

**CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO
WAIVE THE TRADE ACT FREEDOM OF
EMIGRATION PROVISIONS**

**HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION**

—
- JULY 12, 1978



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CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO WAIVE THE TRADE ACT FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1978

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m. in room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Abraham Ribicoff (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Ribicoff, Dole, and Packwood.

[The committee press release announcing this hearing and the opening statement of Senator Ribicoff follow:]

[PRESS RELEASE]

FINANCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE TO HOLD HEARINGS ON CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO WAIVE THE TRADE ACT FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff (D., Conn.), Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance, today announced that the Subcommittee will hold public hearings on continuing the President's authority to waive the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402, the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618). The hearings will be held at 10:00 A.M., Wednesday, July 12, 1978, in Room 2221 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

Chairman Ribicoff noted that on June 2, 1978, President Carter transmitted to the Congress his recommendation, under section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act, that the waiver authority be extended 12 months to July 3, 1979. This recommendation was based on his determination under section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act that the extension of the waiver authority will substantially promote the objective of freedom of emigration in general and, in particular, in the cases of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Socialist Republic of Romania is the only nonmarket economy country which has been granted nondiscriminatory, or most-favored-nation, trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974, Chairman Ribicoff said. He noted that the granting of most-favored-nation trade treatment was conditioned on compliance with the freedom of emigration provision of that law but that the law permitted the President to waive the emigration condition subject to Congressional review. The trade agreement providing for most-favored-nation treatment for Romania is due to be extended for a three-year period this year. A trade agreement which would provide most-favored-nation treatment for imports from Hungary is now before the Congress for approval. The President has waived the freedom of emigration restrictions with respect to both Romania and Hungary.

The Chairman said that the President's recommendation on June 2, 1978, set in motion a schedule of procedures by which the Congress may either terminate, by adoption of a simple resolution in either House, or permit by inaction the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the freedom of emigration condition on most-favored-nation treatment. Congressional action to

terminate MFN treatment, if any, must occur before September 1, 1978, he said. After that date, if Congress takes no action, the waiver authority is automatically extended until July 3, 1979.

Requests to testify.—Chairman Ribicoff advised that witnesses desiring to testify during these hearings must make their request to testify to Michael Stern, Staff Director, Committee on Finance, 2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, not later than Friday, July 7, 1978. Witnesses will be notified as soon as possible after this cutoff date as to when and if they are scheduled to appear. If for some reason the witness is unable to appear at the time scheduled, he may file a written statement for the record of the hearing in lieu of a personal appearance.

Consolidated testimony.—Chairman Ribicoff also stated that the Subcommittee urges all witnesses who have a common position or with the same general interest to consolidate their testimony and designate a single spokesman to present their common viewpoint orally to the Subcommittee. This procedure will enable the Subcommittee to receive a wider expression of views than it might otherwise obtain. Chairman Ribicoff urged very strongly that all witnesses exert a maximum effort to consolidate and coordinate their statements.

Legislative Reorganization Act.—In this respect, he observed that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, requires all witnesses appearing before the Committees of Congress "to file in advance written statements of their proposed testimony, and to limit their oral presentations to brief summaries of their argument."

Chairman Ribicoff stated that in light of this statute and in view of the large number of witnesses who desire to appear before the Committee in the limited time available for the hearing, all witnesses who are scheduled to testify must comply with the following rules:

1. All witnesses must include with their written statements a summary of the principal points included in the statement.

2. The written statements must be typed on letter-size paper (not legal size) and at least 7 copies must be submitted to the Committee not later than the close of business on Tuesday, July 11, 1978.

3. Witnesses are not to read their written statements to the Subcommittee, but are to confine their five-minute oral presentations to a summary of the points included in the statement.

4. Not more than five minutes will be allowed for the oral summary.

Witnesses who fail to comply with these rules will forfeit their privilege to testify.

Written statements.—Witnesses who are not scheduled to make an oral presentation, and others who desire to present their views to the Subcommittee, are urged to prepare a written statement for submission and inclusion in the printed record of the hearings. These written statements should be submitted to Michael Stern, Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Room 2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building not later than Wednesday, July 26, 1978.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR ABRAHAM RIBICOFF

Today's hearing of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Finance Committee is on the subject of continuing the President's authority to waive the freedom of emigration provisions of the Trade Act of 1974. The President has exercised his authority to waive these provisions with respect to Hungary and Romania. The effect of these Presidential waivers has been to permit the granting of most-favored-nation treatment for imports from Romania and Hungary into the United States. The focus of this hearing is on the practices of Romania and Hungary with respect to the emigration of its citizens to the United States and other parts of the world and the subject of trade between the United States and Romania and the United States and Hungary.

Romania and Hungary are the only nonmarket economy countries which have been granted nondiscriminatory or most-favored-nation trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974. The Trade Act establishes certain conditions for the granting of most-favored-nation treatment, most significantly being the condition of freedom of emigration. This condition may be waived by the President upon finding that such a waiver will substantially promote the objective of freedom of emigration.

These hearings tend, to some extent, to become like broken records—one hears the same phrases and hears the same questions spoken or asked repeatedly. Once again this year I am looking forward to receiving some explanations and

some information that will help me understand the reasons for the long delays that occur in processing applications for emigration from Romania and the many other problems with Romanian emigration procedures which indeed seem to discourage people from even trying to emigrate.

There is a new element this year in that for the first time we will be looking specifically at the emigration practices and performance of Hungary. On April 7th of this year the President waived the application of the freedom of emigration provisions with respect to Hungary in the context of granting most-favored-nation treatment to Hungary. I hope the hearings today will develop information which will permit us to understand what the current practices of Hungary are with respect to emigration and to understand why the President felt it was appropriate to waive the freedom of emigration provisions with respect to Hungary.

With respect to trade between the United States and Romania and Hungary, it is clear that both the overall volume of trade and the level of imports from both Romania and Hungary have increased steadily and dramatically during the last few years. I trust that the testimony today from our traders will indicate how our trade relations with these two nonmarket economy countries have been or will be improved as a result of the most-favored-nation treatment they are being accorded under the Trade Act.

I would remind each witness that his written testimony today will be reprinted in the record as if read. May we have the first witness.

Senator RIBICOFF. The subcommittee will come to order.

The Finance Committee will hold hearings today on the continuation of the President's authority to waive the Trade Act freedom of emigration provisions.

We have a very, very heavy witness list, and we are going to have to confine all our witnesses to a time limitation on oral statements. Your entire statements, however, will go into the permanent record of these hearings, and our first witness is Hon. Senator Henry M. Jackson who, basically, for good or ill, is the father of the provision under which we are acting.

The Senate has supported Senator Jackson, and so have I, and we certainly welcome Senator Jackson and are very much interested in his reaction to the various waivers that we enacted under the 1974 Trade Act.

Senator Jackson, we welcome you here today.

[The prepared statements of Senators Dole and Williams follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

WHY WE ARE HERE

In considering the establishment of most favored nation status with Hungary and the renewal of Rumania's status, we have several important factors to consider and not all are purely commercial. We have to consider, of course, whether the average citizen of these two countries is likely to benefit from the increased trade but we also want to assure ourselves that in establishing good trade relations with these two countries, we are not condoning repressive practices of the governments, directed against its own citizens. We want to see whether the governments of these two nations are indeed taking positive steps toward observing the human rights provisions of the Helsinki agreement, which serves as an excellent guideline. We must also consider the dominant role the Soviet Union played in the history of both nations and continues to play in the domestic policy of these countries. Most favored nation status could play a role in altering the present relationship these two countries now have with the Soviet Union.

RUMANIAN EMIGRATION

There are a number of very serious questions to consider with regard to Rumanian compliance with human rights. A number of family reunification cases have come to my attention which indicate serious shortcomings in Ru-

Rumanian compliance with the Helsinki Agreement and Jackson-Vanik provisions of the Trade Act. According to reports of various Jewish organizations, thousands of Jews seek to emigrate to Israel where they can be reunited with their families. Rumanian authorities have imposed a rigorous and burdensome application procedures, which now includes a preapplication procedure which masks the true number of those seeking emigration visas. According to accounts, efforts to secure emigration rights are usually followed by harassment and persecution on the part of authorities and secret police against those applying for a visa.

AN INDIVIDUAL CASE

Jews are not the only ones that seek emigration rights and the right to family reunification. Constantine Rauta has been seeking to bring his wife and son to the United States for four years now. The Rumanian Government considers Mr. Rauta a traitor and therefore refuses to permit his family to join him in this country, thereby punishing the wife and son as well as the father. Surely a country that respects human rights should not have to hold a man's family hostage in order to punish him.

HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Disturbing reports have also been brought to my attention about the violation of the rights of Hungarians in Transylvania who are fighting to preserve their culture against efforts to Romanize them through repressive educational and censorship policies.

POSITIVE GESTURES FROM RUMANIA

At the same time, we have to consider efforts the Rumanian Government has made to improve the human rights atmosphere in Rumania. Recently the Rumanian Ambassador, His Excellency Nicolae Nicolae informed me of seven cases in which I had expressed an interest that had been resolved in favor of those seeking to emigrate. I hope these are not just isolated cases but are indicative of an improving human rights atmosphere within Rumania.

THE CROWN OF ST. STEPHENS

The most favored nation status for Hungary, of course, must be considered on its own merits, Hungary continues under Soviet occupation and one-party rule imposed on the population 22 years ago by Soviet tanks that thwarted the will of the Hungarian people who were seeking to establish their rights in the Hungarian revolution. Recently I was involved in a debate over the issue of returning the crown of St. Stephens to the people of Hungary. I opposed its return because I do not feel that Hungary under the Kadar regime fulfills the conditions for returning the crown, namely Hungarian freedom. Those who favored the crown's return argued that the crown was being returned to the people of Hungary and not to Mr. Kadar. Now that the crown has returned to Budapest, it is a legitimate concern of the United States which served as a caretaker for the crown, that the crown of St. Stephens be given the respect, honor, and publicity it obviously merits. If the crown is to serve to raise Hungarian consciousness and further independence, it must be properly displayed and made available to the average Hungarian.

Thus far, reports indicate that the Kadar regime has low-keyed the crown's return and that few Hungarians have actually seen it. I hope we can hear more today about the fate of the crown now that it has been returned to Hungary and hear more about the human rights situation in Hungary in general.

THE MEANING OF TRADE

Trade relations are a very healthy activity that foster peace and harmony among nations. They should be encouraged rather than impeded. At the same time, a country like ours that is founded on and dedicated to respect for liberty and individual rights cannot afford to be indifferent to the way other nations treat their own citizens. If our acceptance of trade relations with nations can help their citizens better secure their rights, we should pursue that course. Often, however, the rejection of trade relations can encourage an improvement of personal rights for a nation's citizens. Today's hearing will certainly help us reach a decision.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to express my gratitude for this opportunity to discuss the issue of most favored nation treatment (MFN) with Romania.

On June 2, President Carter sent to Congress a recommendation for an extension of waiver authority for Romania under section 402(c) of the 1974 Trade Act. The President's message also dealt with Hungary, and I have concluded that MFN is vital to our relationships with these two countries and to American national interests in general.

In 1977 the United States suffered a record trade deficit of \$27 billion. Although increased imports account for a large portion of this imbalance, an equally serious problem is the difficulty many American firms have in marketing their products overseas. Exports make up less than 7 percent of our gross national product, and Department of Commerce figures show that only 25,000 out of 300,000 American manufacturing firms export their goods. Clearly, our record in this area must improve if we are to reverse the current trend towards ever larger trade deficits.

One encouraging aspect of our trade picture is America's record in East-West trade. Between 1965 and 1975, annual two-way trade with Eastern European nations has increased from \$277 million to \$3.5 billion, and since 1975 this trade has contributed a surplus of \$6.3 billion to the United States' balance of payments. Because these nations comprise a sizeable portion of the world's population, the potential expansion of trade with Eastern Europe could play a vital role in efforts to improve the U.S. trade position.

Our growing economic relationship with Romania demonstrates the promise of these nations as markets for American goods. Trade between the U.S. and Romania has multiplied 10 times over the last decade, reaching \$593 million in 1977. Much of the increase has occurred since the granting of MFN status to Romania in 1975, for MFN made possible the implementation of the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement which was signed in that year. Moreover, our trade with Romania has been favorable to the United States. The first 4 months of this year have already yielded a surplus with Romania of \$26 million, which equals the surplus for the entire year of 1977.

Increased economic activity between these two countries has contributed to an overall improvement in relations between the U.S. and Romania, as demonstrated by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's state visit to Washington last April. Although basic differences in outlook still exist between our two countries, the improved cooperation between our two peoples can make an important contribution to Romania's demonstrated economic and political independence within COMECON and the Warsaw Pact. This independence has often enabled Romania to serve as a discrete yet vital intermediary for diplomatic contacts between East and West.

Because of the link established by the Jackson-Vanik amendment between MFN and emigration, it is important that we examine Romania's policy in this area. 1977 saw a marked increase in overall emigration from Romania, especially to the Federal Republic of Germany. Migration to Israel fell off somewhat, but President Carter reports that a close dialogue with Romanian officials has led to the favorable resolution of many emigration and humanitarian problems. While we must continue to fulfill our obligation to monitor Romanian emigration friends, I have noticed a great willingness to cooperate in achieving the aims of the Jackson-Vanik amendment on the part of the Romanian Government. Past performance and future promise fully warrant Romania's continued MFN status.

Although not the subject of today's hearings, the President's message of June 2 regarding MFN also deals with Hungary, another nation with whom the United States is experiencing improved relations. Both the U.S. and Hungary are benefiting from this increased cooperation and understanding. For example, Hungary has had a very responsive record in emigration matters.

Early in my congressional career I worked on reunification cases with several Hungarian families. I recall that even then the Hungarians emphasized the need for normalized trade arrangements to facilitate better relations between our two countries in other areas. I was greatly pleased when, on June 27, the Senate unanimously agreed to the concurrent resolution which granted MFN to Hungary. This action, along with the full implementation of the bilateral U.S.-Hungary trade agreement, will improve relationships in the economic sphere.

An excellent example of the kind of cooperation made possible by the granting of MFN is the case of action Tungsum, Inc. of East Brunswick, N.J. This com-

pany is a joint undertaking between Action Industries, Inc. of Cheswick, Pa. and United Incandescent Lamp & Electric Co., Ltd. of Budapest. Both the U.S. and Hungary will benefit from this venture, which will lead to the establishment of a manufacturing facility in New Jersey using productive equipment supplied by the Hungarians. The Senate's action of June 27 will greatly assist this enterprise to fulfill its enormous potential.

Mr. President, I am confident that our decision to grant MFN to Hungary is justified by our improved relations with that Nation. As has been the case with Romania, MFN will widen the areas of mutual interest which tie our two countries together, thereby leading to even further cooperation.

While the need for an annual review of MFN for Hungary and Romania does create certain difficulties in establishing long-term economic ties, this provisional MFN situation is better than none at all. Still, I am hopeful that Congress and the administration will carefully consider the desirability of placing MFN status for nonmarket nations on a more stable basis. Although the granting of MFN does not by itself ensure the removal of points of disagreement, the increased economic relationships made possible by MFN do help to reduce the tensions which have been generated by competing economic systems.

STATEMENT OF HON. HENRY M. JACKSON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Senator JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your kind remarks. I appreciate this opportunity to give this committee my views on extension of our present trading relationship with Romania.

First of all, let me say that our country has a significant stake in the continued existence of a Romania capable of an independent role in important foreign policy matters.

I have had candid talks with President Ceaucescu and other prominent Romanian officials. I found that they respect frank discussion of matters, whether we agree on them or not.

Clearly, Mr. Chairman, it is in the interest of both the United States and Romania that sources of tension between us, such as disputes over the disposition of emigration cases, be resolved as amicably as possible.

We, for our part, have shown considerable patience in the years since Romania first became eligible for MFN as the Romanians have endeavored to resolve many outstanding cases.

In a spirit of cooperation, much can be done to advance the cause of personal liberty for those wishing to leave Romania—usually to be united with loved ones—and to advance the economic progress of the Romanian people. Moreover, the United States wishes to encourage the countries of Eastern Europe effectively to assert their legitimate claim to greater autonomy in the face of Soviet demands and overwhelming Soviet power.

The further extension of MFN and economic credits for Romania—an exercise of accommodation, may I say, on both sides—is a realistic reflection of our mutual interests.

Needless to say, this will continue to be the case only so long as Romania sincerely lives up to its pledge of the humanitarian treatment of emigration cases. I hope and trust that we will continue to work together to resolve those cases still outstanding, and that in so doing we will place United States-Romanian relations on an increasingly sound and stable basis.

I have always believed that among the internationally recognized human rights, none is more fundamental than the right to emigrate.

Freedom to emigrate can be accomplished without causing fundamental changes in the internal structure of many states which today deny their citizens the right to leave. It need not be considered, and indeed is not, interference in another state's internal affairs, to insist that the right to free emigration, which has been enshrined in international law, be honored.

That, I believe, is why the Congress has attached special importance to the right to emigrate and why that right is a central feature of so many international agreements.

The experience with Romania illustrates the value to all parties of a constructive approach to existing U.S. law conditioning MFN and credits to nonmarket countries on the relaxation of restrictions on emigration. While some countries have chosen confrontation, others, like Romania, have preferred cooperation—a result that has served the interests of both our countries and the cause of international human rights.

Holding these views, and after thorough consideration of the record, Mr. Chairman, I urge this committee to recommend to the Senate extension of the waiver as requested by President Carter.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Senator Jackson.

Senator JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RIBICOFF. Secretary Vest?

Mr. VEST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to introduce the members of my panel here. Edward Stroh—Mr. Stroh is the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Gary Huffbauer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Treasury; and Mr. Douglas McMinn of the Office of the Special Trade Representative.

While you have my statement, sir, I would like to make a few points in connection with it, if I may, by way of introduction.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE S. VEST, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, ACCOMPANIED BY EDWARD STROH, ACTING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE; GARY HUFFBAUER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF TREASURY; AND DOUGLAS McMINN, OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. VEST. Mr. Chairman, we are very pleased to have the opportunity to come here, because we consider it of great importance to continue the waivers permitting most favored nation tariff treatment for Romania and Hungary. We believe that better relations are based on the principle of being able to deal frankly with the country which has proved so independent in its approach to life and international affairs, as Romania has done.

Our efforts, and those of previous administrations, to improve relations with Eastern Europe, I would have to say, however, in no way indicate a lessening of our concern about limitations on democratic institutions and the basic elements of a free society in countries with whom we are dealing here today. And we think that, taking all of these matters into consideration, we have a basis for going ahead.

I would like to mention, just by way of illustration, a very few things which bring out Romania's foreign policy independence. It has

maintained diplomatic relations with Israel after the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict and it has a constructive working relationship with the Israelis.

It did not participate in the Arab-initiated oil embargo and, in fact, increased shipments to us during that difficult period.

President Ceausescu has played an important role in helping set the stage for Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. Since the end of World War II, over 300,000 Romanian Jews, we estimate, have been permitted to emigrate to Israel.

Economically, Romania has broader ties with the non-Communist world than the other Warsaw Pact states and, since 1974, more than half of its trade has been with non-Communist partners. In fact, the Romanians are probably one of the strongest champions of the right of all Communist Parties to chart their own course in a free, pragmatic way, rather than being subservient to the lead of Moscow.

And, at the Helsinki Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, the Romanians followed a very free path of their own. They avoided polemics against the West on human rights issues and, in many ways, were helpful in trying to bridge differences in that whole area.

The result of all of this, since the Romanian-U.S. trade agreement went into effect in 1975, has been that trade with Romania has continued to grow, and the trade figures for 1977 illustrate this very well. Among the commodities which are of particular importance are soybeans, soybean products, wheat and corn, which make up the largest share of our exports to Romania.

Since your committee last reviewed the question of most favored nation status for Romania, probably the most significant development in our relations was the visit to the United States of President Ceausescu, because it gave an opportunity to discuss issues of global importance and Romania's free hand makes it of particular interest in terms of our external relations but, as well, it gave us an opportunity to make clear to the Romanians at the highest level that this administration, and the Congress, are deeply committed to the support of human rights and we found that our relations with Romania are sufficiently easy and mature that it was possible for us to have very useful discussions on that subject.

In fact, at the end of the visit, there was a joint declaration issued on April 14 in which President Carter and President Ceausescu pledged "to cooperate in the settlement of humanitarian issues, including family reunification, in the spirit of mutual understanding and good will."

We think this pledge gives us a strengthened basis for pressing for continued progress in resolving emigration and marriage cases and, in fact, we think that Romania's emigration performance since that time, although, frankly, certainly leaving a great deal of room for further improvement, has shown the kind of progress since the waiver was continued last year that is required by the Trade Act. And it is on this continuing process that the President's recommendation is based.

There are still many pending cases, some long standing and difficult ones, but we believe the long term trend satisfies the requirement.

I have attached, for your convenience, to the statement some statistics which make it possible to assess Romania's emigration performance. I would not go into great detail on those—they are there for you to see—but I would like to merely point out that at the end of June

1977 1,228 persons had received visas for permanent settlement in the United States and this represents a significant increase over the total for the previous 12-month period of 1,047.

There has been as well, a steady rate of emigration during the winter, and not the sharp dropoff of previous winters.

Now, I do not have to underscore that this is a much higher rate of emigration than before Romania received most favored nation treatment.

I would like to point out that, as you know, we continue at 3-month intervals to present a representation list through our embassy to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which we try to bring to their attention the cases we care about, the cases we know about, and by the end of June on the previous list, out of 942 persons we could identify seeking emigration, 315, approximately a third, had been approved for emigration.

We are particularly pleased that out of that list the number of marriage approvals was 46 out of 60—in other words, 70 percent of them.

So we do think there has been considerable progress and we know there are problems. We know that there is more to work on steadily. We know there are problems of denial of forms because of the way in which the Romanian Government handles its internal affairs there. And we are continuing to press them through our representation lists and through our conversations.

We have a new list out to them on July 5 with 817 persons on it, of whom 222 appear for the first time. So we are going ahead.

Similarly, on Israel, we feel we are making progress. We are having to deal with that as well. There is reason to believe that they are trying to be more responsive. It is a subject which has been discussed between President Ceausescu and Prime Minister Begin. We encourage that discussion.

Without going into more detail at all, sir, I would merely like to conclude by saying that, having watched this very closely, having continued to exercise as much influence as we can with this, we feel that the MFN relationship provides us a basis to continue to press for both trade and other relationships which we would like to think are in the national interest, and we strongly recommend extensions of the President's authority of MFN for Romania and, of course, for Hungary, which we have talked about earlier.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Mr. Vest.

At last year's hearings, Ambassador William Carey, director of B'nai B'rith's International Council, submitted to the committee a list of obstacles to emigration from Romania and made some recommendations.

Could you tell me if anything has been done for removal of some of these obstacles for emigration?

Mr. VEST. We have continued to talk to the Romanian authorities, to encourage the maximum freedom of availability of forms within their system, to bring to their attention cases that we believe worthy of consideration. And we have pressed them through the representation list and through personal representations to them.

They continue to have their own procedures, but I would say the best evidence that we have is a gradual increase in emigration, which shows at least that people are getting through.

Senator RIBICOFF. I notice that the trade statistics show that there have been rather large increases in Romanian exports to the United States in such areas as steel pipe, steel bearings, some textile products and footwear. Are you monitoring these imports to make sure there are not significant increases in sensitive areas?

Mr. STROH. Mr. Chairman, yes, we do watch the sensitive items very closely and the specific items that you have mentioned—steel pipe, textile, steel bearings, footwear. The Romanian volume of these products that are coming into the United States in the past year are not troublesome at this time, and are in accordance with existing agreements, for example, in the textile area.

Generally, the volume of almost each of the items that you have mentioned is approximately 1 percent or slightly less, of U.S. imports of those products.

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask you, in 1977, the United States' surplus in bilateral trade with Romania reached a very low point about \$26 million. What are your projections for the trade surplus for 1978 and the years following and how do you explain the drop in our surplus with Romania in 1977?

Mr. STROH. I think our trade has matured as time has passed, particularly as MFN has been extended. As I look at the trade flows over the last 3 consecutive years, 1975 through 1977, the United States has accumulated a surplus in each of those years: \$56 million in 1975; \$51 million in 1976; and \$26 million in 1977.

In the first 5 months of 1978, our trade surplus stands at about \$10 million. I think that in 1978 we probably will end up with a small surplus. It might be larger or approximately as it is at present.

I think that what we have, though, is a healthy relationship as the trade flows reach approximate parities. Obviously, Romania has to keep very close tabs on trade.

Senator RIBICOFF. I know, but if we are taking much more by way of imports from Romania, should not Romania be buying more of our goods? What are we doing to increase our exports?

Mr. STROH. Our exports have been continuing to grow. As a matter of fact, looking at the last 3-year export volumes for the United States, in 1975, we were at \$189 million. In 1976, we were up to \$249 and in 1977 we were at \$259 million. In the first 5 months of this year, we are already at \$124 million.

What I am saying, in essence, is there is a gradual growth on both sides. Romanians have exercised an awful lot of effort to try and maintain a relative parity of trade flows in the interest of continuing the two-way trade relationship. It is the kind of a relationship that is a beneficial investment for all parties.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. Thank you very much. I have tried to read the statement of Secretary Vest, and I have also read Senator Jackson's statement, and I agree with both statements, by and large. I do not want to get into specific cases.

Would it be fair to ask about Constantine Rauta who has been trying to bring his wife and son to the United States for 4 years? What has happened? Does anyone have any information on that specific case?

Mr. VEST. Yes, Senator. The Rauta case is one that we have had various discussions with at various levels with Romanian officials. At the moment, there is a profound difference between us.

They view the fact that because, from their point of view, Rauta committed treason when he left Romania, that they have not been prepared to—their view is—to reward treason.

We have had conversations and said to them our point of view is that it is not a question of rewarding treason, but it is a question of penalizing innocent parties, the wife, primarily, of Mr. Rauta. This is a case which, as of yet, we have been unable to resolve, but it has been one which has been very much on our minds and in our conversations.

Senator DOLE. Again, I do not have all the facts, but it seems to me that they are punishing the wife and the son as well as the father, and certainly the wife and the son are not charged with anything and, as far as I know, are not guilty of anything except wanting to be reunited with their husband and father.

Do you see any movement at all in that case?

Mr. VEST. At the moment, I cannot predict any movement at all, but it is one that is before us, it is one we have had serious conversations about, and I share your point of view, sir.

When you have a difference of a point of view like this, the key thing is to continue to work on it. As the chairman knows, we had a case at an earlier time which, over a long period of time, we have just recently gotten—the *Rosinger* case—settled.

You cannot know what the internal workings of another government are, but we know that they have it under review along with any other cases that we have pressed, and continue to press.

Senator DOLE. As I read your statement, by which I understand that the Jewish emigration rate is about the same this year as it was a year ago.

Mr. VEST. That is correct, sir.

Senator DOLE. 1,500?

Mr. VEST. That is correct.

As I mentioned earlier, there have been conversations between Prime Minister Begin and President Ceausescu. They have their own relationships. We have certainly, in our conversations, encouraged a greater Jewish emigration to Israel.

Senator DOLE. I think I have raised the question at earlier hearings about the rigorous and burdensome application procedure which now includes a preapplication procedure, which probably hides the true number who are seeking visas.

Some reports indicate that once a person tries to secure the right to leave, he is subjected to harassment and persecution for applying for a visa. Is that an accurate statement?

Mr. VEST. Well, if I may put it in my own terms, sir, we consider this procedure that they have to be a long, time-consuming, and

harassing procedure. It does involve a great deal of difficulty for citizens. It establishes another bureaucratic channel that they have to surmount.

We have had long discussions with them on all issues involving their procedures. We do see, on the basis of the number of people who are emigrating, say, in the last period, an improvement in the consequence. In other words, we do believe that the Romanians are finding it easier to obtain the forms, get access to the bureaucracy, and go on through the whole internal procedure.

The best evidence we have is in the total which I have appended to the record, which shows how the increase in emigration has gone over more recent years.

It is difficult to compare, but that is a consequence of this.

Senator DOLE. If you leave Romania, what are you entitled to take with you? Can you take any savings you might have accumulated? Is there a limit on what property you can take when you leave the country?

Mr. VEST. That is right, sir. In their particular society and structure, emigrants leaving Romania can take only clothing and personal effects. They cannot take currency. They cannot take valuables—they cannot take jewelry except a wedding ring.

Art objects are subject to review by the Commission of National Patrimony. It is very tight control over this whole matter of taking with you effects.

If you want to take anything, it has to be very carefully reviewed. If they have real estate, that, too, is very carefully controlled. He is limited in the amount he may take with him in terms of money. It adds up to 40,000 lei which is about \$3,333 for urban property and about half that amount if it is rural property, and this is all he can get.

Senator DOLE. Does that not amount to a significant impediment to anyone who seeks to emigrate? I mean, if you have to leave the country penniless—

Mr. VEST. It is a disagreeable and discouraging procedure, but it has not been seen as a bar to emigration as far as we have observed.

Senator DOLE. What happens to property you leave behind?

Mr. VEST. It remains, I believe, a part of the state. It becomes the property of the state under their particular law. We have to start from the premise that this is a different kind of state from ours entirely, in which the possession of private property is severely limited in the first place.

Senator RIBICOFF. Just to followup, can the person who leaves the country give this property to a relative, a child, or a parent?

Mr. VEST. No; he cannot.

Senator RIBICOFF. He cannot transfer it to even a blood relation?

Mr. VEST. No; and after he has applied to emigrate, he cannot sell the property privately, or give it away. There are very strict limitations on property in this country.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Packwood?

Senator PACKWOOD. No questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Mr. Vest. I think that you might remain. There may be some other witnesses that you would have to respond to, and I would appreciate it if you could remain, sir.

Senator DOLE. Can I ask one other question? If you want to leave Romania, how much does it cost you?

Mr. VEST. The fees that are involved? The official fees are the equivalent of \$2 to submit this preapplication form to obtain a passport, after which it is \$25 for an exit visa and \$2 to renew that visa, if it expires.

Now, some applicants have said that, frankly, they are charged a higher fee—for example, \$30 rather than that \$25. This may have something to do with how local officials interpret their situation. I just cannot speak to that.

But the official fees are the \$2, \$25, and \$2 that I mentioned.

Now, that is not particularly out of line with official fees in a great many countries.

Senator DOLE. Those would not be excessive, would they? The isolated case in which they are much larger than that would again depend—

Mr. VEST. I am not sure what local officials may be doing in some cases, but we have no evidence of any widespread variance from those fees.

[The prepared statements of the preceding panel follow:]

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE S. VEST, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Chairman: I am pleased to have this opportunity to testify on behalf of further extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act, and specifically his authority to continue the waivers permitting most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania and Hungary.

Before I describe in detail the reasons we believe that continuation of the President's waiver authority for Romania and Hungary is warranted, I would like to outline for you the policy considerations on which our relations with both these countries are based.

It is our general policy to seek improved relations between the United States and the nations of Eastern Europe that in turn reciprocate our desire for improved relations. We believe that better relations, based on the principle of mutual benefit, will strengthen the positive and constructive ties between East and West and promote the goals of the Helsinki Final Act. We believe that continuation of the President's authority to waive the limitations imposed by Section 402 in appropriate cases can be an important instrument to promote these ends.

Our efforts and those of previous Administrations to improve relations with Eastern Europe in no way indicate a lessening of our concern about the lack of democratic institutions and other basic elements of a free society in that part of the world. We continue to have profound disagreements with the governments of Eastern Europe over many questions of political freedom and basic human and social values. I would like to stress that the very expansion of relations with these countries has enabled us to talk more candidly with their governments about those differences. We believe that such a dialogue is an effective way to foster respect for the values that this country cherishes, including those incorporated in the Helsinki Final Act.

We have achieved significant progress in our relations with both Romania and Hungary throughout this decade, to the advantage of our nations and peoples. Our relations with each country have taken different paths, reflecting in some measure the different policies pursued by those two governments. But for

both, the establishment of non-discriminatory trade relations, which was accomplished in 1975 with Romania and just last week with Hungary, provides a sound basis for further progress. If that basis were removed, our relations with both could be expected to deteriorate significantly.

I believe you are already familiar with the reasons for the President's decision on April 7 to waive the prohibitions under Section 402 of the Trade Act with respect to Hungary. I explained then in my testimony before this Subcommittee on May 9. The House of Representatives approved the US-Hungarian agreement on May 22; the Senate did so on June 27. The agreement entered into force on July 7.

We have received numerous expressions of interest from American firms who see improved prospects for doing business in Hungary. Our useful dialogue with Hungarian officials on matters of emigration and family reunification continues. Since my testimony in May two family cases have been resolved. At present there are five pending problem cases; resolution of two is expected shortly. We are satisfied that the Hungarian Government has continued to deal with emigration in a positive and humanitarian manner. For these reasons, we believe that the President's waiver authority for Hungary should be extended for another twelve months.

Turning now to Romania, our desire to maintain the good relations that have already been established rests in large part on Romania's relative foreign-policy independence. Let me review for you briefly some key examples of Romanian independence.

Since 1958, there have been no Soviet troops in Romania, and Romania participates only to a very limited extent in Warsaw Pact military exercises.

Romania did not participate in, and strongly condemned, the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Romania maintained diplomatic relations with Israel after the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict and has a constructive working relationship with the Israelis.

Romania did not participate in the Arab-initiated oil embargo and in fact increased shipments of fuel oil and gasoline to the United States during that difficult period.

Romanian President Ceausescu played an important role in helping to set the stage for Egyptian President Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem.

Since the end of World War II, over 300,000 Romanian Jews have been permitted to emigrate to Israel, and in addition Romania for a time facilitated the transit of Soviet Jews to Israel.

Romania also maintains good relations with the Arab countries, as well as with such countries as the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Albania—contacts that sometimes can be useful to the United States.

Economically, Romania has broader ties with the non-communist world than other Warsaw Pact states. Since 1974, more than half its trade has been with non-communist partners.

The Romanians are among the strongest champions of the right of all communist parties to chart their own course in a pragmatic way rather than following the lead of Moscow. This frequently puts them at odds with Moscow on ideological issues, such as "Euro-communism".

At the Helsinki Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe and at the Belgrade follow-up meeting, the Romanian delegation pursued its own path. The Romanians avoided polemics against the West on human rights issues and played an active and generally positive role that helped in some degree to bridge East-West differences and to advance the final consensus that emerged.

In the context of these hearings, it is worthwhile remembering that Romania was the first country to enter into a trade agreement with the United States under the terms of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. Romania took this step at a time when Soviet opposition to this amendment was abundantly clear. Without that Romanian initiative, it is highly doubtful whether even by now any other country would have taken such a step.

Since the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement went into effect in August 1975, our trade with Romania has continued to grow. In 1977, two-way trade reached \$493 million, with a balance of \$26 million in favor of the United States. This year's trade figures show a continued increase in trade. U.S. exports to Romania totalled \$124 million for the first five months. U.S. imports from Romania reached \$114 million, giving us a trade surplus of \$10 million.

Agricultural commodities such as soybeans and soybean products, wheat and corn make up the largest share of U.S. exports to Romania. Since 1975, U.S. exports of manufactured goods such as steel plate and machine tools have been growing rapidly. The Presidential waiver for Romania has made it possible for the U.S. to use Commodity Credit Corporation financing for exports of agricultural products and Eximbank financing for capital equipment sales.

Since this Committee last reviewed the question of extending most-favored-nation status to Romania, the most significant development in our relations has been the visit to the United States of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. President Ceausescu's visit in April provided an excellent opportunity to review all aspects of our bilateral relations with Romania, to discuss issues of global importance, and to cement the already good tie between our countries, thereby laying the basis for further progress. For example, we made very clear to the Romanian authorities that this Administration and this Congress remain deeply committed to the support of human rights, both in the United States and abroad. As in the past, we found that our relations with Romania are sufficiently mature to enable us to discuss usefully even issues on which we do not share the same perspective. We also continue to find a willingness on the Romanian side to resolve in a humanitarian way issues about which we have expressed our concern. Our experience with Romania shows that a solid bilateral relationship, of which MFN forms a part, is the best framework for such discussions.

As this Committee is aware, there is concern on the part of the Administration, Members of Congress, and the American-Hungarian community with the Romanian Government's treatment of its ethnic Hungarian minority. We believe that this is primarily an internal matter to be resolved by the citizens and Government of Romania. At the same time, we shall continue to lend whatever positive encouragement we can.

In March of this year, President Ceausescu publicly acknowledged certain shortcomings of Romania's past minority policy and called for specific improvements, including increased work opportunities in places of origin, improved education in minority languages, and improved health care and medical education for members of minority groups. We hope that these Romanian actions will improve the situation of the minorities in Romania, but it should be remembered that this is a centuries-old problem to which no quick or easy solution is either possible or likely. We note also that the Romanian and Hungarian Governments have discussed this question, and we hope this dialogue proves productive.

During President Ceausescu's April visit, the question of emigration and reunification of divided families was discussed in detail. In the Joint Declaration issued on April 13, President Carter and President Ceausescu pledged "to cooperate in the settlement of humanitarian issues, including family reunification, in the spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill." We believe that this pledge gives us a strengthened basis for expecting continued progress in resolving emigration and marriage cases in which we have expressed an interest.

Romania's emigration performance, although certainly leaving room for further improvement, has shown the kind of progress since the waiver was continued last year that is required by the Trade Act. It is on this continuing progress that the President's recommendation is based. There are still many pending cases, including some long-standing and difficult ones, but we believe the long-term trend satisfies the requirements of Title IV of the Act.

We have provided for you and your Subcommittee statistics which enable us to assess Romania's emigration performance. The first two tables show emigration to the United States. The figures represent the number of persons to whom our Embassy has issued immigrant visas or for whom documentation has been completed for final processing by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service office in Rome.

If you look at emigration to the US since the previous hearing before this Subcommittee at the end of June 1977, you will find that 1,228 persons received visas for permanent resettlement in the US since that time through June of this year. This represents a significant increase over the total for the previous twelve-month period, which was 1,047. It is worth noting that the major reason for this increase was the relatively steady rate of emigration; that is, there was no sharp drop-off this past winter as there was the previous winter. I might

add that the current level of emigration to the US is of course much higher than during the years before Romania received most-favored-nation tariff status.

In addition, I should point out that our Embassy's statistics actually under-represent the number of Romanians who have been granted permission by their government to emigrate to the United States. There are two reasons for this. First, many Romanians who actually wish to emigrate to another country apply for permission to emigrate to the US because they believe this increases their chances of approval. If they emigrate elsewhere, they are not included in our statistics. Second, a good number of Romanians apply for entry into the United States in third countries as refugees, and are not included in our Embassy's statistics. Several hundred Romanians are in these two categories.

There has been considerable progress in resolving cases included in the Representation List that our Embassy presented to the Romanian Foreign Ministry on March 28. That list contained the names of 942 persons seeking permission to emigrate to the US or to marry an American. By the end of June, 315 persons—one-third of the total—had received approvals from the Romanian Government. We are particularly gratified by the large number of marriage approvals: 46 out of 60, or 77 percent. In addition, considerable progress has been made in resolving the most long-standing cases and in making it possible for persons who wish to apply for emigration to obtain the appropriate forms. Denial of forms has been one way in which some Romanians have been prevented from emigrating.

We are of course pressing for further progress, and a new Representation List was presented to the Foreign Ministry on July 5. This new list contains the names of 817 persons, many of whom—222 to be exact—appear for the first time.

We have also continued to make it clear to Romanian authorities that we are interested in emigration from Romania to Israel. The number of persons arriving in Israel from Romania during the first six months of 1978 (January 1–June 30) was 568. This is almost exactly the same as the total for the comparable period last year (567). There is reason to believe that the increase in emigration to Israel in May and June reflects the discussion of this subject between Presidents Carter and Ceausescu. The present rate of emigration to Israel, however, remains considerably below that of previous years.

The problem of assessing Romanian emigration performance with regard to Israel is complicated by the difficulty of verifying the number of Romanian Jews who have applied to emigrate or who wish to depart. Romanian authorities consistently maintain that, with a handful of exceptions, all Romanian Jews who wish to emigrate will be permitted to do so. At the same time, they clearly do not wish to encourage emigration, by Romanian Jews or any other person. Because the procedures for emigration to Israel at least for now rule out the preparation of lists of Romanian Jews who wish to emigrate, it is not possible to say with any certainty how many Romanian Jews wish to emigrate or how many are or feel prevented from doing so. Ultimately, we recognize that an acceptable level of emigration from Romania to Israel is the principal concern of the two countries involved. Only the Israeli authorities can determine which Romanians who have applied to emigrate to Israel are qualified to do so. At the same time, we intend to keep this matter constantly before the Romanian Government as a matter in which both the Administration and the Congress are highly interested.

I would like to add that emigration from Romania to the Federal Republic of Germany continues at a very high rate. Last year, over 10,000 persons emigrated to West Germany. According to Romanian figures, which in the past have actually been lower than those provided by the West German Government, the five-month total for 1978 shows 4,153 persons approved for emigration to West Germany, of whom 3,321 have already left Romania.

In addition to recommending to the Congress the continuation of his general waiver authority and the individual waivers for Romania and Hungary, the President informed the Congress on June 2 of his decision to extend the US-Romanian Trade Agreement for another three years. The trade agreement is a vital part of our improved relations with Romania. It creates a solid framework for trade growth while providing adequate protection for import-sensitive US industries. Its political significance as a symbol of lasting, non-discriminatory relations is considerable, and it helps lessen Romanian economic dependence on the Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, to further US interests in Eastern Europe, the Administration strongly recommends extension of the President's authority to waive Section 402 of the Trade Act and to continue in effect the waivers for Romania and Hungary.

Romanian immigration to the United States—monthly totals
 [Immigrant Visas Issued¹ by Embassy Bucharest]

1976:	
January	74
February	87
March	130
April	97
May	77
June	111
July	96
August	104
September	74
October	40
November	66
December	65
Total	1, 021

1977:	
January	69
February	59
March	138
April	101
May	129
June	106
July	111
August	151
September	106
October	101
November	94
December	75
Total	1, 240

1978:	
January	78
February	100
March	67
April	99
May	124
June	122
July	
August	
September	
October	
November	
December	

Romanian emigration to the United States—annual totals

<i>Calendar year</i>	
1965	—
1966	—
1967	—
1968	68
1969	142
1970	373
1971	362
1972	348
1973	469
1974	407
1975	890
1976	1, 021
1977	1, 240

¹ Includes third country processing, but excludes dual nationals.

Romanian Jewish immigration to Israel—monthly totals

	<i>Number of Immigrants</i>
1976:	
January -----	328
February -----	232
March -----	99
April -----	51
May -----	143
June -----	211
July -----	237
August -----	238
September -----	117
October -----	118
November -----	79
December -----	136
Total -----	<u>1,989</u>
1977:	
January -----	46
February -----	62
March -----	113
April -----	132
May -----	105
June -----	109
July -----	70
August -----	113
September -----	181
October -----	197
November -----	118
December -----	88
Total -----	<u>1,334</u>
1978:	
January -----	63
February -----	73
March -----	96
April -----	77
May -----	148
June -----	111
July -----	
August -----	
September -----	
October -----	
November -----	
December -----	

Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel—approximate annual totals

1971 -----	1,900
1972 -----	3,000
1973 -----	4,000
1974 -----	3,700
1975 -----	2,000
1976 -----	2,000
1977 -----	1,330

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD H. STROH, ACTING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR EAST-WEST TRADE BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE JULY 12, 1978

Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege to appear before this subcommittee today to speak in support of the Administration's request to extend the waiver authority for Romania and Hungary under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 and its decision to renew the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement for a second three-year

term. Extension of the former will result in the continuation of most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania for 12 months. Renewal of the latter is required since Sec. 405 of the Trade Act limits trade agreements with non-market economy countries to three-year terms. By extending the waiver and renewing the Trade Agreement we will continue to support the development of trade between our two countries and promote the continued improvement of U.S.-Romanian economic and political relations. Furthermore, through these actions we will help sustain Romania in its efforts to develop relationships with the West and to maintain an independent foreign policy.

With respect to the Trade Agreement renewal, we feel the subcommittee will want to know how the Trade Agreement has operated during its first three years and what benefits U.S. business has received from it. We are prepared to explain the President's determination that a satisfactory balance of concessions in trade and services has been maintained during the life of the Trade Agreement as required by Sec. 405(b) (1) of the Trade Act.

With respect to extending the waiver necessary to continue MFN, we know that the subcommittee is interested in the current status of our trade relations, as well as the effect which the granting of MFN tariff treatment has had on our two-way trade. We shall present the Department's views on these issues.

At this point, I wish to state for the record that the Department of Commerce fully endorses the views on emigration expressed here today by my colleague from the Department of State.

THE U.S.-ROMANIAN TRADE AGREEMENT AND ITS BENEFITS

The Trade Agreement has given an important impetus to U.S.-Romanian economic relations during the past three years by providing for the mutual extension of MFN tariff treatment and by creating a positive atmosphere for the development of commerce between our firms and economic organizations. The Agreement has led to a steady expansion of trade (see Table 1) even while Romanian trade with several other Western countries leveled off or declined. The expansion of our trade is explained more fully below in the section on "U.S.-Romanian Trade Trends."

Most importantly, the Trade Agreement's business facilitation provisions have benefitted U.S. business and provided an incentive for U.S. firms to do business in Romania. In the area of business facilitation, the Agreement:

(1) Permits the establishment and operation of business representations in each other's territory and encourages the development of appropriate services and facilities supporting the commercial activity of those representations.

During the past three years the number of U.S. firms with representational offices in Romania has grown and now numbers 19. Some have their own offices, others act through their European subsidiaries, and still others through another U.S. firm acting as their agent. For the most part these firms have secured office space centrally located to their needs and obtained the services necessary to efficiently operate their offices, including the employment of local Romanian personnel.

(2) Allows foreign employees of firms doing business in each other's territory to reside therein and obtain appropriate housing.

A number of U.S. firms are currently doing business or carrying out specific projects in Romania with resident U.S. or other non-Romanian employees. Satisfactory housing and services have been provided to these employees in recent years. Where problems have developed in this regard, we have been successful in working with Romanian authorities to solve them.

(3) Permits foreign firms to deal directly with buyers and end-users of their products for purposes of sales promotion and servicing and provides for assistance in gaining access to appropriate governmental officials in each country.

During the past three years access for U.S. firms to Romanian end-users and research and design institutes, as well as to foreign trade organizations and industrial centrals, has improved. This includes U.S. firms already operating in Romania and those new-to-market. Also, high-level Romanian officials have shown a willingness to meet often with representatives of U.S. firms and frequently have helped resolve trade problems of concern to U.S. business.

(4) Provides for access by firms and economic organizations of both parties to information concerning markets and services of each other's economy.

The Romanian Government, through the Romanian Chamber of Commerce, has provided in recent years in English an increased amount of information and

data on its economy and foreign trade system. A compilation of Romania's foreign trade laws; a foreign businessman's guide to doing business in Romania; lists, addresses and phone numbers of foreign trade organizations and industrial centrals; and statistics on the Romanian economy—these are all examples of information published by Romania within the last three years. There continues to be a need for more information and data but marked improvement has been made.

The safeguard provisions in the Trade Agreement are intended to provide the greatest possible flexibility in dealing with problems caused by disruptive imports. Such flexibility includes the right to call for consultations with the Government of Romania and its economic organizations and to restrain imports from Romania unilaterally. I am pleased to report that it has not been necessary to use these special provisions, and that U.S. safeguards applicable to all imports have been quite adequate.

Over the past three years a number of issues have arisen involving imports from Romania. An anti-dumping action was instituted in 1975 regarding the importation of welt work shoes from Romania. The International Trade Commission (ITC) determined that U.S. industry was not being injured nor likely to be injured by these imports since Romania agreed to limit its exports of welt work shoes to the U.S. Romania has adhered to this commitment.

In January 1977, the Treasury Department determined that Romanian clear sheet glass was being sold in the U.S. at less than fair value. Hearings were held by the ITC and it was subsequently determined that there had not been, nor was there likely to be, injury to domestic manufacturers of clear sheet glass by imports from Romania. A factor in this determination was the assurance (through informal discussions) that Romania would limit its glass exports to the U.S. to a level not exceeding two-thirds of the quantity of 1976 shipments.

In 1976-77 the U.S. became concerned about the increasing number of Romanian wool and man-made fiber suit exports to the United States. Acting under the GATT multifiber arrangement the U.S. consulted with Romanian authorities and in early 1977 a four-year, bilateral agreement restraining Romanian exports to the United States of wool and man-made fiber textiles and apparel was signed with an effective date of January 1, 1977. Romanian cotton textiles and apparel exports to the U.S. remain subject to the levels of the pre-existing cotton textile and apparel agreement which was renewed in January 1978 for a 5-year period.

Under Section 405(b) (1) of the Trade Act the President has determined that a satisfactory balance of concessions in trade and services has been maintained during the initial three-year life of the Trade Agreement. This means that benefits resulting from policy concessions by the U.S. or Romania under the Trade Agreement have been reasonably comparable in extent although they need not have been similar in character.

Both sides have adhered to the provisions of the Trade Agreement. Romania and the U.S. have given reciprocal MFN to each others products with the result that trade has grown impressively. Also, Romania has provided benefits to U.S. firms through those provisions of the Agreement dealing with business facilitation. It has not been necessary to exercise the safeguard provisions of the Trade Agreement because Romania and the U.S. have been able to preempt market disruption issues through informal discussion and bilateral agreement.

The President also determined that actual or foreseeable reductions in U.S. tariffs and nontariff barriers to trade resulting from multilateral negotiations are satisfactorily reciprocated by Romania. The U.S. is now negotiating reductions of tariff and non-tariff barriers with its principal trading partners in the multilateral trade negotiations (MTN), and final concessions which we might make to (and receive from) secondary trading partners such as Romania are not known at this time. Nevertheless, the Romanian Government has affirmed its obligation to reciprocate U.S. concessions in the MTN.

UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE TRENDS

Two-way trade with Romania reached a record high of \$492.7 million in 1977 continuing the steady and impressive growth rate that has characterized our trade since 1970 (see Table 1 and attached chart). Of last year's total trade \$259.4 million or 52.8 percent was U.S. exports. Total trade for the first five months of this year is \$238.3 million and may exceed \$600 million by the end of this year. U.S. exports for five months are at \$124.3 million, which is \$12.6 million ahead of last year's rate for the same period, and comprise 52 percent of total trade for this period. The U.S. trade surplus for this five month period is \$10.3 million.

Romania went from discriminatory tariff treatment to nondiscriminatory tariff treatment in August of 1975, and then, with respect to a limited number of commodities, to preferential tariff status under GSP commencing in January 1976. An examination of the "before" and "after" trade figures indicates that (1) both imports and exports have followed quite smooth upward growth paths throughout the 1970's, apart from above-trend deviations in both series in 1974 and a slowing of trade growth in 1977 (see attached chart) and (2) a positive U.S. trade balance was maintained at better than \$50 million from 1973-1976 (see Table 1). While the 1977 surplus figure was lower than it had been in 1976, we anticipate that the U.S. will continue to enjoy a surplus.

The deviations in our pattern of exports to Romania, upward in 1974 and downward in 1977, are attributable to a one-time sale of large aircraft and an exceptionally high level of U.S. agricultural exports in 1974 and a sharp reduction of U.S. agricultural exports in 1977. Agricultural trade with Romania, which fluctuates from year to year, appears to be up during the first five months of 1978 and, if maintained, should boost U.S. exports above the 1977 level.

The maintenance of an expansionary trend in U.S. trade with Romania during the past three years contrast with the experience of two of our leading Western competitors for Romanian trade—West Germany and Italy. While U.S. exports to Romania rose from \$189.3 million in 1975 to \$259.4 million in 1977, West German exports to Romania dropped from \$662 million to \$641 million and Italian exports dropped from \$215.3 million in 1975 to a projected \$154.6 million in 1977 based on data through October. The rise in U.S. imports from Romania from \$132.9 million in 1975 to \$233.3 million in 1977 will encourage a continued rise in Romanian orders for U.S. products.

The impact of MFN and GSP on the development of Romanian exports to the U.S. has been moderate. Of the top six Romanian exports to the U.S. in 1977, comprising 57.8 percent of all Romanian exports to the U.S., only two (footwear and men's and boys' outerwear) were affected by MFN tariff status (see Table 3). Fuel oil and gasoline, which accounted for \$72.2 million or almost one third of Romanian exports to the U.S., were not affected by the granting of MFN. Of the top 20 Romanian exports to the U.S. (at the five digit SITC level), comprising 86.8 percent of total exports, only three (furniture, machine tools, and organic chemicals) were affected by GSP tariff preferences (see Table 3).

Some of the top 20 U.S. imports from Romania, which were affected by MFN (such as footwear, textiles, steel pipe and steel bearings), are in areas of U.S. industry which are sensitive to foreign imports. We have noted above market disruption questions that arose during the past several years over textiles and certain types of footwear, and we have seen that through informal discussions and bilateral agreements with the Romanians the expansion of these Romanian exports to the U.S. was either restrained or fixed at an orderly rate. Although Romanian exports of steel pipe and steel bearings to the U.S. increased significantly in 1977, each represented less than one and a half percent of total U.S. imports of these products.

A very recent market disruption issue involves the importation into the U.S. of wood spring clothespins from several communist countries including Romania. Several U.S. clothespin manufacturing firms are asking the U.S. International Trade Commission to recommend that these imports be limited or a higher duty imposed. Romanian clothespin exports to the U.S. have grown from \$11,000 in 1973 to \$166,000 in 1977, but this latter figure represents only about 5 percent of the \$3.1 million worth of clothespins imported into the U.S. last year. Romania, thus, is a minor supplier.

While some Romanian exports to the U.S. expanded after the granting of MFN, a number of U.S. exports to Romania also have increased significantly since 1975. These include agricultural goods, raw materials and manufactured goods (see Table 2). These principal growth items are coal, soybeans, phosphate rock, woodpulp, measurement and control instruments, machine tools, computer equipment, and motor vehicle parts.

Agricultural products constitute the largest group of U.S. exports to Romania, totaling \$118 million in 1977, or nearly one-half of our total exports to Romania that year. The most important individual agricultural exports are soybeans and soybean products, grains, cattle hides, and cotton. Although U.S. exports of particular agricultural commodities may fluctuate from year to year due to varying Romanian harvests and import needs, overall agricultural sales to Romania have consistently remained at high levels. The Presidential waiver has made it possible for the U.S. to support these agricultural sales with CCC credits. A total of \$102.4 million of U.S. agricultural exports to Romania have been financed through CCC since 1975.

Nonagricultural commodities constitute another important category of U.S. exports to Romania. In 1977, the U.S. exported \$53.6 million of metallurgical coal (which the U.S. has in great abundance) and \$14.9 million of phosphate rock to Romania.

U.S. exports of machinery and other manufactured products to Romania, an important component of total U.S. exports to that country, have significantly grown since 1975. U.S. exports of steel plate grew from \$1.8 million in 1975 to \$6.1 million in 1977, machine tools from \$1.9 million in 1975 to \$4.8 million in 1977, motor vehicle parts from \$0.1 million in 1975 to \$2.8 million in 1977, and internal combustion engines from \$0.2 million in 1975 to \$1.5 million in 1977. Many of these exports benefit American workers in U.S. industries currently affected by unemployment.

We expect Romanian agricultural imports will continue to grow, partly as a result of increased Romanian meat production. Romania's nonagricultural imports, especially of machinery and manufactured goods will expand as Romania strives to modernize its economy. The Trade Agreement is essential to maintain our products' competitiveness with other Western goods on this expanding Romanian market.

STATUS OF TRADE RELATIONS

The expansion of our commercial relations in recent years can be attributed, in part, to the efforts of both governments to create a viable framework and favorable atmosphere for the development of trade and economic cooperation.

The United States has taken a number of steps designed to expand U.S. exports to Romania. Since November 1971, Romania has been eligible for trade financing programs of the Export-Import Bank of the United States (except for a short period of suspended activity from January 1975 to August 1975). As of June 8, 1977, Eximbank's total exposure in Romania was \$84.3 million of which \$75.4 million were outstanding direct loans. Eximbank's programs have supported \$161.6 million worth of U.S. exports to Romania, including \$57.4 million since the enactment of the Trade Agreement.

Similarly, the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) plays an important role in the export of U.S. agricultural commodities to Romania. Since 1970, Romania has used CCC credit programs to purchase a total of \$158 million worth of U.S. agricultural products.

If the waiver were not extended for Romania, the U.S. Government would lose its authority to provide Eximbank programs and CCC credits to Romania. This would no doubt have a negative impact on our exports.

Romania has made continuing efforts to integrate its economy into the world economic system and to make its foreign trade system responsive to Western business needs. Romania is currently a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (IBRD). Participation in these and other international economic organizations has helped to facilitate Romania's efforts to diversify its trade outside of the COMECON countries. In 1977 approximately 61 percent of Romania's trade was with non-COMECON nations.

Romania has also passed progressive legislation which allows foreign equity ownership in joint companies with Romanian partners and which permits U.S. and other Western firms to open representational offices in Romania.

Working together, our two governments have taken important measures to expand trade and improve economic relations. First, the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission has met annually to review our bilateral economic and commercial relations and discuss and resolve trade problems. Since its founding in 1973, the Commission's work has been supported by numerous experts meetings, working groups, and working level visits by trade officials of both countries. The Commission met last in Washington in November 1977 and was co-chaired by Secretary of Commerce Kreps and Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Patan.

Second, since the visit of President Nixon to Romania in 1969, our two countries have maintained a continuing dialogue on a broad range of political, economic, scientific and cultural issues. This has been especially true regarding economic and commercial matters through the frequent visits to both countries by high-level government officials and working level commercial delegations, as well as by U.S. Congressional leaders concerned with trade issues. The most recent high level visit occurred on April 12-17, 1978, when Romanian President Ceausescu came to the U.S. on a State visit. Economic issues were a major topic during President Ceausescu's talks with President Carter, other U.S. Government

officials and Members of Congress. During the visit, Presidents Carter and Ceausescu reaffirmed their commitment to continued improvement of U.S.-Romanian economic and commercial relations.

Third, in the last several years the U.S. and Romania have negotiated and signed a number of bilateral agreements which continue to broaden the foundation for the development of our trade relations. These include agricultural protocols, a maritime agreement, an income tax treaty, a fisheries agreement and an air-worthiness agreement.

In November 1976, our two governments signed the U.S.-Romanian Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation to promote cooperation activities between our firms, companies and economic organizations. The Agreement sets forth general guidelines for long-term arrangements between firms, companies and economic organizations of the two countries, protects investors against expropriation or impairment of their contractual rights by government action, and contains measures for improving business facilities and the provision of commercial information. An annex to the Agreement is designed to facilitate the establishment of U.S.-Romanian joint ventures and other forms of business cooperation. This Agreement supplements, but does not otherwise modify, the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement.

Finally, both governments strongly support the work of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council which is facilitating increased contact between U.S. firms and Romanian companies and economic organizations and which is helping to develop further our trade relations. The Council met on June 26-27 in Romania. We look forward to the Council's important and continuing efforts to expand commerce between our two countries.

CONCLUSION

The U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement has served U.S. economic interests well and should continue to do so in the future. Extension of the waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act and renewal of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement are in our national interest. They will accelerate the development of the U.S.-Romanian economic and commercial relations and support the expansion of economic cooperation between our two countries on a firm and enduring basis.

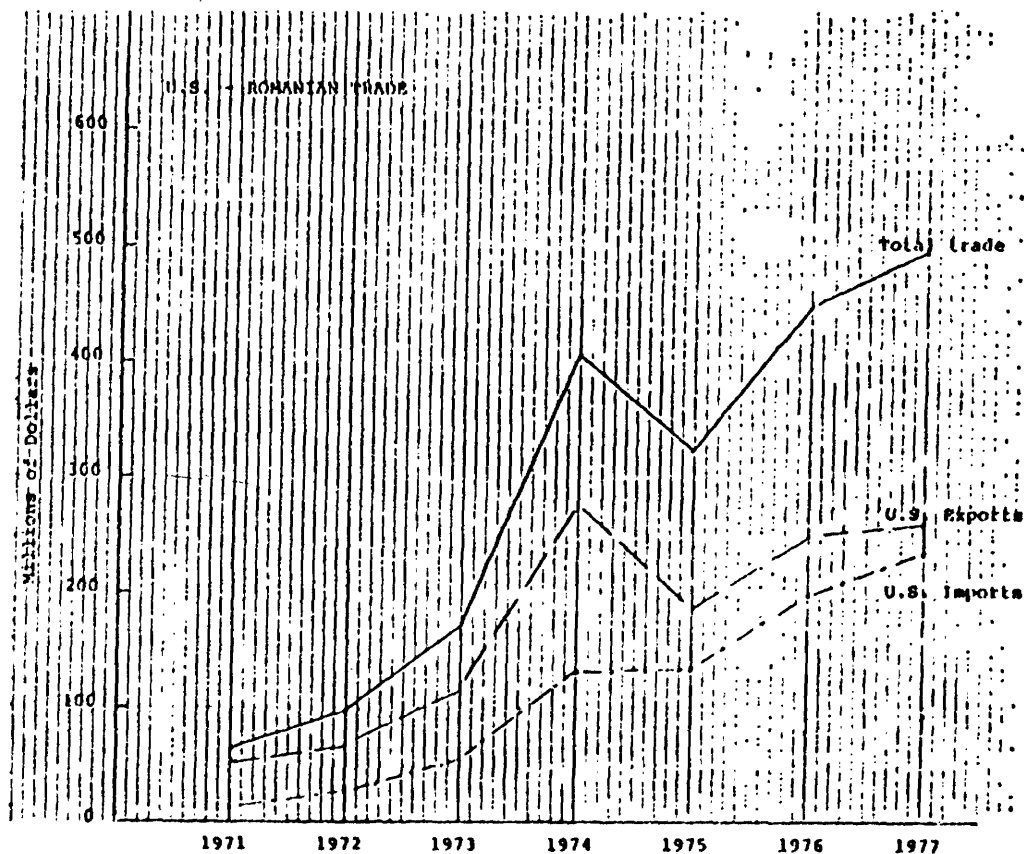


TABLE 1.—UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE, 1971-77

(In millions)

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
U. S. exports.....	\$52.4	\$69.1	\$116.5	\$277.1	\$189.3	\$249.0	\$259.4
Agricultural.....	32.0	45.7	73.8	156.5	101.1	171.6	118.3
Manufactured.....	15.3	18.5	31.7	108.5	57.6	49.2	61.0
Other.....	5.1	4.9	11.0	12.1	30.7	28.2	80.1
U.S. imports.....	13.0	29.2	55.6	130.5	133.0	198.8	233.2
2-way trade.....	65.4	98.3	172.1	407.6	322.3	447.8	492.7
U.S. surplus.....	+39.4	+39.9	+60.9	+146.6	+56.3	+51.0	+26.1

¹ Unusually high 1974 export figure is attributable to grain and aircraft sales.

² Includes \$47,800,000 of nonmilitary aircraft and parts.

³ Includes \$53,600,000 of coal.

⁴ Imports of petroleum products rose from \$15,800,000 in 1973 to \$80,200,000 in 1974. They remained at about the \$80,000,000 level from 1974-77.

JAN.-MAY 1978 United States-Romanian Trade

U.S. exports.....	<i>Million</i> \$124.8
U.S. imports.....	114.0
U.S. surplus.....	10.8

TABLE 2.—1977 TOP 20 U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA

(In millions)

1977 rank		1974	1975	1976	1977
1	Coal.....	\$5.5	\$17.5	\$10.7	\$53.6
2	Soybeans.....	0	3.5	45.3	38.6
3	Cattle hides.....	24.1	9.7	26.6	26.7
4	Wheat.....	0	11.8	48.5	16.0
5	Corn.....	63.0	58.6	7.5	15.8
6	Phosphate rock.....	.7	6.2	6.8	14.9
7	Woodpulp.....	3.0	5.8	9.4	11.2
8	Soybean oilcake.....	25.5	1.9	17.7	9.4
9	Measurement and control instruments.....	1.3	5.2	3.6	6.7
10	Cotton.....	38.8	12.2	0	6.5
11	Steel plate, tinned.....	7.1	1.8	12.8	6.1
12	Grain sorghums.....	0	3.3	18.1	5.1
13	Machine tools.....	.4	1.9	1.6	4.8
14	Computer equipment.....	1.0	3.4	2.9	4.1
15	Motor vehicle parts.....	.1	.1	.5	2.8
16	Special purpose trucks.....	.9	1.2	.7	2.5
17	Herbicides and other organic chemicals.....	2.9	2.7	.4	2.4
18	Rolling mill equipment.....	.2	0	0	1.7
19	Internal combustion engines.....	.1	.2	.2	1.5
20	Aircraft parts.....	3.3	1.6	.8	1.5
	Subtotal.....	177.9	148.6	214.1	231.9
	Total U.S. exports to Romania.....	277.1	189.3	249.0	259.4

TABLE 3.—1977 TOP 20 U.S. IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

[Dollars in millions]

1977 rank		1974	1975	1976	1977	Approximate percentage points of tariff drop ¹
1	Fuel oil	\$22.1	\$53.0	\$79.3	\$53.0	
2 MFN ²	Footwear	11.4	8.2	17.8	20.4	15
3	Gasoline	40.1	18.8	2.6	19.2	
4 MFN	Men's, boys' outerwear	1.3	1.6	13.0	17.3	33
5	Canned ham and pork	9.9	8.3	13.0	14.8	
6	Tractors	7.5	8.1	9.8	10.1	
7 MFN	Women's, girls' outerwear	1.4	1.3	4.9	9.7	48
8 CSP	Furniture	1.7	1.9	4.1	6.9	40
9 MFN	Seamless steel pipe	.9	.5	.2	6.8	12
10 MFN	Knit outerwear	.3	.1	3.9	6.5	36
11 MFN	Knit underwear	1.6	.9	3.9	6.1	40
12 MFN	Misc. glassware	1.7	1.9	4.4	5.2	40
13 MFN	Steel plate and sheet	.6	1.9	1.2	4.5	12
14 MFN	Ball bearings	0	.2	.7	4.2	40
15 MFN	Carpets	.1	.4	1.9	4.2	34
16 GSP	Machine tools	.6	1.4	3.1	3.3	30
17 GSP	Organic chemicals	1.7	1.6	4.0	3.2	40
18 MFN	Synthetic fabric	0	0	.2	2.5	52
19	Semirefined petroleum	6.0	8.2	0	2.3	
20 MFN	Men's, boys' underwear	.8	.2	1.1	2.3	40
Subtotal		109.7	118.5	169.1	202.6	
Total U.S. imports from Romania		130.5	133.0	198.8	233.3	

¹ Difference between non-MFN tariff rate and MFN or GSP tariff rate. For example, the non-MFN tariff rate for footwear is about 20 percent and the MFN rate is about 5 percent—varies slightly with type of footwear. The tariff drop is thus 15 percentage points.

² "MFN" (most favored nation) and "GSP" (generalized system of preferences) are noted for the commodity categories that have benefited at least partially from these types of tariff treatment.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN L. LANDE, ASSISTANT SPECIAL TRADE REPRESENTATIVE,
OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is a pleasure for me to testify before this Subcommittee this morning in support of the President's request to extend the emigration waiver authority for Romania and Hungary under Section 402 of the Trade Act. We share the views expressed by the Departments of State and Commerce with respect to both freedom of emigration and the trade benefits accruing from the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement.

I would like to focus briefly on a few trade issues concerning Romania.

As has been pointed out, United States trade with Romania has increased dramatically during the 1970's. Total two-way trade has risen from \$65.4 million in 1971 to \$492.7 million in 1977. The development of our bilateral trade has paralleled the development of closer political ties and, in addition to the tangible commercial benefits derived, has helped cement improved political relations. As Romania has expanded its economic dealings with the United States (and other Western countries), she has adopted an increasing degree of interdependence and created a stake in maintaining improved relations with the U.S. The greater Romania's integration into the international trading system, the greater her interests in improving U.S.-Romanian relations across the board. A fundamental premise in approaching trade with Romania therefore is that, quite apart from commercial opportunities involved, there are important political benefits from encouraging fuller participation in—and reliance upon—the international trading system. It is a powerful argument for encouraging expanded U.S.-Romanian trade.

Having painted this backdrop of U.S.-Romanian trade relations, I would like to address an issue of special interest to STR—Romanian participation in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN).

The Romanians are participating actively in the MTN, reflecting their desire for increased trade opportunities and their acceptance of an increased role in the international economic system.

As you know we are negotiating in the MTN for trade liberalization in two major areas: tariffs and nontariff barriers. However, the United States cannot negotiate tariff cuts with Romania in the GATT bodies established for that

purpose in the MTN, because to do so might legally impair our invocation of Article 35 of the GATT against Romania. We must continue our invocation of Article 35, because Title IV of the Trade Act does not authorize us to enter into full GATT relations with Romania. The Romanians have therefore submitted their tariff requests to us bilaterally.

In the MTN, Romania has not yet made concessions to us, but she has acknowledged her Trade Agreement obligation to reciprocate U.S. concessions, and has given us an initial reaction to our nontariff measure requests. Likewise, the United States has not yet made any concessions to Romania and the extent of U.S. tariff concessions which might benefit Romania will not be certain until negotiations with our principal suppliers are complete.

The Romanians have made several requests with respect to nontariff measures of the United States in the MTN. In addition they have requested both agricultural and industrial tariff reductions of the United States. While some of their tariff requests could be met by the general U.S. formula offer tabled in January of this year, the U.S. again must first negotiate its offers with its major suppliers. U.S. tariff concessions will benefit Romania only to the extent that our negotiations with all of our major suppliers are successful.

On the other side of the tariff coin, the United States is unwilling at this time to recognize Romanian tariff cuts as concessions. Tariff reductions are not a satisfactory form for MTN concessions from Romania because the Romanian tariff does not now effectively influence the competitiveness of imports in the Romanian market. The Romanian Government controls imports through planning decisions and, in the case of imports from the West, by Central allocation of hard currency. Romanian officials have indicated that they would be willing to make their tariff an effective indirect regulator of imports, and in that event it would be in our interest for Romania to lower its tariffs. However, acceptance of the Romanian tariff at this stage by the U.S. or other GATT trading partners would lessen the external incentive for the Romanian government to make the tariff more effective in the future. Romania acceded to the GATT on the basis of a global import commitment, not on its tariff schedule, which was introduced later.

Because the United States does not recognize Romanian tariff cuts as concessions, we have made a number of requests of Romania for the elimination of certain nontariff measures. Specifically, we have requested liberalization of a number of Romanian legal obstacles to the conduct of foreign business. While some of these requests touch on sensitive Romanian issues—relations between foreigners and citizens, and freer information—we believe that they are reasonable. While not promising major or sudden increases in exports, such measures can substantially improve opportunities for longer-run market opportunities for U.S. companies, and will also contribute to our goal of modifying Romanian practices to make them more compatible with Western standards.

Romania has expressed interest in the nontariff codes in the MTN on standards and customs valuation. The United States would find it useful for Romania to adhere to the proposed standards code, since meeting such obligations could be helpful to U.S. exports and would not be greatly affected by Romania's economic system. Adherence to the customs valuation code could also be helpful should Romania later increase the effectiveness of its tariff.

Affecting our negotiations in the MTN—and indeed our bilateral trade relations—is Romania's status as a developing country. Title V of the Trade Act (Section 502 B(1)) was amended in the Senate to reflect the express intention of authorizing the designation of Romania as a beneficiary developing country for purposes of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Last year \$25.2 million worth of Romanian exports entered the United States duty free. In 1977 Romania ranked 20th in GSP usage among all beneficiary developing countries.

Romania has been viewed as a developing country for purposes of the Tokyo Declaration which formally initiated the MTN. However, this does not excuse the Romanians from the requirement for concessions. Analysis of what constitutes "satisfactory concessions" will include appreciation of Romania's status as a developing country.

Although a primary objective in encouraging active Romanian participation in the MTN is to draw the Romanians more fully into the international trading system, there is and will remain a fundamental difference between trade with nonmarket and market economy countries. Romania, like other centrally planned economy countries, maintains administrative control over trade flows. Accordingly, the ultimate test of any trade agreement with Romania is the actual trade performance under it. In this connection, the Administration regularly monitors:

the level, balance and product mix of U.S.-Romanian trade. We hold periodical consultations with Romania in which trade is reviewed with a view to maintaining a mutually satisfactory commercial relationship.

In conclusion, I should emphasize that our extension to Romania of most-favored-nation treatment was the result of a carefully-thought-out policy. The premises on which this policy was based—that Romanian integration into the world trading system creates an interest in improving relations with the West and that expanded trade will bring tangible benefits to U.S. commercial interests—remain valid. The prospects for both fuller participation by Romania in the trading system and for the satisfactory development of trade opportunities are good.

Failure to continue the extension of MFN would deliver a major setback to these policy objectives. For these reasons, the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations urges the continued extension of the waiver authority of Section 402 (c) (1) of the Trade Act of 1974.

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Berry?

Mr. SANDSTROM. I regret to say Mr. Berry was unavoidably precluded from being here today. My name is Mark Sandstrom. I am general counsel of the East-West Trade Council.

STATEMENT OF MARK SANDSTROM, GENERAL COUNSEL, EAST-WEST TRADE COUNCIL

Mr. SANDSTROM. The East-West Trade Council is a nonprofit organization established in June of 1972 whose membership is composed solely of U.S. businesses, agricultural organizations, financial institutions, associations, academicians, and individuals interested in promoting East-West trade.

The council is financed solely through its U.S. membership and through various activities undertaken by the council to promote the expansion of East-West trade.

The subcommittee has before it today a number of issues for consideration. These issues are the continuation of the waivers under section 402 of the Trade Act to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic; the extension of the waiver authority generally under the Trade Act of 1974; and the renewal of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement negotiated pursuant to title IV of the Trade Act.

The East-West Trade Council supports the continuation of the waivers, the extension of the waiver authority generally and the renewal of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement for reasons which I would like now to submit to the subcommittee.

With respect to Romania, the extension of the waiver has permitted the positive increase in trade between the United States and Romania during the initial 3-year period of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement. There is, therefore, no reason why it should not be continued for another 3-year period.

During the 3 years from 1975 through 1977, which correlate with most of the period during which the trade agreement was in effect, United States-Romanian trade has shown a continuing increase. U.S. exports to Romania, as well as U.S. imports from that country, have increased each year during this period.

In addition, the U.S. balance-of-trade figures have remained in surplus for that entire period.

During 1977, total trade turnover between the two countries equaled almost \$500 million, an increase of almost \$200 million over the first

year in which the trade agreement went into force in 1975. Such trade has brought benefits to the U.S. economy while increasing the economic interrelationship between the two countries, which are the very purposes for which the agreement was originally signed.

President Ceausescu of Romania visited the United States between April 12 through 17 of this year and met with President Carter, congressional leaders, and the business community and various sectors of our country. Of particular significance, President Ceausescu and President Carter on April 13 signed a joint declaration, which was released by the White House. Of particular importance to the bilateral economic relations between the two countries, the joint declaration contains several important matters, including agreements to promote and facilitate the expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, as well as a pledge to cooperate in the settlement of humanitarian issues, including family reunification and the spirit of mutual understanding and good will.

The President has also asked that the Congress renew his general authority to waive the emigration requirements under section 402 of the Trade Act for another year's period. The purpose of this extension would permit the United States to negotiate trade agreements in meeting the requirements of title IV of the Trade Act with other nonmarket economy countries not currently receiving the benefits of MFN tariff treatment.

Since the existence of this authority has permitted the successful expansion of trade with Romania and is about to open the door to greater trade with Hungary, there seems to be little reason for not permitting the availability of the authority in the future for possible negotiation of trade agreements with other nonmarket economy countries.

Certainly the requirements set out in title IV of the Trade Act as well as the opportunity for periodic and congressional review would insure that any future agreements negotiated pursuant to the authority would serve the best interests of the United States.

Finally, the subcommittee must now consider renewal of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement originally negotiated pursuant to title IV of the Trade Act of 1974. As indicated by my testimony today, the council believes that the initial 3-year period of the existence of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement has been highly successful. Trade has increased between the two countries to the benefit of U.S. producers as well as to the U.S. economy as a whole. In addition, the emigration policy of Romania, as well as other requirements of section 402 of the Trade Act, have been satisfied.

Other provisions required to be in commercial agreements under section 405(b) of the Trade Act of 1974 have not only promoted overall trade between the two countries, but have been of great assistance to U.S. businesses and individuals undertaking trade with Romania.

I am speaking specifically about provisions in the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement dealing with the protection of industrial property, copyright interests, the settlement of commercial disputes, et cetera.

The first 3 years under the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement have been remarkably successful, and argue strongly for the continuation of the agreement. I appreciate the opportunity to appear

before you today, and would be happy to answer any questions which you may wish to address.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I have no questions. I think you address only the trade aspects and not some of the others we are concerned about. Maybe it is not a function of this committee, but there is a general concern about basic human rights and probably that is not your problem.

Mr. SANDSTROM. Well, we are cognizant of these, and we feel that, from the standpoint of the promotion of basic human rights, the agreement has also been successful.

Senator DOLE. You are more interested in the economic activity?

Mr. SANDSTROM. Well, the scope of our organization, of course, is economically oriented; that is correct.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Packwood?

Senator PACKWOOD. I have no questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of the East-West Trade Council follows:]

STATEMENT OF THE EAST-WEST TRADE COUNCIL

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY

The East-West Trade Council supports Congressional approval of:

I. Continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic under Title IV of the Trade Act. Waivers will facilitate trade with these countries and are in the best interests of the United States.

II. The extension of the waiver authority generally under the 1974 Trade Act. Continuation of the waiver authority will permit the United States to negotiate trade agreements with other nonmarket economy countries pursuant to the requirements of Title IV of the Trade Act, and should promote this trade with these countries.

III. Renewal of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement providing MFN tariff treatment for the products of that country. The U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement has worked to the advantage of the United States in terms of overall trade turnover while providing the United States with a positive trade surplus. The Agreement therefore is properly contemplated under Title IV of the Trade Act and should be renewed.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before you on behalf of the East-West Trade Council. My name is Max N. Berry and I am Executive Director of the Council. The East-West Trade Council is a non-profit organization, established in June of 1972, whose membership is comprised solely of U.S. businesses, agricultural organizations, financial institutions, associations, academicians and individuals interested in promoting East-West trade. The Council is financed solely through its U.S. membership and through various activities undertaken by the Council to promote the expansion of East-West trade. The Subcommittee has before it today a number of issues for consideration. These issues are:

1. The continuation of the waivers under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic;

2. The extension of the waiver authority generally under the Trade Act of 1974, and

3. The renewal of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement negotiated pursuant to Title IV of the Trade Act.

The East-West Trade Council supports the continuation of the waivers, the extension of the waiver authority generally, and the renewal of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement for reasons which I would now like to submit to the Subcommittee.

The Congress should support the Section 402 waivers applicable to Romania and Hungary. In the first place, the Finance Committee has just approved the granting of the waiver applicable to the Hungarian People's Republic within

the past month. There has been no change in conditions which led the Committee to approve the extension of the waiver to the Hungarian People's Republic during the past few weeks. Thus, the Council anticipates that the Committee will approve the waiver and thereby support it for the reasons expressed by this Council before the Subcommittee in hearings held on May 9, 1978.

With respect to Romania, the extension of the waiver has permitted the positive increase in trade between the United States and Romania during the initial three-year period of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement. There is therefore no reason why it should not be continued for another three-year period. During the three years from 1975 through 1977, which correlate with most of the period during which the Trade Agreement was in effect, U.S.-Romanian trade has showed a continuing increase. U.S. exports to Romania as well as U.S. imports from that country have increased each year during this period. In addition, the U.S. balance of trade figures have remained in surplus for the entire period. During 1977, total trade turnover between the two countries equaled almost \$500 million; an increase of almost \$200 million over the first year in which the Trade Agreement went into force in 1975. Such trade has brought benefits to the U.S. economy while increasing the economic interrelationship between the two countries, which are the very purposes for which the Agreement was originally signed.

Recognizing that one of the factors of primary interest to the Congress in connection with consideration of the waiver is the emigration policy of Romania, it is important to note that overall emigration from Romania has continued to increase through all of the years during which the Trade Agreement has been in effect. In particular, emigration to the United States has increased dramatically during this period. In addition, a great number of hardship cases and split family problems have been resolved primarily due to the existence of the waiver as it functions under the Trade Act of 1974.

President Ceausescu of Romania visited the United States between April 12 through April 17 of this year and met with President Carter, Congressional leaders, and the business community in various sectors of our country. Of particular significance, President Ceausescu and President Carter, on April 13, signed a Joint Declaration which was released by the White House. Of particular importance to the bilateral economic relations between the two countries, the Joint Declaration contained several important matters including agreements to promote and facilitate the expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, as well as a pledge to cooperate in the settlement of humanitarian issues, including family reunification, in the spirit of mutual understanding and good will.

The President has also asked that the Congress renew his general authority to waive the emigration requirements under Section 402 of the Trade Act for another year's period. The purpose of this extension would permit the United States to negotiate trade agreements meeting the requirements of Title IV of the Trade Act with other nonmarket economy countries not currently receiving the benefits of "MFN" tariff treatment. Since the existence of this authority has permitted the successful expansion of trade with Romania, and is about to open the door to greater trade with Hungary, there seems to be little reason for not permitting the availability of the authority in the future for possible negotiation of trade agreements with other nonmarket economy countries. Certainly the requirements set out in Title IV of the Trade Act, as well as the opportunity for periodic Congressional review, would ensure that any future agreements negotiated pursuant to the authority would serve the best interests of the United States.

Finally, the Subcommittee must now consider the renewal of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement originally negotiated pursuant to Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974. As indicated by my testimony today, the Council believes that the initial three year period of existence of the United States-Romania Trade Agreement has been highly successful. Trade has increased between the two countries, to the benefit of U.S. producers as well as to the U.S. economy as a whole.

In addition, the emigration policy of Romania, as well as the other requirements of Section 402 of the Trade Act have been satisfied. Other provisions required to be in bilateral commercial agreements under Section 405(b) of the Trade Act of 1974 have not only promoted overall trade between the two countries, but have been of great assistance to U.S. business and individuals undertaking trade with Romania. I am speaking specifically about provisions in the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement dealing with protection of industrial property, copyright interests, settlement of commercial disputes, etc. The first

three years under the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement have been remarkably successful and argue strongly for the continuation of the Agreement.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today. I will be happy to answer any questions which you may wish to address to me.

Senate RIBICOFF. The next witness is Mr. Jacob Birnbaum.

Without objection, the statement of Senator Williams will be inserted in the record following that of Senator Jackson.

You may proceed, Mr. Birnbaum.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Today, we have heard quite a bit about Romania's special position, as compared with other Soviet Bloc countries, and I agree that we should show appreciation for some of Romania's actions.

However, this should not prevent us from talking with them in a much more systematic and forceful fashion about matters in which they have not produced, in which their performance has not been in accordance with the law of this country nor in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act.

I do not think that anybody would consider me an enemy of Romania if I speak frankly about certain points. When I discussed this with an official of the Romanian Embassy, he agreed that I was not considered an enemy of the state of Romania, so I will talk.

This is the fourth year that I have sat here and heard U.S. administration spokesmen looking forward to "progress," finally, "in the coming year" in matters of emigration. Just a little more patience, and we will be over the hump, they say.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to see any substantive progress at all. We have been able to accomplish certain things, but the overall framework is just as it was before. In fact, the control is tighter than it ever was.

After 1975, obstacles to emigration were institutionalized. After the Helsinki Final Act, after the MFN hearings, they were made more difficult. The preapplication process, which was discussed earlier today, is an example. It was introduced a couple of years ago and is now uniformly applied throughout Romania. You have to go to the police station for a piece of paper to make an "application" for an application form and no record is retained.

The situation is otherwise in Hungary, and my organization has no difficulty at this time in recommending waiver for Hungary, both in terms of their recent performance—and their undertakings after lengthy discussions between administration officials and Hungarian officials.

I can speak from my personal experience here. In recent years, I have never, Mr. Chairman, never had any person, any relative of any Hungarian citizen come to me to help them. But in relation to Romanian citizens, I am sorry to say, by contrast, day and night I am burdened, my mails and my phones are heavy with pleas and requests. Recently I had a very competent person go to Romania to reexamine the position carefully, the whole emigration process, and he brought back the same word, the same troubles, as before. He will testify later

today. For my written testimony, I have prepared a list of eight types of obstacles, which I will not read over here, but they are continuing as in previous years.

I have come to the conclusion that there is a calculated design to control emigration in the three main areas where it operates, depending on Romanian political or economic interests. I am afraid human rights do not come into this matter at all.

For emigration to the United States, the Romanians have decided on a figure of around about 1,000. They believe that this is what Washington will tolerate, or just about tolerate, and this is where it stands—about 1,000.

Emigration to Israel, is a different matter. Israel is no longer Romania's main channel to the West, so Israel has very little leverage. In my opinion a decision was made in Bucharest, possibly in 1976, although I cannot prove this, that emigration from Israel will be reduced to a trickle. The figures are startling in their decline.

In 1973 and 1974 we had figures of approximately 4,000 per year. From 4,000 a year they are down, in these last 2 years, to in the range of 1,000; and they will continue to go down as far as Bucharest can manage.

Now as regards West Germany, there is a different situation that reflects what I said earlier about economic and political interests. There was an agreement between Schmidt and Ceausescu on January 8 of this year to renew an annual emigration of 11,000 Romanian-Germans. This cost Bonn very little. All it cost them was loan guarantees of 700 million Deutsche marks, though the Romanians wanted credits and they did not get credits.

So we see here of leverage possibilities whose applications can be switched to the United States. I would not like to carry this parallel too far, but I would say the United States has far greater potential leverage than it is exercising. I am not speaking in terms merely of "the big stick" or hard line operations but from all year round pressure.

I have made a number of recommendations. First, after 3 years of hoping for a better situation, I cannot personally agree in my conscience and in my sense of the law of this land, to renewal of the waiver. The Romanians have recently been taking this whole matter for granted. I believe that some kind of resolution, some kind of amendment, should be introduced in the Senate which might be withdrawn this time, but which would generate discussion.

At the same time I would recommend the renewal of intense negotiating activity to bring about a resolution of many of these problems on the Hungarian model; and this is my second recommendation. I think that, just as we worked it out with the Hungarians, we should try, in a systematic fashion, to work it out with the Romanians and to develop a much more intensive monitoring system combined with frequent authoritative review in Washington.

My third recommendation is in relation to Israel. Israel is in a very delicate position. Israel has little clout, and unfortunately, the bulk of Romanian Jews who wish to emigrate—I would say there are 40,000—I regard this as a conservative figure—feel that they are abandoned because Israel cannot do much for them, while the U.S.

Administration, on the whole, regards this as a matter to be settled between Romania and Israel.

I feel that we should develop a list, an independent human rights list, which the U.S. Government should sponsor similar to the "refusnik" lists they have sponsored for the Soviet Union. These could be given to Bucharest on a 3-monthly basis with further action on a periodic basis.

I have discussed the idea with some members of the administration in the last year or so, and have found some interest in the proposal.

Finally it seems to me that we should insist on a number of good will undertakings. Let the Romanians release those people who have been applying for more than a year. Let them cease the harassments which we have listed here. News of the cessation of these stupidities would reach us soon enough.

Lastly, let them revert to the 1973-74 figures when Jewish emigration flowed at the rate of 300 to 400 a month and thus solve the whole problem within a decade. My belief is that the whole problem can and should be solved within a decade.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I have no questions. I just would indicate that you did mention in one of these statements that the Helsinki Final Act—and as I look over that section, which I had not referred to in some time dealing with unification of families, that it does appear that they are not dealing with this section in a positive and humanitarian spirit as we set forth.

In fact, we talk about dealing with applications as expeditiously as possible. We talk about lowering the necessary fees. I would hope—and we talk about being entitled to ship all your personal effects and your furniture. There is no doubt in my mind that that particular provision in the Helsinki Final Act is not being adhered to by Romania.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. I must point out to you that when would-be emigrants mention the Helsinki Final Act, Romanian officials have a tendency to say, "We do not care about that. That is none of our business." I have heard eyewitness reports of that.

Senator DOLE. I think that has been indicated in the last couple of days by the Soviets, certainly. They do not pay any attention to it.

Hopefully, we will and others will. Thank you.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Packwood?

Senator PACKWOOD. No questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Birnbaum follows:]

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY

SUMMARY

Romanian emigration policies: A study in calculated violations of the 1974 Trade Act and the Helsinki Agreement. United States not using full potential of its political and economic leverage; no renewal of waiver of section 402 recommended now.

As early as the 1975 Trade Committee hearings, Romanian "assurances" lacked credibility in the eyes of the Chairman and Committee members.

After 1975, Romanian emigration obstacles such as the pre-application procedures were thoroughly institutionalized and applications stifled. Here are eight types of obstacles—

1. Basic procedural complexities.
2. Separation of affianced couples.
3. Fear of job loss or demotion.
4. Arbitrary decisions and delays.
5. Unpleasant social pressures through school, work, neighbors.
6. Prior to emigration, huge charges and duties.
7. Special difficulties for former high officials and relatives.
8. Enormous difficulties in getting to visit relatives abroad.

All our reports point to a comprehensive design calculated to limit emigration to the bare minimum Bucharest hopes Washington will tolerate.

Analysis of emigration to the U.S., Israel, and West Germany shows an operation related to political and economic considerations, rather than to human rights.

Emigration to the U.S.

Pegged at approximately 1,000 annually.

Emigration to Israel

A recent dramatic decline from about 4,000 annually to the 1,000 range. The potential emigration could be in the 40,000 range.

Evidence indicates that Bucharest is moving to virtual elimination of Jewish emigration.

Emigration to West Germany

Under the Schmidt-Ceausescu Agreement of 1978, 11,000 annually. There are important economic and political benefits for Romania.

U.S. leverage with Bucharest

The West German example suggests that Washington has much greater political and economic leverage with Bucharest than it is exercising. More "stick" and more "carrot" suggested.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. No approval for waiver at this time.
2. Renewed American-Romanian discussions on the American-Hungarian model of earlier this year.
3. Provision for future (a) intensification of monitoring procedures (b) frequent authoritative Washington review of cases and trends.
4. Increased Administration and Congressional intervention for those desiring to go to Israel. Presentation of lists on the Russian model.
5. Threefold undertakings to be sought from Romania—
 - (a) simplification of emigration procedures and cessation of related harassments.
 - (b) early permission to leave for those waiting a year or more.
 - (c) reversion to the 1973/4 emigration rates to Israel of 3-400 monthly.
6. MFN for Hungary is fully acceptable because of her good record and firm public undertakings, though some impediments of emigration to Israel should be removed.

APPENDICES

1. Excerpted letter on difficulties of Romanians visiting abroad.
2. Excerpted letter on crippling duties and charges prior to emigration.
3. List of former political prisoners unable to leave, illustrated by letters.
4. General list of persons desiring to emigrate from Romania.

STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman, this is the fourth summer that the Congressional trade committees are meeting to determine Romania's eligibility to be exempt from the force of Section 402 of Title IV of the 1974 Trade Act, the fourth time that the President seeks to waive the Jackson-Vanik "freedom of emigration" legislation in the hope that "substantial progress will be made in—

1. modifying and simplifying Romanian emigration procedures
2. eliminating the heavy elements of fear and intimidation so much reported in earlier years.

1975 Hearings of Trade Committee Doubts on Romanian Assurances

We remember the assurances given to this Trade Committee in 1975 at the first hearings by Mr. Arthur Hartman, then Assistant Secretary of State. He expected to see "early evidence" that "the Romanians will work conscientiously with us to solve humanitarian problems . . . We believe the understanding reached . . . fully satisfy the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act and will contribute to the achievement of the objectives of Section 402." Under close questioning by Chairman William Green and members of the Committee, he explained that "the President is trying to . . . develop a situation in which the emigration practices improve, in which he can certify that there has been substantial improvement . . . and the Act is being applied through the negotiation of the Agreement." Asked what "assurances" the President had received, he made no direct reply but continued to "urge the Congress to assess Romanian emigration practices by deeds in the coming weeks and months. This is the test by which our understanding should be judged." Responding to this, the chairman remarked, "I have the feeling that people have come here and asked us to act with a blindfold on and hope that things will go well . . . I want you to know and everyone else to know that substantial compliance is something this Committee will take a close look at."

Unfortunately, these doubts have proved all too correct.

Obstacles to Romanian Emigration Thoroughly Institutionalized Since 1975

In looking over my testimonies of previous years, I find they could be used almost intact for 1978. In many respects, the situation has worsened considerably because—

1. emigration obstacles have been thoroughly institutionalized
2. the Romanian authorities have managed to stifle most applications.

Take, for example, the iniquitous pre-application procedures, initiated after both the initial extension of MFN and the signing of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. The individual is obliged to go to a police station to obtain a form to be filled out in great detail. After various harassments, meetings, and pressures he will usually be told that he is unfit to receive the application form.

I am reminded of the cynical remark of a Romanian official responding to an applicant's allusion to the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accord and other international agreements signed by Romania: "I could not care less about such agreements. This Helsinki thing does not mean a thing to us."

Eight Types of Emigration Obstacles

1. The basic procedural complexities.
2. Enormous difficulties in getting to visit relatives abroad.
3. Separation of affianced couples.
4. Fear of job loss or demotion.
5. Unpleasant social pressures through schools, work and neighbors.
6. Arbitrary decisions and delays.
7. Prior to emigration, charges and duties resulting in loss of lifetime savings and household goods.
8. Special difficulties for former high officials and former political prisoners and their relatives.

A Comprehensive System to Curb Emigration

I often wonder to what extent U.S. officials manage to discuss in detail with Romanian officials the different categories listed above. I often wonder whether the people in Washington who have recently been saying, "the Romanian emigration matter is not really a serious problem" comprehend the human suffering implied by such a list, whether they realize how much these people look to the U.S. Administration as their ultimate protector and to Congress as their lifeline?

