

**CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF
TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA**

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

SEPTEMBER 8, 1976



Printed for the use of the Committee on Finance

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Washington : 1976

79-433

5361-7

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CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1976

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

The subcommittee met at 9:10 a.m., pursuant to notice, in room 1318 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Abraham Ribicoff, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Ribicoff and Curtis.

Senator Ribicoff. The subcommittee will be in order.

The Subcommittee on International Trade today conducts a hearing on the subject of trade with Romania. This hearing is being held pursuant to title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, which authorizes the President to grant most-favored-nation treatment to Communist countries. Title IV also established certain conditions for the granting of most-favored-nation treatment, most significantly the condition of freedom of emigration.

Last summer the Congress approved a commercial agreement with the Socialist Republic of Romania. The time has now arrived for a review of the experience of the past year and a decision whether the record justifies an extension of the President's authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirement.

So, our hearing today has two purposes: First, to inquire into the commercial aspects of trade with Romania and second—and more importantly—to inquire into the extent to which the Government of Romania has been willing to permit its citizens to emigrate to other countries.

Each witness' testimony will be reprinted in the record of these hearings. In addition, all statements received by the subcommittee will be reprinted and turned over to the Department of State with instructions to evaluate each case and wherever appropriate to pursue the matter with the Romanian Government.

[The Committee on Finance press release announcing this hearing and Senator Curtis' statement follow:]

[Press release of the Subcommittee on International Trade]

FINANCE SUBCOMMITTEE TO HOLD HEARINGS ON CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

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 most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania and on extending 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 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, September 8, 1976, in Room 2221 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

Chairman Ribicoff noted that on June 2, 1976, President Ford transmitted to the Congress his recommendation, under section 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act, that the waiver authority be extended 12 months. This recommendation was based on his determination under section 402(c)(1) 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.

The Socialist Republic of Romania is the only non-market 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 conditional upon 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 approval.

The Chairman said that the President's determination on June 2, 1976, set in motion a schedule of procedures by which the Congress may terminate, affirmatively vote to extend, or permit by inaction the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the requirement that countries allow freedom of emigration to be eligible for most-favored-nation treatment. The deadline for Congressional action is October 15, 1976, he said. After that date, if Congress takes no action, the waiver authority is automatically extended until July 3, 1977.

"The Congress enacted this provision of the Trade Act of 1974 to advance the fundamental human right to emigrate to the country of one's choice. The purpose of these hearings is to determine whether the record of the past eighteen months justifies an extension of the President's waiver authority," Chairman Ribicoff said.

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 Wednesday, September 1, 1976. Witnesses will be notified as soon as possible after this cutoff date as to when 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, taking into account the limited advance notice, 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 statement 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 75 copies must be submitted before the beginning of the hearing.

(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 for 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, September 8, 1976.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CARL T. CURTIS (REP-NEBR) BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE, SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, SEPTEMBER 8, 1976

Mr. Chairman: The President has recommended that the authority to waive subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 be extended for a period of 12 months.

This section prohibits the granting of most favored nation (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 emigrate.

As a related issue, section 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, entitled Freedom to Emigrate to Join a Very Close Relative in the United States, contains prohibitions similar to those set forth in section 402 if the President determines that a country:

(1) denies its citizens the right or opportunity to join permanently through emigration, a very close relative in the United States;

(2) imposes more than a nominal tax on the visas or other documents required for emigration; or

(3) imposes more than a nominal tax or levy on any citizen as a consequence of a citizen to emigrate.

However, section 409(d) unfortunately provides that 409(a) is not applicable for any period in which a waiver is in effect under section 402(c).

There have been reports of human rights violations by the Rumanian government against its Hungarian and German minorities. In addition, the *New York Times*, on May 30, 1976, contained an article stating that "official repression in Rumania has increased markedly during the last year * * * travel by Rumanians, both for emigration and on short trips outside the country has been further restricted."

If these allegations are true we cannot enforce the cut-off of certain trade benefits under section 409 if the Congress follows the recommendations of the President relating to a waiver under section 402.

Thus, I would recommend that section 409(d) be repealed and if a waiver was granted under section 402, a nonmarket economy country would also have to meet the requirement of section 409(a) before being granted MFN treatment, credits or investment guarantees.

Senator RIBICOFF. Our first witness this morning is Hon. Robert F. Drinan, Congressman from Massachusetts. Welcome Congressman. You may proceed as you wish.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Chairman, I greatly appreciate the opportunity to testify before your Subcommittee on the issue of the extension of Romania's status as a Most Favored Nation.

Sections 402 (a) and (b) of the Trade Act of 1974 prohibit the granting of Most Favored Nation treatment or the extension of government credits to any non-market economy country which denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate. The Socialist Republic of Romania became the first nation to receive Most Favored Nation status under the terms of the Trade Act on July 28, 1975, when Congress approved the President's exercise of his authority under section 402(c)(1) of the Act to waive the freedom of emigration requirements, based upon his determination that emigration practices would improve and lead substantially to the goal of freedom of emigration. Assuming that neither House of Congress votes to terminate the extension of the waiver by October 15, 1976, Romania will retain its

Most Favored Nation status, subject to annual waiver by the President and approval by the Congress.

Mr. Chairman, the figures on emigration from Romania since it received Most Favored Nation status do not indicate progress toward freedom of emigration. While the number of individuals permitted to emigrate to the United States has increased from 357 in 1973 and 528 in 1974 to 849 in 1975 and 672 for the first seven months of 1976, the number of Jews permitted to emigrate to Israel has declined sharply.

In 1973 and 1974, over 3,700 Jews were permitted to leave for Israel annually. In 1975, the figure dropped to slightly over 2,000, and available figures for 1976 suggest that a similar number will be permitted to leave in 1976. This decline is entirely inexcusable. Assertions that the emigration rate has declined because of a corresponding decline in the number of individuals who seek to emigrate are contradicted by the facts.

From various sources, I have been informed of over 500 individuals who have applied for and have not received permission to emigrate from Romania; some of these individuals have been waiting over a year. I have also been informed of twenty-two cases of alleged harassment endured by individuals as a result of their applications for exit visas and passports. It is abundantly clear that many Romanians are being denied the fundamental right to emigrate freely, a right embodied not only in the Trade Act of 1974, but also in the Helsinki Final Act, to which Romania is a signatory.

On the basis of these disturbing figures alone, I would be inclined to support a resolution to terminate Romania's Most Favored Nation status due to its failure to comply with section 402 of the Trade Act. Recently, however, I have received indications that in the coming months the Romanian government will act to bring about the substantial progress toward freedom of emigration which is required by section 402(c)(1). Along with several other Members of Congress I have in recent months expressed my deep concern over this matter to the representatives of the Romanian government. On September 1, I met with His Excellency Nicolae M. Nicolae, Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the United States. On that occasion, I transmitted to the Ambassador the list of over 500 names, together with an expression of concern with the disappointing emigration record on behalf of thirty-five Members of Congress. I received from the Ambassador positive assurances that he would investigate each case and expedite the emigration process whenever possible.

Since September 1, I have received from the Ambassador a list of seventy-five individuals whose names have appeared on various lists of would-be emigrants which the Ambassador received from me and several of my colleagues in recent months. These people have received permission to emigrate from Romania since June of this year. These seventy-five names represent no more than a small fraction of those desiring to emigrate from Romania. The actions of the Romanian government simply do not match its stated policies or its legal and moral obligations.

There is absolutely no excuse for the denial of the fundamental right to emigrate freely. The provision for annual Congressional re-

view of Romania's compliance with the freedom of emigration requirements of the Trade Act provides us with a ready instrument through which to emphasize that Romania's record during the first year of its status as a Most Favored Nation is inadequate. It is essential that we in the Congress bring home to the Romanian authorities in the strongest terms the necessity for immediate and continuing action toward the achievement of freedom of emigration. Declining emigration figures, unexplained denials of hundreds of applications to emigrate, and extremely disturbing reports of government harassment are totally unacceptable and clearly violative of the Act by which Romania derives substantial economic benefits.

Assurances by the Romanian Ambassador and other officials of prompt and positive action must be matched by concrete acts. We in the Congress must continue to monitor carefully the Romanian government's progress toward the required goal of free emigration. Romania is the first nation to receive Most Favored Nation status and government credits under the terms of the Trade Act of 1974. If we in the Congress do not insist on genuine compliance with section 402 of that Act, then other nations desiring similar trade benefits will be on notice that rhetoric alone will be sufficient to fulfill the Act's freedom of emigration requirements.

On June 3, 1977, the President will be required to request and the Congress will be authorized either to approve or to disapprove another waiver of section 402(a) and (b). Between now and that date, Romania must demonstrate genuine compliance with section 402(c)'s requirement of substantial progress toward the achievement of freedom of emigration. Continuation of present emigration practices will not suffice. The probable extension of this initial waiver must not be interpreted by the Romanian government as approval of the past year's record on emigration. On the contrary, we must utilize this opportunity to communicate to the Romanian government the deep concern of the Congress over its failure to achieve true freedom of emigration and of the need for substantial improvement in order to ensure retention of Most Favored Nation status.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[An attachment to Congressman Drinan's statement follows:]

The undersigned Members of Congress wish to join Representative Robert F. Drinan in an expression of deep concern to His Excellency Ambassador Nicolae regarding the failure of the Romanian government to extend to its citizens the right to emigrate.

