 402(d)(5) of the Act, I have today determined that further extension of such authority, and continuation of the waivers currently applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. My determination is attached to this Recommendation 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 Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. 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 subsection 402(a) and (b) of the Act, should circumstances permit. I believe that these considerations clearly warrant this recommendation for renewal of the general waiver authority.

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

Romania - Emigration from Romania to the United States has increased substantially since the waiver has been in effect. In 1981, nearly 2,400 persons emigrated from Romania to the United States. This is nearly six times the pre-MFN level of emigration and represents an optimum number of emigrants under U.S. immigration procedures in effect in that year. Continuation of the waiver will also contribute to maintaining a framework for dialogue with the Romanian Government on emigration procedures, emigration to Israel, binational marriages, and other humanitarian problems.

Hungary - Hungary's performance during the past year has continued to reflect a positive approach to emigration cases. The majority of Hungarians seeking to emigrate receive permission to do so without great difficulty. Few problem cases arise and these can be discussed constructively with the Hungarian Government. Most difficult cases ultimately are favorably resolved. The relatively liberal Hungarian domestic situation seems to defuse any pent-up demand to emigrate and the actual number of citizens who apply to leave Hungary is apparently small.

People's Republic of China - During the past year, China has continued its commitment to open emigration, exemplified by its undertaking in the September 1980 U.S.-China Consular Convention to facilitate family reunification. The Convention was approved by the Senate on December 17, 1981. Instruments of ratification were exchanged on January 19, 1982. U.S. Foreign Service posts in China issued over 6,920 immigrant visas in FY-1980, and over 15,293 nonimmigrant visas for business, study, and family visits. The comparable figures for 1980 were 3,400 and 15,893 respectively. More than 8,000 Chinese are now in the United States for long term study and research (approximately half of this number is privately sponsored). As has been the case for the past several years, the numerical limits imposed on entry to the U.S. by our immigration law continue to be a more significant impediment to immigration from China than Chinese Government exit controls. The Chinese Government is aware of our interest in open emigration, and extension of the waiver will encourage the Chinese to maintain liberal travel and emigration policies.

In light of these considerations, I have determined that continuation of the waivers applicable to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Determination under Subsection 402(d)
(5) and (d)(5)(C) 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 402(d)(5) and (d)(5)(C) 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 the continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Act.

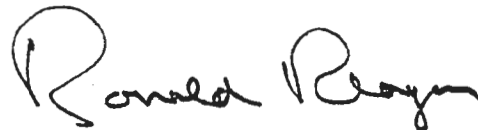
This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with subsection 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act of 1974, I transmit herewith my recommendation for a further 12-month extension of the authority to waive subsection (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Act.

I include as part of my recommendation my determination that further extension of the waiver authority, and continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402.

This recommendation also includes my reasons for recommending the extension of waiver authority and for my determination that continuation of the three waivers currently in effect will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402. It also states my concern about Romania's emigration record this year and the need for its reexamination.



THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 2, 1982.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1982

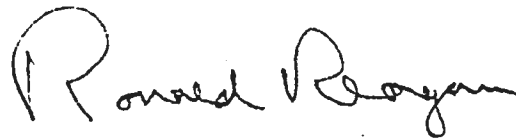
Presidential Determination
No. _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination under subsection 402(d)
(5) and (d)(5)(C) 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 402(d)(5) and (d)(5)(C) 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 the continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Act.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "R".

RECOMMENDATION FOR EXTENSION OF WAIVER AUTHORITY

I recommend to the Congress that the waiver authority granted by subsection 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 (hereinafter "the Act") be further extended for twelve months. Pursuant to subsection 402(d)(5) of the Act, I have today determined that further extension of such authority, and continuation of the waivers currently applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. However, I am concerned about Romania's emigration record this year and suggest it be reexamined. My determination is attached to this Recommendation 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 Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. 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 subsection 402(a) and (b) of the Act, should circumstances permit. I believe that these considerations clearly warrant this recommendation for renewal of the general waiver authority.