There is often an element of convenient self-deception in Washington, fed by the endless assurances of Romanian officials swarming over Capitol Hill and the difficulty of frightened would-be applicants in communicating with the outside world from within a tough totalitarian state. Yet the facts, as they come seeping through, point massively to a cruel, comprehensive and calculated system to limit emigration to the absolute minimum they believe Washington will tolerate.

Varied Purposes of the Migration Flow to the United States, Israel and West Germany

In terms of statistics, the Romanians have concluded that Washington will be satisfied with approximately 1,000 Romanian immigrants to the U.S. annually. The flow to Israel and Western Germany illustrates the extent to which Bucharest exercises its control, lessening or increasing according to profit or convenience, certainly not according to the need of the applicants.

To Israel: Decline From 4,000 to 1,000 Yearly; Potential of 40,000

The dramatic decline of the flow to Israel in recent years reflects a Bucharest switch, not a sudden lack of Jewish will to leave.

The 1973 and 1974 figures were in the range of 4,000 annually.

The 1975 and 1976 figures were in the range of 2,000 annually.

The 1977 and 1978 figures are in the range of 1,000 annually.

The 1973-74 figures may seem large but the following quotations indicate the kind of potential emigration we should be discussing. Addressing this Committee in 1975, Rabbi Israel Miller, then chairman of the Conference of Major American Jewish Organizations, said: "In view of the high numbers seeking to leave, it is most difficult to comprehend why the Jewish emigration figures in 1973/4 were so small as to leave many thousands disappointed, particularly since we were led to believe some 10,000 might leave in 1974." During 1975, Romanian Chief Rabbi Rosen, who is a Romanian official, casually mentioned to a visiting American group that he expected some 4,000 Jews to leave before the end of the year!

We believe the Romanian Jewish emigration potential at this time is not less than 40,000 who could be gone from the country in less than a decade. This would imply an emigration of not less than 4,000 a year.

In 1975, both Administration and public witnesses before the Trade Committee assumed a Romanian Jewish population close to 100,000. Now, U.S. officials seem inclined to accept figures much less than half of that, the type of figures spread around by Romanian officials. Yet it is curious how dramatically the Romanian figures have dropped year by year. Recently, only 26,000 was mentioned! This absurd figure would no doubt justify a trickle of Jewish emigration.

Bucharest Moving to Reduce Jewish Emigration to a Trickle

The evolution of Romanian emigration policy on Israel may be traced in the statements made to the Trade Committee over the years by one Barbu Niculescu. In 1975, he appeared for the League of Free Romanians whose president immediately announced that Niculescu had never been authorized to speak for the League! [p. 193, Trade Committee hearings, May 7-8, 1975. See also p. 190 for discussion between Rep. J. Duncan and Niculescu about the latter's change of mind as to the existence of certain "intimidations" in Romania.] Subsequently, Niculescu reappeared as "chairman and president" of a nebulous Romanian-American Cultural Foundation. I can only speculate as to what Niculescu's connections with the Romanian Embassy are, but in recent years his statements have carefully followed the "line".

In 1975, the Niculescu figure for the Jewish population was 75,000; in 1976, 60-80,000; in 1977, it was "not over 37,000". His 1977 remarks on Jewish emigration certainly suggest a major Romanian decision to cut Jewish emigration to a trickle. He goes to great lengths to show that there could not possibly be a desire for Jewish emigration and so there cannot be a problem. (He constantly cites the American Embassy in Bucharest and the State Department to bolster grossly inaccurate figures and facts and even general statements; perhaps some U.S. officials would care to disassociate the Administration from these citations.)

Significantly, he concludes: "Hopefully, this is a finally settled issue. As a final comment, all past and present members of the various American and Romanian government committees and departments and those private organizations and individuals who were sincerely concerned and worked together on this subject should take great pride and satisfaction in their accomplishments and that this issue has finally been resolved." The underlines are mine but I believe the words reflect Bucharest's decision to "cover up" the problem by denying its existence.

The government of Israel seems unable to improve matters but perhaps the U.S. Administration and Congress could make some form of systematic intervention in behalf of individuals wishing to go to Israel. American officials have

presented lists of Soviet Jewish "refuseniks" to the Kremlin from time to time.

To West Germany: Ceausescu-Schmidt Agreement Economically and Politically Beneficial to Romania

The West German government has been effective with the Romanians at little political or economic cost to itself. For years, Bucharest has made "arrangements" with Bonn for the "resettlement" of "the Saxons" (Romanian Germans) in West Germany. The latest such arrangement was called to my attention by my friend Paul W. Freedman of New York. The West German press office in Washington put out the following statement on January 8, 1978: "Chancellor Schmidt and Romanian President Ceausescu January 8th agreed that Romania would allow the reunion of families and the resettlement of ethnic Germans in the Federal Republic to continue at the present rate (about 11,000 in 1978) . . . At the same time, they also agreed to expand economic cooperation. To this end, Bonn will provide loan guarantees of up to 700 million Deutchmark over five years and efforts will be made to reduce the Romanian deficit in the bilateral trade balance." German press comment indicated that "a connection between this (economic) concession and humanitarian questions, particularly the reunion of families . . . is self-evident" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 1/10/78)

Obviously, the Agreement is much more important to the Romanians than to the Germans. As the same *Allgemeine* report noted, "The Romanians were clearly interested in direct credits but the Germans made it plain that the political contribution of Bonn could only consist of facilitating access to normal credit channels."

Exercise of Greater U.S. Political and Economic Leverage With Bucharest

My point is that despite the differences between the U.S. and West Germany, Bucharest's critical economic and political needs give Washington a leverage whose full potential is perhaps not sufficiently recognized by the Administration and Congress. Perhaps we are not sending the right kind of signals to Bucharest, signals suggesting a little more stick as well as a little more carrot. I seem to discern a lack of consistent firmness and solid follow-up of our expressions of concern. As to the carrot, I would gladly campaign for expanded Jewish tourism to Romania following genuine evidence of permanent improvement. Conversely, if the present situation continues, I shall be inclined to try for a reduction and, if necessary, the elimination of the considerable existing Jewish tourism to Romania.

Being in Violation of Section 402 (Jackson-Vanik Emigration Legislation) and Helsinki Agreement, Romania has had MFN Under False Pretences

Mr. Chairman, the conclusion is inescapable. All these years the Romanians have been in violation of the family reunion provisions of Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act and have been enjoying MFN trade status and other economic privileges under false pretences. Yet Romanian diplomats in Washington take great credit for the few who do get out after enormous difficulties with numbers of Congressmen who are led to believe they have special influence with the Romanian Ambassador!

I cannot see how this Committee can justify the waiver for another year within the law without some form of suspension at this time. Later renewal would have to be accompanied by comprehensive monitoring and review facilities by Administration and Congress and should include would-be emigrants to Israel. Discussions and votes on the floors of the House and Senate would help to air the problems. The Romanians should remember that Hungary, with the best human rights reputation in Eastern Europe, barely received enough votes in the House on May 22nd for their new trade agreement with the U.S.

Renewed American-Romanian Discussions on the American-Hungarian Model of Earlier This Year

The negotiating process whereby the American and Hungarian Administrations prepared the ground for Hungarian MFN earlier this year should serve as a model for a similar dealing with Romania. In an exchange of letters between Hungarian Foreign Minister Puja and U.S. Ambassador Kaiser on March 15th, Puja promised "concerning cases of emigration" that Hungary would "act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Final Act and to deal with them promptly, conscientiously and with goodwill." In his message of April 7th to Congress recommending MFN for Hungary, President Carter noted: "For well

over a year, U.S. officials have had regular conversations with Hungarian officials about Hungarian emigration law, policy and practice and about the resolution of individual cases . . . We have encountered few problems."

There is really no valid reason why we should not conduct similarly detailed discussions with the Rumanians and seek similarly firm undertakings from them, albeit on a more comprehensive scale.

Future Intensified Monitoring and Authorative Review

We look forward to improved performance in the future by—

1. Further expansion of monitoring procedures in Bucharest and Washington, accompanied by frequent and authorative Washington review of (a) cases and (b) trends.

2. Comprehensive and persistent discussions with the Romanians, with a view to eliminating the elements of intimidation and over-complexity from emigration procedures.

Threefold Undertaking to be Sought From Bucharest

In sum, we should seek the following from Bucharest—

1. Early permission to leave for those waiting more than a year, especially the wretched former prisoner (list appended).

2. (a) Simplification and easing of emigration procedures and (b) cessation of related harassments such as job displacement and other difficulties outlined above.

3. More adequate emigration flows, particularly to Israel—the primary human base for Romanian family reunion. In our considered opinion, there should be no difficulty in reverting to the 1973/74 emigration rates of 3-400 per month.

More on Hungary: Waiver of Section 402 of Trade Act Acceptable

We wish to record our full support for the waiver of Section 402 of Title IV of the 1974 Trade Act for Hungary. We note with satisfaction the contents of the Puja-Kaiser correspondence of March 15th discussed above, with its emphasis on "the full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act" and "concerning emigration" the undertaking "to act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Act and to deal with them promptly, conscientiously and with goodwill."

Rarely do the fine words of diplomats match the reality, but our experience of recent Hungarian performance makes us hopeful in terms of the relatively greater personal freedom of its citizens, the absence of marked cultural, economic and social strains among minorities, and the lack of strong undercurrents toward emigration among intellectuals, Jews and factory workers. In contrast with our experience of Romania, our mails and phones are not burdened with the pleas of relatives and friends of Hungarian citizens desperate to leave.

A world about emigration to Israel. The Hungarian and Romanian Jewish communities are roughly comparable in size but, unlike the majority of Romanian Jews, Hungarian Jews seem largely content at present to remain under the comparatively liberal communist regime. It should be noted that in the past, they have been noted for their patriotic attachment to Hungary. Nevertheless, we have reason to believe that there are some impediments in the way of those who do wish to emigrate to Israel. We earnestly hope that these will disappear, so that no further question can be raised in relation to Hungary's good human rights record.

We look forward to the development of ever-closer relationships of all kinds—cultural, economic, tourist—between the peoples of the United States and of Hungary and indeed of all Eastern Europe, including Romania.

Mr. Chairman, in the matter of human rights, the peoples of Eastern Europe look to Washington as their ultimate safeguard and to the men and women of the Congress as their lifeline and support. We look forward to your Committee's detailed recommendations to effect improvement in this area of human rights.

Thank you very much.

APPENDICES

The following two excerpted letters deal with cases not documented in my earlier testimonies.

1. On Difficulties of Visiting Abroad

"The answer to the applicant usually takes much longer than the statutory three months and is generally negative; or only one of a couple is permitted to leave and the other is held as sort of a hostage. Young unmarried people meet

the most difficulties. The persistent applicant then tries for an 'audience' with a passport official in N. Iorga Street and this takes not less than a month. If the answer is again negative, you try for an 'audience' with the Visa and Passport Committee of the Council of Ministers—again, at least a month's wait. The answer may be 'no' again or 'try next year'.

"Very seldom is the request approved and then not on the spot. In the process many people give up as they wanted to leave during their vacations, which period they had to specify precisely on their visa application. When the period is swallowed up in the waiting, the passport official sometimes gives this as the reason for his refusal!

"The degree of harassment depends on the internal situation as well as the state of Bucharest's interests abroad at that particular moment. But some form of harassment always takes place."

2. On Crippling Duties and Charges Prior to Emigration

After a description of the very long list of documents and certificates which have to be gathered for every individual over the age of 14, the writer describes the unfair expenses incurred in vacating an apartment and the limited amount of household goods permitted to be taken—with a duty of 18 percent!

If the applicant who had finally received permission was in possession of an apartment for which he still had to pay a number of installments, he is not allowed to sell it to another individual, but he has to "sell" it to the State. That is, he must first pay for the apartment in full and then a local commission makes its determination of the value. The maximum amount is 40,000 lei, even if the buying price was three or four times as much. Even then the owner is only entitled to about 60 percent of the value established by the commission. For this reason, many people refrain from applying for emigration since they do not have the means to pay the full price of the apartment before being permitted to "sell" it to the State.

Take my mother's case. She has a two-room apartment for which she still has to pay 50,000 lei and for which she would probably receive 20,000, thus leaving her with an outstanding 30,000 to pay—an impossible sum for her. That is why she did not leave Romania with us.

Customs

"Each person gainfully employed is entitled to take out 70 kg. of personal belongings and household goods free. In addition, he is allowed only 15,000 lei worth of goods for which he pays 10 percent duty.

"Only books published in Romania after 1963 may be taken. All books published abroad, irrespective of their date, must be submitted to the State Committee for the National Cultural Heritage and must bear their stamp to be taken out of the country. This rule applies absolutely to all books, be they paperback cook books or rare first editions. The stamp is also required for paintings, drawings, furniture, chinaware or silverware not available in the state-owned shops.

"I may add that the Committee which decides on these things meets once every three months or so."

3. There is a group of former prisoners who suffer special difficulties. Most of them were sentenced in a series of "scapegoat" trials during the early 1960s to heavy prison terms and enormous fines of presumed damage to state interests. These fanciful amounts cannot be paid in thousands of years but the authorities refuse to relent. The majority wish to join their families abroad but cannot do so. A list of former prisoners follows. I have 24 in this category—

Abraham, Ghidali

Blum, Anna

Donath, Paul (does not wish
to leave presently)

Edelstein, Sami

Fabish, Sara

Gelber, Aron

Ghinsbrunner, Angelo

Itic (Ungar), Avrum N.

Jacob, Josif

Leibovich, Mendel

Manhaim, George

Morsky, Bernat

Pal, Parischeva

Reichman, Isidor

Rosinger, Adalbert

Rubinger, Herman

Salovici, Martin

Scheener, Otilia

Simon, Isidor

Suzin, Micu

Usher, David

Weiss, Nissim David

Wexler, Viorica

Wullich, Milea

ROSINGER LETTER

DEAR SIRs: My name is Veronica Rosinger, I am 24 years old, and I am now living in Israel where I came as a new emigrant from Romania on the 30th September, 1975. I am the only daughter of my parents Rosinger Adalbert and Malvina.

The reason for addressing this letter to you is the special situation of my parents who remained in Romania and whose single aim left in life is to come and join me and the rest of our family here, in Israel.

Their great difficulty in leaving Romania consists in the fact that my father was unjustly involved in a deliberately made up antisemitic trial. This was one of the trials of the Romanian Jews engaged in the Romania Foreign Trade, that took place in Romania in the period 1959-1964. The principal aim of those terrible trials, with both economic and political consequences, was to remove all the Jews holding senior positions in the Romanian Foreign Trade at that time. From the date of his arrest, June 9th, 1961 and until that of his release, August 19th, 1969, it took the Security Forces three years of judicial inquiry.

On a completely false but artificially created basis he was charged with having "undermined the national economy." He was convicted as a political prisoner to 15 years of prison. In addition and here lays maybe the most criminal part of this put-up trial—he was made responsible and charged with having damaged the Romanian economy with an enormous amount of presumptive debts. The (mean) manoeuvres of the appointed commission of "experts" meant to follow up the inquiry and make up the trial, are the only source of the astronomical amount of 21,000,000 leis, father is supposed to redeem. (For several other details concerning those facts, please see Appendix No. 1.)

Father was released in 1969 upon reaching the age of 60 years. Ever since, he has been paying down one third of his modest pension on account of those hypothetic debts.

Since his release, my father repeatedly tried to appeal to the authorities to make them re-open his trial. Everything proved to be a fight with the windmills.

Considering the previously mentioned facts and their consequences as a background of my further life in Romania, I applied in October 1974 for an exit visa to emigrate to Israel. At first my request was turned down because of father's "guilt", as I was informed. I hardly managed to leave Romania, following Senator Ribicoff's intervention.

Presently, my parents are in Romania, rather old, father is 67, mother 64, and sick, completely alone (all mother's family—lives in Israel for many years, whereas father's family were exterminated by the Nazis in World War II).

Their single and most natural wish after having unjustly suffered for so long, is to come to Israel to live together with me, their only daughter.

They requested to leave Romania on the 12th January, 1976. Because of new specific conditions in Romania, after two months they were called and given new detailed forms to fill in. On the 5th of March they handed in all these new forms together with the required personal documents. After two hours of waiting—as if a decision concerning their emigration could have been taken so quickly, the due person in the office of Romania's Commission for Visas and Passports presented them with the awful decision: because of the "debts" they will not be allowed to leave the country and their application was consequently annulled.

I wish to point out the artificial reason of my parents emigration refusal.

Having in view the sum father is paying monthly in order to cover the "debts" it will take him 5,000 years to pay them down. It is clear the sum will never be covered.

Actually, my parents receive together old age pension according to the years they worked, totalling 3,300 leis (father 1,500—mother 1,800), 500 of which (one third) of father's pension are with-held for the "debts" and 2,800 remain to be spent for their personal needs.

By their departure a sum six times larger could be saved. Anyway the total sum of about 21 million leis will never be paid down in their life-time say another 10-15-25 years.

During the same period the Romanian state is also supposed to pay my parents their pensions.

During that same period of time and if they leave the country these pensions could be held back on account of the "debts".

If the Romanian authorities do not agree to this approach then, actually the period of father's arrest has not yet ended and it will last until the end of his life.

In case that no foreign authority would intervene for their emigration there will be no exit from their present detention-situation. And the single and unique factor able to influence and move are the United States.

As far as I can envisage the problem according to my personal painful experience, the single but possible way to help my parents get their visas, is a personal request of an outstanding world personality addressed to President Ceausescu. In that way the problem will not pass the usual censorship and layers of bureaucracy in which a matter like this could get bogged down.

Having in view the facts I've mentioned above, I appeal with my most ardent hope to your generous understanding and wide influence in order to secure the necessary help for enabling my parents to leave Romania and emigrate to Israel.

I do hope you will be so kind and let me know of any step concerning this matter.

Thanking you, in advance, I remain,
Respectfully yours,

VERONICA ROSINGER.

Father: Rosinger Adalbert.

Born: 31.09.1909.

Mother: Rosinger Malvina.

Born: 17.12.1912.

Address: 4, Stimbey Voda Street, Sc. 3, apt 96, Bucarest, Romania. Tel: 135514.

My Address: 27/5 Meleh Iehoash Street, Mahane David, Haifa, Israel.

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY V.R.

Rosinger Adalbert had been appointed as general manager of Romania's biggest enterprise of Foreign Trade, Romano-Export, since its coming into existence in 1949. He went on holding this position until 1958 when he was gradually demoted to that of a technical manager and afterwards of a commercial counselor until his arrest.

During all that period as head of source of Romania's governmental delegations he concluded in its name many economic commercial agreements with several countries of the world. In all his activity, at that time, Rosinger Adalbert was deeply appreciated and always approved of by his higher officials in the foreign trade industry, those who supervised it step by step as it is the usual way in a socialist economy.

After the date of his arrest, we completely lost connection with father. Meanwhile, the security forces appointed a special commission of its members in order to carry out an inquiry meant to prepare the trial. Those people did not have the slightest tie with economy or trade, but by use of false documents (i.e. made up market price list) or testimonies as well as other violations of basic law principles, these inquiries brought forth the support for further accusation. Therefore the basis of this trial judged in 1964 was the mystification of the agreements approved 10-15 years prior as profitable ones.

Despite terrible physical and moral pressure he was submitted to, my father went on rejecting all the charges and concocted statement he was faced with during these years and especially during the trial. His heart ailment, severe arthrosis, digestive troubles because of one rib being moved by beatings are the present consequences of his former inquiry period.

Meanwhile, my mother who had been working as a teacher was dismissed from her job and at the same time she fell ill of Hodgkin's disease (cancer of the lymphatic system) and as by miracle she survived, but after how many misfortunes

It is hard to understand how the tragic rally of those trials which took place in Romania and in which the convicted were not only by chance Jews, was hidden to world public opinion. I think, one single reference to those trials was made through the interview of a former Romanian Jew official given to the American newspaper "Jewish Press" (the issue of 16-23 August 1975). This interview had come out as well in the Israeli newspaper Al Hamishmar.

PLEA OF A FORMER ROMANIAN PRISONER

I will start directly with the end of our story, the story of our group of employees of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, all Jews, tried and convicted in the "President G. Dej" era, when the Stalinist spectre was still overshadowing Romania—all of us convicted because of a unique fault; that of being Jews. I want

to start with the end of the story of our ordeal because I sincerely believe, that if the Rumanian Government could be made fully aware of our situation and our cause, maybe each one of us would become a little happier in the future, either by being permitted to emigrate to Israel, the land of our patriarchs, or by just continuing to live in this land where we were born and to which we are so attached, without the burden every month of having to pay a fine of 83 percent of our pensions on account of our so-called debts. I fully and sincerely believe that the President of Rumania could grant us justice and could straighten out the grave errors of injustice that were done to us in the period 1960-64; errors that were done on the sole basis of antisemitism.

My strong faith in the President of Rumania is founded also on the fact that he was the one who corrected other judicial errors of a similar nature—such as in the case of Lucretiu Patrascanu. Of course, none of our group of Jews convicted for undermining our country's economy ever had the important position and the merits of L. Patrascanu; but all of us, directors or heads of departments (for these were our positions within the Ministry of Trade) tried to do our best to develop the country's economy. Moreover some of us really opened the gates for Rumanian trade with countries which at that time were considered as most reactionary by the Eastern European governments. Our reward was that starting with the unfortunate day of March 15, 1960, we were arrested one after another; the terrible circumstances of the investigations and the extent to which we were misled without limit during the inquiry, went so far that sooner or later we were all brought to the position of being content to sign the inquiry statements, no matter what their content or how false the accusations against us. And we did this eagerly so that we could be left alone in our cells, to think about it all, over and over again. Each one of us passed through this purgatory of isolation in our bitter cells which was devised to brutally and stupefy us, and while we stayed there thinking of all those who had been close to us, we became more and more obstinate in our desire to survive, in our hope for better days when light would be brought to our case.

Of course, just as the youth of Israel and other parts of the world wonder how the holocaust was possible and how six million Jews could go to death during the Nazi era without resisting, so in the same way we could be asked why we did not resist all kinds of pressures—physical and moral—and not sign statements which had nothing in common with reality. The answer is simple: because we wanted to live, because we understood that any resistance would have brought nothing but make our existence even more unbearable, and that the final result of the investigations would have been in any case the same: a trial, a sentence, detention for many years, and eventually later, a slow return to life, to an existence more or less destroyed physically and morally. Besides, I think somewhere deep inside our souls there was the hope that some day the light would come, as in the biblical story of the Maccabees, that some day it would be possible for us to stand up and tell everybody the truth, to stand up and claim our innocence in front of the entire nation.

Therefore I repeat—if the President of Rumania with his clear-sightedness, his great humanitarian views, his actual understanding of the economic problems and the interest of our country in developing mutually favorable trade relations knew all about our situation, I am sure that a long time ago he would have put an end to this revolting injustice, this vestige of an attitude that no longer has anything in common with present day Rumania.

I have mentioned the matter of mutual interest in trade relations because this was the essence of the charges brought against us, charges which led to our being sentenced to forced labour for life (in fact, during the trial, the prosecutor asked for the death penalty for the first five defendants in August 1961). The essence of the accusation lay in the conception existing among those who were conducting the trial that it was not possible for a transaction to be mutually favorable. When we understood the futility of our efforts to explain that in business, at no matter what level (between a grocery store owner and his client, as well as between a country and her trading partners) trading has to be advantageous to both sides, we gave up without asking ourselves any longer if the whole thing was merely a matter of the incompetence of those who conducted the trial, or the general line which was—the Jews were to be made responsible for some difficult situations which had occurred in the Rumanian economy at that time. And how could this be done any easier than by accusing us

of having received bribes from our business partners in order to award them fabulous profits from their transactions with Rumania!

What did it matter if logic was lacking when the prosecutors went so far as to assert that some partners were paying as much as \$5,000 in bribes in order to renew a contract when, in fact, under the old contracts there was still merchandise to be delivered!

What did it matter that we had been almost totally deprived of any defense, being allowed to consult with our lawyers only for about 120 minutes during the very day of the trial, and therefore our lawyers did not have any time to examine our files!

What did it matter, that for instance after I was allowed to name an expert for the expert testimony, I was forced to acknowledge expert testimony provided by some incompetent persons whose expertise had nothing in common with our field and who gave false interpretations to documents which were in fact in our favor!

But of course we had to be tried and convicted because we were a group of Jewish workers who had to be eliminated at any cost, eventually, together with our entire families.

Unfortunately, it is true that two of our group of twenty who had been convicted, had indeed been guilty of receiving bribes. Nevertheless, in ordinary circumstances these two people would have been convicted for bribery without this affair having grown to such huge proportions. And maybe all the injustice that had been done to us during that period of time would have continued if the political orientation of Rumania didn't change in the spring of 1964 with Mr. Ceausescu taking over the leadership of the country.

But this change was for the others, because we were forgotten. We, the Jews convicted for having been born of Jewish parents although we had always done our work with total devotion, we, who never denied the people among whom we lived, we still have on our shoulders the burden of paying debts of tens and tens of millions of lei which we can never pay off, not even if we lived 50 more lives; they are debts that have been inserted in our sentence on the basis of forced declarations, false expert testimony and manipulated judicial decisions: "Schwer zu zeln a yid!, and still, we are happy and proud that we belong to the Jewish people and that today we can enjoy the freedom and liberties granted to the Jewish community in Romania."

NOTE by J.B. It is to be hoped that the writer's faith in President Ceausescu will be justified.

C. The case of George Mannheim: An excerpted statement

"George Mannheim used to work for a Romanian state foreign trade company called 'Romano-Export'. Between 1962-64 a whole chain of political trials took place framed against the Jews working within all foreign trade companies. Mannheim, like his colleagues, was sentenced as a political prisoner, for 'undermining the national economy'. They were called 'enemies of the country'. It was charged that in the early 1950s they had signed economic contracts unfavorable to the Romanian state, deliberately to sap the communist regime. After a year and a half of imprisonment, Mannheim's 'trial' took place. He refused to plead guilty and was given 5 years jail—the lightest of all these sentences.

"The Mannheim family's troubles did not however cease with his release. They are living under ceaseless harassment by the police and the secret police. Their furniture, household appliances, most of their personal belongings were confiscated to pay off toward the 'damage' claimed by the state, including one third of his salary. The estimated damage claimed by the state against Mannheim and five colleagues is \$100,000, all to be paid up before he can begin to think of applying for a passport. Clearly, payment of such a sum will be impossible."

The statement stresses the state of fear in which the Mannheim family exists, noting in particular their fear of retaliation by the secret police. The hope is expressed that the Romanian authorities will now "set to rights" a grave injustice perpetrated many years ago and permit this unhappy family to leave.

Senator RIBICOFF. Rev. Alexander Havadtoy.

**STATEMENT OF REV. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY, ON BEHALF
OF HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF THE STATE OF
CONNECTICUT**

Reverend HAVADTOY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Rev. Dr. Alexander Havadtoy, pastor of the Calvin United Church of Christ in Fairfield, Conn. I appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the Hungarian American Community of Connecticut. I am also representing the Human Rights Commission of the United Church of Christ, as its member; and also the Human Rights Commission of the World Reformed Presbyterian Alliance.

I, myself, was born in that part of Romania which is inhabited by Hungarians and still have extensive contacts with my brethren there. The General Synod of the United Church of Christ passed the following resolution at its last meeting concerning the human rights situation of the minorities in Romania which I would like to submit for the record.

Senator RIBICOFF. Without objection, the resolution will be placed in the record.

Reverend HAVADTOY. Thank you.

[The material to be furnished follows:]

HUMAN RIGHTS WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON RUMANIA

RUMANIA

Whereas curtailment of fundamental human rights and cultural freedoms persists in the Socialist Republic of Rumania with special emphasis upon national minorities, particularly in the fields of education, labor policy, bilingualism and religious liberty . . .

Whereas the Rumanian State exercises a policy of total interference in ecclesiastical matters regardless of their administrative, social or theological nature, which harms especially the minority populations . . .

Therefore because of these overwhelming concerns for the human rights of all of God's children, the Eleventh General Synod makes the following resolutions for action :

RUMANIA

Resolved, That the 11th General Synod of the United Church of Christ supports the legitimate strivings of minorities in the Socialist Republic of Rumania with respect to the freedom to exercise their fundamental human rights and cultural freedom and urges the World Council of Churches and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to continue to assert the facts in regard to human rights and cultural freedom violations of minorities in Rumania: Be it further

Resolved, That the Eleventh General Synod of the United Church of Christ urges the government of the United States to follow its stated policy of monitoring the human rights practices of nations while reviewing the most-favored nation status, and that if the Socialist Republic of Rumania continues to restrict the freedom of its minorities and does not respond to the specific actions stated above, then the 11th General Synod of the United Church of Christ urges the government of the United States to terminate the 1975 United States/Rumanian Trade Agreement and the most-favored nation status of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

Reverend HAVADTOY. I would like to report to you that the status of the Hungarian minorities in Romania has deteriorated dramatically in recent years.

Two Hungarian politicians in Romania, as well as the leading Hungarian writer in Romania and a former president of the university,

have taken up the issue courageously. Their letters and articles have been widely reported in the Western press.

I would like to restrict my presentation to church matters. The multinational region of Transylvania has a long heritage of religious freedom. It was in Transylvania that freedom of religion was written into law for the first time in history in 1557.

Today, the Ceaucescu regime, through its organ, the Ministry of Cults, exercises a policy of total interference in ecclesiastical matters. Here I would like to emphasize that religion in Romania corresponds with nationality. The Romanians are almost all Romanian Orthodox. Hungarians are either Roman Catholic, Reformed, or Unitarians. The Germans are mostly Lutherans.

The Reformed Church, with 800,000 members, has two bishoprics, but its functions are severely curtailed. The bishops are appointed by the Communist regime. The decree No. 21465—1974 stipulates that churchmen are not allowed to receive gifts, money, et cetera from abroad without having asked for special permission from the Ministry of Cults. Such permissions are routinely denied.

Senator RIBICOFF. You mean if someone in the United States wants to give a gift to a church official—

Reverend HAVADTOY. He is not allowed to do so; no.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, to rebuild a church or to help church education, someone in the United States is disallowed from sending money to a church in Romania?

Reverend HAVADTOY. That is correct.

During the earthquake of March 4, 1977, in Romania, 78 Reformed churches were seriously damaged. The Romanian authorities repressed all news that these minority churches had been damaged. The damages amounted to approximately \$2 million. Although the sister churches in the West were ready to send money to rebuild and renovate these churches, the Ministry of Cults would not issue permits to the bishops to receive these funds.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, their sister churches in other sectors of the world wanted to send funds to help rebuild the churches damaged in the earthquake and this was refused?

Reverend HAVADTOY. That is correct. That is correct.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do you have any comments on that, Mr. Vest?

Mr. VEST. No, sir.

Senator RIBICOFF. That seems rather strange, for any type of society. If the churches are allowed to function and if they are damaged by earthquake or fire, and if their sister churches in other sectors of the world want to help rebuild them, I am at a loss to understand why that is refused. I have never heard of that, in any country.

Mr. VEST. I have no additional comments. All I know is that they are all under national control.

Senator RIBICOFF. I think this is worth making representations to the Romanian Government. I mean if churches are allowed, they are permitted, and if they are damaged and they do not have the funds, which obviously they do not, to rebuild the church, and if another sister church of the same denomination in another country wants to help rebuild the church, I am at a loss to understand the refusal of a government to allow funds to come in from the United States or

Great Britain or France, or whatever country you have to help rebuild a sister church.

I mean, that seems to be almost universal, all over the world. I am at a loss to understand that type of a restriction.

Mr. VEST. I understand your point of view, and I share it. If the churches would give us the exact information so we would have the basic data.

Senator RIBICOFF. If you, or any other church group here is in a similar situation, if you will get that to this committee we will see that the Secretary of State receives that information to be forwarded on to the Romanian authorities.

Reverend HAVADTOY. Thank you, sir.

The churches, after 1½ years, are still in disrepair. The disappearance of these historic monuments, some of them Gothic structures from the Middle Ages, represents an irreplaceable loss to the Hungarian nationality. I would like to submit to you the pictures of some of the damaged churches.

In 15 churches it is impossible to hold services, and 5 had to be demolished.

Bibles are confiscated by customs officials. It is impossible to buy a Reformed hymnbook in Romania—out of print for years.

Publication of theological books and periodicals is extremely restricted. Church delegates from abroad visiting the country are not allowed to meet with Hungarian colleagues freely. Pastors are forbidden to visit their parishioners in hospitals.

Any social gatherings or religious meetings, except for Sunday services, have to be approved by the State. Theological literature cannot be sent to them from the West.

The most painful loss of the life of the churches was the confiscation of church archives and antique chalices, altar cloths, Persian rugs—Persian rugs were used to cut down the echo of the churches. These measures were directed exclusively against minority churches.

Act No. 63 of November 2, 1974, under the protection of the National Cultural Treasury and Decree Law 207—1974, are major tools used to eradicate the history of the Hungarian churches.

Under the above laws, the government nationalized all documents, official and private correspondents, memoirs, manuscripts, maps, films, slides, photos, sound engravings, imprints, seals, and like material over 30 years old from the possession of religious and cultural institutions and private citizens. The pretext was the protection of these documents, but the real intent soon became obvious from the crude manner by which the regulations were enforced.

A church without a past has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority. The material was in many cases without receipt, loaded into trucks, and carted away.

Senator RIBICOFF. They take these from the church? They nationalize them, but they are not available—

Reverend HAVADTOY. They are not available. They are rotting in depots and in basements, and no scholar has access to them.

Not even the dead can rest in peace in the cemetery. The Ceausescu regime makes every effort to expropriate even the tombs.

In the historically famous cemetery of Házsongárd in Cluj, the graves of our most prominent church leaders of the past, some of them internationally famous scholars, are being expropriated. In many

cases, the Hungarian population had to put up collections to repurchase these tombs from the state authorities.

Finally, the Ceaucescu regime has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed Church and the Hungarian minority; and, Mr. Chairman, for these reasons we strongly urge the committee to introduce a resolution to disapprove Romania's MFN status.

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask you, what is the size of the Hungarian minority?

Reverend HAVADTOY. It is over 2 million, sir; according to official statistics, which are contradictory and questionable, it is 1.7 million, but according to our own estimates, it is over 2 million.

Senator RIBICOFF. What are the educational opportunities for the Hungarian children as compared to the Romanian children?

Reverend HAVADTOY. It is decreasing every year. There is a state law, according to which, if there are 25 Hungarian children in a certain town, then a Hungarian school must be maintained. But sometimes their parents are intimidated to send their children to Hungarian schools and, in many towns and villages, they are closed down.

Senator RIBICOFF. What happens with Romanians of Hungarian origin? Are they allowed to contact their relatives in Hungary or the United States?

Reverend HAVADTOY. It is very difficult, sir. Our letters are many times opened up. Sometimes we do not get our letters. My own niece tried, for the past 10 years, to come for a visit to see my American-born wife and children, and we could not get a visitor's permit for her.

Senator RIBICOFF. How old is your niece?

Reverend HAVADTOY. She is over 40 years old.

Senator RIBICOFF. They would not allow your niece to come?

Reverend HAVADTOY. They would not allow her to come and see my family, and I have been here in the West for the past 30 years.

Senator RIBICOFF. Is there any—in addition to what you told me—is there any discrimination, or difference in treatment of churches among the Hungarian minority compared to other Romanian—

Reverend HAVADTOY. The Roman Catholic Church is in the same predicament. So is the Lutheran Church in Transylvania.

Senator RIBICOFF. What is the official church there? What is that called?

Reverend HAVADTOY. There are several. The official church is the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Senator RIBICOFF. But there are churches of other denominations?

Reverend HAVADTOY. There is the Roman Catholic Church and then the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church and the Unitarian Church.

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask you, when the Hungarian minority have these problems, do you have a channel or a way to make these problems known to the Romanian authorities? Can you talk to them? Can you protest? Can you petition? How does that work?

Reverend HAVADTOY. Lately, during the past year, we have seen very courageous attempts to protest. Some members of the Communist Party in Romania protested openly, wrote letters to the Romanian authorities, and their letters and articles and protests appeared in the Western press. The past president of the University of Cluj also

protested openly and he is a member of the Communist Party and was a high party official—or still is, as far as I know.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you.

Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I think you covered most of my questions. Romania is a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act. Have you pursued, or tried to make any impact in either the conference that you have had in Belgrade or other contacts with reference to the Helsinki Final Act, freedom of religion and the right to practice religion?

Reverend HAVADTOY. We have not been successful in this regard. Our only chance is to raise our voice right here before your committee, and we appreciate this opportunity, Mr. Chairman and Senator Dole.

Senator DOLE. Well, in section 1, article 7, which indicates that in the framework the participating states will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to express and practice, alone and in community with others, religion or belief, act in accords to the dictates of his own conscience.

I assume that, to some extent, that is being followed, but, based on your other statements with reference to church property, I doubt that the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act is being adhered to.

Reverend HAVADTOY. No, sir.

The churches are infiltrated by the Communist Administration or regime; through the bishops, through the high officials, they are controlling completely the life of the churches. Even the election of a minister is controlled by the state and, according to our own ancient tradition, it is always the right of the congregation to elect its own minister. But this is not so.

And, of course, all of the bishops are appointed by the state and most of them are intimidated men.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, sir.

Reverend HAVADTOY. Thank you, sir.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Havadtoy follows:]

STATEMENT OF REV. DR. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY

Mr. Chairman, my name is Rev. Dr. Alexander Havadtoy, pastor of the Calvin United Church of Christ, Fairfield, Connecticut. I appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the Hungarian-American Community of Connecticut. I am also representing the Human Rights Commission of the United Church of Christ, as its member, and also the Human Rights Commission of the World Reformed Presbyterian Alliance. I myself was born in that part of Romania which is inhabited by Hungarians and still have extensive contacts with my brethren there.

The General Synod of the United Church of Christ passed the following resolution at its last meeting (1977) concerning the Human Rights Situation of the Minorities in Romania which I would like to submit for the record.

I would like to report to you that the status of the Hungarian Minority in Romania has deteriorated dramatically in recent years. Two Hungarian politicians in Romania, as well as the leading Hungarian writer in Romania, and a former president of the Cluj University have taken up the issue courageously. Their letters and articles have been widely reported in the Western press.

I would like to restrict my presentation to church matters. The multinational region of Transylvania has a long heritage of religious freedom. It was in Transylvania that freedom of religion was written into law for the first time in history (1557). Today the Ceausescu Regime, through its organ, the Ministry of Cults, exercises a policy, of total interference in ecclesiastical matters. Here I would like to emphasize that Religion in Romania corresponds with nationality. The Romanians are almost all Romanian Orthodox; Hungarians are either

Roman Catholic, Reformed or Unitarians; the Germans are mostly Lutherans.

The Reformed church with 800,000 members has two bishoprics, but its functions are severally curtailed. The bishops are appointed by the Communist Regime. The decree No. 21.465/1974 stipulates that churchmen are not allowed to receive gifts, money etc. from abroad without having asked for special permission from the Ministry of Cults. Such permissions are routinely denied.

During the earthquake of March 4, 1977 in Romania 78 Reformed churches were seriously damaged. The Romanian authorities suppressed all news that these minority churches had been damaged. The damages amounted to approximately \$2 million dollars. Although the sister churches in the West were ready to send money to rebuild and renovate these churches, the Ministry of Cult would not issue a permit to the bishops to receive these funds! The churches after one and a half years are still in disrepair. The disappearance of these historic monuments, some of them gothic structures from the middle ages, represents an irreplaceable loss to the Hungarian nationality. (I would like to submit the pictures of some of the damaged churches.) In 15 churches it is impossible to hold services, 5 had to be demolished.

Bibles are confiscated by customs' officials. It is impossible to buy a Reformed hymnbook in Romania: out of print for years. Publication of school books and periodicals is extremely restricted. Church delegates from abroad, visiting the country, are not allowed to meet with Hungarian colleagues freely. Pastors are forbidden to visit their parishioners in hospitals. Any social gatherings or religious meetings, except for Sunday Services, have to be approved by the State. Theological literature cannot be sent to them from the West.

The most painful loss in the life of the churches was the confiscation of church archives, antique chalices, altar cloths, persian rugs. Persian rugs were used to cut down the echo of the churches. These measures were directed exclusively against minority churches.

Act No. 63 of November 2, 1974 on the protection of the national cultural Treasury and Decree/Law 207-1974 are major tools used to eradicate the History of the Hungarian churches. Under the above laws, the government nationalized all "documents, official and private correspondence, memoirs, manuscripts, maps, films, slides, photos, sound-engravings, imprints, seals and like material" over 30 years old, from the possession of religious and cultural institutions and private citizens. The pretext was the "protection" of these documents but the real intent soon became obvious from the crude manner by which the regulations were enforced. A church without a past has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority. The material was—in many cases without receipt—loaded into trucks and carted away. Not even the dead can rest in peace in the cemeteries. The Ceausescu Regime makes every effort to expropriate even the tombs. In the historically famous cemetery of Hatzongard in Cluj-Kolozsvar the graves of our most prominent church leaders of the past, some of them internationally famous scholars, are being expropriated. In many cases the Hungarian population had to put up collections to repurchase these tombs from the state authorities.

The Ceausescu Regime has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed church and the Hungarian minority.

And Mr. Chairman for these reasons, I strongly urge the Committee to introduce a resolution to disapprove Romania's Most Favored Nation status.

DOCUMENTATION REGARDING FINANCIAL HELP TO EARTHQUAKE DAMAGED HUNGARIAN CHURCHES IN ROMANIA

In reference to our testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade on July 12th, 1978, we are pleased to submit the following documentations.

1. The decree No. 21.465-1974 of the Department on Cultural Affairs in Bucharest stipulates that churchmen are not allowed to receive gifts, money from abroad without having asked for special permission from the Department of Cultural Affairs. It is further forbidden to send parcels to pastors from abroad even if the rest of the population may receive such gifts or parcels in times of disaster.

2. During the earthquake of March 4, 1977 in Romania, 80 Reformed churches and 16 parsonages were seriously damaged (10 churches in the Brasov district, 2 in the Mures district, 5 in Harghita district, 63 in Covasna district).

The Romanian authorities suppressed all news that these minority churches had been damaged. (The first confidential information from the Bishop of Cluj was on August 6, 1977).

Help from the sister churches from abroad has been hindered through the following process:

(a) Church in the West must send a letter to the Bishopric of Cluj indicating intention to remit funds and the amount involved.

(b) The Church in Romania will then apply for government approval of this intended support.

(c) If government approval is given, the Church in Romania will then give an account number for the transfer of money.

(d) Money can be sent from abroad to a given account, but the bank will release the money only upon government approval of reconstruction plans.

(e) Church in Romania then applies for permission from the Ministry of Cults to repair or reconstruct damaged buildings. (Up to November, 1977 out of thirty reconstruction plans only one was approved. Thus fifty thousand Deutsche Mark left for rebuilding purposes in March, 1977 could not be used by the Bishopric of Cluj.)

(f) Only if permission is granted on reconstruction plan, can the church withdraw its own money from the bank account.

Slightly damaged churches were repaired by local congregations in a few instances, but the great bulk of the churches are still in disrepair.

Our desire is to be allowed to send monies directly to local congregations where church buildings or parsonages were damaged.

3. Act No. 63 of November 2, 1974 on the protection of the national cultural Treasury and Decree/Law 207 (1974) (amending Decree/Law 472 (1971) on the National Archives) are major tools used to eradicate the history of the Hungarian cultural institutions. Under the above laws, the government summarily nationalized all "documents, official and private correspondence, memoirs, manuscripts, maps, films, slides, photos, sound-recordings, diaries, manifestos, posters, sketches, drawings, engravings, imprints, seals and like material" over 30 years old, from the possession of religious and cultural institutions or private citizens. The pretext was the "protection" of these documents but the real intent soon became obvious from the crude and summary manner by which the regulations were enforced.

The Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* ("Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Romania", February 1/2, 1975, p. 6) reported this outrage in the following manner:

"The intent behind the nationalization of the ecclesiastical archives is to sever the religious communities from their historical roots. A church without a past (tradition) has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority. The first victim of these warlike designs against the religious and cultural minorities by the Romanian regime was the Hungarian Reformed Church in the north-east districts of Oradea, Satumare, Baia-Mare and Zalau. Here, in the mother country of the Reformation in Transylvania, appeared officials from the State Archive, assisted by an authorized agent from the Department of Culture and a representative from the episcopate, who seized the archives of approximately two-hundred church communities and deaneries. The material was—in many cases without receipt—loaded onto trucks and carted away. The historical order of the archives has become completely disrupted in the process—one method of "reserving" and "protecting" historical materials—rendering scientific research for the next decades impossible. The Romanian government has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed Church and the Hungarian nationality (minority) . . .

"It would be much easier and simpler, from a scientific point of view, if the church archives were to keep the originals and were to hand out copies to the state. In this way, the claimed scientific concern by state would be amply maintained, and the articles would remain in the archives, instead of being transported away to distant, unknown and possibly inaccessible locations.

"The Archive Decree effects the Roman-Catholic, the Hungarian Reformed and the German Lutheran churches considerably more than the Romanian Orthodox Church because the latter, as all Eastern churches, primarily cultivates the liturgy, and relies much less on a written, firmly established historical tradition.

"Especially the two 'reformed' churches (i.e., the Reformed and Lutheran) have been preserving in their archives the tradition of their religious and linguistic individuality, dating back to the time of the Reformation."

These church archives had for centuries been inventoried by the churches themselves. The archives were generally in excellent order and condition but more importantly, they were accessible to researchers. In contrast, for the past 26 years Romania has maintained absolutely no facilities for the professional training of archivists, not even in Romanian. (During the "legislative debate" surrounding the passage of Act No. 63, Ceausescu himself was astonished to learn this fact.) The few archivists extant in Romania are not expert in ancient Slavic, ancient Greek, Hungarian and Latin, the languages in which the documents were written.

The above-mentioned outrages form part of a systematic effort to re-write Romanian history in order to suppress the significance of the indigenous Hungarian cultural. Another means for achieving the same objective is again reported by the Financial Times: "A favourite device is to 'facelift' the tombs and crypts of famous Hungarian families in the medieval Házsongard cemetery in Cluj by allotting them to recently dead Romanians. In this way, the ethnic composition of the former population, now dead, is restructured favorably."

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Hamos?

STATEMENT OF LASZLÓ HÁMOS, CHAIRMAN, THE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

Mr. HÁMOS. Mr. Chairman, the Committee for Human Rights in Romania is an organization of Hungarian Americans whose purpose is to call attention to the plight of Romania's 3½ million national minority inhabitants who are currently being subjected to a systematic campaign of cultural deprivation and forced assimilation.

We realize, of course, that the Jackson-Vanik amendment placed heavy emphasis on the right of emigration as a condition for extending trade benefits to nonmarket economy countries. We have been encouraged, however, by the President's repeated declarations that in any dealing with a foreign country, our attitude is strongly influenced by that country's performance in the entire spectrum of human rights.

This new aspect of U.S. foreign policy has received bipartisan endorsement by the Congress and it enjoys widespread support among the American people. We feel it entirely proper, therefore, that a broad range of human rights be examined by this subcommittee before it decides on the future of our trade relations with Romania.

Mr. Chairman, our written testimony contains well-documented, factual evidence concerning the elements of the antimorality campaign being waged in Romania today, and I will not take the time to detail the specifics here. Instead, I would simply list 10 major areas of minority oppression. In doing so, Mr. Chairman, I would call your attention to the fact that these human rights violations cannot properly be viewed in isolation, but they form the interrelated parts of a well-planned and systematic campaign.

The 10 points are:

One, discrimination in elementary and high school education.

Two, discrimination in higher education.

Three, dissolution of compact minority communities and dispersion of ethnic professionals.

Senator RIBICOFF. How is that done?

Mr. HÁMOS. The Romanian Government has a complete monopoly over job placement, over job assignment, and Hungarians who have lived in compact communities within Transylvania are being placed outside of those communities into purely Romanian communities and vice versa, Romanians are being placed into Hungarian communities. In this way, for example, doctors of Romanian origin cannot communicate with the Hungarian patients and vice versa. It is a tremendous problem in Romania.

To continue the list, then, four, there is lack of bilingualism.

Five, there is curtailment of cultural opportunities.

Six, there is falsification of population statistics relating to the minorities.

Seven, confiscation of the church archives of the minority churches.

Eight, harrassment of churches.

Nine, bans on private lodging, even with relatives.

Senator RIBICOFF. You mean if a person from one town in Transylvania wants to visit a relative in a an adjourning town or a far town, they cannot put that person up in their home?

Mr. HÁMOS. No; I mean, Mr. Chairman, that a visitor from abroad cannot be lodged in the house of any other person except his most immediate relatives. He must live in a hotel, and many of the visitors from the West, and also from neighboring Hungary, are therefore unable to visit their relatives in Romania, except for the most immediate relatives, because there simply are not hotels in many of these villages.

The final element is the falsification of the history of the minorities and the contributions that those minorities have made to the history of the area.

Aside from presenting evidence concerning the above points, our testimony describes several waves of terror which have swept the Hungarian-inhabited areas of Romania during the past 12 months. One particularly gruesome episode which happened early last summer has special relevance to the U.S. Congress.

Last summer, scores of Hungarian intellectuals were arrested in Romania. They were savagely beaten for weeks and forced to sign statements and declarations singing the praises of Romania's "enlightened" minority policies.

Our written testimony lists some of the victims of this terror campaign, which drove one of them, Jenö Szikszai, to commit suicide.

The most outrageous result of this episode is that these forced statements showed up later on the desks of U.S. Senators and Congressmen as supposedly the spontaneous letters of simple Romanian citizens who wished to inform American legislators about their supposedly real situation.

Among our friends and supporters, then-Congressmen Ed Koch and Herman Badillo received such bloodstained letters. This entire effort, then, constituted a direct and cruel affront to the U.S. Congress.

Mr. Chairman, we fail to perceive any substance behind the claims of Romania's so-called independence. To our knowledge, no one has ever demonstrated any tangible benefits to our national interests deriving from Mr. Ceausescu's posturing in the international arena.

On the other hand, a break with his Stalinist policies and meaningful reforms in the field of human rights would constitute a truly independent measure which we would heartily welcome.

While a resolution of disapproval may be considered an extreme measure by many Members of Congress who otherwise condemn Rumania's internal policies, the history of these hearings clearly shows that the dedication of the administration and the Congress to the upholding of fundamental human rights has not been duly impressed on the Rumanian Government.

An introduction of such a resolution of disapproval by this distinguished subcommittee would, therefore, demonstrate to the Rumanian regime how wrong it was.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Mr. Hámos.

Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I have no questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hámos follows:]

STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA—SUPPLEMENTING THE ORAL TESTIMONY OF LASZLÓ HÁMOS ON BEHALF OF THE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA

FOREWARD

The state of Rumania contains an immense minority population consisting of 2.5 million Hungarians, 400,000 Germans and sizeable numbers of Ukranians, Jews, Serbs, Greeks, Turks and others. The Hungarians alone comprise the largest minority in Europe. Most of these peoples live in Transylvania which is one of Europe's most significant multi-ethnic regions. Were enlightened 20th Century standards applied, Transylvania could be a model for the coexistence of diverse nationalities in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and understanding. However, under the rule of Rumania's current dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, nothing could be further from the truth.

For the past two decades this enormous minority population has been the object of a carefully planned, systematic and aggressive campaign of forceful assimilation—a campaign which amounts to cultural genocide. This outrage must be borne in addition to the usual intolerance and terror which affects the life of every citizen of a Communist state, regardless of ethnic origin.

Alarmed at the arrogant brutality of this campaign, young Hungarian-Americans gathered in February 1976 to form the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, an organization which soon won support by all major associations of the approximately one million Hungarians in America. The Committee's objective is to alert the public opinion and political leadership of the United States to the gross discrimination and human rights violations against national minorities in Rumania.

This is the third occasion on which the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania is submitting testimony to this Subcommittee on the continuation of Rumania's most-favored-nation status. Thus far, the Subcommittee has greeted our pleas on behalf of Rumania's minorities with almost complete indifference. We are encouraged, however, by the fact that since last summer the world press and public opinion have awakened to the severe plight of these minorities. Month after month, dozens of articles and news reports have appeared in the most respected newspapers, providing ample evidence of the existence and gravity of this problem.

Grandiloquent or perfunctory lip service to the issue of human rights, or even resolutions and pieces of legislation prove ineffective if not put into practice—when concrete opportunities arise—by holding the transgressors accountable for their actions. If the reference in Section 402 to "the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights" has any meaning at all, this Sub-

committee should stop giving encouragement to the Rumanian regime and ignoring the issue here presented.

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STATEMENT

The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania respectfully requests that the United States Senate, using the authority granted by section 402(d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974, adopt a resolution disapproving the extension of the President's authority to waive the application of section 402 (a) and (b) with respect to Rumania.

Our request is based on two grounds:

1. The President's message of June 2, 1978 recommending extension of the above waiver authority is seriously deficient in fulfilling the requirements of section 402(d) (5) (C) of the Trade Act.

2. The Rumanian Government continuously and flagrantly violates norms of international law in its treatment of national minorities, which violations, according to the proper interpretation of section 402 of the Trade Act, mandates at least a temporary suspension of the Trade benefits accorded to Rumania.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE MINORITY QUESTION TO THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT

The chief obstacle facing us at previous hearings by this Subcommittee was an effort to restrict the human rights concerns of the Trade Act to as narrow a field as possible. Some Members of Congress have argued that the only right which the Jackson-Vanik Amendment intends to promote is freedom of emigration. There are some who have remained oblivious even to this right.

But the fact that the Amendment was intended to cover far more than simply one particular human right is obvious from its text. Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 clearly states its objectives in the first half-sentence: "To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights. . ." The section then defines the means for achieving these objectives as follows: nonmarket-economy countries are required to allow free emigration as a condition for the extension of trade benefits. The distinction between the means (requirement of free emigration) and the ends (fundamental human rights) is unmistakable.

This interpretation of the purpose of the amendment is supported by grammatical evidence as well. The authentic language of the Trade Act uses the plural "objectives of this section" wherever such reference is made. Of the phrases "fundamental human rights" and "freedom of emigration", only the former is plural. The expression "objectives of this section" clearly refers back to the plural antecedent in the section, which is "fundamental human rights".

If one examines the legislative history of the Trade Act, especially Title IV, it becomes clear, why we have been constrained to argue the above point every year—albeit with little success thus far.

Title IV was created with a prospective Soviet trade agreement in mind. Foremost among the legislators' concerns at the time was the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. As a consequence, of all the "fundamental human rights", this particular right received the most attention in the text of Title IV. The Soviet deal fell through, however, and presently only two countries are subject to Title IV: Rumania and Hungary. Clearly, in extending trade benefits to those two countries the sensible approach would have been not to automatically apply terms which were tailored to the situation in the Soviet Union. While the right of every Jew wishing to leave either Rumania or Hungary is an important right, other, very serious human rights problems also exist, especially in Rumania.

A genuine concern for human rights by this Subcommittee would best be implemented through an examination of these countries individually, focusing on the most serious violations in each one, with the right to emigrate assuming its appropriate position in the list of concerns. Unfortunately, the situation today is quite the reverse: due largely to political considerations, the emphasis falls almost exclusively on Jewish emigration, while other human rights problems are ignored.

The Subcommittee, moreover, cannot validly defend its refusal to examine a broader range of human rights with the claim that it is merely following the letter of the law, which strictly limits its mandate. If that claim were true, the *only* business of these Hearings would be to determine whether the continuation of the waiver will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. Nevertheless, and perhaps with good reason, the Subcommittee interprets its mandate far more broadly, as any observer of these Hearings will attest. It receives testimony on political, economic and financial questions which fall completely outside the scope of section 402. The Administration, business, trade union and private witnesses who testify about such questions are given serious consideration, and cross-examined in areas wholly irrelevant to section 402. The Subcommittee, therefore, would be acting entirely within its rights in examining a broader range of human rights, beyond the right to emigrate—especially since section 402 begins with the words, quoted above: "To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights . . ."

ON THE RIGHT OF FREE EMIGRATION

The United States is a nation of immigrants. The right of free emigration is held in very high esteem here. There is even a tendency to regard it as the most important of all human rights, the one which can be substituted for all others. The latter view, in our opinion, is severely distorted. We contend that the right to emigrate is merely a right of last resort; it is an escape chute to be used when all other measures to uphold human rights have failed. When people reach the point of clamoring to emigrate en masse from their homeland, there is clear evidence that deeper problems are to blame.

It should be noted here that the right of Jewish people to emigrate to Israel is unique in character and rationale. While they too are most often escaping persecution and undoubtedly experience difficulties in adjusting to a new environment, they still leave with the joyful idea of returning to their ancient homeland.

The situation of the national minorities in Rumania is entirely different. Hungarians have lived in this area of Eastern Europe for eleven centuries; they consider this region to be their homeland. Instead of allowing or urging or forcing them to leave, they should be aided in their struggle to use their own language, maintain their own culture, practice their own religion—in short to gain some protection against discrimination and gross violations against their human rights.

Certainly, Rumania's burning human rights problem cannot be successfully tackled through the simple device of easing restrictions on free emigration. Even for the remaining Jewish population, estimated between 50,000 and 100,000, this measure would provide only a partial solution. Those who wish to, might be per-

mitted to leave for Israel, but those who elect to stay are also entitled to protection of their cultural and religious rights.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF JUNE 2, 1978, DOES NOT FULFILL THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TRADE ACT

In light of the above interpretation, the President's recommendation of June 2, 1978 falls far short of satisfying the requirements of section (d) (5) (C). Specifically, the message nowhere shows the manner in which the proposed waiver will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 with respect to Rumania.

Even if the objectives of the section were restricted solely to the right of free emigration, the message fails to substantiate its claim. The rate of emigration from Rumania has remained clearly unsatisfactory according to Jewish organizations who monitor it closely. Rumania's capricious behavior in the field of human rights during the past twelve months shows that the only lesson which the Rumanians learned from last year's extension of the waiver authority was that neither the Administration nor Congress takes the objectives of section 402 very seriously.

In sum we maintain that the shortcomings of the President's recommendation in fulfilling the statutory requirements are serious enough to warrant its disapproval by the Senate.

NEW WAVE OF ANTI-HUNGARIAN TERROR IN RUMANIA; GROWING RESISTANCE BY DISSIDENTS

Since the Spring of 1977, an entire series of dramatic developments has occurred in connection with Rumania's treatment of national minorities, shedding new light on the brutal nature of the Ceausescu regime. Before turning to a description of the concrete particulars of minority oppression, a brief review of these latest developments is in order.

In April 1977, as part of a sweeping effort to silence all possible signs of independent-minded expression within the Hungarian minority, the Rumanian secret police arrested scores of Hungarian intellectuals, most of them teachers. Though sharing a common trait as individuals active in Hungarian intellectual life, they were largely unknown to one another. The arrested were kept imprisoned for periods of up to four weeks and regularly subjected to savage beatings and other forms of torture. It has been possible to reliably ascertain the identities of 8 of the victims, but it is clear that many more were involved. The following are the 8 persons whose names are known :

Jeno Szikszai, teacher from Brasov (Hungarian Brasso)

Mrs. Jeno Szikszai, Brasov

Sandor Kuti, teacher from Brasov

Zoltan Zsuffa, teacher from Covasna (Hungarian Kovaszna)

Istvan Kocsis, dentist from Sfantul-Gheorghe (Hungarian Sepsiszentgyorgy)

Jozsef Haszmann, teacher from Papaut (Hungarian Papoc)

Pal Kallai, clerk from Covasna

Peter Eros, librarian from Sfantul-Gheorghe

The purpose of the torture and beatings was to elicit signed confessions from the victims to the effect that they had been part of a Hungarian nationalistic conspiracy detrimental to the interests of the state. The coercion was also exercised to force their signatures on a variety of declarations praising the nationality policies of the Rumanian Government and asserting that the situation of the Hungarian minority is ideal in all respects. Some of those arrested signed these declarations and confessions, others refused. At any rate, as there had in fact been no conspiracy and the forced confessions were not substantive enough to stage a trial, after approximately one month the prisoners had to be released. Shortly thereafter Jeno Szikszai, completely ruined physically and psychologically by the torture, was found in the attic of his house—dead by hanging. Before his death, Szikszai had confessed to his wife that he had been threatened with re-arrest and that he felt he no longer had the strength to endure the torture awaiting him.

The initial trickle of reports about the incidents above coincided with the arrival in May 1977 of news about another, bizarre effort by the Rumanian authorities: a massive, forced "letter-writing campaign" by minority citizens of Rumania to United States Senators and Congressmen. Prominent individuals of Hungarian and other minority origin were being threatened with job demotion, complete loss of employment or housing, and other, more severe consequences, unless they agreed to write to the American legislators. Their

letters had to sing the praises of Rumania's enlightened minority policies, their own utopistic conditions and the boundless cultural opportunities available to them as minority citizens.

The early accounts of this effort were confirmed in May and June—just prior to Congressional hearings on the continuation of Rumania's most-favored-nation status—by the actual arrival of such letters in Washington. The well-selected targets were those legislators who had previously voiced concern in Congress over minority oppression in Rumania. Considering their source, the letters exhibited a remarkable degree of familiarity with the names of such legislators and the content of their expressions of dissatisfaction. Clearly, the Rumanian officials had "assisted" the letter-writers by supplying this information.

On the surface, this entire episode might appear insignificant, except for one sobering thought: that the letters may have been among those declarations and statements which the imprisoned and tortured minority intellectuals were forced to sign in April. In that very likely event, those letters were stained with the blood of many innocent people, and the effort constitutes a monstrous and cruel affront to the United States Congress.

Immediately after this brutal and bloody campaign of terror, there emerged the first open, internal challenge to President Ceausescu's nationality policies. During the Summer and Fall of 1977, Karoly Kiraly, a Hungarian official in the Rumanian Communist Party and until 1977, an alternate member of its Politburo, wrote three letters to top Party leaders, describing government efforts to denationalize and forcefully assimilate the country's Hungarian minority of 2.5 million. Kiraly cited a host of discriminatory and oppressive measures: the refusal to grant national minorities a representative voice in government, the implementation of "restrictive quotas" denying employment in opportunities to minority workers, the forced assimilation of schools and classes offering instruction in the minority languages, the "naming of non-Hungarian speaking, Rumanian mayors" in cities "inhibited predominantly by Hungarians", the prohibition on use of minority languages in public institutions and administrative offices, and a variety of restrictions on minority cultural expression.

In one of his letters, Kiraly also assailed the "violence and torture" used against minority inhabitants and recalled that "the harassment of Jenő Szikszai, the eminent professor from Brassó, drove him to commit suicide."

Kiraly's only remaining position in the government bureaucracy at the time he wrote his letters was that of Vice President of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council. In March 1978 he was deprived of that position. In the past, he had held various positions as First Party Secretary in Covasna County and head of the People's Council there, member of the Party Central Committee and alternate member of the Politburo, member of the Grand National Assembly (parliament) and member of the Council of State, nominally the supreme body of state power in Rumania. At one of the high points in his career, in 1970, he was a member of the delegation which accompanied President Ceausescu to the Lenin Centenary Celebrations held in Moscow. His last post at the head of the Hungarian population's highest political organ gave him an excellent vantage point from which to assess the extent of minority oppression and the window-dressing nature of his own organization, which is supposed to represent the interests of the Hungarian minority.

On June 2, 1977, Kiraly wrote his first letter to Ilie Verdet, the Politburo member responsible for ideological matters and, among others, for nationality policies. In the letter, he outlined the shallowness of his organization's activities, charged the government with hypocrisy in its official pronouncement that "the nationality question has been solved" and presented his own recommendations in 12 points.

Having failed to receive any response for several months, Kiraly followed up with letters to two top Party leaders. The first was sent in August to Janos Fazekas, another Politburo member, and the second on September 10 to Janos Vincze, a member of the Central Committee. The tone of these subsequent letters was more bitter and the charges contained in them embraced the government's entire policy toward national minorities.

In early October, when Kiraly was finally summoned to Bucharest to discuss his letters, his reception was not what he had expected. Instead of dealing seriously with the constructive proposals he had included in his letters, the Party leaders subjected Kiraly to intensive questioning in the style of a police interrogation. He was accused of having no faith in the Party leadership and was

pressed to reveal the names of his "collaborators". Upon returning to his home town of Tirgu Mures (Hungarian Marosvasarhely), he became the object of extensive police harassment. Finally realizing the futility of his well-meaning and constructive criticism, he consented to the publication of his letters in the Western media.

During the last week of January 1978, reports of Kiraly's protest appeared in major newspapers throughout the world. Never in recent memory had this issue received concentrated attention. The reaction of the Rumanian regime was predictable and swift. Instead of implementing long overdue reforms, it initiated a new campaign of terror. For several weeks Kiraly's home town resembled an armed camp, with plainclothesmen, armed militiamen and armored cars stationed on every street. Kiraly himself was threatened with death and with the killing of his infant child. He was pressured to disavow his letters and denounce them as "fabrications of the CIA and Radio Free Europe". Kiraly held his ground with great courage and refused to withdraw his protest. As a result, he was exiled in February to the small town of Caransebes (Hungarian Karansebes). Despite strict instruction to the contrary, on March 1, 1978 he granted an interview to three Western correspondents during which he reiterated his protest, supplementing it with further details about the reaction of the regime. Since early April, the Rumanian secret police have prohibited Kiraly from receiving visitors, and he has been held in complete isolation. Attached to this testimony, in the Appendix, are translations of Kiraly's letters to Party leaders (pages A-1 to A-20) as well as selected articles about him from the world press (pages A-29 to A-42).

The significance of Kiraly's protest lies in the fact that it confirmed the charges which we, and groups similar to ours, have raised about the oppression of minorities by the Rumanian regime. Kiraly was in a position which enabled him to very closely observe the inner workings of the Rumanian system. The fact that he sacrificed his career, and risked his personal well-being and perhaps his life, makes his protest all the more credible.

During the past few months, other knowledgeable and recognized sources have also verified the existence of severe minority repression in Rumania. Self-exiled Rumanian author Paul Goma, for example, at a press conference held in Frankfurt, Germany on December 13, 1977, voiced these same charges against the Rumanian government. Goma stated that "all Rumanians are prisoners of President and Party Chairman Ceausescu's personality cult, but that the national minority inhabitants are treated as prisoners of the lowest order." (See also: Appendix, page A-27.)

The silencing of Kiraly could not put an end to the protest movement in Rumania. On April 24, 1978, the existence of three further protest documents written by prominent members of the Hungarian minority was revealed to Western journalists. First, a 7,000 word memorandum, including 18 separate demands for improved minority rights, had been prepared by Lajos Takacs, professor of international law, candidate member of the Party Central Committee and—as was Kiraly before his removal in March—Vice President of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council. Another protest, focusing on curtailment of Hungarian-language educational opportunities, had been sent by Andras Suto, the best-known writer of the Hungarian minority and also a candidate member of the Central Committee. Finally, it was reported that Janos Fazekas, who as Deputy Prime Minister is the highest-ranking Hungarian minority official in Rumania, had also issued a personal appeal calling for improvements in nationality policies. (See also: Appendix, page A-38.)

Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's recent state visit in the United States (April 11-17, 1978) and his behavior since returning to his own country constitute a separate—and revealing—new development. During the visit, protest demonstrations were numerous and often large in scale. Hungarian-Americans by the thousands publicly expressed their anger at the cultural genocide of their brethren in Rumania and Ceausescu had to face the demonstrators wherever he went. Unaccustomed to such freely permitted displays, the Rumanian dictator suffered occasional fits of anger. It is characteristic of his personality and style that in referring to the peaceful demonstrators, he declared to New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch: "If your security can't take care of these crowds, then our security will" (Appendix, page A-37). Welcome, New York, to the concept of human rights as enjoyed by citizens of Rumania!

THE TRUE NATURE OF THE CEAUSESCU REGIME VERSUS ITS "PUBLIC RELATIONS" IMAGE

Faced with mounting protests—from both internal and Western sources—since returning home, Ceausescu has reverted to his standard cure-all: more propaganda. But, as Karoly Kiraly has noted, the flowery verbiage is merely a device used to cover up gross deficiencies (Appendix, page A-14): "these beautiful speeches, incorporating so many sound principles, were not made for our sake, but to serve the purposes of propaganda, especially propaganda directed abroad . . . the chasm between theory and practice is vast and in reality while one thing is said, entirely different things are done."

Within 10 days after Ceausescu's departure from the United States a "National Center for the Promotion of Friendship and Co-operation with Other Peoples" was established in Bucharest. Speakers at the constituent meeting left no doubt about the propagandistic goals of the new outfit. The key phrase persistently recurring in the speeches was the need to spread the "correct information" about Rumania in foreign countries. According to one speaker, Rumania is "a unique example, a model which the world can no longer ignore, an experience which has become . . . a most precious good for the whole of international life." Another speaker revealed the reason for this exalted position: "Rumania has so many friends in the world today, because the immense prestige of the country's President reflects directly on the international authority of our country." Nevertheless, according to Deputy Foreign Minister Gliga "the further enhancing of Ceausescu's prestige" will be among the most important goals of the Center. (Radio Free Europe, "Romanian Situation Report 13", May 18, 1978, pp. 1-4.)

Why has Ceausescu chosen to generate massive, new doses of propaganda instead of implementing even the most minimal reforms? Though simple, the answer is saddening: thus far, such propaganda has proved more effective. Until recently, the impact of slown misinformation, designed to cover up vast deficiencies, has had a remarkable effect in disarming the American media and many Members of Congress. According to an American scholar of Rumanian origin (Vladimir Socor, "The Limits of National Independence in the Soviet Bloc: Rumania's foreign Policy Reconsidered," *Orbis*, Fall 1976, p. 729):

The phraseology of independence has also been ingeniously manipulated by Bucharest leaders to modify the image of their regime abroad. The endeavor has proven largely successful, as the pretense has often been accepted at face value. In lieu of substantiation by actual policies, the nationalistic rhetoric, along with leaks and "confidences" elaborately disseminated by Bucharest to the Western press, officials and ranking visitors, have been accepted as evidence of an independent foreign policy. Thus rhetoric and a sustained policy of misinformation have combined to erase the satellite image and build the new image of a "national Communist" regime striving for independence from Moscow. As a result the West has afforded Bucharest, through exchanges of official visits and favorable publicity, an international respectability unprecedented for a communist government. The regime has succeeded in eliciting international and particularly Western acceptance as a substitute for the internal legitimacy eluding it.

Nicolae Ceausescu of course has not renounced a single tenet from the worn-out and disgraceful book of Marxism-Leninism. He operates an old-fashioned Stalinist dictatorship, maintaining all the usual paraphernalia, including an omnipresent secret police and an insanely promoted personality cult. By placing his wife on the ruling Politburo, he has broken all records for nepotism, even in the Communist world.

Nor, apparently, does Ceausescu feel that homage must be paid to him by his Rumanian subjects only. During his United States visit, his price for visiting the Texas Instruments headquarters in Dallas was "a hunting rifle and a hunting outfit, plus a mink coat and a gold necklace for his wife" ("The Nays of Texas", *Newsweek*, May 1, 1978, p. 19). He was prepared to bargain, and reduced the price to successively lower levels, but Texas Instruments officials—perhaps with the recent, stringent antibribery legislation in mind—resisted, and Ceausescu was constrained to make the visit free of charge.

The type of company Ceausescu most prefers to keep is also revealing of the man. During his recent five-nation tour in Asia, for example, he concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Cambodian regime. Even Henry

Kissinger, though not known for any special aversion to dealing with dictatorships himself, has expressed utter revulsion for the Cambodian government: "this is maybe the most murderous government in the world. With the government in its present murderous frame of mind, I do not see that we can have anything to do with it." (The New York Times, June 8, 1978, p. A22.) It is not surprising, however, that Mr. Ceausescu should feel especially friendly toward the genocidal Cambodian regime. After all, *similis similli gaudet* (or, it takes one to know one).

Ceausescu's most elaborate public relations myth—his "independent" foreign policy—deserves further attention here. Mr. Ceausescu is not independent, he simply has a longer leash than the other East European puppets. As Rumania is "landlocked" by other Communist countries, the Soviet Union could safely withdraw its troops in the late 1950's with no danger of losing Rumania to the West. The absence of Soviet troops gives Ceausescu some room to maneuver. But he knows how far he can go, and Brezhnev knows that he knows. Rumania's "independence", therefore, is due to geographic and political factors over which it has little control, rather than to any real tendencies toward liberalization. Continuously, and with remarkable success, President Ceausescu has employed a scheme of making Rumania's "independence" appear to be the result of his own valiant efforts, rather than the given geo-political situation, thus pulling the wool over Western eyes.

Together with all Hungarian-Americans, we are deeply concerned for the restoration of freedom and independence for all the peoples of Eastern Europe. We would most certainly welcome genuine independence for any of these countries as a development beneficial to the entire area. But we condemn with equal force the notion of granting the Rumanian regime license to trample on human rights as a reward for propagating the wholly unfounded myth of independence.

MINORITY OPPRESSION IS A MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN PER SE

As a consequence of the arrangement of East Central Europe's borders following World War I, there are now 2.5 million Hungarians and 400,000 Germans living in Rumania. Specifically these nationalities are concentrated in the region known as Transylvania, of whose population they form about forty percent.

Rumania's national minorities are, of course, subjected to the same general suppression of freedoms as all the other inhabitants of that country. Their situation however is made much more grave by the additional burden of a systematic and increasingly aggressive campaign of forceful assimilation amounting to cultural genocide.

Due to the presence of sizeable indigenous minority populations within its borders, Rumania is one of those countries to which Article 27 of the United Nations Covenant of Civil and Political Rights applies. Despite ratification of this Covenant by Rumania, its minority policies stand in clear violation of Article 27, which provides:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Measures used to oppress nationalities in Rumania also violate those provisions of the Helsinki Agreement which prohibit discrimination on the basis of national origin and provide for the positive support of regional cultures and national minorities.

As a matter of course, human rights violations are a subject of international concern; when the expression "human rights" is uttered, it automatically falls within the framework of international law. Moreover, through its own ratification of the agreements mentioned above, Rumania has rendered itself further accountable to international scrutiny.

Rumania's treatment of its national minorities, therefore, can in no way be construed as a matter of purely internal concern to that country. The United States has every legal basis to insist on the restoration of fundamental rights to the minority populations of Rumania.

* * * * *

Before turning to the individual elements of Rumania's abusive minority policies, it must be pointed out that those elements cannot be properly viewed as distinct or isolated infractions. They form instead, the interrelated components

of a well-planned and systematically executed campaign to eliminate Rumania's national minorities through forcefully assimilating them into the dominant nationality. The whole then, is equal to far more than the sum of its parts. The proper term for a program of this nature is cultural genocide.

This expression is by no means an exaggeration. In 1948, the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide formulated a draft definition of the concept of cultural genocide (U.N. Doc. E/447). Regardless of the fact that the final text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide did not incorporate this definition, the Rumanian Government is not absolved of the fact that its behavior exactly corresponds to several elements of the definition.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES IN RUMANIA

With respect to a proper investigation of discrimination in Rumania, lofty guarantees of minority rights in the Rumanian Constitution serve to obscure more than they enlighten, since they are not observed. Section 22 for instance prescribes that:

In territorial-administrative units also inhabited by population of non-Rumanian nationality, all the bodies and institutions shall use in speech and in writing the language of the nationality concerned and shall appoint officials from its ranks or from among other citizens who know the language and way of life of the local population.

The sole difficulty with the above section is that it is completely disregarded: the language used in public administration and the courts is exclusively Rumanian.

The failure to observe constitutional and other legal guarantees is one characteristic feature of minority oppression in Rumania. Another major component is the absolute refusal to allow the minorities any role even vaguely resembling the conditions for self-determination, autonomy or independent decision-making. Although there are officials of minority extraction at every governmental level, they are permitted no meaningful voice in representing their own ethnic groups.

The Hungarian Nationality Workers Council was established in 1968 as the only body capable of serving the interests of the Hungarian minority. But the very text creating this Council exposes it as an instrument of the State, acting to undermine minority interests. The Council's stated purpose is "to assist the Party and the State, on both the central and local levels, in mobilizing the nationalities to assume their responsibilities in the building of socialism, in researching particular questions concerning the respective populations and in implementing the nationality policies of the Party."

Karoly Kiraly, Vice President of the Council for 10 years (until his removal in March 1978), furnished ample evidence of the Council's abject ineffectiveness. In his letters to Party leaders, Kiraly charged that the Council's activities "have declined to zero"; repeatedly, but to no avail, he called upon the government to "guarantee the proper organizational framework" as a precondition to treating minorities in a humane fashion. (See Appendix, pages A-1 to A-20.)

But let us look further into this matter. We find that Hungarians are proportionately represented, but only in those State and Party organs which are not allowed to exercise any real power, such as the showcase "Grand Assembly" (Rumania's excuse for a parliament) and the 500 member Party Central Committee. Hungarians are virtually excluded from any body which is granted an effective role in matters affecting their own interests. Of the seven secretaries of the Party Central Committee (the holders of real power aside from Ceausescu), not one is of minority origin. Of the 25 members of the Council of Ministers, for example, only one is Hungarian. The Secretary for Nationalities in the Party Central Committee cannot speak any minority language, only Rumanian. In the leadership of such vital organs as the Department of Culture and the Department of Education not one Hungarian is to be found, even among the deputy ministers. The entire Department of Culture contains only a "Bureau" of Nationalities, which is expected to serve all the cultural needs of all the minorities. Its chief activity is the exercise of censorship over the cultural life of the minorities. On the county level, the ineffectual People's Councils and Party Committees by and large do maintain proportional representation. But where the real power lies, within respectively, the 7-11 member Executive Committees and Party "Bureaus", Hungarians are grossly underrepresented. Indeed, in several heavily Hungarian populated counties such as Banat, Arad and Maramures (Hungarian Maramaros), they are completely excluded from the Party "Bureaus". In the

same way", Károly Kiraly pointed out, "it is nothing new that in cities where the majority of the population is Hungarian—such as Nagyvarad, Marosvasarhely, Szoyatta, etc.—Rumanians who speak no Hungarian are being appolluted as mayors" (Appendix p. A-15.)

Another ingenious method for compelling minorities to assimilate can be found in the structure of cultural institutions in Rumania. Independent minority institutions even at the lowest levels, have been virtually eliminated. The Hungarian university in Cluj (Hungarian Kolozsvár), for example, was made a section of its Rumanian counterpart; Hungarian schools have been merged into Rumanian schools as sections; four out of the six formerly independent Hungarian theaters are now just sections of Rumanian theaters; and so on. The purpose of such arrangements is to deny the existence of a distinct Hungarian nationality, culture or language. Even the expression "national minority" is not tolerated in official publications. The minorities are referred to in official documents as "co-inhabiting nationalities", thereby implying their dependent status vis-a-vis the Rumanians who are, by implication, the only legitimate inhabitants.

A further characteristic of minority discrimination is the official policy that this problem simply does not exist. In Rumania, "there is continuous repetition of the proposition that the nationality question in our country has been finally, once and for all, solved" (Karoly Kiraly, Appendix, p. A-9). While some discussion, and even occasional concessions are allowed concerning other social, economic and political questions, the situation of the minorities is a forbidden subject (ibid., p. A-5). Still less is it permitted to propose any improvement in this area. The only task is to combat "nationalism" (meaning, of course, minority nationalism) and to neutralize the "trouble-makers". According to Karoly Kiraly, who has himself experienced the dire consequences of such "troublemaking", "unpardonably extreme methods of intimidation are employed against those who dare to ask for permission to speak in the interest of having the nationality question handled legally and in accordance with the Constitution" (ibid., p. A-11). In this way, any demand or complaint concerning minority conditions is wholly ignored, or, in Kiraly's words, "killed by persistent silence" (Appendix, p. A-33).

Coupled with this official disregard is another general feature: the absence of any effective, legal remedy against abuse. Section 247 of Rumania's Criminal Code which forbids discrimination on the basis, inter alia, of national origin, is never enforced in criminal trials.

This deficiency clearly violates the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states (Article 2, Section 3):

Each State party to the present Covenant undertakes:

(a) to ensure that any person whose rights and freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;

(b) to ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;

(c) to ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

It would, of course, constitute a patent contradiction for the Rumanian regime to observe these provisions and to prosecute officials under Section 247 of the Criminal Code; such officials would have to be punished for faithfully executing the policies of the Rumanian Party and State.

In turning now to the list of individual human rights violations against minorities in Rumania, it is advisable to ponder not only the substance of the given violation, but also to examine the manner in which it fits into the comprehensive pattern of minority oppression, interacting with and serving to reinforce the other elements of this reprehensible campaign.

Three sources will be heavily cited in the discussion which follows. The first is a 16,000 word document, containing a wealth of data on the oppression of minorities, which was smuggled from Rumania to a London Sunday Times correspondent and reported in an article entitled "Rumania's Oppressed Minority" (April 17, 1977, p. 8). Whenever information from this document is used below, its origin will be noted as "London Sunday Times Report".

The second source consists of the three letters written by Karoly Kiraly to top Party leaders (see pp. 5-7 above) whose full texts are included in the Appendix to this testimony (pp. A-1 to A-20).

Finally, the 27 page memorandum prepared by Lajos Takacs, professor of international law, candidate member of the Party Central Committee and Vice President of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council, represents a valuable new collection of evidence on minority oppression. Included in the Appendix is a translation of his 18 separate demands for improvements in minority conditions (pp. A-21 to A-22) and one of the Western news reports describing his protest (p. A-40). The document itself will be cited below as "Takacs Memorandum".

SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES IN RUMANIA

1. *Discrimination in elementary and high school education*

Official Rumanian statistics indicate that of all pupils attending preschool institutions in Rumania, the proportion of those allowed to be educated in Hungarian dropped by over 50 percent from 14.4% in 1956 to 6.3% in 1978. The same proportion for primary and secondary school students fell from 9.5% to 5.4% and for high school students from 8.0% to 3.5%. The total decline in the above categories was from 10.0% to 5.3%. The percentage of students attending Hungarian vocational school dropped from 6.1% in 1956 to 1.5% in 1978. The figures used to compute these percentages are presented in the table below. (The sources for this table are two Rumanian government propaganda booklets: "The Hungarian Nationality in Romania," Bucharest, 1976, pp. 15-17; and "A Living Reality in Romania Today; Full Harmony and Equality Between the Romanian People and the CoInhabiting Nationalities," p. 15.)

	1955-56	1974-75	1977-78
Preschool education:			
All students.....	275,433	770,016	837,884
In Hungarian classes.....	39,669	52,765	52,580
Percent in Hungarian classes.....	14.4	6.8	6.3
Primary and secondary education:			
All students.....	1,603,025	2,882,109	3,145,046
In Hungarian classes.....	152,234	160,939	170,945
Percent in Hungarian classes.....	9.5	5.6	5.4
High school of general culture:			
All students.....	129,135	344,585	813,732
In Hungarian classes.....	10,370	19,050	29,028
Percent in Hungarian classes.....	8.0	5.5	3.5
Vocational education:			
All students.....	123,920	615,876	(1)
In Hungarian classes.....	7,585	8,974	(1)
Percent in Hungarian classes.....	6.1	1.5	(1)

1 Not available.

These official Rumanian statistics indicate that while 20 years ago the number of students allowed to attend Hungarian classes was roughly proportionate to the size of the Hungarian population, the above figures show an alarming decline. Attendance in Hungarian classes has fallen in each category far below the levels which even the official population statistics would warrant.

How has this drastic result come about? The process by which the Rumanian Government eliminates Hungarian schools began in 1959. Since that year, independent Hungarian schools have been systematically attached to Rumanian schools as mere sections, which sections, in turn, have been gradually phased out. The process of totally eliminating these Hungarian sections was legitimized by enactment of the clearly discriminatory Decree/Law 278 (May 11, 1973).

This unprecedented piece of legalized discrimination requires the presence of a minimum quote of 25 students at the grade school level and 36 students at the high school level in order to maintain or establish a class in one of the minority languages. (Prior to the issuance of this Decree, the quota had been 15 students.) If a given Hungarian community contains, for example, 24 Hungarian students for a given elementary school class, these children are forced to complete their studies in the Rumanian language. As more villages in Transylvania have only between 500 and 1000 inhabitants, the number of Hungarian students very often falls short of the required quota, and the Hungarian classes must be terminated. Once a school has thus been forced to become Rumanian, use of the Hungarian language is forbidden even during recess.

What makes this Decree still more offensive is that the provisions applicable to Hungarians and other minorities do not apply to Rumanian sections or classes

in areas inhabited predominantly by Hungarians. In such towns or villages, a Rumanian section must be maintained regardless of demand (i.e. even if a given Hungarian village contains only one Rumanian student). The wording of Decree/Law 278 makes this requirement perfectly clear:

In those communities where schools function in the language of the coinhabiting nationalities, Rumanian language sections or classes shall be organized regardless of the number of students.

In 1973, after the issuance of Decree/Law 278, Hungarian sections and schools were eliminated in many villages. Parents attempted to compensate for the loss by arranging at their own expense for rented buses to take their children to the nearest village which still had a Hungarian school. This practice, especially widespread in the counties of Harghita (Hungarian Harghita) and Salaj (Hungarian Szilagy), was soon recognized and summarily terminated by the State citing the excuse of "gas shortage". (Rumania, of course, has so much oil that it exports the surplus.)

As students are prevented from being bused to nearby Hungarian schools, the sole remaining alternative would be to send them away to live at the nearest Hungarian boarding school. The State, however, allows boarding facilities for Rumanian schools only. Assorted discriminatory techniques are thus cleverly intertwined and their effect is absolute: in the many heavily Hungarian populated, but small communities where the number of Hungarian children falls short of the required quota, those children are left with no other option but to attend a Rumanian school. The school may be located within the community or, if the community is too small, it may be a boarding school in a larger town, but in either case the State has made certain that it is a Rumanian school.

The systematic elimination of Hungarian schools continues unabated up to the present time. In the county of Cluj (Hungarian Kolozs), for example, in 1973 there were 14 Hungarian general high schools. By the beginning of the 1976-77 school year, however, there were only 11. During the same period, the number of Rumanian general high schools rose from 61 to 74. Thus, in that three year period alone, the percentage of Hungarian schools has declined from 18.7% to 12.9% in a county where even according to Rumanian official statistics 26.1% of the population is still Hungarian. (London Sunday Times Report.)

The situation is not much better in other regions. Analysis of recent official data indicates that during the current academic year 40 percent of eligible Hungarian high school students in Mures (Hungarian Maros) county, and 35 percent in Bihor (Hungarian Bihar) county, have been denied the opportunity to attend Hungarian schools. (London Sunday Times Report.)

Even in the remaining Hungarian schools and sections, not just the Rumanian language, but the subjects of literature, geography and history must also be taught in Rumanian. In many Hungarian sections, there are so many Rumanian-language courses that the section is Hungarian in name only. This is especially the case in Hungarian vocational and technical schools, where only Hungarian literature and physical education are actually taught in Hungarian.

Moreover, even in Hungarian classes, textbooks are not necessarily written in Hungarian, as revealed in a recent speech by Laszlo Lorincz, Secretary of the Ministry of Education (see transcripts of The Joint Plenary Session of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers Councils, Bucharest, March 13-14, p. 67). According to this speech, textbooks are considered appropriate for use in Hungarian classes even though they may contain only a glossary in Hungarian, but are otherwise written completely in Rumanian. Under such circumstances, to what degree can a nominally Hungarian class actually conduct studies in Hungarian?

The lack of Hungarian-language classes has been reported by the respectable Swiss daily *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* (in that newspaper's comprehensive survey: "Rumania's Controversial Minority Policy," April 8/9, 1977, p. 3):

In technical high schools, if a Hungarian student is to advance, he must take mostly those courses offered only in Rumanian. There is no possibility whatsoever of obtaining a higher education in the technical fields in Hungarian.

In trade schools, only the simpler trades are taught in Hungarian. Thus, studies in Rumanian are necessary for advancement into the more highly developed technical fields such as electronics, information technology, medical technology, and industrial chemistry. In 1973-74, for example, of the 174 first year classes entering the trade schools in Cluj (Kolozs) County, only two (2) were Hungarian, one in textile manufacturing, and the other in the construction industry. Such was the case in a county where, as noted above, even according to official Rumanian

statistics 26.1 percent of the population is Hungarian. (London Sunday Times Report.)

Matters have taken a sharp turn for the worse since the Fall of 1976 when a drive was initiated to reorganize Rumania's entire educational system, placing greater emphasis on technical and vocational training, and reducing the number of high schools, or lyceums, which provide instruction in the liberal arts. As an outgrowth of this drive, Hungarian lyceums which had been in continuous existence for the past 300-400 years in such cities as Oradea (Nagyvarad), Cluj (Kolozsjar), Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely), Odorhelul-Seculesc (Szekelyudvarhely) and Tirgu Seculesc (Kezdivasarhely) have been summarily eliminated, while the language of instruction is almost exclusively Rumanian.

The impact of this drive was already felt during the 1976-77 academic year: of the 34,738 total number of Hungarian secondary school students, 15,591 were constrained to attend trade schools in which the technical subjects were taught in Rumanian only (Takacs Memorandum, p. 11). And, as Karoly Kiraly pointed out, the situation has deteriorated despite official pledges to the contrary (Appendix, p. A-15):

We were promised new secondary vocational and technical schools in which studies were to be conducted in the languages of the nationalities, but in reality we have witnessed a decline in the number of these schools. Each year there are fewer and fewer of them. Children cannot study in their native tongue: compulsory instruction in the Rumanian language has been introduced even at the kindergarten level.

Finally, through discriminatory admissions policies, the State makes it difficult for graduates of Hungarian schools or sections to enter the next higher educational level. Naturally, the Hungarian-language courses at these levels are rapidly eliminated, their existence being predicated upon the number of Hungarians who enter them. The Rumanian State, in the meantime, alleges that it is due to lack of popular demand that such courses are closed. Thus, as in the many illustrations above, the vicious discriminatory cycle is complete and the outcome for the Hungarian minority is devastating.

2. Discrimination in higher education

Higher education has a great historic tradition in Transylvania. The Bolyai University of Cluj (Kolozsvar), for instance, can be traced to the Jesuit academy founded by the Hungarian prince István Báthory in 1581.

On March 5, 1959, the Bolyai University was forced to merge with the Rumanian Babes University. In his book "Minorities Under Communism", Robert R. King calls the elimination of this Hungarian institution "the most serious blow to intellectuals among the Hungarian minority" (p. 153). Three professors, including the celebrated writer Laszlo Szabedi, committed suicide out of despair at this arbitrary act. Today, many view it as the first major step in the current campaign of cultural genocide, sanctioned at the outset by Moscow in retaliation for the 1956 revolt in Hungary. Incidentally, both Szabedi and Nicolae Ceausescu were present at the dinner where the merger of the two universities was celebrated in the name of brotherhood and equality. Ceausescu, secretary to the then dictator Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, had been sent to head the campaign to intimidate the Hungarian professors in order to force them to accept the crippling of their university. During the dinner, Szabedi questioned the motives of the Government in ordering the merger. The result was an intensive harassment of Szabedi by the secret police, which finally drove him to commit suicide a few weeks later. It is characteristic that the document of unification, which lists the existing faculties of the two universities at the time of the merger, has been concealed ever since, so as to hide any official evidence of the extent to which the Hungarian faculties have been eliminated. King further states that after the merger "the 'Rumanianization' of the unified university was gradually carried out" (p. 154). He cites numerous examples of this ruthless process (ibid.):

Although at first there was an attempt to give Hungarians adequate representation in the administration of the merged university, gradually Rumanians have come to play an increasingly dominant administrative role. When the merger was announced the rector was Rumanian but two of the three prorectors were Hungarian. By 1967 the number of prorectorships had been increased to five, but three were Rumanian. Also, seven of the eight deacons of the University and 61 percent of the teaching faculty were Rumanian.

Present conditions at this allegedly bilingual university are dismal. In the 1976-77 academic year, of all the students (approximately 6,000) only 8 percent (480 students) have the opportunity to attend Hungarian classes. (London Sunday Times Report.) Typical of the lack of Hungarian-language courses is the situation in the University's Department of Chemistry. Only 6 of the 32 courses are taught in Hungarian, but 5 of those 6 are ideological courses (Marxism-Leninism, etc.) and the sixth is Organic Chemistry. (London Sunday Times Report.)

The following list, taken from the Takacs Memorandum (pp. 15-16), provides an indication of the fate of the Hungarian section at this university since the merger two decades ago:

Of the Chemistry faculty, in 1958-59, 45 were Rumanian, and 36 were Hungarian. In 1976-77, 63 were Rumanian and only 14 were Hungarian. In the interim, 37 young Rumanians and only one Hungarian were hired in this department.

Of the Law faculty, in 1958-59, 18 were Rumanian and 15 were Hungarian. In 1977-78, 23 were Rumanian and only 4 were Hungarian.

In the interim, 8 Rumanians, and only one Hungarian were hired.

Of the Economics faculty, in the year of the merger, 23 were Rumanian and 15 were Hungarian. Today this faculty has grown to an unusually large number of 95, of whom only 19 are Hungarian.

In the Department of Mathematics, in 1958-59 there were 50 faculty members, of whom 19 were from the Hungarian Bolyai University. In this department today, we find 65 faculty members, including 14 Hungarians. Of the 33 members hired since the merger, only 3 were Hungarian.

In the History Department of the History-Philosophy Faculty, at the time of the merger, there were 43 faculty members of whom 14 were from the Hungarian Bolyai University. Currently, 27 members remain in this department from the time of the merger, of whom 7 are Hungarian. Since the merger not one Hungarian teacher has been hired. The youngest Hungarian teacher is 49 years old. Of these 7 Hungarians, not one has been appointed as full professor and not one has been given a full pension.

The situation is similar in the other departments of the University.

There is no guarantee of course, that even the remaining Hungarian faculty members indicated above actually teach Hungarian-language classes. But clearly, as their numbers decline, even the possibility of such classes withers away.

A meaningful indicator of the total volume of Hungarian-language education which occurs at the University can be computed by multiplying the number of Hungarian courses by the number of students attending those courses. In recent semesters, the resulting figure has fluctuated between 5 percent and 10 percent of the comparable figure at the time of the merger. (London Sunday Times Report.)