Representative Bella S. Abzug
 Representative Jerome A. Ambro
 Representative Les AuCoin
 Representative Alphonzo Bell
 Representative Jonathan B. Bingham
 Representative Don Bonker
 Representative John B. Breaux
 Representative Silvio O. Conte
 Representative John Conyers
 Representative Ron de Lugo
 Representative Joshua Ellberg
 Representative Dante B. Fascell
 Representative Donald M. Fraser
 Representative Charles E. Grassley
 Representative James M. Hanley
 Representative Tom Harkin
 Representative Elizabeth Holtzman

Representative William J. Hughes
 Representative Edward I. Koch
 Representative John Krebs
 Representative William Lehman
 Representative Clarence D. Long
 Representative Edward Mezvinsky
 Representative William S. Moorhead
 Representative Richard L. Ottinger
 Representative Edward J. Patten
 Representative Claude Pepper
 Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal
 Representative Stephen J. Solarz
 Representative Lionel Van Deerlin
 Representative Henry A. Waxman
 Representative Lester L. Wolff
 Representative Sidney R. Yates
 Representative Leo C. Zeferetti

Senator RIBICOFF. Our next witness this morning is Hon. Edward I. Koch, Congressman from New York. Welcome Congressman. You may proceed as you wish.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD I. KOCH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, may I say first that I am gratified that these hearings on the question of continuing most-favored-nation trade status for Romania are taking place and for the opportunity to testify. I have become increasingly concerned during the last few months by the apparent contradiction between the view the Administration holds of Romania's performance in promoting free emigration during the past year, as evidenced by the President's recommendation to continue the waiver of Section 402(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, and the reports I have received from human rights organizations and from individual constituents which indicate that the pattern of restricted emigration has not changed in the past year during which Romania has been granted most-favored nation status. In addition, there have been charges that there exists in Romania a pattern of repression of ethnic minorities which, if true, violates the spirit, if not the letter, of Subsection 402(a). I have in the past supported most-favored nation status for Romania to show that the United States supports Romania's consistent display of independence under the most difficult conditions. However, I do not believe we should perfunctorily extend most-favored-nation status without resolving these contradictory views of Romania's performance during the first year of its receiving most-favored-nation status.

The key question, of course, is freedom of emigration. That is the strict test of Section 402(a), although its purpose, "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights," clearly indicates that the United States has an obligation to consider all aspects of human rights treatment before granting or continuing most-favored-nation status. Is Romania backing up its assurances to our government that its emigration policies will "lead substantially" to the objectives of free emigration as stated in Section 402(a)? Such evidence is necessary in order for the President to continue the waiver of this Section and for Congress to concur in this waiver. In May, I requested and received figures from the Department of State on Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel which indicated that emigration in this area had become less restricted.

STATISTICS ON ROMANIAN EMIGRATION

| | Immigration visas issued by Embassy Bucharest | Dual nationals processed for departure to United States | TCP's processed for departure to Rome ¹ | Emigration to Israel from Romania |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| 1975 | | | | |
| January..... | 27 | 0 | | 62 |
| February..... | 13 | 0 | | 41 |
| March..... | 14 | 0 | | 102 |
| April..... | 24 | 2 | | 60 |
| May..... | 20 | 2 | | 46 |
| June..... | 29 | 1 | | 199 |
| Total, 1st 6 mo. | 127 | 5 | | 510 |
| July..... | 110 | 6 | | 403 |
| August..... | 182 | 14 | | 238 |
| September..... | 181 | 9 | | 262 |
| October..... | 131 | 13 | | 350 |
| November..... | 62 | 9 | | 130 |
| December..... | 56 | 4 | 41 | 115 |
| Total, 2d 6 mo. | 722 | 55 | 41 | 1,498 |
| Total, 1975..... | 49 | 60 | 41 | 2,008 |
| Grand total, 1975..... | 950 | | | 2,008 |
| 1976 | | | | |
| January..... | 70 | 1 | 4 | 328 |
| February..... | 72 | 9 | 15 | 232 |
| March..... | 103 | 13 | 27 | 99 |
| Total, 1st quarter 1976..... | 245 | 23 | 46 | 659 |
| April..... | 88 | 6 | 9 | 51 |

¹ TCP-3d country processing: Persons not eligible to receive U.S. Immigration visas from Embassy, Bucharest for whom arrangements are made for travel to Rome, Italy, for processing of their applications for admission to the United States as conditional entrants.

² TCP procedures initiated in December 1975.

STATISTICS ON ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1965

Immigration visas issued by Embassy Bucharest by fiscal year

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| IV's issued fiscal year 1965..... | 274 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1966..... | 104 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1967..... | 19 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1968..... | 23 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1969..... | 154 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1970..... | 372 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1971..... | 620 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1972..... | 200 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1973..... | 357 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1974..... | 511 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1975..... | 328 |
| IV's issued calendar year 1975..... | 840 |

However, if one looks at figures over a longer period of time, both pre- and post- the granting of most-favored nation status to Romania, a different picture emerges, one not at all favorable to the Romanians. Since receiving the State Department figures and printing them in the Congressional Record, I have received from best available sources, a more extended period survey of Romanian emigration. These figures correspond, where the same months are covered, to the State Department figures earlier mentioned and so there would seem to be no question of their validity. These figures show that there has been no improvement at all in Romanian Jewish emigration from the nine months prior to the extension of most-favored nation status to Romania and the nine months since most-favored nation status was extended:

Romanian Jewish emigration figures comparison: with and without MFN

MFN extended beginning of August 1973.

9 months since MFN extended—

| 1973 | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------|
| August | ----- | 250 |
| September | ----- | 295 |
| October | ----- | 360 |
| November | ----- | 140 |
| December | ----- | 110 |
| 1976 | | |
| January | ----- | 350 |
| February | ----- | 243 |
| March | ----- | 103 |
| April | ----- | 51 |
| Total | ----- | <u>1,902</u> |

Corresponding 9 months prior to MFN extension—

| 1974 | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------|
| August | ----- | 612 |
| September | ----- | 328 |
| October | ----- | 267 |
| November | ----- | 200 |
| December | ----- | 200 |
| 1975 | | |
| January | ----- | 70 |
| February | ----- | 45 |
| March | ----- | 100 |
| April | ----- | 80 |
| Total | ----- | <u>1,902</u> |

Thus, no difference in emigration performance with or without MFN.

| | <i>Romanian Jewish emigration</i> | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1971 | ----- | 1,650 |
| 1972 | ----- | 2,650 |
| 1973 | ----- | 3,700 |
| 1974 | ----- | <u>3,700</u> |

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1975: | |
| January ----- | 70 |
| February ----- | 45 |
| March ----- | 100 |
| April ----- | 80 |
| May ----- | 50 |
| June ----- | 210 |
| July ----- | ¹ 430 |
| August ----- | 250 |
| September ----- | 295 |
| October ----- | 360 |
| November ----- | 140 |
| December ----- | 110 |
| Total ----- | ² 2,140 |
| 1976: | |
| January ----- | 350 |
| February ----- | 243 |
| March ----- | 103 |
| April ----- | 51 |

¹ At the end of July Congress approved MPN for Romania.

² The 1975 total is about 45 percent less than last year's figure of 3,700.

Average monthly emigration rate since MFN extended—210.

Projection for one year beginning of MFN extension August 1, 1975—August 1, 1976—2,520.

Projection for calendar year 1976—2,245.

Thus, the emigration total for 1975 (2,140) and the projected total for 1976 (2,245), with MFN in effect are substantially lower than the emigration figure of 3,700 in 1974 when MFN was not in effect.

If there is no improvement in this key area of emigration as indicated by these figures, I think it is fair to ask on what basis the President made his recommendation to continue the waiver?

In addition to these overall figures, on a number of occasions this past year I have dealt with the individual problems of Romanians who, for various humanitarian reasons, wish to come to the United States. It is at this individual human level that restrictive emigration decisions seem least understandable.

Recently the case of Andrei Aszody, Jr., was brought to my attention. A three year old boy, Andrei, was dying of a rare leukemia in Beth Israel hospital in New York. He and his mother had come to the United States in December, 1975, to obtain medical treatment for the boy, but his father could not obtain permission to come to the U.S. to see his son, until I personally intervened and told the Romanian Embassy that the American newspapers would never understand their failure to allow a father to see his dying son. Six hours after Radio Free Europe broadcast the story of this family, the father was on his way to New York. Only one week later his child died.

This year I have referred a number of emigration cases to the Romanian Ambassador. I recently asked for the status of 107 pending cases. Seven of these cases were brought to my attention by my constituents and another 100 were brought to my attention by Rev. F. M. Galdau of the American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees. Last week Romanian Ambassador Nicolae M. Nicolae replied about the status of 45 of these 107 cases, none of which were those seven that I had individually brought to his attention some time ago at the request of constituents. The Ambassador stated in his reply that 27

of these cases had not gotten "in touch with the Embassy to adjust their status abroad." However, from what my office has been told by the relatives of those seeking to leave Romania, the Romanian government is not even taking applications for these visas. If Romania is not even accepting applications for exit visas, this would be outrageous and by itself reason to refuse the extension of most favored nation treatment. I believe the Subcommittee must find out the truth of this charge as soon as possible, and act accordingly.

I have referred a few additional cases to the Romanian Ambassador in the last few days, and I expect to meet today with a representative of the Romanian Embassy to receive an update on these cases. I am unwilling to support the extension of most favored nation treatment, until I find out the status of all of these cases.

I would like to mention the plight of one particular case. A resident of New York City, Lucy Finsten, has been trying since February to bring her brother, Petit Nicolae, to the United States for medical treatment of his heart disease. All she has received until now is a perfunctory letter from the Romanian Ambassador, stating that he has referred her letter to the proper authorities for their "prompt consideration." That letter was dated August 17, and we have not yet heard what the Romanian authorities have decided. If the Romanians are serious in taking steps to provide for a freer emigration policy, I believe that we should have heard by now on an application that has been pending since February, and I would like to have an answer to this and other emigration problems in the very near future.

For the record of the hearing I will provide the list of the cases I have referred, and the reply I received.