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

Romania: Emigration from Romania to the United States has increased substantially since the waiver has been in effect. In 1981, nearly 2,400 persons emigrated from Romania to the U.S. This is nearly six times the pre-MFN level of emigration and represents an optimum number of emigrants under U.S. immigration procedures in effect that year.

However, I am gravely concerned about the Romanian Government's failure to improve its repressive emigration procedures and the significant decrease in Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel, which is disturbing. This emigration has dropped from an annual rate of 4,000 prior to the 1975 extension of MFN to Romania, to the current (1981) low level of 972. Furthermore, contrary to the 1979 agreement with American Jewish leaders, Romania continues to maintain a considerable backlog of unresolved long-standing emigration cases. This backlog at present involves at least 652 cases. Also, contrary to the 1979 agreement, the

Romanian Government has not improved its emigration procedures. The process is cumbersome and plagued with obstacles for those who merely wish to obtain emigration application forms. All these factors demonstrate Romania's negativistic emigration policy which clearly contravenes the intent and purpose of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

In waiving the prohibition of MFN renewal for Romania this year, I have weighed the above factors within the context of the satisfactory state of overall U.S.-Romanian relations. However, I intend to inform the Romanian Government 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.

Hungary: Hungary's performance during the past year has continued to reflect a positive approach to emigration cases. The majority of Hungarians seeking to emigrate receive permission to do so without great difficulty. Few problem cases arise and these can be discussed constructively with the Hungarian Government. Most difficult cases ultimately are favorably resolved. The relatively liberal Hungarian domestic situation seems to defuse any pent-up demand to emigrate and the actual number of citizens who apply to leave Hungary is apparently small.

People's Republic of China: During the past year, China has continued its commitment to open emigration, exemplified by its undertaking in the September 1980 U.S.-China Consular Convention to facilitate family reunification. The Convention was approved by the Senate on December 17, 1981. The instruments of ratification were exchanged on January 19, 1982. U.S. Foreign Service posts in China issued over 6,920 immigrant visas in FY-1980, and over 15,293 nonimmigrant visas for business, study, and family visits. The comparable figures for 1980 were 3,400 and 15,893, respectively. More than 8,000 Chinese are now in the United States for long-term study and research (approximately half of this number is privately sponsored). As has been the case for the past several years, the numerical limits imposed on entry to the U.S. by our immigration law continue to be a more significant impediment to immigration from China than Chinese Government exit controls. The Chinese Government is aware of our interest in open emigration, and extension of the waiver will encourage the Chinese to maintain liberal travel and emigration policies.

In light of these considerations, I have determined that continuation of the waivers applicable to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

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42

DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATION WITH THE ROMANIANS: OPTIONS, GOALS AND
TEN-POINT PROGRAM

OPTIONS

1. Continue Policy of Recent Years - Accept Romanian assurances, while not obtaining credible commitments from Bucharest or seeking any concrete quid pro quo.
2. Opposite Policy: Play Strongest Card Now - Immediate declaration of support for blockage of Romanian MFN through Disapproval Resolution in either Senate or House, thus establishing maximum negotiating position, and begin to negotiate.
3. Middle of Road Policy - Support swifter accumulation of signatures for Senate & House letters to Romanian President Ceausecu, now circulating in Congress. A massive number of signatures will be a significant signal to Bucharest that their MFN is in jeopardy and that concessions would be timely.

Such action should be backed up by the introduction of Congressional Resolutions requesting the Romanians to improve their emigration performance and a detailed letter to them by several influential legislators outlining our requirements.

One thing is clear: THE TIME TO NEGOTIATE IS NOW, not the last days before the House hearings which may take place in the third week of June.

GOALS: WHAT DO WE NEGOTIATE FOR?

Background

#402, the "Freedom of Emigration" section of the 1974 Trade Act, was based on the understanding that formal assurances of compliance with its terms would be received from the nonmarket countries under consideration. Unfortunately, Romania has never given such assurances but was granted MFN nevertheless. By contrast, the Hungarians, after intensive discussions, wrote on March 15, 1979 that they were prepared to "act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and deal with (emigration applicants) promptly, conscientiously and with good will."