Why is the elimination of the Bolyai University considered such an outrageous measure? The reason lies in the fact that the Hungarian minority in Rumania forms an immense population, the largest national minority in Europe. One third of all the countries in the world have fewer inhabitants than there are Hungarians in Rumania. It is grossly discriminatory that this population of 2.5 million is not allowed to maintain a single university of its own.

In addition to this University, all other Hungarian institutions of higher education have been systematically curtailed or eliminated. King writes that "at the time Babes and Bolyai Universities were merged, the Dr. Petru Groza Agricultural Institute in Cluj was 'reorganized', and separate language instruction was dropped" (p. 154). Actually, according to Takacs (p. 16), "Hungarian-language instruction was completely eliminated" at this Institute. "Currently, of the 205 faculty members employed there, only 16 are Hungarian—all of them left over from the old institute—and during the past 20 years, not one Hungarian teacher has been appointed" (ibid.). Of course, since studies can only be conducted in the Rumanian language, even these remaining Hungarians cannot teach in their native tongue.

According to King, "The Hungarian medical school in Tirgu Mures has also undergone a process of 'Rumanianization'" (p. 154). The number of cases is endless. In 1976 a Rumanian rector was appointed to head the Hungarian Teachers College in Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely) for the first time in the history of the school (London Sunday Times Report). Based on past experience, there can be no mistake as to the meaning of this measure for the future of this prestigious college. Indeed, during the short time which has elapsed since this appointment, existing courses of instruction in the Hungarian language and litera-

ture, Hungarian music, and Rumanian-Hungarian literature have been completely eliminated.

Karoly Kiraly wrote about the fate of institutions of higher education in the following manner (Appendix, p. A-15) :

In 1976 a decision was born to eliminate Hungarian institutions of higher education. After the "Bolyai" University in Kolozsvar came the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacology at Marosvasarhely, and then, by special order from above, a Rumanian section was established at the Istvan Szentgyorgyi School for the Dramatic Arts, thereby liquidating in effect the last "island" of higher education in a nationality tongue.

Parallel to the disappearance of opportunities to study in Hungarian, there has been a catastrophic drop over the past two decades in the proportion of Hungarian students attending any institution of higher education. This decline can only be explained by discriminatory admissions policies. In the 1957-58 academic year, at all institutions of higher education, there were 4,082 Hungarian students studying in their native tongue, and between 1,000 and 1,500 studying in Rumanian. At that time, therefore, there were approximately 5,500 Hungarian students out of a total student population of 51,094. Less than 20 years later, during the 1974-75 academic year, the total number of Hungarians attending institutions of higher education was 6,188, while the total number of Rumanians had grown to 108,750. Thus, while the number of all students in higher education more than doubled during that period, the number of Hungarian students rose by only about 600, or a mere 10 percent. (Takacs Memorandum, p. 17.)

One final comment on this topic seems appropriate. The severe restriction on these subjects which can be taught in Hungarian is not without serious impact on the lower levels of education. As indicated earlier, the various elements of discrimination in Rumania cannot be isolated, for they act to reinforce one another. Thus, the fact that the number of subjects which can be pursued in Hungarian beyond high school is relentlessly declining undoubtedly serves to pressure aspiring Hungarian students to begin studying those subjects in Rumanian during their earlier years of schooling.

3. Dissolution of compact minority communities and dispersion of ethnic professionals

As a Communist dictatorship, the Rumanian Government has almost complete control over its labor and housing markets. This control is used to break up homogeneous ethnic Hungarian communities.

The systematic denationalization of Hungarian cities has been noted in the "Financial Times" of London ("Transylvania's Ethnic Strains," April 2, 1975). The case of Cluj, Rumania's second largest city, is described as follows:

Over the past 15 years, Romanians have been settled in this formerly almost entirely Hungarian city whereas Hungarians from the surrounding area have been banned with the result that Romanians now make up 65 percent of the population.

In Rumania, citizens are not permitted to resettle into another city without official approval. At the same time, it is government policy to prevent the minority populations of cities from growing. Accordingly, while Hungarians find it almost impossible to move into the major cities of Transylvania, the influx of Rumanians is not only permitted, but encouraged through offers of favorable housing opportunities and other benefits.

Industrialization, which as in all Communist states is government-planned, is used as a tool to achieve the same purpose. Earlier some of the most heavily Hungarian populated counties were among the most industrially underdeveloped. Hungarians seeking industrial employment were thus constrained to move to Rumanian areas or to commute long distances. Presently, with industrialization reaching into such counties as Covasna (Kovaszna, 74.4 percent Hungarian) and Harghita (Harghita, 88.1 percent Hungarian), instead of employing the local population, the new factories are staffed mostly by Rumanian settlers imported by the government from outside areas.

It has been alleged that the reason for the decline in the Hungarian percentage of some Transylvanian cities is that their "hinterland" was much more Rumanian than Hungarian and "that upward mobility has favored the lesser developed Rumanian masses". This hypothesis is disproved by such cities as Miercurea Cluc (Csikszereda) where in the past 10 years, as a consequence of industrialization, the percentage of Hungarians has fallen from 90 percent to 70

percent. This city happens to lie in the heart of a region which is purely Hungarian.

Another example of this policy is the manner in which workers have been hired at the new AZOMURES chemical factory in Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely). This city lies at the center of an area surrounded by a 60 percent majority of Hungarian inhabitants. Despite this fact, 90 percent of the workers in the AZO1 MURES plant are Rumanian. (London Sunday Times Report.)

A Decree issued in 1976 limits the opportunity for workers to commute. Thus, Hungarian workers who had been able to live in their native communities because they were willing to commute long distances must now either move to their place of employment (usually to Rumanian communities) or face the loss of their jobs. (London Sunday Times Report.)

The breakup of Hungarian communities is further accomplished through the routine assignment of Hungarian graduates of universities and trade schools to jobs outside their native communities. Even though President Ceausescu himself, speaking on March 14, 1978 before a joint plenary session of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers Councils (Transcript, p. 14), cited this practice as a "deficiency" in Rumania's nationality policies, it continues unaltered to the present day.

The stated policy of the Rumanian Government, that graduates with the highest grades are given first choice of where to work, cannot account for the extent to which Hungarians are sent into Rumanian areas and Rumanians into Hungarian districts. As a result, these Hungarians are cut off from their ethnic roots, and their children have no opportunity to attend Hungarian schools. More importantly, however, the Hungarian minority is deprived of doctors, lawyers, and other professionals who speak their own language. A frequently heard complaint, especially among the elderly in rural areas, is that they cannot communicate with the local doctor. Obviously, the otherwise sensible practice of rewarding top graduates with first choice in place of employment could still be applied effectively with the simple modification that Hungarian graduates be allowed to choose from among Hungarian areas and Rumanian graduates from among Rumanian regions.

The fact that Rumanian graduates are also sent into Hungarian districts does not make this policy any less discriminatory. On the contrary, although Hungarians are required to speak Rumanian in the Rumanian areas to which they have been sent, Rumanian professionals do not have to speak Hungarian in Hungarian areas. Consequently, the local population must either accommodate to the language of the Rumanian professionals foisted on them, or suffer the consequences. The discriminatory nature of this policy is clear. It is also intimately tied to the Government's policy on minority schools. The sending of Rumanians into Hungarian areas paves the way for the elimination of Hungarian schools, since the children of these Rumanians are educated in newly created Rumanian sections. The Hungarian sections are then phased out as shown above.

Clearly, the Ceausescu regime, which appeals to nationalistic chauvinism as a source of legitimacy and power, does not easily tolerate compact masses of another nationality. Dissolution of communities is an effective way to disrupt the life and weaken the identity of ethnic groups.

4. Lack of bilingualism

The Rumanian Government's policy of referring to Rumania as a "unitary national state" is well known. But while that condition might be the desire or the aim of the Government, it is also true that Rumania is currently multi-ethnic, especially in the region of Transylvania. The presence of several million inhabitants comprising large national minority groups is an undeniable fact which has well-defined consequences according to the rules of international law applicable to such minorities.

In contravention of these rules and Article 22 of the Rumanian Constitution quoted earlier, Rumanian is the official language spoken everywhere in Rumania; it is the exclusive language at all levels of government bureaucracy. Use of the native tongue has been completely eliminated from all areas of official activity. We challenge the Rumanian government, for example, to produce evidence of a single statement made in Hungarian during any meeting of a Party or local governmental organ in such heavily Hungarian localities as Oradea (Nagyvarad), Satu Mare (Szatmar), Bihorea (Bihar), Timisoara (Temesvar) or Oluj (Kolozsvar). As Karoly Kiraly pointed out (Appendix, pp. A-15 to A-16) :

Use of the native tongue is severely restricted at the meetings of the Party, the Young Communists League, the trade unions, and in the various workers Councils; indeed, use of the native tongue is prohibited even at meetings of the Nationality Workers Councils.

The lack of bilingualism is further evidenced by the fact that traffic safety signs and bureaucratic forms are all in Rumanian. Moreover, as Kiraly writes (Appendix, p. A-16) :

Signs identifying institutions localities and so on in the native tongue of the local inhabitants have almost completely disappeared. In 1971 when I was First Party Secretary in Kovaszna County, we posted bilingual Rumanian and Hungarian signs there, in accordance with a decree of the County Peoples Council. But their existence was shortlived. The signs were simply removed, and by 1975, not a single locality was identified in Hungarian.

In addition, there is an increasing tendency to appoint Rumanian personnel to all positions which involve contact with the public in Hungarian areas. In Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely), for instance (which as already noted is still 70-75% Hungarian) the Rumanian mayor does not even speak Hungarian and postal service personnel are almost exclusively Rumanian. (See also Karoly Kiraly's statement on this subject in Appendix, p. A-15.)

In this regard, the author of the Neue Zurcher Zeitung article cited above made the following observation :

In Cluj whose population is still 45 percent Hungarian-speaking, signs in that language are clearly forbidden. Only Hungarian theater billboards and announcements in churches visited by Hungarians are in Hungarian.

According to Article 109 of the Rumanian Constitution, judicial proceedings throughout the country must be conducted in the Rumanian language. The only right a Hungarian defendant or litigant has before the court of his own native community is to be provided with an interpreter. This "right", however, is no more than the right granted to any foreigner brought to trial in Rumania.

In the technical professions, due to the absence of bilingual instruction noted above, use of the Hungarian language is simply impossible. It is also impossible to find a menu in Hungarian in the restaurants of Cluj (Kolozsvar) where a large percentage of the population is Hungarian. Postcards depicting Hungarian historical monuments bear descriptive texts in four or five languages, none of them Hungarian.

The lack of bilingualism is made all the more severe by the overt and subtle forms of intimidation which are employed to eliminate the use of the native tongue at all levels of society. Karol Kiraly pointed to this problem when he wrote (Appendix, pp. A-7 and A-16) :

In some cases, first secretaries, first vice-presidents, county secretaries in municipalities and cities and vice-presidents in the Peoples Councils, though of nationality origin themselves, use only the Rumanian language in their contacts with workers of nationality origin, letting them know in this way that perhaps someone prohibited them from using the native tongue. . . Nationalities cannot use their native tongues even in State offices; after all, most of the officials are Rumanians who do not speak the nationality's language, either because they do not know it or because they refuse to use it.

Due to this complete absence of any degree of bilingualism and the chauvinism encouraged by governmental policies, members of minorities are often forced to endure derision and threats for using their mother tongue, even in private conversations at public places. It seems fitting to conclude here with the experience of a recent visitor, a well-known writer, to Transylvania. In the predominantly Hungarian village of Sic (Szek), he found only one Hungarian sign. It hangs on the wall of the village tavern and declares: "It is forbidden to sing in Hungarian."

5. Curtailment of cultural opportunities

In view of the already discussed decline in Hungarian educational opportunities and the increasing denationalization of Hungarian communities, it is hardly surprising that the same policy of curtailment and elimination permeates every aspect of minority cultural life as well. As noted recently by The Times of London ("Party Officials Join Fight for Hungarians' Rights," April 25, 1978, p. 9) :

The Hungarians, who hitherto had their old cultural institutions have gradually been losing them as the policy of enforced assimilation by the Rumanian state gained momentum over the past 10 years or so.

The following are only some examples of this discriminatory process:

No independent Hungarian writers, artists, or musicians association may exist in Rumania today despite the rich, living heritage of Transylvanian Hungarian creators in those areas. Even in the field of literature, where language is obviously of supreme importance, Hungarians can only belong to the Rumanian Writers Association as individuals. They are not permitted to pass even resolutions of their own. Their only right is to make proposals to the entire body. Their leaders are not elected, but appointed by the Rumanians. Out of "courtesy" to the attending Rumanian officials, Hungarian writers are not able to hold meetings or carry on discussions in their own mother tongue. In this way, Hungarian poets and authors are forced to discuss their literary work in another language: Rumanian. Contacts—even informal—with literary associations in Hungary are strictly forbidden. Through only a fraction of their work is allowed to appear in Rumania, Hungarian writers are prohibited from publishing any original material in Hungary.

The volume of Hungarian-language books published in Rumania is clearly insufficient. According to official government statistics 2,423,000 copies were published in 1977, meaning only one book per Hungarian for the entire year. And, of course, this figure includes textbooks, children's books and an inordinately heavy share of translations from the Rumanian language, including such "gems" as the collected works of Nicolae Ceausescu. In the period from 1970 to 1977, of the 19 publishers who published anything in Hungarian, 12 did not exceed 10 titles each. During that seven year period, Akademia Publishers issued only 1 work in Hungarian, Mediacella published 4, Minerva published 1, and the Tourist and Sports Publisher issued 1. Eight of these publishers do not employ a single Hungarian editor, while the other four employ one each. As a result of these conditions, there is a severe shortage of Hungarian books of a technical nature and of Hungarian children's books. (Takacs Memorandum, p. 19.)

The number of Hungarian-language newspapers, frequency of publication and number of pages have all been forcibly curtailed in the past years under the pretext of a "paper shortage". Rumanian newspapers were also curtailed, but their allocations were soon reinstated while those of the Hungarian newspapers were not. Six Hungarian newspapers formerly published daily are now allowed to appear only weekly. There is no journal on drama or music or the other arts in Hungarian, even though the demand for these items is high. Nor are there any technical, medical and other professional journals in the minority languages. Those publications which do exist are used by the State to further undermine the national identity of the minorities. Newspapers, magazines and literary publications in Hungarian do not serve the political, economic or cultural/spiritual needs of the Hungarian minority. Literary magazines, for example, are to a great extent devoted to the translated works of Rumanian authors and to the activities of the Communist Party.

To counter the charge of discrimination in this field, it could be argued that all publications, including those in the Rumanian language are filled with official propaganda. But of all the Communist-ruled countries, Rumania appeals the most to national Chauvinism as a source of popular support. The Ceausescu regime, intoxicated with delusions of its own grandeur, treats the mere existence of minorities as anathema. Official Rumanian propaganda, therefore, is not only Communist, but especially chauvinistic in nature. It serves the interests of a chauvinistic dictatorship bent on robbing its minority populations of their national identity. Thus even when applied equally to both Hungarians and Rumanians, it is inevitably discriminatory against the former.

Book imports from Hungary are severely restricted by Rumanian regulations which tie their number to the volume of books Hungary imports from Rumania. Because obviously more Hungarian literature is produced in Hungary than in Rumania, and the publication of Hungarian-language books in Rumania is kept at an artificially low level, this linkage works as an effective obstacle to the importation of literary products from Hungary. In this way, for example, the most widely known novel by one of the greatest contemporary writers in Hungary, Laszlo Nemeth, published in 1948, was not distributed in Rumania until 1987. The restriction on literary imports from Hungary applies equally to classical literature, specialized scientific and technical texts, and phonograph records, even those containing only folk and gypsy music. Subscriptions to periodicals published in Hungary can be obtained only with official permission and only if they do not exceed a numerical quota (London Sunday Times

Report). Eighty to ninety percent of such requests are rejected, including those of schools, libraries and institutions as well as individuals (ibid.).

The policy of restricting materials from Hungary also applies to private individuals (Rumanian citizens as well as foreign visitors) who enter Rumania with personal belongings. The following typical border incident was recently reported by an American news correspondent (Eric Bourne, "After 20 Years of Silent Protests, Transylvanians in Romania Are Calling Loudly for Their Rights," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 25, 1978, p. 15):

Scene: The border crossing on the main highway from Hungary into north-western Romania.

Awaiting Customs clearance, a coachload of Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin.

They are returning home to the Hungarian minority region of Transylvania in Romania after visiting relatives in Hungary.

On one side of the border the Hungarian guard waves them on quickly. But on the other side the Romanians take longer.

Passengers' suitcases and parcels are all meticulously checked—not for luxury items, but for Hungarian books and newspapers, which are invariably confiscated.

A girl is relieved of several volumes of a Hungarian encyclopedia. Near tears, she explains they are for her studies, but to no avail . . .

These arbitrary Romanian restrictions on the import of Hungarian publications are a major cause of increasing resentment among the 2 million ethnic Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania.

Twenty years ago there were six independent Hungarian theaters in Transylvania. Today only two of them exist, one in Sluj (Kolozsvár) and the other in Sfintul Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy). The remaining four have been merged into Rumanian theaters (except that of Timisoara (Temesvár) which was merged with the German one) where the management and service personnel are exclusively Rumanian.

The purpose of the mergers was to suffocate a flourishing institution, the Hungarian theater. A good case in point is the process which occurred in Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely). This predominantly Hungarian city (70-75%) is the cultural center of a totally Hungarian rural hinterland (90-95 percent). Though there appeared to be no need for a Rumanian theater, one was created and forcefully merged with the Hungarian theater. A Rumanian director who does not speak a word of Hungarian was appointed to head the new theater (Karoly Kiraly, Appendix, p. A-15). As expected, Rumanian performances played before an almost completely empty house while Hungarian performances were almost always sold out. The result is that season tickets can now be bought only for the combination of Rumanian and Hungarian performances. Hungarian theater-goers are thereby forced to subsidize the Rumanian performances and, consequently, the gradual suffocation of their own theater section.

Coincidentally, the city's Istvan Szentgyörgyi Hungarian School for the Dramatic Arts was merged into a newly created Rumanian counterpart. As Kiraly writes (Appendix, p. A-15): "just to eliminate any remaining doubt concerning the latter move, of the six Hungarian graduates of the School for the Dramatic Arts, only one was appointed to a Hungarian theater while the remaining five—whether they liked it or not—were placed in Rumanian theaters." The locality in question, Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely), has never had a Rumanian theatrical tradition, and it lacked even the necessary drama instructors to staff the new school. Clearly, the only purpose of this merger was to provide the means for gradually eliminating a vital Hungarian institution. Even the Rumanian theatrical elite was outraged at this measure.

For many years Hungarian theaters in Rumanian fulfilled an important mission by touring the Hungarian-inhabited countryside performing plays for the people in small towns and villages. In recent years, however, the government has begun to interfere with this practice as well. It has, for instance, restricted the amount of gasoline allocated to the Hungarian Theater of Cluj (Kolozsvár) and in 1975 it confiscated the Theater's truck. Many outlying localities thus lost the opportunity to benefit from the Theater's performances. (London Sunday Times Report.)

Ten years ago the Hungarian Folk Institute of Cluj (Kolozsvár) was closed without explanation. At about the same time the Szekely Folk Ensemble was also eliminated. A so-called Maros Folk Ensemble was created in its place, which performs considerably more Rumanian than Hungarian numbers. Moreover, an internal (unofficial, but strictly enforced) Party directive prohibits any further hir-

ing of Hungarians by this ensemble. The same directive applies to the Hungarian Philharmonic Orchestra in Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely). These cases are mentioned only as an examples of the manner in which allegedly Hungarian groups are forced to conduct their activities.

Despite a potential audience numbering in the millions, films in Rumania cannot be made in Hungarian. There are no facilities for the training of theatrical directors, drama critics, art critics, or music critics in Hungarian. Requests for permission to study in these professions in Hungary are routinely denied.

Fortunately, the inadequacy of Hungarian-language broadcast programming in Rumania is partly offset by the invaluable services of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Nevertheless the situation falls far short of expectations: The present 3 hours of television programming a week in a language that is the mother tongue of 2.5 million people is grossly inadequate. Adding to this insufficiency, television program schedules were rearranged in January 1974 so that even these scant 3 hours are now broadcast during a time period (Monday, late afternoon) when the majority of potential viewers are still at work. The situation with respect to radio programming is no less deplorable. It is outrageous and highly discriminatory for example, that Radio Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely), whose broadcast area has a Hungarian population of more than 90 percent transmits only 2 hours daily in Hungarian.

Finally, it is revealing to examine the supply of books in public libraries. According to recent data the volumes in these libraries are predominantly in the Rumanian language even in entirely Hungarian communities. Two examples are the library located in the Kalotaszeg region (close to 100% Hungarian populated) where out of 30,000 books only 5,471 (18.2%) were in Hungarian, and the library of Rimetea (Torocko, 93.1% Hungarian populated) where out of 7,531 books only 3,228 (42.9%) were in Hungarian. (London Sunday Times Report.)

6. Falsification of population statistics

Rumanian statistics consistently understate the size of the Hungarian minority in Rumania. Based on a census taken in 1910, the Hungarian population within the region which later formed the Rumanian state was placed at 1.6 million. According to the 1966 Rumanian census, despite the passage of 56 years, the number was still the same.

This strange result might be explained by internal inconsistencies in those Rumanian statistics which deal with the growth rate of the Hungarian minority. The last three censuses in Rumania have produced the following published statistics:

	Total Population excluding Hungarians	Hungarians
1956	15,901,775	1,587,675
1966	17,483,571	1,619,592
Growth Rate, 1956-1966	9.9%	2.0%
1977	19,852,542	1,706,874
Growth Rate, 1956-1966	13.5%	5.4%

According to these figures, between 1956 and 1966, the non-Hungarian population of Rumania grew by 9.9 percent, at a rate almost five times greater than the alleged Hungarian growth rate of 2.0 percent. Similarly, between 1966 and 1977, the total population of Rumania, excluding Hungarians, supposedly grew by 13.5 percent, while the growth rate of Hungarians was only 5.4 percent. In reality, aside from statistical juggling, there is no circumstance which can be cited to justify such vast differences in growth rates.

Furthermore, there are demographic statistics on Hungarians which suggest a significantly larger Hungarian population than that which is officially reported. According to official Rumanian sources (e.g. The Hungarian Nationality in Rumania, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 23-24), there are about 1.5 million active Hungarian churchgoers in Rumania. This number represents 92.6% of the Hungarian population shown in the same booklet. The magnitude of this percentage, however, is clearly absurd given the well-known pressures in Communist countries against practicing one's religion. The comparable percentage for the United States where freedom of worship is fully protected, is only 62.9%. Taking the given 1.5 million Hungarian churchgoers and applying 62.9%, a figure probably still an exaggeration for a Communist country, the size of the Hungarian population would be approximately 2.4 million.

During his 1976 visit in the United States, a high-ranking official from Rumania provided still more astonishing example of the internal inconsistencies in Ru-

mania statistics. Seeking to prove the vast freedom of worship for minorities in Rumania, he quoted the results of a new survey to determine the number of Hungarians belonging to each of six religious denominations. When added up, however, the six figures totaled 1,724,000 or 17,126 more Hungarian churchgoers than the entire Hungarian population according to the Rumanian census taken a year later.

The Rumanian regime uses several techniques to underrepresent the size of the Hungarian minority. One method is to eliminate two ancient Hungarian groups from population data on Hungarians: the Csangos and the Szekelys. The Csangos number about 250,000 and are the only major group of Hungarians who lived under Rumanian sovereignty even before the Rumanian annexation of Transylvania. They have comprised a minority amidst Rumanians for centuries, living in Moldavia outside the Carpathian basin. They are never counted as Hungarians despite the fact that they have preserved their distinctive Hungarian language, culture and Roman Catholic faith. Their statistical annihilation as Hungarians is only part of the Government's campaign against them. In 1958, for example, they still had 72 schools. Today they have none (London Sunday Times Report). Further, not only Hungarians from Hungary but Transylvanian Hungarians as well are discouraged through intimidation from visiting the Csango region. Recently, a Transylvanian Hungarian ethno-musicologist, the widely respected Zoltan Kallos, was imprisoned on false charges of homosexuality while he was engaged in researching the folk music of the Csangos.

The Szekelys (sometimes called Szeklers in English) on the other hand, are an autochthonous population of Transylvania. They are often, though not always counted separately from Hungarians in spite of their being proudly Hungarian and indeed, the most resistant to the inroads of forceful Rumanianization. In any case, the distinction between Szekelys and other Hungarians is of purely historic interest and is no more or no less significant than, for example, the distinction between Normans and other Frenchmen, Prussians and other Germans, or Highland and Lowland Scots. According to an English historian "they differ, in their own eyes, from the other Magyars only in being more Magyar than they" (C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 255). The Rumanian policy of playing up this distinction and completely excluding the 250,000 Csangos, can have no other end than to reduce the significance of the Hungarian population to which all Hungarians, Szekely, Csango or otherwise, equally belong.

Another sly tactic involves the demographic questionnaire used to compile census data (most recently, in January 1977). The form contains three spaces requiring identification as to "citizenship", "nationality" and "mother tongue", in that order. The census taker is instructed not to complete the "nationality" blank, as if he had forgotten to pose that question. As "citizenship" is obviously Rumanian, where "mother tongue" is Hungarian, the blank is later filled in as follows: "Nationality: Hungarian-speaking Rumanian". The result statistically is one less member of the Hungarian nationality and one more Rumanian. This artificial distinction between nationality and mother tongue, together with the "correction" of census returns, thus serves the dual purposes of understating the size of the Hungarian population and increasing the number of Rumanians. This practice was uncovered by the International Commission of Jurists ("The Hungarian Minority Problem in Rumania." *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists*, No. 17, December 1963, p. 41):

The Rumanian National Statistical Office carried out a census in 1956 and it was emphasized that the civil servants carrying out the census were obliged to call attention in each case to the basic difference between nationality, i.e., ethnic origin, and mother-tongue. All persons registered had to state to which national ethnic group they belonged. The distinction between national group and mother-tongue and the obligation to state before officials one's national group drive a wedge between a people and its culture and this indeed is reflected in the figures given by the census. For every thousand people of declared Hungarian origin there were one thousand and forty-two giving Hungarian as their mother-tongue. It is difficult to believe that Hungarian, difficult and almost unrelated to other languages, is the mother-tongue of any but Hungarians, and yet 4.2% of the Hungarian minority group shrank from stating that they were Hungarian. The reasonable conclusion to be drawn from this is that in their eyes it was better not to declare oneself to be Hungarian.

7. Confiscation of church archives

In 1948 the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide accepted the following definition as one of the ways by which the crime of cultural genocide may be committed (United Nations Document E/447) :

... systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic, or religious value and of objects used in religious worship.

As noted earlier, regardless of the fact that the final text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide did not incorporate the above language, Rumania's recent behavior exactly corresponds with this definition.

Act No. 63 of November 2, 1974 on the protection of the national cultural Treasury and Decree/Law 207 (1974) (amending Decree/Law 472 (1971) on the National Archives) are major tools used to eradicate the history of the Hungarian cultural institutions. Under the above laws, the government summarily nationalized all "documents, official and private correspondence, memoirs, manuscripts, maps, films, slides, photos, sound-recordings, diaries, manifestos, posters, sketches, drawings, engravings, imprints, seals and like material" over 30 years old from the possession of religious and cultural institutions or private citizens. The pretext was the "protection" of these documents but the real intent soon became obvious from the crude and summary manner by which the regulations were enforced.

The Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* ("Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Rumania", February 1/2, 1975, p. 6) reported this outrage in the following manner :

The intent behind the nationalization of the ecclesiastical archives is to sever the religious communities from their historical roots. A church without a past /tradition/ has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority. The first victim of these warlike designs against the religious and cultural minorities by the Rumanian regime was the Hungarian Reformed Church in the northeast districts of Oradea, Satumare, Baia-Mare and Zalau. Here, in the mother country of the Reformation in Transylvania, appeared officials from the State Archive, assisted by an authorized agent from the Department of Culture and a representative from the episcopate, who seized the archives of approximately two-hundred church communities and deaneries. The material was—in many cases without receipt—loaded onto trucks and carted away. The historical order of the archives has become completely disrupted in the process—one method of "reserving" and "protecting" historical materials—rendering scientific research for the next decades impossible. The Rumanian government has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed Church and the Hungarian nationality /minority/ . . .

It would be much easier and simpler, from a scientific point of view, if the church archives were to keep the originals and were to hand out copies to the state. In this way, the claimed scientific concern by the state would be amply maintained, and the articles would remain in the archives, instead of being transported away to distant, unknown and possibly inaccessible locations.

The Archive Decree affects the Roman-Catholic, the Hungarian Reformed and the German Lutheran churches considerably more than the Rumanian Orthodox Church because the latter, as all Eastern churches, primarily cultivates the liturgy, and relies much less on a written, firmly established historical tradition.

Especially the two "reformed" churches /i.e., the Reformed and Lutheran/ have been preserving in their archives the tradition of their religious and linguistic individuality, dating back to the time of the Reformation.

These church archives had for centuries been inventoried by the churches themselves. The archives were generally in excellent order and condition but more importantly, they were accessible to researchers. The immense archive of the Roman Catholic episcopate of Oradea (Nagyvarad), for example, was housed in a building built in the 18th century and equipped expressly for that purpose. The archive is now stored in a warehouse of the castle in that city, inaccessible to scholars. Similarly, as a consequence of neglect and outright mistreatment by the authorities, the archive of the Roman Catholic episcopate of Satu Mare (Szatmarnemeti) has been almost completely destroyed. The archives of the Roman Catholic lyceum of Oradea (Nagyvarad), and of the Reformed Church Colleges of Orastie (Szaszvaros), Sighetul Marmatiei (Maramarossziget), and

Satu Mare (Szatmarnemeti) have also suffered severe deterioration. (Takacs Memorandum, p. 20.)

For the past 26 years Rumania has maintained absolutely no facilities for the professional training of archivists, not even in Rumanian. (During the "legislative debate" surrounding the passage of Act No. 63, Ceausescu himself was astonished to learn this fact.) The few archivists extant in Rumania are not expert in ancient Slavic, ancient Greek, Hungarian and Latin, the languages in which the documents were written. The richest Hungarian collection in the country, the Battyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehervar), does not employ a single Hungarian expert (Takacs Memorandum, p. 21).

The above-mentioned outrages form part of a systematic effort to re-write Rumanian history in order to suppress the significance of the indigenous Hungarian culture. Another means for achieving the same objective was reported by the *Financial Times* ("Transylvania's Ethnic Strains," April 2, 1975):

A favourite device is to 'facelift' the tombs and crypts of famous Hungarian families in the medieval Házsongard cemetery in Cluj by allotting them to decently dead Rumanians. In this way, the ethnic composition of the former population, now dead, is restructured favourably.

8. *Harassment of churches*

The multinational region of Transylvania has a long heritage of religious freedom. It was in Transylvania that freedom of religion was written into law for the first time in history, in 1568 at the Diet of Torda. Significantly, this momentous event occurred at a time when elsewhere in Europe wars of religious intolerance were raging.

The Rumanian State, through its Ministry of Cults, exercises a policy of total interference in ecclesiastical matters regardless of their administrative, social, or theological nature. No decision can be implemented by the churches unless it is thoroughly reviewed and approved by the Ministry of Cults. For instance, any social or religious gathering, with the exception of Sunday worship, must be approved by the State. The same condition applies to the right of churches to use their material resources. State approval of such use has been known to take years. Moreover, Protestant congregations are denied the ancient and traditional right to elect their own ministers and presbyters. They may only propose candidates, since the State has reserved the right of selection for itself. Religious instruction is also subject to debilitating government intrusion. While the State does approve religion classes to be held during certain prescribed hours, school authorities are instructed to organize compulsory school activities at precisely the same hours. Non-attendance at such activities results in official reprimand of not only the "delinquent" child but the parents as well.

It should be emphasized that these restrictions harm especially the minority populations. Religious affiliation generally corresponds with nationality in Rumania. The Church then is the only remaining institution which could fulfill the minorities' needs and permit them to nurture their ethnic heritage. In this sense, therefore, "harassment of churches" assumes a far greater meaning for minorities than only the curtailment of religious freedoms.

By paying one third of the salaries of clergymen, the State claims the right to their complete and faithful cooperation. If the situation calls for it, they can be forced at any time to become part of the Communist propaganda machinery—both at home and abroad. It is no accident, for example, that on June 4, 1976, a five-member delegation of church leaders was herded on three days' notice to the United States to promote the Rumanian Government at various educational and theological institutions. Nor is it accidental that since that time, several other church leaders have been sent on similar public relations missions to American legislators and politicians.

Forced isolation harms minority churches which have sister communities in the West and which are dependent to a great extent on donations from abroad to support their charitable work. Aside from limitations on their travel, clergymen are forbidden to receive gifts from abroad and to correspond with relatives, friends or institutions in noncommunist countries.

Freedom to publish theological books, periodicals, and other religious material is extremely limited. The propaganda booklet *The Hungarian Nationality in Romania*, distributed in 1976 by the "Romanian Library" in New York is able to list only five theological books published in Hungarian in the last quarter-century (p. 25). For the 700,000 members of the Hungarian Reformed Church (p. 23),

only one bimonthly publication can be circulated in a mere 1000 copies (p. 43). Furthermore, church libraries are forbidden to lend any books, even though they were acquired through the donations of the very same parishioners who might wish to borrow them.

The Hungarian Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj (Kolozsvár) came into being in 1949 as a result of forced unification of the independent Presbyterian and Unitarian Theological Institutes. This institute is indeed, as the above-mentioned propaganda booklet claims, "a unique institute" (p. 24): Through this forced unification, both the Presbyterian and Unitarian Churches were deprived of their ancient tradition of self-determination which had included the training of their own ministers. The curriculum of the Protestant Theological Institute is now carefully designed and supervised by the Ministry of Cults. Examinations, which are all oral, are chaired by an Inspector from the Ministry of Cults to insure that future clergymen of the Hungarian minority keep in line with State policy.

Verification of the statements above and further details concerning the situation of minority churches in Rumania can be provided by several high-ranking American Protestant church leaders who have taken a direct interest in that situation.

9. Bans on private lodging

Decree/Law 225 (1974) prohibits the accommodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes with the exception of closest relatives. The punishment for disobeying this law is a draconic fine of 15,000 leis (about \$1,200) which is imposed on the unfortunate host. The law was ostensibly created for the protection of the hotel industry and applied to all visitors. The discriminatory character of the law becomes obvious, however, in light of the fact that it is the 2.5 million Hungarians who have the greatest number of relatives and potential visitors abroad—among the 10.5 million Hungarians in neighboring Hungary alone, not to mention the several million Hungarians in the West who have escaped Rumania's intolerant atmosphere since World War I. Indeed it is difficult to find a Hungarian family in Rumania without relatives or close friends living in either Hungary or the West. Due to the extreme scarcity of hotel facilities in rural Transylvania, the generally modest means of these would-be visitors, and especially the threat of harassment and intimidation for even the most innocent failure to obey the unreasonable and selectively enforced provisions of this law, visits are often rendered a practical impossibility.

A *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reporter (April 3/4, 1977, p. 4), finding this law to be obviously discriminatory against Hungarians, interpreted its existence as resulting from a fear inherent in Rumanian internal policy "which sees in any visitor from Hungary, a country which by Communist standards is less orthodox, a carrier of the dangerous bacteria of freedom". One wonders at the true extent of oppression in Rumania, where visits even by citizens of a "fellow socialist country" are subject to official obstruction.

Claims concerning the alleged nondiscriminatory nature of Rumania's restrictions on foreign visitors have become especially untenable since the issuance of Decree/Law 372 (November 8, 1976) amending Decree/Law 225. According to its text, one of the express purposes of the new Decree is to encourage and advance the enrichment of the "Rumanian language and culture", unmistakably excluding a similar desire for minority languages or cultures. Moreover, the lifting of visiting restrictions and the elimination of currency exchange requirements apply only to visitors of "Rumanian origin"; there have been reports that at border crossings this vague category is strictly interpreted to include only those of Rumanian nationality as determined by the name and birthplace appearing on travel documents or according to similar unwritten and arbitrary criteria.

10. Falsification of history

The Rumanian Government is obviously annoyed by the fact that for many centuries before the first arrival of Rumanians in the region of present-day Rumania, several other nationalities (today's national minorities) had already inhabited that area. Nevertheless, in order to prove the Rumanians' historical "precedence" in the area, the government—through its academic mercenaries—has utilized an unproven theory based largely on pseudo-scientific speculation. According to this theory the Rumanians are descendants of the ancient Dacians, a people whose last proven presence in the area predates the appearance of Rumanians there by nine centuries. Although this theory has little credence in

the eyes of any serious non-Russian scholars, according to a *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* reporter (April 3/4, 1977, p. 3), it has been elevated to the level of State ideology.

At this point it should be noted that arguments concerning the historical priority of peoples living many centuries ago have no relevance whatsoever to the rules of international law governing the treatment of national minorities; still less can such arguments be used as an excuse for the oppression of 8.5 million minority individuals. The only reason for dealing with this theory is to point out the sinister goal which its promotion serves in Rumania today.

The theory does not stop at the assertion of Rumanian priority. Rumania's historians today stigmatize minority groups as "intruders" who upset the social and cultural order of the "original inhabitants", the Rumanians. In many cases, textbooks, travel guides and other literature actually rechristen Hungarian historical figures and make them into Rumanian national heroes having no connection with the Hungarian people. The same materials contain an almost absolute silence on the centuries of Transylvania's Hungarian history.

In this way, the dynamism and superiority of the Rumanian people becomes "historically proven", while national minority inhabitants, lacking historical or cultural roots of comparable brilliance, are considered no more than second-class citizens. One devastating practical effect of this process in Rumania today is that minority children are taught that the cultural richness of the area is solely the result of Rumanian creativity, thereby making those children ashamed of their ethnic identity. The remaining schools which still educate children in Hungarian must use official textbooks which teach these children that their nationality has no past in the area. Without a past, by implication, this nationality can have no future—unless, of course, it assimilates into the resplendent Rumanian people.

The notion of Rumanian superiority thus provides a convenient "scholarly" justification for implementing the massive campaign of forced assimilation against minorities, involving the vast array of discriminatory measures noted above.

CONCLUSION

The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania was organized in the simple belief that Congress intends to enforce section 402 of the Trade Act. Further hope has been evoked in us by the new emphasis on the role of human rights in our foreign policy and by the fact that Congress has repeatedly endorsed this policy—at least verbally.

Adherence to existing international law and full restoration of minority institutions is all we demand of the Rumanian government. We believe these demands to be fair and reasonable. The Rumanian Trade Agreement provides the United States with strong leverage to promote such noble objectives. It should be utilized to its full extent.

The difference with which our requests have been met by the respective Congressional committees thus far has created widespread feelings of disillusionment and frustration in the Hungarian-American community. The survival of Hungarians in Rumania is the single issue of deepest and most urgent concern to Hungarians in America today. In light of the contemptuous manner in which Congress has avoided any meaningful action on this legitimate and real concern, Hungarian-Americans feel that they have been treated as second-class citizens. Moreover, every Hungarian knows that his small nation has made vast contributions to the scientific and cultural achievements of the United States. Their desire for our government's support is thus wholly justified and meritorious, and should no longer be ignored.

APPENDIX

Letter from Karoly Kiraly to Ilie Verdet, dated June 2, 1977

Honorable Comrade Ilie Verdet: I turn to you as the individual in the Party leadership who is responsible for supervising the Workers Councils of the various nationalities living in our country.

The issue I wish to raise concerns the activity of those Councils—specifically that of the Hungarian Nationality Council.

In view of the fact that from the moment it came into being, I have been Vice President of that Council and have participated in its work, I am equipped with a thorough and complete knowledge of the subject. For two years I have also been a member of the Mures County Council and have therefore been witness to local developments and to the manner in which a county council operates.

I am thus in a position to make some observations.

During the past few years, the work of the Councils has become more sporadic and mostly formalistic in nature, and its effect on the working people and contact with them has greatly declined. To this very day, the national (Hungarian Nationality) Council and most of the County Councils have no headquarters and do not schedule office hours. The Council executive committees ("bureaus") on both the national and county levels meet very rarely—once every year or every two years. At council meetings, only subjects of a general nature are discussed relating to submissions of various declarations of the kind expressing solidarity with government positions, especially on international questions. But even if certain questions of a concrete nature do arise, as for example education in the native tongue, cultural activities and instruction, etc., the questions remain unresolved.

For the past three years, statements made during meetings have been prefabricated and censored by comrades in the country leadership and by Central Committee officials. This practice has led to the passivity and lack of interest of the participants; in this way, lively debate has been replaced by formalism. It is characteristic that even at these County Council meetings, but on the national level as well, the materials under discussion are printed in the Rumanian language, and statements by the participants are also in Rumanian.

Under such conditions, the prestige of these councils in the eyes of the people has become practically nonexistent. This situation, I feel, does not serve the interests of the Rumanian Communist Party and that purpose for which these councils were created.

In light of these remarks, careful analysis of the role and effectiveness of the councils is necessary along the following lines:

In my view, the council's program of activities must be urgently revised; it no longer meets the current demands, it is overly narrow in scope and does not provide opportunities for viable activity among workers of nationality origin.

The new program must have a charter defining a mass, community organization of a broad and democratic nature, with joining members receiving membership cards and paying membership dues.

1. In terms of structure, the principle of democratic centralism should be utilized with local chapters in villages and communities operating under the direction of committees and executive bureaus in cities and municipalities, whose leaders are all elected from the bottom up.

2. All of the governing bodies should be elected.

3. The Executive Committees should meet every month and the Councils every four months. Elections for council seats should be held every 4-5 years, and every 5 years a National Conference should be held. The subjects to be discussed should be freely selected by each local Council according to problems which arise in the course of everyday life, and those subjects should also be part of the schedule of activities issued every four months.

4. The councils should have a single charter approved by the National Conference. The existence of the entire program should be guaranteed by the Rumanian Communist Party leadership.

5. The councils should have offices operating in a continuous fashion.

6. The councils should have newspapers and periodicals of their own.

7. The councils should be allowed to organize public gatherings and cultural and sports events.

8. In accordance with the ultimate objective of the Rumanian Communist Party and in conformity with its program to build a socialist and communist society, the National, County and Local Councils should consider it their responsibility to mobilize workers of the various nationalities to accomplish their duties and objectives in the economic, social, cultural and athletic areas. Authorized by the Party, they [the councils] should keep constant watch to determine how the nationality policies of the Rumanian Communist Party are practically applied in the fields of culture, use of the native tongue in administrative offices and public institutions, and in other areas. They should follow the progress of education in the native tongue at all academic levels. They should contribute in every possible way to the development of the spiritual welfare of the cohabiting nationalities.

9. The councils should be given power to participate in the selection and promotion of leaders ["cadres"] at all levels of the social and political structure.

10. The councils should participate, with their own candidates, in elections of legislators to the Grand National Assembly and in People's Council elections. They should be allowed to form a group from among their Representatives, which would have the power to introduce legislation.

11. The creation of a Nationality Statute can no longer be postponed (a Statute of this sort actually existed until 1948).

12. I believe that it would be desirable and practical for the National Council to maintain international contacts as do other public and patriotic organizations which are also part of the National Unity Front.

During the 10 years since these Councils came into being profound changes have occurred in the political and social life of the country. Every aspect of life has undergone significant transformation in terms of both quality and quantity, and accordingly, all of the basic documents of the State and Party has been duly modified.

The organizational charter of the Party has changed. Improvements have been made in certain provisions of the Constitution.

Some laws have been supplemented or repealed and in their place other, completely new ones have been enacted. Improvements have been made in the program of the National Unity Front, its organizational structure being revised to create the community councils.

It is therefore all the more difficult to comprehend why it was precisely the structure and program of the Nationality Councils whose improvement was not justified. Personally, I am convinced that the chief reason for this lies precisely in the passivity of these Councils, because their activity has sorely lagged behind the realistic demands of life and they have not kept pace during the past decade with the great and profound transformations which have occurred in the area of material and spiritual well-being. This is the reason they were unable to truly serve the development of unity and brotherhood between the Rumanian people and the coinhabiting nationalities.

Naturally, other problems also exist which need to be solved, but a prior solution of the above items would guarantee the proper organizational framework for viable, creative efforts and would serve to increase the prestige of these organizations, deepen confidence in the nationality policies of the Rumanian Communist Party, strengthen the trust of the national minorities and regenerate unity and brotherhood between all the workers regardless of nationality differences, all along the lines of our Party's Marxist-Leninist practical solution of the nationality question.

In recent times however, we have unfortunately been ever more often witness to cases where workers of varied nationally origin mistrust our Party's declarations of principle concerning solution of the nationality questions in our country. The people expect practical measures serving the advancement of material welfare and above all the spiritual vitality of the coinhabiting nationalities, in harmony with those great changes which occurred in our socialist society in the material and spiritual welfare of the Rumanian people.

Unfortunately, in the practical reality of everyday society and politics, animosities abound and doubts are often expressed over the sincerity of certain Party and State officials because of the manner in which they solve the individual problems of the nationalities especially with respect to their cultural and educational affairs and use of the native tongue in Party offices, at Party conferences and at gatherings of a patriotic or public nature.

Unfortunately, certain Party and State officials of nationality origin also help to maintain this kind of unhealthy atmosphere. It does not serve the cause of unity and brotherhood when some of these officials deny or avoid the expression of these sensitive questions which occupy the minds of workers of nationality origin.

In some cases, first secretaries, first vice-presidents, county secretaries in municipalities and cities and vice-presidents in the People's Councils, though of nationality origin themselves, use only the Rumanian language in their contracts with workers of nationality origin, letting them know in this way that perhaps someone prohibited them from using the native tongue and thus performing a disservice to the Party and the cause of unity and brotherhood among workers of different nationalities.

The people are justified when they accuse such officials of opportunism, insincerity, lack of courage and responsibility, and when they distrust them. Personally, I doubt that an individual who lacks the confidence of the nationality to which he belongs can be an effective Party or State official. It cannot be permitted for certain officials ["cadres"] of nationality origin not to know their own native tongue and nationality culture.

Not one nationality will tolerate someone else to speak for it simply because he declares himself to belong to that nationality but at the same time does not even speak their language either because he does not know it, or because he

refuses to use it. As a consequence, he cannot feel, he cannot think as they do, because he shares no common spiritual bond with them.

Unfortunately, even at a higher Party and State levels there are such officials, who, when they are sent to completely Hungarian-inhabited regions to explain certain aspects of Party or State policy, cannot do so for the above reasons and are therefore unable to complete their assignments.

It is my conviction that serious thought should be given to this situation, because life has indeed been deeply enriched with not only accomplishments but with unresolved problems as well. It would be a grave error to believe that all problems of this nature have solved themselves forever. Such a view would also be inconsistent with the Marxist dialectic.

Just as in connection with other, economic and socio-political problems of life, in solving the nationality question we must begin with the fact that even in this field there is room for the "still better", that grave deficiencies already exist and that solutions must be sought, requiring much sensitivity, tactfulness, skill in political judgment and good faith.

National sentiment is a sensitive question which must be treated with special attention; it is a question which relates to the quality of the nationality, and its solution cannot be measured in percentages as can industrial progress and results. National sentiment is equally powerful in all peoples, regardless of how large or small, once they possess their own national identity.

Honorable Comrade Verdet, the raising of these questions and the search for solutions is always difficult—it calls for courage and responsibility. One who articulates these problems can be sure that his intentions will be misunderstood, especially under currently prevailing circumstances. He can count on being accused, indeed, on being called a variety of names, particularly at the time when these sensitive specific questions are raised.

I am turning to you in the trust and belief that my intentions will be understood, especially because these problems are real and they are of concern to hundreds of thousands of people.

In light of the fact that the Hungarian nationality in Rumania is the largest nationality in our country—indeed, the largest in Europe—I believe that it should be treated with the care it deserves, so that this nationality (along with the other nationalities) will feel itself at home. Those principles must be consistently implemented which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his March 1971 speech before the joint plenary session of the Hungarian and German nationalities and which, at that time, elicited widespread reaction and approval.

Unfortunately, this speech is seldom remembered today. On the contrary, there is continuous repetition of the proposition that the nationality question in our country has been finally, once and for all, solved. This proposition, from a practical standpoint, is not true and, from a theoretical standpoint, is anti-scientific and anti-dialectical. To support this thesis, industrialization and the guarantee of employment without regard to nationality differences are constantly cited. I completely agree with this, but only with this much, because the nationality question is a spiritual, and not only a material one. The primary aspect is the material, but it can only complement and enrich, not substitute for, the spiritual.

To the extent that material well-being becomes increasingly enriched and more fully realized, social consciousness will grow and prosper accordingly. This applies equally to the consciousness of the cohabiting nationalities in Rumania.

It is for this reason that I steadfastly adhere to a thorough, attentive, comradely and responsible examination of the question; in my opinion, we cannot do otherwise if we wish to avoid the serious headaches it will cause later on.

I have addressed these few thoughts to you with full confidence in the Rumanian Communist Party and its wise leadership and without the fear that their expression will result in undesirable consequences for the person who expressed them.

Most respectfully yours,

KAROLY KIRALY,
National Vice President, Hungarian Nationality Workers Council in Rumania.

JUNE 2, 1977.

LETTER FROM KAROLY KIRALY TO JÁNOS FAZEKAS

Written in August 1977

DEAR COMRADE FAZEKAS: I herewith enclose a copy of my letter to Comrade Ilie Verdet. This letter contains my observations concerning the manner in which the nationality question in our country has been handled, together with my

recommendations on the ways in which the activity of the different nationality councils could be improved.

It is common knowledge that these councils were created at the initiative of the First Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the purpose of serving the brotherhood and unity of the workers of various nationalities, as well as the building of socialism.

It is an unfortunate fact that in recent times the activity of these councils has declined to zero.

Many errors are committed in the practical handling of the nationality question.

a. This year again, opportunities are being constantly restricted for children of national minorities to study in their native tongue; this breeds anxiety and deep dissatisfaction;

b. The concept of restrictive quotas ["valachus numericus"] is utilized with respect to personnel problems; in fact, employment opportunities for nationalities are being restricted in certain institutions;

c. Unpardonably extreme methods of intimidation are employed against those who dare to ask for permission to speak in the interest of having the nationality question handled legally and in accordance with the Constitution.

As you know, there was also violence and torture; the harassment of [Jeno] Szikszai, the eminent professor from Brassó, drove him to commit suicide. It is unbelievable that even after the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party in 1968, when the state security organs condemned the atrocities committed against Patrascanu and others, the same kinds of negative incidents are allowed to reoccur, and the offenders are allowed to walk about freely without so much as being asked to account for their actions. I have mentioned only one example, though unfortunately, many more could be cited. I cannot believe that all this occurs with the knowledge of the Party leadership.

I greatly regret having to do so, but I must state that an entire series of incidents, facts and activities exists which have nothing in common with Marxist-Leninism, the principles which form the basis of the Rumanian Communist Party's programs.

What is most distressing is the fact that local Party and State organs try to cover up, to gloss over the facts, as if they were completely lacking in sensitivity toward such thorny problems as the nationality question or the national sentiments of the coinhabiting nationalities.

I am turning to you, because you are active in the highest levels of Party and State leadership, and I ask that you be so good as to call these problems to the attention of the Political Executive Committee.

Respectfully,

KAROLY KIRALY,
Vice-President,

Hungarian Nationality Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

LETTER FROM KAROLY KIRALY TO JANOS VINCZE,

Dated September 10, 1977

BUCHAREST.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Anxiety and concern compel me to write to you about the manner in which the nationality question has been handled in our country of late, and how the Nationality Workers Councils on both the national and county levels are performing their work.

More than three months ago, I wrote to Comrade Verdet concerning various aspects of the nationality question, and, as you know, I raised the problem at the most recent meeting of the Central Committee, as well as the Spring session of the Maros County Council. In addition, several members of the Central and County Councils have also voiced their observations, criticisms and proposals. As for myself, it has been more than a year since I asked to be heard by the Supreme Party Leadership.

To my deep disappointment, neither have I been granted a hearing, nor has my letter been answered in any manner whatsoever.

I would like to share with you some of my thoughts and concerns with regard to this subject.

First I would mention the problem in connection with these Nationality Councils, which consists of the manner in which they perform their activities. It is well known that the Party resolution adopted ten years ago to establish these

Councils was accepted and greeted enthusiastically by millions of workers of the various nationalities in our country. They considered it a well thought out and responsible act which would serve the preservation of their national identities, provide an organizational framework through which they could voice their various problems and complaints, and advance the development of their social, material and intellectual well-being.

Although from the very beginning the organizational structure as well as the rules of operation of the Councils proved narrow and inadequate, encouraging signs did appear in their activity: at meetings it was permitted to speak freely and openly; of the numerous proposals raised, a good many were considered; there were also some plenary sessions which were attended by Comrades Ceausescu and Maurer, and so on. The speech given by Comrade Ceausescu at the Spring 1971 joint plenary session of the Nationality Councils was met with lively enthusiasm and deep satisfaction. Unfortunately the satisfaction and the hope were shortlived.

In practice it became clear that these beautiful speeches, incorporating so many sound principles, were not made for our sake, but to serve the purposes of propaganda, especially propaganda directed abroad.

It is commonly known that real truth becomes manifest in its lasting vitality, in the total harmony between words and deeds. We are compelled to state that the chasm between theory and practice is vast and that in reality while one thing is said, entirely different things are done.

We were promised new secondary vocational and technical schools in which studies were to be conducted in the languages of the nationalities, but in reality we have witnessed a decline in the number of these schools. Each year there are fewer and fewer of them. Children cannot study in their native tongue; compulsory instruction in the Rumanian language has been introduced even at the kindergarten level. In 1976 a decision was born to eliminate Hungarian institutions of higher education. After the "Bolyai" [already largely denationalized] University of Kolozsvár came the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacology at Marosvasarhely, and then, by special order from above, a Rumanian section was established at the Istvan Szentgyorgyi-School for the Dramatic Arts, thereby liquidating in effect the last "island" higher education in a nationality tongue; and—just to eliminate any remaining doubt concerning the latter move—of the six [Hungarian] graduates of the School for the Dramatic Arts, only one was appointed to a Hungarian theater, while the remaining five—whether they liked it or not—were placed in Rumanian theaters.

It is no secret of course that the Hungarian State Theater of Marosvasarhely has a Rumanian director who does not speak Hungarian. In the same way, it is nothing new that in cities where the majority of the population is Hungarian—such as Nagyvarad, Marasvasarhely, Szovata, etc.—Rumanians who speak no Hungarian are being appointed as mayors.

Use of the native tongue is severely restricted at meetings of the Party, the Young Communists League, the trade unions, and in the various workers Councils; indeed, use of the native tongue is prohibited even at meetings of the Nationality Workers Councils.

Signs identifying institutions, localities and so on in the native tongue of the local inhabitants have almost completely disappeared. In 1971 when I was First Party Secretary in Kovaszna County, we posted bilingual Rumanian and Hungarian signs there, in accordance with a decree of the County People's Council. But their existence was shortlived. The signs were simply removed, and by 1975, not a single locality was identified in Hungarian.

Nationalities cannot use their native tongues even in State offices; after all, most of the officials are Rumanians who do not speak the nationality's language, either because they do not know it or because they refuse to use it.

With regard to the question of personnel, the replacement of Hungarian officials (where there still are any) with Rumanians is being carried out with incredible persistence. This applies equally to the politico-administrative apparatus and to the various economic and industrial enterprises. In Marosvasarhely at the "I.P.L. August 23" works, or at the Chemical Factory—to mention only two examples—not a single director or deputy director is Hungarian, in spite of the fact that measures had been initiated "to improve the nationality composition of the personnel". I don't even wish to think of such cities as, for example Nagyvarad, where there is not a single Party secretary of Hungarian nationality.

It is clear from only this much that a multitude of factual realities violate the Constitution, the founding Charter of the Party and the fundamental prin-

principles set down and provided for in Party documents. What is occurring in practice is not in harmony with the principles in these documents—indeed, what is more, it completely contradicts them—and has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninism, fundamental human rights, humanism, or ethical behavior and human dignity, that is, all that which is trumpeted far and wide in the most varied kinds of propaganda.

These facts give rise to many questions which are not at all difficult to answer; what is difficult to understand however, is: who benefits from all of this?

Will such measures truly contribute to the unity and brotherhood of the peoples living in this homeland? Is this not a policy of chauvinistic provocation? There can be but one reply: all of this in no way benefits either the Rumanian people or the coinhabiting nationalities.

Has the lesson of history been so soon forgotten that a people which oppresses other people cannot itself be free? Experience and history teach us that coercive measures do not lead to the solution of problems.

The tendency to forcefully assimilate nationalities living in Rumania is—this cannot be denied—also revealed by the press at times, and creates total distrust in nationality policies; indeed, it casts doubt over the sincerity of all policies in general, and for millions of citizens, it destroys their confidence in Socialist Society.

What concerns me the most at this time is the obstinacy with which this problem is ignored by our Party organs; from the lowest level to the highest they act as if they were totally unaware of it. My own personal efforts, as well as those of others, to draw their attention to it, have thus far remained fruitless. And the situation continues to deteriorate, to the detriment of the prestige of our Party and Society.

I am writing to you with a deep sense of responsibility, as I am one of those Communists who is convinced of the truth of our ideals. I have fought for these ideals since my tender youth, and later, as a member of the Supreme Party and State Leadership as well.

The nationality-question is a touchstone of democracy; it is an intrinsic element of the democracy which exists in the society as a whole. Without the just and real, not only verbal, solution of the nationality question, democracy in general cannot exist, and the new Society, the Socialism which we all want cannot be built up.

Our Supreme Leadership must analyze these problems very seriously. Unless it does so, the Leadership itself will make the entire existence of democracy within our Party and our society, questionable.

It is not society which is bad, nor it is the socialist system which must be faulted, but the methods used by the Leadership. It is necessary to illuminate the grave errors which are being committed in the interpretation of Marxist-Leninism and in the application of the fundamental principles established by the Party.

We must renounce policies based on demagogy, the personality cult and the capricious application of Marxism. Only in this way can we achieve a proper, just and democratic solution of all those questions which reality has created in our Socialist Society.

As it has been proven, at no time and in no place has the personality cult ever led to any good. On the contrary, it has been the source of great suffering and pain, as well as the cause of political abuses, because the masses have always rejected it, regardless of the masks it wore or the excuses made for it.

My dear Comrad Vincze, I ask you to forward the enclosed letter, which I had addressed to Comrade Ilie Verdet and intended for the Supreme Leadership, to the members of the Politburo. It would be very useful if the Politburo discussed the issues raised in the letter, because, perhaps in this way, our Supreme Leadership would wake up to the truth and take the appropriate actions.

We nationalities—Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and so on—feel a deep respect for the Rumanian people and wish to live in harmony with them.

I personally have thousands of friends and relatives of the Rumanian nationality; my son-in-law is Rumanian, and I love him just as much as my other relatives and friends with whom I have worked, shoulder to shoulder, for the building of the new Society. I want our common home to develop, grow strong and prosper, and it is for this reason that I am writing to you with such sincerity and courage. It is my conviction that this matter is common to us all, that it is the duty of every one of us to critically examine the negative phenomena,

and that such phenomena cannot be viewed through rose-colored glasses, regardless of whether they are of an economic or social nature, or even if they derive from the co-existence of workers of the various nationalities. It would be a pity if all that would collapse which we, Rumanians and the other nationalities, built up with hard work in the decades following the Liberation. After all, this country is the common home of all of us, and we love her as a good mother. We must do all we can to prevent her from becoming a cruel stepmother to any one of her children, regardless of his nationality.

Most respectfully,

KAROLY KIRALY.

MAROSVASARHELY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1977.

THE EIGHTEEN DEMANDS FOR IMPROVED MINORITY RIGHTS

Listed by Lajos Takacs

With respect to the Hungarian population, we recommend the following:

1. Restructuring of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council into a mass organization with chapters in all localities where the number of Hungarian inhabitants warrants this. The organization should have the right to nominate candidates to represent the Hungarian population in every central and local organ. It should designate candidates to fill certain key positions which deal with the development of the cultural life of the inhabitants.

2. Within the framework of the Grand National Assembly, a permanent committee should be established to deal with problems of the coinhabiting nationalities. The country's nationality representatives, as well as a Rumanian representative from counties with mixed populations, should participate in this committee. (A committee such as this exists in the Slovak National Assembly.)

3. A new Statute for nationalities should be created which concretely spells out the responsibilities of the authorities in implementing the Party's nationality policies.

4. Those state agencies which operate under the Ministry of Education and the Council for Socialist Instruction should be granted decision-making powers in all those questions which bear directly on the actions of these central organs as they affect the coinhabiting nationalities.

5. The network of native-language kindergartens and general and secondary schools of all levels and specialties, which is capable of handling all Hungarian students who wish to pursue their studies in the native tongue, should be guaranteed.

6. The Babes-Bolyai University, the Dr. Petru Groza Agricultural Institute, the Ion Andreescu Art Institute, the Gh. Dina Conservatory, the Istvan Szentgyorgyi School for the Dramatic Arts, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacology at Marosvasarhely and the Technical School of Kolozsvar should be reorganized into two sections with independent curricula.

7. Ideological instruction should be provided in the language of the nationalities as well, in all areas where this is warranted by the number of workers, peasants or intellectuals.

8. The size of circulation of local newspapers should be determined on the basis of actual demand.

9. The possibility of publishing a high quality, [Hungarian] scientific journal should be investigated.

10. Cultural ensembles of the coinhabiting nationalities should be guaranteed greater freedom of movement.

11. We should re-examine the possibility of creating a radio station broadcasting in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities, and a television channel with continuous programming.

12. More publications—especially technical-scientific and children's literature—should be allowed to appear in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities.

13. Access by Hungarians [in Rumania] to publications which appear in the Hungarian People's Republic, and to Hungarian-language publications which appear in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, should be improved.

14. The employment of Hungarian experts should be guaranteed in those libraries and archives which contain documents relating to the past history of the Hungarian nationality.

15. In those counties and localities where the percentage of inhabitants of nationality origin achieves 15%, in addition to Rumanian, use of the language of the given nationality should be instituted in the administrative apparatus of the state, in publications, and on signs and billboards.

16. Textbooks, literature pertaining to the country's history, propaganda materials, etc. should be revised to accurately reflect the past and present of the coinhabiting nationalities, and their contribution to the development of the area in which they live.

17. The composition of the apparatus of party, state and mass organizations should be revised to insure that coinhabiting nationalities are proportionally represented in the decisionmaking bodies.

18. The policy of scattering cadres of nationality origin to diverse areas of the country should be terminated. Those cadres should be placed primarily in regions inhabited by nationalities, where they can speak their native tongue with those people from which they themselves derive.

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GOMA THE WRITER ACCUSES CEAUSESCU

(By Rudolf Krämer-Badoni)

Exiled writer Paul Goma has raised serious charges against the nationality policy of the Bucharest leadership. At a press conference organized yesterday in Frankfurt by the Society for Human Rights, Goma stated that all Rumanians are prisoners of President and Party Chairman Ceausescu's personality cult, but that the national minority inhabitants are treated as prisoners of the lowest order.

Not only are they being denationalized and deprived of their cultural rights—such as the right to their own schools and churches—but they also risk interrogation and torture for merely hinting at a preference for the Hungarian language or for the concept of human rights. To escape their tormentors such detainees have the option of either signing a forced declaration or committing suicide. Evidence exists to document one case, for example, of a Hungarian teacher who was hounded into suicide by the Rumanian secret police for having recorded the grades of the Hungarian students in his class in his own mother tongue. Numerous similar cases have been confirmed and documented by Hungarians in exile.

Goma also had harsh words for those Rumanian writers who keep silent in the belief that they have something to lose. But, according to Goma, they have nothing to lose. Financially they are worse off than the average employee. They are allowed to publish only at the price of blackmail. Yet, in order to fulfill the dream of every Rumanian writer—a trip abroad—they are willing to make every compromise and betray their consciences.

Goma depicted Ceausescu as an apparatchik, who knows neither the workers nor the peasants, who hates intellectuals and who remains at the helm only through the complicity of Moscow. His allegedly independent foreign policy is a deceptive maneuver. It served Ceausescu during the time of the threatened Soviet invasion to rally the people behind him. Goma himself, seduced by the clever ploy, admits to having been a Communist for two and a half days at that time.

The nationality question is used by Ceausescu to promote his Party's aims. The chief of state plays the various groups off against each other. In the West, there are many governments which are, knowingly or unknowingly, accomplices of the Rumanian regime; they too allow themselves to be deceived. The Western press, but to an even greater extent, the labor unions in the West could be instrumental in bringing relief. The opinion of intellectuals would be interpreted as the opinion of a minority, but the opinion of labor unions would represent the opinion of the masses of workers.

Goma does not expect any Communist regime to exhibit liberalizing tendencies. Nor does he believe that change will ever occur in the direction of Social Democracy.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 30, 1978]

LETTER CHARGES ROMANIA REPRESSES HUNGARIANS

(By Michael Dobbs)

BELGRADE—In a document that gives rare insight into the problems of national minorities in Romania, a former high-level Romanian Communist Party official has alleged official repression against the country's 2 million Hungarians.

The claim is made by Karoly Kiraly, a member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee until resignation in 1975, in an open letter to the state and party leadership. A copy of the letter, which was written last month and smuggled out of Romania, has reached Belgrade through usually reliable channel.

Kiraly, who is himself of Hungarian origin, alleged job discrimination against ethnic Hungarians and suppression of the Hungarian language in violation of Roma's constitution. Professing himself to be a loyal Marxist, he lays the blame not on the Communist system but on the Romanian party leadership and in particular the personality cult which surrounds President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Western diplomats in Bucharest consider the widespread, if muted, discontent among Romania's minority nationalities more significant than last year's short-lived human rights movement led by the writer Raul Goma, who is now in Paris. Support for Goma was confined to a handful of intellectuals, but national grievances run much deeper.

Last year's considerable disquiet was reported among ethnic Germans, Roma's second largest minority after the Hungarians, who were applying in large numbers to emigrate to West Germany.

There is, however, still no evidence that national unrest will have any effect on the policies pursued by Ceausescu. In his appeal, Kiraly says that efforts to improve the lot of the Hungarian minority have brought no result.

Kiraly writes: "What mostly preoccupies me is the doggedness with which the problem is ignored by our party organizations from the grass roots to the highest level as something which does not exist."

A document attached to the Kiraly appeal, apparently prepared by his supporters abroad, states that he is now facing party disciplinary action for repeatedly calling attention to minority grievances.

In the letter, which is formally addressed to a Central Committee member for circulation among the party leadership, Kiraly alleges a wide gap between theory and practice in the treatment of the nationalities question. He cites cases of discrimination against the Hungarian minority in the mountainous region of Transylvania in central Romania.

After-recalling a promise for more secondary and technical schools with instruction in minority languages, he argues that the number of such schools is actually decreasing.

The use of the Hungarian language, Kiraly claims, is officially discouraged, even in the Nationality Council that represents the Hungarian minority. He claims that bilingual signboards put up during his term of office as first party secretary of Covasna County in 1971 have all been removed.

Alleging job discrimination against ethnic Hungarians, Kiraly writes that nearly all influential posts in towns with a Hungarian majority go to Romanians, many of whom do not speak a word of Hungarian.

Foreign observers familiar with minority problems in Romania find Kiraly's allegations plausible although it is difficult to confirm them. Western correspondents who visited the Jiu Valley last year, scene of Romanian's worst post-war mining strike, were told that discontent among the sizable Hungarian minority there was an important factor in the unrest.

Miners explained that the area was once part of the Austro-Hungarian empire and was used to relatively higher living standards than the rest of Romania. They complained that Hungarian schools in the area had been closed down.

Romania's treatment of its largest national minority poses a delicate problem for its neighbor Hungary. The Hungarian government has no wish to pick a quarrel with a fellow communist state, but feels responsible for Hungarians outside the country.

While carefully avoiding any public protest, Hungarian officials frequently raise the problems of national minorities in Romania in private bilateral contacts.

[From Financial Times, Jan. 31, 1978]

ACHILLES HEEL OF ROMANIAN NATIONALISM

PROTESTS that have become public have drawn international attention to the position of the largest national minority in Europe, the 1.7m. Hungarians in Romania. First Mr. Gyula Illyes, 75, the greatest living Hungarian poet in a Budapest daily, *Magyar Nemzet*, made a passionate protest against the violation of what he called the elementary human rights of Hungarians living in neighboring countries. Without mentioning any country by name, he complained about "a policy of apartheid" practised against Hungarians. The two articles were generally regarded by the Hungarian public as being directed against Romania.

The plight of Hungarians in Romania next became the subject of an open letter sent two months ago by Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a former top official of the Romanian Communist Party, to the Romanian leadership. The text was leaked a few days ago to foreign correspondents in Belgrade. Mr. Kiraly, who was for several years first party secretary in the Covasna region in Transylvania, where Hungarians are in an overwhelming majority among the 199,000 inhabitants, between 1969-1972 belonged to the Central Committee and even to the supreme party body, the Executive Political Committee, as a candidate-member.

Mr. Kiraly complained that Hungarians are discriminated against in employment and education. "What particularly worries me is the obstinacy with which party functionaries from the bottom to the very top continue to ignore the problem," Mr. Kiraly said.

He was one of the handful of people of Hungarian extraction in the Romanian leadership, until he resigned in April 1972 from all his positions and retired from public life. At the time his resignation was overshadowed by a large-scale reshuffle at the top. Now, however, it must be supposed that a conflict about the nationality question was the reason both for his disappearance from the political scene, and for a simultaneous purge in Tirgu-Mures, capital of another region in Transylvania, also inhabited primarily by Hungarians.

The entire issue has so far been largely overlooked abroad, in contrast with the publicity surrounding the thorny problem of the emigration from Romania of ethnic Germans. The number of Germans, according to the latest census in January 1977, was just under 360,000, which was 25,000 fewer than in 1956. Last year some 10,000 Germans were allowed to leave, and after the recent visit of Herr Helmut Schmidt, the West German Chancellor, to Bucharest, the German side concluded that the same rate of emigration could be expected during the next five years. According to German press reports, about 80 percent of the Germans there wish to leave Romania.

NEIGHBOUR

The situation of the Hungarians is completely different. To start with, they number, according to official statistics, 1.7m.; according to conservative Hungarian estimates well over 2m. Furthermore, they are part of a nation whose state is a direct neighbour of Romania. Last but not least, the Romanians regard every complaint as a prelude to territorial claims. During World War Two, Hungary temporarily regained the northern part of Transylvania which, in 1918, had become part of Romania. Before that all of Transylvania had been part of Hungary.

The implications of the Hungarian question in Romania go well beyond the purely bilateral. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, one in three Hungarians fell under foreign rule. According to Mr. Illyes, there are now 15m. Hungarians between the Alps and the Carpathians, of whom only some 10m. live in Hungary proper. His estimate may well be exaggerated. But the fact remains that even according to official figures, some 600,000 Hungarians live in Slovakia and some 500,000 in Yugoslavia. A wave of aggressive Hungarian nationalism could, as in the interwar period, again pose a threat to stability in the Danube basin.

Despite growing pressures at home, Mr. Janos Kadar has made no public allusion to the Hungarians in Transylvania. At a meeting last June, Mr. Kadar and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania signed a communique, stating that the minorities in each country (20,000 Romanians in Hungary and 1.7m. Hungarians in Romania) should "gradually become a bridge between the two countries. However, at Romanian insistence, it was also clearly stated that the nationality question is within the jurisdiction of each of the two countries.

Agreements were also signed to open consulates in Cluj, and on the other side of the border, in Debrecen, and to ease travel restrictions. But Romania insisted that the three major urban centres in these areas should not benefit fully from the travel concessions.

The visitor to Budapest hears time and again that these measures have not yet been carried out because the Romanians are dragging their feet. The treatment of the Hungarians in multinational Yugoslavia, and the full autonomy and freedom of movement they enjoy is repeatedly mentioned as an example the Romanian comrades should follow.

The Romanians say that the "co-inhabiting nationalities," and thus also the Hungarians, are represented according to their proportional strength at all levels of the "elected" state organs and the party bodies: that they have their own newspapers, publishing houses and theatres. This in turn is shrugged off by Hungarians as an "alibi." According to Mr. Illyes, the Hungarians are deprived of university and vocation school education in their native tongue and 20 percent of the school children do not even learn the alphabet in Hungarian. They are given history books which describe their ancestors as "inferior incursors."

The memorandum presented by Mr. Kiraly to the Romanian leadership is regarded by the Hungarians as striking proof of the growing ferment in Transylvania. The situation is closely watched by the Soviets. The attitudes of the Hungarians, accounting officially for 8 percent of the total population, has always been seen in the Kremlin as the potential Achilles Heel of resurgent Romanian nationalism.

After all, President Ceausescu himself has built his policy of independence on the priority of the nation as such. Meanwhile, the case of Mr. Kiraly, who is already understood to be subjected to disciplinary proceedings, indicates that the argument works both ways.

It is stressed in Budapest that the articles of Mr. Illyes were published without any prior approval by the leadership. Yet the fact that the latest issue of "Magyar Hírek," a glossy weekly with a circulation of 100,000 published for Hungarians abroad by the world Federation of Hungarians in Budapest, devoted an entire page to extracts from the sensational articles by the great poet can hardly be regarded as accidental.

[From The Times, Feb. 8, 1978]

MINORITY LEADER TAKEN TO TASK

Romanian authorities have taken action against Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a former member of the Romanian Central Committee, whose appeal against widespread repression of the country's Hungarian minority of two million was reported in Western newspapers, including *The Times* of January 24.

Mr. Kiraly, who himself is a member of the Hungarian minority, had until his resignation in April 1972, occupied important posts in the Romanian hierarchy.

He was called to the Central Committee soon after his letter was published. His friends believe that he was subjected to strong pressure to disavow the letter. According to sources close to Hungarian intellectuals in Romania, the authorities offered to remedy some of the ills in return for a public disavowal.

Until his resignation, Mr. Kiraly was first party secretary for the Covasna county, whose population is predominantly Hungarian. In his letter he protested against systematic violation of minority rights.

He said that dual language signposts had been removed, there was enforced Romanization, and Hungarian vocational and other schools had been closed. He also alleged discrimination against Hungarians in employment and education.

His letter was addressed to party leaders, but there was no response until it was published in the West. Copies, however, have been circulated both in Transylvania and in Budapest.

Intellectual circles there criticized the restraint of the Hungarian government in the plight of the Hungarians across the border and the reluctance of Mr. Kadar, the Hungarian leader, to raise the issue. Recently, however, contact with Hungarians across the border has become livelier.

Pressure on the Hungarian Government to take up the case of the Hungarian minority increased. Some writers and intellectuals in Budapest began to draw public attention to their fate, trying to arouse international interest.

Before the publication of his letter in the west Mr. Kiraly, it is understood, had already been subjected to disciplinary measures. His friends say that he has now been isolated and all contact with him is being discouraged.

[From The Washington Post, Mar. 2, 1978]

EX-OFFICIAL CHARGES ROMANIA IS SUPPRESSING ETHNIC UNREST

(By Michael Dobbs)

CARANSEBES, ROMANIA.—The Romanian government has taken emergency measures to suppress growing discontent among the two-million-strong Hungarian community in Romania, according to a former close aide of President Nikolai Ceausescu.

The charges by Karoly Kiraly, a former high Romanian Communist Party official, reflect increased tensions in Romania as well as what appears to be an unprecedented challenge to Ceausescu's authority.

Kiraly also said in an interview that 16 prominent Romanian Communist officials have associated themselves with an open letter in which Kiraly denounced the Romanian government for suppression of minority rights.

Among those backing the protest Kiraly cited former prime minister Ion Gheoghe Maurer; the present deputy prime minister, Janos Fazekas, and several other members of the Romanian Central Committee and parliament.

Kiraly said that the Romanian government has responded by taking emergency measures to suppress growing discontent among Romania's ethnic minority. He spoke of the massive deployment of troops in Transylvania, where most Hungarians live, and house-to-house searches, interrogations and other forms of harassment.

Apart from Maurer, all other figures who reportedly associated their names with the protest are of Hungarian background.

But such an endorsement of a protest movement here is without precedent. The question of ethnic rights has long been a source of covert dispute between the two Warsaw Pact neighbors. Publicly, however, all Soviet bloc countries have contended that such issues have been resolved.

The sudden upsurge of protest among Romania's minority and the public backing of it by the Hungarian Communist government has posed a serious domestic challenge to Ceausescu.

Kiraly spoke to three Western journalists in defiance of official warnings against contacts with the foreign press.

The interview took place in Caransebes, a town of some 27,000 people where Kiraly is in internal exile in an attempt to isolate him from his supporters in Transylvania—the mountainous region of central Romania and the setting for Bram Stoker's spinechilling novel *Count Dracula*.

At one point, Kiraly's German wife Helga switched off the lights in the kitchen of their sparsely furnished three-room cottage to prevent a curious neighbour from seeing the journalists gathered around the table.

Soft-spoken and looking younger than his 47 years, Kiraly described what happened after he attempted to raise minority grievances in a series of letters to Romanian leaders. He is of Hungarian origin himself.

Kiraly's formidable catalogue of allegations included the closing of Hungarian universities and schools, the suppression of the Hungarian language and culture, and the appointment of Romanians to nearly all key posts in towns with a Hungarian majority.

"For years the Romanian government has had a policy of the forced assimilation of all minorities—not just Hungarians, but also Germans, Serbs and others," he said.

The most serious repercussions began at the end of January following the publication of details of his appeals in Western newspapers.

Kiraly said: "Suddenly emergency police measures were taken throughout Transylvania. Around a thousand security men were drafted into my hometown of Tirgu Mures alone. There were armed patrols and special civilian brigades in the streets. Tens of thousands of people were watched and many homes were searched for copies of my letter. This action is still continuing, although on a reduced scale."

Kiraly was summoned to Bucharest for talks with four top officials including Ilie Verdet, Ceausescu's righthand man, and the minister of the interior, Teodor Coman. He was accused of being a traitor to Romania, threatened with a trial and expulsion from the Communist Party, and asked to denounce his own appeal as the fabrication of the CIA and Radio Free Europe. He refused.

He was ordered to leave Tirgu Mures with his wife and five-month-old baby. He said his friends were harassed in the street, his house was kept under a 24-hour watch, and he was followed by plainclothes policemen.

Asked what he thought were the reasons for this government reaction, he replied quietly: "They know that what I wrote is true." An official Romanian spokesman has described Kiraly's allegations as "lies, lies, lies."

Kiraly himself is an insider who knows how the system works. As an alternate member of the political executive committee from 1968 to 1972, he was at the summit of the Romanian leadership. In 1970 he accompanied Ceausescu to Moscow to attend the Lenin centenary celebrations. He is still a party member and deputy president of the Hungarian Nationality Council. He stresses that he remains committed to his social ideals.

His protests have also received the support of key leaders of the Hungarian minority. Apart from Fazekas, they include the vice-president of the Romanian parliament, Gyorgy Puskas, central committee members, writers, and the editors of the two most prominent Hungarian literary reviews in Romania.

Kiraly claimed that nearly all Hungarian intellectuals agree with his views and many ordinary people, including Romanians, had expressed support through handshakes, telephone calls, and letters.

By alleging mistreatment of national minorities, Kiraly has struck one of the most sensitive chords in Romanian politics. Underpinning Ceausescu's staunchly independent foreign policy is an attempt to build a strong unitary state at home creating the image of "an island of Latins surrounded by a sea of Slavs."

[From Dagens Nyheter (Stockholm), Mar. 2, 1978]

"OUR PROTESTS ARE KILLED BY PERSISTENT SILENCE"

(By Klas Bergman)

Caransebes, in February. I expected that someday you would come, says Karoly Kiraly and shakes our hands cordially.

He receives us in his mother-in-law's kitchen in the tiny town of Caransebes where he was sent about a week ago into internal exile because of his defiance of the Rumanian Communist Party policy regarding the treatment of national minorities.

His resistance manifested itself in an open letter to the Party leadership. The letter was published in the West toward the end of January (Dagens Nyheter, January 23, 1978). This produced, according to Kiraly, "a security action unprecedented in the history of 33 years of Communist rule".

In his letter, Kiraly very sharply attacked the manner in which the two million Hungarians and the other minorities are treated and said that "this had nothing to do with Marxist-Leninism, elementary rights and human dignity." A "forced assimilation" of the minorities was occurring in Rumania.

Kiraly is 47 years old; he has been a Communist since his youth. He has studied at the Party School in Moscow. Once, he was a member of the highest organ of the Party but resigned in 1972, "because of personal reasons" he says, without going into details. At that time as well, he was sent to Caransebes into internal exile.

Kiraly is still a member of the Party and Vice President of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council in Rumania. He emphasizes:

My actions have nothing to do with chauvinism. They are not directed against the Rumanian people, or against the country, or against the socialistic system. Nor am I seeking high positions or material gain, as some have claimed, and I am not trying to separate Transylvania from the rest of the country. Instead, I have assumed a great responsibility in the interest of Socialism, with the aim of improving relations between Rumania's different nationalities.

Kiraly has received support from people in the highest Party organs.

Kiraly describes thirteen individuals who have lent support to his action with their signatures and who were ready to assume this risk, he explains. One of them is Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Prime Minister until some years ago; others include Janos Fazekas, the present Deputy Prime Minister and member of the Party's Executive Bureau, four members of the Central Committee, editors-in-chief, writers, a Rumanian lawyer and the head of a hospital.

My two British colleagues and I have listened to Kiraly for almost four hours. His wife Helga, a member of the German minority, is the interpreter. They were married during Kiraly's first exile in Caransebes.

They are now waiting for an apartment with two rooms near the furniture factory where he was given the position of manager.

Once during our conversation a man comes into the courtyard asking for directions, but otherwise we are not disturbed.

You know that this meeting is not permitted, he says. The Party leadership told me that foreign correspondents would probably come to me, as you are now doing, but that I was forbidden to receive them. They certainly know that you are here now. I am sure that they are bugging us now. But I will give you the necessary information.

We receive a rare insight into Rumanian society and into the treatment of those who dare defy the authority of the Communist Party. Here is Kiraly's story:

I have written three letters to the Party leadership, the third of which was published in the West. I wrote the first one on June 2, 1977.

Earlier, in 1976, I had a meeting with Ilie Verdet, Secretary of the Central Committee and a member of the highest Party organ, the Permanent Bureau. But somehow, nothing happened, not even after those countless discussions about the problems of the minorities which were conducted. The thing was killed by persistent silence. I sent another letter in September and after one week I was summoned to Bucharest for a long conversation with Ilie Verdet, among others. Then there was another meeting and a third one on October 4, when we agreed upon certain measures to ameliorate the situation of the minorities.

But this agreement was not kept. The problems were not solved. Instead, measures were taken against me and my family. The secret police began watching over us. They tried to compromise my position with anonymous letters. I was accused of economic improprieties, love affairs, contacts with Hungarian writers and with the Hungarian Church. I was accused of hostility toward the government and of chauvinism. I protested vigorously against these letters.

Then, my third letter was published in the West. For a week, nothing happened, but then extraordinary security actions were initiated in Transylvania, and a secret police force of one thousand men gathered in my hometown of Tirgu Mures.

On February 1, I was summoned to Bucharest and met with Ilie Verdet, Teodor Coman, Minister of the Interior, Peter Lupa and Janos Vincze.

I was questioned in very harsh tones as to why I had sent the letter abroad, and, if it was not me, then who had sent it? They called me a traitor, an enemy of the Party and of the people. They threatened me with a trial and expulsion from the Communist Party. They accused me of having contacts with Hungarian diplomats, with the CIA, etc. They instructed me to declare that the letter was not written by me but was a forgery concocted by the CIA, Radio Free Europe and the enemies of Rumania.

I refused to do this. I said that I had written the letter and that I was morally responsible for it but that it was not I who had sent it abroad. But, I asked, who is responsible for the violation of those provisions of the Constitution which guarantee the rights of the minorities?

They replied that I was being impudent and told me to return the following day. But I went home to Tirgu Mures.

On February 3, I was summoned to appear before the Chief Party Secretary in Tirgu Mures, Ion Florea. He received me kindly and asked whether I had some proposal to calm the inhabitants. He said the atmosphere was explosive and that slogans supporting me had appeared on the walls of the houses.

On February 4 I went to Bucharest, having been summoned anew by Verdet. I was told that I had to leave Tirgu Mures because they were no longer able to guarantee my security there. They proposed a position as a director in Northern Moldavia, located in Eastern Rumania.

I went home and on the following day, gave Florea a negative answer. Florea said measures would be taken against me. I would be dismissed from my post as President of an industrial society in Tirgu Mures and expelled from the Party. But I would be permitted to remain in my hometown.

However, in the evening of the same day, Florea gave me an ultimatum. The Party leadership did not agree to my staying in Tirgu Mures. On that day, my friends were harassed, searched and shadowed. Apartments were searched. During a walk with my brother, some policemen followed us with pistols in their pockets aimed at us.

On the next day, Florea categorically stated that if I did not leave Tirgu Mures, they could not guarantee my own and my friends' security. He proposed that I go to Caransebes and I accepted.

But it is obvious that no one can endanger my security except the secret police themselves. Rumania's secret police are very powerful. About 700 of them are still in Tirgu Mures. During the Spring of 1977, they conducted a series of interrogations, violent assaults, and searches among people belonging to the Hungarian minority.

After the publication of my letter in the West, certain improvements were made. The time periods allotted to Hungarian television and radio programs were extended, bilingual signs were set up and certain authorities now permit the use of the client's own language. However, these are not substantial changes. I will therefore continue until all the problems are solved.

Unrest among the minorities is an old problem in Rumania. Its cause is the enormous abyss between theory and practice in the treatment of minorities. The discontent was there. The letters did not produce it, they only confirmed something which has existed for a long time.

Many Hungarians want to leave the country. But where can they go? Hungary accepts only a very limited number of emigrees, about two hundred a year. This is a delicate problem for Hungary. It is a problem which involves the relations between two Socialist countries.

But we Hungarians in Rumania do not represent a threat to the regime in Bucharest. We are loyal. We learn the Rumanian language, we are hardworking. But we want to be treated as the Rumanians are treated, without discrimination. And we want to be able to go to our own schools, speak our own language and develop our own culture. That's all.

[The caption beneath the photograph which appears with the article above, reads: "Karoly Kiraly with his wife Helga at his mother-in-law's house in Caransebes, where they presently live waiting for a two-room apartment."]

[From Daily News, Apr. 18, 1978]

CEAUSESCU IS PIQUED BY PICKETS HERE

(By Jerry Schmetterer and Owen Moritz)

It all took place in a 29th-floor suite of the Waldorf-Astoria yesterday morning between glasses of orange juice—Ed Koch (D-Manhattan) and Romanian President Nicholae Ceausescu (Communist-Bucharest) arguing over protest against Ceausescu on New York streets.

"This doesn't happen in my country," the Romanian president told Koch through an interpreter. "This should not be allowed. If you come to Romania, you would not have any picketing."

But Koch defended the ways of New Yorkers and Americans—and when it was over the plain-speaking mayor of New York appears to have headed off an international incident by reassuring the distressed Romanian president that there is nothing personal in all those demonstrations.

It's not you, Koch told Ceausescu ever so diplomatically, it's your policies.

Those policies, said the mayor, do discriminate against Hungarian-speaking Romanians—the cause of protests that have nettled Ceausescu since his arrival here over the weekend.

And after all, who knows more about protests over the way things are run than Ed Koch. He gets them all the time, even in English-speaking Queens.

For the Romanian president in the U.S. on a business and a diplomatic mission, things got rough late Sunday when crowds protesting Romania's policies toward its Hungarian minority swelled to 2,000 outside the Waldorf.

Shortly before midnight Sunday, Ceausescu got so agitated by the protests that he complained to the State Department, which in turn pleaded to Police Commissioner Robert McGuire to assure the Romanian president that his safety was not in danger. At midnight, McGuire personally went to the Romanian UN Mission on E. 38th St., talked to Ceausescu and said he could return to the Waldorf without fear.

After midnight, under a reinforced police escort, the Romanian president's party returned to the Waldorf, past a small group of protesters that had remained in E. 49th St. One egg struck Ceausescu's car, police said.

But yesterday, Ceausescu was apparently still upset, even though the protesting crowd had melted away, presumably because most of the demonstrators had to go to work.

Anyway, Koch got a call at 8:45 a.m. from the State Department. His mission: settle down Ceausescu. So the mayor skipped a regular meeting of his own cabinet to rush to the Waldorf to sit down with the Romanian president. It was there that the two engaged in the great Waldorf debate.

"I am president of a foreign country," Ceausescu protested. "This (the demonstrations) should not be allowed."

Koch said protests were as American as the First Amendment.

"Why are you Americans interfering in the internal affairs of our country? There are international agreements prohibiting such interference. These treaties supersede the Constitution," said Ceausescu.

Ceausescu, who also heads his country's Communist Party, went on and on. Finally, he said: "If your security can't take care of these crowds, then our security will."

The mayor, joined in the talks by McGuire, said more than 100 cops from the Manhattan South and Tactical Patrol Force details, had kept order without incident.

Koch and the president discussed the specific issue of rights for Hungarian nationals in Romania, particularly the access of school-age children to Hungarian language studies, before the session broke up.

Koch said: "Let's be friends and maybe one day we can eat in a Romanian restaurant here." On the way out, the mayor found 20 uniformed guards keeping order downstairs. By this point, the protest had been reduced to three old men carrying signs.

Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, ending a weeklong visit to the United States, said yesterday that his Communist country wanted more joint business ventures with American capitalists partly because "we also are interested in profits."

A joint U.S. Romanian communique said that President and Mrs. Carter had accepted "with pleasure" an invitation to visit Romania, but no date was set.

The communique said that Carter said Ceausescu had both expressed determination during talks at the White House last week "to encourage and promote the continuing expansion of ties of cooperation and friendship between the two countries and peoples."

Before Ceausescu flew home from New York last night, the Romanian government signed a new, 10-year business-technical cooperation agreement with the Control Data Corp. of Minneapolis.

—Stan Carter

[From The Times, Apr. 25, 1978]

PARTY OFFICIALS JOIN FIGHT FOR HUNGARIANS' RIGHTS

The campaign against the violation of the human and civil rights of the two million-strong Hungarian minority in Romania has been taken up by three prominent Romanian Communist Party officials since Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a former member of the Central Committee, first drew attention to the plight of Hungarians and called upon President Ceausescu to put minority grievances right.

Three separate appeals, including a 7,000-word memorandum have since been sent to the party leadership protesting against the state's policy of discrimination. They also urged the leadership to review the country's minority policy and amend erroneous concepts which have been at the root of the Hungarian problem. Hungarians are increasingly complaining against forcible Romanization and discrimination in every sphere of life.

The ethnic Hungarians have been living in Transylvania for over a thousand years. But since the demise of the Austro-Hungarian empire at the end of the First World War, the region has changed hands three times.

The Hungarians, who hitherto had their old cultural institutions have gradually been losing them as the policy of enforced assimilation by the Romanian state gained momentum over the past 10 years or so.

A memorandum compiled by Mr. Lajos Takacs, a prominent expert on international law and a former rector of the Babes-Bolyai University at Cluj, takes up the problem of Hungarian students in Romania who, he claims, are being forced to study in the Romanian language not in their mother tongue. He further protests over the steady decrease in the number of Hungarian students admitted to universities in comparison to Romanian students over the past 17 years.

Mr. Takacs, a candidate member of the Romanian party's Central Committee, was recently elected deputy president of the Hungarian Nationality Council in Romania and his memorandum therefore carries considerable weight.

Although couched in moderate terms, it nevertheless makes the point clear that the Hungarians have been losing ground for a number of years, their cultural institutions are being gradually abolished and they are being dispersed from the regions where they live in compact communities.

Mr. Takacs asserts that the country's laws guaranteeing minority rights have not been implemented and that the Hungarian Nationality Council which is the official representative body of this ethnic minority, is as a result of the state's policies, losing the confidence of the Hungarians.

The memorandum calls for increased powers for the council, as well as for more Hungarian-language radio and television programmes. It urges that restrictions on the import of newspapers and books from Hungary be lifted and demands a strictly proportional representation for ethnic minorities in areas of mixed population where Romanians now occupy all the key posts.

Another appeal has been sent by Mr. Andras Suto, a prominent writer and a candidate member of the Romanian Party's Central Committee. It protests against restrictions on Hungarian language education at formerly Hungarian schools, where Hungarian has been replaced by Romanian.

According to Hungarian intellectuals in Budapest, Mr. Janos Fazekas, Romania's Deputy Prime Minister, has also sent a personal appeal supporting the grievances of the Hungarian community and proposing methods to improve the rapidly deteriorating situation.

The campaign attempting to focus attention on the plight of Hungarians in Transylvania began last autumn, when Mr. Kiraly sent a letter to the party leadership asserting that the Hungarian minority was being oppressed.

The letter was published in the West and Mr. Kiraly was subsequently forced into exile in Caransebas. He was also stripped of his position in the Hungarian Nationality Council.

[From The New York Times, May 9, 1978]

ETHNIC HUNGARIANS IN RUMANIA CHARGE REGIME SEEKS ASSIMILATION

(By David A. Andelman)

BUCHAREST, RUMANIA—This nation's leaders are putting pressure on the Hungarian ethnic minority to drop its cultural traditions and become part of a unified, Rumanian-dominated state.

The pressure has taken several forms—the isolation of key Hungarian community leaders, the closing of Hungarian schools and social organizations and growing discrimination in employment and dealings with officialdom.

The plight of the 1.7 million ethnic Hungarians—in a nation of 21 million—was described earlier this year in a series of letters written to the Rumanian leaders by Karoly Kiraly, a former ethnic Hungarian official, and smuggled to the West.

The letters and the Government's response to the situation are becoming a key domestic issue for Nicolae Ceausescu, the Rumanian leader, and are causing friction between Rumania and Hungary.

HUNGARIAN OUSTED FROM COUNCIL

In mid-March, in an apparent effort to ease the tensions before his trip to the United States, Mr. Ceausescu called a meeting of the Government's Council on Minorities. The session dismissed Mr. Kiraly from his last official post, that of a deputy chairman of the council, and listened to a message of conciliation from the Rumanian leader.