Beyond the central question of whether emigration from Romania has become less restrictive, this committee should also consider the reports of increasing repression of ethnic minorities in Romania. As I indicated earlier, such considerations are certainly within the spirit of purpose of Section 402(a) although the requirement is narrower. In considering the question of ethnic minorities there are four fairly recent developments which I believe should receive special attention. They are: charges that minority language educational institutions and minority language classes in Romanian institutions are being systematically curtailed; charges that the National Cultural Patrimony Law, Decree 206/1974 (under which the government nationalized all documents, official and private correspondence, memoirs, et cetera, over 30 years old) actually has been used as a pretext to eliminate the historical tradition of minority churches; charges that Decree Law 225/1975 (which prohibits the accommodation of non-Romanian citizens in private homes with the exception of immediate relatives) which was ostensibly created to protect the hotel industry, actually is highly discriminatory against the Hungarian minority; and charges that the opportunity to maintain minority cultural identity through publications has become increasingly limited. I discussed these allegations recently in a statement in the Congressional Record and append for the hearing record a copy of that statement as well as copies of the source material from which this statement was derived.

But, to give the committee an indication of the tenor of these charges, let me briefly expand on one aspect of the first charge—that opportunities for minority language classes are being curtailed despite the fact

that there are 2.5 million Romanians of Hungarian extract residing in Romania. Recently, I met with a group of constituents and they made me aware of what appears to be a particularly egregious situation evidencing this charge. Ostensibly to promote efficiency in the allocation of educational resources, a minimum number of students speaking a given language is required, before classes will be taught in that language in the schools. However, at least 25 students at the grade school level and 30 students at the high school level are required to justify conducting a class in a minority language such as Hungarian, while only two students are necessary to commence a class where Romanian is the spoken language. Previously only 15 students were required for a minority section. Once a section or a school has been designated as Romanian, the students are required to speak Romanian, even during recess. I have brought this matter to the attention of the Romanian Ambassador, Nicolae Nicolae, and I am still waiting for a reply about this and other matters concerning the treatment of minorities.

Mr. Chairman, these hearings will hopefully explore these areas as well as the central question of emigration to determine where the truth lies with respect to Romania's policies. What bothers me most is that, in the human rights area as with emigration, the same sets of figures are leading to extremely different interpretations. Only close investigation will determine the correct interpretation. If the results of these hearings show the Romanian Government to be making an effort to improve freedom of emigration and human rights even if these goals are not yet achieved, then in the interests of continuing discourse between our respective countries and further improvement in our relations we should continue our present trade relations. But, if we do not receive adequate answers to these questions, and if I do not receive a complete reply to my questions of the Romanian Ambassador, I cannot support the extension of most-favored nation status for Romania. We cannot ignore the humanitarian principles which are the basis of the purpose of Section 402(a).

[The following material was submitted by Congressman Koch:]

August 13, 1976.

HON. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
Ambassador of Romania,
Embassy of Romania,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I very much appreciated our recent meeting and the opportunity to exchange views in a cordial atmosphere.

When we talked at that time, I mentioned emigration and the status of minorities in Romania as two areas which concern me. I had one specific question about the teaching of classes in languages other than Romanian, and in the statement I enclose the problem is dealt with in some detail. I would appreciate your verifying the facts about the number of students required to obtain classroom sections taught in Hungarian as opposed to Romanian and providing an explanation of the Romanian policy in this area.

My recent statement also deals with the seven specific cases I have referred to your attention, all involving persons who have applied to emigrate from Romania. I would appreciate your timely report on the status of these cases. I am also enclosing a copy of 100 additional emigration cases which were recently brought to my attention and also concern people in the United States and Romania. I would appreciate your investigation of these cases as well and a report of their status.

I would like to see the United States and Romania continue a mutually beneficial and harmonious relationship. The response of your government to the concerns

of the United States' people on questions of emigration and other matters of human rights will set the tone for our future relationships. Regardless of the decision made by the Congress concerning the extension of Most Favored Nations Status for Romania, many Members of Congress will continue to be concerned with these problems.

I hope we can continue to resolve these problems in a candid and cordial manner.

All the best.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

Enclosures.

A HEARING IS NEEDED TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND CULTURAL FREEDOMS IN ROMANIA BEFORE MOST FAVORED NATIONS STATUS IS EXTENDED

Mr. Koch. Mr. Speaker, on May 7, I placed in the RECORD a statement containing an advertisement which appeared in the New York Times of that day and which was sponsored by the Committee for Human Rights in Romania. This advertisement alleged that the Romanian Government was committing cultural genocide against the country's Hungarian, German, and other minorities and raised a number of particular charges.

On May 28 I entered into the RECORD the answers of the Ambassador of Romania and the U.S. Department of State to the questions I raised about the accuracy of the charges made by the Committee for Human Rights in Romania. As I said then, in a matter of this kind, I am not able to make an independent determination and must rely on the analysis provided me by our Department of State. However, I am concerned that I continue to read and hear from a number of sources that, despite the State Department's assurances, repression of ethnic minorities in Romania is increasing. I am also informed now that Romania's promise to promote free emigration is not borne out of the facts.

It is time that the present attitude of the Romanian Government toward emigration and toward its ethnic minorities received full examination. The President has recommended extension of the waiver of subsection 402(a) of the Trade Act of 1974 by which Romania was granted most-favored-nation trade status in 1975. The test for granting most-favored-nation status according to the subsection is limited to whether the nation practices free emigration, but the intent of the general purpose of the section "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights" clearly indicates that the United States should look at all aspects of human rights treatment before granting or continuing most favored nation status. The President may waive application of this subsection if he reports to Congress that:

First, he has determined that such waiver substantially promote the objectives of this section; and

Second, he has received assurances that the emigration practices of that country will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of this section.

This the President has done, and unless the Congress approves or disapproves his action before September 3, the waiver will extend automatically for another year. After that time, unless specific disapproval by the Congress occurs within 45 days, the waiver will be continued.

Since there is controversy with regard to the basis of the President's recommendation, I call on my colleagues to investigate the matter as fully as possible before September the charges of repression against ethnic minorities within Romania as well as to look closely at emigration figures to determine whether indeed free emigration principles have been actually practiced in the months since Romania was granted most favored nation status. This can best be done by an open hearing in which all sides can present information bearing on these questions. I am recommending that the Subcommittee on Trade of the Ways and Means Committee call such a hearing this month and recommend to the Congress on the basis of these hearings the action it should take.

I want to make it clear that I have had and continue to have a high regard for the independence displayed by Romania under very difficult conditions considering its physical location. I have in the past supported most favored nation status for that country so as to show that the United States supports wherever possible such independence. But I have an obligation not only to my constituents

but also to my conscience to make certain that we do not reward repression. Where charges of repression are made and where we are providing aid to the alleged oppressor, we have an obligation to investigate, and that is why I do not believe we should perfunctorily extend MFN. I do not want this statement to be considered as indicating that I accept the charges made against Romania. Without a full hearing I am not in a position to make such a determination. That is why I urge the Ways and Means Committee to hold such hearings. Since the deadline is September 3d, those hearings must be held immediately after our return from recess, if they are to have any effect on this matter.

Recently I met with a group of constituents who told me about what I would consider to be a particularly egregious situation and that is the following: Ostensibly to promote efficiency in the allocation of educational resources, a minimum number of students speaking a given language is required, before classes will be taught in that language in the schools. However, at least 25 students at the grade school level and 30 students at the high school level are required to justify teaching a class in a minority language such as Hungarian, while only two students are necessary to start a class in Romanian. Previously only 15 students were required for a minority section. Once a section or a school has been designated as Romanian, the students are required to speak Romanian, even during recess.

I brought this matter to the attention of the Romanian Ambassador, Nicolae Nicolae, and he has advised me that he will verify the facts and advise me on this matter and look into the status of the pending applications for emigration status of those names listed in appendix I. It is my intention to work closely and cooperatively with the new Ambassador, and my impression of him on the two occasions, when we have met, was good. I trust that the desires of the American people in these matters which underly our willingness to cooperate in removing trade restrictions, will be heeded.

There are a number of areas of apparent contradiction between those who charge that Romanian repression is on the rise, most notably the Committee on Human Rights and the analysis of our State Department and the statements of the Romanian Ambassador. The ones which I believe deserve the special consideration of my colleagues are the following:

First. Foremost among the areas that concern me is the status of free emigration in Romania. However, the following figures obtained from best available sources and corresponding, where the same months are covered, to previously published State Department figures quoted in my May 26 statement, indicate that at least in the case of Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel there has been no improvement in emigration rates since the grant of most favored nation status:

Romanian Jewish Emigration Figures Comparison: with and without MFN

MFN extended beginning of August 1973 9 months since MFN extended—

| 1973 | |
|-----------------|-----|
| August ----- | 250 |
| September ----- | 295 |
| October ----- | 360 |
| November ----- | 140 |
| December ----- | 110 |

| 1976 | |
|----------------|-----|
| January ----- | 350 |
| February ----- | 243 |
| March ----- | 103 |
| April ----- | 51 |

Total ----- 1,002

Corresponding 9 months prior to MFN extension—

1974

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| August | 612 |
| September | 328 |
| October | 267 |
| November | 200 |
| December | 200 |

1975

| | |
|----------|-------|
| January | 70 |
| February | 45 |
| March | 100 |
| April | 80 |
| Total | 1,902 |

Thus, no difference in emigration performance with or without MFN.

Romanian Jewish emigration

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| 1971 | 1,650 |
| 1972 | 2,650 |
| 1973 | 3,700 |
| 1974 | 3,700 |
| 1975: | |
| January | 70 |
| February | 45 |
| March | 100 |
| April | 80 |
| May | 50 |
| June | 210 |
| July | 1,430 |
| August | 250 |
| September | 295 |
| October | 360 |
| November | 140 |
| December | 110 |
| Total | 2,140 |
| 1976: | |
| January | 350 |
| February | 243 |
| March | 103 |
| April | 51 |

¹ At the end of July Congress approved MFN for Romania.

² The 1976 total is about 45 percent less than last year's figure of 3,700.

Average monthly emigration rate since MFN extended—210.