The so-called Agreement supposedly reached between the Romanian Ambassador and Messrs. A. Mozes and J. Spitzer (July 6, 1979), consisting of a one page Aide Memoire was never signed by the Romanians nor publicly announced by them. It was a diversionary maneuver by the Romanians at a time when we had dangerously weakened their Congressional position. The key words of the document, "application forms will be readily available and will be processed expeditiously", were never implemented. Emigration obstacles continued as before and the 1979 Jewish outflow proved to be the lowest of the decade!

The official American Jewish policy of recent years of relying on Romanian good will has failed completely and utterly. Accordingly, we should now make it clear to them that our support for MFN renewal depends on CREDIBLE, SIGNED ASSURANCES OF COMPLIANCE WITH #402 as detailed below, accompanied by EARLY SOLID EVIDENCE OF IMPROVED EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE.

Written Assurances are required from the Romanians of their intent to:

1. Comply with #402
2. Simplify and shorten emigration procedures and eliminate social, work and educational harassment, as listed below.
3. a) swift removal of Jewish emigration backlog of over 1,000 (not 652), whether registered with the Jewish Community Offices or with the Romanian authorities alone.

b) total waiting time to be reduced to 2 - 6 months.
4. The pre-MFN annual emigration was in the range of 350-250/month. Though the Romanian Jewish population may be aging at a greater rate than American Jewry, there has been no steep demographic decline corresponding to the great drop in Jewish emigration of recent years. Only a monthly rate of 300-200 is acceptable. The figure of "more than double" the number of 1980 approvals (nearly 200/month) suggested by almost a third of the members of Congress in their May 1982 letters to U.S. President Reagan and Romanian President Ceausescu, is the absolute minimum.

SIMPLIFIED AND SHORTENED EMIGRATION PROCEDURES
AND ELIMINATION OF HARASSMENT

1. Abolish pre-application procedures at police station (FICA).
2. Letter of intent received abroad or by foreign embassy in Bucharest should establish commencement of emigration process.
3. Eliminate requirement to appear before councils consisting of local representatives of the police, the security police, the army, the Communist party, the work place, the management of residence.
4. Application forms should be readily available at all times and places.
5. Establish time frame of 2-3 months from moment of application until departure, at most 6 months for special cases.
6. Set up regular procedures which will avoid arbitrary decisions or non-decisions.
7. After formal approval is granted, ensure speedy and straight-forward process until departure, avoiding irregular, arbitrary delays.
8. Refusals should be accompanied by explanations, then proper appeal process.
9. Ease the burdens of departing emigrants by
 - a) cutting down multiple documentation
 - b) permitting him/her to take life savings and used household and personal possessions without imposition of duties
 - c) reducing the variety and total of emigration fees.
10. Eliminate harassments such as
 - a) job dismissals and demotions and expulsions from universities.
 - b) intimidation at workplace, in schools, and by neighbors.
 - c) threats of military or work conscription.

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Ronald Reagan Library

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File Folder

ROMANIA - EE [EASTERN EUROPE] MFN [MOST FAVORED
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67

ID	Document Type	No of pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
	Document Description			
188889	LETTER RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	2	6/30/1982	B1

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]

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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.

REFERRAL

DATE: 30 JUN 82

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

46

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

SOURCE: PRES

DATE: 30 JUN 82

KEYWORDS: JACKSON VANIK

MFN

CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

ROMANIA

HUNGARY

UBJ:

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

UPDATE: 03 JUL 82

COMMENTS:

Michael O. Wheeler
FOR MICHAEL O WHEELER

STAFF SECRETARY

6/30

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

NSC/S:

Okay to dispatch

C. Cleveland

National Security Council
The White House

Package # 3346

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
I-Information	A-Action	R-Retain	D-Dispatch
			N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Carlyle Cleveland will date

SECRETARIAT STAFF
(S/S-S)

TO: NSC DATE: 6/8

S/S	TM A	DIR
S/S-O	TM B	MGMT ANALYST
S/S-I	TM C	NSC REP.
S/S-EX	TM	CORRESP.