However, the meeting and other statements of support appear to have done little to appease the ethnic Hungarians in Rumania or the Hungarian Government in Budapest.

Rumania's ethnic Hungarians are settled in Transylvania, a region of north-western Rumania adjoining Hungary proper. The Magyars, or Hungarians, who came originally from Asia, overran the area in the ninth century. During the years of Ottoman Turkish domination, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Transylvania was a major battleground. Throughout the ensuing centuries, and particularly after the rise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Hungarians

were the masters of Transylvania and the ethnic Rumanians were the serfs.

But since the rise of the Rumanian state and, especially since the Communist takeover, these positions have been reversed, bringing along bitterness, conflict and charges of discrimination.

It is a situation of concern to the Rumanian Government, which fears that the country's ethnic minorities, which also include Germans, Serbs, Jews, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Tatars and gypsies, are potential sources of unrest and a brake on economic development.

The letters of Mr. Kiraly have thus had a powerful impact here, especially since they come from a committed Communist official. He was a nonvoting member of the ruling Politburo, a member of the powerful Council of State, and First Secretary of the district of Covasna in the heart of Transylvania.

But in April 1972, citing "personal reasons," he resigned from all three posts, retaining only the job of deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Workers Council, a body ostensibly designed to give ethnic Hungarians a voice in policy-making. Mr. Kiraly seems to feel that it has become a thinly veiled device to accelerate the process of assimilation of Hungarians into Rumanian society.

USE OF HUNGARIAN IS AN ISSUE

Last June, Mr. Kiraly wrote his first letter and, most Western diplomats believe, his most significant one, to Ilie Verdetz who was in charge of minority affairs and was one of the three or four members of the Rumanian leadership closest to President Ceausescu. Mr. Verdetz was subsequently demoted in a government shuffle. The shift may have been related as much to poor economic performance as to any contacts he may have had with Mr. Kiraly.

In his letter to Mr. Verdetz, Mr. Kiraly bemoaned the elimination of the Hungarian language from nearly all official transactions in the Hungarian regions of Rumania and discrimination against people who use Hungarian and who retain "their traditional culture."

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO STRAIN

"The problems are real ones, the preoccupations of hundreds of thousands of people," he said. "National feeling is a sensitive problem that must be treated with the greatest care. It represents the qualitative side of any nation."

The letter was sent at a critical time—10 days before a meeting between Janos Kadar, the leader of Hungary, and President Ceausescu. It was a meeting, as it turned out, according to several persons close to the participants, that was "strained and formal." In the following months, relations continued to deteriorate.

Western observers believe that several key factors are causing particular strain between the two countries and particular concern within the Hungarian community in Rumania:

A ban on travel to the West or, in many instances, even into Hungary, by Rumanian citizens of Hungarian origin. Hungarians point to the fact that more than 300,000 Jews have been allowed to emigrate over the last 30 years; yet many Hungarians in Rumania are not allowed even to visit relatives in Hungary.

A continuing deterioration in the quality of Hungarian cultural life in Rumania. Mr. Kiraly in his letters talks of a removal of Hungarian street signs and other markings in Hungarian areas, and the closing of Hungarian schools.

Growing harassment of the Hungarian minority, ranking from simple job discrimination through police actions that, Mr. Kiraly said at one point, led to the death by suicide of a noted Hungarian professor in Brasov.

The result has been a campaign by ethnic Hungarians in Rumania and within Hungary itself to publicize these abuses and to press the Rumanian Government to correct them.

HUNGARIAN POET CHARGES ABUSES

Early in January, a Hungarian poet, Gyula Illyes, published a series of articles in the newspaper Magyar Nemzet of Budapest about the problem faced by Hungarian ethnic minority groups outside Hungary, the largest being in Rumania. He wrote:

"Doctors and patients of the same mother tongue, have to communicate through an interpreter because they are allowed to speak only in the official language. This results in patients from settlements numbering hundreds of thousands, virtually entire cities being forced to explain their most intimate symptoms mostly by gesture, thus reducing health service to the level of the jungle."

He charged distortions in history and culture when, he said, "in primary schools, textbooks inform the children that their ancestors, contrary to the truth, were barbarian invaders and inferior plunderers." And, he concluded, "national resentment and intolerance toward minorities has spread with such unexpected force that in many places the humanism proclaimed by socialism has remained ineffective."

The Rumanian Government has been sensitive to these charges. Scintela, the party newspaper, has published articles describing various aspects of Hungarian culture that "continue to flourish in socialist Rumania." But what disturbs officials most, it would appear, is not criticism from abroad or within the Rumanian party, but the implications for the future. They fear that ethnic irritation can fuel more immediate economic grievances that might otherwise be settled.

[From The Christian Science Monitor, May 25, 1978]

AFTER 20 YEARS OF SILENT PROTESTS, TRANSYLVANIANS IN ROMANIA ARE CALLING LOUDLY FOR THEIR RIGHTS

(By Eric Bourne)

Vienna.

Scene: The border crossing on the main highway from Hungary into north-western Romania.

Awaiting Customs clearance, a coachload of Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin.

They are returning home to the Hungarian minority region of Transylvania in Romania after visiting relatives in Hungary.

On one side of the border the Hungarian guard waves them on quickly. But on the other side the Romanians take longer.

Passengers' suitcases and parcels are all meticulously checked—not for luxury items, but for Hungarian books and newspapers, which are invariably confiscated.

A girl is relieved of several volumes of a Hungarian encyclopedia. Near tears, she explains they are for her studies, but to no avail.

WESTERN WITNESSES

Three Western tourists, waiting their turn with the Romanians, witness the incident. With them is a Hungarian who has come along to see friends in Transylvania.

He has brought with him gifts of Hungarian books. They are the recently republished works of Hungary's celebrated poet Alexander Petofi, a biography of Kossuth, another folk-hero of Hungary's 1848 Revolution, and a book on Hungarian movies. All are seized.

Returning a week later, he will get his books back. But the Hungarian-Romanian girl will not be so fortunate with her encyclopedias.

These arbitrary Romanian restrictions on the import of Hungarian publications are a major cause of increasing resentment among the 2 million ethnic Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania.

For two decades, their protest has been a "silent" one noted only by roving journalists or Western professors engaged in educational exchanges.

Hungary, to which Transylvania belonged for 900 years, could do nothing about it because the two countries are co-members of the Soviet alliance.

Whatever protests could be made could only be done unobtrusively through party channels to try to press Romania to observe minority rights promised by its own constitution.

A meeting last year between the leaders of the two Communist parties did finally produce Romanian assent to more private visiting and freer cultural ties for Transylvania with Hungary.

This was spurred by the 1975 Helsinki Declaration on European Cooperation, which stipulated regard for minority rights.

In essence, however, little has changed as evidenced by the border incident described above and by recent and unprecedented open protests by four prominent figures within the minority itself.

For many people, Transylvania is the faroff, remote land of mystery amid grim mountains and sinister forest castles popularized by Bram Stoker's "Dracula" and other vampire tales.

Yet it is one of the loveliest and most individual regions in Central and Eastern Europe, contained by mountains on most sides and rich in minerals and wildlife.

Its known history dates back to a Getic kingdom three centuries B.C. called Dacia, which later became a Roman province.

When the Romans left, it was overrun by a succession of barbaric tribes, among them Goths, Huns, and Avars, until the Magyars' Christianizing King Stephen established the medieval Hungarian state there in the year 1003.

It stayed Hungarian until World War I, which destroyed the Austro-Hungarian Empire and produced the Trianon Treaty truncating Hungary and putting 2 million to 3 million Hungarians under alien rule.

Some 400,000 square miles, including Transylvania, and 1.5 million Hungarians were transferred to Romania.

WORLD WAR II

In 1940, the Axis powers, tightening control of southeastern Europe, partitioned the region and restored half to Hungary. Seven years later, it was again given to Romania, this time as a reward for changing sides from Nazi Germany to the Western-Soviet alliance late in the war.

From 1918 on, therefore, there have been continuing bad feelings between the two neighbors which are aggravated today despite their common communist ideology.

For the Hungarians, understandably, Transylvania is a historical and highly emotional matter. An added irritant now is that Romania is trying to legitimize a historical claim, though its actual tenure has been only between the two wars and again for the three decades since World War II.

Intensely nationalistic feeling has been given an extraordinary rein in Romania since the present leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, took over in 1965.

Last year's independence centenary was marked by a tide of history and legend about a Romanian "struggle for identity," reaching back all the years to Dacia B.C., to establish the "continuity" from a Daclan-Roman state to today's Romanian national state.

Historic figures long disdained by the Communists were "rehabilitated" in the process, even Mr. Stoker's "Dracula," the legendary fiend based on a Wallachian prince who, 500 years before, was notorious as Vlad the Impaler because of his methods of disposing of his enemies.

Romanian nationalism has only added to the uneasiness of Mr. Ceausescu's minorities (German as well as Hungarian).

He himself repeatedly insists their rights are fully protected, pointing to formal representation in party, government, and public life at all levels.

Hungarians count at least 1.7 million among a total population of 21 million. They claim the number is officially understated because of assimilation—and "Romanization."

There are, for example five "Hungarians" in the party's political executive of 50 members, and a similar proportion in other party bodies. The 17-member State Council has two Hungarians. There is a Hungarian deputy premier.

But these are primarily Romanian party officials and nominees, many Hungarian only in name and not "grass rooters" having family ties or feeling strong cultural kinship with Hungary.

Language in public administration is predominantly Romanian. There is Hungarian schooling but it diminishes as the higher grades are reached. There are minority language newspapers and theaters. But all are strictly under a "Romanian" party control, with a strongly selective watch on indigenous Hungarian books or drama, particularly the historical.

In rural areas, schooling is heavily weighted in Romanian favor. A village must have 25 Hungarian pupils to get a Hungarian-speaking class, whereas three Romanian children suffice to warrant a Romanian class.

When Hungarian students qualify in their regional university they frequently are given jobs—against their wishes—in ethnic Romanian centers.

Now "Helsinki" thinking and increasing government insistence on a "Romanian identity" for the nation as a whole are evidently quickening protest.

A LOUDER VOICE

This year, two "Hungarian" politicians, a well-known Transylvanian writer and, finally, a former rector of the Cluj (Transylvania) University, have taken up the issue.

The academician, Prof. Lajos Takacs, sent the party a long memorandum, listing minority nonobservance under 18 headings.

He called for a party reevaluation of all nationality policies, and called for more autonomy for nationality councils. He suggested Transylvania's higher education be restored to the twin Romanian-Hungarian streams existing before the much resented "Romanian" merger of the university in the 1950s.

He urged more minority radio and TV time, an end to the curbs on publications from Hungary, and bilingualism in public administration wherever a minority is 15 percent of the local population.

Only official reactions so far have been some defensive admissions of shortcomings, and Mr. Ceausescu's warning that Romanian must remain the national language.

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Rosenthal?

STATEMENT OF MILTON F. ROSENTHAL, CHAIRMAN, ENGELHARD MINERALS & CHEMICALS CORP., ON BEHALF OF U.S. SECTION OF THE ROMANIAN-UNITED STATES ECONOMIC COUNCIL AND THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I am appearing here in the capacity as indicated on the witness list. With me is John L. Caldwell, who is manager of the International Division of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which provides the Secretariat and has sponsored the Romanian-United States Economic Council, of which I am the American Chairman. My statement, Mr. Chairman, as I understand it will be incorporated into the record of your proceedings. I do not see any purpose that would be served by my reading it again.

I would like merely to supplement it with a few remarks.

Senator DOLE. I might remind all the witnesses that we still have about 15 witnesses and it is now 11:15.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Just 2 weeks ago I returned from Romania where I had led a delegation of American businessmen to participate in the fifth plenum of this Council which meets in joint session with numerous Romanian economic, financial, and commercial officials. And I would like to report to you that the spirit which characterized the joint meetings which took place over a 2-day period of time was excellent in the sense of a desire to cooperate on both sides.

I think there is a clear willingness and desire on the part of the Romanian officials, from President Ceausescu down, to increase their trade and commerce with the United States. I think the market is one which is basically open to American firms to penetrate and I encourage them to do so. They must always remember that they are in competition with the French, British, Germans, Japanese, and other Western countries in the process of penetrating the Romanian economic market.

I think it noteworthy that more than half of the foreign trade of Romania is with Western industrialized countries rather than with Comicon countries. I also draw your attention to the fact on 1 of the 2 days we were there our Council was invited to a meeting with President Ceausescu which took place on the very morning when the meeting the Comicon Ministers opened in Romania and President Ceausescu devoted more than an hour to a dialog with us in which he expressed his enthusiastic support for increased trade and commerce—

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask you. When you businessmen sit down with Romanians, do you get into a discussion of some of the human rights aspects of the freedom of emigration and how that affects thinking in this country? Do you ever discuss that?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Yes; they do.

Senator RIBICOFF. I mean, you sat here this morning and listened to the testimony and it is pretty hard for me to understand how and why they would deny, let's say, a sister church from the United States to send funds over to rebuild a church that was damaged by an earthquake. It is a very difficult thing to understand. And you businessmen who go over there and deal with them, I think it is a point that you could make in your conversations, when you socialize, to indicate how difficult it is for an American to grasp that type of attitude.

I mean, I use that as a symbol. There are other things.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Senator, I think all Americans, when they go abroad, carry their basic values with them. They do not desert them as they leave these shores.

Senator RIBICOFF. They have the basic values. The question is, during conversation, do they talk about them and the reason for a country to understand the impact upon this Nation of attitudes such as that?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Well, I travel rather extensively abroad and I think it is fair to state that my experiences are typical of other American businessmen going abroad. I think other countries which do not practice the same freedoms that we do in this country are acutely aware of the fact that there is a very great difference between American businessmen and themselves in terms of those freedoms and these foreign countries.

They do not ordinarily bring this up as a subject of conversation themselves. And I think it is very important to note the extent of leverage or lack of leverage which American businessmen have and whether or not they have encouragement from their own Government to intrude in the foreign policy area. The general feeling of American businessmen is that you are there to abide by American laws and regulations. If they permit trade, you are there to engage in trade. You do not want to be lectured to by somebody telling you about an alien system of government, which used to be the case, but at the same time you do not ordinarily engage in a lecture yourself.

There are times, however, when the bars are let down, and people talk rather freely and I think I speak for a broad section of the American business community in saying that at that time we speak glowing admiration of our own system of values and how meaningful it is to us to enjoy the freedoms which we have.

So, the message, I think, is carried.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rosenthal follows:]

STATEMENT OF THE U.S. SECTION OF THE ROMANIAN-UNITED STATES ECONOMIC COUNCIL

(By Milton F. Rosenthal)

I am Milton F. Rosenthal, chairman of Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation, and chairman of the U.S. Section of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, which is sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. With me today is John L. Caldwell, manager of the Chamber's International Division. It is a privilege to appear before this subcommittee to support the President's request for an extension of the waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, together with an extension of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement.

I am testifying today on behalf of the American membership of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, a list of which I am submitting with this statement. They

are senior executives of firms and trade associations representing a broad cross section of American industry committed to improving commercial relations with Romania. To this end, the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement has made a valuable contribution.

It has been nearly three years since the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement was enacted. Since then two-way trade has grown from \$322 million to \$493 million annually, despite last year's tragic earthquake which temporarily demobilized the Romanian economy. Judging by first quarter figures for 1978, bilateral trade should exceed \$550 million this year.

During this same period, U.S. exports to Romania have increased consistently from \$189 million to \$260 million last year. This compares quite favorably to our exports to most of the other countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. Indeed, American exports to Eastern Europe as a whole declined nearly \$2 billion between 1976 and 1977. In a period in which the United States is witnessing its largest trade deficit in history, U.S.-Romanian trade stands out as a positive development in our overall trade relations.

As you are aware, Romania continues to be a significant market for American Agricultural commodities. At the same time, U.S. Romanian trade has also become more diversified in its commodity structure since the enactment of the trade agreement in 1975. We would hope that this development will continue, and that as a new and more concerted governmental export policy is implemented in this country, we will see much more in the way of American capital goods being sold to Romania.

In addition to providing a normal basis for trade, the trade agreement has offered other important benefits to American business. The agreement's business facilitation provisions have provided assurances that American firms will receive treatment no less favorable than that accorded to firms of other foreign countries in establishing offices, including the obtaining of office and housing accommodations and the hiring of personnel. The agreement has also served to facilitate contacts between producers and end-users in our two countries. In both of these regards, I believe the trade agreement has made a valuable contribution.

Finally, the trade agreement has provided an important mechanism for safeguarding the American economy against potential market disruption caused by imports from Romania. In cases where it has appeared that Romanian exports might be contributing to market disruption in the United States, the Romanians have promptly consulted with our government, as set forth in the trade agreement. The Romanians, to their credit, have voluntarily limited exports of those commodities in question, notably welt work shoes and sheet glass.

As you may be aware, the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council held its fifth plenary session in Sinaia, Romania, on June 26-27. During that session, the U.S. Section had the privilege to meet at length with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and discuss the status of U.S.-Romanian commercial relations. We believe this gesture on the part of President Ceausescu is indicative of the Romanian desire to improve and expand these relations.

Your favorable consideration of the trade agreement will in turn illustrate the United States' determination to broaden commercial relations with Romania.

CHAIRMAN

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Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Merrigan?

STATEMENT OF EDWARD L. MERRIGAN, ESQ. ON BEHALF OF MR. JOHN TUDOR OF NEW YORK CITY, ACCOMPANIED BY HON. PAM-FIL A. RIPOSANU, FORMER MINISTER-COUNSELOR OF ROMANIA IN WASHINGTON, SECRETARY GENERAL, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, KINGDOM OF ROMANIA

Mr. MERRIGAN. Mr. Chairman, I appear today on behalf of Mr. John Tudor of New York City, a U.S. citizen who possesses a very sub-

stantial inheritance claim against property located in Romania which, to date, has been unlawfully ignored by the Romanian Government in violation of both the sense and spirit of section 502 of the Trade Act of 1974 and the Consular Convention of July 5, 1972, between the United States and Romania.

I am accompanied by the Honorable Pamfil A. Riposanu, the former Minister-Counselor of Romania in Washington and Secretary General of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Romania. Mr. Riposanu has become a citizen of our Nation, a distinguished member of the bar of the State of New York and the Supreme Court of the United States. He is an expert on Romanian law and he represents Mr. Tudor with respect to his inheritance claim against the property in Romania.

The facts of the case, Mr. Chairman, are set forth in the statement and I assume the statement will be included in full in the record, so I will not repeat them here. Simply it says that Mr. Tudor, a U.S. citizen, inherited a one-half interest in this very important Orghidan collection which is held in Romania and the Romanian Government, in 1972, as a sort of prerequisite for gaining MFN status with the United States, agreed, in a Consular Convention, that U.S. Citizens would have the right to obtain their inheritances in Romania, or to obtain the value of such inheritances in dollars.

Over a 3-year period, since 1975, the Department of State has made repeated demands on the Romanian Government on behalf of this particular claimant and in a recent letter to a Member of the Senate, a member of this committee, by the way, the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations stated they had even discussed the matter with the Ceausescu delegation when it was here in Washington just recently. And it stated that we will continue to forcefully remind the Romanian Government of its obligations under the Consular Convention.

Frankly, Mr. Chairman, this problem is one now in addition to the problem created under the Jackson-Vanik emigration provision because, under section 502 of the Trade Act, it is specifically provided that if a foreign country seizes ownership or control of property owned by U.S. citizens and does not provide just compensation, that country is no longer eligible for preferential treatment under the Trade Act.

Here we find Romania at the present time, with this case as an example—and, by the way, there are other U.S. citizen cases involved. It is in violation, we say, of the Consular Convention of 1972. We think it is in violation of section 502 of the Trade Act and, of course, I think, without the waiver, it is in violation of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

In 1974, when Czechoslovakia, an East European neighbor of Romania, failed to provide just compensation for American properties which that country had taken, Congress with this committee in the lead, refused to make that nation eligible under the Trade Act for MFN until it provides a proper settlement. That is under section 408 of the Trade Act.

Here now, we find Romania, another East European country, enjoying hundreds of millions of dollars of trade with the United States

every year under the MFN provisions, and yet it is in violation of section 502, the Consular Convention and, I think, in violation of the sense and spirit of the same provision which excluded Czechoslovakia.

We therefore urge the committee, Mr. Chairman, No. 1, that if Congress is going to preserve the integrity of the Trade Act in this case and all similar cases over the years, some assurance must be obtained from Romania that it intends, henceforth, to come into compliance with, first of all, the Consular Convention and second, the provisions of section 502 of the Trade Act. If Romania fails or refuses to do that, then its MFN status should continue to be effective only when it provides such assurances.

If Congress feels it must grant another MFN waiver and go another year down this road, then I would urge the committee through some report or some resolution or some other action to make it clear to Romania that it is in serious danger of losing its MFN status in the future unless, in the case of these U.S. citizens whose property it is holding without compensation, it comes into compliance with the Consular Convention and section 502 of the Trade Act.

This is a two-way street, Mr. Chairman. I think the benefits for Romania are obvious under MFN, but when it takes U.S. properties without providing just compensation, it should not enjoy any more benefits than, say, Czechoslovakia.

Thank you very much.

Senator RIBICOFF. I am sort of puzzled here. This Mr. Orghidan died in 1944. His widow, Mrs. Orghidan, died in 1967, and Mr. Tudor became a citizen in 1974. I do not understand how he comes under this.

Mr. MERRIGAN. Well, what happened is this, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Orghidan died, leaving this Orghidan collection to the Romanian Academy and part of the collection to his wife. His wife then filed the necessary legal proceedings in the Romania courts to take her share of the estate. That was pending before Romania became Communist in 1948.

The courts of Romania then decided that she was entitled to her one-half of the property and court proceedings toward division of the Orghidan collection were commenced. They continued throughout her life. There was never any taking of the property by the Government of Romania and she willed her inheritance claim, or her share of the property, to Mr. Tudor.

Senator RIBICOFF. But she was a Romanian citizen. She was not an American?

Mr. MERRIGAN. She was not an American.

Senator RIBICOFF. How does the United States get involved in the internal problems of Romanian people? I am at a loss to understand that.

Mr. MERRIGAN. The fact is that Romania never took this property from either Mrs. Orghidan or Mr. Tudor until he did become a citizen of the United States and asserted his claim.

Senator RIBICOFF. But that was in 1974 and she died in 1967.

Mr. MERRIGAN. That is correct. She had inherited the property but it was never taken. It was her property at death. It was held by the court of Romania in trust for her under a custody proceeding. There was an inventory pending.

When she died, she willed it to Mr. Tudor.

Senator RIBICOFF. But are you asking this committee to try a lawsuit? Is that it?

Mr. MERRIGAN. No; we are not asking you to try a lawsuit. In fact, the State Department has already taken this claim and asserted it against the Government of Romania because the property was never taken by the Romanian Government until after Mr. Tudor became a U.S. citizen.

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Vest, do you or any members of your staff have any comments on this complicated matter?

Mr. VEST. There is a slight variance here between what the gentleman has just said. We are not espousing the claim. We have been inquiring to try to get the facts about the claim, and we have, indeed, because of the problem of the date of 1967 and the date of 1974, which you just referred to, we have requested Romanian documentation.

We have received, recently, from the Romanian Government a note verbale setting forth its official position and transmitting to us texts of documents relating to the proceedings in the Romanian courts to try to get at it, because we can only espouse a claim under international law if the claimant is a U.S. citizen at the time of the taking of the property and remains so continuously thereafter.

Senator RIBICOFF. That is international law, recognized in this country and in other nations?

Mr. VEST. That is correct, sir.

Now, we are looking into this at the moment. We have not espoused the claim. I should make this clear. We are trying to get the documentation officially and the facts, to determine the international law facts in relation to this. That is where we are at the present time.

Mr. MERRIGAN. Right. And our claim, of course, Mr. Chairman, is that this property was never taken by Romania until after he became a citizen of the United States, at which time it became that of a U.S. citizen.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, this gets to be a pretty tough thing. In other words, if the Senate of the United States would have to make a determination affecting every Romanian or any other country in the world. I mean, this certainly is beyond the jurisdiction, it would seem, of this committee—or any committee of the Congress, for that matter.

Mr. MERRIGAN. We certainly would take that position with you and agree with you, Mr. Chairman, if he were not a citizen of the United States when Romania took the property. But the plain, simple fact of this case is that the inheritance proceeding was pending. The widow got her—by the court's decree in Romania, got her property. She willed it to Mr. Tudor. He asserted the claim pursuant to her will when he became a citizen of the United States and they refused to either provide the property or compensation.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, what I do not understand, he died in 1944, the widow died in 1967. He becomes a citizen in 1974 and the property is in there after Romania became a Communist country—I do not know how this committee can get involved in anything like that. It is very puzzling.

Yes, Mr. Vest?

Mr. VEST. If I might, sir, only add the point that we are confused, as well, on the facts. That is why we have tried to get documentation.

We are going to review, very closely, the documentation that we have gotten. We want to determine the legal facts.

We have been, in the past, in touch with Mr. Tudor's representatives. We will continue to do so. We want to make sure that Mr. Tudor's representatives have—

Senator RIBICOFF. When you get the facts as you see them, you will make them available to Mr. Tudor's counsel?

Mr. MERRIGAN. You realize, Mr. Chairman, that there is no court in the world in which you can litigate this and if the plain simple fact is that this man was a U.S. citizen when the property was taken by Romania, under international law it is a claim of the U.S. citizen which the State Department would then be able to espouse.

But unless it is settled—if that be the case, and unless it is settled in some way as a part of this type of proceeding, there is just no way it is ever going to be settled. They have been trying to get Romania to comply with its legal obligations to deliver this property since 1975 and without any response whatsoever.

Senator RIBICOFF. As an attorney you must appreciate the problem that the Senate would get into if every person who comes from Romania and lives here asks us to try to get involved in private litigation between an individual and a foreign government. I don't know how that can be done.

Mr. RIPOSANU. May I add, with your permission, a few words?

Senator RIBICOFF. Surley.

Mr. RIPOSANU. We share your view. I would like you to know that the record reveals there is not even a claim on the part of the Romanian Government that the property has been nationalized or taken.

Senator RIBICOFF. But you see, you inquire—

Mr. RIPOSANU. And in addition, the property was left into the hands of the court as a fiduciary. The only fact to be the last act would be division, partition of an estate, either voluntarily or by court proceedings.

Unfortunately, the situation in Romania is as such, and in view of the fact that this is a unique collection, no one has a chance for such proceeding in Romania. It would be an exercise in futility.

For that reason, and because the action of the Romanian Government of not giving the property to the heir, who is an American national, it is in violation of the Consular Convention, signed by the present government, which guarantees—Your Honor, we recognize the rights of the heirs in Romania, but there is only one way—we give it to them, but they do not give it to the nationals of the United States.

Senator RIBICOFF. All I can say is as you present this matter, you could see what would happen if a Senate committee had to try a complicated matter, not only for you, but for anybody else. I can understand, going into the courts to try to work this out, or having the State Department work it, but I do not see how this committee could enter into a trial of such a complicated matter. I do not know how that could be done.

Mr. RIPOSANU. We are not requesting you to, Your Honor.

Senator RIBICOFF. But that is what it would end up as, in this type of legislation, to get involved in this kind of a matter.

Mr. RIPOSANU. We just wanted to submit for your consideration the fact that Romania stands in violation of the Consular Treaty Convention signed by the present government. And the documents submitted in support of the claim are not disputed. They are not contradicted by any piece of evidence, by any iota of evidence.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I think I share the views expressed by the chairman. I just have one question—what response have you had? Have you had any response?

Mr. RIPOSANU. For 3 years we have had no response. Not a document. All the attempts made by our Government, directly here by the Department in Washington or our Embassy in Bucharest remain without answer. Only now, when the approaching of the hearing before your committee came, then they started to give some verbal notice—which is nothing but a self-serving evidence. I understand such a telegram was received last Friday. I have not received it yet. But up to the present time, not an iota of evidence was introduced or submitted to the Department of State which contradicts our claim.

Senator DOLE. I assume the State Department will advise the committee if we have any jurisdiction, and if it is just a hearing to put pressure on the Romanians, well, you have made your case.

Those things do happen around here.

Mr. MERRIGAN. The point is, Senator Dole, that this is a valid claim. Mr. Riposanu is an expert on the law of Romania. This is a valid claim. The taking was not made until after he became a U.S. citizen. If that be true, we are not asking you to try that, Senator Ribicoff, but if that be true, then it is a valid claim that the United States should espouse and, by the way, the State Department has been vigorously presenting this claim to Romania now for almost 3 years, because the facts are before them in sworn form.

The Surrogates' Court in the State of New York has entered decrees making Mr. Tudor not only the heir, but the administrator of the lady's estate who died in Romania. So, Senator, we are not asking you to try the case. Those parts of it are for the courts. But what is involved here is that if this is a valid claim—and, by the way, it is only one of many, many American claims against Romania—that they are in violation of section 502 of this law, and we want to bring it to your attention. Maybe there is nothing you can do about it at this time, but this comes up year after year, and if this is settled by next year, then certainly, hopefully, the United States will be able to do something.

Senator RIBICOFF. All right, gentlemen. I think the committee is in a situation such that by 12:15 our time runs out under the Senate rules, so we are going to have to move along to hear as many witnesses as possible.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Merrigan follows:]

STATEMENT OF EDWARD L. MERRIGAN, COUNSEL FOR MR. JOHN TUDOR, ACCOMPANIED BY HON. P. A. RIPOSANU, FORMER MINISTER COUNSELOR OF ROMANIA IN WASHINGTON AND SECRETARY GENERAL, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, KINGDOM OF ROMANIA; PRESENTLY ATTORNEY FOR MR. TUDOR, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee on Trade, my name is Edward L. Merrigan. I am a member of the bars of the States of Louisiana, Maryland and

New York, as well as those of the District of Columbia, the Supreme Court of the United States and various other federal jurisdictions.

I appear here today on behalf of Mr. John Tudor of New York City, a United States citizen, who possesses a very substantial inheritance claim against property located in Romania which, to date, has been unlawfully ignored by the Romanian Government in violation of both the sense and spirit of the Trade Act of 1974 and the Consular Convention of July 5, 1972 between the United States and Romania.

I am accompanied today by the Honorable Pamfil A. Riposanu, the former Minister-Counselor of Romania in Washington, and Secretary General of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Romania. Mr. Riposanu has become a citizen of our nation and a distinguished member of the bars of the State of New York and the Supreme Court of the United States. He is an expert on Romanian law, and he represents Mr. Tudor in connection with Mr. Tudor's inheritance claim against the aforementioned property in Romania.

The facts of Mr. Tudor's case are brief and simple: In 1944, Mr. Constantin Orghidan, a prominent Romanian industrialist, died possessed of an extensive antique coin collection known as the Orghidan Collection. Some of the coins date back to as much as 2,000 years before Christ. Mr. Orghidan left a will pursuant to which he bequeathed the collection partially to the Romanian Academy and partially to his widow. Under Romanian law, Mrs. Orghidan had the right to elect to take her share of the estate under either the will itself or under applicable Romanian law, which guaranteed her one-half of the entire estate. She elected to take her statutory inheritance, and appropriate legal proceedings were commenced in the Romanian courts to partition the Orghidan coin collection equally between the Academy and Mrs. Orghidan.

In or about 1948, the communists assumed control of the Romanian Government. Nevertheless, the court proceedings looking toward a division of the Orghidan Collection between the Academy and Mrs. Orghidan continued, and the collection itself was placed under the custody and control of the Romanian court. The court, however, failed to render a final decision and ultimately Mrs. Orghidan died in 1967 leaving a will in which she left her property to Mr. Tudor. Mr. Tudor escaped from Romania and became a permanent resident of the United States in 1969. In 1974, he became a citizen of the United States.

At no time during the period from Mr. Orghidan's death in 1944 to the date upon which Mr. Tudor became a citizen of the United States did the Romanian Government nationalize or otherwise take the Orghidan Collection, which remained subject to the jurisdiction and control of the Romanian court. Said collection is presently worth well in excess of \$100,000,000, and apparently steps have been taken to permit the Romanian Academy to place it on exhibit in Bucharest from time to time.

On January 29, 1975, Mr. Tudor filed a formal petition with the U.S. Department of State requesting that, under and pursuant to the Consular Convention of 1972 between the United States and Romania, the United States demand that he, Mr. Tudor, be permitted without further delay to exercise his valid inheritance rights to one-half of the Orghidan Collection, or that the Romanian Government otherwise provide just compensation for that property if it desires to retain same in Romania. In this regard, the 1972 Consular Convention between the United States and Romania provides:

"The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania assures the Government of the United States:

(1) United States nationals may exercise their inheritance rights in the Socialist Republic of Romania on the same conditions as Romanian nationals and may transfer in dollars or other foreign currency, the sums obtained from such inheritances, at the official rate of exchange. . . ."

Over the three-year period since 1975, the Department of State has made repeated demands on the Romanian Government for an explanation as to why Mr. Tudor, a United States citizen, has not received either (i) his share of the Orghidan Collection, or (ii) just compensation in place thereof. For more than three years, the Romanian Government failed and refused even to respond. Finally, the U.S. Ambassador in Romania approached the Foreign Ministry and insisted on prompt action—and in a recent letter to a member of the U.S. Senate, the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations stated:

"In particular, we discussed at a high level, during President Ceausescu's visit the inheritance claim of John Tudor. We will continue to forcefully remind the Romanian Government of its obligations under the Consular Convention."

Faced with these repeated requests from the State Department and the need to prepare for the hearings before this Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee with reference to its coveted MFN status, the Romanian Government recently submitted a vague, perfunctory, inaccurate response to the State Department. However, it is perfectly clear that unless the Congress takes some action in this area to insist that Romania must fully and promptly comply with the Consular Convention of 1972 if it expects to continue to enjoy MFN status and other extremely valuable benefits under the Trade Act of 1974—it is plain that Romania will continue to violate that convention in the Tudor case and in several other similar U.S. citizen cases which have recently arisen between the United States and Romania.

In this regard, Section 502(b) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2462(b)) specifically provides that the President may not continue to extend preferential benefits under the Trade Act to a beneficiary country—

“if such country—

(A) has seized ownership or control of property owned by a United States . . . or

(C) has imposed . . . other measures with respect to property so owned, the effect of which is . . . to seize ownership or control of such property, unless—

(D) the President determines that—

(i) prompt, adequate, and effective compensation has been or is being made to such citizen, or

(ii) good faith negotiations to provide prompt, adequate and effective compensation under the applicable provisions of international law are in progress, or such country is otherwise taking steps to discharge its obligations under international law with respect to such citizen . . .”

Here, Romania is holding property which plainly belongs to Mr. Tudor by inheritance. It is in violation of the Consular Convention of 1972 by reason of its failure to permit him to exercise his inheritance rights. And, it is in violation of the Trade Act of 1974 in that it is unlawfully attempting to assume ownership and control of his property without providing just compensation or without even engaging in good faith negotiations for such compensation.

In 1974, when Czechoslovakia, an Eastern European communist bloc nation with a history of close relations with the United States more compelling by far than those between the United States and Romania, failed to provide a fair, just measure of compensation to U.S. citizens for properties which had been taken by that nation, Congress refused to approve Czechoslovakia's proposed settlement arrangement and barred the extension of MFN status to that country until it did agree to provide just compensation to the U.S. citizens involved (Trade Act of 1974, § 408, 19 U.S.C. 2438).

In this instance, Romania has already enjoyed all the hundreds of millions of dollars of yearly trade benefits MFN treatment brings without providing any compensation whatsoever for the U.S. citizen properties it is holding—and so far it has effectively refused even to discuss those properties or paying of any compensation whatsoever—while it applies to the President and the Congress for additional, increased hundreds of millions of dollars of trade benefits from the United States.

CONCLUSION

Romania stands before the Congress in violation of (a) its 1972 Consular Convention with the United States, and (b) the letter, spirit and intent of Sections 408 and 502 of the Trade Act of 1974.

Romania also stands before the Congress in violation of the Jackson-Vanik provisions of the Trade Act of 1974, otherwise it would not require the waiver of Section 402 recommended by the President.

In such circumstances, the Congress must do something effective (a) to preserve the integrity of the Trade Act itself and (b) to insure that Romania is compelled, like other communist nations of East Europe, to comply both with its treaties and conventions with the United States and the Trade Act if it is to continue to enjoy the benefits of that Act.

Patently, the President's recommendations to date have completely overlooked the facts outlined above, and thus, the President has failed to explain, as required by Section 502 of the Act, why Romania should continue to enjoy benefits under the Trade Act when it simultaneously violates both the Consular Convention with the United States and the provisions of Section 502 as well.

Therefore, on behalf of Mr. Tudor, whom we represent here today, and all other U.S. citizens similarly situated, we respectfully urge the Congress carefully to consider the following alternatives regarding continuing MFN status for Romania.

(1) Before deciding how this Committee and the Congress should act with reference to the pending Presidential recommendations regarding extension of the Section 402 waiver and renewal of the Section 405 trade agreement with Romania, the Committee should request the President to obtain from Romania formal, binding assurances that it intends henceforth fully to comply with the U.S. inheritance provisions of the Consular Convention of 1972, and in cases such as Mr. Tudor's, either to deliver the property he inherited in Romania to him or provide prompt, just compensation in lieu thereof as required by the Section 502 of the Trade Act of 1974.

(2) If Romania fails or refuses to provide such assurances, the Committee should adopt a resolution under Section 402 of the Trade Act which makes the granting of a further waiver under Section 402 and approval of renewal of the expiring trade agreement conditional upon (i) Romania's agreement henceforth effectively to comply with the inheritance provisions of the Consular Convention of 1972, and (ii) Romania's undertaking either to deliver inherited property claimed by U.S. citizens or to provide prompt, just compensation in place thereof, or in the alternative,

(3) If Romania fails or refuses to provide the assurances specified in "(1)" above, the Committee should adopt an affirmative resolution under Section 405 of the Trade Act which authorizes and approves the President's renewal of the MFN trade agreement with Romania as and when Romania takes the actions specified in "(2)" above.

(4) Finally, if the pressures to favor the communist government of Romania require blind, carte blanche approval of the President's pending recommendations for Romania under Sections 402 and 405 of the Trade Act this year, the Committee should, in some manner, (through a report, resolution or some other action) make it clear to both Romania and the Administration that Romania is in serious danger of losing all future benefits, waivers or agreements under the Trade Act unless and until it acts promptly to comply with both the Consular Convention of 1972 and Section 502 of the Trade Act in inheritance cases involving U.S. citizens.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to testify, and be assured we stand ready to cooperate with your Committee to resolve these U.S. citizen inheritance problems which threaten to damage or destroy increased trade relations which have been emerging between the United States and Romania. We are sure you agree that sound relations between two nations require fair, friendly treatment and solution to all problems—not just those that benefit one of the two nations involved.

Senator RIBICOFF. We have a panel consisting of Mr. John Pittas, Mr. Stephen Gans, Mr. Gerald Williams, Mr. Hugh Donaghue, and Mr. Hodgkins.

You may proceed, gentlemen.

STATEMENTS OF JOHN F. PITTAS, VICE PRESIDENT, UOP, INC.; STEPHEN GANS, PRESIDENT, VITCO—A JOINT VENTURE; GERALD T. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT, PROMETHEAN CORP.; HUGH P. DONAGHUE, VICE PRESIDENT AND ASSISTANT TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, CONTROL DATA CORP.; AND H. F. HODGKINS, JR., PRESIDENT, LIPE-ROLLWAY CORP.

Mr. PITTAS. My name is John F. Pittas. I am a vice president of UOP, Inc. We have a panel of businessmen before you today who have done business in Romania. I think that we have all submitted statements of our position—

Senator RIBICOFF. All your statements will go in the permanent record.

Mr. PITTAS [continuing]. So that it will not be necessary for us to review these statements in detail and possibly, depending on the wishes of the Chair, we would be available to answer questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. As I gather it, you gentlemen feel that doing business with Romania is to the mutual advantage of the United States as well as Romania?

Mr. PITTAS. Yes, sir.

Senator RIBICOFF. Are you importers or exports?

Mr. PITTAS. Speaking on behalf of my organization, we are exporters. We export technology and engineering services to Romania in the petroleum and petrochemical field. We have also worked with the Romanians in third-country projects.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do you feel that trade with Romania is to the overall benefit of the people of this country?

Mr. PITTAS. Yes, sir, I do.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do you see the business between the United States and Romania increasing for our benefit, as well as theirs?

Mr. PITTAS. Yes, sir, I do. I think that the passage of most-favored-nation status to Romania for an additional period, I think would additionally assist us in that business, because it enables the Romanians to sell products and get dollars to pay for American goods and services.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do you find, in doing business with the Romanians, that it is easy to do business with them? Are there many road-blocks, bureaucratic tangles? Or, doing business with the Romanians, is it expedited?

Mr. PITTAS. Well, we do business, Mr. Chairman, all over the world, and certainly there are many complications. In many cases, the type of economic system that exists in a particular country demands a certain type of negotiations, and I think I would be unrealistic if I did not say it was complicated, but that does not mean that it cannot be solved and that you can work out an agreement that is mutually beneficial to both parties.

And we have experienced that in Romania.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I do not know whether any of the other members of the panel wanted to introduce themselves.

Mr. PITTAS. I think, Senator Dole, maybe it would be good if each of us identified ourselves and then specific questions could be asked of each of the members of the panel. Maybe we could start with the gentleman to my left.

Mr. GANS. I am Stephen Gans. I am president of the VITCO—a joint venture.

Mr. HODGKINS. My name is Howard Hodgkins, Jr. I am president of the Lipe-Rollway Corp.—incorrectly spelled in the agenda, which frequently happens.

We have about \$60 million worth of contracts with Romania, the great preponderance of which is exported machine tools.

Senator RIBICOFF. To Romania?

Mr. HODGKINS. To Romania.

Senator RIBICOFF. Where is your company located?

Mr. HODGKINS. In Syracuse, N. Y.

Senator RIBICOFF. Your company, you indicated, is in the petroleum and petrochemical field?

Mr. PITTS. Exportation of technology and engineering services,
Mr. Chairman.

Senator RIBICOFF. Yes, sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. My name is Gerald T. Williams, president of Promethean Corp., and our business is trade development and use of facilities, aircargo facilities, and shipping facilities, and the use of compensation techniques by products and transport them, compensation for hard currency transactions. We are located in Zurich, Switzerland and Severna Park, Md., outside of Washington.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, basically it is services that you sell?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the thing I wanted to bring up in the discussion is that we are proposing to become a joint owner with Romania under the new Romanian law, which is one of the things that we would like to see a reciprocation between the Romanian counterpart and the American counterpart, which we would be, to own property within Romania, which is a rather unique concept, and it would be an aircargo facility at the airport in Bucharest to use as an expediting system for import and export of goods.

Senator RIBICOFF. How do you work the profit? When you have a joint venture, is there any problem with bringing your earnings back to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, in the situation we have here, it would not. We have a 51-percent split, as you know. The Romanians would have 51 and the West would have 49. The uniqueness here is that the Romanians would put up the ground, the property out at the airport, and the roads and facilities to that. We would provide the mortgaging from the West to provide the buildings, construction, and operation, training, and maintenance of same.

The people in Romania who would use this facility, which we estimate 20 percent, would actually pay in Romanian money which we would use to pay off utility costs, telephone expenses in local currency for training and personnel costs.

But we do not see any problem with the expropriation or a problem of dollars—

Senator RIBICOFF. No, but how do you bring your earnings back to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The money is collected in the Romanian National Bank which will be dispersed, by previous plan, so much to the banking industry, which is mortgaging, and so much left over after expenses at a 49- to 51-percent split to the Romanian counterpart which is the Ministry of Foreign Trade and their subdivision as well as our side, which is a corporation.

Senator RIBICOFF. Would you bring that back in dollars?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In dollars, of course.

Senator RIBICOFF. The dollars would come back to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Approximately 80 percent of the income will be paid in hard currency, whether it be marks, you know, or francs, or American dollars.

Senator RIBICOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. DONAGHUE. My name is Hugh Donaghue. I am a vice president of Control Data Corp.

We do have the only existing joint venture in Romania by a U.S. firm. It was established in 1973. We own 45 percent and our Romanian partner 55 percent and we are able to repatriate our profits. We employ about 200 people and they are engaged in the manufacturing of peripheral products for computers for sale within Romania by our partner and for sale, by Control Data, in the West.

Senator RIBICOFF. Since that time you have had no problems repatriating your earnings in the United States?

Mr. DONAGHUE. No, sir. We are doing a current volume of about \$12 million a year under that plan and to date, we have not had any problem and we do not anticipate any. The Romanians, in 1972, passed of decrees number 424 and 425 that allowed the establishment of joint ventures and also provided the legal structure to allow the repatriation of profits by foreign investors.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do you see this joint venture approach expanding in Romania?

Mr. DONAGHUE. Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, we have been involved with our joint venture for the last 5 years. When President Ceausescu came to the United States in March of this year, we signed a new agreement; a Science and Technological Cooperation agreement, to expand our activities in the computer area in Romania. This agreement came about primarily because of our satisfaction with the way things had been going with our current operation. This is a new 10-year agreement.

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask all of you gentlemen, do you find that the Romanians like to do business with American companies?

Mr. HODGKINS. Very much.

Senator RIBICOFF. They like to do business with Americans?

Mr. HODGKINS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to excerpt a comment from my prepared remarks in which I made reference to the fact that our corporation will, at one time or another, have about 50 Americans in residence in Romania. Also, we have trained about 70 Romanian nationals in the United States. And I would like to submit, sir, that the people-to-people contact of this nature bode very well on the problems which have been mentioned prior to this testimony at this meeting.

Senator RIBICOFF. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I think the chairman covered several important areas. I am glad that you mentioned that of people-to-people contacts, because you have heard some of the other witnesses, and I can understand when you are in business and making a profit, human rights may not be as important as economic considerations, but there are others who have testified who have very real concerns about the Romanian Government and the rights of the people within the government, whether it be religious rights or the rights to emigrate.

Do you have any contact that might be helpful, with people that you have in your business who live there who have been besieged by Romanians with problems in this area?

Mr. HODGKINS. Senator, speaking on behalf of the Lipe-Rollway Corp., we have not had any difficulty with any of our people in Romania being confronted with complaints and so forth, however, I think that is to be expected in a controlled economy of that nature. But I personally have had some discussions with individual Romanians. The people I have talked to are very proud of their country. They are not

proud of some of the excesses in their country and the controls that they have any more than we are in this country proud of some of the controls which we are increasingly seeing on business here.

I feel that the business relationship is perhaps one of the best vehicles that we have to improve the human rights in Romania.

Mr. DONAGHUE. I would like to echo that remark also. Senator. One of the things we have found in the 5-year history of our joint venture is that having had Americans living and working in Romania, that closer ties, the better understanding has developed on both sides.

I travel quite frequently to Romania and, as Mr. Rosenthal said earlier, we do talk to the Romanians off the record, and there are frequently two sides to every story. I think one of the problems we are facing here this morning, both from the business point of view and from others who oppose MFN is we are listening to one point of view, the American point of view, about the situation.

Quite often when you are there and sit down with the Romanians you get a different point of view. Quite frequently when we ask questions of things we do not understand, it turns out that there are, under their system, legitimate reasons why they do things the way they do.

We may not agree with them, but, on the other hand, they can justify to a certain degree the type of actions they take.

Senator DOLE. I think most closed societies can justify just about anything they do, so I do not happen to buy that argument. I prefer our system, even though it may be profitable to deal with them. That is one reason we want to take a look at the trade side.

Certainly it is in our interest and their interest and it may be of help in other areas, but they do sign certain agreements such as the Helsinki Final Act or other agreements where they at least, in spirit, indicate their willingness to try to resolve some of these problems.

Certainly we as a committee or a Congress, cannot resolve everyone's problems in Romania. You have indicated that there are two sides to every story and we are hearing only one. It may be accurate, and it may not be. I do not want to question anybody's motives, but it may not be precisely as they are told it is.

So there are some real concerns and any information you have would be helpful.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

[The prepared statements of the preceding panel follow:]

STATEMENT OF JOHN F. PITTAS, UOP INC.

I am J. F. Pittas, Vice President of UOP Inc. I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before this subcommittee to support President Carter's recommendation that an extension of the waiver authority for Romania be granted under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

UOP is engaged in the development of energy technologies, construction, engineering services and manufactured products on a worldwide basis. We have done business in Romania for over 40 years. As a result, we know the Romania business community well and are familiar with the current business opportunities in that country. Throughout these four decades of friendly business relations, we believe both UOP and the Romanian government have enjoyed mutually beneficial results. The future seems to be even more promising because of closer economic ties between Romania and the U.S. which have resulted following the granting of MFN status in 1975.

Romania has made significant efforts to integrate its economy into the global economic systems and to structure its foreign trade relations and techniques to

be responsive to Western business conditions. U.S. companies have increased their share of Romanian trade done with the West over the past few years. We believe that although U.S. investment in Romania has so far been relatively limited, there are signs that through a stabilization of MFN status in the future, such investment could also increase.

As a participant in numerous economic organizations, Romania has facilitated trade with countries outside of the COMECON organization. The Commerce Department has recently reported that in 1977 over 60 percent of Romania's trade was with non-COMECON nations. The U.S.-Romanian trade agreement has provided an important mechanism in encouraging the resolution of a wide range of trade barriers between our two countries. UOP is certain that future trade with Romania will continue to be mutually beneficial for both countries.

Following the visit of Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in April 1978, we were pleased to read the Joint Declaration issued by the White House after his discussions with President Carter. The Declaration reaffirmed the commitment to continue and develop the expansion of trade between our two nations.

Romania, over the past several years, has had one of the fastest growth rates of any country in Western or Eastern Europe. If U.S. companies are to continue to participate in this expanding market, Romania must have a reasonable basis to sell its products in the U.S., in order to obtain the dollars necessary to pay U.S. companies for their goods and services. I believe this opportunity can only exist in a meaningful way if Romania continues to be given most favored nation status.

Romania today has a unique relationship with Third World countries. Closer economic cooperation with Romania by U.S. companies presents an excellent opportunity to cooperate with Romanian enterprises on projects in the Third World. In many cases the business would not be available to the U.S. company if it were not for its association with a Romanian partner. We are currently working on four projects with Romanian state enterprises in Third World countries and feel that this cooperation has been mutually beneficial to all parties so involved.

UOP Inc. believes that MFN status will further strengthen and facilitate business between Romania and the U.S. Therefore, UOP supports President Carter's recommendation for further extension of authority under the Trade Act of 1974, to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under Section 402 and continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, and renewal of the U.S.-Romanian Agreement on Trade Relations under Section 205-b, continuing the applicability of non-discriminatory treatment with respect to products of Romania. Furthermore, we support the removal of the requirement that the Trade Act waiver authority be reviewed for approval on a yearly basis.

STATEMENT OF THE LIPE-ROLLWAY CORP.

The Lipe-Rollway Corporation is a New York State based corporation having sales in 1977 of \$41,000,000. The Corporation Headquarters are in Syracuse, New York, and it has manufacturing facilities throughout the United States and in Mexico and England. It also has offices in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Romania. The principal products of the Corporation are anti-friction bearings, heavy duty friction clutches and automation equipment. It has been in business since 1880.

In 1975, through its various Rollway Bearing International Subsidiaries, the Lipe-Rollway Corporation signed contracts with Departments of the Government of Romania totalling approximately \$60,000,000. These contracts were to supply equipment and know-how for an anti-friction bearing manufacturing plant in Ploesti, Romania, and for marketing various Romanian-made anti-friction bearings on a worldwide basis over a ten year period. These contracts came into force in 1976. The turnkey factory was partially financed by the Export-Import Bank of the United States and Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company.

These were the first ventures the Lipe-Rollway Corporation had that involved sizeable direct contracts with a department of a foreign government. The motivation behind the ventures was for the Corporation to increase its sales opportunities on a worldwide basis. The results through 1978 will be approximately \$26,000,000 worth of machinery and know-how exported from the United States to Romania and purchases of \$828,000 of bearings on a worldwide basis with only

\$332,000 coming to the United States. The favorable balance of trade to the United States in the past two years for these contracts, therefore, is considerable and, since the largest portion of bearing purchases in the future will be for the rest of the world outside of the United States, the net favorable balance of trade to the United States from these contracts over the term of the contracts will likewise be considerable.

It would have been impossible for us to have obtained these contracts with Romania if Romania had not been granted MFN status. Romania will not consider doing business with the United States on any basis other than that of an equal trading partner similar to other countries historically doing business with the United States. Assuming then that exports are important to the United States, as they most obviously are, and assuming we have a country eager to buy from the United States, which is the case, then it only makes common sense to treat Romania as a trading partner equal with other countries.

I would like to deal now with the subject of doing business with a Communist dominated state. It should be obvious coming from a basically conservative politically oriented person, that I had to answer a lot of questions in my own mind before I was willing to enter into such a business relationship. The usual thoughts came to my mind that were in the minds of a lot of other people. Was this in the best interest of the United States? Could a Communist regime be trusted to honor its business contracts? Was the regime in Romania so repressive that it would be morally wrong to do business with them? I am pleased to report that the more than four years relationship we have had with the Romanians has erased any of the doubts we may have had before the beginning of our relationship. It became perfectly clear to us that from an economic, political and moral basis our company's doing business with the Romanians was in the best interests of the United States.

The economic benefits I have previously discussed, indicating the superlative contribution to the United States' balance of trade that our contracts have had and will continue to have in the future. Of equal importance is the benefit that our people-to-people contracts have had on the Romanians. We will have over 50 people in residence in Romania at one time or another, including representatives of our machine tool suppliers, and there have been approximately 70 Romanians in training in the United States. It is virtually impossible through such people-to-people contracts for there not to be a message that is gotten across to the Romanians about Americans in general and our society and economic system in particular. In our opinion, the Romanians are getting a good impression of the United States and this can only bode well for improving relationships between our two countries. Finally, there is an oft repeated opinion that there are minorities within Romania that are treated poorly—Hungarians and Jews, for instance.

In all of our dealings with Romania we have absolutely no evidence of this. To the contrary, all people in Romania appear to be treated alike; albeit, in a way more repressive than would be acceptable in the United States—even the ethnic Romanian nationals themselves have great difficulty getting emigration visas. I repeat, we have seen no discrimination in this regard for other ethnic or national groups within Romania. Once again, the people-to-people contacts that contracts such as our provide are extremely helpful in breaking down any repressive barriers that may exist, no matter how broadly they may be administered.

In conclusion, when doing business with the Romanians we have found they were ethical business people; they were strong negotiators to be sure, but, after all, we claim to be the same. Of course, it falls quite naturally that for a foreign country to be able to purchase goods from abroad it must also be able to sell its goods abroad and, therefore, there must be a mutual give and take in this regard which means that trading partners must maintain favorable tariff relationships, one with the other. Such was the case after MFN was first granted to Romania and such will be the case when MFN is extended for another year as we most respectfully recommend.

H. FOLLETT HODGKINS, JR.,
President, Lipe-Rollway Corp.

STATEMENT OF GERALD T. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT OF PROMETHEAN CORP.

Mr. Chairman, I, Gerald T. Williams, President of Promethean Corporation, am pleased to have this opportunity to testify before the Subcommittee on Inter-

International Trade of the Committee on Finance of the U.S. Senate in regard to our support to continue waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, extension of the waiver authority under Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, and to renew the trade agreement providing nondiscriminatory treatment with respect to the products of Romania.

I would like to discuss with you our business interest in Romania and the reasons why we and our associates in the business community believe that the continuation of this U.S. foreign policy effort can only substantially improve our economic and political relations with that country.

Trade statistics and current policies only tell the usual manifestations of the effects of the past three years of nondiscriminatory trade with Romania. We, our business colleagues, as well as our Romania counterparts, have spent considerable time, energy, and resources exploring and evaluating companies in both countries, attempting to find the best product and/or service for our investment with a view toward long-term business commitments.

We, Promethean Corporation, are one of these companies that has been going through this period of adjustment and creditability. Our most important accomplishments today are in the field of import-export air cargo facilities, liquidation of bilateral clearing dollars, and trade compensation techniques.

Of most importance to us in regards to this subcommittee is our air cargo handling facilities planned for the international airport in Bucharest.

Our Air Cargo Facility under consideration at Bucharest's Otopeni International Airport will be a pioneering Romanian-U.S. partnership arrangement, requiring a combination of hard and soft currencies to operate.

Under this partnership, the Romanian government and local enterprises would pay their share of construction and operating expenses in lei; the U.S. side would receive its share of revenues from hard currency fees charged to Western users.

We plan to construct and operate an 18,000 square foot import-export facility at the Bucharest Otopeni Airport. Romanian enterprises would own 51 percent of the facility. The partnership, one of the first to be organized under the new Romanian law, would lease space in the facility both to Romanian and Western firms. This building will contain general cargo bays as well as refrigerated and freezer storage space. Unlike the typical cargo facilities generally found in the West, the Bucharest operation would include space for final inspection, packaging and training. These "final operations" are necessary in order to provide quality control on a level that has so far been difficult to achieve at local plants. This facility would substantially assist the importation and receiving of many goods and products. It would serve as a training ground for packaging, labeling, and shipping techniques which the Romanian workers would carry back to their home facilities. To Western companies this facility would provide the necessary space to receive and check received shipments before distribution in the country. The potential benefit to future sales of both Romania and its Western trading partners will be substantial. As one can imagine, the growth and success of this facility would be much more difficult and trying without consistent MFN treatment.

Current projections call for approximately 80 percent of the cargo space to be leased by Western firms, with the rest to be used by Romanian enterprises. Soft currency payments by the Romanians would liquidate such local expenses as utilities, phones, and wages. The hard currency income would serve to amortize mortgages from abroad, and profits would be shared equally by the partners.

The intergovernmental complexity of this project for the Romanians has not only been unique, but a unifying force amongst the supporting agencies involved with their Ministry of Foreign Trade. Most important to Promethean, and other Western trading companies, is that Romania act favorably under its new investment laws and permit joint ownership of such a facility, and not make this a turn-key project.

We remain convinced, as I believe are our American business colleagues, that with firm, long-term commitments such as ours, both countries will learn to work together and develop a relationship that could well be a model for other countries of Eastern Europe, specifically Hungary and Poland.

Therefore, we strongly recommend that the U.S. Senate continue the non-discriminatory most-favored-nation treatment with respect to the products of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We also suggest that in the near future the

Senate consider a waiver extension that would run concurrently with the trade agreement itself, rather than having the waiver expire every year. This would substantially reduce the risk of economic loss when dealing with contracts extending over a one year period.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF HUGH P. DONAGHUE, VICE PRESIDENT AND ASSISTANT TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, CONTROL DATA CORPORATION

Control Data Corporation is pleased at the opportunity to present testimony to this committee and once more to express our support of the extension of most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Control Data Corporation is a major manufacturer of computers and related computer peripheral equipment, not only for our own systems needs, but for other computer manufacturers in the United States and abroad. In 1977 our computer operations produced revenues of just over \$1.5 billion. Of this, \$509 million was from overseas business.

We operate in thirty-three countries worldwide, including Romania, where we have been active in marketing our products since 1968. In April, 1973, Control Data entered into a joint venture with the Central Industrial for Electronics, Technology and Computers (CIETC), a Romanian enterprise, to form Rom Control Data S.R.L. This company manufactures computer peripheral products, and is 45 percent owned by Control Data of the U.S.A. and 55 percent by CIETC of Romania.

The joint venture currently produces three models of a line printer and two models of a disk storage drive. We operate out of a new plant of 65,000 square feet and employ over 200 people.

We view this joint venture as a unique experience for our company. As you may know it is the first joint venture between a U.S. firm and a Romanian enterprise: a capitalist corporation and a socialist entity. The establishment of this joint venture was possible because of changes in Romanian law that were made in November, 1972. Also in 1972 Romania became a member of both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In 1975 a U.S.-Romanian trade agreement was concluded, with the approval of Congress. Under that agreement Romania first acquired most-favored-nation treatment. This was followed, in 1976, by a U.S.-Romanian ten-year agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation. These actions on the part of Romania attest to its efforts to encourage industrial cooperation with the United States.

Control Data's experience to date with our joint venture has been most rewarding. First, Romania has become a second source of supply for the products to be manufactured there, and the workers in the plant have met the high technical standards necessary to ensure quality products.

Second, these products now are firmly established in the Romanian marketplace, and as we expand our product line, we will increase our penetration of this market. This, in turn, will strengthen our sales efforts in other socialist countries as well. These marketing opportunities would not have been available to us had we not been willing to enter into some form of cooperation with Romania. Third, our Romanian partner has agreed to share future research and development costs of new products to be manufactured at this plant, which will increase the profitability of the joint venture to Control Data. And last, but certainly not least, having Americans residing in Bucharest and working side by side in the plant with our Romanian counterparts should lead to a better understanding of each other, our different economic systems, customs, etc.

The success of this joint venture has encouraged Control Data to enlarge our cooperative activities with our partner, CIETC. During the recent visit of President Ceausescu to this country a new "business technical cooperation agreement" was signed between control data and CIETC. This agreement runs for a period of ten years and covers a number of cooperative ventures in the general computer area. However, it is still subject to approval by the appropriate agencies of both the Governments of Romania and the United States.

Since the establishment of this joint venture there has been considerable interest on the part of many other U.S. companies in entering into similar agreements with other Romanian enterprises. Our company has responded to several dozen requests for information concerning the negotiations and the establish-

ment of our joint venture. This interest has increased since the signing of the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement in 1975. You may recall that the agreement includes wording designed to facilitate the establishment of U.S.-Romanian joint ventures and other forms of business cooperation on terms familiar to the U.S. business community. Renewal of the extension of most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment will further encourage this trend.

However, there is a major procedural difference between the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement and the extension of MFN to Romania. The trade agreement, which is due to expire in August of this year, will be automatically renewed unless either party chooses to withdraw from the agreement. But under the trade act of 1974, MFN tariff treatment for Romania automatically expires unless the President recommends further extension of such treatment. Certainly a more stable business and trade environment would be established if the trade act of 1974 were amended to allow a similar procedure to the one that prevails under the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement and for a similar period of time. Due consideration should be given to such an amendment in the upcoming legislative session of Congress.

In conclusion, I should like to acknowledge that a profitable business operation is not the only reason for our support of the President's request for extension of MFN treatment. As I mentioned earlier, Romania has taken many steps to encourage trade and cooperation with the West. Passage of this extension by the Congress will surely indicate to Romania and the rest of the world that its approach to cooperation is correct and worthy of emulation.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN GANS, PRESIDENT OF VITCO, A JOINT VENTURE

I am Stephen Gans, President of VITCO, a Joint Venture, which together with its affiliate will import approximately \$10,000,000 of window glass and wood products from Romania in 1978.

I wish, respectfully, to urge the adoption of continued most favored nation ("MFN") status for Romania. MFN status for Romania makes sense from many different standpoints and has several significant advantages to the United States with virtually no material detriments.

For example, it is certainly in our national interest to assist this east European country in its attempts to obtain increasing measures of freedom from external influences on its economic and political life. MFN status contributes to this important objective by encouraging Romania in its trade with us and by according Romania greater access to the marketplace in the United States. Such trade, however, is by no means one-sided. Indeed, at a time when there is great sensitivity over balance of payment questions, it is refreshing to observe that Romania imports significantly more from the United States than it exports, thereby stimulating American commerce, industry and employment. In addition, the Romanian products which we import are used principally in the construction industry, an industry beset with inflationary pressures. These products, of necessity, would cost the American consumer more if an increased duty had to be absorbed.

I also wish to observe that the question under consideration is not whether MFN status should be granted to Romania for the first time, but, rather, whether such status which has already been granted should be continued. In view of this circumstance, a failure to endorse continued MFN status might be considered by the Romanians as an underserved rebuke of a good trading partner and as a substantial diminution of our desire to encourage Romania's developing cordial relations with the United States. If interpreted in this manner, the failure to endorse continued MFN status for Romania could have undesirable ramifications going far beyond mere questions of trade.

Finally, I would like to note that our small business has been dealing with Romania on a steadily increasing basis for about five years. During this period, I have traveled frequently to Romania and have become acquainted with many of their business people. I am pleased to report that, in general, I have found the Romanians with whom I have dealt to be progressive and hardworking. I genuinely believe that it is in our national interest to encourage Romania to continue to strengthen its economic ties to the United States and that continued MFN status for Romania will go a long way in that direction.

Thank you for your courteous attention.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Very Reverend Galdau?

STATEMENT OF VERY REVEREND FLORIAN M. GALDAU, CHAIRMAN, THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR)

Father GALDAU. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for the privilege to testify before you today on the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement. My name is Florian M. Galdau. I am the chairman of the American-Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees and Rector of the St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York. I am a native of Romania and a U.S. citizen. For the past 23 years I have helped most Romanian refugees come to the United States, after they escaped from Romania under trying circumstances. They came as conditional entrants or as repatriated U.S. citizens.

Since 1970 we have sent to the State Department lists of people who wish to rejoin their relatives abroad, especially in the United States. These are the people we try to help, regardless of ethnic or religious background. Provisions of title IV in the Trade Agreement say Romanians can freely emigrate or visit abroad without Government interference, or stipulation of leaving family members as hostages.

With deep regret we respectfully submit that the Romanian Government has used every pretext to avoid honoring the Trade Agreement. We therefore ask this committee to terminate it until the Romanian Government lets relatives join their families abroad.

President Ceausescu and his Communist Party and supporters are the only agents in Romania who are responsible to Moscow, but not to the Romanian people. How else can we understand his promises to U.S. leaders and those of his representatives in Washington, D.C. to honor human rights when he behaves the way he does?

To the best of my knowledge, there are no human rights in Romania. The numerous encroachments on human freedom could fill books, proof that Ceausescu and the Party serve their own purposes and not the Romanian people. When President Carter and top U.S. leaders received him as a great statesman, they seemed either unaware of the real situation in Romania or were doing it for reasons we are not aware of.

We disagree with this policy of appeasement, which neither serves the Romanian nor the American people. If Ceausescu and his Party want our money, let them loosen their grip on the Romanian people who suffer needlessly under dictatorial rules.

As U.S. citizens of Romanian origin, we are against extension of the Trade Agreement, unless our Government thinks it in the best interests of United States-Romanian relations. However, there are no human rights in Romania and no freedom, least of all free emigration, and Mr. Ceausescu is the only man who controls every move from domestic to foreign policy to issuing passports.

In conclusion, we wish to help the Romanian people with their many problems and needs, some of which could be alleviated by free emigration for the families, setting the groundwork for human rights in Romania and the World over.

Thank you, gentlemen.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you very much. I am very well aware of the outstanding work you are doing for so many people and I am

assuming that you have made available to the State Department the list of people who you seek to bring over here to reunite with their families.

Mr. GALDAU. Yes; but we have still very many difficulties to overcome in the situation, especially since Mr. Ceausescu went back to Romania, he changed completely.

Yesterday I received two people, two new refugees, who were caught on the border about a year ago, and they were beaten and tortured in such a way that nobody can believe. They were taken, after that, to the hospital and refused a certificate that they were in the hospital 6 months for recovery.

They tried again their chances and now they are here in the United States. This is the kind of situation we do not understand. When you, Mr. Chairman, ask why the churches damaged in the 1977 earthquake were not allowed to receive gifts from abroad it is because Communist ideology is against the Church. The Party does not like to see them rebuild. However, the Party would not mind receiving gifts from churches abroad, and publicize it and use it for propaganda. After last year's earthquake my church and congregation sent lots of medical supplies, concentrated foods and clothing to the Red Cross and the Brancovenesc Hospital in Bucharest, where I was a chaplain for 15 years. We sent it within 3 weeks of the earthquake to be distributed to the people. So far, we never heard a single word about receipt of the supplies.

Senator RIBICOFF. If you will send us the documentation, we will have Mr. Vest check it through with the American Embassy in Bucharest to try to get a response to you. To me, that is really inexcusable, those types of tactics.

If you will get us xeroxed copies of that documentation and get it to the committee, we will get it to the State Department to follow-through to get a response to you, for you and your people.

Father GALDAU. I will be very happy to do so, Mr. Chairman.

Another aspect I want to mention. For instance, this very day there are at least 1,000—between 600 and 1,000 Romanian refugees in Vienna alone. Now, about 90 percent of these refugees are people between 19 years and 26, 27, mostly 30 years of age. People who were brought up and educated and brainwashed by the Communist Party in Romania. Why are so many young people leaving Romania?

To make life harder for those refugees stuck in Austria, the Romanian Government makes it a practice to send in their own people—gypsies, thieves, et cetera, who ply their trade and then return home—leaving the refugees with a bad name and no permission to work in Austria, whereas Hungarians, Czechs, and others can work.

And naturally this is encouraged by the Romanian Government—I mean by the Communist Party, because—to my interpretation—there is no government in Romania. Only the Communist Party and Mr. Ceausescu. Nobody else can do anything and say anything and since the Party and Ceausescu are under Communist control from Moscow, they have to do whatever Moscow tells them.

Mr. Ceausescu has been hard on the foreign press. For instance, Time correspondent William Brown, who was posted in Belgrade from 1972 to 1977, was forbidden to enter Romania because he had published an article about Romanian dissidents.

On the other hand, we are speaking about religious freedom. Of course, you are as free to move in Romania as you can move as a bird in a cage.

The Romanian Orthodox Church, which is the majority of the Romanian people, is not free to do anything else. The officialdom of the Church and the Patriarch and all the others are subject and humble and obedient servants of the Party.

A professor who after 16 years of prison, became a priest in 1973 and was appointed a professor of French and New Testament at the faculty of theology in Bucharest, dared to mention in one of his sermons, which he had to deliver once a week in the Cathedral of the Patriarchate, that the Communist ideology is a philosophy of despair. Now he was suspended and his career as a priest is over. He is out, he is finished. And then he sent word to the Patriarch, "If you do not want me as a professor, at least accept me as a cleaner of the Patriarchate on the Hill, give me a broom and I will sweep up very happily."

These are the situations which we cannot understand in the West, but this is the Communist ideology which is trying to impose upon the Romanian people a philosophy of despair which the people do not feel.

Senator DOLE. I have no questions. As I understand, then, based on the statements you have made, you are opposed to continuing the President's authority to waive the Trade Act Freedom of Emigration provisions. Is that correct?

Father GALDAU. Yes, sir.

Senator DOLE. I think, as Senator Ribicoff indicated, any documentation that you have would be helpful.

Father GALDAU. I will be glad to send it.

Senator DOLE. We just heard some of the businessmen say they have a little different view—

Father GALDAU. Well, businessmen have a different point of view. They are interested in their own business. All right. I have nothing to do with that. But at least, as American citizens who do business with Romania, they should, at least, try to do their best in helping human rights in Romania, which they do not do—at least, some of them. I do not want to be general. I know some of them have tried to do their best. But I know others who said, oh, father, I could not do anything, because that is not my business.

And in this situation, we are in a very, very awkward position. Unless the American Congress takes a definite stand, as far as human rights are concerned, we cannot do anything. My own brother is 65 years old and never thought of leaving Romania. But for the last 2 years the security has pestered him to write to me to stop my activities here of helping and bringing the refugees over here. As almost 90 percent are leaving Romania without passports, they are stuck in those camps in Europe and write me desperate letters. As a priest I feel it my duty to help them. I want to make it clear. I do not help them escape from Romania, I only help bringing them here. Among those I brought over here are from time to time agents of the Romanian Embassy in Washington. But this cannot be helped.

My brother never wrote to me since I left Romania some 30 years ago. Now the Communists have put him and his daughter under such heavy pressure that they feel forced to leave the country. Instead of

facilitating them to leave, the Communists are refusing them their exit papers and determined to keep them in Romania as some sort of hostages against my activities here. If the Embassy here in Washington would have known their own interests as diplomats, they should not have done that. They should have known better. I did not attack them. I did not say anything about the Romanian Government, about religious freedom in Romania for the last 6 or 7 years. But now we have to tell the truth.

If we do not tell the truth, the stones themselves would speak.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Father Galdau follows:]

STATEMENT OF REV. FLORIAN M. GALDAU, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR) AND RECTOR OF THE ST. DUMITRU ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, thank you for the privilege to testify before you today on the U.S.—Romanian Trade Agreement.

My name is Florian M. Galdau. I am the chairman of the American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees (ARCAR) and Rector of the St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York City. I am a native of Romania and a U.S. citizen. For the past 23 years I have helped most of the Romanian refugees come to the United States after they managed to escape from Romania under most trying circumstances. They came as Conditional Entrants or as repatriated U.S. citizens.

I want to refer to the renewal of the Trade Agreement entered into April 2, 1975 by the United States and the Socialist Republic of Romania, in which the latter obtained most favored nations treatment, provided provisions of Title IV, section 402(a) (1), (2) & (3) concerning Freedom of Emigration were honored.

From 1970 to date we have sent the State Department a number of lists of people who wanted to join their relatives abroad, especially in the U.S.A We have tried to help these people regardless of ethnic or religious origins. Provisions of Title IV state that Romanian citizens can emigrate or visit any foreign country without interference from their Government, or a need to leave behind family members as hostages against their return.

With deep regret we respectfully submit that the Romanian Government has used every pretext to avoid honoring the Trade Agreement. We therefore ask this Committee to terminate the Agreement until such time when the Romanian Government is prepared to release relatives wishing to join their families abroad. We know that the Socialist Republic of Romania does not have our type of government. President Ceausescu and his Communist Party and supporters are the only agents in Romania who are responsible to Moscow but not to the Romanian people. How else can we understand his promises to U.S. leaders and those of his representatives in Washington, D.C. to honor human rights in their country when they behave the way they do?

To put it mildly, there are no human rights in Romania. The individual does not count, only the State. And the State is the Communist Party. A person cannot travel without the permission of the local security police and then only for a few days. At this destination he must report at once to the local security before attending to any business and after his return he must again report. If he is late he is fined from 2-5000 leis.

There is no right to worship although guaranteed in the Romanian Constitution. If a Party member (which he needs to be to ensure his and his family's survival) wants to go to church he is ousted from the Party. If he is not a member (and there are many who are not) and goes to worship, he is demoted to a menial function on his job, or fired.

But Mr. Ceausescu and the leaders of the different Romanian Religious Denominations including the late and present Patriarchs pretend Romania has religious freedom and human rights.

For instance, on December 1, 1948 the then Communist Government in Romania incorporated more than two and a half million members of the Catholic Uniate Sister Church of Romania into the Romanian Orthodox Church. Six of the leaders of the Uniate Church were arrested and died in prison. In August

1977 Allen Scarf of Keston College, England, published a paper on the religious situation in Romania. He said a Committee for the Salvation of the Uniate Church appealed to President Ceausescu for its restoration but he did nothing. The Catholic Uniate Church is not a "simply religious denomination." In addition to its religious function, it was a cultural institution of purely Romanian character. Its worship is typically Romanian. For centuries it has played an important role in the cultural life of Romania, a fact not recognized by either President Ceausescu or the Party, so that it can be free again and play its part in Romanian life.

The Orthodox Church is about as free as a bird in a cage. Its hierarchs can function only as long as the Party lets them. According to President Ceausescu Romania has 14 Religious Denominations. They are permitted to survive as long as they guide themselves along Party lines. Else they will cease to function within 24 hours.

The Orthodox Church, like other Denominations, has no right to publish or distribute literature on Religious Education of children or adults, but is flooded with tons of atheistic Party propaganda which the Church leaders are not allowed to discuss or comment on. They can only worship within the Church. This is why many of the recent Romanian refugees are neither baptized nor married in Church and thoroughly indoctrinated in Party ideology, even if they don't realize it.

The Baptist Church. I was puzzled by a statement of an outstanding U. S. Baptist, Dr. George Crisan, at the hearing of the Ways and Means subcommittee of the House of Representatives on June 15, 1978 on the perfect freedom of the Baptist Church in Romania. This is far from true. The Party, like any political organization, acts on the old Roman saying, "Divide et Impera," "Divide and rule." For many years the Baptist Church in Romania was free to carry their evangelising campaigns to other Denominations. Then no Baptist pastor could preach without Party permission. Now its easier to get permission to preach, although any preacher suspected of being against the Party line is arrested, especially the younger preachers and students. For instance, Mr Iosif Ton was forbidden to preach because he received an invitation to study at Regent's Park College in Oxford, England, and had asked for support from abroad. Many other parishes are not allowed to train future leaders and soon will be without preachers at all.

Another significant aspect of religious life in Romania: In none of the new cities, built for political or industrial reasons, is any space reserved for a church. In Victoria near Fagaras which has a large armament factory, workers requested an Orthodox Church and were refused.

There is no right to emigrate or repatriate. The Romanian authorities persecute and beat people who apply for passports and exist visas, subjecting them to all kinds of humiliation and penalties. To emigrate or visit relatives abroad one needs Government permission to apply for a petition. A person needs to secure his employer's permission, that of the local neighborhood council, the police precinct's, the district, city council's and the Party's. All have to give unanimous permission before he can go get a form to apply for his passport and exit visa.

When he has all the papers together he can apply to the Embassy of the country he wants to go to. When he leaves the Embassy, three policemen are waiting outside in the street and he will be fined at least three times before he gets home—all for minor infractions. Then the police take him to a barbership for a haircut, at his expense. This has been the experience of newly arrived Romanian refugees. In many instances, where the U.S. Embassy has intervened and applicants were orally promised passports and visas, they were turned down after months of red tape and harassment.

It is true they have the right to appeal. Some have done so and miraculously succeeded in leaving the country after 11 appeals. Many others have failed. All have suffered equally, regardless of religious affiliation, even those who wanted to emigrate to Israel. Some President Ceausescu allowed to go. However, all are subject to the same rules: To present their apartments, in good shape, and "donate" practically all their valuables to the State before they leave.

There is no right of free speech, although guaranteed in the Romanian Constitution. To the best of our knowledge, free speeches were only made once last year during the coal miners strike at Lupeni when the miners arrested two top Government officials and held them until President Ceausescu came to listen to

them. For the first time he heard their complaints about wages and working conditions in the mines. What happened afterward is history: After a few weeks union leaders and miners disappeared and were never heard from again, replaced by security people and those of "unreliable origin" (suspect of political activity against the regime) who were forced to work in the mines for one year without pay.

There is no freedom of the press. Publications are controlled by a censor bureau. Foreign journalists can file only copy that has been approved by the Party. Time's Belgrade correspondent Malcolm W. Browne was harassed from 1972-1977 and barred from Romania when he wrote on the dissident movement. We can honestly say Ceausescu started to harass and terrorize foreign journalists, especially Americans, since 1970, whereas Leonid Brezhnev only recently tried two American correspondents in Moscow.

There is no right of political freedom. Only the Party has the right to nominate and elect the so-called people's representatives. The State is the Party's instrument, controlling every economic source and labor and production tools, making the workers its slaves and not independent as Lenin and Stalin boasted.

There is no social, cultural or artistic freedom. People have to conform and obey Party rules. The Party decides who they can socialize with, what to create, write or paint.

The mail is censored. Recently an airmail letter from the U.S. reached Romania after one month. All letters from abroad are opened, photographed and copies filed in person's dossiers against the day when the Party needs to apply a little pressure.

The numerous encroachments on individual freedom would fill books, the best proof that Ceausescu and the Party are serving their own purposes and not the interests of the people. When President Carter and top U.S. leaders received him as a great statesman, they seemed either not aware of the real situation in Romania, or were doing it for reasons we are not aware of.

We disagree with this policy of appeasement which neither serves the Romanian or the American people. If Ceausescu and his Party want our money, let them loosen their grip on the Romanian people who suffer needlessly under dictatorial rules.

As U.S. citizens of Romanian origin we are against extension of the Trade Agreement, unless our Government thinks it in the best interests of U.S.-Romanian relations. However, there are no human rights in Romania, and no freedom, least of all free emigration—nothing happens without Mr. Ceausescu's approval. And he is the only man in Romania who controls everything from domestic to foreign policy to issuing passports and exit visas.

In conclusion, we wish to help the Romanian people with their many problems and needs, some of which could be alleviated by free emigration for the families, setting the groundwork for human rights in Romania and the World over.

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ASCAR)

NAMES OF PERSONS WHOSE RELEASE IS SOUGHT FROM THE S. R. OF ROMANIA

Sponsor: Adam Alb, U.S. citizen, 290 River Road, Bogota, N.J. Relatives: Elisabeta Furca, mother of Strada Cristur, Deva, Judetul Hunedoara.

Sponsor: Andonian, U.S. citizen, 1217 North Kingsley Drive, N. Los Angeles, CA. 90029. Relatives: Chircorian, Chircor, brother, 55; Chircorian, Julieta, sister-in-law, 48; Chircorian, Hazar, nephew, 27, Strada Mihai Viteazu No. 7, Constanta, Romania.

Sponsor: Aurel Andrei, U.S. resident, 30-36 34th St., Astoria, Long Island City, N.Y. 11108. Relatives: Eduard Andrei, son, 5, Str. Pietti #6, Cartierul, Vizirul 2, Bralla.

Sponsor: Constanta Asarian, U.S. resident, 41-15-81 Street, Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11326. Relatives: Vena Telibasa, sister; Mihai Telibasa, brother-in-law; Marius Telibasa, nephew; Dan Telibasa, nephew, and Soseana Giurgulului #164, Bloc V, apt. 18, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Tacouhi Asadourian (Elena), U.S. resident, 41-11 40th Street, Apt. 2B, Long Island City, N.Y. Relatives: Aurel Presneanu, father, Steriana Presneanu, mother, Petre Presneanu, brother, 38, and Galsac Asadourian, husband, Str. Vulturilor #181, sect. 4, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mrs. Marieta Badea, D. D.S., Conditional Entrant, 100 B, Montgomery St., Apt. 22E, Jersey City, N.J. 07302. Relatives: Prof. Dr. Eng. Viorel Sorin Badea, husband, Strada Andrei Muresanu nr. 1A Sector 1, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Afrodita Elena Badescu, U.S. resident, 28-04 83rd Ave., Apt. 4C, Astoria, Long Island, N.Y. 11106. Relatives: Alexandru Munteanu, brother, Str. Aurului #18, scara A Etaj 3 apt. 18, sect. 8, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mircea Beleuta, U.S. resident, 10055 Coyle St., Detroit, Mich. 48227. Relatives: Georgeta Beleuta, daughter, Str. Catblu #64, Bloc 84 A, Scara I, apt. 230, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Michaela Elena Bendu, U.S. resident, 18-28 Stephen St., Ridgewood, N.Y. Relatives: George Bendu, father, Maria Bendu, mother, B-dul Pacii #168 Bloc 89 Sect. 1, apt. 83, etaj 8, Bucharest. Michaela Casvan, Vladimir Drugeanu, Radu Tutuianu.

Sponsor: Marius Bucurescu, U.S. citizen, 15 Vermilyea Ave., New York, N.Y. 10034. Relatives: Alexandru-Viorel Bucurescu, brother, Magdalena Viorel Bucurescu, sister-in-law, and two children, Blvd. Pacii #74-76 apt. 24, Bucharest 6.

Sponsor: Michael Bulboaca, U.S. citizen, 314 Porchester Drive, St. Louis, Miss. 63125. Relatives: Alexandru Florin Bulboaca, brother, Natalia Florin Bulboaca, sister-in-law, and Iuliana Florin Bulboaca, niece, Str. Valea Lunga #14 bloc z 3, scara 1 apt. 15, Bucharest 7.

Sponsor: Georgeta Bura, U.S. resident, 400 E. 20th St. Apt. M.B. New York, N.Y. 10009. Relatives: Elena Agrocostera, sister, Mihai Agrocostera, nephew, and Gabriella Agrocostera, wife, Str. Badea Cartan #5 Sect. 2, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mrs. Elena Ionescu Calinescu, U.S. resident, 43-09 40th St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11106. Relatives: Elena Iring, daughter, Daniel Alniti, nephew, 11 Str. Carol Knappe #62, sect. 8, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Dumitru Capata, U.S. resident, 350 Round Hill Road, Greenwich, Conn. 6830. Relatives: Paraschiva Pop, sister, Nicolae Pop, brother-in-law, Calin Pop, nephew, 10, Sorina Pop, niece, 4, Str. Decebal Bloc T 2 sc. B, etaj 4 apt. 87, Bistrita-Judetul Bistrita Nasaud.

Sponsor: Florin Carmocanu, U.S. citizen, 45-26 44th St. apt. 2A, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Relatives: Ioan Carmocanu, brother, Eugenia Carmocanu, sister-in-law, Roalia Carmocanu, niece, Str. Progresului #2, Contanta.

Sponsor: Victor Caramihal, U.S. resident, 178-10 Wexport Terrace, apt. 5L, Jamaica, N.Y. 11432. Relatives: Petre Caramihal, father, Ecaterina Caramihal, mother, Mihai Caramihal, brother, Maria Caramihal, sister-in-law, Arthur Caramihal, nephew, and Atena Caramihal, niece, Str. Todor Aman #9, Sect. 7, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Atena Chiu, U.S. citizen, 42-41 64th St., Queens, N.Y. 11377. Relatives: Constantin Vladu, brother, St. Mangalia #7, Timisoara.

Sponsor: George Ciomu, U.S. citizen, 55 Donald Drive, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10706. Relatives: Parachiva Ciomu, 76, mother, Nicolae Ciomu, 48, brother, Eugenia Carolina Ciomu sister-in-law, 39, Luiza Adriana Ciomu, niece, 3, and Antonela Ciomu, niece, 6, Str. 11, Iunie #75, ofc. postal 58, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Victoria Ciungu, U.S. citizen, 15225 Prospect St., Dearborn, Mich. 48126. Relatives: Viorica Mindrolu, daughter, Teodor Mindrolu, son-in-law, Aleea Timisul-de-Jos #1, bloc A 23 apt. 51, etaj I, Soara D, Bucharest, Ioan S. Ciungu, son, and Rodica Ciungu, daughter-in-law, Bvdul Republicii #148, Bucharest 3.

Sponsor: Vasile Dumitrascu, U.S. citizen during 1978 41-11 47th Ave., Apt. 4D, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Relatives: Neculae Dumitrescu, father, Str. Verdisoala, Comuna Codaesti Jud. Vaslui, Maria Lunga, sister, Constantin Lungu, brother-in-law, Eugen Lungu, son, 8, Vasile Lungu, son, 6, Neculae Dumitrescu, brother, Atelierele C. F. R. Niculina, Iasi, Petre Melinte, brother-in-law, Elena Melinte, wife, Mariana Melinte, daughter, 13, Gabriela Melinte, daughter, 10, Petre Melinte, son, 8, Vasile Melinte, son, 5, Mihai Melinte, brother-in-law, Mariana Melinte, wife, Mariana Melinte, daughter, 10, Str. Musatini #15, Bloc P5, scara A, etaj 3 ap. 2, Cartier Aleandru cel Bun, Iasi.

Sponsor: George Fara, U.S. citizen during 1978; 30-51 33rd St. apt. B Astoria, N.Y. 11103. Relatives: Ilie Tutuianu, cousin, Bulevardul Gheorge Dimitrov, 124 Bloc G 5 Secor 3, Bucharest, Mircea Meleasa, cousin, Str. Bujoreni #43, bloc P. 18 Scara 2, apt. 88, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Paula Ferrara, U.S. citizen, 157 81 St. Brooklyn, N.Y. 11209. Relatives: Eugenia Gaspar, 34, sister, Vasile Gaspar, 43, brother-in-law, Adrien Gaspar, 14, nephew, Corina Gaspar, 10, niece, Str. Aromei #90, sect. 2, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Very Rev. Florian M. Galdau, U.S. citizen, 50 West 89th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Relatives: Ion M. Galdau, 65, brother, Florica Galdau, sister-in-law, Str. Bega #10, Bucharest; Elena Simplaceanu, niece, Virgil Simplaceanu, her husband, Aleea Dumbravitel, #3 Bloc T8, ap. 65, etaj 5, Sect. 7, Drumul Taberil, Bucharest; Marin Galdau, nephew, Dorina Galdau, his wife, Florian M. Galdau, son, 5, Valentin M. Galdau, son, 8, Str. Bega #10, Sect. 6, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Dionisie Gartu D.D.S., U.S. resident, 48-09 40th St. apt. 3F, Long Island City, N.Y. 11104. Relatives: Atanasie Gartu, brother, Ana Lucia Gartu, his wife, Cristina Gartu, daughter, 3, Mihaela Gartu, daughter, 2, Str. Teiul Doamnei #108 ap 7 scara 1 etaj 9, Bucharest; Gheorghe Miliu, nephew, St. Ecaterina Varga #46, Constanta.

Sponsor: Mrs. Alexandra Ghita, Conditional Entrant, 25-45 9th St. apt. 804, Astoria, L.I.C., N.Y. 11102. Relatives: Ioan Ghita, husband, Roxandra Miruna Ghita, 2, daughter, Strada Tirgul-Neamt #6, Bloc D. 10 ap. 88 Sect. 7, Bucharest; Ion Dragan, father, Elena Areti Dragan, mother, Str. Bacaloglu #2 sect 2, Bucharest; Viorician Mihaela Dragan, twin sister, Petre Zachei, Viorica's fiance, Str. Spandarian #11 Sect 2, Bucharest; Elena Barbu, cousin, Viorica Barbu, daughter, 17, Aleea Otesan #7, apt. 163, sect. 2, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Jean Hristescu, U.S. resident, 25-54 88th St. apt. 5A, Astoria, N.Y. 11103. Relatives: Elena Hristescu, wife, Ana Petcu, daughter, Teodor Hristescu, son, Carmen Hristescu, Str. Alexandru Moghioros #20, Bloc O.D. scara 2, etaj 9, ap. 80, sect. 7, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Teodor Ionescu, M.D., U.S. citizen during 1978, 18-23 George St., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Relatives: Florentina Ionescu, daughter, Bulevardul Magheru #20, etaj 9, ap. 8 Sect. 1, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mrs. Betty Johnson, U.S. citizen, 320 East 83rd St., apt. 4E, New York, N.Y. 10028. Relatives: Delta Rodica Marina Popa, daughter, Gheorghe Popa, husband, Calin-Mircea Popa, son, 10 mos., Str. Hrisovului #18 etaj 1 ap. 7, bloc D 8, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Nicolae Lerescu, 221 3rd St., Fairview, N.J. 07022. Relatives: Constantin Lerescu, brother, Silvia Lerescu, sister-in-law, Str. Fildesului #8, Bucharest, Livia Fildesului, sister, Calea Calarasi #99, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Adam Luca, Conditional Entrant, 802 Seneca Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Relatives: Doina-Cornelia Luca, daughter, 27, Str. Grivita Rosie #22, Timisoara.

Sponsor: Mrs. Elena Lupovici, U.S. citizen, 136-80 Sanford Ave., Flushing, N.Y. 11355. Relatives: Mihaela Maria Dinu, daughter, Nicolae Dinu, husband, Gabriel Dinu, son, 7, Maria Carjan, grandmother, Aleea Traian Dumitrescu #4, Sec. 4 prin Nerva Traian #45, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mrs. Violette MacNamara, U.S. citizen, c/o Mrs. Felicia Moldovan, 250 West 102 St., Apt. 3, New York, N.Y. Relatives: Monica Selaru, daughter, Ana Selaru, daughter, Str. Mihai Bravu #294, Bloc 6, ap. 7, scara b, etaj 9 Sect. 4, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mrs. Ioana Matescu, U.S. resident, 13-14 42nd St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11103. Relatives: Daniela Stancu, sister, Constantin Stancu, brother, Bogdan Stancu, brother, Alin Sebastian Stancu, son, Str. Emil Racovita 29-31, sect. 5, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Iorita Molfetas, U.S. citizen, 60 Gloucester St., Apt. 1004, Toronto, Ont., Canada M4Y-147. Relatives: Radu-Teodor Mihailescu, fiance.

Sponsor: Dan Moldovan, U.S. citizen, 17 H Parkotew at Madison Laurence Harbor, N.J. 08879. Relatives: Eugenia Moldovan, mother, Ion Moldovan, father, Str. Stefan cel Mare nr. 45A, Siblu.

Sponsor: Ion Musat, U.S. resident, 296 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11211. Relatives: Septima Nicolescu, fiance; Str. Vulcan #8 Cluj, Ioan Teodosiu, cousin, St. Bucurestii Noi #98-97 Bloc b3, scara B apt. 67 etaj 5 Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mistor Naod, U.S. resident, 183 Walnut St., Paterson, N.J. 07502. Relatives: Magdalena Naod, wife, 38, #598, Com Genel, Timis.

Sponsor: Victoria Nasarbecchian, U.S. resident, 175-78rd Ave., Flushing, N.Y. 11366. Relatives: Constantin Mittrache, father, Alexandru Mittrache, brother, B-dul Pacii #52-72, bloc 3, Scara c, et. I apt. 85 Bucharest 7.

Sponsor: Margareta Nedelcu, U.S. resident, P.O. Box 19, Greenvale, N.Y. 11548. Relatives: Valentin Nedelcu, husband, Tudor Nedelcu, son, Str. Dostolevski #34, Cluj, Napoca.

Sponsor: Florea Ochian, Conditional Entrant, c/o Gheorghe Barae, 411 Adeline Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48203. Relatives: Olimpia Ochian, wife, 28 Blvd. Muncii Bloc 8 Sect 1 ap. 19., Resita-Caras-Severrin.

Sponsor: Emanoil Papamanole, Conditional Entrant, 4422 No. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60625. Relatives: Iosif Badea, son, Elena Badea, daughter-in-law, Christian Badea, nephew, Str. Biset #2, Sect 11, Bucharest.

Sponsor: Mrs. Paula Penescu, Conditional Entrant, 82-60 84th St., Astoria, N.Y. 11106, Long Island City. Relatives: Florica Penescu, mother, Nadina Silvia Radu, daughter, Piata Kogalniceanu #8 scara C etaj 2 ap. 10 sect. 6, Bucharest. Application rejected. Terrorized by Security.

Sponsor: Dan Petrescu, U.S. resident, 81 Nagle Ave. Apt. 6J, New York, N.Y. 10040. Relatives: Mariu Petrescu, father, Str. Nerva-Traian #2, Bucharest 4; Corneliu Petrescu, brother, Eliza Petrescu, sister-in-law, Str. Plutonier-Pazon-Marin #8, Bucharest 4.