Projection for one year beginning of MFN extension August 1, 1975-August 1, 1976—2,520.

Thus, the emigration total for 1975 (2,140) and the projected total for 1976 (2,245), with MFN in effect are substantially lower than the emigration figure of 3,700 in 1974 when MFN was not in effect.

In addition, the problems of Romanians who wish to come to the United States for various humanitarian reasons have been brought to my attention. When I met recently with the new Ambassador to the United States from Romania, Nicolae Nicolae, I asked him to review the status of those cases which had been brought to my attention. He indicated that he would review these matters, and I am appending the list of cases I presented to the Ambassador as Appendix I at the close of this statement.

Second. Beyond the problem of emigration, which, of course, is a last resort for those who feel their rights are being violated, there are disturbing signs of increasing repression of all ethnic minorities by the Rumanian government. The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania—CHRR—in an issue brief published in June 1976 and titled "Human Rights Violations against the Hungarian Minority in Rumania," has detailed the major elements of repression. The quotes below of CHRR are from this booklet. Particularly striking to me are four rather recent developments in which the interpretations presented by CHRR differs

markedly from the interpretation placed on the same developments by the State Department and by the Romanian Embassy in the letters to me quoted in the May 26 statement:

ROMANIAN POLICY ON MINORITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The Rumanian Government reports:

In 1974/75 academic year there were more than 1,000 primary and secondary Hungarian schools with more than 160,000 students and more than 70 Hungarian high schools with more than 19,000 students.

In the same academic year there were more than 6,000 Hungarian undergraduate and graduate students in various universities, courses in Hungarian were delivered in 20 faculties. For instance, at the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca out of the total of 207 courses, 77 are in Hungarian.

The State Department report, prepared by Ambassador Harry G. Barnes, Jr. and attached to Mr. McCloskey's May 17 letter confirms the above information and adds:

Number of Educational Institutions which offer Subjects in Hungarian. The latest statistics available from the Romanian Statistical Yearbook, 1975, do not bear out the contention that there has been a precipitous decline.

Third. However, CHRR, using the same official Romanian figures, reports:

Official Rumanian statistics indicate that of all pupils attending preschool institutions in Rumania, the proportion of Hungarians dropped by over 50 percent from 14.4 percent in 1956 to 6.8 percent in 1975. The proportion of primary and secondary school students during the same period dropped from 9.5 percent to 5.6 percent, and of high school students from 8.0 percent to 5.5 percent. The total decline in this nineteen year period, therefore, was from 10.07 percent to 5.8 percent. The percentage of Hungarian students attending Hungarian vocational schools dropped by fully 75 percent from 6.1 percent in 1956 to 1.5 percent in 1975. The figures used to compute these percentages are presented in the table below.

| | 1956 | 1975 |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Preschool education: | | |
| Total Rumanian..... | 275,433 | 770,016 |
| Hungarian..... | 39,669 | 52,765 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 14.4 | 6.8 |
| Primary and secondary education: | | |
| Total Rumanian..... | 1,603,025 | 2,882,109 |
| Hungarian..... | 152,234 | 160,939 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 9.5 | 5.6 |
| High schools of general culture: | | |
| Total Rumanian..... | 129,135 | 344,565 |
| Hungarian..... | 10,370 | 19,050 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 8.0 | 5.5 |
| Vocational education: | | |
| Total Rumanian..... | 123,920 | 615,876 |
| Hungarian..... | 7,585 | 8,974 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 6.1 | 1.5 |

These official Romanian statistics further show that approximately 20% of Hungarian students do not have the opportunity to attend Hungarian grade schools. Similarly, by official statistics, 35% of Hungarians eligible cannot attend primary and secondary schools. These calculations assume that the 8.5% official Hungarian population statistic is correct and that this percentage of students holds for each educational level.

If we use the corrected Hungarian population figure of 2.5 million, the lack of opportunity to attend will become even more striking.

b. Hungarian schools are appended to Romanian schools as sections and then phased out.

Since 1956 independent Hungarian schools have been systematically attached to Romanian schools as mere sections which, in turn, are gradually phased out.

This purpose is accomplished using a clever, legally sanctioned method. Decree Law 278/1973 calls for the merger of classes with insufficient number of students. The same decree also provides that every community with Romanian students, no matter how few, must establish a Romanian section. As most villages in Transylvania have only between 500 and 1000 inhabitants, there may very possibly not be enough Hungarian students for one class. As a result of this law

which requires a Romanian section regardless of demand, the merger necessarily occurs at the expense of the Hungarian section. Once a school or section has become Romanian, students are not permitted to speak Hungarian even during recess.

The National Cultural Patrimony Law, Decree 206/1974 (under which the government nationalized all documents, official and private correspondence, memoirs, et cetera over 30 years old).

The State Department report of Ambassador Barnes:

Romania's national cultural patrimony law (October 1974) appears to have been designed to stem the illegal outflow of historical documents, art treasures, and artifacts abroad and to inventory and preserve better those which remain. The law has not been directed solely or discriminatorily against Magyars in Transylvania. Indeed, the scope of the law covers all citizens. In the application of the law, a clearly confiscatory or discriminatory pattern along ethnic limits is so far not at all evident in the Embassy's contacts with individual church officials and citizens of Magyar ethnic origin, although during the last two years some have expressed concern over possible future State action, theoretically permitted under the Law to remove certain artistic or historical objects from Magyar or German religious holdings. It appears that the churches have generally been willing to turn over documents of a civic nature while seeking to retain purely religious ones.

The CHRR reports:

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, (and quoting the Swiss daily Neue Zürcher Zeitung:) "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 . . ."

The Archive Decree affects 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.

Decree Law 225/1975 (which prohibits the accommodation of non-Romanian citizens in private homes with the exception of immediate relatives):

The State Department report of Ambassador Barnes:

This law clearly was aimed at increasing the revenues of the hotel network and hence the Romanian State as well as reducing the contact of foreigners with the ordinary population. However, the law has been applied non-discriminatorily against all foreigners, not just Hungarians visiting Transylvania.

The CHRR report:

While the law was ostensibly created for the protection of the hotel industry and applies to all visitors, its discriminatory character becomes obvious in light of the fact that it is the 2.5 million Hungarian minority which has by far the greatest number of relatives abroad (the 10.5 million Hungarians of neighboring Hungary). Since relatives from Hungary are usually of modest means, and hotel facilities especially in rural areas are scarce, visits often become a practical impossibility.

Opportunity to maintain cultural identity through publications:

The Romanian Government:

Hungarian books are being published in 11 publishing houses. One of them, the Kritieron, founded in 1970 and enjoying generous support from the Romanian state has so far produced 1067 books, totalling ten million copies in Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, and Yiddish, and has sold abroad, including in the United States, more than three and a half million copies.

State Department:

Available data does not support allegations that the cultural situation of the Magyar minority is disastrous or critical . . . Recent statistics are available from Romanian sources about Magyar-language book publishing periodical press, cultural and artistic institutions, theatres and adult education forces. Also, according to a Radio Free Europe research document, there is an "extensive Hungarian-language book program in Romania" although certain volumes are

at times unavailable owing either to too small editions or to a bad distribution system (like the Romanian-language editions). Domestic book production in Hungarian, for example, was 11,831,000 copies in 1971-75, 1,684,016 copies in 1975. The number of titles in 1975 was about the same as in 1965. According to sample catalogs (1971-75) of the Dacia and Kriterion Publishing Houses, chief among the nine or so leading Rumanian publishers of Magyar books, thirty periodicals are published, 82 million copies in 1975.

... one criticism levied by some in the United States is that Hungarian language books published in Romania contain too much Romanian official propaganda. This is true, but so do Romanian-language books and periodicals in Romania contain too much official Romanian propaganda. The feature is non-discriminatory. Another criticism, a fairer one, is that not enough Hungarian classics or material published in Hungary reach Romanian Magyar readers.

The CARR report:

Hungarian language publications are used by the State to further undermine the national identity of the minorities. Newspapers, magazines and literary publications in Hungarian serve neither the political, economic, nor the cultural/spiritual needs of the Hungarian minority. Literary magazines are too a great extent devoted to the works of Rumanian authors in translation, and also deal with the activities of the Communist Party.

The number of Hungarian language newspapers, frequency of publication and number of pages were all officially curtailed in the last two years. For example, the six formerly daily Hungarian language newspapers are now published only weekly. Religious publications are practically non-existent. For example, for the 700,000 Hungarian Reformed Church members, there is only one bimonthly publication with a circulation of a mere 1,000. According to the official Rumanian propaganda booklet on the Hungarian minority, Hungarian books are published in 11 publishing houses. If we count propaganda brochures and flyers, this is literally true. However, there is only one completely Hungarian publishing house, Kriterion, which published only 940,255 copies in 1975. A significant portion of these were translations of Rumanian works, and such things as the collected works of Lenin and Ceausescu.

Works by writers in Hungary reach the minority in Transylvania very late if at all. For example, the most widely known novel by one of the greatest contemporary writers in Hungary, Lazlo Nemeth, published in 1948, was not distributed in Rumania until 1967.

In addition to the above stated issues, I have had reports of persecution of the churches and other restrictive practices which occur in other Communist countries as well.

The full spectrum of human rights in Romania should be investigated before we give our continuing stamp of approval to the Romanian Government in the form of continuation of most favored nation status. We must, however, realize that we are not dealing with a democratic state but one that is pursuing a policy of communism, and weigh the facts in light of whether present acts by the Romanian Government indicate a relative improvement for the cause of human rights or no progress. If the above-cited contradictions, after close investigation and a full hearing, are resolved in favor of the Romanian Government's interpretations, then in the interests of continuing discourse between our respective countries and further improvement in our relations we should continue our present trade relations. But, if not, we must reluctantly withdraw our granting of most-favored-nation status or make a mockery of the principles behind the granting of this status, which are the same humanitarian principles upon which our own country was founded 200 years ago.