SUBJECT: Request for Return of Original
Reagan-Ceausescu Letter

REMARKS:

For Paula Dobriansky --

Returned as requested. Eagleburger spoke to Bud McFarlane and this will be handled through another channel.

Regards, *[Signature]* Tain

PROCA -

Return to NSC/S for files

What Log Number?

#3356

DIRECTOR
x20318/9

TM A B C

SL LD

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 16, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

THROUGH: NORMAN A. BAILEY *NB*FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu

*oh/mw***SIGNED**

Per the discussion on the President's letter to Romanian President Ceausescu at yesterday's staff meeting, I have attached for your review the revised letter approved by State with supporting comments (Tab I) and the original signed letter marked "OBE" by Eagleburger with an attached note from Tain Tompkins (State Secretariat) (Tab II). (C)

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve forwarding the amended Presidential letter to President Ceausescu. (C)

Approve ✓ Disapprove

Attachments:

Tab I Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu
with supporting comments

Tab II OBE'd letter

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review June 16, 1988.

DECLASSIFIED

Sec. 3A(h) 25 amended
White House
BY NARA *RW* 1/31/17
1006

SECRETARIAT STAFF
(S/S-S)

TO: NSC

DATE: 6/8

S/S
S/S-O
S/S-I
S/S-EX

TM A
TM B
TM C
TM

DIR
MGMT ANALYST
NSC REP.
CORRESP.

SUBJECT: Request for Return of Original
Reagan-Ceausescu Letter

REMARKS:

For Paula Dobriansky --

Returned as requested. Eagleburger spoke to Bud McFarlane and this will be handled through another channel.

Regards, *TM* Tain

DIRECTOR
x20318/9

TM A B C

SL LD

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188894	LETTER RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	1	6/2/1982	B1

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]

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National Security Council
The White House

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Package # 3396

02 JUN 3 P 4: 16

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>A</u>
Jacque Hill			
Judge Clark			
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Staff Secretary	<u>4</u>		
Sit Room			
<u>DOBRIANSKY</u>	<u>5</u>		<u>A</u>

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver

Other _____

COMMENTS

Bud,

State wanted to broaden
the letter to Romania. After the
President signed the letter, State
wants to add the high lighted
portions. Recommend you approve.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 3, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu

State has recommended that President Reagan's letter of June 2 to President Ceausescu concerning Romania's Most Favored Nation (MFN) status be amended. Specifically, State has requested that several broad human rights issues (i.e., Romania's treatment of various religious denominations) be mentioned. At Tab I is the revised Presidential letter reflecting State's changes; the text has been cleared by Speechwriters. A decision is needed by 4:00 p.m. today to enable State to cable the text to Embassy Bucharest. (C)

Norman Bailey, *NB* Richard *R* Pipes and I concur.RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the amended Presidential letter to President Ceausescu. (C)

Approve *RCM/for* Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Revised text of letter to Romanian President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review June 3, 1988.

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Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY RW DATE 1/31/17

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188896	LETTER RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU [DRAFT, SAME TEXT AS DOC. 188889]	2	ND	B1

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]
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REFERRAL

DATE: 02 JUN 82

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

SOURCE: PRES

DATE: 02 JUN 82

KEYWORDS: JACKSON VANIK .

MFN

CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

ROMANIA

HUNGARY

SUBJ: PD 82-17 ON EXTENSION OF JACKSON-VANIK WAIVER AUTHORITY

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

Harold J. West
FOR MICHAEL O WHEELER
STAFF SECRETARY

*Received in 45-1
6/2/82-1445-58*

57

210

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

Package # 3396

02 JUN 9 All : 11

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>X</u>	
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>I</u>
Jacque Hill		<u>[Signature]</u>	
Judge Clark		<u>[Signature]</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Staff Secretary			
Sit Room			

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver

Other _____

COMMENTS

Bud,
Did Larry talk to you
about this? John Y.P.

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188898	MEMO RICHARD PIPES TO WILLIAM CLARK RE. PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO CEAUSESCU	1	6/8/1982	B1

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

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