Sponsor: Valeriu Pod, U.S. resident, 1631 Ridgewood St., Lakewood, Ohio 44107. Relatives: Jianu Pod, Elisabeta Pod, two children, Str. Teullui #4 Sc. apt. 16, Timisoara.

Sponsor: Nicolae Pop, U.S. resident, 5080 N. Marine Drive, apt. 812, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Relatives: Paulina-Florica Matel, wife, Stanca Jacob, stepdaughter, #1 St. Caraiman, Timisoara.

Sponsor: Constantin Popa, U.S. resident, 1189 N. New Hampshire, Los Angeles, Calif. Relatives: Gheorghe Popa, brother.

Sponsor: Mrs. Emilia Popovici, U.S. resident, 29-15 86th Ave. apt. 3 EB, Long Island City, N.Y. 11106. Relatives: Elisabeta Popovici, mother, Eugen Popovici, brother, Str. Isvorului nr. 16 Agnita, Cod 2475 Judet Sibiu, Vasile Popovici, brother, Str. Garli Camin Nefamilisti Camera A 36 Oravit jud, Cara Severin, 1750; Elena Clont, daughter, Merdarus Clont, her son, Str. Zona Park 26 bloc 1 apt. 1 Agnita judetul Sibiu. Applications rejected, some laid off jobs, always terrorized by Security.

49. Sponsor: Florica Ratiu, U.S. resident, 910 Edwards St., Aurora, Ill. 60505. Relatives: Vasile Oros, brother, Maria Oros, sister-in-law, Romeo Oros, nephew, 2, Str. Octombrie, bloc 48, scara A apt. 3, Carel, Satu-Mare.

50. Sponsor: Emilia Reicher, U.S. resident, 324 East 34 St., Apt. B3, New York, N.Y. 10006. Relatives: Monica Gadidov, daughter, Str. Aviator Caranda #60, Bucharest, was refused application forms.

51. Sponsor: Stefan Reznic, U.S. resident, 77 Schmitt Blvd., P.O. Box 7, Farmingdale, L.I., N.Y. 11735. Relatives: Anton Reznic, father, 58, Ana Reznic, step-mother, 48, Paris Emanuel Reznic, brother, Carmen Luminita Reznic, sister, 8, Str. Salcilor #17, Tulcea.

52. Sponsor: Iosif Selner, 4101 N. Drake Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60618. Relatives: Mariana Mihet, fiancee, Str. Marasest #28, apt. 4, Arad.

54. Sponsor: Mr. Eugene Stanciu, U.S. resident, 21-34 45 Road, L.I., N.Y. Relatives: Gherghina Stanciu, mother, Marin Stanciu, brother, Viorel Stanciu, brother, Str. Manuacrisului #54 Sect 8, Bucharest, applications rejected, still terrorized by Security.

55. Sponsor: Mrs. Viorica Stanolev, U.S. citizen during 1978, 75-25 66th St., Glendale, N.Y. 11227. Relatives: Gheorghe Sita, father, Maria Sita, mother, Gheorge Sita, brother, Lenuta Sita, sister-in-law, Viorica Simona Sita, niece, Ion Sita, brother, Str. Benefalau #1 Tirgual Mures. Mother arrested and tortured two weeks by Security. All still terrorized by Security.

56. Sponsor: Gheorghe Stroescu, 359 Dovercourt Road, Toronto, Ont., Canada M6J8E5. Relatives: Marie Stroescu, wife, Daniels-Cornelia, daughter, Str. Fulorului #2, bloc Y3B, sc. 3, et. 8 apt. 151, Bucharest 4.

57. Sponsor: Dinu Teodorescu, U.S. citizen during 1978, 153-57 87th Avenue, Flushing, N.Y. Relatives: Mihai Teodorescu, brother, Elena Teodorescu, sister-in-law, Dorina Teodorescu, niece, Str. Sapunari #4, Ploiesti. Received approval but not passports.

58. Sponsor: Vasile Tocaciu, U.S. citizen, 57-43 Van Doren St., Corona, N.Y. 11368. On trip in Romania. His family has no news of him and supposes he has been arrested by Security. Relatives: Georgeta Teodorici, fiancée, Str. Luica #11 bloc 2 scara 2 apt. 72 sect. 5, Bucharest. All applications rejected—was and still terrorized by Security.

59. Sponsor: Maria Todoran, U.S. resident, 59-12 Catalpa Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Relatives: Maria Todoran, daughter, Str. Harniciei #5, scara 5, Timisoara 1900. Application for passport Dec. 17, 1977. No answer.

60. Sponsor: Dr. Marin Tudor, U.S. citizen, 501 East 87th St., New York, N.Y. 10028. Relatives: Dr. Aurel Tone, cousin, 39, Dr. Cora Tone, his wife, 39, George

Tone, son, 8 Str. Aghires, #2, Bucharest. Both have been fired from their jobs and are under constant threats and persecution.

61. Sponsor: Nicolae Florin Tudorescu, M.D., U.S. resident, 1890 Stanhope St., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11237. Relatives: Bianca Aura Tudorescu, wife, Diana Laura Tudorescu, daughter, Str. Matei Basarah #18, Brasov. After applying for passports, was terrorized by Security.

Sponsor: Cristian Ungureanu, U.S. resident, 46-59 45th St. apt. 12D, Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Relatives: Florica Ungureanu, mother, Warin Ungureanu, father, Aurelia Ungureanu, sister, Str. Musat Rodulescu No. 80, Sect. 6, Bucharest. Applications twice rejected, and terrorized by Security since.

Sponsor: Vasile Ungureanu, U.S. resident, 81-06 42nd St., Astoria, L.I.C., N.Y. 11104. Relatives: Zoia Buliga, daughter, Cartierul Kiseleff, her son, Bloc A 8 sect. 4 Drobeta-Turnu Severin. Application still rejected by Security.

Sponsor: Ion Volonci, arrived Dec. 19, 1977, 50 West 89 Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Relatives: Cristina Volonci, wife, 84, Str. Trubadur No. 18, Bloc 2, A, Apt. 47, Timisoara.

Sponsor: Narcis Vladescu, U.S. citizen, III Van Nostrand Ave., Englewood, N.J. 07631. Relatives: Mihai Mina Maza, brother, Emilia Maza, sister-in-law, Soeana Mihai Bravul No. 106, Bloc D apt. 113, sect. 2, Bucharest. Application rejected.

Sponsor: Nicolae Vulpe, arrived Dec. 5, 1977. Relatives: Ecaterina Vulpe, wife, 48, Cristian Vulpe, son, 17, Str. Dr. Sion No. 9, et. III apt. 151, Bucharest Applications rejected.

Sponsor: Wagner, Isef, U.S. citizen, 4626 N. Wolcott, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Relatives: Wagner, Ana, wife, Wagner, Dan, son, 18 years, Wagner Iosef, son, 18 years, Strada Caragiale No. 14 Sannicolaul Mic- Distr. Timis.

Sponsor: Dumitru Buznei, arrived July 7, 1978, 50 West 89 Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Relatives: Ruxandra Buznei nee Mihait, 36, Lavinia Nicoleta, daughter, 6, Cartiene Crihada, Bloc A4, Sc. 2, No. 9, T. Severin.

Sponsor: Tiberiu Ciorogariu, U.S. citizen, 876 Elberon Ave., Elberon, N.J. 07740. Relatives: Daniela M. Dumitrescu, daughter, Solomon Dumitrescu, son-in-law, Micororaion L. Alea Pinilor, Bloc 5, etaj-1, Sc. A No. 5, Lugoj.

Sponsor: Vasile Snacoveanu, U.S. citizen in 1978, blind sculptor and musician, winner of U.S. national prize for blind sculptors, 1977. Relatives: Vasile Snacoveanu, son, Alea Iezerul No. 1, Bloc M. 1 A & B, Sc. C., No. 42, Bucharest, Sect. 4. Elena Chirac, daughter, Paul Chirac, son-in-law, Monica Chirac, Alea Fildesului No. 3, Bloc H2, Sc. 2, No. 1, Bucharest, Sect. 4.

Sponsor: Maria Kaushik, Permanent resident, 43-17 48th St. Apt. 5J, Sunny-side, N.Y. 11104. Relatives: Doru-Liviu Levarda, son, 32, Dan-Mihai Levarda, son, 22, Alea Valea Siretului No. 1, Bucharest, Sec. 7.

RECAPITULATION

There are the following number of relatives: (a) Parents, Fathers, 11; mothers, 14; (b) children, boys, 15; girls, 16; (c) Others, husbands, 4, wives, 13, brothers, 38, sisters, 26, sons, 25, daughters, 23, fiances, 4, nephews, 4, nieces, 6, and cousins, 5. Total, 204.

Sponsor: Bohusi, Ioan—Conditional entrant; arrived April 19, 1978, 691 10th Avenue, Apt. 17, New York, N.Y. 10036. Relatives: Bohusi, Teodora nee Negru, 22 years, wife, Bohusi, Cecilia-Cosmina, 2 years, daughter, Blvd. Dambovitel No. 68, Bloc ELBA, Apt. 303, Timisoara, Romania.

Sponsor: Cioanca, Ionel, Conditional entrant; arrived July 10, 1978, 50 West 89th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Relatives: Cioanca, Ana nee: Pop, 23 years, wife, Cioanca, Neluta-Laura, 1 year, daughter, Com. Bolnesti, No. 299, Judetul Satu-Mare.

Sponsor: Nimigeanu, Domnica, Australian citizen, 21 Headland Road, 2069 Castle Cove, Sydney, Australia, M.S.W. Relatives: Socaciu, Vasile, 67 years, retired, brother, Socaciu, Floarea, 65 years, retired, sister in law, Calea Victoriei, No. 193, Bucuresti. Has tried since 1974 to bring her relatives in a short visit. The Romanian Embassy in Australia has promised that they will be issued passports and exit visas; but so far they were not allowed to go out.

Sponsor: Rauta, Constantin, permanent resident, P.O. Box 6343, Washington, D.C. 20044. Relatives: Rauta, Ecaterina Gabriela, wife, 27 years, Rauta, Mihai-Cătălin, son, 8 years, Str. Alexandru Moghioros, No. 32, Bloc A 11, Scara f. Apt. 90, Bucuresti, Romania.

Sponsor: Cretu, Costica, Conditional entrant, arrived May 29, 1978. Roscoe Dinner, Roscoe, N.Y. 12677. Relatives: Cretu, Vasile, brother, 25 years, brother Cretu, Ioan, brother, 21 years. Com Grumăzești, jud. Neamt, Romania.
Recapitulation, 214 persons.

THE VERY REV. FLORIAN M. GALDAU,
Chairman.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN ROMANIA

Noel Bernard, director of the Romanian desk of Radio Free Europe, received a letter from friends of Father Gheorghe Calciu, a priest and professor at the Faculty of Theology, University of Bucharest, who has been suspended and ordered to work as a clerk at the Archdiocese for defying the Orthodox Church and continue preaching against Communism.

Fr. Calciu, who lives at Str. Ghirlandei No. 9, Bloc 44, sc. 3, Et. 2, Apt. 91, had been imprisoned 16 years before his ordination as a priest. He was imprisoned for his religious beliefs but his faith grew stronger despite tortures and humiliations. Upon his release in 1964 he was appointed a professor of French and Romanian languages at a Bucharest lyceum and enrolled at the Faculty of Theology. He was ordained after four years and in 1973 appointed as professor of French and The New Testament at the Theological Faculty. One of his duties was preaching at the Cathedral of the Romanian Patriarchate in Bucharest. Through his sermons he became an inspiration to the students, and a problem for the Security Police the Department of Cults and the Orthodox Church.

Early in January of 1978 Fr. Calciu attacked Communism in a sermon in the Cathedral, calling it a philosophy of despair. He also deplored the destruction of the Enei Church of Bucharest, one of the most famous historical churches in Romania, which the Party converted into a public park after the 1977 earthquake. When the Patriarch, who does not want conflicts with his Communist bosses, forbade him to preach again in the Cathedral, he delivered his sermons at the Faculty of Theology Chapel. Many students came to hear him. The Rector of the Faculty quickly stopped his sermons by closing off the chapel, the dormitories and the faculty. But Fr. Calciu continued preaching from the chapel steps in the courtyard and students climbed over the walls to hear him. Many were beaten by the police and forcefully removed.

In April of 1978 the Council of the Theological Faculty asked Fr. Calciu to understand "that hard times have befallen us and to stop needlessly provoking the young people." In the past, they said, it was accepted that a priest should be on the side of the people, but "times have changed and we have to support those in power."

Fr. Calciu was suspended from his job by the Archdiocese of Bucharest after his last sermon. He was advised to go into the sports arenas to fight atheism and preach to the Union of the Young Communists. We don't know what happened to him but it is one more proof of the absence of religious freedom in Romania.

V. REV. F.M. GALDAU.

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Niculescu.

Senator DOLE. I might place my statement in the record here?

Senator RIBICOFF. Without objection, the statement of Senator Dole will be entered at the start of the hearing.

STATEMENT OF BARBU NICULESCU, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND PRESIDENT, AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Mr. NICULESCU. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this most important subcommittee. It is a great honor to again be invited here and to once more have the opportunity to present our testimony and recommendations on the most important subject of extending the previously granted most favored nation trade status to Romania.

I am Mr. Barbu Niculescu and am honored to have this opportunity to testify as the chairman of the board of trustees and as president of the American-Romanian Cultural Foundation.

Our foundation's membership and supporters are very highly respected and distinguished Americans who sincerely share a common interest in international affairs and especially those concerning American and Romanian relations. Our studies, monitoring and evaluating various items both in America and in Romania, our past positions and recommendations and the overall high quality and extensive experience of our members, supporters, and friends, all resulted in our foundation being recognized and highly respected as a highly qualified authority on American-Romania relations.

We wish to clearly state that the foundation is in agreement and fully supports President Carter's decision to again extend and continue the most favored nation trade status to Romania as part of the American foreign policy. Also included in our recommendation is our suggestion that it is now time for the American Government to grant permanent or, at the very least, should make most favored nation trade status grants for 5-year periods to replace the current one of 1 year.

That is why Romania cannot succeed, make more mixed corporations, because the political, economic, and social structure of Romania, which we all know is Communist, compared to our system, capitalistic system, is very delicate to invest money and form mixed corporations when you know that, from year to year, you might be in trouble.

President Carter's, our foundation's and all other recommendations to continue to extend most-favored-nation status to Romania are clearly based on Romania's proven favorable performance during each of the past 3 years in which most-favored-nation status has been granted to Romania.

Up to now, we have heard of specific cases, that is true. But when we are on the point of establishing a foreign policy for America, we should not lose sight of the great importance of the foreign policy of Romania and, with patience, in time, we should achieve our goal, and this is the reason why the Trade Reform Act has been in existence, with the wonderful, wise amendment—emigration, freedom.

Now, if we compare Romania of today with the Romania of 5 years ago, we find out that over 400,000 Jewish people have been able to leave the country; 300,000 Germans have been able to leave the country, and this was part of the Ceausescu—I will try to be as objective as possible. That was part of his policy because he knew that the Jewish people were persecuted by the Nazis and the Germans were persecuted by the Russians. That was the reason for it.

By actual recorded performance, Romania has proved its willingness and capability to meet and has satisfied in past years all requirements of not only the MFN trade status agreement but also all other agreements made between America and Romania.

Additional justification and support is also provided by recognition of Romania's commendable worldwide efforts in the interests of peace, détente, disarmament, secured independence of each nation and the improvement of the status and well-being of all the people all over the world. No one can dispute this performance and the clear fact that they reflect America's same worldwide objectives and policies is very clear.

We have omitted presenting large quantities of statistics since these will be adequately provided by expert Government witnesses from

various departments of our Government. However, we do feel it is necessary in this oral presentation to briefly mention the following key items which are discussed in greater detail in the statement.

America has for many years always realized many significant benefits from the ever-increasing two-way trade between America and Romania. Without the most favored nations, Romania would not be the Romania of today. America has favorable business trade with Romania.

Eighty million dollars in 1970. In 1977, it increased to \$600 million; in 1978, \$800 million, according to the last 5 months, and probably by 1980 it will be \$1 billion. It should be noted that these increases were realized despite the devastating economic effects in very recent years of two major floods and a major earthquake in Romania.

The benefits to America are easily recognized and appreciated when it is noted that the balance of payments has always exceeded two to one in favor of America—that is, one out of every five jobs in America is a result of American exports, that Romania's purchases have been in American industries consistently plagued by unemployment, over capacity and depressed markets.

Discrimination on ethnic background of Romanian citizens has been claimed and disproven many times. The falseness of these claims is obvious—if Romania would just stop spending money for maintaining these ethnic groups, it would not be ethnic groups in Romania.

While the Trade Act does not technically require actions such as Romania's voluntary role as a key and important participant in the efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East, Africa, et cetera and other actions that benefit America and all mankind, we feel that an exception is obviously justified and that the subcommittee gives due recognition and consideration to these items when making its decisions.

My time is nearly up and unfortunately, I must close without discussing other items and obvious facts. I sincerely encourage all to read our detailed discussion of all facts, and we are confident that you will be convinced, as we are, that the granting of most-favored-nation is more than well-earned by Romania.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you very much, sir.

I just want to point out to the remaining witnesses that when the bell rings and the red light is on, that is the end of their time. Unfortunately, we have four more witnesses. I would like to give you all an opportunity to be heard. Our time has run out, but I will remain to listen to the remaining witnesses, but if you do not stay within your time limit, the other witnesses will be deprived from making their oral remarks.

Your entire statement will go into the record. I am listening to you. I have read your statements, and the rest of the committee will have an opportunity to read the transcript.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Niculescu follows:]

STATEMENT OF BARBU NICULESCU, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Hearing Before The Subcommittee On International Trade Of The Committee On Finance, United States Senate Regarding Continuing Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment Of Imports From Romania.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this most important Subcommittee. It is a great honor to again be invited here and to once more have the opportunity to present our testimony and recommendations on the most important subject of extending the previously granted Most Favored Nation trade status to Romania. We sincerely appreciate your recognition of our Foundation and for making this opportunity available.

I am Mr. Barbu Niculescu and am honored to have this opportunity to testify as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and as President of the American-Romanian Cultural Foundation. Our offices are located at 6 East 80th Street, New York, N.Y.

Our Foundation's membership and supporters are very highly respected and distinguished Americans who sincerely share a common interest in international affairs and especially those concerning American and Romanian relations. Our studies, monitoring and evaluating various items both in America and in Romania, our past positions and recommendations and the overall high quality and extensive experience of our members, supporters and friends all resulted in our Foundation being recognized and highly respected as a highly qualified authority on American-Romanian relations.

We wish to clearly state that the Foundation is in agreement and fully supports President Carter's decision to again extend and continue to grant MFN trade status to Romania. Also included in our recommendation is our suggestion that it is now time for the American government to grant permanent or at the very least should make MFN trade status grants for five year periods to replace the current one year periods.

President Carter's, our Foundation's and all other recommendations to continue to extend MFN trade status to Romania are clearly based on Romania's proven favorable performance during each of the past three years in which MFN status has been granted to Romania. By actual recorded performance, Romania has proved its willingness and capability to meet and has satisfied in past years all requirements of not only the MFN trade status agreement but also all other agreements made between America and Romania. There is not one proven violation known to us.

Additional justification and support is also provided by recognition of Romania's commendable worldwide efforts in the interests of peace, detente, disarmament, secured independence of each nation and the improvement of the status and well-being of all people throughout the world. No one can dispute this performance and the clear fact that they reflect America's same worldwide objectives and policies.

We have omitted presenting large quantities of statistics since these will be adequately provided by expert government witnesses from various departments of our government. However we do feel it necessary in this oral presentation to briefly mention the following key items which are discussed in greater detail in the written discussion of our overall testimony and recommendations.

1. America has for many years always realized many significant benefits from the ever increasing two-way trade between America and Romania. These benefits were significantly increased and expanded in each year subsequent to granting of MFN trade status to Romania and are expected to continue to significantly increase for many years into the future. As an example, two way trade in 1970 was \$80 million (prior to MFN), in 1977 surpassed \$600 million, in 1978 is projected at the \$800 million level and is expected to surpass \$1 billion by 1980. It should be noted that these increases were realized despite the devastating economic effects in very recent years of two major floods and a major earthquake in Romania.

The benefits to America are easily recognized and appreciated when it is noted that the balance of payments has always exceeded 2 to 1 in America's favor, that 1 out of every 5 jobs in America is the result of American exports, that Romania's purchases have been in America industries consistently plagued by unemployment, over capacity and depressed markets; that not one American job was lost due to imports from Romania and that imports from Romania were primarily items in short supply and critical to keeping American industry operating at the high levels enjoyed.

2. Emigration and reunification of families is still and will always be of concern worldwide. However, the facts determined by the American government and others all clearly prove that this is not recognized as a major problem in

Romania. As an example, of the approximately 37,000 Romanian Jews in Romania, the majority do not desire to leave for various valid reasons (age, marriage, etc.) and those who plan to but delay emigrating are doing so by their own personal choice and not by government intervention. This also applies to all other Romanian citizens regardless of ethnic background (Hungarian, German, etc.). It should be recognized that Romanian law guarantees each Romanian citizen the right to emigrate and the proven fact that hundreds of thousands have emigrated in recent years is proof enough that this right is available and being exercised in Romania.

3. Discrimination based on ethnic background of Romanian citizens has been claimed and disproven many times. The falseness of these claims is obvious when it is recognized that the Romanian government has always allocated millions of dollars each year to provide schools, universities, books, newspapers, magazines, television and radio programs, museums and other activities that are conducted in the ethnic language of the major groups residing in the various areas of Romania. These same items were also provided in the Romanian language in these same areas. This obviously proves that Romania not only recognizes but also takes action to preserve and continue recognition by all the various ethnic backgrounds that make up the population of Romania.

4. While the Trade Act does not technically require actions such as Romania's voluntary role as a key and important participant in the efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East, Africa, etc., and other actions that benefit America and all mankind, we feel that an exception is obviously justified and that the Subcommittee give due recognition and consideration to these items when making its decisions/recommendations.

My time is nearly up and unfortunately I must close without discussing other known and obvious facts. I sincerely encourage all to read our detailed discussion of all facts and we are confident that you will be convinced as we are that granting of MFN is more than well earned by Romania.

DETAIL STATEMENT

The following discussion supports the American-Romanian Cultural Foundation's position recommending further extension of MFN trade status for Romania. It is presented in primarily the four major sections of: 1. Emigration and Family Reunification; 2. Minority Discrimination; 3. Trade Benefits to America and Romania; and 4. Independence Benefits All Mankind.

1. Emigration and family reunification.—This most sensitive and delicate subject is a problem that does not really exist in Romania. This conclusion has been proven correct thru findings of numerous independent studies initiated and executed by both American government and private agencies.

In this particular area, prevention of Romanian Jews emigration from Romania is always the first and most frequently made claim because it receives the most publicity here in America. It is also brought up by the misinformed who wrongfully assume that Romanian Jews must be persecuted in Romania since they are persecuted in Russia and the Russian satellites where such persecution is proven to exist. Being associated with Russia as an Eastern European Bloc member automatically and incorrectly results in stereotyping Romania by assuming that Romania is the same as Russia and therefore Romania must be guilty of the same practices as is Russia.

This unfortunate stereotyping of Romania continues by the misinformed and those who do not take the time and make the effort to investigate and determine objectively what is Romania's performance. The most factual studies are available from our own government who have been monitoring this subject for many years. The results of these studies established the following truths:

A. By 1977, well over 400,000 or over 90 percent of the Romanian Jewish population emigrated, the majority emigrated to Israel shortly after Israel was declared an independent and sovereign nation.

B. There are currently less than 37,000 Romanian Jews in all of Romania. Of this 37,000, the greatest majority do not want to emigrate for reasons of intermarriage, age, to retain successful positions in Romanian government and business, to continue their education and various other valid personal reasons that lead them to voluntarily decide to remain in Romania as opposed to emigrating. There are others who do plan to emigrate but are delaying such action for personal reasons such as saving money for transportation, waiting for an opportunity to emigrate to a country of their choice and various other personal rea-

sons they recognize as being valid and important personal matters. These are all valid reasons for delay and cannot be construed to be government initiated preventative measures.

U. Romania's proven performance is well recognized and appreciated by Israel but many Americans and others do not have this knowledge or will take the time to properly investigate and evaluate this subject. Romania must be recognized as the first Eastern European nation to formally recognize Israel, its right to exist, its sovereignty as an independent nation, completely opened its doors to all Romanian Jews who responded to the call to return to Israel and has maintained full diplomatic relations from a time shortly after Israel was established to the present.

It is also obvious that Israel has always maintained good relations when it is noted that Israel's highest representatives (Begin, Dyan, etc.) are very frequent visitors to Romania where they participate in friendly meetings with Romania's President on international problems of great concern to Israel and its well-being.

The same government, statistics and findings also support the true fact that Romanians having other religious beliefs and ethnic backgrounds such as German, Hungarian, etc. are also free to emigrate and have done so over many years.

Our government's and our own studies adequately support the fact that Romanian citizens desiring to emigrate may and are doing so. It is recognized that bureaucratic red tape and paperwork are frustrating and exist in Romania as it exists in all nations but it must be recognized that those who are willing to follow the established procedures will successfully secure the necessary emigration documents and emigrate.

In summary, the problem of emigration is not a major problem in Romania and has been so proven many times by our own government. It continues to be unfairly used against Romania by those who have ulterior motives such as forcing Romania to subject itself once again to domination by larger Eastern European nations. It is also unfairly used by the misinformed and uninformed who will not take the time and make the effort to properly understand this problem. The record and proven emigration statistics in recent years all support the fact that hundreds of thousands of Romanian citizens have emigrated from Romania and are still emigrating today and this alone proves that emigration is available and is being exercised every day of each year by all who desire to leave Romania.

2. Minority discrimination.—Is another subject that is very sensitive and immediately when mentioned draws considerable attention here in America where we are strongly against any form of discrimination. Again, we can only let the facts speak for themselves and prove the point that this is not the problem that it has been claimed to be.

Those who claim this practice is widespread in Romania and government initiated with the objective being eradication of all traces of every ethnic background except pure Romanian are obviously making false claims not supported by any true facts. The actual performance of the Romanian government has been proven to be the complete opposite of these claims. Various studies by the American government and private organizations established the fact that Romania is very concerned with the identification, preservation and continuance of every ethnic groups' history and culture.

Romania's actions have demonstrated that it is very proud of all its history and citizens and that in the past, today and in the future, all Romanians regardless of ethnic background play a very important roll in Romania's progress and are vital to its existence. One of Romania's most important programs that has been in existence for many years has been to provide millions of dollars each year to support and make available newspapers, books, radio and television programs; schools, universities, museums, etc. in the ethnic language of the major groups in all areas of Romania. In addition, Romania also provides duplicate facilities and programs in the national language and therefore makes available a choice to these Romanian citizens.

It is obvious that if Romania decided to erase all traces of history, culture, language and other aspects of each minority group in Romania it would not provide the funds and support necessary to publicate in the ethnic languages all these various facilities and programs designed to preserve and continue—not destroy—ethnic backgrounds.

In addition, a review of the names of individuals holding high offices in government, education, business, etc. throughout Romania is also testimony that such discrimination cannot exist as claimed.

When the above and other available facts are recognized in their proper perspective, it is obvious that discrimination as claimed is nothing more than

massive exaggeration by the uninformed, misinformed and those using these claims to attack Romania for various motives.

8. Trade benefits to America and Romania.—There is absolutely no doubt that both America and Romania have and will continue to realize benefits from MFN and related commercial agreements between the two countries. The proof is overwhelming and is not only represented by statistics but is also obvious in other ways such as:

A. Trade between nations opens many doors and opportunities for both nations. As confidence, understanding, trust and dialogue is established among those engaged in trade, these same items spread out into other areas and have the result of expansion and strengthening of political and other relations between the nations. As part of this natural progression, additional nations are usually brought in at the trading level and the same confidences, understandings, relations, etc. are established. The end result is the ever so important area known as "international relations and understanding" at all levels and between all nations.

This interaction of nations establishes trust, understanding, etc. and permits peaceful resolution of problems ranging from the very simple to those that are very complex and sensitive without resorting to war or other destructive means. This is of obvious special importance to a nation such as Romania that only recently entered into world relations as an independent and sovereign nation surrounded by Russia and Russia's satellites.

B. The success and benefits of American-Romanian trade may also be recognized by small developing nations as well as those dominated and isolated by oppressive super powers such as Russia as being an example of how a super power (such as America) can help and cooperate with a small developing nation such as Romania without any need for the small nation to submit to domination of any type by the larger nation.

It also clearly establishes the fact that successful relations and securing the independence of a small developing nation can be accomplished without massive grants of monetary and other economic resources by the large developed nation with the usual unfortunate result of the smaller developing nation becoming completely dependent on the developed larger nation for its economy and future existence. This type of situation should be properly recognized as domination by the large nation and loss of independence by the smaller nation: a condition the United States has repeatedly recognized as completely undesirable. This undesirable tactic is obviously being practiced by many nations in places such as Africa, Eastern Europe, Asia, etc. and America's best counterattack is an example such as its relations with a small nation such as Romania.

C. It has also been proven that once a nation, small or large realizes economic independence, it rarely will ever voluntarily surrender to domination by another power. Having large numbers of secured independent nations who maintain international relations among themselves provides obvious security and peace for all nations.

In the area of economic benefits to America, trade with Romania has proven to be of significant benefit to America in many ways, some of which are:

A. The balance of payments has been in America's favor by more than 2 to 1 and is projected to remain so for many years into the future.

B. The constantly increasing purchases from America have been primarily in American industries that have been depressed and experiencing severe persistent unemployment problems. The average in American industry is that 1 of every 5 jobs are created by America's exports. In depressed industries such as those in which Romania is a major active customer, it is obvious that exports to Romania created more jobs than the average ratio of 1 out of 5.

C. The significance of MFN and other related commercial agreements is clearly seen in the following Romanian comparison of two-way trade volumes between America and Romania:

	<i>Annual trade dollar</i>	<i>Millions</i>
1970 (Prior to MFN trade status)		\$80
1977 Surpassed.....		1,000
1978 Expected to reach.....		1,800
1980 Expected to surpass.....		1,000

¹ Romanian Trade Economists assured us that these levels would have been significantly higher if Romania had not suffered extensive destruction and damages from two major floods and a major earthquake in these few years alone. Anyone having an opportunity to view the damages from these major catastrophes would concur.

It should be obvious and properly recognized that without MFN trade status and related commercial agreements, these favorable levels would not have been experienced. It should also be recognized that withholding MFN would have most likely forced Romania to turn to Russia for trade and would have eventually fallen under complete domination in the same manner other nations have succumbed to economic and other types of domination by this Eastern European super-power.

D. Romania's performance to all terms and conditions of all commercial agreements has been exceptional and such performance is documented proof of Romania's sincere desire, need and capability to cooperate with America. We know of no documented and proven case of dumping or any other violation of these agreements. In addition, there is no known instance where American workers were deprived of their jobs because of imports of Romanian goods. In fact the opposite is true because the items imported from Romania were of the type that were in short supply and such availability to American industry enabled them to operate at higher levels of production and employment.

Overall, there is little more that needs to be added to justify to the already strong case in favor of MFN trade status approval for Romania.

4. Independence benefits all mankind.—We previously discussed the great importance of bringing nations into the world order as secured independent participants in international relations. This same discussion is also applicable to this section. What we will highlight at this point is the recognition that America's forward vision and approach to helping Romania secure its independence generated many additional benefits for all mankind. America's major contribution to helping Romania through MFN and other agreements helped the world realize items such as the following accomplishments:

A. Romania has been significantly helped in establishing a growing economy that assures it of future independence as a sovereign nation free of domination by larger developed nations. This is an excellent example to all nations of the world that the United States is not merely providing assistance in order to develop economic independence of the smaller nation that leads to domination of all types by the larger nation.

B. America's granting of MFN extensions is also further testimony to the world's nations that once a nation is helped by the United States, it will not be deserted while it is developing its economy and securing its independence among all nations.

C. America's contribution to Romania's independence and Romania's great love for independence enabled Romania to become very influential in world affairs. In a matter of only a few years, Romania has progressed from an isolated country to one that has established formal recognized relations and ties with nearly every country in today's world order.

Romania today is a giant among nations because it is recognized and trusted as a sincere advocate of sovereign independence of each and every nation and is a nation that is not trying to expand its sphere of influence in a manner whereby it uses this trust and position to establish domination over other nations. This is true and proven by Romania's efforts to help bring peace to the volatile Middle East and Africa where only a small, trusted and knowledgeable nation can be relied on for advice and assistance in resolution of sensitive major problems that threaten peace. The reliance of Israel and the Arab nations on Romania as a counselor and intermediary is ample evidence of this most important role that only a sovereign and independent Romania can play in the world's arena. The same role is also being played in Africa and other areas of the world.

D. Romania's role, efforts and dedications to peace through detente, disarmament and other non-military type actions also support America's interests, objectives and role in international affairs.

Summary.—This initial granting of MFN to Romania can be envisioned as having started many different actions that not only greatly benefit America and Romania but also greatly benefit all mankind throughout the world. America has played a major role in Romania's growth and economic independence that permitted Romania to expand its position in international affairs. This is all to mankind's benefit and is an example to all nations that the United States is ready, willing and available to help other nations without any hidden desires to eventually dominate those it offers its hand of friendship and assistance.

It also proves that massive outlays of financial assistance is not necessary in order to help others establish independence. Small nations must realize that the

most important ingredient in establishing independence is their own desire for independence, a strong willingness to make the necessary efforts and sacrifices, a great deal of self determination and capable leadership that is dedicated to accomplishing the goals of sovereign independence for their nation. Romania had these necessary ingredients and was able to make great strides with non-monetary assistance such as MFN trade status from America.

We again restate our recommendation that this Subcommittee support the extension of MFN trade status for Romania as recommended by our President Carter and various agencies of the American government.

Senator RUBICOFF. Mr. Apostoliu ?

Mr. APOSTOLIU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. APOSTOLIU. Honorable Chairman, Honorable Senators, as organizer, participant and spokesman of Five Romanian Hunger-strikes for Family Reunion in the U.S.A. since May 17, 1975, until yet, it is my duty to thank you all and to Mr. Michael Stern for giving to me the opportunity to speak again in this world's famous democratic forum of lawmakers, about the lack of human rights in Communist Romania.

I have to present to you appreciations, only facts, painfully facts, happened in Communist Romania, and still happening over there. As a shame for the name of man in our 20th century.

Today, I want to tell you from human being to human being. As a human being who spent 13 years in Romania's Communist jails and in the forced labor camp Danube-Black Sea as a political prisoner. Because as a writer, between the only two ways: To be belong the Russians oppressors and their KGB against his people, and to be belong his oppressed Romanian people, I selected the second one. To be always only belong my oppressed Romanian people, belong God, and against the international terrorism of Moscow. I paid for it. With my youth spent in jails. And when I came back home in 1964, I found over there only three graves: My mother, my father and my brother were killed by Communist security.

Then with God's help, I succeeded to reach, as a political refuge, my new homeland, the United States of America, in 1974. I kissed the blessed earth of this country, over there, on Kennedy Airport on New York City, and I swore to fight for human rights all over the world as the founders of America did.

This is my duty to America which received me and gave to me all the opportunities but first of all, the Saint Freedom.

It is my duty as a human being to fight to stop the terrorism. It is my duty to determine you, the elected U.S. Senators, to be careful that to the United States of America not happen what happen to Romania and to more than a half of Europe where millions of innocent people of different nationalities are suffering under Communist dictatorship led by Moscow.

I do not wish that one day all of you, Honorable Senators, become political refugees, if you succeed to escape from Communism. . . . I want that the United States of America remain the one able to help all human beings who are suffering or are in need on our planet, the Earth. As the United States of America did, until yet.

Honorable Senators, the Presidential recommendation to waive the application of subsection (a) and (b) of Section 402, the Freedom of Emigration provision of the Trade Act of 1974, is based on two completely wrong and eronate conclusions.

The first one: the so-called Nicolae Ceausescu's independent foreign policy with the meaning independent from Moscow.

The second one: The so-called increase of free emigration from Communist Romania. Let's see the facts, let's see the truth. And then, I am confident, that you will act firmly in respect of the U.S. Constitution on which you swore, when elected U.S. Senators to serve the U.S. people and to defend the national security of the United States of America, and you will suspend immediately the MFN treatment to Communist Romania and put again on the rules of the Henry Jackson-Vanik amendment.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU'S FULL SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

After Nicolae Ceausescu became the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Romania's President in 1965, he purged from government those Party's leaders who advised the former Romanian Communist President Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej to become independent from Moscow. Alexandru Bărlădeanu, Corneliu Mănescu, the former Foreign Minister and President of UNO's General Assembly during the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968; and finally, the Premier Ion Gheorghe Maurer. His action was a result of Kremlin's order received at the meeting of the all Communist Parties led by Moscow held in Crimea, U.S.S.R.

Then he played games as being independent from Moscow and succeeded to induce in error many Western diplomats and newsmen. One of Ceausescu's diabolic Communist strategies was the opening of a Romanian Embassy in Tel-Aviv, Israel, and his game as mediator in the Middle East conflict. There are 13 years' of Nicolae Ceausescu's mediation for peace in Middle East. What is the result? None.

Senator Ribicoff. Mr. Apostoliu, your time has expired and I must give the other witnesses who have come from far distances an opportunity to be heard. Your entire statement will go in the record.

Mr. APOSTOLIU. I would only talk for 1 minute about Romanian hunger strikes for family reunion.

Already now here in the United States there were five Romanian hunger strikes for family reunion. The first one was started in May 17, 1975. I would like to inform you that, after the United States granted Communist Romania with MFN, to date, Prof. Dr. Alexander Bratu who now is here, was arrested with another group of America's friends and was convicted for 10 years of jail.

Nicolae Ceausescu's Communist strategy is to release some people during U.S. Congress' hearings about MFN and then to stop the emigration. Again, again, again, and again. This thing happened three times: in 1975, 1976, and 1977.

Now, we have to ask: What do we have to do with Romania? We have to pay the international terrorists? We have to pay somebody who violated and is still violating the human rights?

In these days, I inform you that in Bucharest at the Romanian Embassy a group of six people who were on the list which President Carter

gave to Ceausescu in this year and Ceausescu permits to grant exit visas to them, but then denied, today these six people are going to the American Embassy in Bucharest and they are locking themselves with chains on the U.S. Embassy door.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Apostoliu follows:]

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS (COMITATUL JUDEC)
 MEMBER OF THE ACCADEMIA INTERNAZIONALE DI PROPAGANDA CULTURALE, LETTERE,
 SCIENZE, ARTI, ROMA, ITALY
 Secretary of THE UNDERGROUND ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
 since 1965.
 President of the AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
 since 1975
 Spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN,
 HONORABLE SENATORS,

As organizer, participant and spokesman of FIVE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKERS FOR
 FAMILY REUNION in THE USA since MAY 17, 1975 until yet, is my duty to thank
 to you all and to Mr MICHAEL STEIN, for giving to me the opportunity to speak
 again in this WORLD'S FAMOUS DEMOCRATIC FORUM of LAWMAKERS- about the LACK of
 HUMAN RIGHTS in COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

I have to present to YOU appreciations only FACTS
 PAINFULLY FACTS

HAPPENED in COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and still happening over there.
 As a SHAME for the name of "MAN" in our 20th CENTURY.

Today, I want to tell to you, from HUMAN BEING TO HUMAN BEING.

As a HUMAN BEING who spend 13 years in ROMANIA'S COMMUNIST JAILS and in THE
 FORCED LABOR CAMP DANUBE-BLACK SEA, as a POLITICAL PRISONER.

Because as a writer, between the only two ways:

- 1.- To be belong the RUSSIANS oppressors and their KGB, against people- and
- 2.- To be belong his oppressed ROMANIAN people, - I selected the second one:
 TO BE ALWAYS ONLY BELONG TO OPPRESSED ROMANIAN PEOPLE, BELONG GOD, and
 AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM OF MOSCOW.

I paid for. With my youth spent in Jails, and when I came back home in
 APRIL, 1964 I found home ... ONLY THREE GRAVES: MY MOTHER, MY FATHER and MY
 BROTHER WERE KILLED BY COMMUNIST SECURITY ...

Then when with GOD's help I succeeded to reach as a POLITICAL REFUGEE my
 new HOMETLAND, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in JULY 2, 1974, I kissed the bless
 blessing earth of this country, over there, on J.F. KENNEDY AIRPORT in
 NEW-YORK CITY, and I STARTED FIGHT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ALL OVER THE WORLD, AS
 THE FOUNDERS OF AMERICA DID.

This is my DUTY to AMERICA which received me and gave to me all the opportu-
 nities, but, FIRST OF ALL: THE SAINT FREEDOM!

Is MY DUTY as a HUMAN BEING TO FIGHT TO STOP THE TERRORISM!

Is my DUTY to determine you, the elected US SENATORS to be careful THAT TO
 THE USA NOT HAPPEN WHAT HAPPENED TO ROMANIA and TO MORE THAN A HALF OF
 EUROPE WHERE MILLIONS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES ARE
 SUFFERING UNDER COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP LEAD BY MOSCOW.

I do not wish, that one day, ALL of YOU, HONORABLE SENATORS, become POLITICAL
 REFUGEES ... if YOU WILL SUCCEED TO ESCAPE FROM COMMUNISM! ...

I want that the USA remain the one able to help all HUMAN BEING who are
 suffering or are in need on our planet: the EARTH.

AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DID. UNTIL YET.

HONORABLE SENATORS,

The Presidential recommendation to waive the application of subsection(a)
 and (b) of section 402 the freedom of emigration provision of the Trade
 Act of 1974, is based on two completely WRONG and ERRONEOUS CONCLUSIONS:

- 1.- The so called NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S "INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY" with the
 meaning "INDEPENDENT FROM MOSCOW!"
- 2.- The so called "INCREASE OF F.L. EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"

Let see THE FACTS. Let see THE TRUTH!

And then I am confident that you, Will ACT FIRMLY, in respect of THE US
 CONSTITUTION on which YOU STOOD when elected US SENATORS "TO SERVE THE USA
 PEOPLE and TO DEFEND THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE USA" and,

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

YOU WILL SUSPECT IMMEDIATELY THAT THE PRESENT BENT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, AND TO THE BENT OF THE RULES THE BENT IN JACKSON-CARLES VARIOUS AGREEMENT.

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S FULL SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

After NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU became THE GENERAL SECRETARY of THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY and THE COMMUNIST ROMANIA's President in 1965, he purged from GOVERNMENT those PARTY's leaders who advised the former ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PRESIDENT GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU DEJ to become independent from MOSCOW: ALEXANDRU BALABANU, CORNELIU MĂNESCU the former FOREIGN MINISTER and President of UNO's GENERAL ASSEMBLY during the RUSSIAN invasion of CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1968) and finally the PREMIER ION GHEORGHIU MĂURER. His action was a result of KREMLIN's order received at the meeting of the all COMMUNIST PARTIES lead by MOSCOW held in GRIFFEA USSR.

Then he played games as being "INDEPENDENT" from MOSCOW and succeeded to induce in error many Western diplomats and news men.

One of CEAUȘESCU's diabolic communist strategic was the opening of a ROMANIAN EMBASSY in TEL-AVIV ISRAEL and his "game" as MEDIATOR in MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT/ There are 13 years of NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU's ILLUSSION FOR PEACE in MIDDLE EAST WHAT IS THE RESULT? NONE!

Oh, excuse my please. There is the very clear one: Since the ROMANIAN EMBASSY was opened in TEL AVIV, the RUSSIANS LEARN ALL ISRAEL's intentions to move on. The RUSSIANS MOVED THEIR TERRORISTS TOWARD. And the WAR IS STILL OVER THERE. THE PEACE WILL BE NEVER SET UP in that part of the earth.

- The NEW YORK MILITARY MUSEUM of NEW YORK CITY displays WEAPONS MANUFACTURED in COMMUNIST ROMANIA, WITH WHICH THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS WERE KILLED IN VIETNAM WAR

- Two ROMANIAN sailors defected in NEW YORK CITY from a ROMANIAN fish boat stated as EYES WITNESS that NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU SENT SUPPLIES TO ANGOLAN TERRORISTS, SIX MONTH BEFORE THE ANGOLAN WAR WAS STARTED.

- In WEST GERMANY, Dr HEROLD OPRISAN a former MINISTER of COMMUNIST ROMANIA asked for POLITICAL ASYLUM in 1975. He told the newsmen about the real situation of the so called "NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S INDEPENDENCE from MOSCOW" and cleared the reality that NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU is BREZHNEV's SPY in THE FREE WORLD. He argued with FACTS which he knew perfectly as a former minister.

- The FRANCE GOVERNMENT discovered a ROMANIAN SPY NETWORK at the ROMANIAN EMBASSY in PARIS connected with MOSCOW in 1972. One year later the ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE during the FRANCE police investigation, asked for POLITICAL ASYLUM over there. He gave to the FRANCE authorities the list of SPIES - THE GREAT BRITAIN GOVERNMENT arrested the RUSSIAN SPY NETWORK over there and expelled from France the RUSSIAN diplomats. ROMANIAN EMBASSY WAS CONNECTED WITH.

- In STOKHOLM, SWEDEN, one ROMANIAN OFFICIAL with a high diplomatical function asked for POLITICAL ASYLUM. He told to the newsmen and to the Sweden authorities how he was instructed in MOSCOW to become a KGB SPY and gave to them the full list of other ROMANIAN "DIPLOMATS" INVOLVED IN RUSSIAN'S SPY NETWORK

- During NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU's visit in L.A.N, one ROMANIAN "DIPLOMAT" was arrested over there as a SOVIET SPY...

In WASHINGTON DC, ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR NICOLAE NICOLAE, former COMMANDER of BUCHAREST'S SECURITY and then Secretary of COMMUNIST PARTY of EXTERIOR COMMERCE MINISTRY and MINISTER, together with BADA LICESCU, BADEA and GEORGY GASPAR a HUNGARIAN of ROMANIA former COMMANDER of BRED CITY'S SECURITY are supervising and directed other ROMANIAN "diplomats" who are working hard between the US CITIZENS or RESIDENTS by ROMANIAN descents in order to make them to be active in RUSSIAN SPY NETWORK over there.

- In NEW YORK CITY the same dirty job is doing by the ROMANIAN "diplomats" from ROMANIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION as AMBASSADOR ION MĂTEU, FIRST SECRETARY MUREL GHEORGHIU and DUMITRU MĂTEU from ROMANIAN LIBRARY.

- On May 17, 1976, ROȘU, the PRES SECRETARY of ROMANIAN MISSION TO THE UNO together with ION ȘDU, that time GENERAL CONSUL in WASHINGTON DC organised a COMMUNIST MANIFESTATION on NEW YORK CITY streets.

The "AMERICANS" responsible for the manifestation were older ROMANIAN AGENT: WILHELM NICOLESCH, VICTOR RADULESCU, ANTONOVICI, VRAJITORU, DEAN MILICVIC

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The so called "diplomat" ROSSU G.V. to demonstrators RED FLAGS, COMMUNIST SLOGANS, SIGNS, LEAFLETS AND COMMUNIST BANNERS. He made the pictures of this older ROSSU G.V. AGENTS over here even the moments when ROSSU handled to them THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA MATERIALS. AND HE GAVE THOSE PICTURES TO US COMPETENT AUTHORITIES IN NEW YORK CITY AND IN WASHINGTON DC. CHIEF OF ROMANIAN AFFAIRS IN DEPARTMENT OF STATE THAT THIS WAS MR DUNLOP. Despite those evident proofs of MR ROSSU INVOLVEMENT IN US DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND HIS VIOLATION OF HIS DIPLOMATIC STATUS, ACTING UNDEVELOPED TO HIM.

To the above named US CITIZENS, AGENTS OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY (in our case ROMANIA) NOTHING HARMED TOO, DESPITE THE PICTURES PROOFS OF THEIR ACTIVITIES IN BEHALF OF A COMMUNIST FOREIGN COUNTRY.

- Mr VASILE BULGARIAN of 22-43 RYER Avenue, Apt 16, BRONX, N.Y. 10457 10457, in his MEMORANDUM for his FAMILY REUNION sent to all US SENATORS and US REPRESENTATIVES, to US PRESIDENT, DEPARTMENT OF STATE and GENERAL SECRETARY of THE UNO, he state that "THE GENERAL CONSUL OF ROMANIA IN WASHINGTON DC ION EDU, ASK HIM TO BECOME HIS PERSONAL EMPLOYER BEFORE THE HUNGARIAN EXILE AND BEFORE THE ROMANIAN EXILE IN RULING A STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION. MR VASILE BULGARIAN DID NOT THIS STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION."

- On JUNE 18, 1977 during the HEARING of REPRESENTATIVES HEARING before the SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS about the LIFE for COMMUNIST ROMANIA, in front of the HEARING's building there were in demonstration the participants of THE HUNGARIAN ROMANIAN HUNGARIAN STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION in THE U.S. (JULY 24, 1977-Oct 24 1977)

-The general consul ION EDU organised on the CAPITOL STOPS A COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION IN BEHALF OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT LEAD BY MOSCOW.

THE DEMONSTRATORS DISPLAYED RED FLAGS AND COMMUNIST SIGNS, THEY WERE SINGING "THE INTERNATIONAL" (COMMUNIST'S ANTHEM SONG)

ALL THIS PHOTO HAPPENED UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE SO CALLED "COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF ROMANIAN TRANSILVANIA" with President Rev. IANU, the nephew of the ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTNER JUSTICE PARTNER died in 1977

Between the participants were ALL AGENTS OF ROMANIAN MISSIONARY ARCHDIOCESE in AMERICA, the spy network agency of ROMANIA'S SECURITY in THE US which is working undercover as.. THE RELIGIOUS MISSION OF ROMANIAN MISSIONARIES OF BUCAREST, and the same older ROMANIAN AGENTS who participated and to the demonstration of NEW YORK CITY on JULY 17, 1976.

Before the demonstration, some of them testified an AGENT of REPRESENTATIVE floor in BEHALF OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, BUT THEY DID NOT SAID ANY WORD ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION ABOUT THE HUNGER STRIKERS WHO WERE STRIKING FOR THEIR FORCED SUPPORT PAYMENTS OUTSIDE THE US CONGRESS BUILDING. THE ABOVE MENTIONED ROMANIAN AGENTS LINED ON THE CONGRESS FLOOR THEIR TESTIMONIES WERE IN CLEAR CONTRADICTION WITH US SENATORS AND US REPRESENTATIVE STATEMENTS.

If somebody LINED ON US CONGRESS floor in order to determine the US CONGRESS to bring a WRONG DECISION in behalf of a FOREIGN COUNTRY' in our case COMMUNIST ROMANIA) and made damages to the USA THENY LIAISON BE CONVICT FOR FALSE TESTIMONY AND IN THE SAME TIME BE CONVICTED AS AGENT OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY. The proofs are clear. their testimonies were in flagrant contradiction with US SENATORS and US REPRESENTATIVE statements.

AND THE US SENATORS AND US REPRESENTATIVES ARE NOT LIAR!

- Mr PAUL BRANDTIR COGIC of One LURI DRIVE, WASHINGTON, NEW YORK 1173, participant to THE THIRD ROMANIAN HUNGARIAN ROMANIAN STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE U.S. (1976) stated in his written testimony printed in US CONGRESS RECORD of the US SENATE HEARING about MR ROSSU G.V. that "MR COGIC GAVE FROM ROMANIA EMBASSY in WASHINGTON DC and from ROMANIA from ROMANIA MISSIONARY in NEW YORK CITY, TRIED TO KILL HIM AT HIS ISOLATED RESIDENCE OF 10 G-

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...and only his security dog saved his life ...

ROMANIA TRANSFORMED BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU IN MILITARY CAMPS REARS RUSSIAN KGB
RECEIVING TRAINING TO FOREIGN TERRORISTS TO BOMB RUSSIAN T. CRISTY AND SPI

- RUSSIAN KGB OFFICERS ARE GETTING TRAINING TO CUBAN TERRORISTS TO BOMB
 RUSSIAN SPES IN THE USA ... AT
MILITARY CAMPUS OF OTOPENI

LOCATION: The forest near the BUCHAREST'S INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT OTOPENI

CAPACITY: 800 places of terrorists

- RUSSIAN OFFICERS ARE GETTING TRAINING TO FOREIGN TERRORIST ON ROMANIA'S
 TERRITORY and then sent them to join COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS ALL OVER THE WORLD

LOCATIONS:
- SIBIU CITY

The Romanian Military School of Officers NICOLAE BALCESCU.

KATANGESE TERRORISTS.

They are wearing ROMANIAN MILITARY UNIFORMS fact which appear very strange
 for the CITY'S inhabitants who are seeing BLACK people wearing ROMANIAN
 MILITARY UNIFORMS.

THE HUNGARIAN STRIKER LUCIANO TITUS COSMIL of NEW YORK CITY meet some of them.

RIGHT NOW, MORE THAN 1000 KATANGESE TERRORIST WERE SENT FROM COMMUNIST

ROMANIA TO KILL THEIR BROTHERS FOR RUSSIA'S INTERESTS, ... IN ZAIRE.

This KATANGESE MILITARY CAMP WAS FOUNDED IN 1974.

- TERRORISTS OF INCOL AND MONTEBIC ARE RECEIVING TRAINING AT

SICESTI WEST

CAPACITY: 600 places of terrorists

ISVOARE, PRAHOVA DISTRICT

CAPACITY: 600 places of terrorists

CHELIA, PRAHOVA DISTRICT

CAPACITY: 600 places of terrorists

MANECI-UNGURAI, PRAHOVA DISTRICT

CAPACITY: 600 places of TERRORISTS

MONTEBICU, DISTRICT OF BUZAU

The famous US journalist PAUL HOFFER reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES in 1977
 that "ROMANIA IS NOT YET NEUTRAL IN REGARD TO BE"

The report has a picture represented NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU KISSING BASHAREV.

THE CONCLUSION IS CLEAR...

I ASK WHAT THE US SENATE IN RESPECT OF THE US CONSTITUTION AND OF US INTERNATIONAL

COMMITMENTS TO STOP THE TERRORISM,

- TO SUSPEND IMMEDIATE THE NEW TREATMENT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND PUT

AGAIN ON THE RULES THE HENRY JACKSON-COMMUNIST V KIC AGREEMENT.

UNTIL NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU WILL CLOSE THE MILITARY CAMPUS OF INTERNATIONAL

TERRORISM TRAINING FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

II

HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

In COMMUNIST ROMANIA there are no kind of HUMAN RIGHTS.

A. FREEDOM OF PRESS AND INFORMATION

In 1971, the US journalist ROMANOS invited in COMMUNIST ROMANIA by the former

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR in WASHINGTON DC that time, COCELESTIU BOCHEA,

WAS ARRESTED AND INVESTIGATED UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE BY THE SECURITY

- After JULY 1972 when the preparatory conference for HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

was in GENEVA, - and until 1977, the US journalist in LONDON BROWN, now

TITUS ROMANOS's correspondent in BUCHAREST, WAS UNDER HEAVY INVESTIGATING

POLICE INVESTIGATION in ROMANIA and H.V. BROWN BARRED FROM THE POLITICAL

DUTIES FOR VARIOUS REASONS TOO, as his self reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES

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WAS ARRESTED AND INVESTIGATED UNDER HARD PRESSURE BY THE SECURITY
 After JUN. 1972 when the preparatory conference for HUNGARIAN AGEEMENT was held in GENEVA- and until 1977, the US journalist N. LICOANU BROOKS now TIMES MAGAZINE's correspondent in BULGARIA, - WAS UNDERGOING INTENSIVE POLICE INTERROGATIONS in RO. S. I. and have been BARRED FROM HIS PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES FOR VARYING PERIOD OF TIMES, as himself reported in TIMES MAGAZINE'S issue of OCTOBER 24, 1977 page 74
 - The above facts proves that NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU is.. "INDEPENDENT FROM MOSCOW" HE STARTED TO PERSECUTE THE US JOURNALISTS EARLY in 1971
 MOSCOW STARTED TO PERSECUTE US JOURNALISTS LATER, in 1978 with the cases of two US CORRESPONDENTS of PRESS WHO ARE FACING TRIAL IN MOSCOW RIGHT NOW.

II

HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

In COMMUNIST ROMANIA there are no kind of HUMAN RIGHTS

A- FREEDOM OF PRESS AND INFORMATIONB- FREEDOM OF LITERARY CREATION

In COMMUNIST ROMANIA the authors are allowed to write ONLY UNDER COMMITTED OF PARTY INDICATIONS
 THE HUNGER STRIKE of two ROMANIAN YOUNG POETS and of the J. S. ORL, in BUCHAREST in 1972, in the court of WRITER'S UNION in front of the statue of MIHAIL EMINESCU, the greatest ROMANIAN poet until yet, -is THE PROOF.
 This HUNGER STRIKE was reported in the PRESS PRESS by the famous IN LINE PRESS AGENCY ANSA.

C- FREEDOM OF RELIGION

In 1975, the christian orthodox reverend BOLANESCU, 73 years old that time was arrested from the OLDER'S HOUSE in BUCHAREST and convicted on art 166 pc because he wrote a letter to NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU in askink the permission to respond in the official newspaper "THE STRUGGLE"(SCITTEIA) or to be allowed to print on the ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS PUBLISHING HOUSE in BUCHAREST - a LUVU with responses to the official "THEOLOGIC PROGRAM" which became more intensive in 1975 as a result of NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU's personal order.

- In 1975 too, there were into POLITICAL JAIL of AIUD as POLITICAL PRISONERS

- More than 80 BROTHERS

- 60 YOUNG BROTHERS

--6 PENITENTIARIES belong them were in BUDUGIN

D- FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

In COMMUNIST ROMANIA there is ANY FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

Over there is ONLY a POLITICAL PRIVATE COMMUNIST ONE.

All others political parties were abolished by COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT in 1947

Over there are elections from time to time. But, how can you select or vote

when there is ONLY ONE POLITICAL PARTY and ONLY ONE CANDIDATE on the list?

Only when over there will be a second POLITICAL PARTY, over there will be

possible a real vote.

Under NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S STALINIST TERROR THERE ARE FREQUENT VIOLATIONS

OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF UNO'S.

There are violation of:

ARTICLE 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions and ideas without interference and to seek received impart informations and ideas through any media and regardless frontiers.

ARTICLE 20 (I) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association

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(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association
FACTS:

In 1972 when the REPARATORY CONFERENCE FOR HELSINKI AGREEMENT WAS HELD IN GENEVA, IN COMMUNIST RUMANIA. THE ARRESTED:

1. Prof Dr ALEXANDRU BRATU and Mr VICTOR COCONETI, because they drafted a MEMORANDUM in defend THE ROMANIAN'S RIGHTS FOR BASARABIA and NORTH BUCOVINA ROMANIAN PROVINCS OCCUPIED BY FORCE BY RUSSIA BEFORE WAR WORLD2, WITHIN AN SECRET AGREEMENT BETWEEN HITLER AND STALIN.

THIS MEMORANDUM WAS DRAFTED IN ORDER TO BE SENT TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

Prof Dr ALEXANDRU BRATU was a former leader of YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU. He served 10 years in COMMUNIST JAILS and 7 years in FORCED RESIDENCE at DEBOUTI (1947-1964)

Mr VICTOR COCONETI was a former member of the YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU, in BUCHAREST as a student of LAW COLLEGE. IN MARCH 1973 Mr VICTOR COCONETI WAS KILLED BY THE COMMUNIST SECURITY. HIS FAMILY DID NOT HAD THE RIGHT TO SEE HIS BODY.

1972

There were convicted at different terms of POLITICAL PRISON based on ARTICLE 166 al 1 penal code(PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE SOCIALIST ORDER)

Mr GHEORGHE O.BULESCU.....10 years, Art 166 p.c,

Mr GHEORGHE CAPATAN.....12 years, Art 166 pc,

Dr IGHISAN.....10 years, Art 166 pc

Mt MINOR GHEORGHE (of ROMAN CITY).....8 years, Art 166 pc

former member of the NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU, working with "LAWYER ION ILLSCU of TULCEA CITY and more others...

1973-1975

THE SECURITY INVESTIGATION AGAINST THE REORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU, in BUCHAREST

On February 15, 1973, Prof Dr ALEXANDRU BRATU organised in BUCHAREST, at the former POLITICAL JAIL JILAVA, place, a REQUIEM for the former NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU's leader, engineer PETRU VAIDA of ORADEA CITY who assassinated in 1955 during the SECURITY's investigations in BUCHAREST, and whose body was discovered on 1973 at a specific place where were buried the POLITICAL PRISONERS killed on JILAVA JAIL or during the investigations at BUCHAREST'S SECURITY.

The Security thinking that this one must be a REQUIEM in MEMORIAM of Dr. Dr IULIU IANU the President of the NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY and with this occasion the former leaders planned to reorganise the PARTY, arrested:

1. Dr CORNELIU COFOSU, former DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY of the PARTY
- 2.- Dr. VIOARA MACA, former member of THE PARLIAMENT DELEGATION of the PARTY
3. Prof Dr ALEXANDRU BRATU, leader of the PARTY'S YOUTH organisation and cofounder of the YOUTH FRIENDS OF ENGLAND and USA ASSOCIATION
4. Engineer ION IULIU, former leader of the YOUTH ORGANIZATION
5. Dr ION BARBUS, former leader of the YOUTH ORGANIZATION
6. NICOLAE IONESCU CILIANI, former leader of one of PARTY'S SECTION of BUCHAREST.

They were investigated by SECURITY under hard pressure in 1973 and 1974.

1974

- Dr CAMIL DANILESCU, former ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR in PORTUGAL, former POLITICAL PRISONER 15 years as a "USSR" was arrested and convicted at 6 years of POLITICAL JAIL based on ART 166 pc, - because he made some notices on the new printed book "THE HOU" (OR. H) by MARCELA ZINCA alias ZILBERBERG a KGB agent of ROMAN CITY trained at the SECURITY'S CENTER of MOSCOW for KGB agents and now working as SECRETARY of COMMUNIST PARTY with a MILITARY UNITY and with WRITER'S UNIO. in BUCHAREST.
This book suppose to be the documentary one about the 23 AUGUST 1944 prepara-

1990
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tory act at which Dr. GHEORGHE DIMITROSCU participated as CAIRO's envoy of Dr. IULIU IANU, the PRESIDENT of THE NATIONAL PARTY IULIU IANU and he knows how the FACTS were done (The AUGUST 23, 1944 means the challenge of DECEMBER 21 NATIONAL POLICY in the nationalist one, but belong to USA, ENGLAND, FRANCE and their coparticipants in the 2ND WORLD).

1924 Dr. IANU GOVERNMENT of ROMANIA.....5 years, Art 166 pc
 Dr. NICOLAE BILSON5 years, Art 166 pc

1925

After COMMUNIST ROMANIA was granted by US CONGRESS with THE 1978 treaty and after the HELSINKI AGREEMENT was signed by 35 EUROPEAN countries including COMMUNIST ROMANIA and USA, in COMMUNIST ROMANIA were arrested and convicted by NICOLAE CEUSCESCU's order, based on Art 166, al 1, pc:
 Prof Dr. ALEXANDRU BRATU.....10 years, Art 166 pc
 Dr AVRAM IAGIL6 years, Art 166 pc
 Engineer ION COJOCRU of BOLSHEVI.....5 years, Art 166 pc
 ION SANDU, and others

FORMER MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU WHO SUFFERED DIFFERENT TERMS OF POLITICAL JAIL AND FORCED LABOR CAMPS AND NOW ARE STILL UNDER SECURITY'S INVESTIGATIONS AND TERROR.
 WE ASK THAT US GOVERNMENT SUPPORT THEM FOR THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS EMIGRATION IN THE USA AND THE SPECIAL UNO COMMISSION BE SENT IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA TO INVESTIGATE THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION OVER THERE AND TO ASK THAT THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT TAKE LEGAL ACTION WITH THE PROVISION THAT THE YEARS SERVED IN COMMUNIST POLITICAL JAIL TO BE RECORDED IN THE RECORD OF FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS FOR RETIRED PENS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Dr. CORNELIU COFOSEU, former DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY of THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU IANU
Served 18 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | Str. IANUARI Nr 19
Apt 24, Sect 7
BUCURESTI |
| 2.- NICOLAE CRANDILIO
DIRECTOR of "THE JUSTICE"(DR. PAPER)
The central newspaper of the PARTY
Served 13 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | RETIRED with
UNION of RETIRED
BUCURESTI |
| 3. CIGERONEL IOANITOIU
Leader of the YOUTH ORGANIZATION of THE PARTY
Served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | STRADAZEL BOVICI
Nr 5, Apt 24, Sect
BUCURESTI |
| 4. Engineer ION IULIU
Former leader of YOUTH ORGANIZATION
Served 15 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | CAL. VIGORIEI
Nr 101, Apt 35
St 6, Sactot 1
BUCURESTI |
| 5. ION BARBUS
Leader of the YOUTH ORGANIZATION
Served 18 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | BUCURESTI |
| 6. TRAIAN ANDRUSCU
Lawyer, served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | Str. C.V. PII VACHI
Nr 3, Sect 3, St 3,
Apt 5, Sect 4
BUCURESTI |
| 7. CONSTANTIN DIMITROSCU, lawyer
Served 15 years as POLITICAL PRISONER | CONTR. BOBUCI
Judetul ILOVA |
| 8. | |

8. GIGOLU C. MARINKA. Served 23 years as POLITICAL PRISONER	COMUNA BORDUSANI Judetul ILOMITA
9. PAUL L. ZARASCU Leader of YOUTH ORGANIZATION Served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER	Now is working as scientific researcher with INSTITUTUL de CERCETARI LINGVISTICE ALE. G. GHENAI LI 1331 BUCURESTI
10. DUMITRU TEODORSCU Served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER	Str CALABRISI 41, Sector BUCURESTI
11.- OVIDIU BORCEA, lawyer lawyer, served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER	Str PASCANI Nr 13, Bloc Bloc TD, Et 10, Apt2 FOCSANI
12.- GHEORGHE MIRON Served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER Released from jail in 1976	COMUNA CORJUNI Judetul KOJEN
13. ION BOURGACANU Served 8 years as POLITICAL PRISONER	The same address as Mr EMILIA ANDRESCU
14. VALERIU BASARABEANU, served 10 years as POLITICAL PRISONER	Boscaua Pantolimon Nr 280, Bloc 10, BUCURESTI

MORE of THIS FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAPPENED AFTER NICOLAE
CEAUSESCU WAS GRANTED BY THE US CONGRESS WITH THE H.P.N. TREATMENT
in 1975. They are still happening today, after NICOLAE CEAUSESCU WAS
GRANTED WITH THE H.P.N. THE MORE TIMES: 1976 and 1977

THIS IS A REASON FOR WHICH I ASK THAT THE US SENATE STOP FUNDING THE
H.P.N. TREATMENT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA UNTIL THE HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE RESPECT
BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT.

III

THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Art 13

- 1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state
- 2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

COMMUNIST ROMANIA is a state member of The UNO and must respect THE UNI-
VERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. But if someone else ask an application for
EXIT VISA for a country of the 3RD WORLD he must accomplish many
formalities which need a couple of month of harassments, investigations
under hard pressure by SECURITY, laid off from jobs....
and generally this kind of applications were rejected by SECURITY
For many years, many US CITIZENS or RESIDENTS by ROMANIAN descents
attempted to bring over here their close relatives HUNGERS in COMMUNIST
ROMANIA in order to accomplish the HUNGERS HUMAN RIGHTS: THIS FAMILY
REUNION.
They contacted the ROMANIAN EMBASSY in WASHINGTON DC. The ROMANIAN

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attract them into actions against the NATIONAL INTEREST of the USA ,as to become COMMUNIST AGENTS and S.P.I.S over here.
 On MAY 17, 1975- JULY 17, 1975, he started THE FIRST ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA in New YORK CITY and then in WASHINGTON DC Under our pressure full supported by THE US CONGRESS and the UNO, NICOLAE CEAUDESCU release our HOSTAGE FAMILIES .
 After he was granted with the HFN treatment by US CONGRESS HE STOPPED THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA.
 WE STARTED THE SECOND, THE THIRD THE FOURTH and THE FIFTH HUNGER STRIKE Since May 17, 1975 until yet, there were FIFTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA.
 THE FIRST ONE: MAY 17, 1975- JULY 17, 1975 involved 25 people
 THE SECOND ONE: NOVEMBER 11, 1975- JANUARY 11, 1976, involved 50 people
 THE THIRD ONE: MAY 24, 1976- September 11, 1976, involved 56 people
 THE FOURTH ONE: MAY 24, 1977- OCTOBER 24, 1977 involved 45 people
 THE FIFTH ONE: started APRIL 10, 1976, involved 60 people
 After NICOLAE CEAUDESCU was GRANTED by the USA with THE HFN TREATMENT in 1975, 1976 and in 1977, HE STOPPED THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA In doing so he VIOLATED HIS EXPRESS CONDITION OF EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA AS HE COULD AGREE WITH THE USA UPON THE TRADE AGREEMENT AND THE HFN in 1975, 1976 and 1977.
 In doing so, NICOLAE CEAUDESCU VIOLATED ALSO THE PARIS TREATY OF PEACE (1947) THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1948) AND ALL UNO RESOLUTIONS ABOUT FAMILY REUNION AND THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT (1975 too)
 THIS IS NICOLAE CEAUDESCU'S COMMUNIST STRATEGIES TO PERSIST IN THE HFN AND THEN TO VIOLATE THE HUMAN RIGHTS, AGAIN AND AGAIN IN 1975, 1976 1977 IN THIS TIME HE KEPT 266 PEOPLE IN MORE THAN 500 DAYS OF HUNGER STRIKE

RIGHT NOW, MANY RELATIVES OF THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE FOURTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION ARE STILL HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.
 on APRIL 1978 NICOLAE AS IN A OFFICIAL TRIP IN THE USA.
 HE RECEIVED THE LIST OF HUNGER STRIKERS AND THEIR HOSTAGE RELATIVES FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA, FROM MANY SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES AND FROM MR KOGX, NEW YORK'S mayor.
 What happened? He RESPECTED HIS COMMITMENT TO RELEASE OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES NOT AT ALL.
 ONLY A FEW PART OF THEM RECEIVED THE EXIT VISAS.
 AND NOW HE IS WAITING TO BE GRANT AGAIN WITH HFN

NICOLAE CEAUDESCU'S FACTS ARE A MAJOR OFFENSE FOR US SENATE.
 AS A TALKER I DO NOT PERMIT THAT WITH MY MONEY BE SUBJECT NICOLAE CEAUDESCU, THE ONE WHO OFFENDED THE US SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.
 I DO NOT PERMIT THAT WITH MY MONEY BE SUPPORT THE TERRORISM IN THE US AND ALL OVER THE WORLD.
 AS A HUMAN BEING I SPEAK TO THE US SENATE, TO EACH SENATOR AS A HUMAN BEING HIMSELF AND I ASK THAT
 - THE HFN TREATMENT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA BE STOPPED IMMEDIATELY, UNTIL OUR HOSTAGES FAMILIES WILL BE GRANT WITH EXIT VISAS, UNTIL THE HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE SET UP AGAIN IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, UNTIL CEAUDESCU WILL CLOSE THE MILITARY CAMPS OF TRAINING FOR FOREIGN TERRORISTS.
 If the US SENATE DOES NOT ACT IMMEDIATELY, THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM OF MOSCOW WILL REACH AMERICA AND, ONE DAY, HONORABLE SENATORS TO YOUR MOTHERS WILL HAPPEN WHAT HAPPENED TO MINE!
 THEY WILL BE KILLED ON US STREETS BY RUSSIAN KGB OFFICERS OF SECURITY HONORABLE SENATORS.
 THINK TO YOUR MOTHERS!
 THINK TO AMERICA TODAY. TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE!
 MAY GOD LIGHTS YOUR MINDS!

DIMITRIE G. POSTOLIU (COSTIN JURJA)

Dimitrie G. Postoliu (Costin Jurja)

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THE FIFTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION
IN THE U.S.A. STARTED APRIL 10, 1978.-

A.- SPECIAL CASES OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS PERPETRATED
DIRECTLY BY THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU
and NICOLAE NICOLAE, THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR IN
WASHINGTON D.C.

HUNGER STRIKERS

HOSTAGE RELATIVES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1.-Mr.Colonel ENILIAN DUTESCU
299 Jefferson Street
Brooklyn N.Y.11237
Tel.(212)381-4776
U.S. Citizen
He tried to resolve his
marriage in amiability
with Romanian Government.
Nicolae Ceausescu's refusal
forced him to join the
hunger strike.</p> | <p>1.-ELENA POPESCU fiance
2.-FLORIN DEJAN, 23 her son
cf strada 6 Noiembrie nr.39 Bloc T 5,
etaj 2 .apt.12 SUCEAVA 5800
Nicolae Ceausescu personally rejected
her claim to Romanian Council of State
to marry colonel Dutescu .
Now she applied for exit visas.</p> |
| <p>2.-Mrs.MARIETA FADEA D.D.S.
100 B, Montgomery St.ant.22 E
Jersey City N.J.07302
Tel.(201) 435-0014</p> | <p>1.-Prof.Dr.Eng.VIOREL SORIN BADEA of
Strada Andrei Muresanu nr.1A.Sector 1
Bucuresti.
Famous scholar internationally know.
He received the approval of Exit
visas on July 1977, but State Security
terrorized him and invented FINANCIAL
PROBLEMS.
He was cleared about under the signa-
ture of that time MINISTER, actually
Ambassador Nicolae Nicolae.
Despite this Clearance and the</p> |

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2

Decision of ROMANIAN COURT which forced TIHPURI HOI FACTORY to pay him an award for his performance in duties, the STATE SECURITY keep him still as HOSTAGE over there. Now they forced the Communist Party members of the factory to state that Prof.Dr.Eng.Badea,forced the Minister Nicolae Nicolae give his clearance and started a neutral. This is a shame! The Serurity TERRORISM and disrespect of ROMANIAN LAWS must be end and the Passport issue.-

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3

B.- UNRESOLVED CASES FROM THE FOURTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE
FOR FAMILY REUNION (MAY 24,1977 - October 24,1977.

<u>HUNGER STRIKERS</u>	<u>HOSTAGE RELATIVES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-</u>
3.- Mr.ADAM ALB 290 River Road BOGOTA N.J. Tel.(201)489 2972 U.S.Citizen	1.- ELISABETA FURCA -mother of Strada Cristur,DEVA judetul Hunedoara. Her application was rejected.
4.- Mr.MIRCEA ARDELEAN U.S. Resident	1.- GHERGHINA TOMA fiance of Strada Lanului nr.67 Sector 2 Bucuresti.-
5.- Mr.MICHAEL BULBOACA 314 Porchester Drive Saint Louis Missouri 63125 Tel (314)544-0339 Home (314)381-1504 Office U.S.Citizen and his uncle	1.- ALEXANDRU FLORIN BULBOACA -brother 2.- Natalia BULBOACA his wife 3.- IULIANA BULBOACA their daughter of strada Valea Lunga nr.14 Bloc nr 3 scara 1 apt.15 Bucuresti sector 7 Telef 600-359
6.- Mr.OCTAVIAN GHITULESCU 15 East Brinkerhoff Avenue Palisades Park N.J. 07650 Tel.(201) 947-4298 Permanent resident	Their visa applications were rejected four times.They were and still are terrorized by Security.
7.- Mrs.FOTINI CARAIANI San-Diego California Permanent Resident	1.- Her brother from Bucharest did not obtained the application forms.
8.- Mr.FLORIN CARHOCANU 45-26 44 th str.apt 2 A Sunnyside N.Y.11,104 Tel (212)392-4270 Residence 212 675 4828 Office U.S.Citizen during 1978.	1.- IOAN CARHOCANU - brother 2.- EUGENIA CARHOCANU his wife 3.- ROZALIA CARHOCANU their daughter of strada Progresului nr.2 CONSTANTA.
9.- ATEHA CHIU 42-41 64 th str. Queens N.Y.11377 Tel.(212) 398-6271. U.S. Citizen during 1978	1.- CONSTANTIN VLADU - brother. of strada Mangalia nr.7 TIMISOARA His application was rejected.-

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-4-

- 10.- Mr. TIBERIUS ST. CIOROGARIU
876 Elberon Ave. Elberon
Long Branch. N.J/ 07740.
Tel.(201) 222-6785
U.S.Citizen during 1978
- 11.- Mr. Lucciano Titus COSTEA
34-11 33rd.str.L.I.C. N.Y.
11106
Tel(212)729 3353
U.S.Resident
- 12.- Mr. Nicolai Crainiciuc
47-20,42nd str.apt.5E
Sunnyside Queens N.Y.11104
Tel.(212) 786 4462
Permanent resident.-
- 13.- Mr. NICHOLAS DIMA
215 " C " st.S.E. Apt 508
WASHINGTON D.C. 20002
Home tel.(202) 546 7913
Office U.S.I.A. 755-4236
U.S.Citizen
- 14.- Mrs. ANA MARIA DRAGANESCU D.D.S.
655 Pelham Parkway North
BRONX N.Y. 10467
U.S.Citizen during 1978.
- 1.- DANIELA R. DUMITRESCU -daughter.
2.- SOLOMON DUMITRESCU her husband.
of MICORAION L alca Pinilor
Bloc 5 etaj 1 sc, A apt 5 Lugoj
They were removed from their jobs
after applied.
They are always terrorize by Securitate
- 1.- BRIGITTE ERIKA SCHMIDT fiance
Strada Carlova nr.10 SIBIU
Tel.16146.
She applied .No answer.
- 1.- Ioana Crainiciuc wife.
2.- Maria Crainiciuc 5 months daughter
of strada
She applied No answer
Her applications was rejected.
- 1.- ION DIMA brother
2.- SEVASTITA DIMA his wife
3 - CRINU DIMA ,8, their son
of Calea Floreasca nr.126 Sect 1
Bucuresti./
He was 10 years POLITICAL PRISONER. Their applications were
rejected six times.
They are always terrorize by
Security.
- 1.- MARIA GRECEANU -mother of str.
Grigore Alexandrescu nr 96 sect1
Bucuresti Tel 114210 .
2.- ALEXANDRU DRAGANESCU -brother
of Strada Plantelor nr 69 Sect.3
Bucuresti Tel.425332.-
Their applications were rejected
two times. They are always terrorize
by Security.-

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5.

15.- Mr. GEORGE FARA
30-51 33th str. Apt. B
ASTORIA N.Y. 11103
Tel. (212) 626 0594
U.S. Citizen during 1978.

16.- Mr. DIONISIE GARTU D.D.S.
43-09, 40 th st. apt 3 F
L.I.C. N.Y. 11104
Telefon (212) 937 3430
Permanent resident

17.- Mr. Jean HRISTESCU
25-54, 38 th st. apt 5a
Astoria N.Y. 11103
Permanent resident

18.- Mr. TEODOR IONESCU M.D.
18-23 GEORGE ST. RIDGEMOOD N.Y.
11227
Tel. (212) 456-0249
U.S. Citizen during 1978.

1.- ILIE TUTUIANU cousin of Bulevardul
Gheorghe Dimitrov 124 Bloc C 5 Secto:
3 Bucuresti

2.- HIRCEA HELEASA cousin of strada
Bujoreni nr. 43 Bloc p. 13 scara 2
apt. 38 Bucuresti sect 7

Their application was rejected more
than 10 times.

1.- ATANASIE GARTU - brother

2.- ANA LUCIA GARTU his wife

3.- CRISTINA GARTU 3 , their daughter

4.- MIHAELA GARTU 2 , their daughter
of strada Teiul Doanei nr 108 apt 7
scara 1 etaj 9 Bucuresti tel. 874665

5.- GHEORGHE MILIU nephew

Strada Ecaterina Varga nr 46 Consta
ta Tel. 15250

They were laid off from jobs after
applied . Their applications were
rejected, They are still terrorize
by security. /

1.- ELENA HRISTESCU wife

2.- ANA PETCU - daughter.

3.- TEODOR HRISTESCU son.

4.- CARMEN HRISTESCU

of strada Alexandru Moghioros nr. 20
Bloc O.D. scara 2 etaj 9 apt. 80
sector 7 Bucuresti. /

Their applications were rejected .
Teodor was laid off from his job.
They are still terrorize by Security

1.- FLORENTINA IONESCU - daughter
of Bulevardul Magheru nr 22

etaj 9 apt. 3. Sector 1 Bucuresti
Her application is still rejecte.

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- 19.- Mrs. IOANA HATEFSCU
13-14 ,42nd st.SUNNYSIDE
N.Y. 11103
Tel.(212)263-2259
U.S. Resident
- 1.- DANIELA STANCU sister
2.- CONSTANTIN STANCU
3.- BOGDAN STANCU
4. ALIN SEBASTIAN STANCU son
of sbrada Emil Racovita 29-31
Buc m sector 5 Bucuresti./
They were layd off from jobs,Their
applications were rejected,They ar
are terrorize by Security.
- 20.- Mrs.VIOLETTE MAC MAHARA
c/o Ms.FELICIA NOLDOVAN
25o WEST 102 nd.st.aprt.3 N.Y.C.
N.Y. Tel,(212) 535 4665
U.S. Citizen
- 1.- MONICA SELARU -daughter.
2.- ANA SELARU her daughter
of sbrada Mihai Bravul nr,294
Bloc 6 apt.7 scara b etaj 9
Sector 4 bucuresti./
Her applications were rejected
12 times. She is terrorize by
Security./
- 21.- MRS,MARIANA POPESCU-FALTICENI
47-45 ,39th Place L.I.C.
N.Y. 11115
Tel.(212)260 0760
U.S. Citizen
- 1.-Prof.Dr.POPESCU FALTICENI M.D.
husband and father
2.-ILEANA POPESCU FALTICENI ,3, dau-
ghter of strada Vasile Stoiescu
nr.46,sect 3 Bucuresti.
He applied .No answer but layd
off from job./
- 22.- Mr.VASILE SHAGOVEANU
c/o Jean Hristescu
25-54,38 th st.aprt 5 A
Astoria N.Y. 11103
U.S.Citizen during 1978
BLIND SCULPTOR and MUSICIAN
Wiener of the U.S. NATIONAL
PRIZE of blind sculptors
in 1977.
- His daughter
and his son
were layd off from jobs after applied.
Their applications were rejected
They are still terrorize by Security
His mother obtained the approval
- 23.- Mr.EUGEN STANCIU
21-34,45 th.Road L.I.C.
N.Y. 11101
U.S.RESIDENT
- 1.- GHERGHINA STANCIU- mother
2.- MARIU STANCIU brother
3.- VIOREL STANCIU brother
of str.Manuscrisului nr 54 Sect 3
Bucuresti. Their applications were
rejected.They are still terrorize.by

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23.-Mrs,VIORICA STANOIEV

70-25,66 th st.
Glendale N.Y. 11227
Tel.(212) 821 7377
U.S.Citizen during 1978

- 1.- GHEORGHE SITA father
 - 2.- MARIA SITA mother
 - 3.-GHEORGHE SITA brother
 - 4.-LENUTA SITA his wife
 - 5.-VIORICA SIMONA SITA their daughter
 - 6.-ION SITA brother
- of strada BENEFALAU nr 1 TIRGUL MURES
Her mother were arrested and tortured
by Security for two weeks.
Their applications were rejected by Se-
curity.All of them are still terrorize
by Security.-

25.- Mr.CRISTIAN UNGUREANU
46-59,45 th st.apr.12 D
Woodside N.Y. 11377
Tel.(212) 786 4382
U.S. Resident

- 1.- FLORICA UNGUREANU mother
 - 2.- MARIN UNGUREANU father
 - 3.- AURELIA UNGUREANU sister
- of strada Kusat Radulescu nr.30 Secto,
6 Bucuresti tel.233277.
Their applications were rejected
two times,They are always terrorize
by Security.

25.- Mr.ION STOICA
66-22 Fleet st.apr 4 B
Forest Hills N.Y.11375
Tel.(212)268-0163 and
MRS,OLIMPIA STOICA
U.S.Residents

- 1.- NICULAE VERESTEANU cousin
strada Patriotilor Bloc P.II.16
scara B apt.38 sect 4 Bucuresti
cod 74594.
 - 2.- EFREM ZAHARIA father
 - 3.- JENICA ZAHARIA mother
- of strada Mihail Eminescu Nr,22
Bloc z apt.22 Ploiesti 2000.

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8-

27.-Mr.DIHU TEODORESCU
143-57 ,37 th Avenue
Flushing N.Y.
Tel.(212)961 5793
U.S. Citizen during 1978

- 1.- MIHAI TEODORESCU brother
- 2.- ELENA TEODORESCU his wife
- 3.- DOINA TEODORESCU their daughter
of strada Sapunari nr,4 Ploiesti
They received the approval but
not the passports.
They are still terrorize by Secu
rity.

28.- Mr.VASILE UNGUREANU
31-06 ,42 nd str.Astoria
L.I.C. N.Y. 11104
Tel (212) 274 4019
Permanent resident

- 1.- Zoia Buliga daughter
her son
of Cartierul KISELEFF
Bloc A 8 sect.4 DROBETA -TURNU
SEVERIN./Her application is still
rejecte by Security.-

29.- Mr.DUMITRU CAPATA
350 Round Hill ROAD
Greenwich Connecticut
6830. TELEFON 203 661-8765
Permanent resident

- 1.- PARASCHIVA POP sister
- 2.- NICOLAE POP her husband
- 3 CALIN POP ,10 , their son
- 4.- SORINA POP ,4 , their daughter
of strada DECEBAL Ploc T 2 sc.D
etaj 4 apt.37.Bistrita -Judetul
Bistrita Nasaud tel.13974.
They did not receive the appli-
cation forms.They are still terr
rize by Security.
Mr.NICOLAE POP was four times
arrested illegally by Security,
and torrtured after applied.-

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THE FIFTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION
IN THE U.S.A. STARTED APRIL 10, 1970.

N E W--C A S E S

- 30.- Mr. AUREL ANDREI
30 - 36,34 th st. Astoria
L.I.C. N.Y. 11103
U.S. Resident
- 1.- EDUARD ANDREI ,5, son
of strada Pietii nr.6 Cartierul
Vizirul 2 BRAILA tel.32905.
He did not receive the applications.
- 31.- Ms. AFRODITA ELENA POPESCU
28 - 04 -33 av. apt.4 C
Astoria L.I.C. N.Y. 11106
Tel (212) 932 9638.
U.S. Resident
- 2.- ALEXANDRU NUMTEANU
strada Aurului nr.18 scara a Etaj 3
apt. 13 Bucuresti sector 3
Tel 231972 ,271923 432288
He did not receive the applications
- 32.- Ms. MICHAELA ELENA BENDU
13-23 Stephen str.
Ridgewood N.Y.
U.S. Resident
- 1.- GEORGE BENDU father
2.- MARIA BENDU mother
of B-dul PACII nr 168 Bloc 39 sc.1
ap.33 etaj 8 BUCURESTI 7
3.- MICHAELA CASVAN
4.- VLADIMIR DRUGEANU
5.- RADU TUTUIANU
They did not receive the application
forms and are always rerrorized by
Security.-
- 33.- Mrs. ELENA IONESCU CALINESCU
43-09 40 th.str. Sunnyside
apt.6 F. L.I.C. N.Y. 11105
Tel.(212) 785 1347.
- 1.- ELENA IRING daughter
2.- DANIEL ALNITI ,11,,ELENA's son
of strada Carol Knappe nr.52 sect 8
Bucuresti tel 653890
She was layd off from her job after
applied.-
- 34.- Mr. GEORGE CIOIU
55 Donald Drive Hustington
Hudson N.Y. 10705
Tele (914)478 3020 home
(914)693 1200 ext,450
U.S. Citizen
- 1.- PARASCHIVA CIOIU mother
2.- NICOLAE CIOIU brother
3.- EUGENIA CAROLINA CIOIU his wife
Luiza Adriana CIOIU,18, their daughter
strada 11 IUNIE nr.75 ofic.postal 58
BUCURESTI
Their applications were more times
rejected and they are terrorized by
Security.-

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35. Mrs DOINA RAL... DOLOGA
23-15 51 Av, Apt 2A
ASTORIA, L.I.C. N.Y. 11106
Tel (212) 728-7938
US CITIZEN

36. Mr VASILE DUMITRASCU
41-11, 47th Av Apt 4 D
Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104
Tel (212) 392-0887
US CITIZEN, during 1978

36. Mr CORNEL DUMITRESCU
67-41 KESSEL Str,
FOREST HILLS, N.Y. 11375
Tel (212) 268-8269

10

1.- DUCIA RALIST VIADOLIANI, mother
2.- NICOLETA MUCHA, sister
3.- RENUS MUCHA, NICOLETA's husband
4.- ANA MUCHA 11, their daughter
5.- STEFAN MUCHA 11, their son
All of them residing at: Strada
GAMAFIRESCU Nr 4 BIS, ETAR 1,
Apt 4 C BUCURESTI
Prof Dr RENUS DUCIA was laid off from
his job. their application were MORE
TIMES REJECTED. They are allways
TERRORIZE by SECURITY
1.- NICOLAE DUMITRASCU, father
2.- Str VERDISOARIA, Cocina COVASA, IASI
2.- MAKIA BINGU, sister
3.- CONSTANTIN BINGU, her husband
4.- EUGEN BINGU 8, their son
5.- VASILE BINGU 6, their son
6.- NICOLAE DUMITRASCU, brother
all of them residing at: Strada
CFR NICOLINA, IASI
7.- PETRE MELINTE, brother in law
8.- ELENA MELINTE, his wife
9.- MARIANA MELINTE 13, their daughter
10.- GABRIELA MELINTE 10, their daughter
11.- PETRE MELINTE 8, their son
12.- VASILE MELINTE 5, their son
13.- MIHAI MELINTE, brother in law
14.- MARIANA MELINTE, HIS WIFE
15.- MARIANA MELINTE 10, their daughter
All of them (7-15) residing at: Strada
MUSATIN Nr 15, BLOC P 5, Soara & Et 3,
Apartament 2, Cartier ALEXANDRU cel BUN
IASI.
16.- MARIA HUTNARU, 42, daughter
17.- MIHAI HUTNARU, her husband
18.- DOREL HUTNARU, their son
19.- CONSTANTIN HUTNARU, their son
20.- ION HUTNARU 11, their son
HUTNARU FAMILIA IS RESIDING AT:
Cocina Cocorna, Satul OSOI, Jud. IASI
NONE OF THEM (1-20) DID NOT RECEIVED THE
APPLICATION FORMS. THEY ARE ALWAYS
TERRORIZE BY SECURITY, NICOLAE DUMITRASCU,
Mr. VASILE's father was always arrested
and tortured by SECURITY.
1.- ALEXANDRU DUMITRESCU, father
2.- ELENA DUMITRESCU, mother
3.- OCTAVIAN DUMITRESCU, brother
4.- MIOARA LAURA DUMITRESCU, OCTAVIAN's
wife. All of them residing at:
Strada 11, BLOC 2, COVASA, IASI

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11

strada Tunari nr 15 Bucuresti 2 telefon
123251.

5.- LUCRETIA PALICI mother in law of str.
Saturn nr.37 B. Brasov.
Their applications were MORE TIMES
REJECTED, They are still terrorize by
Security.-

38.-Mrs. ALEXANDRA GHITA
26-45 ,9 th st.aprt 804
Astoria L.I.C. N.Y. 11102
Tel.(212)274 9625
U,S. Resident

1.- IOAN GHITA husband
2.- ROXANDRA MIRUNA GHITA,2, daughter
strada Tirgul-Neamt nr,6 Bloc D,10 ap 33
Sect 7 Bucuresti Tel 131206
3.- ION DRAGAN father
4.- ELENA ARETI DRAGAN mother
of strada Bacaloglu nr 2 sect 2 Bucu-
resti
5.- VIORICA MIHAELA DRAGAN twin sister
6.- PETRE ZACHEI Viorica's fiance of str.
S pandarian nr 11 Sect 2 Bucuresti
7.- ELENA BARBU cousin
8.- VIORICA BARBU ,17, ELENA'S daughter
of Alea Otesan nr,7 apt.163 sect 2 Buc
uresti./

39.- Mr.PANDELE GALDAU D.D.S.
88-04 ,63 Drive apt 22
Rego-Park 11374 N.Y.
Tel. (212) 459 5758
U.S. Resident

1.- ELENA SIMPLACEANU sister
2.- VIRGIL SIMPLACEANU her husband
of Alea Dumbravitei nr 3 Bloc T 8
Apt. 65 , etaj 5 Sect ,7 Drumul Taber-
rii Bucuresti tel.460593
3.- GALDAU MARIN brother
4.- GALDAU DORINA his wife
5.- GALDAU M. FLORIAN ,5, their son
6.- GALDAU M.VALENTIN ,3, their son
Of strada Bega nr.10 Bucuresti sect 6
telefon 809967./
Their application forms were rejected

40.- Mrs.BETTY JOHNSON
320 East 83 rd st.aprt 4E
N.Y. CITY N.Y.10028
Tel.(212)535 7725.
U.S. Citizen..

1.- DELIA RODICA MARINA POPA daughter
2.- GHEORGHE POPA her husband
ALEXALIN MIRCEA POPA 1year 10 months their
son Strada Hrisovului nr 13 etaj 1
apt 7 Bloc D 3 Eucuresti 8,.-
Their application forms were MORE
TIMES rejected by Security.

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41.- Mrs. ELENA IUPOVICI
136-30 SANFORD ave.
Flushing N.Y. 11355
Tel. (212) 762 1834
U.S. Citizen

- 1.- MIHAELA MARIA DIU daughter
- 2.- NICOLAE DIU her husband
- 3 GABRIEL DIU ,7, their son
of Alleea TRAIAN DUMITRESCU nr 4
Sector 4 prin Herva Traian nr 45
Bucuresti tel. 20484
- 4.- MARIA CARJAN grand mother

Their application forms were MORE
TIMES rejected by Security.