APPENDIX I: HUMANITARIAN CASES REFERRED TO AMBASSADOR NICOLAE BY CONGRESSMAN KOCH

1. Case of Mariena Grigore of Bucharest:

Theodoros Karavasilis of New York City wants to marry her. They have been engaged for 2 years and he has visited her four times.

On November 10, 1975 she applied for permission to marry. The application number is AC 2429/1975.

The request was denied in June, 1976.

We want to know why the request was denied and if the Romanian Government would reconsider their decision.

(We originally wrote to the Ambassador July 15th on this case).

2. Case of Anton Balta of Cluj, Romania:

Wants to come to the U.S. to complete his Ph.D. Many letters to the Romanian Government from Mrs. Phillips (our constituent) saying she'll sponsor him financially if he's granted the exit visa.

He returned to Romania in 1973 from being in school in the U.S. with the assurance from his government that he could return to complete his studies. Upon returning, however, he has been denied such permission.

(We wrote Angelescu April 16th on this case.)

3. Case of Lucretia Schiau of Ploiesti, Romania: (new)

Jon Schiau, our constituent, invited his parents to visit him in this country. Since 1972 their requests were refused. Finally, the father's application was accepted but the mother's was rejected.

The father has now come and gone, but the mother has been refused again for no apparent reason. Our constituent says she is being intimidated into not submitting another application.

4. Case of Dumitru of Bucharest, Romania: (new)

He has leukemia and his sister, Victoria Caranfil, wants to get him to this country for treatment at her expense. Romanian government won't let him out.

5. Case of Petit Nicolae of Bucharest, Romania:

Has heart disease and has sought visitor's visa for medical treatment in the U.S. Applied Feb. 27, 1976. Request denied on July 6th. (We wrote the new Ambassador on July 23rd.)

Since my meeting with the Ambassador, two additional cases have come to my attention, about which I have written him:

6. Case of Mioara Naum of Bucharest, Romania:

Dr. Naum, husband of Mioara Naum, and the couple's son have been living in the United States since 1975. Dr. Naum has been trying to get his wife here to the United States for treatment at her expense. Romanian from Romanian authorities since November, 1975.

7. Case of Yankov Glancz of Oradea, Romania:

He requested permission to come to United States to pursue rabbinical studies. Romanian Government said in October 1975 that his application was approved, but he still has not been permitted to leave.

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR)
UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX EPISCOPATE OF AMERICA & UNION AND LEAGUE, R.S.A. INC.

Names of persons, whose release is sought from the S.R. of Romania

1. Name: Alexandres, Brigitte, American citizen, 3700 Massachusetts Avenue, Alban Towers, Washington, D.C. 20016. Persons involved: Diplan, Lucretia-Gheorghiu, daughter, 37 years; Diplan, Constantin, son-in-law, 40 years; Craclun, Diana, niece, 16 years; Str. Dr. Nicolae Laue Smithtown N.Y. 11787.

2. Name: Badin, Alexandru, American citizen, 16 Tenpot Lane Smithtown N.Y. 11787. Persons involved: Badin, Maria, mother, Str. Ion Adam No. 11 Constanta, Romania.

3. Name: Bogdan-Dulca, Margareta, American citizen, 64-S1 Ellwell Crescent, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374. Persons involved: Romasan, Victoria, first cousin, 34 years; Romasan, Oana, niece, 9 years, Str. Gura Vadului No. 2, Block G, 27 D, Ent. I, Apt. No. 34, Bucuresti—Of. Postal 57.

4. Name: Botan, Auran, 18-17 Palmetto Street, Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Botan, Eugenia, wife, Bargasul-Mare, Jud. Timis—Romania.

5. Name: Bucur, Seren, Conditional Entrant—arrived USA Feb. 13, 1975. 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003. Persons involved: Bucur, Pavel, husband, 47 years; Bucur, Viorel, son, 23 years; Bucur, Adina, daughter-in-law, 23 years; Bucur Carmen, daughter, 16 years, Str. Zurich No. 2 Ent. II, Apt. 11, Timisoara, Romania.

6. Name: Bardaslu, Gheorghe, 50 West 89th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Bardaslu, Tudorita, wife, 27 years; Bardaslu, Nihaela, daughter, 2 years, Str. Intrarea Pietricica No. 7, Bucuresti, Sectorul 3.

7. Name: Balu, Constantin, 860 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Balu, E. Grigore, father, 58 years; Balu, Eugenia, mother, 48

years; Balu Gr. Grigore, brother, 20 years; Balu Elefterie, brother, 21 years; Balu, Augustina-Luminita, sister, 7 years.

8. Name: Bebelea, Irina, permanent resident, 155 Logan Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208. Persons involved: Bebelea, Florian, son, 20 years; Bebelea, Marcela-Gabriela, 19 years, daughter, Str. Otet No. 6, Brasov, Romania.

9. Name: Burnazian, George, permanent resident, 3548 Normandy Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. Persons involved: Burnazian, Ariana, mother for a short visit, Str. Vigilentel No. 12, Apt 5, Bucuresti, Romania.

10. Name: Butlu, Sara, Permanent resident, 22-03 25th Road, Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Butlu, Gabrielle-Rodica, daughter, 21 years, Plata Libertatii No 26, Cluj, Romania.

11. Name: Botosani, George P., American citizen, 72 Seeley Street, Bridgeport, Conn. Persons involved: Popescu-Botosani, Paul Roger, son, 37 years; Popescu-Botosani, Maria-Cristina, 35 years; Str. Nufertlor No. 65, Bucuresti, Romania.

12. Name: Capata, Dumitru and Elisabeta, Seabury House, Bond Hill, Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Persons involved: Capata, Dorina-Corina, daughter, Delna 92, Jud. Bistrita-Naasaud-Romania.

13. Name: Capota, Gabriel, American citizen, 80-19 171st Street, Apt. 5F, Jamaica, N.Y. Persons involved: Capota, Paula and her husband and son; Calea September 13, No. 98, Bucuresti.

14. Name: Capota, Emil, American citizen, 14-68 West 81st Street, V Cleveland, Ohio 44102. Persons involved: Capota, Ioan, brother, 57 years, wife and son, Bulevardul Bucuresti, Nol No. 78, Bucuresti; Capota, Mircea and Viorica, children, their mother; Capota, Onlta, his sister, arrived last year but without her children, Str. Rusetu No. 10, Apt. 13, Bucuresti.

15. Name: Capota, Pavel, permanent resident, 119 Payson Avenue, Apt. SA-New York, N.Y. 10034. Persons involved: Pavel, Capota, son, 19 years, Aleea Pravat No. 6, Et. VI, apt. 71, Bucuresti-Sect. 7.

16. Name: Capota, Gabriel, American citizen, 80-19 171st Street, Apt. 5F, Jamaica, N.Y. Persons involved: Capota, Paula, sister, 49 years with her husband and son, Calea, September 13, No. 98, Bucuresti.

17. Name: Cautis, Cloula, arrived USA March 5, 1974, 666 West End Avenue, Apt. 20P, New York, N.Y. 10025. Persons involved: Diaconescu, Stefan, father, 64 years; Diaconescu, Sofia, mother, 62 years, Str. Stirbel Voda No. 2, Scara 3, Apt. 72, Sec. 7, Bucuresti.

18. Name: Cloaca, Gheorghe, 185 Metropolitan Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11211. Persons involved: Cloaca, Andrion, son, 4 years, Str. Targul Neamt No. 12, Bloc TD. 24, Apt. 51 Et. 8, Seere 7 Bucuresti, Sect. 7.

19. Name: Cocloba, Emil-Trandafir, 1 Laurell Drive, Huntington, N.Y. 11743. Persons involved: Cocloba, Luiza, wife and children, Comuna Costelul, jud. Timis-Romania.

20. Name: Dr. Constandis, Decebal, permanent resident, 155 West 68th Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. Persons involved: Dr. Constandis, Callin-Gheorghe, brother, 35 years, Strada De-Nijloc No. 11, Brasov-Romania.

21. Name: Corclovel, Toader, 860 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Corclovel, Toader, father, 66 years; Corclovel, Maria, mother, 60 years, Comuna Ganesti, Jud. Galati—Romania.

22. Chelariu, Maris, married, Williams, 872 Massachusetts Avenue, Apt. 811, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Persons involved: Ecaterina Chelariu, mother, 70 years; Serban Chelariu, brother, 31 years.

23. Name: Drocan, Sanda, American citizen, 68-37 108th Street, Forest Hills, New York, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Marvan, Radu, brother, Str. Stelea Spurtaru No. 12, Bucuresti, Sect. 4.

24. Name: Dumitrescu, Nicolae, 43-05 44th Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Dumitrescu, Maria, wife; Dumitrescu, Gil-Septimiu, son, 6 years; Dumitrescu, Constantin, father; Dumitrescu, Teodora, mother; Str. Ianariel No. 141, Bucuresti-Romania Sect. 5.

25. Name: Dumitrescu, Constantin, 41-47 55th Str. Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Persons involved: Dumitrescu, Maria Cerchez, mother; Str. Oborul-Nou No. 13, Block B10 Scara 2, et. 5, Bucuresti; Petriceaknu, Stefanla, grandmother, Str. Gheorghe, Cosbuc No. 63, Balcoi-Brahova.