They are still terrorize by Security

42.- Mrs. MARIA HANTA
20-49 PALMETTO str.
Ridgewood N.Y. 11227
Tel. (212) 456-0856
Permanent resident
and
Mr. CONSTANTIN HANTA
U.S. Citizen during 1978

- 1.- ION HANTA son and brother
- 2.- VIORICA HANTA his wife
- 3.- VIRGIL HANTA their son
of Strada Masina de Paine nr/14
Bloc r 29 apt. 80 sect 2 Bucuresti
- 4.- GHEORGHE HANTA son
- 5.- MARIA HANTA his wife
- 6.- ADRIANA HANTA , 12, Their daughter
- 7.- ELENA HANTA ,10, " "
- 8.- CARMEN HANTA ,9 , " "
- 9 GABRIELA HANTA ,3 , " "

all of them (4-9) residing at strada
Cetatea Veche nr 2 Sector 5 Bucuresti.
They did not received the application
forms .They were and still are terro-
rize by Security.

Their applications were rejected by
Security.-

43.- Mr. DAN KOLDOVAN
17 H Parkotew at Madison
Laurence Harbor N.J. 08879
Tel (201) 583 5125
U.S. Citizen

- 1.- EUGENIA KOLDOVAN mother
- 2.- ION KOLDOVAN father
of strada Stefan cel Mare nr 45 A
SIBIU.-

Their application forms were rejec-
ted. They are still terrorize by
Security.-

44.- Mr. ION IUSAT
293 Manhattan Ave.
Brooklyn N.Y. 11211
U.S. Resident

- 1.- SEPTIMIA NICOLESCU fiance
of str, Vulcan nr, 8 Cluj
- 2.- IOAN TEODOSIU cousin of str.
Bucurestii Noi nr 93-97 Bloc b3
scara B apt 57 etj 5 Bucuresti.
Their applications were rejected by
security

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45. Mrs PAULINA PENESCU
32-69, 34th St
ASTORIA, NY 11106
US RESIDENT

46. Mrs. EMILIA POPOVICI
29-15, 36th Av, Apt 3E B
LIC. No. 11106
Tel (212) 784-1270
US RESIDENT

47. Mr. GEORGE ROTARU
2500 Burnell St, Winnipeg
MANITOBA, CODE R 3 G 284
CANADA

48. Mr VASILE TOCACIU
57-43 Van Doren St
CORONA, N.Y. 11368
Tel (212) 592-6490

He got a trip in ROMANIA
in March 1978. Over there
he learned that his fiancée
claim to have the approval
of their marriage was rejected
PERSONALLY BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU
He married her in secret MARRIAGE
with a ROMANIAN christian -
orthodox reverend.
He visited the COUNCIL of STATE
in protesting for the rejection
of his LEGAL MARRIAGE.
At OTOPENI AIRPORT of BUCHAREST
he was arrested and investigated.
The Security gave to him the
passport back only two minutes
before the departure of the AIRPLANE
PLANE to NEW YORK CITY.

Arrived home, he JOINED THE
FIFTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE
FOR FAMILY REUNION.

48 BIS. MRS. EVA STROMINGER
112-46 68 ROAD
FOREST HILLS, N.Y. 11375
PHONE: (212) 261-9766
US CITIZEN

1. - FLORICA PENESCU, mother
2. - MADINA SILVIA RADU, daughter
Piața Kogalniceanu Nr 86 Scara C Nr 2
Apt 10 Sect 6, BUCUREȘTI, tel 16 36 87
Their applications were REJECTED. They
are terrorized by SECURITY

1. - MIRABETA POPOVICI, mother
2. - HUGEN POPOVICI, brother
of Strada LEVOBUZI Nr 16, AGNITA.
COD 2475 Judetul SIBIU

3. VASILE POPOVICI, brother of Strada
GABRII, Camin Neofamilisti, Camera A 36
GRAVITA, Judetul CARAS SEVERIN 1750

4. - SISHA CLAUDI, daughter
5. - MERDARIUS CLAUDI, her son
residing at: Strada ZONA PARK 26, Blocul 1
Apt 1, AGNITA, Judetul SIBIU

Their applications were REJECTED by SECURITY.
They are always arrested and
terrorized by SECURITY.

1. - MAGDALENA ROTARU, mother

2. - LAURA CRISTEA, niece
of Strada HARNICIEI Nr 2, Bloc B 14, Scara B
Etaj 1, Apt 4 TIMISOARA
Their applications were REJECTED by SECURITY

1. - GEORGETA TODERICI, fiancée

2. - MIRRA TOCACIU, mother

GEORGETA SIMA, sister

4. - LIARAN SIMA 9, GEORGETA's son

5. - GABRIEL SIMA 4, GEORGETA's son

All of them residing at: Strada BUCICA Nr 11,
Bloc 2, Scara 2, Apt 72, Sector 5 BUCUREȘTI

6. - MIHAI BRANESCU, cousin of ms TODERICI

7. - CLAUDIA BRANESCU, Mihai's wife

8. - COCA BRANESCU, Mihai's daughter

9. - BRANESCU 9, MIHAI's son.

Ms GEORGETA TODERICI married religious
(secretly) Mr VASILE TOCACIU in 1978.
She is pregnant in fourth months. Her claim
to COUNCIL OF STATE of ROMANIA to approve
her marriage with Mr VASILE TOCACIU
WAS REJECTED PERSONALLY BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU
ALWAYS THE FOUR HUNDRED BEING, A WOMAN
HELIPIESS, IS TERRORIZE BY SECURITY.
SHE NEED A STRONG INTERVENTION DIRECTLY TO
NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU IN ORDER TO BE GRANT
IMMEDIATELY WITH EXIT VISAS.

Mr VASILE TOCACIU, as a US CITIZEN MUST BE
DEFEND BY US CONGRESS AND GOVERNMENT THAT
HIS CHILD BE BORN IN THE USA, NOT IN COMMU-
NIST ROMANIA.

1. MASTERMAN-SUNEA, NEPHEW - ENGINEER
2. MASTERMAN MARIANA, NIPCE - ENGINEER
3. MASTERMAN DAN, THYER SON - 8 YEARS OLD
RESIDING IN BUCHAREST-ROMANIA
CALFA GRIVITETI 105

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- 14 -

- 49.- NICULAE FLORIN TUDORESCU H.D.
1880 Stanhope st.
Ridgewood N.Y. 11237
Tel. (212) 497 1303
U.S. Resident.
- 50.- Mr. LIVIU VASILAS
U.S. Citizen
Tel. (212) 721 4127.
P.O. Box 930
New York, N.Y. 10001
Bus. Tel. # (212) 760-4892
- 51.- Mr. NICOLAE VULPE
74-15 25th Ave, Apt 16
JACKSON HEIGHTS, NY 11378
Tel. (212) 569 2762
U.S. Resident.
- 52.- Mr. MARCIS VLADESCU
III Van NOSTRAND Ave,
Engelwood N.J. 07631
Tel (201) 871 3994
U.S. Citizen
- 53.- MARIA TODORAN
59-12 Catalpa Ave.
Ridgewood N.Y. 11227
tel. (212) 381-4218
U.S. Resident.
- 54.- BURA GEORGETA
400 E. 80 th st. apar. H.B.
N.Y. 10009
Tel, (212) 473-2240
U.S. Resident
- 1.- BIANCA AURA TUDORESCU wife
2.- DIANA LAURA TUDORESCU daughter
of strada Hatci Basarab nr 13
Brasov.
She was always terrorize by
Security after she applied.
- 1 CONSTANTIN VASILAS brother
2.- CORNELIA ILEANA VASILAS his
wife
3.- LIVIU ALIN VASILAS ,9 , their
son
of Bloc L 4 scara 3 etaj 3 apt 75
Micororaion 19 Galati 6200.
His applications were rejected
by Security.
He was many times arrested and
tortured by Security.-
- 1.- ECATERINA VULPE wife
2 CRISTIAN VULPE ,17 , son
of str. Dr. Sion nr 9 Etaj 3 ap, 151
sect, 7 Bucuresti tel 130370.
Their applications were rejected,
- 1.- MIHAI MINA MAZA brother
2.- EMILIA MAZA his wife
of Soeava Mihai Bravul nr, 106
Bloc D Apt 213 sect. 2 Bucuresti
Their applications were rejected
by communist Security.
- 1.- MARIA TODORAN daughter
Str. Harniciei nr. 5 scara 5
Timisoara 1900.
Applaid December 17 , 1977 no
answer.-
- 1.- AGROCOSTEA ELENA sister..
2.- Agrocostea Mihai her son
3.- AGROCOSTEA GABRIELLA Mihai's
wife
Strada Badea Cartan nr. 5
Bucuresti sect 2
Tel. 120652

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55. Mrs. PAOLA FERRARA
157 81st St, NY 11209
Brooklyn, Tel (212) 836 1528
US CITIZEN

- 1.- EUGENIA GASPAR 34, sister
- 2.- VASILE GASPAR 43, her husband
- 3.- ADRIAN GASPAR 14, their son
4. CORINA GASPAR 10, their daughter.

all of them residing at: Str. ARISTI Nr 80 Sector 12. Their applications were rejected by SECURITY. THEY WERE LAID OFF FROM JOBS WHEN CONGRESSMAN ZEPERENTI, VISITED NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU IN 1977 WITH A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND ASK THAT CEAUȘESCU RELEASE THIS FAMILY IN RESPECT OF USA-ROMANIA AGREEMENT ON MFN AND FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS, NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU SAID THAT "THIS FAMILY WILL BE LEVER RAUNIFIED BECAUSE HIM SELF, NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU DID NOT APPROVE THEIR EXIT VISAS, AND HE DOES NOT INTEND TO GRANT THEM WITH. THEY HAVE TO HUID THE COMMUNISM IN ROMANIA. CONGRESSMAN ZEPERENTI PROTESTED BECAUSE HE WAS OFFENSED BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU WHO DESPIED THE MFN CONDITION TO FREE THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA. HE TOOK OUR MONEY BUT IS KEEPING OUR RELATIVES STILL HOSTAGES OVER THEM.

56.- RADA CEORCESCU
41-34 93 St, Apt C 1
LIC. NY 11109
Tel (212) 786-7179
US RESIDENT

1. ELENA ANDREI, mother
- 2.- DONCU CONSTANTIN, son
residing at. Strada PRISACA DORNEI Nr 2, Bloc D D 3, Secti. Apt 51, HUCURESTI, sector 4

Their application were rejected by SECURITY. THEY ARE ALWAYS TERRORIZED BY SECURITY.

57.- TACUHI ASADURIAM EIENAI
41-11 40 St, Apt 2 B LIC
NY, 11109 Tel (212) 786-7563
US RESIDENT

- 1.- MIREL PRESNEANU, father
 - 2.- STERIANA PRESNEANU, mother
 - 3.- PETRE PRESNEANU 38, brother
- all of them residing at Strada WILMURILOR Nr 13 Nr 131, Sect 4, HUCURESTI

They did not obtained the application forms and are always terrorized by SECURITY.

58.- DICA ADAM
802 SERENCA AV
Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227
Tel (212) 386-4105
US RESIDENT

- 1.- DICA DOINA CORNELIA, daughter
residing at Strada GRIVITA ROSIE Nr 22 1900 TRHISOARA Sector 3
- She did not receive the application forms She is laid off from her job as engineer. After more than six months of unemployment she succeeded to found a job as simple worker. She is always terrorized by SECURITY

59.- EMILIA REICHER
324 East 34th St, Apt B 3
NY. 10006
Tel (212) 689 8598

- 1.- MONICA GADIDOV,
of Strada Aviator CARANDA Nr 60, HUCURESTI
Tel 71-31-53

She did not obtained the application form. Her aunt TRIED TO BRING HER HERE SINCE 1972. Ms MONICA GADIDOV, MD is always investigated under hard pressure by SECURITY. She need a medical treatment ,over here, URGENTLY.

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60.- NICOLAE MELEASA.
30-51 35TH Street, Apt B
ASTORIA, NY 11103
Tel(212) 626-0594

61.- JOSEFINA CRAMER
34-58, 33rd St
N.Y. 11106
Tel(212) 937-5426

62.- Mr BOLOGA.
12-21, 31, Av, apt 49
ASTORIA, NY 11106
US RESIDENT

63.- CONSTANTIN TOADER
26-45 9th St, Apt 411
ASTORIA, N.Y. 11102
Tel(212) 545-8537

US CITIZEN

1.- FLOAREA MELEASA 25, wife
2.- ALEXANDRA MELEASA, four months, daughter
of Strada SIRET Nr 15, Sector 8 BUCURESTI
They did not obtained the applications
since Mr NICOLAE MELEASA left ROMANIA
with a LEGAL PASSPORT FOR THE USA in order
to be REUNITED with his mother, Mrs FLOA-
REA MELEASA is always interviewed under
hard pressure by SECURITY.

1.- ALEXANDRU PAULESCU, fiance, born JUNE
3, 1945, mechanical engineer
of: Strada Stupinei Nr 27, Sector 3 BUCURESTI
tel 1-24-64

After his fiance left ROMANIA WITH A LEGAL
PASSPORT TOGETHER WITH HER PARENTS IN
ORDER TO BE REUNITED WITH HER FAMILY IN THE
USA, Mr PAULESCU IS ALWAYS INVESTIGATED
UNDER HARD PRESSURE BY SECURITY WHICH
THREATENED HIM WITH MENTAL HOSPITAL IF HE
WILL RESIST TO BE REUNITED WITH HIS FIANCE
AND HER FAMILY HERE IN THE USA.

1.- REVEREND VIREL DUMITRESCU, cousin
2.- Reverend VIREL DUMITRESCU's wife
3.- Reverend VIREL DUMITRESCU's son 1 year
old.

all of them residing at Strada VISAG Nr 17
JUDEU L-TIMIS

4.- EMERIC AMERUS, cousin, STUDENT with
THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF SIBIU.

5.- EMERIC AMERUS's wife

6.- EMERIC AMERUS's son 1 year old.

residing at Strada TRAIAN VUIA Nr 19
BUCUR

Since their cousin Mr BOLOGA succeeded to
cross illegally the ROMANIAN-JUGOSLAVIAN
and the JUGO-SLAVIAN-AUSTRIAN border and
to reached finally the USA together his
wife and children, THE BOTH THEOLOGISTS WERE
ARRESTED AND INVESTIGATED BY SECURITY
They DID NOT OBTAINED THE APPLICATIONS

1.- ION D TOADER, brother

2.- MURORA TOADER, his wife

3.- MARIN OVIDIU TOADER 2, their son

residing at: Strada NICOLAE BALCESCU Nr 19
SIATINA, JUDEU L OLT

4.- NICOLAE TOADER, brother

5.- ZENOVIA TOADER, NICOLAE's wife

6.- ROZALIA BELIA TOADER 3, NICOLAE's daughter

ex.

All of them residing at: Cartierul CRISAN II
BLOC 211, Scara 5, Apt 12, SIATINA,

JUDEU L OLT

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17.

64.- Mrs FLORICA RATIU
910 EDWARDS St,
AURORA, ILLINOIS 60505

US CITIZEN

together with her husband
Mr ION RATIU
US CITIZEN

65.- VICTORIA PRUTSANO
6165 SHEPHERD BROCKE WEST apt 401 N
MONTREAL, QUEBEC H 415 JMI
CANADA.

1.- VASILE CRUS, born April 18, 1948, BROTHER
2.- MARIA CRUS, maiden name SUCIU, Vasile's
wife, born on AUGUST 7, 1956
3.- ROMEO CRUS, born JUNE 29, 1975, their
son.

All of them residing at: Strada 25 OCTOMBER 16
Bloc 48, Sc A, Apt 3, CAREI, Judetul
SATU MARE.

THEY ARE ALWAYS INVESTIGATED BY SECURITY

Mrs MARIA CRUS maiden name SUCIU is the ni-
ce of BISHOP SUCIU and for this reason she
has repeatedly been beaten and tortured by SECURI-
TATE'S investigators.

THEY NEED URGENTLY HELP FOR OBTAIN THE EXIT
VISAS, THEIR LIVES ARE IN DANGER.

1.- ALEXANDRU VASILESCU, ship yard architect
BROTHER, of Strada CERCEAZ Nr 7L,
74228 MOCURESTI, Sector 4
Tel 20-15-74

Since her sister's husband defected and
became a POLITICAL REFUGEE in CANADA
Mr engineer VASILESCU was laid off from his
job as engineer. Investigated by SECURITY
and threatened with prosecution and with
mental hospital, he is always terrorized
by. He succeeded finally to find a job as
clerk technician in BUCHAREST indeed to work
in his profession as ship yard architect.
HE NEED HELP TO OBTAIN THE APPLICATION FORM
AND OF COURSE THE PASSPORT.

HOSTAGES RELATIVES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

CHILDREN.....65
WOMEN.....73
MEN.....67

TOTAL.....205 PEOPLE

UNTIL JULY 12, 1978 DESPITE THE FACT THAT NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU DURING HIS OFFICIAL
VISIT IN THE USA ON APRIL 12-17, 1978 RECEIVED THIS LIST FROM PRESIDENT JIMMY
CARTER, SENATOR HENRY M JACKSON and others US SENATORS, REPRESENTATIVE MARIO
BLAGOI and other REPRESENTATIVES, MAYOR KOCK of NEW YORK,

AND NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU TOOK THE COMMITMENT TO GRANT IMMEDIATE THE EXIT VISAS
FOR THEIR FAMILY REUNIFICATIONS IN RESPECT OF MFN CONDITION OF EASING THE EMI-
GRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND IN RESPECT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF UNO, AND OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT, BASKET THREE,
WERE RELEASE FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA ONLY

WOMEN.....5
MEN.....4
CHILDREN.2

TOTAL ...11PEOPLE

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RELATIVE HOSTAGES

CHILDREN.....65
 WOMEN.....73
 MEN.....67

 TOTALS....205 PEOPLE

18

HOSTAGE RELEASED

CHILDREN.....2
 WOMEN.....5
 MEN.....4

 TOTALS11PEOPLE

RELATIVES STILL HOSTAGES

CHILDREN.....63
 WOMEN.....68
 MEN.....63

 TOTALS.....194 PEOPLE

DESPITE NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU PROMISES AND COMMITMENTS, AND OUR FIFTH HUNGER STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA,

IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA THERE ARE STILL 194 PEOPLE, 194 HUMAN BEING HOSTAGES. WE MUST TO SUSPEND THE MOST FAYORED TREATMENT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA UNTIL OUR HOSTAGES RELATIVES WILL BE RELEASED BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU IN RESPECT OF TRADE AGREEMENT, MFN, HELSINKI AGREEMENT, AND ALL UNO'S RESOLUTIONS ABOUT FAMILY REUNIFICATION.

SPOKESMAN OF HUNGER STRIKERS:

Academician DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLU (COSTIN JUREA) *Dy Apostolu (Costin Jurea)*
 13 years POLITICAL PRISONER in ROMANIA'S COMMUNIST JAILS and in FORCED LABOR CAMP DANUBES BLACK SEA.
 President of THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

IN HUNGER STRIKE
 IN HUMANITARIAN SOLIDARITY WITH HUNGER STRIKERS
 AND IN MEMORIAM OF HIS FAMILY:

GHEORGHE G. APOSTOLU, BROTHER, KILLED by COMMUNIST SECURITY in 1948 in CONSTANTA, because he refused the job as GENERAL SECRETARY OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.
 GHEORGHE D APOSTOLU, FATHER, KILLED by COMMUNIST SECURITY in 1954 in CONSTANTA CITY.
 / ELENA D APOSTOLU, MOTHER, KILLED by COMMUNIST SECURITY in 1955 in TIMISOARA CITY.

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Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. Gereben?

**STATEMENT OF ISTVAN B. GEREBEN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS
IN NORTH AMERICA**

Mr. GEREBEN. Mr. Chairman, I am Istvan Gereben, the executive secretary of the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America. Our views presented here are based on the work and research of one of our member organizations, the Committee of Transylvania. Mr. Louis Lote, the president of this organization, because of illness cannot be here today. He asked me to present his and his organization's views to your committee. I respectfully request that his written statement and its attachment be made part of my testimony and be included in the record.

Senator RIBICOFF. It will. The entire statement will go into the record.

Mr. GEREBEN. I am thankful to the opportunity provided for us by you, Mr. Chairman, to share our concerns with your committee. With respect to Hungary, I would like to add a few words to my testimony delivered before this committee on May 9 in connection with the approval of the trade agreement between the United States and the People's Republic of Hungary. Since then, we were able to obtain specific details concerning the cases of some of the Hungarians whose human rights were violated by the government in Hungary.

Amnesty International, the widely respected human rights organization, responding to an inquiry by the Federation of Hungarian Former Political Prisoners, a member organization of our committee, provided us with names, trial dates, sentences and other details.

I request that this letter be included in the record.¹

Senator RIBICOFF. Without objection, it will be included.

Mr. GEREBEN. One of the Hungarians mentioned in the letter, Dr. Maria Dombovari-Lorincz, is confined to a psychiatric hospital because she called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Her case demonstrates the attitude of Mr. Kadar's regime: every Hungarian who questions the presence of Soviet occupational forces in Hungary must be insane. With these additions, I stand on my previous testimony in regard to Hungary.

Late last year, Romanian author Paul Goma, the exiled critic of the regime of Mr. Ceausescu, during an interview, charged that the:—

National minority inhabitants are treated as prisoners of the lowest order. Not only are they being denationalized and deprived of their cultural rights—such as the right of their own schools and churches—but they also risk interrogation and torture for merely hinting of a preference for the Hungarian language or for the concept of human rights.

This is the charge of Paul Goma. The charges are authentic, made by a respected Romanian who proved his commitment to truth, to the dignity of man.

Early this year, it was reported by the press that Karoly Kiraly, a Hungarian member of the Romanian Communist leadership, revealed in letters to high-ranking party officials that Romanian minority

¹ See p. 174.

policies gravely abuse the same 2.5 million Hungarian inhabitants of Romania. This, until now silent minority, has now gotten a spokesman in the person of Karoly Kiraly, effective, authentic, official.

Actions against the Hungarian minority did not cease after Kiraly's disclosures. The May 25 issue of Christian Science Monitor gives eye-witness account of cultural oppression of Hungarians in Romania.

Primary responsibility for the preservation of the heritage, tradition, the ethnicity, the very existence of the Hungarian nationality in Romania is shared by Mr. Ceausescu and Mr. Kadar. Both have failed miserably in the past, and continue to fail to carry out this responsibility.

Mr. Ceausescu's chauvinistic instinct to oppress and to eradicate the non-Romanian nationalities in his country is not restrained by international agreements, declarations, laws.

Mr. Kadar is incapable—as he was in 1956—to overcome his alliance with the interests of international communism in order to act in the interest of Hungarians as individuals, as a people.

The hope of our Government, expressed by Dr. Brzezinski in a letter dated April 26 of this year to Senator Pell stating that: "We have been encouraged by the fact that the Governments of Romania and Hungary are now addressing this issue in direct discussions," was shattered by Mr. Kadar in a recent interview given to the New York Times when he said about discussions between him and President Ceausescu: "Certain progress has been made, we tackled the question in principle." The time is too late to talk about principles. Practical solutions are essential.

A further, and probably more significant blow, was delivered by Mr. Ceausescu on June 10 when he stated, "the problems of the Magyar, German, Serbian and other nationalities in Romania are solved here, in Bucharest, by our party and not in Budapest, in Berlin or Bonn, in Belgrade, or somewhere else."

This speech, if not with its words but with its tone, rejects any possibility of meaningful bilateral discussions between the two Communist dictators.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

Mr. GERESEN. Our committee is opposed to extending most-favored-nation status to Romania.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you. Your entire statement and your exhibits will go into the record, sir.

Mr. GERESEN. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gereben follows:]

STATEMENT OF ISTVAN B. GERESEN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

Mr. Chairman, I am Istvan B. Gereben, the Executive Secretary of the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America. I am testifying in this capacity today. Our views presented here are based on the work and research of one of our member organizations, the Committee of Transylvania. Mr. Louis Lote, the President of this organization, because of illness, cannot be here today. He asked me to present his and his organization's views to your committee. I respectfully request that his written statement and its attachment be made part of my testimony and be included in the record.

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With these additions I stand on my previous testimony.

Late last year, Rumanian author Paul Goma, the exiled critic of the regime of Mr. Ceausescu, during an interview charged that the "national minority inhabitants are treated as prisoners of the lowest order. Not only are they being denationalized and deprived of their cultural rights—such as the right to their own schools and churches—but they also risk interrogation and torture for merely hinting at a preference for the Hungarian language or for the concept of human rights." The charges are authentic, made by a respected Rumanian who proved his commitment to truth, to the dignity of man.

Early this year it was reported by the press that Karoly Kiraly, a Hungarian member of the Rumanian communist leadership, revealed in letters to high-ranking Party officials that Rumanian minority policies gravely abuse the some 2.5 million Hungarian inhabitants of Rumania. This until now "silent" minority has now gotten a spokesman in the person of Karoly Kiraly, effective, authentic, official. Actions against the Hungarian minority did not cease after Kiraly's disclosures. The May 25 issues of Christian Science Monitor gives eyewitness account of cultural oppression of Hungarians in Rumania.

Primary responsibility for the preservation of the heritage, tradition, the ethnicity, the very existence of the Hungarian nationality in Rumania is shared by Mr. Ceausescu and Mr. Kadar.

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This speech, if not with its words but with its tone, rejects any possibility of meaningful bilateral discussions between the two communist dictators.

In spite of all of this there is hope—caused not by the "courage" of Mr. Kadar, not by the mellowing of Mr. Ceausescu—but by the declared intentions of the United States to place human rights in the heart of her foreign policy. And human rights include the right to live in the tradition of one's forefathers, the right to communicate, to be educated in the mother tongue in one's land of birth, the land which was the cradle of one's father, one's ancestors.

We firmly believe that the United States can influence the behavior of the communist government in Rumania. We are convinced that the plight of national minorities against ethnocide can be helped by passionate, patient but firm

diplomatic actions on the part of our Government. Success is within the realm of feasibility.

If the United States enters into meaningful negotiations with the Government of Mr. Ceausescu in order to improve the life of the Hungarians of Transylvania as individuals and as a nationality, if an effective arrangement for on-site unimpeded monitoring of the status of the individual, and the ethnic Hungarian in Rumania can be agreed upon, we would not oppose the renewal of the United States-Rumanian Trade Agreement providing non-discriminatory treatment to the products of Rumania.

If these preconditions are not considered by our Government or not agreed to by Mr. Ceausescu's regime, the Committee of Transylvania, and I may add, all other member organizations of the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America, feel obliged by the conscience of their members to oppose the renewal of the Trade Agreement with and the extension of most favored nation treatment for Rumania.

I request that addition to Mr. Lote's written statement and its enclosure, the June 1978 issue of the Carpathian Observer, the letter of Amnesty International, the translation of the article: "Goma the Writer Accuses Ceausescu," appearing in the December 15, 1977 issue of Die Welt and the article published in the May 25, 1978 issue of the Christian Science Monitor be made part of my testimony and included in the record.

(From *Die Welt* (Hamburg) Dec. 15, 1977)

GOMA THE WRITER ACCUSES CEAUSESCU

(By Rudolph Kramer-Badoni)

Exiled writer Paul Goma has raised serious charges against the nationality policy of the Bucharest leadership. At a press conference organized yesterday in Frankfurt by the Society for Human Rights, Goma stated that all Rumanians are prisoners of President and Party Chairman Ceausescu's personality cult, but that the national minority inhabitants are treated as prisoners of the lowest order.

Not only are they being denationalized and deprived of their cultural rights—such as the right to their own schools and churches—but they also risk interrogation and torture for merely hinting at a preference for the Hungarian language or for the concept of human rights. To escape their tormentors such detainees have the option of either signing a forced declaration or committing suicide. Evidence exists to document one case, for example, of a Hungarian teacher who was hounded into suicide by the Rumanian secret police for having recorded the grades of the Hungarian students in his class in his own mother tongue. Numerous similar cases have been confirmed and documented by Hungarians in exile.

Goma also had harsh words for those Rumanian writers who keep silent in the belief that they have something to lose. But, according to Goma, they have nothing to lose. Financially they are worse off than the average employee. They are allowed to publish only at the price of blackmail. Yet, in order to fulfill the dream of every Rumanian writer—a trip abroad—they are willing to make every compromise and betray their consciences.

Goma depicted Ceausescu as an apparatchik, who knows neither the workers nor the peasants, who hates intellectuals and who remains at the helm only through the complicity of Moscow. His allegedly independent foreign policy is a deceptive maneuver. It served Ceausescu during the time of the threatened Soviet invasion to rally the people behind him. Goma himself, seduced by the clever ploy, admits to having been a Communist for two and a half days at that time.

The nationality question is used by Ceausescu to promote his Party's aims. The chief of state plays the various groups off against each other. In the West, there are many governments which are, knowingly or unknowingly, accomplices of the Rumanian regime; they too allow themselves to be deceived. The Western press, but to an even greater extent, the labor unions in the West could be instrumental in bringing relief. The opinion of intellectuals would be interpreted as the opinion of a minority, but the opinion of labor unions would represent the opinion of the masses of workers.

Goma does not expect any Communist regime to exhibit liberalizing tendencies. Nor does he believe that change will ever occur in the direction of Social Democracy.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL,
London, England, May 9, 1978.

FEDERATION OF HUNGARIAN FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS,
Tibor Helcs, National Chairman,
Syracuse, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: Thank you very much for your letter of 29 April inquiring about the case of Mr. Sandor Rudovics and Dr. Maria Dombovari-Lorincz. We can confirm to you that Sandor Rudovics was released on 9 January 1978 but as far as we know has not received permission from the Hungarian authorities to join his wife and family in Austria. Maria Dombovari-Lorincz is still confined to the psychiatric hospital of Robert Korhas in Budapest.

Amnesty International has also taken up the case of Zsolt Takacs, a 25-year-old electrician from Budapest who was charged under article 203 of the Hungarian Penal Code for illegally crossing the frontier. He is at present being held in pre-trial detention in Budapest. His trial will take place in summer 1978. Amnesty International has adopted Gyorgy Hajas who was found guilty on 15 July 1977 at the district court of Budapest of "incitement". He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment because he compiled a short statement on human rights violations in Hungary, which he tried to distribute to the Hungarian authorities and domestic and foreign newspapers.

If you do have any additional information on any of the cases mentioned above or on any other cases in Hungary we would be pleased if you send copies to us. With best wishes,

Yours sincerely:

ANNE MARIE SHEPHERD,
Research Department.

[From Christian Science Monitor, May 25, 1978]

AFTER 20 YEARS OF SILENT PROTESTS, TRANSYLVANIANS IN ROMANIA ARE CALLING LOUDLY FOR THEIR RIGHTS

(By Eric Bourne)

VIENNA.—Scene: The border crossing on the main highway from Hungary into northwestern Romania.

Awaiting Customs clearance, a coachload of Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin.

They are returning home to the Hungarian minority region of Transylvania in Romania after visiting relatives in Hungary.

On one side of the border the Hungarian guard waves them on quickly. But on the other side the Romanians take longer.

Passengers' suitcases and parcels are all meticulously checked—not for luxury items, but for Hungarian books and newspapers, which are invariably confiscated.

A girl is relieved of several volumes of a Hungarian encyclopedia. Near tears, she explains they are for her studies, but to no avail.

WESTERN WITNESSES

Three Western tourists, waiting their turn with the Romanians, witness the incident. With them is a Hungarian who has come along to see friends in Transylvania.

He has brought with him gifts of Hungarian books. They are the recently republished works of Hungary's celebrated poet Alexander Petronfi, a biography of Kossuth, another folk-hero of Hungary's 1848 Revolution, and a book on Hungarian movies. All are seized.

Returning a week later, he will get his books back. But the Hungarian-Romanian girl will not be so fortunate with her encyclopedias.

These arbitrary Romanian restrictions on the import of Hungarian publications are a major cause of increasing resentment among the 2 million ethnic Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania.

For two decades, their protest has been a "silent" one noted only by roving journalists or Western professors engaged in educational exchanges.

Hungary, to which Transylvania belonged for 900 years, could do nothing about it because the two countries are co-members of the Soviet alliance.

Whatever protests could be made could only be done unobtrusively through party channels to try to press Romania to observe minority rights promised by its own Constitution.

A meeting last year between the leaders of the two Communist parties did finally produce Romanian assent to more private visiting and freer cultural ties for Transylvania with Hungary.

This was spurred by the 1975 Helsinki Declaration on European Cooperation, which stipulated regard for minority rights.

In essence, however, little has changed as evidenced by the border incident described above and by recent and unprecedented open protests by four prominent figures within the minority itself.

For many people, Transylvania is the far-off, remote land of mystery and grim mountains and sinister forest castles popularized by Bram Stoker's "Dracula" and other vampire tales.

Yet it is one of the loveliest and most individual regions in Central and Eastern Europe, contained by mountains on most sides and rich in minerals and wildlife.

Its known history dates back to a Getic kingdom three centuries B.C. called Dacia, which later became a Roman province.

When the Romans left, it was overrun by a succession of barbaric tribes, among them Goths, Huns, and Avars, until the Magyars' Christianising King Stephen established the medieval Hungarian state there in the year 1003.

It stayed Hungarian until World War I, which destroyed the Austro-Hungarian Empire and produced the Trianon Treaty truncating Hungary and putting 2 million to 3 million Hungarians under alien rule.

Some 40,000 square miles, including Transylvania, and 1.5 million Hungarians were transferred to Romania.

WORLD WAR II

In 1940, the Axis powers, tightening control of southeastern Europe, partitioned the region and restored half to Hungary. Seven years later, it was again given to Romania, this time as a reward for changing sides from Nazi Germany to the Western-Soviet alliance late in the war.

From 1918 on, therefore, there have been continuing bad feelings between the two neighbors which are aggravated today despite their common communist ideology.

For the Hungarians, understandably, Transylvania is a historical and highly emotional matter. An added irritant now is that Romania is trying to legitimize a historical claim, though its actual tenure has been only between the two wars and again for the three decades since World War II.

Intensely nationalistic feeling has been given an extraordinary rein in Romania since the present leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, took over in 1965.

Last year's independence centenary was marked by a tide of history and legend about a Romanian "struggle for identity," reaching back all the years to Dacia B.C., to establish the "continuity" from a Dacian-Roman state to today's Romanian national state.

Historic figures long disdained by the Communists were "rehabilitated" in the process, even Mr. Stoker's "Dracula," the legendary fiend based on a Wallachian prince who, 500 years before, was notorious as Vlad the Impaler because of his methods of disposing of his enemies.

Romanian nationalism has only added to the uneasiness of Mr. Ceausescu's minorities (German as well as Hungarian).

He himself repeatedly insists their rights are fully protected, pointing to formal representation in party, government, and public life at all levels.

Hungarians count at least 1.7 million among a total population of 21 million. They claim the number is officially understated because of assimilation—and "Romanization."

There are, for example five "Hungarians" in the party's political executive of 50 members, and a similar proportion in other party bodies. The 17-member State Council has two Hungarians. There is a Hungarian deputy premier.

But these are primarily Romanian party officials and nominees, many Hungarian only in name and not "grass rooters" having family ties or feeling strong cultural kinship with Hungary.

Language in public administration is predominantly Romanian. There is Hungarian schooling but it diminishes as the higher grades are reached. There are minority language newspapers and theaters. But all are strictly under a "Romanian" party control, with a strongly selective watch on indigenous Hungarian books or drama, particularly the historical.

In rural areas, schooling is heavily weighted in Romanian favor. A village must have 25 Hungarian pupils to get a Hungarian-speaking class, whereas three Romanian children suffice to warrant a Romanian class.

When Hungarian students qualify in their regional university they frequently are given jobs—against their wishes—in ethnic Romanian centers.

Now "Helsinki" thinking and increasing government insistence on a "Romanian identity" for the nation as a whole are evidently quickening protest.

A LOUDER VOICE

This year, two "Hungarian" politicians, a well-known Transylvanian writer and, finally, a former rector of the Cluj (Transylvania) University, have taken up the issue.

The academician, Prof. Lajos Takacs, sent the party a long memorandum, listing minority rights nonobservance under 18 headings.

He called for a party reevaluation of all nationality policies, and called for more autonomy for nationality councils. He suggested Transylvania's higher education be restored to the twin Romanian-Hungarian streams existing before the much resented "Romanian" merger of the university in the 1950s.

He urged more minority radio and TV time, an end to the curbs on publications from Hungary, and bilingualism in public administration wherever a minority is 15 percent of the local population.

Only official reactions so far have been some defensive admissions of shortcomings, and Mr. Ceausescu's warning that Romanian must remain the national language.

[From Carpathian Observer, June 1978]

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS GROW INTO ANTI-HUNGARIAN TERROR IN ROMANIA

KÁROLY KIRÁLY, A PARTY OFFICIAL PROTESTS MISTREATMENT OF HUNGARIANS

The continuing saga of the oppressed Hungarian population in Rumania has unfolded dramatically in reports published in major American and European newspapers in the last year or so. It reached a climax when Karoly Kiraly, a Hungarian member of the Rumanian communist leadership first revealed in letters to high-ranking Party officials last fall that Rumanian minority policies gravely abuse the some 2.5 million Hungarian inhabitants of Rumania.

This till now "silent" minority (however the largest national minority anywhere in Europe) muted by the memories of the post-war forced labor camps at the Danube delta in Rumania, the persecution of Hungarians after the Revolution of 1956 in neighboring Hungary, and the ever harder pressure of Rumanian state power against Hungarian culture, language, education and national identity, has now gotten a spokesman in the person of Karoly Kiraly, effective, authentic, official. Mr. Kiraly was hard pressed by President Ceausescu to retract his statements on Rumanian oppression of Hungarians. Yet he did not back down, knowingly taking all the risks for his courageous step. Subsequently he was exiled to Caransebes (originally: Karánsebes) in the southwestern corner of Rumania (formerly part of Hungary).

Kiraly did there what seemed impossible before. He received three reporters of Western newspapers (among them The Washington Post) who interviewed him about the conditions in which Hungarians live in communist Rumania.

Kiraly, vice-president of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council in Rumania, and an alternate member of the Rumanian politburo until 1975, deplored in his letters sent to top Rumanian leaders a government "tendency to forcefully assimilate the nationalities living in Rumania." He cited many discriminative and oppressive measures such as the refusal to grant national minorities a representative voice in government, "restrictive quotas" denying employment to minority workers, elimination of Hungarian schools and classes, the "naming of non-Hungarian speaking, Rumanian mayors" in cities "inhabited

predominantly by Hungarians," the prohibition of minority languages in public institutions and administrative offices, and a host of cultural deprivations.

In one of his letters, Kiraly decries the "violence and torture" used against minority inhabitants and points out that "the harassment of Jenő Szikszai, the eminent professor from Brassó, drove him to commit suicide."

We add that Sandor Kuti, another teacher from Brassó was found dead in the vicinity of the city, executed, or dead from torture. It is known that before their deaths, attempts were being made to force them to put their signatures to a variety of declarations praising the nationality policies of Rumania, and stating that there is no need for Hungarian schools in Brassó. At the cost of their lives, Jenő Szikszai and Sandor Kuti refused to sign.

Karoly Kiraly's appeals to the government is the first open internal challenge to Rumanian President's, Nicolae Ceausescu's oppressive nationality policies, though Transylvanian oriented organisations in the free world have since long studied the minority situation in Rumania and had been aware of the oppressive and forcefully assimilating tendency of these policies.

Among those in Rumania, who endorsed Kiraly's views, were Ion George Maurer, retired Prime Minister of Rumania, and many prominent members of Rumania's Hungarian minority, including university professors, the director of the ethnic publishing house, *Kriterion*, editors of leading Hungarian magazines, a theater director, a leading physician, a member of the Workers Council.

* * * * *

According to the latest census, taken in January 1977, the total population of Rumania has increased by 12.9% since 1967. In the same ten years, however, the number of Hungarians is alleged to have grown only 5.8% which is less than half of the overall ratio. It is hardly necessary to say that this difference is biologically impossible, so that the census data of the Hungarian population is gravely understated, at least by 7%. It is anybody's guess what happened to more than 100,000 Hungarians. It is possible (but not probable) that many Hungarians could not resist to the pressures any longer and declared themselves Rumanians. Obviously, what is more likely, the census and/or its results were falsified. Rumanian census data have always understated minority population figures. In short, statistics and census taking are ill-famed Rumanian weapons used for the purpose of reducing ("assimilating") minority population.

The much heralded June 15-16 Kadar—Ceausescu meetings last year, though they made a first-time reference to the Hungarian (2.5 million) and Rumanian (some 20 thousand) minorities of both countries, and viewed these as "significant factors in the development of friendship" and as "a bridge between the two countries" (according to the official communique), in reality seem to have served as an inducement for the Ceausescu regime to tighten its grip on the embattled Hungarian population. It is obvious, that these meetings were a quickly arranged windowdressing for the human rights battle on the Belgrade conference and no true intention to alleviate the just grievances of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. This is clearly shown not only in Karoly Kiraly's disclosures, but also by the Hungarian press which lately has been far more vocal on these matters than usual. The *Magyar Nemzet*, organ of the communist-led Patriotic People's Front writes in one of the several articles on the plight of the Hungarian minority in Rumania: "We confess that we fear for the Hungarian-speakers living under foreign host-nations because they are facing the threat of assimilation and the warping and deforming effects of being engulfed by the state-organising nations." In a clear warning to Rumania the newspaper remarked that "while the Basques of France and Spain have no mother-nation, the Transylvanian Hungarians do have one."

Hungary's greatest living writer and poet, Gyula Illyés, a spiritual influence in the country, has lately also raised his voice on behalf of Transylvanian Hungarians on several occasions.

The tragical minority situation in Rumania is well covered in major Western newspapers, such as *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *The Times*, *The Economist*, *The Guardian* (London), *Le Monde* (France), *Le Soir* (Brussels), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm). A few of these articles are printed below fully or in excerpts, as space permits.

The Editor.

[From the Washington Post, Thursday, March 2, 1978]

EX-OFFICIAL CHARGES ROMANIA IS SUPPRESSING ETHNIC UNREST

(By Michale Dobbs, Special to The Washington Post)

CARANSEBES, ROMANIA.—The Romanian government has taken emergency measures to suppress growing discontent among the two-million strong Hungarian minority in Romania, according to a former close aide of President Nikolai Ceausescu.

The charges by Karoly Kiraly, a former high Romanian Communist Party official, reflect increased tensions in Romania as well as what appears to be an unprecedented challenge to Ceausescu's authority.

Kiraly also said in an interview that 16 prominent Romanian Communist officials have associated themselves with an open letter in which Kiraly denounced the Romanian government for suppression of minority rights.

Among those backing the protest Kiraly cited former prime minister Ion Gheoghe Maurer; the present deputy prime minister, Janos Fazekas, and several other members of the Romanian Central Committee and parliament.

Kiraly said that the Romanian government has responded by taking emergency measures to suppress growing discontent among Romania's ethnic minority. He spoke of the massive deployment of troops in Transylvania, where most Hungarians live, and house-to-house searches, interrogations and other forms of harassment.

Apart from Maurer, all other figures who reportedly associated their names with the protest are of Hungarian background.

But such an endorsement of a protest movement here is without precedent. The question of ethnic rights has long been a source of covert dispute between the two Warsaw Pact neighbors. Publicly, however, all Soviet bloc countries have contended that such issues have been resolved.

The sudden upsurge of protest among Romania's minority and the public backing of it by the Hungarian Communist government has posed a serious domestic challenge to Ceausescu.

Karoly spoke to three Western journalists in defiance of official warnings against contacts with the foreign press.

The interview took place in Caransebes, a town of some 27,000 people where Karoly is in internal exile in an attempt to isolate him from his supporters in Transylvania—the mountains region of central Romania and the setting for Bram Stoker's spinechilling novel Count Dracula.

At the point Kiraly's German wife Helga switched off the lights in the kitchen of their sparsely furnished three-room cottage to prevent a curious neighbor from seeing the journalists gathered around the table.

Soft-spoken and looking younger than his 47 years, Kiraly described what happened after he attempted to raise minority grievances in a series of letters to Romanian leaders. He is of Hungarian origin himself.

Kiraly's formidable catalog of allegations included the closing of Hungarian universities and schools, the suppression of the Hungarian language and culture, and the appointment of Romanians to nearly all key posts in towns with a Hungarian majority.

"For years the Romanian government has had a policy of the forced assimilation of all minorities—not just Hungarians, but also Germans, Serbs and others," he said.

The most serious repercussions began at the end of January following the publication of details of his appeals in Western newspapers.

Kiraly said: "Suddenly emergency police measures were taken throughout Transylvania. Around a thousand security men were drafted into my hometown of Tirgu Mures alone. There were armed patrols and special civilian brigades in the streets. Tens of thousands of people were watched and many homes were searched for copies of my letter. This action is still continuing, although on a reduced scale."

Kiraly was summoned to Bucharest for talks with four top officials including Ilie Verdet, Ceausescu's right-hand man, and the minister of the interior, Tendor Coman. He was accused of being a traitor to Romania, threatened with a trial and expulsion from the Communist Party, and asked to denounce his own appeal as the fabrication of the CIA and Radio Free Europe. He refused.

He was ordered to leave Tirgu Mures with his wife and five-month-old baby. He said his friends were harassed in the street, his house was kept under a 24-hour watch, and he was followed by plainclothes policemen.

Asked what he thought were the reasons for this government reaction, he replied quietly: "They know that what I wrote is true." An official Romanian spokesman has described Kiraly's allegations as "lies, lies, lies."

Kiraly himself is an insider who knows how the system works. As an alternate member of the political executive committee from 1968 to 1972, he was at the summit of the Romanian leadership. In 1970 he accompanied Ceausescu to Moscow to attend the Lenin centenary celebrations. He is still a party member and deputy president of the Hungarian Nationality Council. He stresses that he remains committed to his social ideals.

His protests have also received the support of key leaders of the Hungarian minority. Apart from Fazekas, they include the vice-president of the Romanian parliament, Gyorgy Puskas, central committee members, writers, and the editors of the two most prominent Hungarian literary reviews in Romania.

Kiraly claimed that nearly all Hungarian intellectuals agree with his views and many ordinary people, including Romanians, had expressed support through handshakes, telephone calls, and letters.

[From the International Herald Tribune, March 2, 1978]

ROMANIANS CRACK DOWN ON HUNGARIAN DISSENT—EX-AIDE CITES WIDESPREAD REPRESSION

(By Michael Dobbs)

Caransebes, Western Romanian, March 1 (WP).—The Romanian authorities have taken emergency measures to suppress growing discontent among the 2 million Hungarians, in Transylvania, according to a former aide of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During an interview here, Karoly Kiraly, who is leading a campaign for minority rights in Romania, said that the government action included the deployment of armed patrols, house-to-house searches and police questioning of hundreds of Hungarians. He described the measures as "unprecedented in the 33 years since the Romanian Communist came to power."

Speaking in defiance of official warning against contacts with the foreign press, Mr. Kiraly claimed that an appeal he wrote protesting widespread discrimination against ethnic minorities has the open support of both present and former members of the Romanian leadership. He named 16 prominent Romanians who have asked to be associated with his appeal, including a former premier, Ion Gheorghe Maurer, and a present deputy premier and member of the decision-making Political Executive Committee, Janos Fazekas.

The interview took place in Caransebes, a small town of about 27,000 persons where Mr. Kiraly is in internal exile in an attempt to isolate him from his supporters in Transylvania, where most Hungarians live.

Soft-spoken and looking younger than his 47 years, Mr. Kiraly described what happened after he attempted to raise minority grievances in a series of letters to Romanian leaders. He is of Hungarian origin.

Mr. Kiraly's catalogue of allegations included the closing of Hungarian universities and schools, the suppression of the Hungarian language and culture and the appointment of Romanians to nearly all key posts in towns with a Hungarian majority.

The most serious repercussions began at the end of January following the publication of his appeals in Western newspapers. An appeal addressed to a friend in the Central Committee was also circulated among the Hungarians in Transylvania.

ARMED PATROLS

Mr. Kiraly recalled: "Suddenly, emergency police measures were taken throughout Transylvania. Around a thousand security men were drafted into my hometown of Tirgu Mures alone. There were armed patrols and special civilian brigades in the streets. Tens of thousands of people were watched and many homes were searched for copies of my letter. This action is still continuing, although on a reduced scale."

Mr. Kiraly was summoned to Bucharest where he was accused of being a traitor to Romania, threatened with a trial and expulsion from the Communist

party and asked to denounce his own appeal as the fabrication of the CIA and Radio Free Europe. He refused.

After a series of meetings, he was finally ordered to leave Tirgu Mures with his wife and five-month-old baby. His friends were molested in the street, his house was kept under 24-hour watch and he was followed by plain-clothes policemen.

But it is not merely his allegations that have alarmed President Ceausescu. There are a number of factors which make Mr. Kiraly's protest a unique event in Romania—and different from other human rights movements and workers' strikes.

First, Mr. Kiraly himself is an insider who knows how the system works. As an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee from 1968 to 1972, he was at the top of the Romanian leadership. In 1970 he accompanied President Ceausescu to Moscow to attend the Lenin centenary celebrations. He is still a party member and deputy president of the Hungarian Nationality Council—and stresses that he remains committed to his Socialist ideals.

His protests have also received the support of key leaders of the Hungarian minority. Apart from Mr. Faszekas, the list of names attached to his appeal includes the vice president of the Romanian National Assembly, Gyorgy Puskas, Central Committee members, writers, the head of a hospital, and the editor of the two most prominent Hungarian literary reviews in Romania.

Mr. Kiraly claimed that nearly all Hungarian intellectuals agree with his views and many ordinary people, including Romanians, had expressed support.

Finally Mr. Kiraly's protests raise problems for Romania's delicate relations with Hungary, another Communist state more closely allied to the Soviet Union. So far, Budapest has avoided publicly expressing official concern about the treatment of Ethnic Hungarians in Romania but has allowed individuals to do so.

[From The Times (of London), March 2, 1978]

BANISHED TRANSYLVANIAN LEADER FIGHTS ON IN EXILE—LETTER TELLING PLIGHT OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY ANSWERED BY REPRESSION

From DESSA TREVISAN, Caransebes, Romania, March 1.

Extraordinary security measures have been effected in Transylvania, with an emergency police force of over 1,000 armed men being drafted in, after the publication in January of a letter by a former member of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee protesting against a campaign of enforced assimilation of the region's Hungarian minority.

According to Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a deputy in the National Assembly, who wrote the letter, thousands of homes have been searched and their occupants shadowed and harassed by the Romanian secret police.

Mr. Kiraly made this disclosure to three Western reporters, myself included, as he talked for four hours recounting the sequence of events, which began with the publication of his letter, and culminated in his acceptance of banishment in return for guarantees that his friends will suffer no reprisals for supporting him.

Mr. Kiraly, who himself is of Hungarian extraction, has been forced to take up residence in this small Transylvanian town, where he now lives in virtual isolation. He has been given the post of manager in a furniture factory.

Soon after his letter was published an emergency security force of over 1,000 men was concentrated in the city of Tirgu Mures, where he used to live. Armed patrols and special civilian brigades shadowed anybody who had any connection with him. "Many people," Mr. Kiraly recalled, "had their houses searched for my letter which was circulating in hundreds of copies."

Because of his party background his actions have more serious implication than the shortlived Bucharest civil rights movement. The regime used, however, brute force in Transylvania and Mr. Kiraly was exposed to threats and pressures during meetings with highranking Romanian officials to renounce his letter as a fake. Later, he was forced to leave town on the pretext that his safety could not be guaranteed.

In his letter he detailed the plight of the two million ethnic Hungarians of Transylvania, the biggest minority group in Europe. Their cultural institutions have withered away; furthermore, they have been gradually dispersed and assimilated as the Hungarian language schools were systematically closed.

Mr. Kiraly's letter has the active support of more than a dozen prominent personalities in Romanian politics and culture, among them Mr. Ion Gheorghe

Maurer, a former Prime Minister, and Mr. Janos Fazekas, the present Deputy Prime Minister, and member of the party's executive bureau, as well as three members of the Central Committee, several editors of Hungarian language literary reviews, and other intellectuals from Transylvania.

All have explicitly asked to be associated with his campaign, Mr. Kiraly said. With very few exceptions, Transylvania's Hungarian intellectuals are solidly behind him, but many, Mr. Kiraly thought, gave him silent support for fear of repercussions.

An anonymous telephone call, a handshake, letters and telegrams which somehow got through to him, all demonstrated public support. This support, he added, went beyond the Hungarian community as many Romanians approved of his campaign.

Until recently Mr. Kiraly belonged to the inner party circle and therefore knows the mechanism of power from within. He has no illusions about his own fate but he is resolved to persevere until the problem he has raised is resolved.

(From The Washington Post, Thurs., February 23, 1978)

MINORITY ISSUE SPLITS BLOC STATES

(By Dusko Doder)

Hungary and Romania, two Warsaw Pact allies, appear to be on a collision course over what Hungarians have publicly branded as a "policy of apartheid" practiced by the Romanian government against its ethnic Hungarian minority.

Romania's policy of trying to disperse and assimilate various ethnic minorities, including nearly 2 million Hungarians, has been the source of deep covert hostilities between the two countries. Increased public attention given by Hungary to the plight of ethnic Hungarians marks a new departure in relations between Warsaw pact allies.

Romanian authorities are reported to have taken retaliatory measures against a prominent ethnic Hungarian who last month charged that ethnic people of Hungarian descent were being discriminated against and that the Romanian government was trying to stamp out the Hungarian language.

Karoly Kiraly, who was a member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee until his resignation in 1975, made the charges in an open letter. Since its publication in the West, Kiraly reportedly has been subjected to threats of violence by "gangs of hooligans" and forced to leave his home town in Transylvania.

According to these reports from Budapest, Kiraly was called in by Romanian security officials earlier this month and told that he had to leave Tigris Mures, a predominantly Hungarian town of 150,000, within 10 days. He was told that there would be "bloodshed" unless he complied and was given a factory job in the Romanian town of Caransebes.

According to a 1977 Romanian census, there are 1.7 million Hungarians in Romania, mostly in the Transylvania area. The region has for centuries belonged to Hungary and was detached from her by the Great Powers and awarded to Romania at the end of World War I. The award has been a source of friction between the two countries throughout the interwar period. Since the end of World War II, the Communist governments in Budapest and Bucharest have consistently maintained the fiction that the ethnic issue had been successfully resolved in the spirit of "socialist cooperation."

During this decade, Romania's policies have been privately criticized by Hungarian officials. The Hungarian government, however, has carefully avoided public discussion of Transylvania.

In Transylvania itself there have been growing signs of discontent over the past few years, especially over the suppression of Hungarian cultural and linguistic rights reflected most often in the closing or curtailment of Hungarian language educational programs.

There has been a steady exodus of Hungarian intellectuals from Transylvania to Hungary over the past years. But the degree of discontent surfaced last month when Kiraly, once an alternate member of the party's ruling executive bureau, openly attacked the government of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Hungarian government in turn has mounted for the first time a public campaign on behalf of ethnic Hungarians in Romania. One of the country's leading poets, Gyula Illyes, recently wrote a series of articles comparing the plight of the Hungarian minority to South Africa's apartheid policy.

[From The Christian Science Monitor, Wed., February 8, 1978]

BIAS ISSUE STIRS ENMITY IN ROMANIA

(By Eric Bourne.)

Vienna. A former minority leader has stirred an old issue between Communist Romania and its neighbor-ally Hungary, with charges of discrimination against 1.7 million Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania.

Soon after two accords designed to remove such frictions, the Bucharest leaders again have been accused of violating minority rights. This time, moreover, the accusation comes from one of their former high-ranking associates.

The charges were aired by Karoly Kiraly, one-time Hungarian member of Romania's State Council, vice-chairman of the Hungarian Nationality Council and, until 1974, member of the Romanian Communist Party committee.

The 21,000 square mile between the Carpathians and the Transylvania Alps formed part of Hungary from the 11th century until 1918, when after World War I, it was ceded to Romania.

FREQUENT COMPLAINTS

Hitler restored it to Hungary, then an Axis ally, in 1940. But the anti-Hitler allies—the Western powers and the Soviet Union—gave it to Romania again in 1945 as a reward for changing sides in World War II.

Thereafter, Romania's official attitudes toward its Hungarian population prompted frequent complaint from Budapest and periodic unrest within the minority itself. Protests centered on persistent restraints on ties with family branches in Hungary and discrimination in education, housing, and jobs.

Although both countries belonged to the Soviet alliance, their relations became increasingly distant and their common border the least "open" in Eastern Europe.

IMPORTS RESTRICTED

Last June the national leaders, Hungary's Janos Kadar and Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu, met to confirm it. They also agree to establish consulates, to extend the local border traffic zone, and to permit 12 family visits from one country to the other annually instead of four.

Little, however, has been done since, Romania still reportedly curbs the import of Hungarian media and books through its northeastern border.

The consulates still are not open because of various quibbles. Also Romania is less interested in its proposed consulate in Hungary since there are so few Romanians in Hungary.

Mr. Karoly's criticisms are made in an open letter to President Ceausescu, copies of which were conveyed by friends to Western newsmen in Belgrade.

He charges that job discrimination against the Hungarian minority still occurs. The number of secondary and technical schools with Hungarian teaching, he says, is constantly declining. (Excerpts)

[From The Times (London) Wed., February 8, 1978]

MINORITY LEADER TAKEN TO TASK

(From Dessa Trevisan, Belgrade, Feb. 7)

Romanian authorities have taken action against Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a former member of the Romanian Central Committee, whose appeal against widespread repression of the country's Hungarian minority of two million was reported in Western newspapers, including The Times of January 24.

Mr. Kiraly, who himself is a member of the Hungarian minority, had until his resignation in April, 1972, occupied important posts in the Romanian hierarchy.

He was called to the Central Committee soon after his letter was published. His friends believe that he was subjected to strong pressure to disavow the letter. According to sources close to Hungarian intellectuals in Romania, the authorities offered to remedy some of the ills in return for a public disavowal.

Until his resignation, Mr. Kiraly was first party secretary for the Covasna County, whose population is predominantly Hungarian. In his letter he protested against systematic violation of minority rights.

He said that dual language signposts had been removed, there was enforced Romanization, and Hungarian vocational and other schools had been closed. He also alleged discrimination against Hungarians in employment and education.

His letter was addressed to party leaders, but there was no response until it was published in the West. Copies, however, have been circulated both in Transylvania and in Budapest.

Intellectual circles there criticized the restraint of the Hungarian government in the plight of the Hungarians across the border and the reluctance of Mr. Kadar, the Hungarian leader, to raise the issue. Recently, however, contact with Hungarians across the border has become livelier.

Pressure on the Hungarian Government to take up the case of the Hungarian minority increased. Some writers and intellectuals in Budapest began to draw public attention to their fate, trying to arouse international interest.

Before the publication of his letter in the west Mr. Karoly, it is understood, had already been subjected to disciplinary measures. His friends say that he has now been isolated and all contact with him is being discouraged.

[From The Guardian, Wed., February 8, 1978]

ROMANIAN "DEAL" OFFER ON ABUSES

(From Michael Dobbs in Belgrade)

The Romanian authorities have reacted sharply to Western press reports about the alleged repression of Romania's Hungarian community of two million—the largest national minority in Europe.

Attempts have reportedly been made to force a former senior Communist Party official, who drew attention to minority grievances in Romania, to withdraw his complaints.

In his appeal, Mr. Karoly Kiraly alleged job discrimination against ethnic Hungarians and suppression of the Hungarian language. The text of the letter, which was addressed to Romania's State and Communist Party leadership, was made available to Western journalists by Mr. Kiraly supporters in Hungary.

Mr. Kiraly, who is of Hungarian origin, has since been called to the offices of the Central Committee in Bucharest on several occasions, most recently this week. His friends claim that a deal has been offered to him under which he would deny authorship of the letter in return for the end of some minor abuses.

So far, Mr. Kiraly, who was a member of the Central Committee until 1975, is reported to have resisted the pressure—despite hints that it could be a prelude to police action. He is said to have told the officials who interviewed him that his appeal dealt with principle rather than isolated grievances.

According to Mr. Kiraly's friends, the authorities offered to be flexible on such issues as bilingual signboards which he alleged had been removed after his resignation as First Party Secretary of the Covasna County in Transylvania.

Mr. Kiraly's main complaints, however, go much deeper. They include an allegation posts in towns where there is a Hungarian majority go to Romanians—many of whom do not even speak Hungarian.

[From The Economist (London), February 4, 1978]

TALES FROM TRANSYLVANIA

Europe's largest national minority, the Hungarians in Rumania, are getting restive, according to an open letter addressed to President Ceausescu which has just reached the west. Its author, Mr. Karoly Kiraly, is a Hungarian by birth and a former central committee member and party secretary in a district of Transylvania, the province where the bulk of Rumania's Hungarians live. According to the 1977 census, they numbered 1.7m people in a total population of 21.6m.

Mr. Karoly accuses the Rumanian authorities of trying to stamp out the Hungarian language by refusing to provide secondary schools and technical colleges where teaching is in Hungarian, and by closing down existing Hungarian-language institutions. He also claims that the Hungarians lose out on jobs. The plum posts in predominantly Hungarian areas invariably go to Rumanians who often speak no Hungarian at all.

In the past, the Hungarian party leaders have carefully avoided raising the Transylvanian issue in public. But hopes of concessions to the Hungarians in Rumania were raised last summer when President Ceausescu and the Hungarian

party leader, Mr. Janos Kadar, agreed that each side's minorities (there are some 20,000 Rumanians in Hungary) should become "bridges" between the two states. Agreement was also reached to open a Hungarian consulate in Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, and a Rumanian one in Debrecen in Hungary's Rumanian area.

The Hungarians may now be trying to prod the Rumanians into action. Last week the Budapest daily Magyar Hirlap issued a pointed reminder of last summer's agreement on the nationality issue. Certainly Rumania has good reason to try to keep the Hungarians in Transylvania quiet. The thought of a new irredentist movement in Transylvania which may one day enjoy the backing of the Soviet Union must be distasteful to President Ceausescu. And the Hungarians have many friends in the west too, not least in the American administration and congress. Rumania needs a friendly United States, both for economic aid and for support against Russia. (Excerpts)

[From The International Herald Tribune, February 1, 1978]

HIS LETTER TO BUCHAREST OFFICIALS IS REVEALED—EX-AIDE SAYS ROMANIA OPPRESSES ITS MINORITY HUNGARIANS

(By Michael Dobbs)

Belgrade, Jan. 31 (WP.)—In a document which affords a rare insight into the problems of national minorities in Romania, a former high-level Communist party official has alleged official repression of the country's 2 million Hungarians.

The claim is made by Karoly Kiraly, a member of the Romanian Communist party's Central Committee until his resignation in 1975, in an open letter to the state and party leadership. A copy of the letter, which was written in December and smuggled out of Romania, has reached Belgrade through usually reliable channels.

Mr. Kiraly, who is of Hungarian origin, alleges job discrimination against ethnic Hungarians and suppression of the Hungarian language in violation of Romania's Constitution professing himself to be a loyal Marxist, he blames the Romanian party leadership and the personality cult that surrounds President Nicolae Ceausescu, rather than the Communist system.

Western diplomats in Bucharest consider the widespread, if muted, discontent among Romania's minority nationalities of more significance than last year's shortlived human rights movement led by the writer Paul Goma, who is now in Paris. While support for Mr. Goma was confined to a handful of intellectuals, national grievances run much deeper.

In the letter, which is formally addressed to a Central Committee member for circulation among the party leadership, Mr. Kiraly alleges a wide gap between theory and practice regarding the national question. After recalling a promise for more secondary and technical schools for students using minority languages, he argues that the number of such schools is steadily decreasing.

The use of Hungarian, Mr. Kiraly contends, is officially discouraged—even in the Nationality Council which represents the Hungarian minority. He says that bilingual signboards put up during his term of office as first party secretary of Covasna County in 1971 have been removed.

Mr. Kiraly writes that nearly all influential posts in towns where there is a Hungarian majority go to Romanians—many of whom do not speak a word of Hungarian. (Excerpts)

[From Financial Times, Tues., January 31, 1978]

THE HUNGARIANS OF TRANSYLVANIA—ACHILLES HEEL OF ROMANIAN NATIONALISM

(By Paul Lendvai)

Protests that have become public have drawn international attention to the position of the largest national minority in Europe, the 1.7m. Hungarians in Romania. First, Mr. Gyula Illyes, 75, the greatest living Hungarian poet in a Budapest daily, Magyar Nemzet, made a passionate protest against the violation of what he called the elementary human rights of Hungarians living in

neighbouring countries. Without mentioning any country by name, he complained about "a policy of apartheid" practised against Hungarians. The two articles were generally regarded by the Hungarian public as being directed against Romania.

The plight of Hungarians in Romania next became the subject of an open letter sent two months ago by Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a former top official of the Romanian Communist Party, to the Romanian leadership. The text was leaked a few days ago to foreign correspondents in Belgrade. Mr. Kiraly, who was for several years first party secretary in the Covasna region in Transylvania, where Hungarians are in an overwhelming majority among the 190,000 inhabitants, between 1960-1972 belonged to the Central Committee and even to the supreme party today, the Executive Political Committee, as a candidate-member.

Mr. Kiraly complained that Hungarians are discriminated against in employment and education. "What particularly worries me is the obstinacy with which party functionaries from the bottom to the very top continue to ignore the problem," Mr. Kiraly said.

NEIGHBOUR

The situation of the Hungarians is completely different. To start with, they number, according to official statistics, 1.7m.; according to conservative Hungarian estimates well over 2m. Furthermore, they are part of a nation whose state is a direct neighbour of Romania. Last but not least, the Romanians regard every complaint as a prelude to territorial claims. During World War Two, Hungary temporarily regained the northern part of Transylvania, which in 1918, had become part of Romania. Before that all of Transylvania had been part of Hungary.

The implications of the Hungarian question in Romania go well beyond the purely bilateral. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, one in three Hungarians fell under foreign rule. According to Mr. Illyes, there are now 15m. Hungarians between the Alps and the Carpathians, of whom only some 10m. live in Hungary proper. His estimate may well be exaggerated. But the fact remains that even according to official figures, some 600,000 Hungarians like in Slovakia and some 500,000 in Yugoslavia. A wave of aggressive Hungarian nationalism could, as in the inter-war period, again pose a threat to stability in the Danube basin.

Despite growing pressures at home, Mr. Janos Kadar has made no public allusion to the Hungarians in Transylvania. At a meeting last June, Mr. Kadar and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania signed a communique, stating that the minorities in each country (20,000 Romanians in Hungary and 1.7m. Hungarians in Romania) should "gradually become a bridge" between the two countries. However, at Romanian insistence, it was also clearly stated that the nationality question is within the jurisdiction of each of the two countries.

Agreements were also signed to open consulates in Cluj, and on the other side of the border, in Debrecen, and to ease travel restrictions. But Romania insisted that the three major urban centres in these areas should not benefit fully from the travel concessions.

The visitor to Budapest hears time and time again that these measures have not yet been carried out because the Romanians are dragging their feet.

The memorandum presented by Mr. Kiraly to the Romanian leadership is regarded by the Hungarians as striking proof of the growing ferment in Transylvania. The situation is closely watched by the Soviets. The attitudes of the Hungarians, accounting officially for 8 per cent of the total population, has always been seen in the Kremlin as the potential Achilles Heel of resurgent Romanian nationalism.

After all, President Ceausescu himself has built his policy of independence on the priority of the nation as such. Meanwhile, the case of Mr. Kiraly, who is already understood to be subjected to disciplinary proceedings, indicates that the argument works both ways.

It is stressed in Budapest that the articles of Mr. Illyes were published without any prior approval by the leadership. Yet the fact that the latest issue of "Magyar Hírek," a glossy weekly with a circulation of 100,000 published for Hungarians abroad by the World Federation of Hungarians in Budapest, devoted an entire page to extract from the sensational articles by the great poet can hardly be regarded as accidental. (Excerpts)

[From The Washington Post, Mon., January 30, 1978]

LETTER CHARGES ROMANIA REPRESSES HUNGARIANS

(Mr. Michael Dobbs.)

BELGRADE.—In a document that gives a rare insight into the problems of national minorities in Romania, a former high-level Romanian Communist party official has alleged official repression against the country's 2 million Hungarians.

The claim is made by Karoly Kiraly, a member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee until resignation in 1975, in an open letter to the state and party leadership. A copy of the letter, which was written last month and smuggled out of Romania, has reached Belgrade through usually reliable channel.

Kiraly, who is himself of Hungarian origin, alleges job discrimination against ethnic Hungarians and suppression of the Hungarian language in violation of Romania's constitution. Professing himself to be a loyal Marxist, he lays the blame not on the Communist system but on the Romanian party leadership and in particular the personality cult which surrounds President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Last year, considerable disquiet was reported among ethnic Germans, Romania's second largest minority after the Hungarians, who were applying in large numbers to emigrate to West Germany.

There is, however, still no evidence that national unrest will have any effect on the policies pursued by Ceausescu. In his appeal, Kiraly says that efforts to improve the lot of the Hungarian minority have brought no results.

Foreign observers familiar with minority problems in Romania find Kiraly's allegations plausible although it is difficult to confirm them. Western correspondents who visited the Jiu Valley last year, scene of Romania's worst post-war mining strike, were told that discontent among the sizable Hungarian minority there was an important factor in the unrest.

Miners explained that the area was once part of the Austro-Hungarian empire and was used to relatively higher living standards than the rest of Romania. They complained that Hungarian schools in the area had been closed down.

Romania's treatment of its largest national minority poses a delicate problem for its neighbor Hungary. The Hungarian government has no wish to pick a quarrel with a fellow communist state, but feels responsible for Hungarians outside the country. (Excerpts)

[From The Times (London) Tues., January 24, 1978]

ROMANIAN "DRIVE AGAINST MINORITY"

(From Dessa Trevisan, Belgrade, Jan. 23)

Mr. Karoly Kiraly, a former member of the Romanian Central Committee, has expressed grave concern over the campaign to enforce the assimilation of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania.

In a letter addressed to the party leaders, Mr. Kiraly compared their proclaimed ethnic policy with the facts and called on them to carry out the promises made 10 years ago, whereby all nationalities would be guaranteed the exercise of ethnic rights.

Mr. Kiraly, a member of the Hungarian minority, has represented them in the National Assembly since 1969.

The letter was written from Transylvania, the western province where, according to official estimates, there were two million ethnic Hungarians living in compact communities.

The Hungarians are the biggest minority group in the whole of Europe. But over the past 10 years there have been frequent complaints that their institutions, many of them several hundred years old, have been slowly disappearing because of Romania's policy of creating a single, homogeneous ethnic state.

In 1976 the Government passed a decree which, Mr. Kiraly said, meant in effect the liquidation of Hungarian language colleges in Transylvania. The old Hungarian university at Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, was closed. The institute for medicine was also shut recently.

By a special resolution, a Romanian faculty had been set up at the Hungarian academy for theatrical art which in effect meant the "liquidation of the last little island of education in the Hungarian tongue."

(Excerpts)

[From The Times (London) October 15, 1977]

THE GROWING FLIGHT OF HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

(By Gabriel Ronay)

There is growing concern in Budapest about the fate of the large Hungarian minority in Transylvania. For the first time since the ceding of the territory to Romania after the Second World War, an authoritative Budapest newspaper voiced "the mother country's" fear for the survival of Transylvanian Hungarians exposed to "the warping and deforming effects" of an enforced assimilation.

The delicacy and timidity with which official Budapest has until now handled the Transylvanian issue, which has bedeviled its relations with Romania since the First World War underline the significance of the warning that Hungary cannot remain indifferent in the race of the threat to the survival of its kith and kin.

In an article entitled "Nationality problem—a world problem" the Budapest daily Magyar Nemzet has blamed the attitude of the United States, Britain, Czechoslovakia and Romania at the Paris peace conference of 1947, responsible for the postwar settlement in Eastern Europe, for the plight of ethnic minorities in the region.

"After long years of deadly silence the issue of ethnic minorities, buried deeply in the postwar period, is now cropping up with stubborn persistence; the little issue (of the time) has now become a huge issue and grown from a European problem into a world problem." Magyar Nemzet stated.

A follow-up article last month in the newspaper, the organ of the communist-led Patriotic People's Front, came to the point: "We confess that we fear for the Hungarian-speakers living under foreign host-nations because they are facing the threat of assimilation and the wrapping and deforming effects of being engulfed by the state-organizing nations."

It then proceeded to make it plain that Hungary "cannot accept that forcing upon (the Hungarian minority) of a single language, in the process of which the tongue of the state-organizing nation first eclipses, then forcibly dissipates and, at the end, ousts the old mother-tongue of the indigenous people. It is the duty of the mother-nation to guard over speakers of (Hungarian) mother-tongue no matter where they should be living."

In a clear warning to its neighbours who are trying to assimilate the Hungarian minorities by force, the newspaper remarked that "while the Basques of France and Spain have no mother-nation, the Transylvanian Hungarians do have one."

Until recently the strains created by the plight of the Transylvanian Hungarians were, at official level, never discussed. But earlier this summer, Mr. Janos Kadar, the Hungarian party leader, and President Ceausescu of Romania held two surprise meetings—one in the Transylvanian city of Nagyvaard (Oradea), the other in Debrecen, in Hungary—when they discussed the Transylvanian problem, according to usually reliable sources.

The meeting took place after a 27-page document described the oppression of Transylvania's two million Hungarians reached the outside world. It was signed by Gyorgy Lazar, the pseudonym of a well-known Transylvanian intellectual who dared not use his own name for fear of arrest.

The facts contained in the document reveal the outlines of a well thought out nationalist policy aimed at turning Romania into state without minorities.

After its first phase—characterized by random arrests, forced expulsions, systematic harassment and cultural isolation of "the carriers of national consciousness"—the policy was revamped. It now employs more effective means, like the granting and withdrawing of residence permits, the dispersal of Hungarian communities, and the application of a numerous *clausus* in every sphere of life.

Restriction on instruction in Hungarian is another powerful lever which, combined with job discrimination, is calculated to force out the Hungarians from their Transylvanian towns and villages into Romania proper. The leaderless, dispersed Hungarian minority thus faces total absorption.

In awarding jobs, the authorities insist on a mechanical interpretation of the law ostensibly drawn up to assure "fair ethnic balance" in employment. In the old Hungarian cities with mixed population—Arad, Varad, Kolossvár—Hun-

garians can get no work or residence permits, because "this would upset the ethnic balance."

This interpretation of the law results in the anomaly that in purely Hungarian towns only 10 per cent of the labour force may be Hungarian, while in the purely Romanian cities outside Transylvania, where there have never been Hungarians, 10 per cent of the jobs go abegging.

Meanwhile Romanian workers from outside Transylvania are brought in to fill in new jobs created by the quickening pace of Romania's industrialization. "Thus under the conditions of forced industrialization," the document noted, "the exploitation of the Hungarian minority is relatively greater than that of the Romanians' for they are denied the advantages (of employment). They feel and know that the industrialization is directed against them."

"The very basis of their existence is drawn from under them, while discriminating against them is constant and all-embracing, for there is hardly any sphere of life where the numerus clausus is not being applied."

The same interpretation of the law makes instruction in Hungarian well-nigh impossible. The presence of two Romanian children in any school in the predominantly Hungarian regions is sufficient to have the language of instruction changed in the school to Romanian.

The denial of residence permits and job opportunities to Hungarians in the Hungarian towns has resulted in a mass influx of Hungarians into the neighbouring Saxon towns of Brasov, Medias and Sighisoara, whose population has been encouraged to emigrate to West Germany. But since there are designated as "Saxon towns," no Hungarian schools are allowed to operate, the document adds.

In bringing into the open the problem of Transylvania's Hungarians, the Budapest newspaper appears to be appealing to the signatories of the Helsinki accord now meeting in Belgrade to help to solve the Transylvanian issue.

[From The New York Times, Wed., February 1, 1978]

AN ETHNIC-HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST IN RUMANIA COMPLAINS TO HIS PARTY ABOUT BIAS

(Europe's largest ethnic minority consists of the 2.5 million Hungarians in Rumania, principally in the western province of Transylvania, east of Hungary. Károly Király, a Hungarian who is now vice president of the Hungarian Nationality Council, the Communist Party-controlled organization representing the ethnic Hungarians, was an alternate member of the Rumanian party's Politburo until he resigned in 1972, and a Central Committee member until 1975. In the accompanying letter, which was smuggled out of Rumania at his behest (and excerpted by The New York Times)—it is said to be his third to high Communist officials—Mr. Király complains about what he says are Government policies of forced assimilation of the Hungarians. The letter, dated Sept. 10, 1977, and sent from Marosvásárhely, in Transylvania, to Janos Vincse, a Central Committee member, was given to The Times by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, based in New York City. It was translated from the Hungarian by one of its leaders, László Hámos. Mr. Hámos says that Mr. Király's arrest is believed imminent.)

(By Károly Király)

My Dear Friend, anxiety and concern compel me to write to you about the manner in which the nationality question has been handled in our country of late, and how the Nationality Workers Councils on both the national and county levels are performing their work.

It is well known that the party resolution adopted 10 years ago to establish these councils was accepted and greeted enthusiastically by millions of workers of the various nationalities in our country. They considered it a well-thought-out and responsible act which would serve the preservation of their national identities, provide an organisational framework through which they could voice their various problems and complaints, and advance the development of their social, material and intellectual well-being.

Although from the very beginning the organisational structure as well as the rules of operation proved narrow and inadequate, encouraging signs did appear in their activity: At meetings it was permitted to speak freely and openly; of the numerous proposals raised, a good many were considered; there were also some plenary sessions which were attended by Comrades (Nicolae) Ceau-

sescu (the President) and (Ion Gheorghe) Maurer (a former Prime Minister). The speech given by Comrade Ceausescu at the spring 1971 joint plenary session of the Nationality Councils was met with lively enthusiasm and deep satisfaction. Unfortunately, the satisfaction and the hope were short-lived.

"PURPOSES OF PROPAGANDA"

In practice, it became clear that these beautiful speeches, incorporating so many sound principles, were not made for our sake, but to serve the purposes of propaganda, especially propaganada directed abroad. We are compelled to state that the chasm between theory and practice is vast and that while one thing is said entirely different things are done.

We were promised new secondary vocational and technical schools in which studies were to be conducted in the language of the nationalities, but we have witnessed a decline in the number of these schools. Children cannot study in their native tongue, compulsory instruction in the Rumanian language has been introduced even at the kindergarten level. In 1978 a decision was made to eliminate Hungarian institutions of higher education.

RUMANIAN MAYORS NAMED

It is no secret of course that the Hungarian State Theater of Marosvásárhely has a Rumanian director who does not speak Hungarian. In the same way, it is nothing new that in cities where the majority of the population is Hungarian—such as Nagyvárad, Marosvásárhely, Szováta—Rumanians who speak no Hungarian are being appointed as mayors.

Use of the native tongue is severely restricted at meetings of the party, the Young Communists League, the trade unions, and in the various workers councils; indeed, use of the native tongue is prohibited even at meetings of the Nationality Workers Councils.

Signs identifying institutions, localities and so on in the native tongue of the local inhabitants have almost completely disappeared. In 1971 when I was party First Secretary in Kovászna County, we posted bilingual Rumanian and Hungarian signs, but their existence was short-lived. The signs were simply removed, and by 1975, not a single locality was identified in Hungarian.

Nationalities cannot use their native tongues even in state offices.

With regard to the question of personnel, the replacement of Hungarian officials (where there still are any) with Rumanians is being carried out with incredible persistence. This applies equally to the politico-administrative apparatus and to the various economic and industrial enterprises. I don't even wish to think of such cities as, for example, Nagyvárad, where there is not a single party secretary of Hungarian nationality.

It is clear from only this much that a multitude of factual realities violate the Constitution, the founding charter of the party and the fundamental principles set down and provided for in party documents. What is occurring in practice is not in harmony with the principles in these documents—indeed, it completely contradicts them—and has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninism, fundamental human rights, humanism, or ethical behavior and human dignity—that is, all that which is trumpeted far and wide in the most varied kinds of propaganda.

DISTRUST AND DOUBTS

All of this in no way benefits either the Rumanian people or the other nationalities.

The tendency to forcefully assimilate nationalities living in Rumania is also revealed by the press at times, and this creates total distrust in nationality policies; indeed, it casts doubt over the sincerity of all policies in general, and for millions of citizens it destroys their confidence in socialist society.

What concerns me the most at this time is the obstinacy with which this problem is ignored by our party organs; from the lowest level to the highest they act as if they were totally unaware of it.

My own personal efforts, as well as those of others, to draw their attention to it, have thus far remained fruitless. And the situation continues to deteriorate, to the detriment of the prestige of our party and society.

I am writing to you with a deep sense of responsibility, as I am one of those Communists who is convinced of the truth of our ideals. I have fought for these

ideals since my tender youth, and later as a member of the supreme party and state leadership as well.

The nationality question is a touch-stone of democracy. Without the just and real, not only verbal, solution of the nationality question, democracy cannot exist, and the new society, the socialism which we all want, cannot be built up. Our supreme leadership must analyze these problems very seriously. Unless it does so, the leadership itself will make the entire existence of democracy within our party and our society questionable.

"THE PERSONALITY CULT"

It is not society which is bad, nor is it the socialist system which must be faulted, but the methods used by the leadership. It is necessary to illuminate the grave errors being committed in the interpretation of Marxist-Leninism and in the application of the fundamental principles established by the party.

We must renounce policies based on demagogy, the personality cult and the capricious application of Marxism. Only in this way can we achieve a proper, just and democratic solution of all those questions which reality has created in our socialist society.

We nationalities—Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and so on—feel a deep respect for the Rumanian people and wish to live in harmony with them.

It would be a pity if all that would collapse which we, Rumanians and the other nationalities, built up with hard work in the decades following liberation. After all, this country is the common home of all of us, and we love her as a good mother. We must do all we can to prevent her from becoming a cruel stepmother to any one of her children, regardless of his nationality.

LETTER FROM KAROLY KIRALY TO JANOS FAZEKAS

(Written in August 1977)

"I herewith enclose a copy of my letter Comrade Ilie Verdet. This letter contains my observations the manner in which the nationality question in our country has been handled, together with my recommendations on the ways in which the activity of the different nationality councils could be improved."

"It is an unfortunate fact that in recent times the activity of this council has declined to zero.

Many errors are committed in the practical handling of the nationality question.

a) This year again, opportunities are being constantly restricted for children of national minorities to study in their native tongue; this breeds anxiety and deep dissatisfaction;

b) The concept of restrictive quotas ('valachus numericus') is utilized with respect to personnel problems; in fact, employment opportunities for nationalities are being restricted in certain institutions;

c) Unpardonably extreme methods of intimidation are employed against those who dare to ask for permission to speak in the interest of having the nationality question handled legally and in accordance with the Constitution.

As you know, there was also violence and torture; the harassment of (Jeno) Sziklai, the eminent professor from Brasso, drove him to commit suicide."

"What is most distressing is the fact that local Party and State organs try to cover up, to gloss over the facts, as if they were completely lacking in sensitivity toward such thorny problems as the nationality question or the national sentiments of the cohabiting nationalities.

I am turning to you, because you are active in the highest levels of Party and State leadership, and I ask that you be so good as to call these problems to the attention of the Political Executive Committee." (Excerpts)

A LETTER FROM KAROLY KIRALY TO ILIE VERDET

(Dated June 2, 1977)

"I turn to you as the individual in the Party leadership who is responsible for supervising Workers Councils of the various nationalities living in our country."

"In view of the fact that from the moment it came into being, I have been Vice President of that Council (Hungarian Nationality Workers Council, Ed.) and have participated in its work, I am equipped with a thorough and complete knowledge of the subject."

"I am thus in a position to make some observations.

During the past few years, the work of the Councils has become more sporadic and mostly formalistic in nature, and its effect on the working peoples and contact with them has greatly declined. To this very day, the national (Hungarian Nationality) Council and most of the Country Councils have no headquarters and do not schedule office hours. The Council executive committees ('Bureaus') on both the national and county levels meet very rarely—once every year or every two years. At council meetings, only subjects of a general nature are discussed relating to submissions of various declarations of the kind expressing solidarity with government positions, especially on international questions. But even if certain questions of a concrete nature do arise, as for example education in native tongue, cultural activities and instruction, etc., the questions remain unresolved.

For the past three years, statements made during meetings have been pre-fabricated and censored by comrades in the county leadership and by Central Committee officials." "It is characteristic that even at these County Council meetings, but on the national level as well, the materials under discussion are printed in the Rumanian language, and statements by the participants are also in Rumanian."

"In my view, the council's program of activities must be urgently revised;" (Kiraly sets forth in the letter 12 proposals for the democratization and revitalization of the Workers Council, such as: "all the governing bodies should be elected, the Executive Committees should meet every month and the Councils every four months," "The Councils should have a single charter approved by the National Conference, the council should have offices operating in a continuous fashion, the councils should have newspapers and periodicals of their own, the councils should be allowed to organize public gatherings and cultural and sport events." "Authorized by the Party, they—the councils—should keep constant watch to determine how the nationality policies of the Rumanian Communist Party are practically applied in the fields of culture, use of the native tongue in administrative offices and public institutions, and in other areas. They should follow the progress of education in the native tongue at all academic levels. They should contribute in every possible way to the development of the spiritual welfare of the cohabiting nationalities.")

"The councils should participate, with their own candidates, in elections of legislators to the Grand National Assembly and in People's Council elections. They should be allowed to form a group from among their Representatives, which have the power to introduce legislation.—The creation of a Nationality Statute can no longer be postponed (a Statute of this sort actually existed until 1948)."

"National sentiment is a sensitive question which must be treated with special attention; it is a question which relates to the quality of the nationality, and its solution cannot be measured in percentages as can industrial progress and results. National sentiment is equally powerful in all peoples, regardless of how large or small, once they possess their own national identity."

". . . there is continuous repetition of the proposition that the nationality question in our country has been finally, once and for all, solved." "To support this thesis, industrialization and the guarantee of employment without regard to nationality differences are constantly cited. I completely agree with this, but only with this much, because the nationality question is a spiritual, and not only material one. The primary aspect is the material, but it can only complement and enrich, not substitute for, the spiritual." (Excerpts)

ARREST, TORTURE AND KILLING AMID NEW WAVE OF ANTI-HUNGARIAN TERROR IN RUMANIA

(Excerpts from a memorandum (Nov. 28, 1977) By the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania)

"In April 1977, as part of a sweeping effort to silence all possible signs of independent-minded expression within the Hungarian minority, the Rumanian secret police arrested scores of Hungarian intellectuals, most of them teachers." "The

arrested were kept imprisoned for periods of up to four weeks and regularly subjected to savage beatings and other form of torture. Thusfar, it has been possible to reliably ascertain the identities of only 8 of the victims, but it is clear that many more were involved. The following are the 8 persons whose names are known: Jenő Szikssai, teacher from Brasov; Mrs. Jenő Szikssai, Brasov; Sandor Kuti, teacher from Brasov; Zoltán Zsuffa, teacher from Covasna; István Kocsis, dentist from Sântul-Gheorghe; József Haszmann, teacher from Papaut; Pál Kallai, clerk from Covasna; Peter Eros, librarian from Sântul-Gheorghe.

The purpose of the torture and beatings was to elicit signed confessions from the victims to the effect that they had been part of a Hungarian nationalistic conspiracy, detrimental to the interest of the state. The coercion was also exercised to force their signature on a variety of declarations praising the nationality policies of the Rumanian Government and asserting that the situation of the Hungarian minority is ideal in all respects."

"Whether Sandor Kuti had been executed or died from the torture he had endured is as yet uncertain. What is certain is that another of the accused, Jenő Szikssai, completely ruined physically and psychologically by the torture, was found in the attic of his home shortly after his release dead by hanging.

The initial trickle of reports about the incidents above coincided with the arrival in May of news about another, bizarre effort by the Rumanian authorities: a massive, forced "letter-writing campaign" by minority citizens (and Rumanian citizens. Ed.) of Rumania to United States Senators and Congressmen. According to usually well-informed sources, prominent individuals of Hungarian and other minority origin were being threatened by job demotion, complete loss of employment or housing, and other, more severe consequences, unless they agreed to write to the American legislators. Their letters had to sing the praises of Rumania's enlightened minority policies, their own utopistic conditions and the boundless cultural opportunities available to them as minority citizens.

The early accounts of this effort were confirmed in May and June—just prior to Congressional hearing on the continuation of Rumania's most-favored-nation status—by the actual arrival of such letters in Washington. The well-selected targets were those legislators who had previously voiced concern in Congress over minority oppression in Rumania. Considering their source, the letters exhibited a remarkable degree of familiarity with the names of such legislators and the content of their expression of dissatisfaction. Clearly, the Rumanian officials had 'assisted' the letter-writers by supplying this information."

"The above information is based on evidence which has been thoroughly and meticulously corroborated. Though less spectacular, other recent measures—such as the closing of scores of Hungarian high schools in Rumania this fall—have had an equally devastating effect on the Hungarian minority. Combined with the present impact of previously instituted measures, the situation of Rumania's national minorities is rapidly deteriorating."

EXCERPTS FROM A MEMORANDUM

(By Zoltán Zsuffa to Ferdinand Nagy first secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party in the County of Sântul-Gheorghe Covasna, July 31, 1977)

"I, the undersigned Zoltán Zsuffa, a teacher at the high school in Covasna, residing in the city of Covasna, born October 27, 1921 in the city of Brasov, submit the following memorandum for your consideration and review, with the request that you resolve my case in a favorable manner.

I received a written notice to report on April 29, 1977 at the State Internal Security officer Sântul Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy, original name in Hungarian. Ed.) and present myself to the officer on duty, Captain Pop."

"During my detention in Sântul Gheorghe, I was ordered to prepare a written confession about my life, encompassing the period from 1940 to the present. At this point, Captain Pop warned me that a military court had been convened, that a special committee had arrived from Bucharest to investigate my case and that everything would depend on 'how I write the confession'. I was not alleged to be responsible for any specific act, nor did I stand accused on any misdeed. On the other hand, when I began writing the confession, Captain Pop stopped me and ordered me to write it 'in the manner that he wishes to be written'. Despite my every protestation and denial, he said 'the facts are as he states and there are documents to prove it'. After I had already written three pages, a civilian entered, introduced himself as chief of the counter-espionage service in Bucharest in rank

of colonel, and, without reading what I had written, ripped up the pages. He then fell upon me and beat me with his fists until he became too tired to continue, meanwhile insulting me with slanderous remarks going as far as to ridicule my (Hungarian) nationality origin. He then ordered Captain Pop to bring a rubber billy with which he (the Colonel) thrashed me for a long time until he had drawn blood, with no justification whatsoever. After this he departed and left me to Captain Pop with whom we started in again on writing the confession, which now proceeded as straight dictation."

"As a consequence of the above, I admit to nothing contained in the confession forced upon me, because it was coerced from me through bloody beatings, leaving wounds which took three weeks to heal."

CARTER PRAISES CEAUSESCU ON HUMAN RIGHTS

President Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania has again visited the United States. The visit climaxed at the welcoming ceremony on the White House lawn, April 12, (where incidently, the wrong National Anthem was played for Romania's boss). In his welcoming speech President Carter did not spare words extolling what he considers as assets of the Stalinist-type communist reign of Ceausescu. He even paid tribute to Mr. Ceausescu in the human rights field, asserting for the two of them. "We believe in enhancing human rights," according to Mr. David Binder of The New York Times: "In this area Mr. Carter is somewhat at odds with members of Congress who feel that the Rumanian Government has dragged its feet on granting permission to emigrate to Rumanians seeking to leave their country, including Jews." Presently Rumania holds up permission to emigrate for some 125 people.

Another liability of the Ceausescu regime, the oppression of national minorities in Rumania which is clearly in violation of human rights, did not go unheeded during the 2 days talks of the two head of the states.

In spite of the praises of Ceausescu by the President, reliable sources indicate that Mr. Carter did bring up the subject of oppression of Hungarians in Rumania to Mr. Ceausescu during a sort of private talk with him at the White House meeting. It is also known that follow-up talks were initiated by the State Department with Rumanian Foreign Ministry officials and further negotiations are planned with regard to the minority situation in Rumania.

Ignoring the plight of 3 million minorities of Rumania would put Mr. Carter at odds with some 80 congressmen who for the last 15 years have consistently supported the struggle of Transylvania oriented American human rights organizations on behalf of the oppressed 2.5 million Hungarian inhabitants of Rumania.

That problem was in the center of interest at the April 13 press conference at the national Press Club in Washington where half of the questions to Mr. Ceausescu were directed to the Hungarian situation in Rumania.

"His normally low-key and deliberately slow manner of speaking changed. His voice rose and the words came in a sudden torrent" when he was questioned about discrimination against Rumanian national minorities—the New York Times reports.

How successful Mr. Ceausescu's visit to the United States was in term of his bid for more trade remains to be seen. His request last year, however, that the trade agreement according most-favored-nation tariffs for Romania's goods be extended for a longer term instead of subjected to yearly review has been turned down prior to his visit here.

HUMAN RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST CEAUSESCU'S OPPRESSIVE MINORITY POLICIES

"THE GREAT WALDORF DEBATE"

While the meeting of Mr. Carter and Comrade Ceausescu was in process April 13, some 1,000 human right activists, mostly Hungarian-Americans, assembled outside the White House lawn with posters, protesting against the cultural deprivations, what they call "cultural genocide" of Transylvanian Hungarians. Some Rumanian exiles reportedly also joined the protest march.

Another demonstration of similar purpose took place in New York, April 16, in front of the Waldorf-Astoria where Mr. Ceausescu stayed at the last stop of his American tour. The crowd protesting Rumania's policies toward its Hun-

garian minority swelled to 2,000 outside the hotel. "Shortly before midnight Sunday Ceausescu got so agitated by the protests that he complained to the State Department, which in turn pleaded to Police Commissioner Robert McGuire to assure the Romanian President that his safety was not in danger," according to the New York Daily News, April 18. "After midnight, under a reinforced police escort, the Romanian president's party returned to the Waldorf (coming from the Romanian U.N. mission), past a small group of protesters that had remained in E. 49th St. One egg struck Ceausescu's car, police said." According to both, Mayor Koch and Commissioner McGuire more than 100 policemen had kept order without incident.

Next morning, Ceausescu being apparently still upset, Mayor Koch, advised by the State Department, rushed to the Waldorf to settle down the Rumanian president. "It is not you—Koch told Ceausescu diplomatically—it's your policies." Those policies, said the mayor, do discriminate against Hungarians living in Rumania. "Koch and the president (Ceausescu) discussed the specific issue of rights for Hungarian nationals in Rumania, particularly the access of school-age children to Hungarian language studies, before the session broke up"—the Daily News reports.

In Houston April 15, Ceausescu's remarks presumably addressed to criticism about Rumania's human rights record, were underscored by a group of human rights protesters outside the gate of Ridge Oaks Country Club, as the Ceausescu entourage arrived for a luncheon with Houston public officials and businessmen. The demonstrators were carrying placards protesting the denial of political rights to ethnic Hungarians in Rumania.

The demonstrations were reported on CBS and NBC televisions and in numerous newspapers, among them The Washington Post, The New York Times, Daily News, New York Post, Yonkers Herald Statesman, The Houston Post, The Madrid ABC.

**ANDRAS SUTO, TOP HUNGARIAN WRITER OF TRANSYLVANIA PROTEST
RESTRICTIONS ON HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE EDUCATION**

[From The Christian Science Monitor, May 2, 1978]

HUNGARIAN MINORITY MAKES ITSELF HEARD IN ROMANIA

(By Eric Bourne)

VIENNA.

Europe's most "silent" and largest minority west of Russia has suddenly become openly and loudly vocal about its national rights.

More than 1.7 million Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania are taking their cue from the Helsinki declaration, which has stimulated concern for human rights in many countries.

The Hungarian minority—approximately 8 percent of the Romanian population—charge that their rights are increasingly flouted. They complain bitterly of a steady "Romanization" in education and culture.

From the early 11th century until 1918 Romanian Transylvania was part of Hungary. When the Hapsburg Empire collapsed, it went to Romania. Hungary briefly regained it in 1940 but lost it again when the Western-Soviet alliance awarded it back to Romania for switching sides near the end of the war.

Despite last summer's agreement by Hungarian and Romanian party leaders on improving cultural and travel facilities for Romanian Hungarians, conditions remain largely unchanged, according to many who spoke with two Western observers in Transylvania earlier last month.

Discontent among Transylvania's Hungarians has been growing steadily since the 1950s because of priorities accorded the Romanian population and its language. But protest was muted under Romania's generally authoritarian internal system and its rigid attitudes toward ethnic groups.

In recent months, however, four of the community's best-known representatives have confronted the Romanian party and government with detailed criticisms and evidence of abuses of constitutional minority guarantees.

First was former Hungarian member of Romania's State Council, Karoly Kiraly, who sent an open letter to President Nicolae Ceausescu in January.

At the outset, several past and present members of the party leadership supported him. Some, however, withdrew when his protest was published in the West. Mr. Kiraly, himself, was later exiled to a town outside the Hungarian area.

Subsequently, Mr. Ceausescu made a speech betraying evident uneasiness about minority unrest. He denounced "weak elements . . . who sell their services to foreign circles" and reiterated old claims that Romania's minorities enjoyed the same citizen rights as Romanians.

Last week, however, three more protests became known. Their authors were: Hungarian-born Deputy Premier János Farkas, who listed minority grievances in a letter to the party.

Transylvanian writer and candidate member of the party committee András Stütö, who protested restrictions on Hungarian-language education.

Lajos Takács, a former rector of the Cluj (Transylvania) University which had separate Romanian and Hungarian faculties until the mid-1960s, when all were merged under mainly Romanian direction.

In a 7,000-word memorandum to the party committee (of which he too is a candidate member), Mr. Takács extolled the party's efforts to build national unity but went on to itemise 18 areas in which, he said, laws on minority rights were not being observed. He called for a full-scale party review of all nationality questions.

* * *

"Hungarians are increasingly complaining against forcible Romanization and discrimination in every sphere of life. The ethnic Hungarians have been living in Transylvania for over a thousand years. But since the demise of the Austro-Hungarian empire at the end of the First World War, the region has changed hands three times. The Hungarians who hitherto had their old cultural institutions have gradually been losing them as the policy of enforced assimilation by the Romanian state gained momentum over the past 10 years or so.

Although couched in moderate terms (Mr. Takács memorandum), it nevertheless makes the point clear that the Hungarians have been losing ground for a number of years; their cultural institutions are being gradually abolished and they are being dispersed from the regions where they lived in compact communities."

(The/London/Times, April 25, 1978.)

SOME FACTS AND VIEWS ON THE CEAUSESCU REGIME

On human rights "unfortunately, Romania's record thus far is not good." "In the whole spectrum of human rights under the Helsinki Declaration, Romania performance has remained among the most insensitive in the East bloc outside Russia itself." (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 7, 1978)

"A patching over of differences was evident in the (joint) declaration's (of Presidents Carter and Ceausescu) language on human rights questions. Ceausescu's tight control of Romania's internal life is considered highly authoritarian even by the standards of Eastern Europe's communist societies." (*The Washington Post*, April 14, 1978)

"Romania (is) considered by Western observers as the most repressive internally. . ." (*Yonkers Herald Statesman*, April 14, 1978)

"At home he (Ceausescu) has allowed what outsiders would call a cult of personality to develop around him." "There is something almost medieval about the form of Mr. Ceausescu's rule, and some close observers of Rumania feel that up to now it may well have suited that ancient nation. He has installed his wife, Elena, in the party's governing Politburo as the principal architect of science policy. Their elder son, Valentin, is deputy head of the state youth movement. Other relatives of the Ceausescu have also been given positions of responsibility. . ." (*The New York Times*, April 14, 1978)

Senator RIBICOFF. Dr. Pilon?

STATEMENT OF JULIANA GERAN PILON, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, EMORY UNIVERSITY

Ms. Pilon. Mr. Chairman, I am Dr. Juliana Pilon. I teach philosophy at Emory University.

When I left Romania with my family in 1961, my parents having at last succeeded, after 17 years of trying—I swore an oath that I

would never do anything to harm the interests of Romania. It is precisely because I am concerned about the true interests of Romania, no less than the true interests of the United States, that I urge you to think about the implications before deciding to continue to offer this preferential treatment to a country of virtual slaves.

My reasons are not intended to move the proverbial businessmen who will buy the cheapest product regardless of its bloody history or sell this hard—and soft—wares oblivious to their obvious use in the torture chamber. Trade with Romania, as we have heard already, is, after all, cooperation with an inhumanely repressive regime, one of the countries that make a mockery of the Helsinki agreement.

I applaud Senator Dole's resolution that would, in effect, reevaluate United States participation in the Helsinki agreement, introduced only yesterday.

Fortunately, the trials of Sharansky and Ginsberg that are presently going on in the Soviet Union are beginning to awaken the conscience of this Nation to the reality that is communism—not Soviet communism in a narrow sense, but the system as such. Mrs. Solzhenitsyn reminded us again last night on the MacNeill-Lehrer report that any Communist regime requires repression and force for its very existence. Indeed, the Senate, as a whole, has reiterated its concern for human rights yesterday in a strongly worded resolution. If it is truly sincere, the Senate must be consistent. Senator Jackson's charge that the administration has a "confused, uncertain, and often contradictory approach" is surely correct. It is time for us to know where we stand.

It is the larger, moral dimension of section 402 of the Trade Act that is at issue here today. The intent of that section, you will recall, is to assure the continued dedication of the United States to the fundamentals of human rights. I read that statement broadly, as does Mr. Hamos. I disagree with Senator Jackson's interpretation of that section, which we have heard earlier today, as involving primarily, indeed almost exclusively, the right of emigration.

Human rights refers not only to Jewish or Hungarian human rights—I am Jewish, myself—but, indeed, the rights of those who cannot even demand to emigrate. Make no mistake about it. The few people who can emigrate by joining their relatives in the West are fleeing a nation of ubiquitous fear and lying. Bookstores are filled with propaganda. They need not have read Ion Carja's "The Channel of Death"—of course, they could not have read it—which describes the atrocities of the Romanian Gulag, to learn about the repression which is their daily life. They know that their government has virtually complete power over them, tells them where they must live and where they must work. They know that their hailed national socialism has another, simpler acronym.

As the Romanian dissident Paul Goma has said recently, Western governments are, knowingly or unknowingly, accomplices of the Romanian regime—they allow themselves to be deceived. Ceausescu's so-called independent policy is surely a deceptive maneuver, and I will not repeat what you have already heard about this.

So let me finally come to my recommendation. I am arguing, of course, that we must not extend most-favored-nation status to Ro-

mania. As a philosopher, my own study of Romanian ideology shows an unmistakable message. It involves the subordination of the individual to the state, to collectivism. To speak of Romanian independence is surely shortsighted and naive. We fail to understand the larger philosophy of that repressive regime.

Former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon in his recent book, "A Time of Truth," put the matter well. When discussing trade with Communist regimes, he concluded that "there is no moral or economic justification for taxing American citizens in order to finance the industrialization of nations that seek to destroy them."

But I am actually saying more. I propose that if such status is extended, it be done in all honesty without paying that cloying lipservice to human rights that will inevitably earn us the contempt we rightfully deserve. Repeal the Jackson-Vanick amendment and admit that human rights are not part of our business, but let us not feign a concern we manifestly do not have.

I would like to end my statement by saying that, if in fact all goes well—"well" is exactly what I do not mean, but "well" according to some people—if all goes as it has been pointed out to me by Senator Talmadge this morning who said that of course the most-favored-nation treatment will be extended to Romania, then it will be difficult for me not to agree with Solzhenitsyn's sad observations on the occasion of the Harvard commencement on June 8, 1978 regarding our spiritual exhaustion.

Our lovely fur coats prevent us from looking closely at the people whose cold war we are pretending not to fight. Not only are they barefoot as a result of disastrous economic policies, their very individuality has been redefined, trampled under foot like so much semantic rubble.

From under that rubble, it cannot emerge if we continue to finance their burial. At least let's not lie to ourselves, for to them, the truth speaks with all the clarity of censored silence.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Doctor.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Pilon follows:]

STATEMENT OF JULIANA GERAN PILON, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY, EMORY UNIVERSITY

When I left Romania with my family in 1961—my parents having at last succeeded, after seventeen years of trying—I swore an oath that I would never do anything to harm the interests of Romania. It is precisely because I am concerned about the true interests of Romania no less than the true interests of the United States that I urge you to think about the implications before deciding to continue to offer preferential treatment to a country of virtual slaves. My reasons are not intended to move the proverbial businessman who will buy the cheapest product regardless of its bloody history or sell his hard (and soft) wares oblivious to their obvious use in the torture chamber. Although many fine arguments have been presented to this august body to support the view that trade with Romania is not in the economic interest of the United States, much less in its military-political interest, I will leave such arguments aside. For even if it could be demonstrated that trade with the slaveowner looks attractive on the balance-sheet, one may still bring into question our sincerity when we speak in the lofty idiom of human rights. If we truly subscribe to that ideal, if we do not merely engage in the kind of self-righteous rhetoric that wins innocent if gullible votes and chic handshakes on the golf course, trade with Romania is nothing less than hypocrisy.

Now you have all heard the testimony of Mr. Lasso Hamos of the Committee on Human Rights in Romania, presented to you not once but twice in two years, to the effect that section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 was meant to add a broad

moral dimension to our deliberations concerning trade with communist countries. That dimension, however, has been deliberately distorted (see Appendix). It is becoming accepted that emigration—Jewish emigration especially—is our primary if not sole concern. The relevance of testimony concerning harassment and oppression of minorities and of religious people is therefore greatly diminished as a result of such distortion. But I do not here wish simply to defend minority and religious rights in Romania. Nor do I argue merely for stepped-up Jewish emigration, even though, being Jewish, and having experienced Romanian anti-semitism first-hand, I am evidently not against a continued concern for Romanian Jews. Rather, I suggest that we remember the broader implications of the Trade Act of 1974 and the true intent of our reservations regarding trade—indeed, what amounts to subsidized trade—with communist (euphemistically called “non-market”) countries. That intent is “to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights . . .”—which presumably refers not only to Jewish or Hungarian human rights but also to the rights of those who cannot even demand to emigrate.

This necessarily brings me to the issue of emigration itself. To think that free emigration, even if attainable, would somehow solve the human rights problem in Romania seems to imply that the rest of the people must be content where they are—at least content enough that we need not worry about their “human rights,” so to speak. “We must not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries”: is that not the spirit of Helsinki, especially as spelled out to us by Helmut Sonnenfeldt? Without belaboring the point that this is the sort of nice doctrine that brought us Kampuchea, I must confess that I sincerely doubt that many people in the world today—barring ideologues and the chronically uninformed—really do not know the reason for the Berlin Wall. Just a couple of weeks ago I spoke with a young Romanian who is now trying to get his parents out: he told me he was one of 500 who defected to the West in 1975 on the occasion of a short visit to Vienna. “Others were afraid for the families they left back home,” he said. “Otherwise they’d all be here.” Only last week I met an undergraduate at Emory University who went on a tour of Romania last summer and there met many people who said they would like to leave but could not ask, for they are Romanian and thus not allowed to apply. “I saw how the elite is treated differently from the ordinary people,” she told me. “They have different hospitals where the masses are not allowed to enter. Yet even members of the elite that I met said they would like to leave if they could.” I myself spoke with many people during my visit in 1975 who said they would give anything to be able to leave. I should add, of course, that some of those in despair shrugged their shoulders when I asked if they might wish to emigrate: pulling up roots is no easy task, leaving forever relatives, friends, home, and history. In a letter written only a few months ago which miraculously survived censorship, a linguist fluent in a dozen languages—yet who has been denied attendance to any foreign professional conferences—tells of her immense frustrations (she was once imprisoned for asking a simple question about the history of occupied Bessarabia.) Still, she explains why she cannot imagine leaving her home—afraid of homesickness and concerned that she couldn’t adapt to a new society and a new land of which she knows little. (A visit here, even if allowed, is out of the question: she writes that even five years’ wages would not suffice for buying a ticket to the U.S.) Considering the overwhelming political risks and the emotional turmoil of emigration, the people who do leave are certainly not exclusively nor even primarily motivated by material considerations, as some cynics seem to believe. They are fleeing a nation of ubiquitous fear and lying, whose bookstores are filled with propaganda. They need not have read Ion Cârja’s “The Channel of Death” (New York: Actiunea Romanească, 1974), which describes the atrocities of the Romanian Gulag, to learn about the repression which is their daily life. They know that their government has virtually complete power over them, tells them where they must live and where they must work. They know that their hailed National Socialism has another, simpler acronym.

Now I recognize, of course, that there are those who are concerned as I am about the fate of Romanian citizens and who argue that emigration is a bizarre way to deal with the problem. And, of course, I agree with them: septicemia is not cured by total bloodletting (and transfusion, under the circumstances, is incoherent). But to think that trade own subsidization would improve the economic conditions in that country and therefore ipso facto solve the human rights problem by eliminating people’s desire to leave is either to misunderstand the present reasons for the pain of the Romanian people or else (which is far worse) to misunderstand the very meaning of the term “human rights.”

Being a philosopher by trade, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, that bastion of Nobel Prize winners and free enterprise, I have explored at some length the philosophy or ideology of the Romanian regime. At present, in fact, I am working on a book dealing with Romanian-Marxist thought, concentrating in particular on its concept of objectivity and its concept of the individual. What emerges from my study is a picture of glorified collectivism whose intentions are unequivocal: the subordination of the individual to the state. Nor is this limited to Romania alone insofar as the leadership of that country sees itself as called upon to pursue the eventual triumph of socialism in the entire world. I quote from a popular text being used to disseminate the ruling ideology, entitled "A Small Philosophical Dictionary." "Imperialism is the dawn of proletarian revolution. . . . In virtue of the laws of historical progress capitalism must be replaced by revolutionary means with socialism." And what this inevitable revolution brings is an end to "individualism (which) reflects, in a society based on private property, the contradiction between the interests of individuals with the public interest. . . . The fight against individualism presupposes therefore the education of all men in the spirit of collectivism."¹ Whether or not Romania is pursuing "independent" policies (and I will not repeat the extremely persuasive arguments you have already heard demonstrating that this "independence" is very much in line with the best interests of the Soviet Union), one may well worry, therefore, about the ultimate purpose of its policies. It seems to me that we ought to pay more attention not only to the numbers of Jews who emigrate—important as that is—but to the situation that leads to their emigration, for it reflects a deeper illness, a philosophy that deserves closer scrutiny. That is, of course, assuming that we care.

Let me finally come to my recommendation. I am arguing, of course, that we must not extend "most favored nation" status to Romania. Former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon, in his recent book "A Time for Truth," put the matter well: when discussing trade with communist regimes, he concluded that "there is no moral or economic justification for taxing American citizens in order to finance the industrialization of nations that seek to destroy them." (The fact that he wrote this in a footnote may indicate that he believes it to be self-evident.) But I am actually saying more: I propose that if such status is extended it be done in all honesty without paying that cloying lip-service to "human rights" that will inevitably earn us the contempt we rightly deserve. Repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment and admit that human rights are not part of our business. But let us not feign a concern we manifestly do not have.

No one will deny that it is difficult, nay impossible, to use reason to persuade someone to care. I am writing, however, in the belief that ours is still ultimately a wise and moral country. During my visit to Bucharest in 1975 I tried to convince my Romanian friends that Americans are not the ignorant materialistic capitalists the propaganda-machine describes them to be. That view, unfortunately, is becoming increasingly more difficult to defend. When some witnesses testifying before the Congress of the United States recommend extending most favored nation" status to Romania while at the same time either admitting they know little or nothing about the political philosophy of that country or, worse, that it is not their business, when others would have us believe that one helps the slaves by subsidizing their owners, it is difficult not to agree with Solzhenitsyn's sad observations on the occasion of the Harvard commencement on June 8, 1978, regarding our spiritual exhaustion. Our lovely fur coats prevent us from looking closely at the people whose Cold War we are pretending not to fight. Not only are they barefoot as a result of disastrous economic policies, their very individuality has been redefined, trampled underfoot like so much semantic rubble. From under that rubble it will not emerge if we continue to finance the burial. At least let's not lie to ourselves, for to them the truth speaks with all the clarity of censured silence.

APPENDIX

Mr. Laszlo Hamos of the Committee on Human Rights in Romania, at the June 27, 1977, hearing before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the

¹ Our Senate Finance Committee, commenting on section 402 of the Trade Act, allegedly "believes that it is equally reasonable to establish conditions on all basic human rights, including the right to emigrate as well as basic property rights, before extending broad concessions to communist countries." (Nov. 26, 1974, Senate Report 93-1298). Can we expect "basic property rights" to be respected in a regime that repudiates such rights on ideological grounds? Endless is our talent for self-delusion.

Committee on Finance of the United States Senate, submitted the following analysis:

"Concerning the President's message of June 2, the [press release announcing the Senate hearings] states: 'This recommendation was based on his determination under section 402(d) (5) of the Trade Act that the extension of the waiver authority will substantially promote the objective of freedom of emigration in general and, in particular, in the case of the Socialist Republic of Romania.'

This statement is false. Nowhere does the President's message employ the phrase 'the objective of freedom of emigration.' The words which it actually uses are in conformity with the Trade Act, i.e., that the waiver 'will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.' The unmistakable intent behind the language used in the press release is to restrict the objectives of the section to the right of free emigration exclusively. We contend of course that the "objectives of this section" are the broader 'fundamental human rights' clearly stated at the beginning of the section.

Our interpretation is supported by grammatical evidence as well. The authentic language of the Trade Act uses the plural: 'objectives of this section'. Of the phrases 'fundamental human rights' and 'freedom of emigration', only the former is plural. The expression 'objectives of this section' clearly refers back to some antecedent and the only plural antecedent to be found in the section is 'fundamental human rights'.

Further logical evidence of this view is provided when subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 402(c) (1) are analyzed. Even if we assume that the objectives of the section is freedom of emigration, subparagraph (A) ('he has determined that such waiver will substantially promote the objectives of this section') still makes no sense. The manner in which a waiver of the condition of freedom of emigration could substantially promote the objectives of freedom of emigration is simply beyond our comprehension. Moreover, if we accept this nonsensical interpretation, there would be no need for both subparagraphs (A) and (B) because their meaning would be virtually identical.

It seems important here to reiterate the correct interpretation. The structure, grammar and logic of section 402 uniformly reveal that its objectives are fundamental human rights. The means to promote them is the requirement of free emigration. Ultimately, a country which respects the human rights of its citizens has no reason to fear an opening of its borders to all those who wish to leave. A regime which denies its citizens this right is required by the wisdom of the Trade Act to show a definite improvement in some other areas of fundamental human rights as well as to provide some assurance of future improvement in the field of emigration. . . ."

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Abbe?

STATEMENT OF CYRUS GILBERT ABBE, ATTORNEY

Mr. ABBE. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak with you because numerous Romanian Jews gave me letters specifically to bring back to you and your committee, asking you to assist them. These letters were taken from me at the airport in Bucharest, despite my protest that they were intended for your congressional committee, in spite of the fact that they were in sealed envelopes, in spite of the fact that they were marked strictly confidential and were addressed to my Congressman.

I went to Romania specifically in order to spend 3 weeks talking with Jews about the problem of Jewish emigration. I spoke with them day and night throughout the 20 days I was there. What I found as a result of my discussions, as I went from door to door speaking with the Jews there, was a situation in which numerous Jews told me of their extraordinary efforts to try and get out; of the tortuous application procedure which they had to undergo, of which your committee is well aware; of the harassment and persecution which they

had to undergo, including having their telephones tapped, being followed, losing their jobs, and worse.

I want in particular to tell you that one individual who I visited four times and spoke with, Aldalbert Rosinger whom you know very well, wants to express his appreciation to you for all of your efforts on behalf of his daughter Veronica and on behalf of himself also.

Upon my first visit there, as soon as I walked into his apartment, the first thing he did was to go to his couch, pick up one of the thick pillows and place it on top of the telephone there because, as he said, he believes there is a microphone in the telephone and he does not want us to be overheard. This was symptomatic of the situation in Romania.

As you know, it has been a long, long struggle to try and get Mr. Rosinger out of Israel, and there are many more Romanian Jews in his situation.

Numerous Jews told me, that in addition to their efforts to try and get out, they were even afraid to apply for exit visas. They were afraid to apply because they might be fired, and then they would have no way of supporting their family during the time that they were out of a job. They were looking to the United States for help.

The Jackson-Vanik amendment is known there and they are relying on the American Government to provide them with assistance. Most of their families are in Israel, and almost all of the young Jews who are in Romania want to leave, want to go to Israel.

I want to speak to you, especially in the presence of the members of the State Department, of what I think is a very simple method which can be of great help.

While I was in Bucharest I had approximately five conferences with the members of the staff of the U.S. Embassy there. They told me—and this was confirmed to me by officials of the State Department in letters received by me—that they refused to intervene with the Romanian Foreign Office on behalf of any Jew who wishes to leave Romania in order to emigrate to Israel.

The reason for their refusal to do this is their fear that any such action might diminish their effectiveness in intervening on behalf of individuals who wanted to go to the United States. Therefore, if a man in Romania wants to leave and join his brother in Connecticut, the American Embassy will intervene with the foreign office. If the same man wishes to leave in order to join his brother in Tel-Aviv, the American Embassy will do nothing to assist him.

I tried to point out to the American Embassy officials that the Helsinki agreement and the trade legislation did not state that human rights should be guaranteed, or reunification of families should be assured, only for individuals wishing to go to the United States, and that I did not believe it was the policy of either the House Committee or the Senate Committee which meets on the Romanian trade legislation every year to limit intervention for human rights, solely to individuals wanting to come to the United States. America stood for human rights all over the world, and help should not be limited to those people who want to emigrate to the United States.

Nevertheless, the embassy has stated, and the State Department has informed me, that it will continue to be their policy not to intervene on behalf of any Jew wanting to go to the state of Israel.

A simple procedure to help these Romanian Jews would be an effective monitoring system, and the current monitoring system is doing nothing to help Jews wanting to go to Israel. An effective monitoring system would be one in which an American official would go into the Romanian Jewish community and would have contact with the Jews there. When these Jews want to leave Romania and they want to fill out their preapplication form, they would immediately notify this American official, who would probably be a part of the American Embassy staff.

This American official would then intervene on behalf of the individual with the Romanian Foreign Office and at the same time would report back to your committee the results of every individual case. This would give Romanian Jews the assurance that they were having the effective support of the U.S. Government, they would be more willing to apply, and they would receive greater protection after submitting their visa applications.

I would like, just briefly, to tell you that these individuals are looking to the U.S. Government for help and support, that they are looking to the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and to your efforts. You have known the difficulties that you and your committee had in trying to get out numerous people. When I came back from Romania, I provided you with a list of about 40 individuals who were trying to get out. That was 3 months ago.

As far as I know, only one person, so far, has left. It is 3 months now, 40 people, and we have been able to get only one of them, so far, to Israel.

I am hopeful that you will recognize the courage these Jews took by my presence in Romania. Their willingness to talk to me reflected their hope that your committee would try to support them.

I would like to encourage this committee to have the State Department and the American Embassy in Romania change their policy so that they will actively intervene to help Jews who wish to leave Romania to go to the State of Israel and not only protect the human rights of individuals seeking to emigrate to the United States.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Mr. Abbe.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Abbe follows:]

STATEMENT BY CYRUS GILBERT ABBE

My recent discussions with numerous Jews in Rumania have led me to two conclusions:

(1) Tens of thousands of Jews would like to emigrate to Israel, but the procedure to apply for an exit visa is extremely difficult and the request is sometimes denied or it takes years before approval is granted, the applicant is frequently subject to harassment and persecution during this long period without any assurance that he will ever receive the visa, and therefore many Jews are too frightened to apply.

(2) An effective monitoring system is necessary in order to ameliorate this situation, and the current monitoring system has failed. In April, 1978 I spent all of my time during a three week visit to Bucharest talking with numerous Jews about the problem of emigration and this statement is based primarily on these conversations as well as letters and documents given to me by these individuals. I am an attorney by profession but have been active in Jewish affairs for years and I made this trip to Rumania as a volunteer specifically in order to meet Jews there and to determine the extent to which they have problems emigrating to Israel.

During a previous visit as a tourist to Bucharest in September, 1976 I was asked by several Jews to help them emigrate. They told me they had been waiting years since they applied for an exit visa and had lost their jobs or been separated from their spouse or drafted into the army, etc. without obtaining the visa. Since both the United States and Rumania are signatories to the Helsinki accord and since Rumania benefits from most-favored-nation trade privileges I contacted the Helsinki Commission as well as this Committee and asked members of Congress to contact the Rumanian Embassy in Washington on behalf of these individuals. I want to thank the members of Congress for their intervention and inform you that within a few months all of these Jews, who had been waiting years for an exit visa, reached Israel. Unfortunately, although this proves that Rumania can easily expedite an applicant's request for an exit visa when it wants to do so or when it is pressured by members of Congress, the problem of emigration has become even more difficult during the past two years and tens of thousands of Jews still want to leave.

Two years ago a person wishing to emigrate completed a large application form. Now he must first complete a brief preliminary request. Only if this is approved does he receive the large application form. (Jews in Bucharest suspect the reason for the change is so that when a member of Congress asks about an individual seeking to emigrate, the Rumanian Ambassador can say he hasn't even applied to leave when in reality the government has rejected his preliminary request and refused to give him an application form.) After the applicant submits the preliminary request a delay of several months normally follows and then he is summoned to a meeting at the People's Council in the area where he works. There he is frequently humiliated and advised to withdraw his request. If he refuses, he is often threatened and told orally that he will not be permitted to leave. After several more months of waiting he will usually receive a formal written rejection of his request. He then begins to submit complaints with the hope that the decision will be reversed. It may never be reversed, or sometimes after a short or long period of waiting his complaint is recognized and he is given the application form. After he completes and submits the application form he continues to wait with no assurance of approval. Since he has announced his desire to emigrate from the beginning of this tortuous proceeding, the applicant during all this time is frequently subjected to harassment and persecution such as being followed, having his phone tapped and being fired from his job so that he is obliged to remain in Rumania but has no source of income.

During my recent visit Jews who had tried to obtain exit visas gave me information about their attempts to leave and I have attached hereto a report which briefly describes each case. I have also attached letters from some of these Jews which were given to me in Bucharest specifically so that I could bring them to your attention. (A couple of the letters attached hereto were sent to me instead by relatives in Israel.) I advised each person in Bucharest of the danger that his letter may be taken from me by the Rumanian authorities, but they were so desperate for our help that they were willing to take this risk. For example, in April I visited Anton and Maria Negrea and their children. Their apartment is covered with photos to cover the cracks in the wall caused by the earthquake. Neither of them has been able to work since they were fired in 1974 when they applied to join his parents in Israel. Their eldest daughter was prevented at the last minute from graduating from the economics faculty in 1975 because they asked to leave and the younger children have been harassed at school. His life has been threatened; he has been arrested without cause. After his mother passed away, his old father took seriously ill and was hospitalized in Israel. When he received a telegram last year asking him to rush to his father's bedside, he requested a temporary exit visa from the Rumanian government and assured them he would of course return soon to his wife and children. The Rumanian government refused to even consider this request unless the entire family withdrew their request for a permanent exit visa. The Negrea family wouldn't do this and they now remain, all seven of them, still hoping that outside pressure from America will influence the Rumanian government to grant them a permanent exit visa. Meanwhile they continue to write complaints and appeals to the Rumanian authorities and receive either rejections or no response.

During my three week visit in April I went to visit numerous Jews accompanied by Sanda Maneacu, a young Rumanian Jewish woman. Vlad Maneacu, her brother, had met me in Bucharest in 1976 and had pleaded for help in obtaining an emigration visa. He had been married by the Rabbi in Bucharest to an Israeli

girl, but the Rumanian authorities had refused to recognize the religious marriage, allow a civil marriage or permit Vlad to go to Israel. For three years he had been trying to obtain an exit visa so he could join his wife in Israel. Upon my return I asked a member of Congress to intervene with the Rumanian Ambassador and because of this Vlad was soon allowed to leave. Vlad wrote to me from Israel that his sister Sanda was also trying without success to emigrate. I met Sanda as soon as I arrived in Bucharest. She was most depressed for she had lost her job because of her application to go to Israel. Since she was a simultaneous interpreter English-Rumanian, I asked her to help me visiting Jewish families and inquiring about their efforts to emigrate.

I found the Jews in Bucharest were extremely frightened but took courage in knowing that Jews in America and the American government were concerned about them and interested in their welfare. Those who had applied told me how they were followed, how their phones were tapped, how they had been fired, etc. Many of those who had not applied told me they wanted desperately to leave but knew that if they applied they may immediately be fired and might have to wait years to receive an exit visa, should it ever be granted, without any source of income to support them and their children. They advised me that the census figures for the number of Jews in Rumania was erroneous because many Jews were afraid to tell the census taker they were Jewish and some census takers discouraged Jews from calling themselves Jewish. Estimates of the number of Jews remaining in Rumania ranged from about 50,000 to 100,000 and my best guess of the total would be around 70,000. Although some of the older Jews receive support, care and aid from the Joint Distribution Committee supported by the United Jewish Appeal and feel too old to emigrate, the overwhelming proportion of the younger Jews and some of the older ones are eager to move to Israel and be reunited with their families there. Although synagogues may exist in Rumania, everyone is required to work on Saturday so the only Jews able to attend Sabbath morning services are those who are retired. Although kosher food and other religious observances may be maintained, this limited form of Jewish life does not compare with the full Jewish existence available in Israel and the Rumanian Jews long to join their families in Israel. There are now about 300,000 Rumanian Jews living in Israel, most having left Rumania just after the end of World War II, so those left in Rumania frequently have almost their entire family in Israel.

Several days after my arrival Sanda Maneacu was interrogated by the secret police. She was asked if she had complied with the Rumanian law requiring each Rumanian to report any conversations with a foreigner to his place of work. Sanda explained that she was no longer working. The secret police asked all about her activities and mine. The following day she was summoned to the police station, advised that the police knew we were contacting Jews about their desire to emigrate, that she should have no more contact with me and that she would be punished if she disobeyed. She was threatened and frightened. Nevertheless, in an exceptional display of courage she continue to accompany me so she could serve as interpreter and help other Jews who wanted to leave. She was most grateful for the assistance given her brother and the efforts being made to assist her. During the remaining 2½ weeks of my stay we were constantly followed and frightened in many ways by the Rumanian Secret police. I think the reason no more serious action was taken against us was that President Ceausescu was planning his visit to the United States, they knew I was in constant contact with the American Embassy and they knew I carried a letter from my Congressman Charles Rangel asking me to report to him upon my return since he was interested in the Rumanian trade legislation. I intentionally showed this letter to numerous people, and since there are many informers I believe the Rumanian authorities were well aware of this letter.

At the airport in Bucharest I was seized, interrogated and searched extensively. I was carrying notes of my conversations with Jews and letters given to me by some of these Jews to be conveyed to you and other members of Congress. These items were sealed in envelopes addressed to my Congressman and marked confidential. Almost all of these items were found, and in spite of my protest that these were important, confidential documents I was bringing back to my Congressman, they were confiscated. The scene at the airport was frightening; I was surrounded by Rumanian authorities, told to sign documents written in Rumanian which I could not read and threatened that if I refused I would not be allowed to board the plane and leave Rumania. After I requested to talk to the American Embassy and at my suggestion gave them a one sentence declaration

stating merely that certain documents were taken from me at the airport, I was finally allowed to leave.

Since my departure I have been informed that Jews I met have been interrogated, summoned to the police department and asked to give written statements about their contact with me. In order to meet Jews I went to as many Jewish activities as possible and visited their homes. I understand there is now an attempt to limit contact between Rumanian Jews and foreign Jews so that information about the problems of Rumanian Jews will not be available to us.

I am happy to advise you that Sanda Manescu received her exit visa within 72 hours after I left Bucharest and reached Israel to be reunited with her brother Vlad and his wife several weeks ago. Why did Sanda receive her exit visa so promptly? I believe it is because the Rumanian authorities knew she was brave enough to continue contacting Jews in Bucharest and sending information out of the country so I could provide it to you and because they knew you were already interested in her application to emigrate so that arresting her might prove most embarrassing. During the few weeks before she left she was constantly followed and was summoned to the police station and threatened with arrest. What is most important to note, however, is that the Rumanian government could grant her an exit visa in less than 72 hours when it truly wanted to expedite the matter.

Upon my return to the United States I contacted members of this Committee, members of the Helsinki Commission and other members of Congress and asked for your help so that the individuals who spoke to me and gave me letters to give you would not be punished and would be allowed to leave. Some of you have offered to help by contacting the Rumanian Embassy and I want to express my thanks. Also the Helsinki Commission has expressed its concern. Would you please continue to raise the question of the emigration of all these Jews with the Rumanian Embassy until all of them are allowed to leave? I had had a long meeting with Rumanian Ambassador Nicolae who told me he is most responsive to such intervention by members of Congress and tries to resolve emigration cases raised by them.

How can this Congress help to solve the problem of reunification of Rumanian Jews with their families in Israel? The solution lies in an effective monitoring system: a monitoring system which not only reviews emigration from Rumania and describes the hardships and difficulties involved but also causes a real and substantial improvement in Rumania's performance. With respect to Jewish emigration from Rumania to Israel the present monitoring system has been a failure. This is obvious from the sharp decline in emigration to Israel from a rate of over 300 a month in 1974 to about 100 a month this past year.

During my recent three week visit to Rumania in April I talked day and night about this problem with numerous Jews and also had five meetings with the consul, assistant consul, political adviser and press attache of the American Embassy there who were most kind to discuss this situation at length with me. I asked the American Embassy personnel about the numerous cases of Jews who had applied to leave and have been waiting months and years for exit visas. In the overwhelming number of cases the American Embassy personnel knew absolutely nothing about these Jews and never heard of them. It was obvious they were not monitoring something they knew nothing about. In addition the American Embassy personnel, though most sympathetic to the plight of these Jews, repeated what the State Department had already advised me which was that the American Embassy would not intervene with the Rumanian foreign office on behalf of any Rumanian Jew seeking to emigrate to Israel. I noted that the most-favored-nation trade legislation did not say America was only interested in emigration to America and no distinction appeared in the Helsinki Agreement based on the ultimate destination of an individual seeking to be reunited with his family. I don't believe Congress or your Committee is interested in protecting the rights of emigration and reunification of families only of those eventually emigrating to America but unless your Committee insists that the American Embassy help those wanting to go to Israel also, the American Embassy will continue to intervene with the Rumanian foreign office on behalf only of those seeking to emigrate to America. And if the American Embassy will not intervene on behalf of those Jews wanting to go to Israel, they will not hear about, monitor or report back to your Committee about these Jews. The most the American Embassy was prepared to do on behalf of these Jews was that if a member of Congress wrote the Embassy about a particular case, the Embassy would informally advise the Rumanian foreign office that this member of Con-

gress was interested in a particular case. However, the Embassy personnel distinguished this carefully from saying to the Rumanian foreign office that the American government was intervening on the individual's behalf.

How should the monitoring system be changed so that your Committee is informed about individuals seeking to emigrate to Israel and can assist them?

1. An official of the American Embassy in Bucharest or a staff official of this Committee assigned to Bucharest should mix in the Jewish community and advise Jews that the Embassy and your Committee want to know if they apply to leave for Israel and are prepared to intervene on their behalf.

2. Jews who apply for exit visas to Israel should be advised they can notify this American official of each step they take and the Rumanian government takes in the application procedure.

3. The American official should formally intervene with the Rumanian foreign office on behalf of each applicant and should inquire regularly (weekly or monthly) with the Rumanian foreign office about progress on his case to assure the procedure is expedited and to assure there is no harassment or persecution of the individual such as loss of job or police interrogation as frequently occurs now.

4. The American official should report back regularly to your Committee about the progress on each individual case.

Your Committee has helped Jews emigrate to Israel by contacting the Rumanian Ambassador in Washington. However, your Committee hears of only a small fraction of the number of Jews who apply to leave. Many more Jews would be helped if the procedure described above would be followed. This is a modest proposal at minimal expense to assist many people who need your help desperately and is in accordance with the administration's statements that America is interested in assuring human rights around the world.

As an American I was proud and was moved when the individuals I met told me they looked to America for help. They knew of America's concern for human rights, of America's stand for enforcement of the Helsinki Agreement and of this trade legislation and the famous Jackson-Vanik amendment. Mr. Chairman, I believe the members of Congress have a special responsibility to adopt an effective monitoring system and thereby to assist these individuals so they can live free from persecution and can be reunited with their families.

REVISED REPORT ON RUMANIAN INDIVIDUALS SEEKING TO EMIGRATE TO U.S.A. OR ISRAEL

During the first three weeks of April, 1978, I visited Rumania and spoke to many Jews who wished to emigrate to the United States and Israel. At the Bucharest airport letters, which these Jews had asked me to give to Congressmen and Senators upon my return to America, and most, but not all, of the notes of my conversations with them were confiscated. On May 1, by consulting those notes which were not found by the Rumanian authorities and had therefore not been confiscated, I prepared a report about these Jews who wished to emigrate. Since May 1, copies, which I had left with somebody in Rumania, of all the notes I took and all the letters I received have been delivered to me. Now, on the basis of this additional information, I have revised the report I prepared previously. Although there is considerable additional information in this revised report, it is important to remember that it is still based on information given to me in April, 1978. None of the persons named in this revised report has state secrets or top security jobs.

Formerly a person wishing to emigrate completed a large application form. The procedure changed about two years ago. Now he must first complete a brief preliminary request. If this is approved he receives the large application form. (Jews in Bucharest suspect the reason for the change is so that when a Congressman asks about an individual seeking to emigrate, the Rumanian Ambassador can say he hasn't even applied to leave when in reality the government has rejected his preliminary request and refused to give him an application form.) As noted in this revised report the preliminary request is frequently denied. Even when the application form is given to the individual and submitted, this does not in any way signify approval.

RUMANIAN INDIVIDUALS SEEKING TO EMIGRATE TO U.S.A. OR ISRAEL

1. Daria Alexandrescu, Bd. D. Cantemir 25, Sc. A, Et. 6, Ap. 90, Sector 5, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 23-65-61.

She is single, an only child and 25 years old. She is an architect and wants to emigrate to the United States. Her aunt Natasha Hirsh lives at 140 West 56th Street, New York, New York 10019. She completed the preliminary request for an exit visa on October 13, 1977 and received a written rejection of her request in December, 1977. Her complaints and appeals have been rejected and she was never given the application form. Both parents approve her request to leave.

2. Radu and Mihaela Alexandru, Str. Matei Volevod 103-118, BL 03, Ap. 6, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 85-11-89.

Both husband and wife are 30 years old. They have been married four years and have no children. He is an electronics engineer and works for the Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering. He is not working on anything secretive nor does he have any work related to nuclear questions. He works on electronic instrumentation. Others at this Institute have been obliged to leave their job six months before emigrating. She is a mechanical engineer and designs hydropower plants. They completed the preliminary request for an exit visa in September, 1977 to go to Israel where he has relatives including his father's brother. In December, 1977 they received a written rejection of their request. Their complaints and appeals have been rejected. They were never given the application form. His parents have been retired for five years. His father was formerly General Secretary of the Cultural Committee, Deputy Minister of Culture and Deputy Minister of Trade.

3. Narcis Aron and his wife Tania Cassvan, Str. Emil Racovita 27, Bloc A-3, Ap. 18 (Bercenti), Bucharest, Rumania.

The mother of Tania Cassvan also wants to emigrate.

Marcella Cassvan, Bd. L. Patrascanu 9, Et. 9, Ap. 278, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 43-48-32.

Narcis Aron, 29 years old, is a doctor. He graduated from medical school in 1972 and is now working as a doctor for the Jewish Community in Bucharest. His wife Tania Cassvan, 28 years old, graduated from music school in 1972 and is now a piano teacher at a high school. Tania's mother Marcella Cassvan, 61 years old, used to be a cashier at the Yiddish Theatre but she retired four years ago. Tania's father is dead. The couple has no children. On December 13, 1977 they completed the preliminary request to receive an exit visa to go to Israel where they all have relatives including an uncle of Narcis named Dov Matiteau in Tel Aviv. They have not yet received a written response, and they never received the application form.

4. Mihai and Adriana Balaban, (and two children), Str. Stirbei Voda 68, Sc. A, Et. 3, Ap. 3, Sector 7, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 15-99-27.

Mihai is a 39-year old doctor and works as an anesthesiologist.

His wife Adriana is a 30-year old electronics engineer working in a research computer institute. Neither is involved in any work containing state secrets. They have a son Thomas, aged 6, and a daughter Ilinca Cynthia, aged 3. They want to emigrate to Israel where Adriana has many relatives including six brothers and sisters of her mother. In August, 1975 Mihai requested the form stating he did not have any state secrets so he could apply to go to Israel. Within two days he was fired. In November, 1975 after numerous complaints he received this form, and they immediately completed the application form to go to Israel. (He was later hired at another hospital and is now working, but he was expelled from the Communist Party.) Two days after completing the application form they were called to the Passport Office in the police station where the official tore up their application form and shouted they had no right to leave Rumania. No explanation or reason was given. In March, 1976 they started the procedure again and completed the preliminary request and in July, 1976 received a written negative response. In February, 1977 after numerous complaints they were permitted to complete the application form but in June, 1977 they received a written negative response. After their complaints and appeals were rejected she was told in January, 1978 that she must pay 187 Lei each to have her husband's and her application reviewed again. She paid this sum in January, 1978 but no response has been given yet. More information may be available from her brother Sorin Cohn-Sfetcu living in Canada (618) 592-5719.

5. Rela Dickman, 114 Vltorului Str., Sector 2, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 12-82-25.

She is a 26-year old engineer working with machine tools. She is single. She recently received her visa to go to Israel where her father has a cousin. She completed the preliminary request in January 1977. This was rejected but after

numerous complaints she was given the application form in February 1978. She expects to leave for Israel soon.

6. Costin Ganea, Aleea Terasei 8A, BL. PE 1, Sc. A, Ap. 2, Sector 5, Bucharest, Rumania.

He's single and 30 years old. He graduated as a subengineer from the Polytechnic Institute (a status between an engineer and a technician) in 1966 and now works at the Research and Design Institute for Thermo-energetic Equipment dealing with steam turbines. He wants to join relatives including a first cousin in Israel. He completed the preliminary request in October, 1977 and received a written negative response in January, 1978. He has filed many complaints and appeals based on the Rumanian Constitution and Law No. 212, but he has not yet been given the application form.

7. Florin and Adriana Grigoriu, Str. Aleea Covasna 1, Bloc F 12, Ap. 7, Et. 2, Sc. 1, Berceni—Sud II, Sector 5, Bucharest, COD 75554, Rumania, Tel: 83-83-21. The parents of Adriana Grigoriu also applied to emigrate.

Alexandru and Iosefina Cerbu, SOS. Colentina 62A, BL. 118, Ap. 105, Sc. B, Et. 6, Sector 2, Bucharest, Rumania.

The sister of Adriana also applied to emigrate.

Iolanda Cerbu, Piazza Rosetti 8, Et. 9, Ap. 25, Sector 3, Bucharest, Rumania.

Florin is 25 years old and an engineer working for Gropul Intreprinderilor De Gospodarie Comunata—Section Centrales Thermiques in Bucharest. His wife Adriana is 24 years old and a pharmacist working 120 kilometers from Bucharest. Alexandru Cerbu is 56 years old and retired because of illness. Iosefina Cerbu is 44 years old and works as a teacher in a school for the mentally disturbed. Iolanda Cerbu is 24 years old and works as a pharmacist 500 kilometers from Bucharest. They want to join relatives in Israel including brothers and sisters of Alexandru. They completed the preliminary request in November, 1977. They never received any written response and were never given an application form. They have filed complaints without receiving any answers. Alexandru and Iosefina Cerbu were expelled from the Communist Party for requesting exit visas; the others never beloged.

8. Marian and Rivi Iager (and son Andre Iager), Bd. Ana Ipatescu 28, Sector 1, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 50-36-46.

Marian is a retired physician aged 64. His wife Rivi is a retired lawyer aged 58. Their son Andre is a physician aged 25. They want to go to the United States. Rivi has her mother Malka Wechsler and two brothers, Aristide Wechsler and Leon Grant, living in the United States. They have spoken to the consul at the American Embassy in Rumania, and Marian and Rivi have already been accepted for immigration into the United States. They applied to leave Rumania in September, 1977 and have not yet received a response. More information is available from a cousin, Mrs. Evy Strominger (212) 897-6911, who lives at 112-46 68th Road, Forest Hills, New York.

9. Dan and Manuela Iancovici, Bd. Dinicu Golescu 9A, Ap. 9, Et. 2, Sector 7, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 49-57-91.

Dan is 25 years old and works as a water supply engineer. His wife Manuela is 28 years old and works as a subengineer (a status between engineer and technician). They do not have any children. They want to join relatives in Israel, including an uncle of Dan's named Mordechai Leopold who lives at Batei Hana, Kiriath Ata, Haifa, Israel. They completed the preliminary request on June 30, 1977 and received a written negative response in January, 1978. They have filed numerous complaints and appeals but never received the application form.

10. Dumitru and Paraschiua Jullan, Dr. Staicovici St. 49, BL. 2, Ap. 10, Bucharest, COD 76202, Rumania, Tel: 37-06-43.

Both the husband and wife are 67 years old and have been retired for seven years. He formerly worked as a chemist and she formerly worked as a lab technician. They want to join his relatives in Israel, including a sister, Frieda Brownstein, who lives at Givat Brenner, Israel. Her sister is married to a high official in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They fear this official has prevented them from leaving because it may affect his career if he has relatives who emigrated. They submitted the application form in December, 1974 and received a written negative response in September, 1975. They appealed without success. In April, 1977 they were told their application form was too old so they started the procedure over again by completing the preliminary request in May, 1977. They have not received a written answer yet.

11. Eugene Lerescu, Bd. Macaralei 58, Bloc P-2, Sc. A, Ap. 25, Sector 4, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 30-66-06.

His father Paul Lerescu, his mother Carmen Lerescu and his grandmother Cecilia Cotariu all live at the same address and want to emigrate also.

Eugen is 24 years old and an electronics engineer at a computer factory, Intreprinderea De Calculatoare Electronice. Paul works as a chemist at Intreprinderea Chimica Ducești, and is 53 years old. Carmen, aged 55, is a retired assistant professor. Cecilia, aged 85, is also retired. In August, 1977, they completed the preliminary request to join relatives in Israel, including Paul's sister Ghita Strulovici who lives at 12 Rehov Peklin, Tel Aviv. They received a written negative response in December, 1977. They have filed complaints and appeals without success and have never received the application form.

12. Anton and Maria Negrea (and five children), Bd. Magheru 9, Sc. 1, Et. 1, Ap. 1, Sector 1, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 13-26-65.

Anton is 54 years old; his wife Maria is 49 years old; their five children are Rodica, 28, Daniela, 15, Carmen, 14, Victor, 13, and Alina, 10. They both were fired from their jobs in 1974 when they applied to join his relatives in Israel, including his father Herman Schwartz, Sderot Warburg 102, Bloc 2, Kiryat Smuel, Haifa, a sister Ernestine Fisher, Kiryat Haim, Sderot Degania 15/8, Haifa, and a sister Sarina Waldman, Rehov Eshkol 8/5, Kiriat Motzkin, Haifa. They have not worked since then. Their eldest daughter Rodica was prevented at the last minute from graduating from the economics faculty when they applied to leave but was finally allowed to graduate in 1977. Rodica works as an economist now. Some of the little children were persecuted in school because of their request to leave. They believe Maria's brothers have prevented them from receiving an exit visa. Two brothers are high military officers. A third brother was formerly First Secretary in the Rumanian Embassy in Moscow and his brother-in-law is a general and an aide to President Ceausescu. These brothers, afraid of the effect on their careers if the Negrea family emigrates, broke into the Negrea home and threatened Anton's life. Anton was arrested once in the street to prevent his attendance at a ceremony honoring Nahum Goldman and visited at home by government officials to tell him he couldn't attend a party for Menahem Begun. He had received invitations to both parties, but the government was afraid he may try to communicate with them. His plight has been discussed on Radio Free Europe three times already. Their application was submitted in July, 1974 and rejected in September, 1974. Numerous complaints and appeals have been rejected. Rodica recently completed a preliminary request for herself alone which was also rejected. In November, 1977 Anton received a telegram that his old father was ill in the hospital in Israel. He requested a temporary visa to go alone to visit his father. He was told the government would not even consider his request for a temporary visa until the entire family's request for a permanent visa was withdrawn, which he and his family refused to do.

13. Liviu and Mandita Rattner (and son), Valea Oitului 16, Bl. A 28, Sc. E, Et. 4, Ap. 75, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 77-77-47.

Liviu is 30 years old. He played first violin in the Radio-TV Symphony Orchestra, but was dismissed after requesting to go to Israel with his wife Mandita and join his relatives there. Mandita is 29 years old and was fired from her job at a state foreign trade enterprise because of their request to leave. They completed the preliminary request for themselves and their 4-year old son Sergiu in November, 1977.

Their request was rejected initially but in March, 1978 they were given the application form which they submitted. They have not yet received a response to the application form. Both are now jobless.

14. Adalbert and Malvina Rosinger, Str. Stirbei Voda 4, Sc. 4, Ap. 96, Bucharest, COD 70733, Rumania, Tel: 13-55-14.

Adalbert, 60 years old, and his wife Malvina, 65 years old, have been trying for years to go to Israel where their daughter Veronica aged 26 now lives at Rehov Meleh Rehoash 27/5, Haifa and all of Malvina's family lives. In the early 1960's a series of secret trials for acts against the state were held. All the defendants were Jews. They were held incommunicado for years prior to the trials, and the trials did not comply with any human standards of justice. All were convicted and each defendant spent many years in jail. Mr. Rosinger was in jail from 1961 to 1969 before being released; however, he was initially fined 21 million lei and one-third of his small monthly pension is still taken now as payment on the fine. The government refuses to let him leave until the huge fine is paid in its entirety which, of course, is impossible on his small pension. More information is available from the office of Senator Ribicoff.

15. Vera Solomon, Str. Ion Calin 22, Sector 2, Bucharest, Rumania.

She is single, 24 years old and works at the Jewish restaurant. Her mother is dead. Her father abandoned her years ago. In Israel where she wants to go she has five aunts, three uncles and three cousins living. Her preliminary request filed in July, 1977 to join relatives in Israel was rejected in September, 1977. Since then she has filed numerous complaints without any success. She has never received the application form.

16. Mariuca Stanciu, 55 Caderea Bastillei St., Sector 1, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel: 11-49-65.

She is single, 25 years old and teaches English. In August, 1976 she completed the preliminary request for an application form to emigrate to Israel where her aunt Hana Zeltzer, 169/1 Hayam Road, Haifa, and her boyfriend live. She received a written negative response to this request in November, 1976. After numerous complaints she was finally given the application form which she submitted in February, 1978. She has not received a response to her application.

BUCHAREST, April 4, 1978.

DEAR SIR: I am Anton Negrea, 54 years old, and I live in Bucharest at Boulevard Magheru 9, Scora A, Apartment 1, Sector 1. My telephone number is 13-26-65. I am a journalist. My wife Maria, 49 years old, is also a journalist. We have five children: Rodica, 23, graduated economics, Daniela, 15, in the ninth grade, Carmen, 14, in the eighth grade, Victor, 13, in the seventh grade and Alina, 10, in the fourth grade.

I am the son of Herman (Herscu) Schwartz and also of Rebecca Schwartz who died in 1976. My father lives in Israel at Sderot Warburg 102, Bloc 2, Kiriat Schmu'el, Haifa. I have two sisters, My older sister Ernestine Fisher lives with her husband in Israel at Kiriat Haim, Sderot Degania 15/8, Haifa (tel. 725719). The other sister lives with her husband Maurice Waldman in Israel at Rehov Eshkol 8/5, Kiriat Motzkin, Haifa (tel. 732549). My parents and my sisters left for Israel between 1958 and 1962. All my relatives (uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces) are living in Israel. Many of them have been living there since 1945-46. I have no relatives in Rumania.

Because of this and because of my parents' wishes I asked to leave for Israel, together with my wife and children, in July, 1974. We applied in order to be together with our family. We did everything which might be required to apply. Neither my wife nor I have had access to state documents. In spite of these facts, in September, 1974, our request was disapproved because "we have a strong family tie". At numerous meetings at the Passport Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers and in response to complaints made to President Ceausescu we were told that our request was rejected, but no reason was given because there was no good reason. At some of the meetings with the Passport Committee my wife was told that "her family doesn't agree with our leaving for Israel." Between 1974 and 1975 we were threatened by one of my wife's brothers that he would do everything, even the impossible, to oppose our leaving. He added that we would regret our request to leave. My wife was threatened that she could easily die. She was told that she was not in possession of all her mental faculties, that she had been influenced by me and that she was irresponsible.

In July 1974 both my wife and I were fired immediately after we asked to leave for Israel. From that moment on we have had no income and pressure was applied to make us renounce our request. Our eldest daughter was not allowed to pass her last graduation exam until 1978 although she was supposed to graduate in 1975.

In 1976 when Dr. Nahum Goldman, President of the World Jewish Congress, visited Rumania, we were invited to participate in the festivities at the Choral Temple. We were not, however, allowed to enter because the police erroneously pretended that our invitation was false. (The real reason was to prevent contact.) Similarly when Prime Minister Begin came in 1977 we had invitations but were prevented from attending.

In December 1977, I got a telegram from my sisters in Israel saying my father was very ill and wanted to see me. I then requested a passport to visit my father alone, and attached the telegram to my request. The response was negative and no reason was given. I insisted on a meeting with the authorities and there I was told my request to visit my father was rejected because of our emigration request. They said that if we all renounced our emigration request they would reconsider my request to visit my father. We refused to renounce our request to

emigrate. I satisfy all the conditions for permission to emigrate to Israel, to join my family, to be beside my father, a sick old man aged 88 who wants to spend his last days with his son, his daughter and his grandchildren.

The failure to solve our emigration request is due, I think, to my wife's brothers who together with their friends hold important and influential positions in the government and who used their power and authority to prevent our leaving.

My wife doesn't have any contact with her brothers any more. Although her nationality is Rumanian, she considers herself Jewish. She wanted to convert to Judaism but the Rumanian authorities could not allow this. Our children have been educated as Jews. They attend all the religious functions that take place at the Choral Temple. They also attend the Talmud Torah courses and its chorus.

I have described some of the things that have happened to us since we asked to leave for Israel.

In April 1976, without my consent, two years after I had been fired I was retired on sickness pension. During those two years I had been very ill and was hospitalized with a kidney disease, but I had received no income whatsoever and had to survive on help from relatives in Israel.

ANTON NEGREA.

APRIL 10, 1978.

DEAR SIR: My name is Vera Solomon. I live in Bucharest and my address is: Street Ion Calin, No. 22, Sector 2.

On July 7, 1977, I submitted a request to receive the application forms for emigration to Israel. On September 7, 1977, I received a negative answer to this request, and on November 18, 1977, I sent in a complaint. Since then I have sent in another complaint with additional details.

The reason I want to leave is that I wish to join my family. All my close relatives live in Israel: five aunts, three uncles and three cousins. Here I have no one. After my mother died, my father left me and he was the only one for whom I still had some feelings. At home, before my father left, there were frequent quarrels and I was often beaten.

My relatives in Israel are able and willing to give me the affection that I do not have here, to offer me the real family and home that I so much need.

I was brought up in the spirit of the Jewish religion and the tradition of the Jewish people. I work at the kosher restaurant of the Jewish community here.

I believe that only in Israel, together with my relatives and my childhood friends, can I set up a family of my own, fulfill my hopes for the future and really be myself.

Since my mother passed away and my family disintegrated, nothing binds me to anybody here.

VERA SOLOMON.

DEAR SIR: By the present, we wish to introduce ourselves to you and to present in few words the troubles of our family:

My name is Liviu Rattner and I'm 30. I graduated from the Conservatory of Music-Bucharest in 1972. I play on violin and started to work as a teacher of violin in the "G. Enescu" high school of music in Bucharest. Later, in 1974, I started to play as first-violin in the Romanian Radio-Tv. Simfony Orchestra.

My wife, Mandita Rattner, who is 29, graduated in 1972 the Faculty of English literature and language and since then she has been working in a State Enterprise of Foreign Trade.

I have to mention here that both of us are highly appreciated (professionally).

We have a son Sergiu Rattner, 4 years old.

Our troubles have started in November 1977, when we filled in some application forms in order to emigrate to Israel. I am of Jewish origin and all my relatives (more than 20 persons) have been living in Israel for more than 20 years. My parents are living in Bucharest; they are old ones and wish us to settle there and afterwards they will join us.

After having been submitted the respective forms, we were summoned in front of some commissions and they tried to persuade us to give it up. More than that, they threatened me that I would die of hunger and still I won't receive the approval. By that time I thought that this was simply a threaten. But, they told me first that I'm not allowed any more to appear in broadcast concerts.

Then on February 10, inst. they announced me that I was dismissed, and offered me no other job instead. To say that now, I am in a difficult situation,

means to say too little. I've got a wife and a child, more than that we've got a 3-roomed-flat and we have to pay monthly instalments that were difficult to be paid when I had a job, to say nothing of the present situation when I'm jobless.

The respective instalments are so high that during the last 5 years we could save no money; just paid the instalments and that was all.

Now we could be in the situation of having almost nothing for a decent life.

We could not expect a material help from our parents, they being pensioners with small pensions.

So, although they told us everytime that we have no chance to emigrate in Israel, our parents being in Rumania, they left me jobless, without taken into consideration the constitutional right to work, without considering the fact that they are living without a material support a young family having a child too.

I have to mention that no other institution in this country will not employ us having filled an application for Israel.

Being almost desperate of our present difficulties and those to-be, I direct to you all our hopes and ask you to be so kind and help us.

Assuring you of my most sincere thoughts I remain, dear Sir, yours.

N.B. On March 1st, I was forced by a high Security officer to give up my admission card and I was threatened not to say to anybody what happened to me. Of course, I have no job and no opportunity to work, and still no answer from the Superintendent Board.

Help me!

KIBBUTZ GIVAT BRENNER, ISRAEL.

DEAR MR. BIENBAUM: Thank you for your consent in helping us in our efforts to bring to Israel our brother and his wife, presently in Rumania.

My brother's name and address are as follows: Family Name—Jullan, changed from Steinbock; First Name—Dumitru, changed from David. Born in 1911, he is on pension since 1972. His wife's name is Paraschiva, also born in 1911; she is also on pension. They have a daughter, Mia, an engineer, who will not leave with them. She is 35 years old and lives separately.

My brother and his wife live at the following address:

Dr. Stalcovici Street—49, Block 2, Apt. 10

Cod 76202, Bucharest, Rumania.

He first applied to emigrate to Israel in January 1975. In November 1975 he was informed by passport officials, at his home, that his application has been finally approved and that within a short time he will receive his papers. I checked this at our Foreign Office and was told that his name appears on the list at our Embassy in Bucharest, among those who will be permitted to leave.

But, after a long wait and many applications to the authorities, he was informed in writing, in May 1976 that his application to leave Rumania has been refused, without indicating the reason for this refusal.

He reapplied but to no avail. He at last reached a high official who told him to forget about leaving the country. He would never be allowed to leave. Finally, he was told that his wife's brothers, who are highly placed, are doing everything to prevent his leaving, since that may affect their position. As you are aware it is neither an honor nor an advantage in Rumania to have relatives in western countries.

Names and addresses of closest relatives in Israel: Braunstein, Frieda, his sister, lives in Kibbutz Givat Brenner. Figer, Sara, his sister, lives on Atzmaut Street 14, Beit Eleizer, Hader. Steinbock, Berta, his stepmother, Gilboa St 2, Netanya.

I should like to add here that we are the sole survivors of a very large family that was destroyed during the holocaust.

Neither my brother nor his wife were ever in any trouble with the present regime there. They were never arrested and they owe no one any money.

There are not sufficient words to express our gratitude for any help you can give us in this matter and in anticipation of your reply.

Yours respectfully,

FRIEDA BRAUNSTEIN.

BUCHAREST, April 10, 1978.

DEAR SIR: I am a Jew, born in Rumania, and I wish to live and work in Israel, the land of all Jews. I am writing to you because, under the present circumstances, there is very little hope, if any at all, of fulfilling my wish.

My name is Costin Ganea, I am 30 years old, and am living in Bucharest, Aleea Terasei, No. 8A, BL P.E. 1, Sc. A, Ap. 2, Sector V, Cod 75582.

I studied at the Polytechnic Institute in Bucharest. I am working at the Research and Design Institute for Thermo-energetic Equipment in Bucharest.

I am not a Party member, I am not in charge of secret operations, I have never broken the law, nor do I owe any money to anyone.

It was on October 18, 1977, that I went to the Office for Visas and Passports to apply for an emigration visa. I was required to fill out a form and then to wait for an answer at home. These were not emigration forms proper, and I was supposed to first get the approval of a Party commission.

Between November and December 1977, I was summoned to the Party commission three times. I made it very clear that I was absolutely determined to get repatriated, whereas the commission made it equally clear that they were against my decision.

On January 19, 1978, I got a letter from the Passports Office, informing me that my application for an emigration form had been turned down.

On January 24, 1978, I sent a written protest to the Passports Office, telling them that their decision was not legal. It was contrary to both the Constitution and Law No. 212, according to which every Rumanian citizen may emigrate if he so wishes.

On February 14, 1978, the Chief Officer of the Passports Office granted me an audience. He told me that the decision of January 19, 1978, had been taken by the Party commission. But the members of this commission had already told me plainly that their job had nothing to do with the application forms proper. Then I asked the Chief Officer when I would get a reply to my written protest, and he said in 30 or 40 days. Three and a half months have passed and I haven't gotten my reply yet.

I have not given up. In the meantime I have written three more protests, stressing the illegal aspects of the decision taken. I sent one to the above-mentioned Party commission, another to the General Department for Visas and Passports, and the third one to the Governmental Commission for Visas and Passports.

On February 28, 1978, I was summoned once again to the Party commission. They told me they had nothing against my getting the application form. But they also insisted that giving the application forms for emigration visas was none of their business. There has been no answer to the other two protests I have written.

On March 31, 1978, I was granted an audience at the Governmental Commission. There I was told that it was only the Passports Office (together, presumably, with the Party commission) that was in a position to solve my case. This information, obviously, was the very opposite of what I had been told before.

You can see now, sir, why I was saying that there is so little hope. For six months now I have kept applying for an application form and I have been consistently turned down. Now after six months at offices, commissions, etc., I am exactly where I was at the beginning.

I am 30 years old, sir. I badly want to go to my homeland and I am afraid I cannot take it any longer. That is why I am writing to you, sir. I would like you to do whatever is possible to help me go to Israel for good.

Yours faithfully,

COSTIN GANEA.

APRIL 4, 1978.

DEAR SIR: My name is Rebeca Iager and I was born in Bucharest on October 27, 1922. I live at Bd. Ana Ipatescu 28, sect. 1, Bucharest.

My husband, Marian Iager, was born in Dorohol on November 12, 1912.

My son, Andrei Iager, was born in Bucharest on January 29, 1968.

On October 15, 1977 we applied to emigrate to the United States because I no longer have any family in Rumania. All of my family, my mother, brothers, son, cousins, uncles and aunts are in America. My husband no longer has any relatives in Rumania other than his brother who also wants to leave.

Therefore, it is normal that a family be reunited and that we be allowed to leave Rumania so that we can be together again with all those who are dear to us and from whom we have been separated.

Our request is legitimate and is based on the Helsinki Agreement to which Rumania is a signatory. Why then aren't we allowed to leave?

We filed our request to be reunited with our family seven months ago and we have not ever received a response nor been given the application form to complete.

We have had meetings at the Visa and Passport Service at least twenty times. They have told us that we are right but we must wait. How long must we wait? Why must we wait?

My mother is 82 years old and she is as disheartened in America as we are depressed here. How does one respect the often discussed Rights of Man?

Since we decided to be reunited with our family and it is our right, why isn't it respected? Why are so many difficulties placed in our way? Why aren't we allowed to emigrate to the United States where our entire family is waiting for us? Rumania has agreements with the United States and I think that the two partners must respect them.

We are truly desperate and it is for humanitarian reasons that as a last hope we ask your help to resolve our problem and reunite our family. It is our last chance and we write to you with the hope you will aid us, you will save us. All we have tried to do so far has been useless and without any response. Time passes and the wait becomes more and more insupportable and full of anguish.

In the hope that you understand our desperate situation and that your help will be effective and would be able to give us the possibility of being reunited with our family, we thank you in advance.

REBECA IAGER.
 MARIAN IAGER.
 ANDEEI IAGER.

P.S. My cousin Evy Strominger lives at 112-46 68 Road, Forest Hills, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: My name is Paul Lerescu, aged 57, and I live in Bucharest at 58 Macaralei Street, Bloc P-2, Sc. A, Apartment 25. My telephone number is 806606. I am a chemist working at the "Intreprinderea Chimica Ducesti" in Bucharest. Living at the same address with me are my wife Carmen Lerescu, aged 55, former assistant professor at the "Institutul De Petrol Si Gaze" at Ploesti, now retired, my only son Eugen Lerescu, aged 24, diplomat engineer in electronic engineering, working at the "Intreprinderea De Calculatoare Electronice" in Bucharest, and my mother-in-law Cotariu Cecilia who is 85 years old.

On August 11, 1977, all of us asked permission to leave Rumania in order to unify our family in Israel, where my sister Strulovici Ghita, who is 62 years of age, lives at 12 Rehov Pekilin, Tel Aviv (tel. 243164). Also living in Israel are our nephews, cousins, etc. My sister, now a widow, lonely and ill, asked us to come and be with her. I am close to her in age, and it was she who had helped me to study chemistry. Now she needs us.

The years have passed. We strongly feel the need to be together now. My son, who has lerned Hebrew and Jewish tradition for the past six years also wishes to live in the country where he could express his Jewish feelings.

On October 12, 1977, we were called before a commission for passport problems whose members didn't understand our situation and refused us permission to fill out the applications necessary to get the passports.

In December 1977 we received our first written, official refusal. In reply we wrote up a petition, to which in January 1978 we received the second written refusal. Another petition was followed by another written refusal in March 1978.

Our situation is almost desperate. We don't know the reasons for these repeated refusals, neither of us ever having worked with secret problems nor ever having a high position.

My sister needs us strongly, for she is ill and lonely.

We appeal to your kindness to help us unify our family in Israel as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

PAUL LERESCU.

HAIFA, November 6, 1977.

I address my application to you because I know the generous interest you are taking in the situation of the Rumanian Jews who wish to emigrate from this country and are denied this right.

I am writing this letter on behalf of my niece, Mariuca Stanciu, 25 years old, living in Bucharest, 55 Caderea Bastiliei St. (tel. 11-49-65). She is a teacher of English language (B.A.), teaching in two village schools more than 60 Kms far

from Bucharest. She is engaged to an Israeli medical student, Will Ber'a, dwelling in Nahariya (Israel), 22/14 Hacarmel St.

In August 1976 she has applied for an exit visa in order to emigrate to Israel, to get married and establish here, where she has two aunts: me and my sister, who could help her in her new life.

She got a negative answer. The motivation was that since her parents live in Rumania she must stay there. It did not matter to them that she has to build her future life in Israel, where her fiance is awaiting for her, where as a Jewess her real future lives: in the Jewish State of Israel.

Since then, she has sent five memorandums (from February to July 1977) to the Rumanian passport authorities, but her situation did not progress at all; it remained in the first stage which consists of a preliminary application, where the applicant is granted or not the right to apply further (the second stage) for a passport. She was not granted this right.

In the audience she has obtained from those authorities on July 29 this year, she was told that she will never get their approval to leave this country. And although she is doomed to stay in Rumania, they told her that she will not be allowed to pass the examination for a doctor's degree, nor to obtain a specialization by attending the courses of a second department. Thus, even if she stays in Rumania she is denied the right to accomplish her studies, which is absolutely necessary for every University graduate there, because—they told her—she has relatives in Israel.

Since then, she has got last October one more negative answer to her persevering applications for an exit visa.

Knowing the permanent efforts you are making for the benefit of those unfortunate Jews in Rumania, who are denied the elementary right to emigrate, I apply to your generosity to help my niece too to get out of that country so that she can build her new life in her real country, in Israel.

Thanking you in advance, I remain your very grateful and respectful

HANA ZELTZER.

DEAR SIR: We are a young Jewish family, and our greatest wish always has been to emigrate to Israel to be closer to our relatives who themselves left Rumania a couple of years ago, and to live in Israel which we consider to be our historic land.

We applied to emigrate on June 30, 1977. After a couple of weeks I was called to a People Council which had to establish if I had any reason to leave the country. In five minutes this council determined my destiny, stating that I have no reason to leave and that it would be better to forget this thought. My wife was called separately to another council a month later with the same results.

Until now we didn't know the values and the functions of the members of these councils or the means we can use to dispute their decision.

We were then called together to the Department of Passports of Bucharest where we were told that they cannot give us even the forms of the application for a passport because of the decision of the council.

We made a complaint explaining that all our relatives who left Rumania previously had been in the same situation we are in now, and that there are no rules or laws in Rumania against emigration in our situation. After a while we were called again and we received the same answer, negative.

After waiting a few weeks they allowed us to speak with the chief commander of the department (I don't know his name or if he was really the chief commander), who told us that in his personal opinion we have no reasons to emigrate, but only the council can decide whether or not we can get the forms to demand a passport. After two months we received at our home a written negative answer.

We made another complaint on January 26, 1978 and recently another one on March 18, 1978, and we've been received once again by the chief of the department of passports who told us that we'll never get a passport. To this date, April 13, 1978, there have been no further developments.

We mention here that we've never worked with secret documents, neither we nor our parents have ever been convicted of any crimes and do not owe any debts to the state or any private persons in Rumania. Also we repeat now that the law allows us as Rumanian citizens to get a passport to emigrate and settle where we choose. We believe it is our right to leave and to decide for ourselves the place on this earth where we want to live.

DAN AND MANUELA IANCOVICI.

[From the Jewish Press, July 7, 1978]

RUMANIA RESTRICTS JEWISH EMIGRATION

(By Cyrus Gilbert Abbe)

In 1974 over 300 Jews each month were allowed by the Rumanian government to emigrate from Rumania to Israel but this number has steadily declined until this past year when an average of only 100 Jews a month were allowed to leave. Jews who applied for exit visas have been subjected to harassment and persecution. The Rumanian government has intentionally instituted a long, complex and tortuous application procedure in order to prevent emigration as well as frighten and discourage anyone wanting to apply. Rumania has acted contrary to the provisions for reunification of families specified in the Helsinki Agreement to which both the United States and Rumania are signatories and the provisions for free emigration specified in American Trade legislation under which Rumania benefits by receiving most-favored-nation trade privileges. In April I traveled to Rumania for three weeks specifically in order to talk with numerous Jews there about their emigration problems, to determine if this situation had improved or become worse since my previous visit in 1976, and subsequently to testify about my findings at Congressional hearings. On July 12 hearings before the Subcommittee on International Trade (Senator Ribicoff, Chairman) of the Senate Finance Committee will be held on Rumania's emigration policies and the trade privileges granted Rumania by the United States.

During my brief visit to Bucharest in 1976 several Jews asked me to help them emigrate to Israel. They told me they had been waiting years since they applied for an exit visa and had lost their jobs or been separated from their spouse or drafted into the army, etc. without obtaining the visa. Upon my return I asked members of Congress to intervene with the Rumanian Embassy on behalf of these individuals. Since the American trade legislation granting Rumania most-favored-nation trade privileges is subject to renewal each year by Congress, the Rumanian government is particularly sensitive to the requests of Congressmen, and within a few months all of the Jews who had been waiting years for an exit visa reached Israel. This demonstrated then that Rumania could easily expedite an applicant's request for an exit visa when it wanted to do so or when it was pressured by American Congressmen. However, I have concluded from my recent trip that the problem of Jewish emigration from Rumania has become even more difficult during the past two years and tens of thousands of Jews still want to leave.

The application procedure is even longer and more intimidating than previously. The potential applicant must first go to the police station to submit a preliminary request asking for an application form. After waiting several months he is summoned to a meeting of the People's Council where he is frequently humiliated and advised to withdraw his request. If he refuses, he is often threatened and told orally that he will not be permitted to leave. After several more months of waiting he will usually receive a formal written rejection of his request. He then begins to submit complaints with the hope that the decision will be reversed. It may never be reversed, or sometimes after a short or long period of waiting his complaint is recognized and he is given the application form. After he completes and submits the application form he continues to wait with no assurance of approval. Since he has announced his desire to emigrate from the beginning of this tortuous proceeding, the applicant during all this time is frequently subjected to harassment and persecution such as being followed, having his phone tapped and being fired from his job so that he is obliged to remain in Rumania but has no source of income.

When I visited Anton and Maria Negrea and their five children I saw a vivid example of this harassment. Their apartment is covered with photos to cover the cracks in the wall caused by the recent earthquake. Neither of them has been able to work since they were fired in 1974 when they applied to join his parents in Israel. Their eldest daughter was prevented at the last minute from graduating from the economics faculty in 1975 because they asked to leave, and the younger children have been harassed at school. His life has been threatened; he has been arrested without cause. After his mother passed away, his old father took seriously ill and was hospitalized in Israel. When he received a telegram last year asking him to rush to his father's bedside, he requested a temporary exit visa from the Rumanian government and assured them he would of course

return soon to his wife and children. The Rumanian government refused to even consider this request unless the entire family withdrew their request for a permanent exit visa. The Negrea family wouldn't do this and they now remain, all seven of them, still hoping that outside pressure from America will influence the Rumanian government to grant them a permanent exit visa. Meanwhile they continue to write complaints and appeals to the Rumanian authorities and receive either rejections or no response.

Although I found on my recent trip that the Jews in Bucharest were extremely frightened they took courage in knowing that Jews in America and the American government were concerned about them. Sanda Manescu, a young Jewish woman in Bucharest who had lost her job as an interpreter when she asked to emigrate to Israel exemplified this courage. She served as my guide and interpreter throughout my visit although we were constantly followed, she was interrogated by the secret police, she was summoned to the police station, she was warned not to assist me and she was threatened with punishment if she disobeyed.

Rumanian Jews advised me that the government census figures were inaccurate and they estimated about 70,000 Jews remain in Rumania. Although some of the older Jews receive support, care and aid from the Joint Distribution Committee supported by the United Jewish Appeal and feel too old to emigrate, the overwhelming proportion of the younger Jews and some of the older ones are eager to move to Israel and be reunited with their families there. Although Synagogues may exist in Rumania, everyone is required to work on Saturdays so the only Jews able to attend Sabbath morning services are those who are retired. Although kosher food and some religious observances may be maintained, this limited form of Jewish life does not compare with the full Jewish existence available in Israel. There are now about 300,000 Rumanian Jews living in Israel, most having left Rumania just after the end of World War II, so those left in Rumania frequently have almost their entire family in Israel.

Meanwhile, concerned Jews hope the reaction at the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee to this report will lead to greater pressure and intervention by the American government to assist Rumanian Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel.

(Cyrus Gilbert Abbe is an attorney in New York City. After graduating from Harvard Law School he studied on post graduate fellowships at the University of Cambridge in England where he received the Diploma in Public International Law and at the University of Paris. He has traveled around the world visiting Jewish communities and recently returned from Rumania. He spent three weeks there studying the problem of Jewish emigration from Rumania to Israel so he could report his findings to Congress.)

[From the Jewish Week-American Examiner, June 18, 1978]

ROMANIA CRACKS DOWN ON VISA-SEEKERS, BUT IS SENSITIVE TO U.S. PLEAS

The most-favored-nation status for Romanian trade with the U.S. is coming up for review by Congress in a matter of days, and the Romanians, as well as those ill-informed Americans whose picture of Romania is distorted by the fact that it is the only Communist country with diplomatic relations with Israel, are pressing for positive action.

Things are good there, they say. The problem of Jewish emigration is dwindling. The Jews are living in the best of all possible worlds.

There are those, however, who are saying "no!" loudly and clearly. They are saying no—not unless and until Jews are allowed to emigrate, at least under the reunification of families article mandated by the Helsinki Agreement, and even contained in the Romanian constitution itself.

One of those saying it is in a position to know, having just returned from a three-week mission of investigation in Romania, his second to that country. He is Cyrus Gilbert Abbe, a young international lawyer with degrees from Harvard, Oxford and several other prestigious schools. He has returned with a sad tale of the horrible things that happen to Jews who have the *chutzpa* to ask for exit visas, and a pocket full of letters from Jews shouting, in effect, "Gevald! Help!"

FEWER THAN 1,000 A YEAR

The "stream" of emigration is now fewer than 1,000 a year. This compares with such years as 1973 and 1974 when it was 4,000. It could easily be that figure today, Abbe told me, if those who wanted to leave could get their visas.

What happens to Jews who want to leave is reminiscent of what happens in the Soviet Union, plus an even harsher gimmick the Romanians have devised.

People lose their jobs at once. They are harassed. Deprived of their livelihoods, they are forced to send pleading letters for money to relatives in Israel who are not rich themselves. They sell off their furniture piece by piece, in order to eat. They live not only in poverty but in hopelessness.

That's like in Russia.

The Romanian gimmick is this: One cannot apply directly for the right to leave; one must apply first for permission to get the necessary papers with which to apply. The first process takes months, the second—if granted—even longer. And the answers are inevitably "no," succeeded by—and frequently accompanied by—loss of employment.

The only bright spot, Abbe said, is that the Romanian Embassy in Washington is sensitive about the matter, what with the most-favored-nation business coming up in Congress, and it often bows to pressures from Congressmen about individual Jews seeking to emigrate. That's the reason for the letters Abbe brought back. These have already been turned over to various Congressmen who, in turn, will make their feelings known to the Romanian ambassador. It has worked in the past; Abbe hopes it will continue to work.

RANGEL LETTER GOT VISA

That happened after Abbe's first trip to Bucharest a couple of years ago. It concerned one Vlad Manescu who had been married, in a religious ceremony, by Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen to an Israeli girl who had been in Romania as a tourist, and returned home. Manescu was trying to get out to join her, in vain. The authorities claimed that since they do not recognize religious marriages, Manescu actually wasn't married to the Israeli, and therefore was not eligible to join her under the reunification of families rules.

Abbe brought the matter to the attention of Rep. Charles Rangel of New York, who wrote "a strong letter," in Rangel's own words, to the Romanian ambassador about it, and put an inquiry to the International Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee as to "how the Romanian government could enjoy most-favored-nation status" when such things are allowed by it to happen.

That did it. Manescu got his exit visa, and has sent a letter of gratitude to both Abbe and Rangel from Israel, thanking them for their two-month effort. Rangel said he acted because of Romania's "violation of the Helsinki accords as they pertain to the free emigration of people."

Some eight others have received their exit permits through the efforts of Rangel and other Congressmen, including Edward Koch, while he was still in the House, and Senator Edward M. Kennedy. All these are in Israel.

Abbe, before going on his latest mission, asked Rangel for a letter which he thought might act as a kind of talisman against too close attention from the secret police. Rangel complied, and made pointed reference in it that he was expecting Abbe to report to Congress so that it could be taken into consideration at the hearings on the most-favored-nation status for Romania.

EXAMPLE ENCOURAGED OTHERS

Abbe, when he got to Bucharest, had with him letter from Manescu asking him to try and help his sister, Sanda, get out of Romania. He called her on the telephone as soon as he arrived, and they met in the kosher canteen. She was, he said, "a gorgeous girl," who had been fired from her job because she asked for an exit visa. Her job was as a simultaneous interpreter from English to Romanian and vice versa. Abbe needed an interpreter for the three weeks, and asked her if she would take the job. Would she!

On the third or fourth day, she was hauled in by the secret police and interrogated and charged with breaking the law by consorting with a foreigner at her "place of work." She asked how this could be since she had no place of work, but they took her to the police station anyhow and let her go with the warning that she should have nothing to do with Abbe.

She paid no attention to this. "She opened doors for me to the Jews I wanted to see, and gave these people courage when they saw another Romanian with the nerve to help a foreigner. And the fact that we had got her brother out didn't do any harm either," Abbe said.

As he said goodbye to her at the airport, he said he told her, "When I leave, they'll either arrest you or give you an exit permit." It was the latter. Within 72 hours after arriving back home, he got a cable from her saying that she had received her visa, and three weeks later she was in Israel with her family.

In spite of the seizure of his papers, Abbe managed to arrive with a duplicate set. How he did it he did not say. Some samples:

Daria Alexandru, 25 and single, an architect who wants to join her aunt in New York. She first applied to leave in October of last year, and has applied frequently since, all in vain.

Radu and Mihaela Alexandru, husband and wife, both 30, he an electronics engineer, she a mechanical engineer. Applied in September last year for Israel and rejected, and never even received permission to get an application form.

Narcis Aron and wife Tanya Cassvan, and her mother, Marcella. Narcis Aron is a physician, working for the Bucharest Jewish community. His wife is a piano teacher, and the mother is a retired cashier. They have never received a written response to their many requests. They want to go to Israel.

Mihai and Adriana Balaban, he a physician, she an electronics engineer in a research computer institute. They applied in 1975. He was a Communist but was expelled from the party when he applied for an exit visa to Israel, but has been allowed to work in a hospital. After many tries, they were told to pay a fairly large sum to have their applications reviewed. They paid and got neither their visas nor their money back.

Costin Ganea, 30 and single and working in a design and research institute dealing with steam turbines. His many requests for a visa to Israel have been ignored.

Florin and Adriana Grigoriu, and her sister and his parents. The parents were expelled from the Communist Party when they applied for visas, the others never belonged. Their applications to go to Israel have gone unanswered.

And Abbe brought back many more like this, and has dedicated himself to working for their visas and for free emigration generally.

We had our talk in the office of Jacob Birnbaum, the national director of the Center for Russian and East European Jewry on West 72nd Street, an organization which, with Abbe, has thrown itself into this work.

Senator RUBINOFF. The committee will stand adjourned.

[Thereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

[By direction of the chairman the following communications were made a part of the record:]

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD

Mr. Chairman, during the second week in April, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu made his fourth state visit to Washington since he came to power 13 years ago. During his discussions with President Carter, several issues of importance to both the United States and Romania were discussed, including the pending request for an extension of most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff status for Romania. The state visit underlined the growing importance of the developing relationship between our two countries, particularly in the economic sphere.

The effort to solidify and expand our economic relationship with Romania is especially timely as in 1977, the United States had her worst trade deficit in history. It reached \$27 billion, a four-fold increase from 1976. Among the reasons for this record trade deficit was the lack of an "export consciousness" in the American business community.

Presently, exports account for less than 7 percent of our Gross National Product. That is the lowest percentage GNP of any industrialized nation. Japan, for example, has a comparable figure of 12 percent, and Great Britain has one of over 20 percent. According to Department of Commerce statistics, of some 300,000 manufacturing firms in the United States, only about 25,000 export at all. This situation must change if we are to restore the United States' economy to one of renewed vitality and strength.

Of course, in pursuit of such improvements in the U.S. trade position, new markets must be developed in countries where trade has either been non-existent

or minimal due to a variety of factors. The major avenues available to the United States at this time are those opportunities in expanded East-West trade. With a third of the world's population, the Communist nations represent an enormous potential market for U.S. products and commodities. Reflective of this are Department of Commerce figures which show that in the last three years, the United States exported almost \$10 billion worth of goods to Communist countries, achieving a \$6.3 billion surplus in the process.

One of the most promising developments in the expansion of East-West trade during the past decade has taken place between the United States and Romania. Trade between our two countries has increased tenfold over this period, in large measure due to the granting of MFN tariff status to Romania in 1975. As evidence of the progress which has been made, particularly following the granting of MFN, U.S. trade with Romania reached \$448 million in 1976. That was an increase of about 40 percent over the 1975 two-way figure. Moreover, the Commerce Department estimates that U.S.-Romania trade topped the half-billion dollar level for the first time in 1977, and that barring unforeseen circumstances, it could reach \$1 billion by 1980.

Mr. Chairman, as many of my colleagues are aware, the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement signed in 1975 is due to expire in August. However, unless either party chooses to withdraw from the agreement, it will be automatically renewed. MFN, on the other hand, must be reviewed annually in accordance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act which ties most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Communist countries to their respective emigration policies. In accordance with the Act, President Carter sent to Congress on June 2 a recommendation that the waiver for Romania under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment relating to MFN be extended for another year. Most-favored-nation tariff status for Romania would have expired on June 2 had President Carter not recommended the extension.

I have risen on other occasions in support of a continuation of MFN for Romania, and I do so again. It is my belief that an expansion of our commercial relations with Romania can play a significant role in encouraging her economic and political independence. In fact, a central reason for urging a continuation of MFN treatment for Romania is the unique role she occupies among Comecon countries. The independence shown by President Nicolae Ceausescu in his political and economic relations with the Soviet Union and fellow Warsaw Pact and Comecon allies is well recognized and should be strongly encouraged. I do not pretend that fundamental differences are non-existent between our two countries, but she is a country with whom we can minimize our differences as we broaden our ties.

I might add that while MFN for Romania has made a major difference in both the level of U.S. exports to Romania and Romania's economic development, the present policy of annual extensions has not been conducive to either long-term development planning in Romania or sustained and rapid growth in U.S. exports to that country. The Commerce Department has gone on record as stating that while the U.S. could and should pursue expanded East-West trade, its inability to offer official export credits and non-discriminatory tariff treatment in all dealings with Communist countries puts the U.S. at a disadvantage in many situations compared with competitors of other Western nations. Moreover, in announcing last year's MFN extension for Romania, the National Association of Manufacturers stated in the January 1978 issue of International Economic Issues, that "the year-to-year renewal provision remains . . . an impediment to longer term corporate planning." Because of the independence shown by Romania and because of the expressed interest by many parties in this country to seek a longer extension of MFN for Romania, I believe that it would be timely for discussions to take place between the appropriate congressional committees and the State Department regarding such a proposal.

This is not to suggest that I am abandoning my long-term concern for and support of human rights throughout the world. As the author of a human rights amendment to last year's Omnibus Multilateral Institutions Act of 1977 (which was defeated on the Senate floor because some thought it too strict), I am naturally interested in questions surrounding Romania's emigration policies. However, from the information that I have received, it appears that Romania is making positive efforts to liberalize its emigration policies. Certainly when compared with the situation before MFN, there have been marked improvements. While I firmly believe that the emigration issue should continue to be monitored closely

to insure that emigration remains an option for those wanting to leave the country, I am convinced that it is only within the framework of a firm relationship between our two countries, of which MFN forms a part, that such positive results as we have seen in the past few years can be encouraged and expanded.

Mr. Chairman, the successful visit of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in April brings us closer toward greater understanding and cooperation between our two countries. I was particularly pleased to note in the Joint Declaration signed by the two leaders that both the United States and Romania together determined among other things "to seek ways to put existing nondiscriminatory trade relations on a more stable and long-term basis . . ." It is my hope that this goal will be actively pursued by the Carter Administration to the benefit of the people of Romania and the United States at every possible opportunity.

SUNNYSIDE, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Tacouhi Asadourian, Romanian born and married with an Armenian from the Armenian Ethnic Grup living in Romania. I left Communist Romania with a legal passport for Belruth-Lebanon together with my husband Galzac Asadourian and our daughter Narcisa Asadourian, on November 26, 1973.

Over there we were granted with political asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations Organisation, then helped by Ancia—the Christian-Orthodox Organisation of Armenian to help the refugees. We arrived as political refugees in the USA on July 24, 1974.

Here, my daughter is attending the high school, myself and my husband are working and all three are enjoying the saint freedom which is completely missing in Communist Romania. Painfully I was forced to left behind, in Communist Romania as hostages:

1. Steriana Presneanu, born on June 21, 1916, my mother.
2. Aurel (Presneanu, born on June 21, 1916, my father.
3. Petre Presneanu, born on October 11, 1938, my brother, all of them residing at: Strada Vulturidor Nr 13 L, Sector 4 Buouresti, Romania.

Since I became a political refugee, all of them and especially my poor mother were investigated under hard pressure by the security. Our mail was cut off. Our phones calls too. My mother now is suffered by heart as a result of permanent terror by the Communist security. All their applications for exit visas in order to reunify our forced separated family were rejected by Communist security.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu violated and is still violating: the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and all UNO's resolutions about family reunion, the condition of easing the emigration from Communist Romania as he close agreed with USA upon the trade agreement and MFN in 1975, 1976 and 1977; and the Helsinki Agreement (1975 too).

Desperately I joined the Fifth Romanian Hunger Strike for family reunion in the USA and I appeal to you, to U.S. Senate, to each human being to help me to see my mother here before she will died in Communist security's tortures.

I ask that U.S. Senate suspend immediately the MFN treatment to Nicolae Ceausescu and his Communist government until the hostages relatives of hunger strikers will be release.

Sincerely and desperately

TACOUHI ASADOURIAN.

STATEMENT OF DAVID M. BLUMBERG, PRESIDENT OF B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Senate Finance Committee, as president of B'nal B'rith International an organization of half million men and women, I want to go on record in suport of extending the President's authority to maintain Most Favored National trade treatment with Romania under the provisions of the Trade Act of 1974.

The Jewish community in the United States is specifically concerned about the emigration of Jews from Romania to Israel, as well as to other countries which include the United States. In the 12 month period prior to the passage of the Most Favored National agreement, in 1973 and 1974, and in the following 12 month period, total Jewish emigration from Romania exceeded 5000. We have noted, to our distress, a drop in the total number of emigrants. Between July

1976 and August 1977, 1325 Jews left Romania. In the current period ending July 1978, an even smaller number have left.

If we were to measure renewal of our treaty agreement with Romania on the basis of Jewish emigration alone, we might draw a negative conclusion; however, we at B'nai B'rith recognize that there is validity in the Romanian authorities' argument that not every Jew in their country desires to leave. We also recognize that we are dealing with a substantially reduced population. The official figures indicate 25,000, but Rabbi Rosen, Chief Rabbi of Romania, suggests that 45,000 Jews may remain. Perhaps there are several thousand more unaccounted. But we realize in dealing with emigration that we're drawing from a reduced Jewish population.

We are concerned, however, as are other Jewish organizations, with Romanian internal procedures that are aimed at discouraging and intimidating potential immigrants. We feel it is our job, and the job of the American and Israeli governments, to persuade the Romanians to soften their procedures with respect to emigration.

However, we also recognize in a time of excruciating pain and suffering of Jews in Russia, that Romania presents a much different picture for Jewish life. The Jewish religion receives recognition, and Jewish organizations outside have cordial relations with Romanian officials. We feel free to raise issues with them and to press specific cases of Jewish applicants requesting emigration.

We also recognize that Romania plays a unique role among the socialist republics in Eastern Europe with respect to Israel and the West. President Ceausescu provided a catalyst to the peace talks between Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat. Once more, as Americans concerned about the balance of trade payments Most Favored Nation trade with Romania provides the United States with a surplus which has been running about \$150 million a year and this year will reach \$26 million. Experts inform us that the balance of our trade with Romania will continue to remain on the black side of the ledger.

For these reasons we urge maintenance of Most Favored Nation trade agreements with Romania and, with other Jewish organizations, will continue to monitor emigration figures and procedures affecting Jewish emigration in Romania.

CAMERICAN INTERNATIONAL, INC.,
New York, N.Y., July 10, 1978.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff, Director, Senate Finance Committee,
Dirksen Building, Room 221, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: On behalf of our company, Camerican International Incorporated, headquartered at 260 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, I am pleased to submit this written testimony to support the continuation of Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment by the United States for imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania. President Carter has recommended an extension of the U.S./Romanian trade agreement pursuant to authority granted him under Section 402 of the trade act of 1974. This was originally extended to Romania in 1975 on a provisional basis and has been renewed annually for the past two years.