26. Name: Fara, Gheorghe, permanent resident, 1031 Hamilton Street, Somerset, N.J. 08873. Persons involved: Tuhulano, Ilie, cousin, 36 years, Blvd. Dumitrov No. 121, Block G5, Sc. 5, Apt. 24, Bucuresti 3; Melcusa, Nircea, cousin,

- 21 years; Meleasa, Gheorghita, aunt, 56 years, Str. Bujoreni No. 43, Block 13, Sc. 2, Apt. 38, Bucuresti 7.
27. Name: Mrs. Flint, Mary, 88-08 32d Avenue, Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11370. Persons involved: Solman, Dumitru, brother, 45 years; Solman, Elena, sister-in-law, 44 years; Solman, Daniel, nephew; Ivanclu, Alexandrina, sister; Ivanclu, Alexandru, brother-in-law; Ivanclu, Dinu, nephew; Str. Alexandru Moghioros No. 13, Bucuresti, Romania.
28. Name: Gache, Ileana, arrived USA April 9, 1975, 24-19 41st Street, Long Island City, N.Y. 11103. Persons involved: Gache, Dumitru, husband, 39 years; Gache, Virgil-Severus, son, 7 years; Gache, Hristu, son, 3 years; Str. Moldovita No. 8, Bloc EM5, Apt. 63, Scara.
29. Name: Gatalantu, Stefania, permanent resident, 3610 North Pine Grove, Apt. 502, Chicago, Ill. 60613. Persons involved: Gatalantu, Maria, mother, 51 years, Str. Popa Sapca No. 32, Bloc A 12, Scara C. Apt. 2, Timisoara.
30. Name: Gavrilescu, Ana, born Marinoscu, permanent resident, 123 Post Avenue, Apt. 3, New York, N.Y. 10047. Persons involved: Gavrilescu, Dumitru, husband, 60 years; Gavrilescu, Alexandru, son, 19 years; Piata Natiiunile Unite No. 3, Bucuresti.
31. Name: Frangu, Dan Mircrea, permanent resident, 104-60 Queens Blvd., Forest Hills, N.Y. 10375. Persons involved: Frangu, Tralan, father, retired priest; Frangu, Stela, mother, 62 years, Str. Eroiler No. 2, Block 36, Scara B, Apt. 38, Campinajud.Fvahova.
32. Name: Ghenu, Constantin, arrived USA Nov. 1, 1972, 80-17 207th Street, Queens Village, N.Y. Persons involved: Ghenu, Mihai, brother, 35 years; Ghenu, Eugenia, sister-in-law, 35 years; Ghenu, Mihai, nephew, 8 years, Str. Colonadelor No. 3, Bucuresti.
33. Name: Graur, Walter, arrived USA April 7, 1976, Spencer's Arms Hotel, 140 W. 69th Street, N.Y.C. Persons involved: Graur, Mioara, wife and daughter Melania, Str. Caporal Dumitru No. 68, Ploesti, Romania.
34. Name: Bostan, Nicolae, arrived in United States March 1976, 57-22 Cat-alpa Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Bostan, Helga (b. Henz) wife, 26 years; Cartier Gojdu, Bloc M1, Apt. 33, Deva, Hunedoara, Romania.
35. Name: Carbunescu, Danut and wife, arrived in United States March 1976, 1823 Cornelia Str. Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Carbunescu Panait, father, 56 years, Str. George Bacovia, 18, Sector 5 Bucharest; Scarlat, Dumitru, father-in-law, 62, Str. 11 Iunie Bucharest, Sect. 5; Scarlat, Georgeta, mother-in-law 43, Comuna Balota, Jud.Dolj, Romania.
36. Name: Constantinov, Alexandru, arrived in United States January 1971, 100 Manhattan Ave., Apt. 610 Union City, N.J. Persons involved: Constantinov, Luiza, b. Mihălescu, wife, 28; Constantinov, Edward, son, 7 years, Blvd. Schitu Măgureanu, 19 Bucharest.
37. Name: Dr. Cristescu, Teodor, 370 Ridelle Avenue, Apt. 21-04, Toronto, Canada. Persons involved: Cristescu, Elena, wife, 38 years; Cristescu, Laurențiu, son, 17 years, Str. Polana Narciselor No. 14, Apt. 5, Sector 4, Bucharest, Romania.
38. Name: Cosambescu, Mircea, 8 E 48 St., Apt. 4B, N.Y. 10017. Persons involved: Cosambescu, Tiberiu, father; Cosambescu, Maria, mother, Bucharest, Sos. Giurgiului 100-111 Bl.N Et. 1, Apt. 7, Sect. 5.
39. Name: Ciobanu, Vasile, arrived in United States 1970, 43-10 44th Str., Apt. 2D, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Ciobanu, Vasile, 75; Ciobanu, Tatiana, 65; (in a short visit), Str. Nazarcea No. 59, Sect. 7, Bucharest.
40. Name: Florea, Stefan & Viviana, 1709 Putnam Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Zaharescu, Maria, mother, 59; Zaharescu, Violeta Maria, sister, 23; Zaharescu, Nicolae, stepfather, 57, Str. Gloriei Bloc 205, Apt. 30 Sect. B Et 4, Ploiesti.
41. Name: Harabor, Mihai, arrived in United States July 1975, 50 W. 80th Str., New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Harabor Cristian, son, 10 years; Harabor Vladimir, son, 8 years, Str. Fluierului 25 Sc. A Et. 2, Apt. 7, Sector 7, Bucharest.
42. Name: Hulubel Basil, 515 W. 50th Str., New York, N.Y. 10019. Persons involved: Hulubel, Victoria, sister; Razvan, Anastasiu, nephew, Piata Cosmonautilor 1 A, Apt. 56, Sector 1, Bucharest.
43. Name: Ilies, Maria, 1263 Park Ave., Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10029. Persons involved: Della R. Popa, B. Barutia, 28 years, daughter; Gheorghe Popa, son-in-law, 31 years, Str. Hrisovului 13, Ml. D-3, Apt. 7, Sector 8, Bucharest, Of. P. 68, Romania.

44. Name: Ionescu-Lungu, Alexandru, arrived in United States 1973, 1637 West Fargo Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60626. Persons involved: Ionescu-Lunga Maria, wife; Ionescu-Lungu, Dan, son, 18 years; Ionescu-Lungu, Ecaterina, mother, Str. Austrului No. 48, Sect. 3, Bucharest.

45. Name: Kerplitchan, Reghina, arrived in United States January 1971, 175-21 88th Str., Apt. 86, Jamaica, N.Y. 11482. Persons involved: Pandre, Elena, mother; Pandrea, Miron, brother; Pandrea, Persefonia, sister-in-law, Aleea Polana Vadului No. 1 Drumul Taberei, Microraiton 2 Bloc OD 8 Sc. CET. 11, Apt. 99, Bucharest; Pandrea, Constantin, brother; Pandrea, Petruța, sister-in-law; Pandrea, Mugur, nephew; Pandrea, Elena, niece, Str. Timișul de Jos No. 2 Bloc D 15 Sc. DAp. 34, Drumul Taberei Microraiton 5 Bucharest.

46. Name: Kaladjah, Ardashes, American citizen, 50 W. 89th Str., New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Andrei, Elena, niece, 16 years, Blvd. Dimitrie Cantemir Bloc 18 Sc. 2; Et. 3, Apt. 47 Sector 5 Bucharest.

47. Name: Kapklian, Angela, American citizen, 43-30 46th St., Sunnyside, Long Island City, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Valerica Nita, father, 64 years; Alexandrina Nita, mother, 64 years; Gheorghe Nita, brother, 28 years; Alexandrina, Nita, sister-in-law, 26 years; Manuela Nita, niece, 4 years; Angela-Teodora Nita, niece, 9 months, Str. Ramuri Tel No. 31 Sector 2, Bucharest

48. Name: Lichlardopol, Nicolae, 220 Miriam St., Bronx, N.Y. 10458. Persons involved: Lichlardopol, Tudor, brother, 30 years, 7 Cosmonautilor St., Bucharest, Romania.

49. Name: Muresan, Anton, 351 W. 53rd St., Apt. 1E, New York City, N.Y. 10019. Persons involved: Muresan, Anton Dorel, 18 years, St. Libertatii No. 5, Apt. 179, Oras Gheorge Gheorghiu Dej, Jud. Bacau, Romania.

50. Name: Micusan-Neurhrer, Christine, 3000 Savard Montreal H4 1 T 8, Canada. Persons involved: Micusan, Cornelia, mother; Lupas, Marie-Anne, sister, B. Neurhrer, 39 years; Lupas, Ovidiu, brother-in-law, 43 years; Lupas, Ruxandra, niece, 14 years; Lupas, Andrei, nephew, 13 years; Lupas, Anna-Maria, niece, 7 years, Str. Burdujeni, No. 1, Bl. A, 12 Sec. 2 Et. 2 Apt. 21, Titan, Bucharest.

51. Name: Mitrea, Viorica, 48 Wilson Ave., Newark, N.J. 07105. Persons involved: Armeanu, Ana, mother, 83 years, Blvd. Independentei 44, Polana Tapului, Prahova.

52. Name: Nicolescu-Matarareanu, Valeria, 5950 Carmelita Ave #6 Huntington Park, California 90255. Persons involved: Matasareanu, Decebal-Emil, son, 8 years; Matasareanu Viorel, husband, 56 years, Str. Buftea No. 1 Thulisoara, Romania.

53. Name: May, Lucia (Smant Nescu). Persons involved: Malorescu, Cornelia, daughter; Radu Coclas, nephew; Calea Floreasca, Nr. 9-11, Sector 1 Bucharest.

54. Name: Manta, Constantin, 414 Onderdonk Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11237. Persons involved: Manta, Nircea, brother, 25 years; Marinescu, Florentina, sister, 33 years; Marinescu, Alexandru, brother-in-law, 44 years; Marinescu, Cornel, nephew, 5 years; Manta, Mihai, brother, 35 years; Manta, Paula, sister-in-law, 26 years; Manta, Silviu, nephew, 2 years; Manta, Dumitru, brother, 30 years; Manta, Nicoleta, sister-in-law, 27 years; Manta, Ilie, brother; Manta, Gheorghe, brother, 89 years; Manta, Maria, sister-in-law, 37 years; Manta, Adriana, niece, 12 years; Manta, Elena, niece, 8 years; Manta, Carmen, niece, 7 years; Manta, Viorica, sister-in-law, 40 years; Manta, Virgil, nephew, 18 years; Manta, Stefan, brother, 86 years; Manta, Ana, sister-in-law, 32 years; Manta, Eduard, nephew, 6 years; Manta, Luca, brother, 45 years; Manta, Ecaterina, sister-in-law, 40 years; Manta, Antoaneta, niece, 10 years; Manta, Constantin, brother, 58 years; Manta, Ofelia, sister-in-law, 56 years; Manta, Viorica, niece, 24 years; Str. Stefan cel Mare No. 106 Bucharest.

55. Name: Mateescu, Ioana, 45-14 42 St. Sunnyside Apt. 2 C. N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Mateescu, Coralia, mother; Bdul Muncii 8 Sector 4 Buchrest; Stancu, Daniela, sister; Stancu, Constantin, brother-in-law; Stancu, Bogdan, nephew; Stancu, Alim-Sebastian, nephew; Str. Emil Racovitz 2, 29-31 Bl. E M2 Sect. 5 Bucharest.

56. Name: Nace, Victor, arrived in United States October 1969, 32-24 74th Str. Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11370. Persons involved: Constantinescu, Heana, sister; Constantinescu, Brăduț, nephew; Str. Pitar Mos No. 25 Et. 6 ap. 20 Sect. 1 Bucharest (in a visit).

57. Name: Nicolae, Ion, arrived in United States February 1974, 9386 McDougall St., Hamtrack 48212 Michigan. Persons involved: Nicolae, Maria, mother; Blvd. I. G. Duca Nr. 10-22 Et. 4 Apt. 72, Bucharest, Sector 8.

58. Name: Narcis, Vladescu, American citizen, 111 Van Nostrand Ave., Englewood, N.J. 07631. Persons involved: Maza, Anton Constantin and family, Str. Baba Novac No. 2 Et. 1 Apt. 4 Bucharest. Maza, Mihai Mina Vasile and family, Sos Mihai Bravu No. 100 Bl. D 16 Apt. 113 Bucharest.
59. Name: Oprea, Marloara, arrived in United States November 1974, 45-57 39th Place, LIC, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Cotol, Petcu, 57 years, father; Cotol, Gheorghita, 56 years mother; Oprea, Constantin, 42 years, husband; Str. Paro No. 4 Timisoara 1900 Romania.
60. Name: Platca, Micsunica and husband, Ovidiu, 315 E 65 St., Apt. 4K, New York, N.Y. 10021. Persons involved: Stanescu, Elisabeta, mother, 69 years; Popescu, Elena, b. Stanescu, 41 years; Popescu, Mihail, brother-in-law, 42 years; Popescu, Andreea, niece, 12 years; Popescu, Luana, niece, 3 years; Aleca Targul Neamt No. 181.D 9 Sc. A Apt. 5, Et. 2 Sector 7 Bucharest. Platca, Virginia, mother-in-law, 65 years; Platca, Adrian, brother, 27 years; Aleca Stanila No. 2 Bloc H 12 Sc. 2 Ap. 10, Sector 4 Bucharest. Platca, Corneliu, brother-in-law, 38 years; Platca, Mariana, sister-in-law, 39 years; Platca, Gabriel, nephew, 13 years; Calea Grivitei No. 127 Sc. B, Ap. 20, Bucharest, Sector 7.
61. Name: Pop, Alexandru Constantin, 3675 King St. No. 4 Lemon Grove, Ca. 92045. Persons involved: Tenescu, Elisabeta Maria, 42 years, wife; Cristina Motet-Grigoras, step-daughter, 18 years, Str. Midia No. 11 Sect. 8 Bucharest.
62. Name: Petrascu, Nicolae, 38 Moulton Ave., Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. 10522. Persons involved: Mortun, Sorin, nephew, 23 years; Bujoreni No. 7 Bl. P 1 Sc. 2 No. 40 Bucharest, Sector 7. Odette, Alexandrescu, cousin, 48 years, Bdul Ana Ipătescu No. 5, Bucharest.
63. Name: Palamaru, Ludmilla, 48-50 37th St., No. 7K, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Olga Papis, 90 years, mother; Tamara Sitaru, 60 years, sister; Nicolae Sitaru, 64 brother-in-law; Octavian Sitaru, nephew, 32 years; Com. suburbana Chiajna Daddu Str. Bisericii 36 Bucharest.
64. Name: Pantea, Viorica, arrived in United States January 1973, 645 E Pean Str. Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Pantea, Monica, 23 years; Pantea, Dan, 18 years; Parcul Lenin No. 19 Apt. 24, Oradea, Romania.
65. Name: Panaitescu, Ana, arrived in United States January 1973, 221 Norman St., Bridgeport, Conn. 06605. Persons involved: Panaitescu, Eugen Gabriel, husband, 34 years, Str. Alexandru Bălăceanu No. 4, Bucharest, Romania.
66. Name: Popa, Dumitru Alexandru and Tatiana, 77-12 Woodside Ave., Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373. Persons involved: Popa, Dumitru Sterie, father, 75 years; Popa, Dumitru Chirala, mother, 75 years; Str. Burdujeni No. 16 Bl. 14 Sc. C Apt. 21 Bucharest.
67. Name: Pavelescu, Alexandru, 1500 Stanley Str., No. 118, Montreal, Canada. Persons involved: Pavelescu, Adriana, wife, h.Bordas, 33 years; Pavelescu, Sorin, son, 4 years; Calea Orivitel No. 148 Sc. 3 Et. 7 Apt. 97, Sector 8 Bucharest.
68. Name: Pirvu, Vasile, arrived in United States November 1974, 64-83 Wetherole St., No. 24, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374. Persons involved: Pirvu, Alexandrina, mother, Str. Elena No. 35 Sector 2 Bucharest.
69. Name: Pop, Cornel Ioan, arrived in United States October 1974, 16-55 Woodbine St., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Pop, Henrietta-Georgiana, daughter, 7 years; Pop, Claudia-Renate, daughter, 6 years; Calea Săgului, Bloc 36 Sc. C Et. III, Apt. 14, Timisoara, Romania.
70. Name: Petre, Dorel, 52 a Route de Chatelard, 1018 Lausanne, Switzerland. Persons involved: Petre, Lorena Claudia Gigliola, daughter, 5 years; c/o Ticuleanu Dumitru (grandfather); Str. Alexandru cel bun No. 45, Fetesti, Ialomita, Romania.
71. Name: Puscas, Vasile, arrived in United States July 1973, 2022 W Logan Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 60641. Persons involved: Puscas, Maria, wife, 33 years; Puscas, Mihaela, daughter, 7 years; Str. Victoriei No. 73/23 Baia Mare, Romania.
72. Name: Puscov, Ioana, 25-21 31 Av., Astoria, N.Y. 11106. Persons involved: Puscov, Maria, sister-in-law; Timisoara, Str. Gloriei 14.
73. Name: Pitu, Ilie and Angela, 44 Cabot Str., Beverly, Mass. 01915. Persons involved: Pitu, Marin, 27 years; Pitu, Mihai, 24 years; Blvd Aha Ipătescu No. 2, Sector 1 Bucharest.
74. Name: Radulescu, Gheorghe, 1870 Drumgoole Rd., E Staten Island, N.Y. 10309. Persons involved: Radulescu, Elena, wife, 34 years; Str. Chilla Veche No. 3 Et. 4 Ap. 29 Bucharest.
75. Name: Rauta, Constantin, arrived in United States November 1973, P.O. Box 5563, Washington, D.C. 20016. Persons involved: Rauta, Ecaterina Gabriela,

wife, 27 years; Rauta, Mihai Catălin, son, 2; Str. Alexandru Moghloros No. 32 Bl. A 11, Sc. F Ap. 90 Sector 7 Bucharest, Romania.

76. Name: Reznic, Stefan, arrived April 1971, 195 Nassau Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11222. Persons involved: Reznic, Anton, father, 54 years; Reznic, Ana, b. Pietraru, step-mother, 40 years; Reznic, Paris Emanuel, step-brother, 7 years; Reznic, Carmen Luminita, step sister, 5 years; Str. Sălcilor No. 17 Tulcea, Romania.

77. Name: Sandulescu, Stefan, 48-50 37th St. Apt. 7N, Sunnyside N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Pepi Eldinger Patancius, sister, 45 years; Aristide Patancius, brother-in-law, 45 years; Daniel Patancius, nephew, 23 years; Anca Patancius, niece, 22 years; Str. Unităţii No. 68 Sect. 3 Bucharest. Stefan Brechea, brother, 48 years; Constanta Asador Brechea, sister-in-law, 45 years; Sos. Villor No. 70 Sector 5 Bucharest.

78. Name: Sarkissian, Elena, American citizen, 71-16 Clinton Road Upper Darby, Iowa 19052. Persons involved: Ion Benni, brother, 60 years, Str. Reconstrucţiei No. 10 Ap. 228 Bucharest.

79. Name: Sarateanu, Simon, 345 W 86th St. N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Elena Sarateanu, wife, Str. Republicii, No. 7, Cluj.

80. Name: Stefan Serban, arrived in United States November 1974, 1870 Drunciole Rd. E Staten Island N. Y. 10309. Persons involved: Stefan, Mihăltă, son, 22 years, Str. Edgar Quinet No. 3 Sector 1, Bucharest.

81. Name: Steclaci, Lucian, American citizen, 195 Tarrington Heights Rd., Tarrington, Conn. 06790. Persons involved: Steclaci, Adrian, brother, 57 years; Steclaci, Livia, sister-in-law, b. Buzila, 51 years; St. Stirbei Vodă No. 2 Apt. 153 Et. 3 Sc. 8, Sector 7 Bucharest.

82. Name: Stoenescu, Maria, arrived in United States October 1970, 278 Riverside Drive Princeton, N.J. 08540. Persons involved: Stoenescu, Elena, mother, 63 years; Stoenescu, Serban, brother, 36 years; Str. Galaţi No. 34 Bucharest. (For a short visit.)