As stated above, Camerican International supports this recommendation and feels strongly that it is in the very best interests of the United States for the Senate to grant our President's request. Our reasons for urging you to vote favorably for such an extension are the following:

(1) Romania has become one of the most independent members of the Eastern European Bloc both politically and economically. Yet other countries, such as Poland, enjoy most favored nation status on a permanent basis. The only country that is on a "provisional" basis is Romania. While there may have been some justification for extending this special tariff status on such a basis when it was originally granted in 1975, there is certainly no justification either political, economic or moral to continue it on a provisional year-to-year basis at this time. We believe it is in the best interests of the United States to encourage the Romanians to develop ever stronger economic ties with the U.S. and other Western Nations and thus maintain the economic independence they have striven to develop. It should be obvious that a longer-term extension of Romania's MFN status would accomplish this goal by facilitating long term investment in export industries in their country.

We at Camerican, for example, have begun importing agricultural products (fruit juice concentrates) on a regular basis. We find that the products we are importing are of high quality, are well accepted by our buyers here in the U.S. and come from modern, sanitary, efficient plants.

(2) We feel that increased trade between the United States and Romania would be beneficial to both countries. For example, only recently the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture—Bob Bergland—visited Romania and discussed the increased cooperation in the development of U.S./Romanian agricultural relations, including trade. In a communique signed by our Secretary and the Minister of Agriculture for Romania—Angelo Miculescu—they stressed the two countries' mutual interests in the field of agriculture and their anticipated further direct cooperation and development. Secretary Bergland emphasized the warm relationship that exists between the U.S. and Romania.

During the past decade U.S./Romanian trade has shown significant gains. In 1965 the bilateral trade was only eight million dollars. By 1970 this trade had increased to 80 million dollars and in 1977 it had grown to 492 million dollars with the United States enjoying a favorable balance of trade. It is anticipated that this favorable trend will continue throughout this decade.

Many of the products that Romania is interested in exporting are high grade agricultural items such as the products we are importing. Allowing importation of these products at the lowest possible tariff rate will help keep down our consumer food prices (and inflation) in this country and, therefore,, benefit all consumers here in the U.S.

In exchange, Romania will be able to use the dollars it receives from their sales to us to purchase industrial equipment from the U.S. which will stimulate exports and provide additional employment for American workers.

(3) From a humanitarian point of view we feel that Romania has made meaningful efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East. From everything we have read it would seem that President Ceausescu was mainly responsible for implanting the idea of direct peace negotiations between President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin. Although we have not yet seen the fruits of this peace effort it does emphasize strongly the attempts being made by Romania to become a friend of all nations. According to many contacts and discussions we have held with business friends from Israel, they consider Romania a respected arbiter and an important friend.

In short, then, a continuation of MFN status to Romania is in the best interests of this country. Mr. Stern, we appreciate the Senate Finance Committee's consideration of our views and your placing this written testimony within the Hearing Record.

Very truly yours,

NORMAN OPPENHEIMER, *President.*

STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman, and Distinguished Members of the Committee, appreciating this granted opportunity to testify before the Committee on Ways and Means, we, the members of the Committee for the Defense of the Romanian Transylvania, a non-profit organization incorporated under the Laws of the State of Michigan, strongly support the Recommendation for the Extension of the Waiver Authority, made to the Congress of the USA by the President of the United States of America, Mr. Jimmy Carter, which would permit the continuation of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement of 1975 for the statutory period.

In motivating our support, we believe that:

The wise determination of the President of the USA, to recommend the continuation of the MFN Status in trade to Romania corresponds to the ardent desire for the economical prosperity of Romania confessed by the Americans of Romanian descent who belong to the old middle of the road immigration group into the USA, and who consequently should not be confused with the minority Exilees professing their extremist political views as against the Presidents Recommendation.

A new extension of the MFN Status to Romania, is not just a simple matter of bureaucratic routine, but the best American way to strengthen Romania's

Independent policies, helping our Mother Country to continue its friendly relations with countries of differing political and economic systems, among which, that with the United States of America, should be considered the most welcomed and real victory of American trade and diplomacy.

Rumors about contrary conditions in Romania, from whatever sector submitted, should not be taken into consideration on account of the fact that; a. They are exaggerated, and b. because such unfounded actions, are against the superior interest of the U.S.A., and Romania.

We are very concerned that the approval by the Congress of the USA of Mr. Jimmy Carter's Recommendation for the Extension of Waiver Authority, made on June 2nd 1978, will give the necessary impulse to the economical relations development between the two countries which, reciprocally, will share commercial and political benefits, encouraging Romania to maintain and strengthen its independence resisting the Moscow hard political pressure.

Romania, having conformed to the majority of emigration desires submitted for determination and approval, this factor can no longer be considered as an impediment toward the extension of the MFN Status.

In conclusion, we strongly express our hopes that the Distinguished Ways and Means Committee will give our "Statement of Support" its due consideration, and approve our request for the benefit of our dearest Countries: The United States of America and Romania.

Thank you Mr. Chairman, and Thank you distinguished Members of the Ways and Means Committee.

V. REV. ARCHPRIEST FA. MIHAI IANCU.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA, Box 6272,
DETROIT, MICH. 48234

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STATEMENT OF RABBI ISRAEL MILLER ON BEHALF OF CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The Conference is composed of 82 national Jewish organizations. I am a former Chairman of the Conference.

As was noted in our past testimony on the question of renewal of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status for Romania, there have been aspects of Romanian policy which are indeed worthy of commendation. We have welcomed the increasingly independent foreign policy which the Romanian Government has pursued, and its efforts to maintain friendly relations with the United States, with Israel, and with other western nations. We are also appreciative of the religious and cultural rights extended to the Romanian Jewish community. The American Jewish community has demonstrated its concern for Romania and has expressed its apprecia-

tion to Romania with tangible assistance in response to the earthquake devastation in that country in 1976.

We point out these positive elements of Romanian policy because they deserve mention. We wish we could similarly report positively on Romanian performance in the area of Romanian Jewish emigration. Regrettably, the facts do not permit us to do so.

BACKGROUND

As you will recall, when MFN for Romania was first being considered by the Congress in the summer of 1975, the relevant House and Senate Committees agreed to the extension with the understanding that the emigration performance would improve and the emigration figures continue to rise in proportion to the number of individuals indicating their desire to leave. In taking favorable action on MFN, Congress accepted the State Department's urging that actual future Romanian performance be used as the measure by which to judge that country's compliance with the provisions of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act.

When MFN extension came up for renewal last year, we noted with regret that there had not been an increase in the level of Romanian Jewish emigration. In fact, there was actually a decline in the emigration figures below the level for the 12 months preceding MFN extension. This year there is yet another decline. Thirteen hundred thirty-five Jews left during June 1977 through May 1978 as compared with 1,606 Jews during June 1976 through May 1977.

OBSTACLES TO EMIGRATION

The Romanians have tried to minimize the size of the Jewish population which wishes to leave both by arbitrarily lowering its "official" figures as to the number of Jews still in Romania and by asserting that only a few thousand Jews a year are applying for exit visas. To understand the true situation, we must look at the climate the Romanian authorities have created.

While many Jews have formally applied for exit visas and either been refused or not answered by the authorities, thousands more have been discouraged from applying by the obstacles built into the application process. Those who seek an application for a passport and exit visa are confronted by official committees which probe their motivation and try to dissuade them from applying. Lately, some applicants have been informed in writing that necessary forms will not be provided. Individuals who persevere in the process may find they suddenly lose their jobs and are permitted only menial work for as long as they remain in Romania, which may be indefinitely. If their passport is not vetoed by any of the various national and local authorities which must pass judgment on the emigration request, the passport is given to the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, which issues a visa for Israel. Even a fully-processed passport with visa, however, may be arbitrarily withheld from the applicant at the last moment by Romanian officials. Those who have applied to leave may wait indefinitely with no word as to the final decision. Others are refused permission, reapply, and refused again, for no apparent reason. Since the emigration rate is carefully controlled, many wishing to emigrate hesitate to subject themselves to harassment and a prolonged state of uncertainty by applying. These facts cause us to reiterate that the sole standard for judging Romanian emigration performance must be the number who actually leave Romania.

CONCLUSIONS

The poor showing on emigration over the last two years leads us to conclude that the Romanian Government believes Congress will continue to renew MFN automatically regardless of performance in this area. This attitude violates the spirit of the trade agreement and disregards the strong Congressional commitment to the principle of freedom of emigration.

The Administration and Members of Congress have both clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with Romania's poor emigration performance during the last two years. In President Carter's request to Congress last year, it is significant that in stating his intention to give the Romanians the opportunity to prove directly to his new Administration a willingness to comply with the law, he carefully qualified his recommendation for MFN extension. He stated the Administration's determination to monitor closely Romanian compliance with Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act and warned that "should performance not accord with the intent of this provisions, I would want to reconsider my recommendation". He has

also specified that the Administration "will bring to the attention of the Romanian Government any actions or emigration trends which do not seem to conform to the assurances which they have provided in the past to treat emigration matters in a humanitarian manner . . .".

Rather than a pro forma request to extend MFN, the President has chosen to be consistent with his Administration's concern for human rights. The message is clear and the Administration has put the Romanian Government on notice that compliance is expected. The Conference of Presidents is in complete accord with the intent of his statement.

We will be watching closely for a true liberalization of the visa application process and an easing of the present atmosphere of intimidation confronting those desiring to apply to leave. These changes must be made so that Jews in Romania will feel free to exercise their freedom to emigrate.

APPENDIX A

COMPARISON OF EMIGRATION BEFORE AND AFTER MFN EXTENSION (MFN EXTENDED AUGUST 1975)

	1-year pre-MFN	Post-MFN		
		1st year	2d year	3d year
	1974	1975	1976	1977
August.....	612	250	238	113
September.....	328	295	117	181
October.....	267	360	118	197
November.....	200	140	79	118
December.....	200	110	138	88
	1975	1976	1977	1978
January.....	70	350	46	63
February.....	45	243	62	73
March.....	100	103	113	96
April.....	80	51	132	77
May.....	50	140	105	150
June.....	210	222	109	
July.....	430	237	70	
Total.....	2,582	2,501	1,325	

¹ Note decline in emigration beginning in September which coincides with assurance of MFN renewal following Sept. 8 hearings by Senate Finance Committee.

Permitted Romanian Emigration to Israel

Yearly total:

1978	3,700
1974	3,700
1975	2,140
1976	2,085
1977	1,884

APPENDIX B

OBSTACLES TO ROMANIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REMOVING THEM

Guidelines for Measuring Romanian Emigration Practices

We define as obstacles to emigration any procedures or other barriers which restrict an individual from exercising freely his right to leave Romania for the country of his choice.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed by 35 nations at Helsinki in 1975, set forth certain international standards concerning family reunification and other human rights. Since Romania was a signatory to this most recent multilateral accord, it is appropriate to refer to relevant provisions of the Final Act which can serve as guidelines by which to measure the reasonableness of Romania's emigration procedures and practices.

The section on Human Contacts of Basket Three of the Final Act calls on the participating states "to facilitate free movement . . . among persons . . . and to

contribute to the solution of the humanitarian problems that arise in the connexion (sic)".

Specifically, the portion dealing with Reunification of Families calls on the participating nations to:

deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family;

deal with applications in this field as expeditiously as possible;

lower where necessary the fees charged in connection with these applications to ensure that they are at a moderate level;

confirm that the presentation of an application concerning family reunification will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicant or of members of his family.

Applications for the purpose of family reunification which are not granted may be renewed at the appropriate level and will be reconsidered at reasonably short intervals by the authorities of the country of residence or destination, whichever is concerned; under such circumstances fees will be charged only when applications are granted.

Persons whose applications for family reunification are granted may bring with them or ship their household and personal effects.

Obstacles to Emigration

To the best of our knowledge, the following emigration procedures currently exist in Romania. They present obstacles to unrestricted emigration and serve to intimidate visa applicants and discourage others from applying to leave.

1. The Pre-Application Process

Before an individual is even allowed to apply for an exit visa, he must successfully complete an intimidating preapplication process. He first goes to the local police station to obtain preapplication forms ("FISA") on which he must fill in the name, address, age and place of work of all his relatives both in Romania and abroad.

The necessary visit to the police station is in itself intimidating. It is often difficult for an individual to obtain the required information about all his relatives, particularly those living in other countries. Sometimes, the required preapplication forms are not available at police stations outside the major cities.

Next, all adult members of the family desiring to leave must appear before a Committee consisting of 8 to 14 people, including representatives of the army, the police, security police, the individual's place of work, management of his apartment house, and the Communist Party. They try to convince him not to apply for a visa to leave Romania.

Each adult in the family must appear separately. The extreme pressure placed on the individual forces many to renounce their intention to apply for a visa. Family dissension is sometimes rooked when one member of a couple is courageous enough to persist in seeking a visa but his spouse is frightened into agreeing to stop the process.

2. Arbitrary Judgments as to Who Can Apply

Those who are not intimidated by the preapplication process wait for a decision as to whether they will be permitted to apply for an exit visa. An individual may either receive permission to fill in an application; be denied permission to make application if the Committee feels he hasn't proved good reason for wanting to emigrate; or receive no reply at all. This procedure provokes much anxious uncertainty for the individual. If he is refused permission to apply or receives no answer, there is no appeal process to which he can turn.

3. Burdensome Documentation Requirements

Along with the application form, one must submit various forms which are often hard to obtain. These include, among others: marriage or divorce certificate; approval from the management of his apartment building; approval from his place of work and certification that his work has not dealt with State secrets; assurances that all his taxes and utility bills are paid; educational diplomas.

4. Costly fees

A single individual has to pay approximately a month's salary to cover all the fees necessary before he can emigrate (e.g., costs of passport, renunciation of citizenship, etc.). The head of an average household has to pay at least a quarter of his yearly salary in order for his family to emigrate.

5. *Uncertainty of application process/indefinite time period*

If the application is rejected, there is no mechanism by which the applicant can appeal the decision. If the application is approved, a passport is issued. The passport is routed through various national and local government agencies, and can be withheld at any point in the process, even after it has been sent to the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest and that Embassy has issued a visa for the applicant. The applicant never knows if he will be allowed to emigrate until he actually receives the passport at the end of the process. There are no definite, regular time intervals between the steps of the application process, each one of which may take months. Many Jews who have applied to emigrate to Israel have been waiting for a year for either permission to leave or a response to their request to be allowed to apply to leave. Others have been waiting for years.

6. *Sanctions against applicants*

Many visa applicants face retribution from the Government. A Communist Party worker or a Government worker in an area such as education or communication immediately loses his job when he applies for an exit visa. A worker in a technical specialty, particularly if he is in an administrative position, can invariably expect to be demoted. A student is expelled from his university.

7. *Lack of time to prepare for departure*

When an applicant is finally notified his application has been approved and receives his passport, he is given only a few days until he must leave the country. Because of the uncertainty of the decision during the application process, it is only at this point that he will begin to conclude his personal affairs, dispose of items he can't take out of the country, pay final bills, fix up his apartment, etc. Often he does not have time to obtain personal documents, such as diplomas, which he will need in his new country, since he must get them certified from both Education and Foreign Ministries but can only apply to them after he has received his passport.

8. *Limitations on money and property taken out*

The emigrant can take with him no money and no personal items of value. He must pay custom duty on his own used household goods.

Recommendations for removing obstacles to emigration

Generally, the recommendations below are listed in order of priority, with the most important ones first. Highest priority is given to those changes which would have the greatest impact in increasing the number of visa applicants and, hopefully, thereby increasing the emigration flow. Consideration was also given as to which recommended changes lend themselves to monitoring from the West, so that compliance by Romania can be measured.

1. Everyone who wants to should be able to submit freely and without intimidation an application for an exit visa. The Romanian Government should be allowed this unrestricted application policy to be made known publicly and be discussed openly in the media and elsewhere. The pre-application process, which screens out many would-be applicants, should be abolished.

(Note: The pre-application process was initiated *after* both the initial extension of MFN and the signing of the Helsinki accord. Its introduction goes counter to the Helsinki accord and Jackson amendment which call for facilitating freer emigration.)

2. At the same time, sanctions against those who apply to leave (i.e., demotion or dismissal from jobs, expulsion from universities, etc.) and other forms of harassment should be terminated.

3. An appeal process should be set up to provide recourse for those individuals refused permission to emigrate. The reasons for denial should be made clear to the applicant and should not be arbitrary.

4. The application process should be shortened and facilitated (e.g., through reducing the amount of required documentation). The time period for the whole process should be regularized. The applicant should receive a definite answer as to whether he has permission to leave as soon as the application has been approved, so that he can make plans for his departure (NOTE: "approval" actually is given by the appropriate authorities *prior* to the passport being routed to the various agencies). It would seem reasonable to expect that the process from submission of an application until the applicant is permitted to leave the country should be completed within 2-3 months.

5. An emigrant should be allowed to take with him his money and his personal effects, which may represent his lifetime savings. He should not be required to pay duty on his already used household goods.

6. The cost of fees involved in the emigration process should be reduced.

Recommendations for monitoring Romanian compliance

1. Expanded monitoring by the Administration in Bucharest and Washington, combined with on-going discussions with the Romanians regarding compliance with the recommendations to liberalize emigration procedures.

2. Periodic review by the appropriate Congressional subcommittees, perhaps on a quarterly basis, of Romanian compliance and the level of emigration figures. Congressional communication with Romanian Government representatives, as appropriate, regarding the findings of the review.

As a basis for the review, the subcommittees might require periodic written status reports from the State Department, as well as requesting reports from private groups monitoring the emigration situation. Information to measure Romanian compliance should also be obtained through questionnaires and interviews routinely administered to emigrants who have left Romania.

QUEENS, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Nicolae Crainiclu, born on October 1, 1957 in Bucharest, Romania. I come to the USA as a permanent resident on July 28, 1975, as a result of the fact that my father Zaharia Crainiclu joined the First Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion in the USA (May 17, 1975-July 17, 1975) an organised peaceful fight for human rights, full supported by the U.S. Congress.

I took a trip as a tourist in Communist Romania on Nov. 25, 1976, in order to marry my fiance Ioana Burcea of Strada Sintezel Nr 4, Bucharest, Sec. 4. The Romanian Embassy in Washington DC refused to give to me an Entry Visa on my Reentry Permit No 0749-559 of Oct 20, 1976 released by INS of NY City on August 20, 1976 and I was forced to accept an Visitor Visas on the Passepport as Romanian Citizen Residing in a Foreign Country, the one with which I come in the USA on July 28 1975 for our Forced Separated Family Reunion. In Romania I get married Ioana Burcea now Ioana Crainiclu and we have a baby girl Maria Crainiclu, born on August 16, 1977.

In Communist Romania the Stalinist terror of Nicolae Ceausescu is on, against American citizens, permanent residents and their relatives. The Communist Security arrested me without any reason, bring me back the passport with tear entry visa and give to me . . . a Romanian ID card. They give to me a forced residence and force me to pay . . . \$10 a day as a US permanent resident. They did not allow to me to work, and to visit US Embassy. They printed in a issue of Romanian revue "Flacara" an . . . "interview" with me in which the reporter said that I comeback voluntarily in Communist Romania because in the USA there are crimes, misery and unemployment. . . The proof that they lied in this report is that the reporter described me as being a young boy with blue eyes, my eyes are brown! . . .

I never meet or see any reporter of Communist news papers or TV. . . . I made a complaint to the US Embassy in Bucharest asking for my protection as a permanent resident of the US who want to come back in his new homeland the USA together with my wife Ioana Crainiclu and our baby girl Maria. All my applications for exit visas were rejected by Security. Finally I succeeded to obtain . . . a Romanian tourist passepport for a visit of 30 days to my parents. . . I obained tis passepport only as the result of my parents complaints to the US Senators, Representatives and to the chairman of Romanian affairs of Department of State who supported me in this struggle for my right My wife and daughter applied too, but they did not receive any kind of response from the Security. . . .

I joined the Fifth Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion in the USA started in New York City in front of the UN on April 10, 1978 and in Washington DC in front of the White House, on the Capitol's steps and in front of Romanian Communist Embassy.

I appeal to US Congress to persuade the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exit visas to my hostages wife and daughter:

1. Ioana Crainiclu born on October 1, 1957, wife

2. Maria Crainiclu, born on August 16, 1977, daughter
of Strada Sintezel Nr 4. Bucuresti, Sector 4, Cod 74864

I ask that the US Congress do not grant the MFN to Communist Romania until President Nicolae Ceausescu will stop the Stalinist terror against US citizens residents, and their relatives and until he will release the hostage relatives of Hunger Strikers.

NICOLAE CRAINCIOIU.

JULY 22, 1978.

MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director,
Senate Committee on Finance,
2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.O.

Your Honourable Messrs. Congressmen: The undersigned Ionel Cruceanu, retired attorney-at-law, resident of the United States, living at 47-20, 42nd Street, Sunnyside, New York 11104, I wish to wholeheartedly thank you, in the beginning, for your inviting me to express before the Subcommittee the reasons for which—on behalf of truth and justice—you should approve the revalidation of the agreement on the economic relations between the USA and Romania, my country of origin. I wish also to thank you in advance for your kindness in reading and accepting all data shown in this statement.

I am convinced, Messrs. Congressmen, that you are aware of the contribution brought by Romania towards the progress and civilization of the mankind, the strengthening and development of friendship and co-operation between our countries.

I feel it's a matter of conscience for me to remind you that it is just and human on the part of the Government of the United States to continue granting the status of the most favoured nation to Romania as it has done before, and do not take into account the intrigues and the lies told by the Hungarian irredentists and their supporters, who—pretending to defend human rights—slander and defame this country, Romania, and her people, the Romanian people, a respectable honest, working, human and truth and beauty loving people, who for 2,000 years lives in this part of the world, together with other nationalities all living in understanding and brotherhood, all enjoying the same liberties and rights as the Romanian people.

The visits paid by some Congressmen and other American officials to Romania, their thus personal and direct contact with the achievements of the people and the realities of life in this beautiful and respectable country have undoubtedly served as sound proof of this undeniable truth.

Alongside of a population of 19 millions of Romanians there live 1,700,000 Magyars and about 850,000 other nationalities—Germans, Sacks, Jews, Ukrainians, Russians, Gipsies, Greeks, Armenians—who, as I already said above, all enjoy equal rights and liberties and are provided with the best conditions of work, education and culture.

One sits and wonders what a false faith and what lies these impostors are capable to say! I think that nobody told you before that Transylvania is full of prefects, mayors, directors of enterprises etc., all of Magyar origin; even within the Central State machinery, beginning with the post of the Vice President of the State Council, the Vice President of the Council of Ministers, ministers, deputy-ministers, general directors of big enterprises, banks etc., all of Magyar origin too. Where is the discrimination?? Where is the persecution of the Magyar minority?? What a malice, Messrs. Congressmen! This is only envy; because, as Mr. Ceausescu, President of this country, put it here in New York in one speech—Romania becomes more and more beautiful, more and more wealthy and independent year by year.

You, Messrs. Congressmen, are standing for a big and generous people. Let your generosity continue to shine over the friendship of our countries by granting the status of most favoured nation to Romania.

I greatly hope that all thoughts I am now sharing with you will meet your full understanding and kindness and wish to assure you again of all my esteem and respect.

Yours respectfully,

IONEL CRUCEANU.

ASTORIA, N.Y., July 12, 1978.

Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade.

My name is Gheorghe Fara, American resident (A19-567-306) I pledge for: The immediate stopping of the M.F.N. treatment to Communist Romania.

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, Art 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

Subsection (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974; This section prohibits the granting of MFN treatment, government credits or investment guarantees, or the negotiation of a commercial agreement with any communist country if that country does not allow its citizens the freedom to travel and to emigrate.

There are a lot of violations of Trade and the Helsinki Agreement by Communist Romania. Communist authorities create lots of difficulties for people wanting to travel abroad even for a vacation, or to emigrate for reunifying with their families.

I have tried for 3 years to bring to the United States of America my relatives only for a short visit, unsuccessfully.

They are: Mr. Ilie Tutulama.—living at: Bulevardul Gheorghe Dimitrov, Nr. 121, Bloc G. 5., Scara 5, Apt 24, Sector 3, Bucuresti.

Mr. Mircea Meleasa—living at: Strada Emil Bodnaras Nr 43, Bloc P 13 Scara 2, Apt. 38, Sector 7, Bucuresti.

Therefore, I know that they cannot get their passports without your Humanitarian Support, in persuading The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant their exit visas in respect of his international commitments.

I want to mention that my mother and I, have already adjusted our status abroad with the Romanian Embassy (to cancel our Romanian Citizenships and paid the fee of \$402.00 to the Romanian Embassy). I will become an American Citizen in 1978 through naturalization.

Although for 3 years I have written to all of the American Senators, my relatives still did not receive tourist visas and passports.

I was thoroughly disenchanted when the American Consulate in Bucharest requested testimonies from my relatives stating that they would return to Romania after their visit to United States. That is not customary, therefore the Communist Romanian government asked the American Consulate to request my relatives' testimonials.

I think that this sort of procedures is against the democratic principles on which the American Constitution is based, and I hoped to inform you of this by evidencing my relatives' cases that there is total lack of freedom of touristic travel from communist Romania.

There is another example pertaining to the better illustration of the above statements, namely, that Mr. Mihal Olornicel requested a tourist visa for his wife and him to spend their vacation in Italy. He was thrown out of Romania together with his wife and 2 children, without the right to return to Romania. Furthermore, he was threatened that any attempt to return to his native country will fail and that he and his family will suffer severe repercussions.

I want to specify that I only wanted my relatives whose names and addresses were mentioned earlier, to come for a short visit only and that before the end of their visit, they would return to Romania. I do not request immigrant status for them. I do request the immediate stop of the MFN treatment.

I think that their cases depict very well the disregard the government in Bucharest headed by the Stalinist-communist ditator Ceausescu, has of the most elementary human rights

My present statement demonstrates that there is no right of travel allowed by the Romanian government even though the communist dictator Ceausescu (who calls himself President of Romania), has signed the Helsinki agreement and promised to the Senators and Congressmen that there will be no more problems concerning travel and family reunions for Romanians. He promised that in 1975, 1976, and 1977, and every time Romania was granted the MFN status and more economical aid.

I have personally written to the mentioned commissions and my case is contained on: the May 24, 1977 list at No. 20, on the April 10, 1978 list at No. 15, list of the American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees from June 25, 1977, Article 26 and from June 15, Article 22.

Considering all the above statements I ask :

1. The immediate stopping of the MFN treatment to Communist Romania.
2. That the US Senate put again on the rules the Henry M. Jackson-Charles Vanic's amendment—because it does not favor the Romanian people, but serves to reinforce Nicolae Ceausescu's Stalinist dictatorship at the expense of the American people.

The Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, the man whom the world press unanimously describes as the most Stalinistic among communist dictators the man with the hard-to beat record of denial of human rights, Idi Amin being his only serious rival, is the "honored guest" of the leading democratic nation. This sounds all the more incredible as little more than a year ago the hopes of the Romanian people and of the other captive European nations were rekindled by the new emphasis President Carter placed on the universal observance of human rights. I also want to separate facts from fictions in regard to the same Ceausescu's dictatorship by pledging the MFN be stopped.

Fiction.—Ceausescu's conduct as independent foreign policy the West has good reasons to encourage.

Fact.—The role of independent satellite is designed to deceive the West. On all important matters Ceausescu bows the Soviet line.

I pledge that the MFN be stopped under Ceausescu, the economy expanded and living conditions improved.

Instead of supplying the needs of the people, Ceausescu indulges in pharaonic heavy industry projects for whose products there is no market. The new class lives in luxury, the people in misery.

I pledge that the MFN treatment be stopped.

With little outside help centrally planned economy led to rapid industrialisation.

In the seventies the West loaned to or invested in Romania 2½ billion dollars. Ceausescu is here for more.

I pledge that the M.F.N. treatment be stopped.

Fiction.—There is religious freedom in Romania.

Fact.—Only religious rites are tolerated. Religious education and sermons are barred. Training for priesthood is only available for a handful.

I pledge that the M.F.N. treatment be stopped.

Fiction.—Under Ceausescu freedom of speech, assembly and association are assured.

Fact.—Political rights, right to life, freedom from torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, right for a fair trial, privacy of home and correspondence, liberty of movement and free choice of residence are non-existent.

I am finally asking respectfully the United States Senate of this great United States to always remember :

That identifying the unchosen rulers of Romania with the people over whom they hold sway is disheartening for the victims and damaging to the free;

That leaving an issue unresolved is more often than not a wiser course than settling on the terms of the enemy;

That nourishing the war economy of a communist state with goods and advanced technology, on credit, without securing in return the strict observance of human rights, is squandering away the tremendous leverage an economically strong United States possesses;

That despite the legal linkage between emigration for Romania and enjoyment by Romania of the Most-Favored-Nation clause, only a few hundred a year are permitted to leave Romania; could this constitute a quid pro quo for the millions of dollars, in loans and investments, Ceausescu is getting from the United States?

Sincerely,

GEORGE FARA.

FORESTON COAL INTERNATIONAL, INC.

New York, N.Y., July 7, 1978.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee of Finance, U.S. Senate, 2227 Dirksen Senate Office
Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: On June 2, 1978 President Carter recommended to the Congress that the waiver authority granted by Subsection 402(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 be further extended for 12 months. Pursuant to Subsection 402(d) (5) of the

Act, the President determined that further extension of the waiver authority granted by Subsection 402(c) and continuation of the waiver applicable to Romania will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Act.

Foreston Coal International Inc., an exporter of coal to Romania, supports the President's recommendation and urges the Committee to act favorably thereon. We feel that it is in the interest of United States trade to extend the Most-Favored-Nation status to Romania.

Export of coal and coke from the United States to Romania during the past several years are set forth in the following table:

BITUMINOUS COAL AND COKE—U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA

Year	Approximate net tons	Approximate value (f.o.b. loading port)
1973.....	283, 909	\$5, 879, 000
1974.....	256, 266	9, 015, 000
1975.....	363, 084	18, 448, 000
1976.....	237, 687	11, 700, 000
1977.....	1, 016, 293	52, 000, 000
1978 January/May.....	239, 215	11, 100, 000

As the above data demonstrate, the President's recommendation will help to accomplish one of the broader purposes of the Trade Act of 1974, which is "to open up market opportunities for United States commerce in non-market economies." (19 U.S.C. Section 2102).

We request that you include a copy of this statement in the printed record of the Committee's hearing.

Very truly yours,

SIGMUND KUPFERBERG,
Executive Vice President.

QUEENS, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Rada Georgesou, Romanian born and a political refugee in the USA since April 19, 1977.

I left Communist Romania together my husband engineer Corneliu Georgesou with a tourist passport for a visit to my husband's father in Rome, Italy on January 15, 1977.

Over there we were granted with political asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of UNO from Geneva.

Here we are enjoying all the opportunities of a free life.

But, painfully I was forced to left behind, in Communist Romania, as hostages:

1. Elena Andrei, born on October 16, 1910, my mother residing at: Strada Prisaca Dornei Nr 2, Bloc D 3, Sector 1, Apt 51, Buouresti, of Postal 56, COD 7446

2. Constantin Doncu 18, born on April 18, 1955 my son residing at: Strada Ghita Serban Nr 2, Bloc 8 B, Scara 2, Etaj 8, Apt 96, Buouresti, Oficiul Postal 72, COD 74692.

Since I and my husband become political refugees they were always interviewed under hard pressure by security. All their applications for exit visas in order to reunify our forced separated family were rejected by security. My son was forbidden to attend the university, after he was graduated by high school with bacalaureat diploma. Our mail and phone calls were cut off.

I joined the Fifth Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion in the USA (April 10, 1978)

I appear to you, honorable sir, to use your influence in persuading the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exit visas to my hostage mother Elena Andrei and to my son Constantin Doncu.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu violated and is still violating: the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and all UNO's resolution about family reunion.

He violated and is still violating the condition of easing the emigration from Communist Romania as he close agreed with the USA upon the trade agreement (1974) and the MFN in 1975, 1976 and 1977. This is an offense to US Congress,

to US House of Representatives, to US Senate, to all US political leaders who granted him with MFN three times and Ceausescu lied them all that he will release our relatives. I ask that US Senate suspend the MFN treatment to Nicolae Ceausescu and his Communist government until all hunger strikers' relatives will be release. I ask that US Senate put again on the rules the Henry M. Jackson-Charles Vanik amendment.

Thank you, honorable sir, for your humanitarian support.

Sincerely yours,

RADA GEORGESOU.

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Mrs. Viorica Karpacov (maiden name Viorica Serban) Romanian born and a political refugee in the U.S.A. since May 23, 1973. I applied for U.S. citizenship and I am waiting that the proceeding will be accomplished soon. I left Communist Romania with a tourist passport for an excursion in Hungaria and Greece. I ask for political asylum and I was granted with political asylum in Rome (Italy) by the High Commissioner for Refugees of UNO from Geneva.

Then I come in the U.S.A. where I am working as an artist with Alva Museum in New York City. But painfully I was forced to left behind in Communist Romania as hostages:

1. Eufimia Hucartar III, born on April 24, 1926, my mother.

2. Adriana Serban, born on November 24, 1954, my sister, both residing at Strada Sergent Sofronie Vasile, Nm 15, Sector 5, Huouresti Romania.

Since I became a political refugee they were always investigated under high pressure by security. It is hard to me to explain what happened to them, two women helpless, during the security's investigation. But you can imagine . . .

Nicolae Ceausescu, who is Brezhnev's spy in the free world and the Stalinist tyrant of Romanian people violated and is still violating the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and all UNO's resolutions about family reunion, and the condition of easing the emigration from Communist Romania as he close agreed with the U.S.A. upon the trade agreement and MFN in 1975, 1976 and 1977. He violated and is still violating the Helsinki Agreement (1975 too).

I joined the Fifth Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion in the U.S.A. (April 10, 1978). Desperately, I appeal to you, honorable sir, to use your influence in persuade the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exit visas to my hostages mother and sister. I appeal to U.S. Senate to suspend the MFN treatment to Nicolae Ceausescu and his communist government who in disrespect of all internationales commitments about family reunification, terrorised and are still terrorising the relatives of U.S. citizens and residents. As an U.S. citizen I can permit to nobody to offend the U.S. political leaders, I mean U.S. Senators and Representatives, Nicolae Ceausescu's permanent defiance of U.S. Senators and Representatives must have and end.

As an U.S. citizen and taxpayer I do not agree that my money and all U.S. taxpayers money to be sent to Nicolae Ceausescu who offend our elected Senators and Representatives and transformed Romania's territory into a military camp where Russian K.G.B. officers are getting training to Cuban terrorist to become Russian spies in the U.S.A. and to other foreign terrorist to join the international communist guerrillas all over the world. I am confident that U.S. Senate will suspend the MFN treatment to Nicolae Ceausescu and his communist government and force them to release our hostage families.

God bless America!

VIORICA KARPACOV.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD E. BRUSS, LEGISLATIVE AIDE, LIBERTY LOBBY

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I am Richard E. Bruss, Legislative Representative for Liberty Lobby. I appreciate this opportunity to appear today and present the views of Liberty Lobby's 25,000-member Board of Policy, as well as the quarter of a million readers of our weekly newspaper, The Spotlight.

A great deal of attention has lately been devoted to the inability of the average American to understand foreign policy. We find the phenomenon quite unremarkable. In fact, given the present state of world events and our decreasing ability

to influence them in our favor, it is becoming apparent that our "experts" are also in a quandary. We submit that it is arrangements such as the extension of trade agreements with Romania and Hungary that unnecessarily complicate matters and confuse our citizens.

In the argument advanced by the President's message of June 2, he maintains that he is satisfied with emigration and human rights in both Romania and Hungary. In saying this he is obviously comparing them with other communist countries—since by Western and Helsinki standards neither makes a pretense of assuring their citizens free travel. Romania, and to a lesser degree Hungary, both require ransom for each citizen emigrating. They maintain that since the state paid for their education the state should be reimbursed if the education is exported. Does the President consider this "unrestricted" in the spirit of the Jackson-Vanik amendment?

In another and perhaps more important vein, religious persecution continues in both countries. Radio evangelist Bill Bathman recently returned from Romania to cite cases of Christian school children being forced to stand outside classrooms so their classmates could swear and spit at them for deviating from "state thought."

In Hungary the recent Billy Graham crusade was the apparent victim of extortion. The agent that arranged both sites and audiences for the crusade was Sandor Palatoy, a communist whose only known allegiances are to money and state—in that order. Dr. Graham reluctantly indicated that future trips behind the Iron Curtain are highly improbable despite the warm and sincere welcome accorded him by most Hungarians.

We do not suggest that the only criterion for trade between the U.S. and other nations should be religion but considering the concepts on which our nation was founded it should certainly be one of them. For years we refused to recognize 800 million Chinese simply because they were communist and not the "official" government of China. Now we rationalize and accommodate extremism on the basis of trade as in the case of Uganda. No wonder Americans over 40 are confused about our foreign policy. We are literally all over the map with no underlying precepts that we are prepared to die to defend.

On the last point, Alexander Solzhenitsyn noted our apparent lack of will in facing communist realities worldwide. We may not agree with portions of his analysis of the American psyche since he probably doesn't know enough about it, but we cannot ignore his expert appraisal of communist intentions.

Trade with Warsaw Pact nations, dedicated enemies regardless of degree, does not seem a helpful course for the U.S. in his or our view. Why, if we must trade, do we insist on giving them a competitive edge at the expense of some of our own domestic industries (e.g. electric motors and wooden furniture)?

The Administration argues that Romania was helpful in arranging certain of the Middle East peace overtures and therefore must be encouraged to continue this benevolent attitude. Do they ever consider that Moscow, now lacking a voice in the Mideast, is using Mr. Ceausescu to ensure some degree of control over the situation? Apparently not, since we are falling over ourselves to extend most-favored-nation status to two clearly despotic regimes.

Our last point concerns the rocky condition of NATO defenses in Europe. General Haig, at some risk, given the Carter Administration's policy of demanding conformity with its views, is beginning to articulate some of his concerns about European defense capability. Technology transfer, inherent in expanding trade, can do nothing but strengthen Romania, Hungary and the Soviets at the expense of an already anemic NATO. Why do we persist in trading with potential enemies? Does the reason have something to do with profits of multi-national conglomerates and international banks? Is our foreign policy to be conducted for their benefit or for the people at large and the national security interests of the United States?

So now we have the picture of a fundamentalist Baptist President who professes a profound belief in human rights recommending continued trade on a most favored nation status with a pair of atheistic countries whose last concern is the welfare of individual citizens. Why should we not be confused? Why is our foreign policy so "foreign" to ordinary Americans? We say it is at least partly the fault of short sighted policies such as these and strongly recommend that Congress reject them in the name of patriotism if no other reason seems handy or politically acceptable.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear today and present our views.

RIDGEWOOD, N.J., May 26, 1978.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Adam Luca, Romanian born and a Political Refugee in the United States since September 26th, 1976; living in New York, 802 Seneca Ave, Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227.

I left Romania in May 1976 and received political asylum in Austria, from where I arrived in the United States on the above mentioned date.

Painfully, I was forced to leave behind, in the Communist Romania, as a hostage, my daughter Doina-Cornelia Luca, born on June 30th 1950, a Zootechnician Engineer, living in 22 Grivita-Rosie St. Timisoara III, Romania.

Her repeated requests to be given the application forms in order to obtain an exit visa from Romania were rejected. What is more, she was laid off her job as an engineer and only after a long lapse of time she could find another job as a common worker. She is being frequently investigated, under hard pressure by the Communist authorities.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu, ignores the Human Rights of the Romanian people, violates and defies the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and does not observe the condition of easing the emigration from Communist Romania, as he agreed upon with the United States by the Trade Agreement and the Most Favored Nation's Clause, granted to Communist Romania in 1975, 1976 and 1977, and the Helsinki Agreement (1975).

In order to reunify my forcedly separated family, I joined the 5th Romanian Hunger Strike for family reunion in the United States, on April 10th-April 17th 1978 and May 22-29th 1978, which will restart on June 5th 1978.

I appeal actually to you, Honorable Sir, to your humanitarian feelings and your influence to persuade the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu, to grant an exit visa from Romania to my hostage daughter Doina-Cornelia Luca. I am determined to continue my fight and my hunger strike until my daughter will be released from Romania and join me here.

Thanking you, Honorable Sir, for your humanitarian support, I remain,

Yours very respectfully,

ADAM LUCA.

STATEMENT OF THE MONSIEUR HENRI WINE IMPORTS

Monsieur Henri imports about 400 wines from 15 different countries. We sell to distributors in open states and are in contact with control state administrators. We employ 55 people and have a sales volume of \$23.8 million dollars. Our largest selling wines are Yago Sant'Gria (from Spain), Weber Wines from Germany, and Fu-Ki Wines from Japan.

In 1976, we negotiated a contract with Vinexport to import Romanian wine to the United States. The contract calls for us to sell 45,000 cases in a three-year period. This contract was signed with the assumption that there would be no change in Romania's Favored-Nations status.

The wine sales for Premiat—the brand name—have been excellent. We achieved our original 45,000 case, three-year target, in the first year and are now looking to import 80,000 cases this year.

To date, we have opened the following markets—So. California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Chicago, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., Maryland and Delaware.

The reasons for this product's success are twofold: 1. the excellent quality of the wines being shipped; 2. the reasonable price at which we are marketing it. In most states throughout the country that sell Romanian wine the retail price ranges from \$1.99 to 2.29—depending on state and local taxes.

The direct impact of "Most-Favored-Nation" status versus non-Most-Favored-Nation status on pricing of our Premiat line is as follows:

Current duty and tax, 56.5 cents per gallon or \$1.23 per case.

Without M.F.N., \$1.62 per gallon or \$3.20 per case. Difference, \$1.97 per case.

This would mean in effect that the American consumer would pay at least 25¢ per bottle more or a 12½% increase.

Romanian wines, which we are in the process of establishing, are proving profitable to all concerned. It has added to distributor sales volume in every U.S. market where it has been introduced. In addition, it has given the retailer an

opportunity to offer their customers a different and unique product. American consumers benefit from this trade by having available these high quality wines at reasonable prices. In addition, Americans of Romanian descent are pleased to be able to purchase the wine from the country of their origin.

Our overall negotiations and business relations have been most productive and constructive. We believe our experience is part of creating a healthy and productive relationship through international trade between this Latin-cultured, Eastern European country and our nation.

It is our opinion that the extension of Most-Favored-Nation status for imports from Romania will enable a strong and positive long-term relationship between the two countries to develop. This encouragement of international trade, we believe, will lead to better understanding and cooperation. It is our serious concern that a termination of Most-Favored-Nation status for imports from Romania will inhibit and curtail economic trade and potential understanding. Certainly it will limit and be detrimental to our sales, distributor sales and retailer sales of Romanian wine in the United States.

We agree with President Carter's remark during President Ceausescu's recent visit that the development of good trade relations with Romania is important. We would favor a change in the law that would treat Romania on the same basis as other countries with which we have normal trade relations. We, therefore, submit our enthusiastic support for the continuation and extension of Most-Favored-Nation status for the Socialist Republic of Romania under the Trade Act of 1974.

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS ON THE PRESIDENT'S WAIVER OF THE TRADE ACT FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS FOR HUNGARY AND ROMANIA

The National Association of Manufacturers supports the approval of the President's request for waivers of the freedom of emigration requirements applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic and the approval of the Presidential recommendation for further extension of authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1978.

HON. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on International Trade,
2227 Dirksen Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The National Association of Manufacturers supports the approval of the President's request for waivers of the freedom of emigration requirements applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic and the approval of the Presidential recommendation for further extension of the authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

NAM member companies—large, medium, and small in size—number 12,000 and represent about three-fourths of the nation's production of manufactured goods. The NAM supports the conclusion of bilateral agreements with nonmarket economy countries based upon general U.S. trade regulations, with certain necessary provisions made for national security, market disruption and other problem areas which might arise from very real differences in our national economic systems. We support the goal of improving economic relations between the U.S. and Romania and between the U.S. and Hungary. As a corollary to this support, we also favor the continuation of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) tariff treatment to Romania and to Hungary as granted in the waiver of the freedom of emigration requirements to section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. The NAM testified in favor of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement of 1975. We viewed that agreement as the first significant step in the expansion of mutually beneficial trade relations between the United States and countries of Eastern Europe. We have supported the renewal of the Romanian Agreement and we have also supported the pending agreement between the United States and Hungary.

The extension of non-discriminatory trade status to Hungary and the continuation of non-discriminatory status for Romania will allow their exports to com-

pete fairly with the exports from our other trading partners for entrance into the United States market. MFN status does not give a country's products privileged treatment over most other nations, but indeed only puts them on par with the treatment already accorded most nations with whom we trade.

One factor which could improve the bilateral trading relationships of the United States with Hungary and Romania would be a waiver period longer than the present twelve month maximum permitted by the Trade Act of 1974. U.S. trade with these two countries has already grown in a manner generally favorable to the U.S. interests over the past few years. The development of sound and mutually beneficial commercial relations is extremely difficult in the face of uncertainties arising from the need for yearly waivers. We would urge that your committee give serious consideration to improve this aspect of trade with non-market economies.

In light of the fact that both of these non-market economies manage their imports, we believe that it is appropriate and necessary to monitor trade developments under these agreements. For your consideration we have attached data on trade with Hungary and Romania. We find that trade with these countries has been generally satisfactory in recent years, although some deterioration is evident in U.S. trade in manufactured goods with Romania during the first three years of MFN status. Although it is not our objective to attain short-term equilibrium in every trade relationship, it is essential that these bilateral relationships operate to the overall benefit of the U.S. economy, and to the extent possible such trade should make a positive contribution to the improvement of the U.S. trade account which is currently in serious deficit.

In conclusion, we believe that favorable action on these matters will benefit the U.S. The trade agreements with Hungary and Romania will make possible further trade growth between our countries, and extension of the President's waiver authority will permit the further expansion of two-way trade relationships between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe.

NAM appreciates this opportunity to present our views for inclusion in the written record.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE A. FOX, *Vice-President.*

SELECTED STATISTICS ON UNITED STATES-HUNGARIAN TRADE

(In millions)

	Imports	Exports	Balance	Total 2-way trade
I. Total U.S. trade with Hungary:				
1975.....	\$34.6	\$76.1	\$41.5	\$110.7
1976.....	49.0	63.0	14.0	112.0
1977.....	46.6	79.7	33.1	126.3
II. U.S. trade in manufactures with Hungary:				
1975.....	20.9	35.3	14.4	56.2
1976.....	26.3	40.0	13.7	66.3
1977.....	20.3	44.8	24.5	65.1

SELECTED STATISTICS ON UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE

(In millions)

	Imports	Exports	Balance	Total 2-way trade
I. Total U.S. trade with Romania:				
1975.....	\$133	\$189	\$56	\$322
1976.....	188	249	60	442
1977.....	233	259	26	498
II. U.S. trade in manufactures with Romania:				
1975.....	35	58	23	93
1976.....	95	49	-46	144
1977.....	134	61	-73	195

Source: Commerce Department, "U.S. Trade Status With Communist Countries," Feb. 15, 1978.

ASTORIA, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Mrs. Paulina Penescu, Romanian born and a Political refugee in the U.S.A. since September 29, 1976. I left Communist Romania with a tourist passport for Turkey on October 28, 1976.

I was granted with political asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugee of United Nations Organisation from Geneva. Then I come in this country where I enjoy all opportunities of the life in freedom and real democracy.

But painfully I was forced to left behind in Communist Romania as hostages:

1. Mrs. Florica Penescu, born on June 8, 1906, my mother.

2. Nadia Silvia Radu, born on August 2, 1966, my daughter both residing at; Piata Mihail Kogalniceanu, Nr 8, Scrara 6, Etaj 2, Apt. 10, Sector 6, Bucuresti, Tel. 168687. Since I became a political refugee they were investigated under hard pressure by security. Our mail was outed. All their claims for applications for exit visas in order to reunify our forced separated family were rejected by security.

Nicolae Ceausescu, who is Breshnev's spy in the Free World and the Stalinist Tyrant of Romanian People, violated and is still violating the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and all UNO's resolution about family reunion, nor the condition of easing the emigration from Communist Romania as he close agreed with the U.S.A. upon the Trade Agreement and the M.F.N. on 1975, 1976 and 1977. He violated and is still violating too the Helsinki Agreement (1975).

I joined the Fifth Romanian Hunger strike for family reunion (April 1978) and I appeal to you, honorable sir to use your influence in persuade the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exit visas to my hostages daughter and mother. I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, and to U.S. Senate to suspend M.F.N. to Communist Romanian and to put again on rules Henry M. Jackson-Charles Vanik's amendment, because it is a shame that in our 20th Century despite all international agreements signed by Nicolae Ceausescu and his communist government, there are still hostages of U.S. relatives who are tortured by security and there is a flagrant and permanent offense of U.S. Senate from Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thank you, Honorable Sir, for your humanitarian support.

Sincerely yours,

PAULINA PENESCU.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Emilia Popoviciu, Romanian born and a Refugee in the USA since April 19, 1977, residing at: 29-15 86 Ave., Apt. 8-EB, Long Island City, New York, N.Y. 11106.

The Romanian Authorities refuse to give exit visas to my family in order to join me in the USA. My family has been threatened and prosecuted by the Security men which try by all means to stop their emigration proceedings.

My family includes: (1) Elisabeta Popovici, 62, mother; (2) Elena Clout, 26, sister; (3) Medardus Clout, 6, nephew; all residing at: Str. Izvorului Nr. 16, Agnita Jud. Sibiu, and (4) Vasile Popovici, 84, brother, residing at: Zona Garil, Camin Nefamilisti, Camera 86, Oravita, Jud. Caras-Severin.

I appeal to you Honorable Sir to use your influence in persuading the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to observe his International Commitments about family reunion and grant immediately exit visas to my hostage family.

Thank you Honorable Sir for your humanitarian support.

Sincerely yours,

EMILIA POPOVICIU.

STATEMENT OF THE ROMANIAN BAPTIST ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA, REV. A. S. LUACIU, HONORARY PRESIDENT AND SPECIAL ADVISER, PASTOR OF THE ROMANIAN BAPTIST CHURCH, DETROIT, MICH., AND GEORGE CRISAN LEGAL COUNSEL; AND THE ROMANIAN RADIO HOUR OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, REV. DANILA PASCU, FOUNDER-DIRECTOR, PASTER EMERITUS OF THE ROMANIAN BAPTIST CHURCH OF CLEVELAND, OHIO

The Association and the Romanian Radio Hour recommend extension of waiver authority in the President to further extend to Romania the MFN treatment. We believe the extension will enhance mutual trade benefits and will promote further and deeper friendly relations with Romania.

RBA comprises Romanian-English speaking Baptist churches throughout the Mid-West States as well as California and Florida. An important number of affiliate members are living throughout the United States, maintaining strong ties with the Association because of their ancestry or their interest in promoting friendly ties with Romania. RBA is in continuous active existence since 1918.

The RRH of Cleveland, Ohio, reaches supporting listeners throughout the State of Ohio and part of Canada. Thousands of listeners are living in remote places. They are not able to attend church services or learn of any political, religious or other news except through Radio. The RRH under the direction of Rev. D. Pascu, its founder, is active continuously for over 80 years.

We have testified in the past and have supported the extension to Romania of the MFN treatment. We did so in the past and do so now, because we have personal knowledge of how the Romanian Government tries harder than ever to comply with the freedom of emigration clause of the Trade Agreement. In our churches we have received more new emigrants this past year than ever before. In many instances the Romanian Government has authorized emigration of entire families to join one single member in the United States. We also recognize that not all applicants were allowed to emigrate. However, it is our personal observation that the Romanians are showing good-faith in every instance.

Rev. A. S. Lucaciu has visited Romania many times in the recent past. Last year, 1977, he was guest of honor attending the 27th Romanian Baptist Congress in Bucharest where he addressed an assembly of more than 5,000 delegates and guests. Then, he was invited to preach and addressed 15 other congregations throughout the country. He attended the dedication of the largest Baptist Church ever built in Romania, in the city of Arad. The church has a capacity of 8,000 seats. He realized that the freedom of religion in Romania is a fact, certainly, under the Romanian Constitution and law. He has noticed that in Romania is a sincere desire to put in practice the clauses of the Helsinki Statement, that man's dignity and freedom of conscience be a reality amidst the Romanian populace regardless of language, creed or ethnical background.

Rev. George Crisan has traveled extensively in Romania. He speaks the Hungarian language and visited many places in the region where the bulk of Hungarian population live. He has met with the Hungarian Baptist leaders and pastors. At no time was he aware or apprised of any ethnical discrimination by the Romanian Government versus Hungarian ethnic group.

Romania is a nation of Romance language and of Western orientation. In the past history, as today, Romania is a block in the Soviet Russia drive toward open sea and free ports. We sincerely believe that by the Trade agreement, and by other political, economical and cultural ties extended to Romania by the United States it will foster a worthy and reliable friendly nation in that area of the world.

We greatly appreciate this opportunity afforded to us by the Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate.

STAFFORD INTERNATIONAL CORP.,
New York, N.Y., July 10, 1978.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director,
Senate Committee on Finance,
2227 Dirksen, Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We respectfully request to take under consideration the following for your July 12, 1978 hearing, and/or any subsequent hearings and records:

It would be to the advantage of the United States if the Trade Act of 1974 were modified so that the annual examination would be dispensed with in regard to Section 402. In our opinion the establishment of favorable commercial and political relations with Romania, whose friendly policies with nations of varied political and economic systems have benefited United States policy interests, should be fostered.

Furthermore, the policies of the Romanian government clearly indicate that both the Romanian government and its citizens want to promote better relations between our two countries, extend trade and cultural exchange, and increase tourism. As history shows, extension of all the above tends to increase a better understanding and cooperation between countries.

At the time of the establishment of the Act of 1974 it was agreed that the two-way trade between the United States and Romania would "Promote United States interests in seeing Romania continue to develop relations with the Western nations and its independent foreign policies in general."

There are subsections within Section 402 which restrict Romania to the status of a nation under annual probationary scrutiny, which does not inspire a mutual progressive relationship as proposed in Section 402. We feel that rather than restricting the development of Romania as an independent nation, it would be better to dispense with the annual waiver extension, which would create a better understanding between the two nations, by establishing and expanding a mutual trust.

It is indeed of the utmost importance that commercial enterprises cannot be properly conducted on an annual basis. No planning can be done by either party when such restrictions are pending, and hang over our heads as the sword of Damocles. As we all know, business negotiations are conducted well ahead of time so that when they are more or less finalized, there is almost no time left for their implementation.

Therefore, we respectfully request modification of the clause which requires annual examination of the objectives of the 'Trade Act of 1974, Section 402, and that it be annulled or revised.

We wish to thank you in advance for giving our request your due consideration and at any time you need additional information, please do not hesitate to ask.

Respectfully yours,

JACK P. EISNER, *President.*

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director,
Committee on Finance,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MICHAEL STERN: I am Eugen Stancliu, former Political Prisoner in Romania's Communist's jails and now a Political Refugee in the U.S. I joined unsuccessfully the Fourth and Fifth Romanian Hunger Strikers for Family Reunion in the U.S.A. Despite the full support of U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, until yet my family is still hostage in Communist Romania. Please, Hon. Michael Stern, enlist me at the Oral Hearing of July 12, 1978.

If this not be possible, for lack of time, please, Hon. Michael Stern, make that my case be support on the U.S. Senate floor by Dr. Dimitrie G. Apostoliu, the Spokesman of Hunger Strikers and that my written testimony be printed in Congressional Record.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

EUGEN STANCIU.

STATEMENT BY BRUTUS COSTE, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
IN THE NAME OF THE TRUTH ABOUT ROMANIA COMMITTEE¹

INTRODUCTION

In the statements presented to the Subcommittee on Trade, at its 1976 and 1977 hearings, we pointed out that the record does not justify the claim that all concerned have drawn comparable, if not equal benefits from the extension of the Most-Favored-Nation treatment to the "Socialist Republic of Romania" (SRR). This, we submit, also holds for the year that lapsed since the July 18, 1977, hearings.

The totalitarian regime in Romania is still, and by far, the most important beneficiary. It has managed to run up a debt of over three billion dollars toward

¹ The Truth About Romania Committee is a non-profit, non-incorporated association of Americans and U.S. residents of Romanian descent. It was formed in 1973 and is dedicated to the task of disseminating the truth about conditions in Romania and voicing, in the Free World, the freedom aspirations of the Romanian people.

Emeritus Professor Brutus Coste, the spokesman of the committee, is a former Romanian diplomat who served eleven years as Secretary of the Assembly of Captive European Nations and taught for ten years International Relations at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, N.J.

the Western industrial countries and toward such international institutions as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund. Given the extremely low probability of these loans ever being repaid, it is much more realistic to describe them as grants in aid rather than business transactions.

Had these loans generated improved living conditions for the people of Romania and, more important, had they been conducive to some measure of observance of elementary human rights, particularly freedom from fear—the absence of which permeates everyday life in Romania—none would object.

But the point is precisely that the foreign-imposed regime in Romania, instead of catering to the needs of the population, continues to be the most faithful imitator of Stalin's economic model:

It runs the most centralized, bureaucratized and corrupt command economy;

It still assigns the highest priority to the development of heavy industry notwithstanding the fact that its cost of production and the low quality of its industrial products make it non-competitive on the world market;

It adheres more rigidly and more stubbornly than any other East European communist-ruled country to the hated and therefore unproductive collectivized agriculture;

It keeps on allocating every year more than 30 per cent of its G.N.P. to investments which do not contribute in any way to the betterment of living conditions.

THE SRR AND HUMAN RIGHTS

When it comes to human rights, denial or non-observance is still the rule; observance—or mere isolated violations—the exception.

In recommending, in June 1977, extension for another year of his authority to waive, in the case of the SRR, the requirements of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Foreign Trade Act of 1974, President Carter had warned that should the "performance" of the Romanian regime "not accord with the intent of this provision", he "would want to reconsider the recommendation".

It is a matter of deep regret for most Romanians that extension is once again being recommended although the "performance" of the beneficiary is worse than spotty in regard to emigration and retrogressive in matters of human rights.

THE SRR AND FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION

In regard to emigration the policy of Ceausescu is as simple as it is effective: his flunkys grant passports and exit visas to as few would-be emigrants as feasible without placing in jeopardy the economic advantages provided by the U.S. A refinement of this policy is to stall for about six months after the objective of getting the extension is achieved, and to resume issuing passports and exit visas when the time for the U.S. congressional hearings draws closer. In this way the supporters of the extension (businessmen, U.S. officials, collaborators and agents of the Bucharest regime) are enabled to furnish fresh data indicating that progress from year to year may be modest but is steady, and therefore sufficient to earn the annual extension of the M-F-N.

In other words, on emigration the policy is one of *tokenism*. It is also arbitrarily selective. Elderly people, generally and for obvious reasons, are given preference. In certain cases, denial of family reunion often reflects the determination to punish the original defector. The most notorious such case is that of Washington-resident Constantin Rauta who, since his defection in 1974, left no stone unturned to secure permission to leave Romania for his wife Escaterina Gabriela (now 29) and son Mihai Catalin (now 4).

When asked at his recent press conference at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., why were passports denied to Mrs. Rauta and son, Ceausescu answered that he is not prepared to talk about traitors. "Would the President of the United States—he went on—discuss with foreigners the case of a deserter from the U.S. Army?"

None stood up to remind the Romanian dictator of the humane aspects of the issue. And none told him that both in terms of the general observance of human rights and in terms of bringing about a family reunion, he was committed under the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights of 1966 which Romania ratified by Decree 212 of 1974, under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (article 13), as well as under the Helsinki Final Act—to resolve favorably a case like that of the Rauta family.

FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION OR RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

This brings us back to a point we made in our 1977 statement: should the sole condition for granting the multiple benefits of the M-F-N to non-market countries be the degree to which it permits its citizens to leave their country if they so wish?

From the strictly legal point of view the answer could have been in the affirmative prior to the ratification by the SRR of the aforementioned covenant and prior to the adoption of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. From the moral and political point of view too the answer could have been in the affirmative prior to President Carter's elevation of human rights to the rank of a central concern of U.S. foreign policy. Following these developments, however, the answer can only be in the negative. As we put it last year: how could the U.S. justify withdrawing economic and military aid from authoritarian governments, friendly to the U.S., because of their partially negative record on human rights—while similar benefits are made available to the SRR and other East European totalitarian dictatorships at a much lesser price: permission to a few hundred (or even thousand) would-be emigrants to leave their country.

What is really called for is to make Western economic aid to communist-ruled countries conditional upon the genuine observance of the human rights commitments embodied in the Helsinki Final Act and the several earlier covenants under the U.N. system.

RECENT EXAMPLES OF SRR CONDUCT IN MATTERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Annexes 1 to 7 to this statement provide vivid proof that those who still delude themselves to the point of praising the Ceausescu dictatorship for its "sensitivity" to human rights are very much in error. The proof consist of letters, appeals, statements and legal documents which were smuggled out from Romania by their authors (in 1977)—mostly young men in their twenties and thirties and most of them belonging to the working class. In all these documents their authors call for an investigation by the participants at the Belgrade Conference of the manner in which the SRR has complied with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. They all declare that they no longer want to live under an unbearably oppressive government and are therefore determined to leave Romania and renounce their Romanian citizenship.

A common feature of these communications is that they reveal a more subtle way of camouflaging repression. Criminal proceedings and unconcealed administrative punishment are now shunned so as to make proof of repression more difficult. Dissenters are first dismissed from their jobs and then, within 24 hours, are brought before a Borough Court, from which press and public are barred, under the charge of vagrancy and parasitism involving "systematic refusal to work". The court would condemn the defendants on the basis of civil law 25 of 1976, to one year of "labor obligation". In a few cases this consisted of an assignment to the lowest kind of menial jobs in the locality in which they resided. In most cases, however, they would be taken under police escort (masquerading as guides) to one of the two worst forced labor camps: the camp in the wetlands of the Danube near the city of Braila, or the recently reopened construction site for the Danube-Black Sea Canal where in the fifties well over a hundred thousand political prisoners were exterminated.

2. For many years the communist response to Western concern for human rights has been to stress the so-called economic and social rights. Their claim was and still is that human rights and fundamental freedoms are meaningless if not solidly grounded on socio-economic advance. Such advance can only be accomplished under communist regimes since communism alone can bring and does bring an end to exploitation of man by man.

Last summer the Romanian coal miners in the Jiu Valley once more resoundingly demonstrated that social and economic rights are as little observed in communist-ruled Romania as are other human and civil rights. For several days miners, the highest paid industrial workers in Romania, expressed by a protest strike their discontent about pensions, wages, unpaid overtime, food and consumer goods supplies. The miners refused to resume work until "President" Ceausescu himself would show up and listen to their grievances. When Ceausescu made an appearance he was showered with verbal abuse. David Floyd, the London Daily Telegraph's communist affairs correspondent gave this account on October 10, 1977:

"A group of Romanian miners who took part in the Jiu Valley strike, in August, have smuggled an appeal to the West in which they reveal that the whole Valley, Romania's principal coal mining area, has been declared a "forbidden zone" until the end of the year. Of the 35,000 miners who took part in the strike, at least 4,000 were dismissed and are still out of work. Many others have been forcibly transferred to other districts. Speaking in the name of a group of 800 miners, the 22 signatories of the appeal ask for the widest publicity for their plight. "Don't be afraid to let people know that there has been a strike in a socialist state, the appeal says. "There will be others, and maybe we shall have no choice but to go ourselves and see that justice is done, with our picks and shovels. Such are human rights in the socialist republic of Romania'."

According to subsequent information from reliable sources, upon arriving in the Jiu Valley, Ceausescu first tried to placate the miners by sharply criticizing local party officials and mine managers and announcing a substantial purge of the "responsible officials". Then he engaged in negotiations with delegates elected by the miners. The miners agreed to go back to work in return for a number of concessions and the pledge that no retaliatory steps will be taken against the miners and their spokesmen. The pledge was crudely violated. The delegates elected to negotiate with Ceausescu were arrested and some 4,000 of the striking miners were fired and deported to remote areas.

3. The father of five children, 38 year old Stefan Gavrilă was a parish priest in the village of Valeni, district of Prahova. Soon after his consecration, more than ten years ago, he found himself in conflict with the village mayor because of his refusal to read from the pulpit Party orders and statements. His complaints to the head of the Romanian Orthodox Church remained unanswered. In May 1973 he was detained by the State Security and taken to Ploesti, the district capital, for investigation. It turned out that the charges against him was "disrespectful attitude toward the Communist Party." A month later, a board of priests, made up of hand-picked collaborationists, was established to investigate Gavrilă. In August 1973 this board ordered the eviction of Gavrilă from his church. Reverend Gavrilă then began to officiate in his home. The faithful would fill his home every Sunday and holiday, despite the heavy fines the authorities would impose on both priest and parishioners.

In February 1974, the matter went before the Archbishopric of Bucharest. Gavrilă was found guilty of defiance of the state and Church authorities and of refusal to pray in church for the head of the State. On these grounds Reverend Gavrilă was defrocked. But he kept conducting services in his home. In February 1975, the Security searched his home under the pretext that he possessed at home "objects of religious cult." In December 1976 he was arrested and charged of conducting "clandestine meetings" in his home. Released a year later, he returned to his village. Early in 1977 he called on the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest and asked political asylum and permission to emigrate to the U.S. Upon emerging from the U.S. Embassy he and his wife were taken to the Security and were subjected to lengthy interrogations. A few days later, on February 22, 1977, Gavrilă began a hunger strike in front of the U.S. Embassy. Minutes later six security agents picked him up and took him to the Rahova station of the State Security. There he was severely beaten up for several consecutive days and then sent back to his village.

In April 1977 Reverend Gavrilă was once again investigated. This time the interrogation was conducted by Ion Ionescu, chief of the Bucharest State Security, assisted by Colonel Jipa. The interrogation derived from an intercepted letter in which Gavrilă asked a Romanian clergyman in Paris to help him and his family to leave Romania. This time the security officers offered a deal: everything will be forgotten and forgiven if Gavrilă would write a statement repudiating his previous behavior and statements. Refusal, said the officers—would entail internment in a mental institution.

Since April 1977 no further news became available about the reverend. It is feared that since he is jobless he can easily be charged of "parasitism" and "vagrancy" on the basis of Law 25/1976 and assigned to one of the flimsily camouflaged forced labor camps.

4. On March 23, 1978, a resolution of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party announced an economic reform aimed at reducing centralization in the country's economy. The resolution provides, among others, that workers of industrial enterprises earning significant amounts of hard currency may be rewarded in the form of permission to take a trip abroad, at their own expense,

of course. Here we have a clear admission that for the SRR traveling abroad is not a right but a privilege and that the widespread wish to travel is to be used as an inducement to greater exertion on the part of the workers.

DOES THE SRR CONDUCT AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

The hearings held by both houses of the Congress since 1975 with respect to the M-F-N status for the SRR have revealed that the major argument in support of a positive U.S. decision in this matter was not the SRR's emigration record but the belief that the SRR is conducting an independent foreign policy which served the interests of the United States.

On this point too we see no reason for revising the viewpoint we expressed in the 1976 and 1977 hearings, the more so as most of the thousands of Romanians who succeeded to leave their country in the last few years fully share these views.

We still believe and want to place on record that the posture of nationalism and independence the SRR has been displaying since 1964 is overwhelmingly a substitute for real internal reforms.

We still hold that this posture is a reflection of the role-playing a stronger and therefore more confident Soviet Russia has adopted in the late sixties. The role of "independent satellite" of the Soviet Union the SRR was permitted to play has demonstrably served the Soviet policy of détente and has made Euro-Communism, one of the most recent deceptive devices, more credible.

We are still convinced that under the plaudits of the West, the Bucharest rulers went sometimes farther than permitted. But the Romanian rulers obviously succeeded each time to persuade the Soviet leadership that their rhetoric, maneuvers and gestures of independence were the surest and least risky road to a measure of internal acceptance and that the independence stance represented a powerful contribution to the success of the Soviet grand strategy in Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

For the several reasons set forth in this statement, the Truth About Romania Committee holds that the further extension of the M-F-N status to the SRR (and for that matter to other East European states) is not helpful to the cause of freedom, does not serve the best long-term interests of the United States and undermines the morale of the freedom-loving people of Romania.

ANNEX 1

APPEAL ADDRESSED TO PARTICIPANT STATES AT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (TRANSLATION FROM ROMANIAN), BUCHAREST, MAY 26, 1977

To establish freedom, justice and peace in the world—an aspiration of all peoples:

We, citizens of the Socialist Republic Romania, wishing to assure to ourselves, as well as to future generations a happy life, in keeping with the ideals of free human beings; considering that, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, States are obliged to promote the universal and effective respect of human rights and freedoms which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person:

1. We request the states participating in the 1977 Belgrade conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe to investigate thoroughly the manner in which were interpreted and applied in Romania the provisions of article 1.7 of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference with respect to the obligation to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief for all; as well as the provisions of the "Human Contacts" section of the chapter on "Humanitarian Cooperation in other fields".

2. We request an analysis be undertaken of the manner in which the S.R. Romania has applied article 55, para. C of the United Nations Charter—which provides for the "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

3. We request an investigation of the manner in which the S.R. Romania has interpreted and implemented one of the fundamental rights of Man—which is set forth in article 13.2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone

has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country".

4. We demand, on the basis of article 89 of the S.R. Romania Constitution which declares that every citizen of the S.R. Romania is obliged to respect the Constitution and the laws", that the constitutional provisions with regard to inalienable human rights be respected. Thus article 17 provides that the State guarantees "the equality of all citizens before the law", and article 80 that "the freedom of conscience is guaranteed to all citizens of the S.R. Romania".

5. We ask that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations exercise the authority conferred upon it by article 62.2 of the U.N. Charter which states that the Council "may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all".

6. We beg President Jimmy Carter and the American Congress to examine thoroughly the manner in which the S.R. Romania conceives and respects the right of free emigration, a right which is included in the American Foreign Trade Act as a condition for any country enjoying the benefits of the Most Favored Nation's Clause.

7. We request the U.N. Commission for Human Rights to investigate the extent to which Decree No. 212 of the Council of State of the S.R. Romania, dated October 31, 1974, infringes the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights which Romania has ratified. Paragraph 2 of said Covenant provides that "everyone is free to leave any country, including his (her) own. Paragraph 2 of article 19; paragraph 1 of article 19 states that none should have to suffer because of the opinions he holds".

8. We appeal to the international public opinion, to all men and women of integrity and good conscience to manifest their adherence to the just cause of those in Romania who dare to ask that human rights and fundamental freedoms be respected and do so with proper regard for domestic law and in the spirit of international instruments Romania has signed and ratified.

We would like to mention that this appeal is not designed to poison the political atmosphere in Romania, to subvert the socialist order, to undermine national unity or weaken in any way the sovereignty of the Romanian state. It is merely aimed at bringing about effective respect for the nation's Constitution and for the international instruments the Romanian state has signed.

In signing we are led by the desire of contributing to the efforts of the entire human family toward détente and peaceful coexistence.

ION MARINESCU,
IOSIF NITA,
RADU NEGRESU,
RAYMOND PAUNESCU,
NICOLAE WINDISCH¹.

ANNEX 2

EXCERPTS FROM OPEN LETTER OF MAY 28, 1977, FROM NICOLAE WINDISCH TO PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

... I am young. Experience made me understand the true face of a society in which only the principles, slogans falsely patriotic rhetorics are socialist. It is most depressing for a young man of 28 to have become so fed-up with all the abusive denials of rights and liberties set forth in the constitution and the laws that he can only think of leaving his country. To be Romanian in Romania means blindly obeying the party. The freedom of conscience is denied and if you complain you are labelled a traitor to your country, a great peril for the party. The right hand of the party—the State Security—then intervenes and decides whether you are to be condemned, beheaded. As a man of this land, I want to live and work in a country in which dignity, liberty and democracy are sacred rights of the citizen and not mere slogans. I want the Romanian State to understand that I want to leave the country in keeping with the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights of December 16, 1966, which Romania ratified by Decree 212 of 1974; the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—the chapter on Human Contacts; the Trade Agreement between Romania and the United States. . . .

¹ Facsimile signatures are to be found in the attached Romanian original of this appeal.

At the same time I want to renounce my Romanian citizenship, in conformity with article 22 of Law 24 of 1971—The Nationality Law. I would add that after leaving the country I shall not undertake any action affecting the prestige of Romania.

I want to express my adhesion to the appeal of Paul Goma and I am convinced that, in the end, the brave men fighting for the rights of Man will triumph. The totalitarian state should understand that man must be Man and not a simple tool of production; that he has a conscience and that he is born with inalienable rights and liberties. I join all signers who stand for the integral respect of the rights and liberties of Man—wherever they are being infringed.

NICOLAE WINDISCH.

STATEMENT BY ION MARINESCU AND OTHER SIX SIGNERS (TRANSCRIBED FROM PARTIALLY UNREADABLE XEROX COPY OF HANDWRITTEN TEXT. ORIGINAL SPELLING PRESERVED.)

For Senator Henry M. Jackson:

We, Romanian citizens, the five signers of the appel for human rights and liberties consideration, appel which was published by the Swiss magazine "Die Welt Woche" at the end of June 1977 and broadcasted by radio Free Europe on the 30th of June 1977, considering our selves political dissidents here, in Romania, socialist and democratic country, asking for help in saving our lives and liberty, we let you know all the consequences we held after our appel was made known. We wish these consequences to be made well known.

On the 1st of July 1977 we have been picked up by the police and we were interrogated five days for about ten hours a day. During the interrogations we were beaten up and warned in different ways. The only purpose of beating and warning was to make sure that we retract our connection with the International human rights movement and also, that we give up informing the International public opinion on the way Romania considers and respects the unalienable human rights and liberties.

As far as our movement was according the Romanian laws we could not be blamed for anything, but of course, we had to be punished to be an example for other Romanian citizens who intend to stand for their human rights.

The punishment was done. On the 5th of July we were taken under arrest and we appeared before a jury who sentenced us at one year work term, in the worst place in the country: Danube—Black Sea Canal. The trial was secret, we had no defense right, that is no barrister, there was no public except the police agents. It was a very bad show directed by a terrible minded director. We were sentenced according to the Civil Law 25, 1976, which refers to the people who systematically and without any reason refuse to work. We declare the sentence to be abusive so far as we were fired a quarter of an hour before the trial. In spite of the civil sentence which gave us full liberty, we kept being under arrest and by night thrown in a jail under armed guard, we were taken to the place where we supposed to live and work, 200 km far from Bucharest, separated and delivered like any other goods. We refused to work. We were urged. The nightmare began. With us the Romanian Gulag was inaugurated.

On the 6th of July arrived, under the same circumstances another dissident, engineer Vasile Constantinescu and on the 6th of August the seventh, designer Dragoș Neamtu.

As far as this civil law began to be used against dissidents—five from Goma group were treated alike. We have the right to consider ourselves political prisoners, being under permanent surveillance, sentenced in fact for opinion delicts. We are afraid of the possibility that that the civil law 25 1976 could be used against anyone who stands for human rights. We are afraid that Danube-Black Sea Canal could be easily turned into a real GULAG and the officially non-existent political prisoners would become very real in Romania.

ANNEX 4

MEMORANDUM TO COMRADE GHEORGHE BOBOCEA, PROCURATOR GENERAL OF THE S.R.R.

(TRANSLATION FROM ROMANIAN)

COMRADE PROCURATOR GENERAL: The undersigned Radu Negreacu, residing in Bucharest 7, Aleia Compozitorilor No. 5, Bloc G-9, apt. 56, submit this mem-

orandum designed as an extraordinary appeal against civil judgment 8682 of July 5, 1977 (final and enforceable) of the Court of the Seventh Borough of Bucharest, File No. 5636/1977.

In point of fact: the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare has asked the Court of the Seventh Borough to oblige me, on the basis of article 9 of Law 25/1976, to perform work for one year in an economic unit, this request being grounded on my unjustified refusal to join the labor force.

The Court, judging the case exclusively in the light of documents prepared by the petitioner, admitted the request and ordered that I be assigned to work for one year on a Construction-Investment site in the department of Constanta.

I consider the decision to be illegal and unfounded for the following:

REASONS FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY APPEAL

1. The decision is illegal and unfounded because the Court which has judged the case infringed the constitutional principle of defense. The judgment was pronounced within a single term and on the exclusive ground of a submission on the part of the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare, a submission as unknown to me as the documents and evidence on which it was based.

In his capacity of defendant the undersigned has called the attention of the Court to the fact that I was employed as a mailman—a fact I can prove with my Labor Booklet which is in the safekeeping of the Directorate of Postal Transports and that I was employed from 1971 to date, including the date at which my case came up for trial.

There is nowhere any mention in the Court decision of my having informed the Court that I was employed, as shown by an entry to this effect in my Work Booklet, at the time when the case came up for judgment.

Given the hurry with which the case came up for judgment and, as shown above, because judgment was pronounced in my first appearance before the Court when I was in ignorance of the submission by the petitioner and when I could not present my Work Booklet for the good reason that it was at my place of work.

To assess correctly the merit of the positions confronting each other, the Court should have deferred the case until the Work Booklet could be presented.

2. The decision is unfounded and illegal because it violates articles 9 and 10 of Law 25/1976 which do not apply to my case.

3. The undersigned is by profession a hotel receptionist. My graduation diploma bears the No. 507/2407. 1975. It was issued by the Ministry of Internal Trade. I was first employed in the year 1971 as a permanent employee of the Electrecord record enterprise.

From 1972 to May 30, 1977 I worked as a receptionist at the Intercontinental, Parc and Nord hotels (in Bucharest). On June 6, 1977, a few days after resigning from my job at Hotel Nord, I was hired as a mailman at the Directorate of Postal Transports, as documented by Identity Card No. 1971, issued on June 6, 1977. On June 27, 1977, I gave the requisite 15 days notice to my employer. Accordingly, my notice (and termination of employment) became effective on July 11, 1977.

The reason behind my resignation was to be found in the fact that I had applied for a job at UCMB Hand-Made Footwear Factory, of Bucharest, Str. Gabroveni No. 4, as shown by the application filed with the above enterprise and the medical report clearing me for appointment (No. 9411/1977) which is in my possession and can be shown to you.

Given my continued employment, on the one hand, and on the other hand the fact that on July 5, 1977, the date when I was tried, I was an employee, articles 9 and 10 of the Law 25, 1976 cannot apply to me. I was earning my living by my own toil at the institutions and enterprises which are listed in my Work Booklet and can therefore not be accused of having led a parasitic life. Inasmuch as I was employed, the question of refusing employment could not arise.

On the basis of this memorandum I ask you to approach the Supreme Court of the Socialist Republic Romania with an extraordinary appeal which in analyzing and evaluating the true and concrete conditions would also take into consideration the evidence I, as defendant, can furnish with regard to applicability of Law 25/1976 in my particular case . . . A just and equitable solution, conforming to the principles of socialist justice would result from such scrutiny and would lead to the rejection of the submission by the Directorate for the Problems of Labor and Social Welfare.

I request, at the same time, that the enforcement of the enclosed civil decision be deferred pending judgment by the Supreme Court of the S.R.R.

I furthermore request that, should you find that the above reasons are not legal and well-founded to bring about the annulment of the aforementioned Court decision, I petition you to determine that Law 25/1976 does not provide that the labor obligation has to be discharged in any other place than the one of which one is a resident. . . .

RADU NEGRESCU, *Petitioner.*

ANNEX 5

THE COURT OF THE SEVENTH BOROUGH OF THE CITY OF BUCHAREST (TRANSLATION FROM THE ROMANIAN)

CIVIL DECISION NO. 3582

Public Session of July 5, 1977; Composition of the Court: President, Giurgiu Liviu; Popular Assessors: Bogdan Ana, Petrescu Aurelia; Prosecutor: Zalcescu Victor; Clerk: Rica Burian.

On the docket: submission by the Directorate of Problems of Labor and Social Welfare of the City of Bucharest with regard to work-assignment of a person capable to perform work.

At the roll-call made in public session the respondents were Negrescu Radu for whom a work assignment was requested, and, on behalf of the Directorate of Problems of Labor and Social Welfare, Georgescu Dumitru.

The procedure being complete, the report of the case was presented . . .

FINDINGS OF THE COURT

By submission No. 5636/1977, the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare of the City of Bucharest, Office of Manpower, petitioned the Court that, in conformity with article 9 of Law 25 of 1976, concerning assignments to perform useful work, Negrescu Radu be obliged to work for one year in an economic unit.

The Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare grounded its submission on the fact that Negrescu Radu unjustifiably refused employment although capable of work and although a work-assignment appropriate to his professional qualifications was assured to him.

In support of the submission, the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare filed for the record of the case documents drawn up before the case was taken to court.

From the content of the protocol drawn up by the Office of Manpower of the City of Bucharest it appears that this organ assured to Negrescu Radu the possibility of employment.

From the same protocol as well as from the employment slip No. 192 p 13/1977 it appears that Negrescu Radu refused any work assignment and declared that he shall not give up his request to leave the country for good.

The Court, having established that Negrescu Radu—a person capable to work—although assured an assignment in production appropriate to his professional training and although given the necessary support to perform activity useful to society and apt to provide him with a livelihood—refuses to be assigned to work—admits the submission and obliges Negrescu Radu to work for one year on a construction and investment project in the Department of Constanta.

The person whose assignment to work is before this Court, is to be advised (1) that, in conformity with article 12 of Law 25 of 1976, his employment in the indicated conditions entails all the provisions, rights and obligations of a person assigned employment under the Labor Code, and (2) that in accordance with article 11 of the same law, should the decision not be respected, the enforcement will be done by the Popular Council and the organs of the militia who will supervise the departure and the presence at the place of work.

For these reasons In the name of the Law Decides :

Admits the submission filed by the Directorate for the Problems of Labor and Social Welfare of the City of Bucharest, Office of Manpower, with regard to Negrescu Radu, residing in Bucharest 7, Alea Comozitorilor No. 5, Bloc G 9 Apt. 56.

Accordingly the Court obliges Negrescu Radu to perform work for one year on a Construction-site in the Department of Constanta.

Final and Enforceable. Pronounced in public session on July 5, 1977
President: Liviu Giurgiu; Popular Assessors: For the Popular assessors engaged in production: President Liviu Giurgiu; Clerk: Zolcescu

**LETTER TO PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU FROM A GROUP OF SIX ROMANIANS
 (TRANSLATION FROM ROMANIAN)**

BUCHAREST, September 4, 1977.

MR. PRESIDENT: Given the critical nature of the situation in which we find ourselves, we want to underline from the outset that it is necessary for you to understand us because we are the victims of an error and we cannot expect any understanding or leniency on the part of your organs of authority and security. We face, indeed, one certainty: the individuals operating in these "public" services advisedly and obviously tend to twist the meaning of certain facts and situations which are outside their narrow visual angle. The weapon of terror which these organs are using is at odds with the humanistic rhetoric of party policies. Judging from this, we strongly believe that there no longer is in Romania, that clarity of vision and straight judgment without which both security and human integrity are seriously endangered.

As long as any application to leave the country is viewed in Romania as an antisocial act, an act apt to affect the interest and the policy of the State, the very Final Act of the General European Conference at Helsinki . . . becomes a meaningless act or at least beyond the reach of Romanian citizens.

The right to emigration, which should normally be enjoyed by all who apply for it, as we do, constitute a basic element in the spectrum of elementary human rights. The way we were dealt with after announcing our intention to leave the country for good is simply shameless. This treatment comprised arbitrary arrests and the violation of Law 25 of 1976 on the basis of which we were sentenced to forced labor and were deported to a labor camp in the Great Island of Braila (the Danube Wetlands at Braila) in which we are deprived of even the simplest comforts and lack even water fit to drink.

The arrest itself constituted one more evidence of the unjust treatment meted out to those imprisoned. This time it included being sheltered in rooms seriously damaged by the earthquake of last March.

We just cannot understand how is it possible to resort to such practices in a world in which democracy, humanity and progress should be reigning supreme; in a world in which there is struggle for human rights. Judge by yourself. Can this be called a normal situation from you who militate for rights, peace and progress we would expect more understanding. The Charter of the United Nations certainly condemns such conduct toward those who seek justice and so do many international bodies fighting for the rights of Man. What seems even harder to explain is the fact that in Romania theory is at odds with reality. The Romanian Constitution guarantees freedom of speech. We spoke out and what was the result? We know that in the socialist society man is supposed to be free to shape his destiny. In our case practice demonstrated the opposite. Yet, whatever the situation may be, man has the duty to fight, particularly when the cause is just. We are firmly resolved to carry on the struggle by starting a hunger strike and by sacrificing our very life if needed. As of the time this letter will be published, we shall publicly carry out a hunger strike.

**CHRISTIAN IONESCU,
 CORNEL URDAREANU,
 CORNEL MUNTEANU,
 ADRIAN MUTICA,
 ADRIAN SINCA,
 CONSTANTIN HULDUBAN.**

All the signers deported to forced labor in the Great Island of Braila. Three of their friends also signed. They are:

**GHERMAN CALIN MIHAL,
 LIVIU BUREȚIU,
 CRISTIAN ONUTU.**

These three friends were not convicted as were we but are being interrogated day-in, day-out and threatened with the loss of their jobs and punishment similar to the one meted out to us—and all this for having applied for a passport.

**OPEN LETTER TO "PRESIDENT" NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU—FROM ADRIAN MUTICA, OF
CALEA VICTORIEI 95/93, BUCHAREST 1, ROMANIA (TRANSLATION FROM
ROMANIAN)**

This is the only way by which I can inform the Romanian Government of my plight.

On July 14, 1977, I forwarded to the proper authorities my petition to leave Romania for good, while on July 20 I filed with the Council of State my application renouncing my Romanian citizenship. I renewed my applications by letter mailed on July 25 and 30. Having received no answer, I decided with other friends who found themselves in the same situation, to bring the matter to the attention of some international forum, in the hope that our plight will become known to the Romanian Government and would thus be taken into consideration. Accordingly, we framed several letters. But on July 31 agents of the Ministry of Interior—armed with a warrant—conducted a search of my apartment. The warrant was supposedly issued on the basis of a (false) report about concealed weapons, drugs and foreign currencies. In fact, the purpose of the search was to find the letters we had planned to pass on to several embassies. Following the search, I was taken to the headquarters of the Bucharest Militia and there subjected to an interrogation of ten hours.

Next day I was summoned to the same place and detained without being informed of the charges against me. I was then taken under guard to the offices of the Labor Forces of Sector 6 of the City of Bucharest (to which I did not belong) and there illegally assigned for work on a construction site in the Great Island of Braila.

Equally illegal was the decision of the Council of Workingmen to send me forcibly to work on the above project. On August 2, I became along with five other friends the victim of legal proceedings staged by the Romanian authorities. (The friends were: Cristian Ionescu, Corneliu Urdarianu, Corneliu Munteanu, Constantin Hulduban, Adrain Sinca.) Following these proceedings which lasted about 30 minutes, and in which we were not permitted to have counsel, we were sentenced to one year of forced labor, on the basis of Law 25 of 1976 which was not applicable in our case. This decision I consider to be anticonstitutional, contrary to the policy of detente and international cooperation Romania is conducting, and contrary to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, as well as to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Disregarding the fact that some of us were ailing, we were forcibly taken to the Great Island of Braila, an isolated area in which living and working conditions were subhuman and in which there is no medical assistance whatsoever. We are entitled to believe that these practices aim at degrading us physically and morally. Doesn't it mirror the tendency of the Romanian authorities to consider the citizen as a modern serf or even slave? We wish it were a mere question mark and not a reality.

We are aware of the policy of Romania with respect to the right of self-determination. We believe that this right is indissolubly linked to the right of every man to choose freely his way in life. We hope that the Romanian Government will become aware of our situation and will promptly solve it. As an earnest of our irrevocable determination to leave Romania for good, and in protest to the treatment to which we were subjected, I am resolved to declare a hunger strike effective on the day this letter will become public and until our requests will be fully granted.

ADRIAN MUTICA.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director,
U.S. Senate,
Committee on Finance,
Subcommittee on International Trade,
2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building,

GENTLEMEN: My name is Silviu Vernescu, a Romanian political refugee, and I reside, with my wife and two children, at 15 Vermilyea Ave #8, New York, N.Y. 10084, telephone 212 567 5507.

I have requested permission to testify before this committee as a private person prompted by my desire to reveal a case of gross human rights violation, ruthless persecution and terror applied to me and my wife's families, ever since the com-

munist takeover, and exacerbated beyond endurance, after our defection to the United States, in January 1978.

My family lost everything they had: farm land, livestock, house, money and so forth, in the first years of communist rule. My father was arrested and savagely beaten on numerous occasions, while my brother was sentenced and did five years in jails and labor camps for his political and religious convictions while myself was denied access to higher education for twelve years. My sister's petition to be allowed to marry her Italian fiancé took over six years to be approved; a case like hers is generally resolved in about two years.

After our defection all our families' lives turned into a nightmare of endless persecution and terror: they were summoned to the secret police headquarters and threatened that unless they persuaded us to return to Romania, they, via our parents, will be put behind the bars for the rest of their lives.

As soon as my wife and myself renounced our citizenship in 1974, our parents and relatives lost their jobs, were subjected to endless interrogations and threats for months to an end. As you undoubtedly know, in a country where the state is the sole owner and employer, losing one's job is equivalent to starvation as there is no such thing as social security or civil rights. We keep our families alive by supplying them with Swiss medicines and American cigarettes and goods so they can grease the right palms and get menial jobs here and there and thus survive.

In the spring of 1977, "The Truth About Romania" committee, sponsored by Prof. Brutus Coste of New York, organized a rally to protest the visit to America of Mr. Ceausescu's brother—a ruthless butcher of the Romanian population—as well as in support of the Romanian dissident writer, Paul Goma, who had, at that time, been arrested by the secret police. I was on that occasion interviewed by Bob Teague of Channel 4 NBC and by Radio Free Europe and I expressed my views and sentiments towards the totalitarian and inhuman treatment applied by the communist regime of Romania to their subjects. Two weeks later we received word from our parents that the secret police had again visited them, manhandling them and threatening them that they would suffer the consequences.

I went back to Radio Free Europe and protested against the harassment our families were subjected to and the war continues to this date with our families getting harsher and more inhuman treatment by the day. Our parents have been for the past five years so much harassed, persecuted and terrorized that they have now been reduced to silence and abject submission.

In September 1977, I sent my mother an invitation to visit us for a few months: her petition for an exit visa was turned down and warned that if she insisted any more, the state will demolish their house and they will have to relocate immediately.

The same merciless, degrading and inhuman treatment has been "extended" my wife's family: despite my wife's being an only daughter the Romanian authorities have refused them an exit visa. They held our daughter hostage in Romania for almost 4 years, punishing a child of four because they could not reach us.

I am a professor and my wife a dentist but neither can exercise our professions as we have two children—one born in this country—aged now 8 and 3, to raise and care for, so my wife is forced to work as a night nurse with myself acting as "part-time-night mother", while our parents who could help us are diabolically denied the right to reunite with their children and grandchildren.

We have, over the years, filed numerous petitions with the Romanian consulate in Washington as well as with the Romanian State Council—headed, incidentally, by Mr. Ceausescu himself, the man who boasts at international conferences and everywhere else, that he applies a policy of socialist humanitarianism unique to the refugees' families only as long as the extension of the most favored nation trade act to Romania is in jeopardy. Once the extension secured he reverts to his old and shameful slave-owner practices, calling all refugees the scum of the earth and traitors and urging all Western nations to deny them political asylum.

In view of these facts and of Mr. Ceausescu's notorious failure to honor his commitments, I feel strongly that communist Romania which flagrantly violates the most elementary human rights and abysmally fails to comply with the provisions of the 1974 Trade Act, disqualifies itself for the waiver of the Immigration Act.

I, therefore, urge you, Mr. Chairman and the honorable members of this select committee, to advise President Carter against the extension of the Most Favored Nation clause to Romania until that country understands and sincerely agrees

to honor its commitments, to ease restrictions on immigration, to guaranty civil rights to all its citizens, freedom of speech and of worshipping God, to put an end to its shameful and barbarian practices of harassment, persecution and terror to all those who choose freedom in the West and their families.

SILVIU VERNEȘCU.

My parents: Ilie and Florica Burtavel; my brother, married, with two children, aged 18 and 14, live together at Soseana Bucuresti Nr. 80, Giurgiu, Judet Ilfov, Romania.

My wife's parents: George and Ana Gherase; Str. Vaporul Assan Nr. 9, sector 2, Bucharest, Romania.

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Nicole Vuipe, Romanian born and a Political Refugee in the U.S.A. since December 5, 1977.

I left Communist Romania with a tourist passport for a Colective Excursion for Greece, on May 18, 1977.

Over there I ask political asylum and I was granted with by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the UNO.

I arrived in the U.S.A. as a political refugee on December 5, 1977 and I am enjoying here all opportunities of a life in freedom. But painfully I was forced to left behind in Communist Romania as hostages: (1) Ecaterina Vulpe, my wife; (2) Cristian Vuipe, my son; both of them residing at: Strada Dr. Sion Nr 9, Etal 3, Apt. 151, Section 7, Bucuresti, Romania (Tel. 13-03-70).

I worked in my native country Communist Romania as a conductor architect with Bucharest's City Hall. The complete lack of freedom and the Stalinist Terror of Nicolae Ceausescu made the life over there, impossible. The lack of food, too. Since I become a political refugee in the U.S.A., my hostage relatives were and still are investigated by security. Our mail was cut off. Our phone calls, too. My son suffered recently a surgeron. I learn about on an underground way . . .

All their applications for exit visas were rejected by security. Disperately I joined the Fifth Romanian Hunger strike for family reunion in the U.S.A. (April 10, 1978).

I appeal to you, Honorable Sir to use your influence in order to persuade the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exit visas to my hostage wife and son. The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu violated and is still violating the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and all UNO's resolutions about family reunion, and the condition of easing the emigration from Communist Romania as he close agreed with the U.S. upon the Trade Agreement and the M.F.N. in 1975, 1976 and 1977. He violated and is still violating the Helsinki Agreement (1975 too).

I ask that U.S. Senate suspend the M.F.N. treatment to Nicolae Ceausescu and put again on the rules the Packson-Vanic Amenda Dament until hunger striker's relatives will be release.

Sincerely yours,

NICOLAE VUIPE.