83. Name: Stoica Adriana and son, 45-19 42 St Sunnyside Apt. 2 C N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Gall, Angela, mother; Gall, Mihail, father; Str. Clucea #1, Bl. P 16 Sc. 3 Et. 1, Apt. 33 Sector 4 Titan, Bucharest.

84. Name: Stolca, Ion Victor. Persons involved: Stolca, Aldea, father; Zaharia, Henica, mother-in-law, Str. Poştel No. 8 Ploieşti, Romania.

85. Name: Sandulescu, Alexandra, 48-50 37th St. Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Necsutu, Mihai, 20 years (on a short visit), Str. Slobozia No. 20 Bucharest, Sector 5.

86. Name: Stefanescu, Raluca, 133-24 Sanford Ave. Apt. 3G Flushing N.Y. 11355. Persons involved: Stefanescu, Corneliu George, 59 years, father; Str. Viting No. 6, Bucharest, Sector 7.

87. Name: Teodorescu-Surmenlan, Alice and Dinu, 4800 44 Str. Sunnyside Apt. 4H N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Surmenlan, Atzataber, father; Surmenlan Hriblime, mother; Surmenlan, Edward Gabriel, brother; Bd. Lapuşeanu 173 Bl. 7 1 Et. 3 Ap. 24 Constanţa; Teodorescu, Mihail, brother-in-law; Teodorescu, Elena, sister-in-law; Teodorescu, Dolna, niece; Str. Săpunari 4 Ploieşti.

88. Name: Timus, Adriana, American citizen, 40 W 71st St. New York, N.Y. 10023. Persons involved: Enculescu, Anca, sister, 30 years; Enculescu, Serban, brother-in-law, 35 years; Bl. 37 (A+B) Titan Sc. A Et. 7 Ap. 29, Sector 4 Bucharest.

89. Name: Tuculescu, Gabriela, Permanent Resident, 70-25 B Yellowstone Blvd. Apt. 3 L Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Pandelescu, Geraldina, sister, 35 years; Ionescu, S. Englantina, mother, 62; Str. Maxim Gorki No. 4 A Et. 3 Apt. Bucharest. COD 7 Romania (for a short visit).

90. Name: Tuculescu, S. Mihai, permanent resident, 70-25 Yellowstone Blvd. Apt. 175 Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Radulescu, Traian, 35 years, Calea Grivitei No. 159 Et. 6 Apt. 101, Sector 8 Bucharest, Galaction. Elena, aunt 63 years, Str. Gala Galaction No. 51 Sector 8 Bucharest, Lupa, Mircea, 35 years, Str. Fluterului No. 24 bis Sector 3 Bucharest.

91. Name: Tuculescu A. Răzvan, permanent resident, 70-25 Yellowstone Blvd. Apt. 3 L, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Tuculescu, Serban, father, 65 years; Tuculescu, Maria, mother, 64 years; Str. Levanţicăi No. 61 Sector 4 Bucharest; COD 7 (for a short visit).

92. Name: Turdeanu, Eugen and Eva, 30-95 20 Str., Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Turdeanu, Eugen, son; Cluj, Str. Avram Iancu No. 18 Apt. 4.

93. Name: Ungureanu, Vasile, arrived in United States April 1975, 065 Seneca Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Ungureanu, Zoe-Buliga, daugh-

ter, 21 years; Buliga, Viorica, niece, 3 years; St. Cartierul Kiselef Bloc A S Sc. 4 Apt. 17, Turnu Severin, Romania.

94. Name: Ungureanu, Gheorghe, 4200 Avenue de Courtral Ap. 19, Montreal, Canada. Persons involved: Ungureanu, Ann-Maria, daughter, 3 years; Genea, Rodion, father-in-law, 76; Ganea, Valentina, mother-in-law, 69 years; Str. Pitir Moş No. 25 Et. 7 Ap. 25 Sector 1 Bucharest.

95. Name: Sangeap, Titus-Liviu, 50 W 89th St. New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Sangeap, Alin, son, 14 years; Sangeap, Daniel, son, 8 years; Str. Cucu No. 22 Iaşi Romania.

RECAPITULATION

The number of the above-mentioned persons can be divided as follows:

Parents:

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| 1. Fathers ----- | 20 |
| 2. Mothers ----- | 39 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 59 |
| | <hr/> |

Children:

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| 1. Boys ----- | 51 |
| 2. Girls ----- | 41 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 92 |
| | <hr/> |

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Husbands ----- | 8 |
| Wives ----- | 16 |
| Brothers ----- | 44 |
| Sisters ----- | 36 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 104 |
| | <hr/> |

Total persons involved ----- 255

These additional cases have also been brought to my attention by the American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees:

96. Mr. Petre Schiau and his wife Lucretia, of Plata 16 Februarie No. 6 Bloc A et I, Scora C Apt. 29, Ploesti, Romania, an elderly couple, 80 and 76, was promised consecutive visas to visit their son, a legal U.S. resident. The husband came first, returning home after only ten days to allow his wife to follow. Upon his return (three months ago) his wife was never issued her visa to visit her son.

97. Alda Filibosian (English spelling Philibosian) spent the past ten months in Romania trying to marry her childhood sweetheart, Radu Grossu, of Blvd. Garii, No. 6, Brasov. Ms. Filibosian is a U.S. citizen and as such the Romanian Government is charging her \$10 a day each day she stays. The marriage petition has been refused and the young couple has appealed.

98. Mr. Visan Ilie, of 65-38-99 Street, Forest Hills, New York 11135 paid the required \$201 to renounce Romanian citizenship. He did this in May 1974, but has received to date neither a receipt nor has his wife, Petra, of Strada SP, Vineri, 13, Apt. 9 B 3, Bucharest, been permitted to join him here.

99. On December 4, 1973 Mr. Ion Mihal of 570 West 204 Street, New York, New York 10034 (a U.S. citizen) sent a money order, which was cashed, to the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania to renounce his Romanian citizenship. He has neither received a receipt nor any positive reply to repeated letters to the Embassy concerning a visit here of his elderly mother whose repeated applications for a passport and exit visa have been refused. The reason given for the refusal was that her son had not complied with Romanian Government regulations. I am herewith enclosing a copy of his money order.

100. Mrs. Lucy May (Romanian name Lucia Smantanescu) is a U.S. citizen residing at 165 West 66 Street, New York, New York 10023. To have her daughter Cornelia Maloreacu Cocias and grandson Radu Cocias come here, she paid \$201 in 1974. According to the Romanian Embassy list, both were to get visas in July last, then in December. However, this past April they were told that their visas had been refused, and that they would never see their mother and grandmother again.

AUGUST 25, 1976.

Hon. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
*Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Embassy of Romania,
 Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I realize that my letter of August 13 implied a formidable burden on you and your staff, if each and every case listed were investigated within the near future. Therefore, I would appreciate your prompt attention to the seven cases mentioned in my statement to the Congress on August 9, and your comments on the problems mentioned in that statement with respect to emigration and the status of minorities. Your prompt attention to these matters is of particular importance to me, inasmuch as I intend to testify on September 8th before the Trade Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Finance, which is considering issues relating to the extension of most favored nation treatment.

I would appreciate receiving a report on all cases on which you now have information, as soon as possible. Of course, I do want a report on every case, before I make a final decision with respect to my own attitude on the extension of most favored nation status for Romania.

Should your staff wish to discuss this matter with my office, they should feel free to call my Assistant, Mr. Sean McCarthy, who is familiar with the issues involved.

All the best.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

AUGUST 31, 1976.

Hon. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
Ambassador of Romania, Embassy of Romania, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I am still waiting for a response to my letter to you of August 31, and I would appreciate a response as soon as possible, even if the response cannot be complete as to all the information I have asked for. As I told you in my letter of last week, I intend to testify before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Senate Finance Committee next Wednesday, September 8. Your response to my inquiries, or the lack of it, will determine in large measure what recommendations I will make to the Subcommittee. In this regard, I am particularly distressed that my letters have not been acknowledged and the phone calls of my staff to your Embassy have been unanswered.

I want you to know that I take these matters very seriously, and I will not allow a Romanian policy of silence or inaction to go unnoticed by the Congress.

I also want to bring to your attention the situation of Rev. Vasile Popa-Gemanaru of 6232 Fillmore Street at Northwest 63rd Avenue, Hollywood, Florida 33024. According to information which has been transmitted to me, Rev. Popa-Gemanaru, who is a resident of the United States, has been trying for three years to obtain his diploma from the Theological Seminary in Bazau, Romania, where he graduated. I would appreciate your investigating the facts of this situation, in addition to investigating the facts and status of the other cases that I have previously brought to your attention, and advising me of your findings.

Thank you for your prompt attention to these matters.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA,
 Washington, D.C., September 1, 1976.

Hon. EDWARD I. KOCH,
*U.S. Congressman, House of Representatives,
 Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: In reply to your letter of August 13, 1976, regarding the list of some reuniting family requests, I would like to inform you that a number of 33 persons (list enclosed) have got the approval of Romanian authorities to come definitively to the United States and they are now with their relatives.

Also enclosed there is a list of 27 persons who did not get in touch with our Embassy to adjust their status abroad. I avail of this opportunity to inform you that as long as these persons are not fulfilling the requirements of the Romanian Laws, there is no ground to consider their requests as reuniting family cases.

Among those listed in your list there are some cases living in other countries than United States, which according to the regulations in force does not lay under the jurisdiction of the Romanian Embassy in Washington.

As for the rest of the requests please be informed that we brought these cases to the attention of our home authorities for consideration.

Please be sure that as I did before I will keep you informed about the status of each individual case.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
Ambassador.

PERSONS ALREADY ARRIVED IN THE U.S.A.

1. Butiu, Gabrielle-Rodica, Piata Libertatii 26, Cluj, Romania.
2. Capota, Ioan, wife and son, Bulevardul Bucurestii Noi 78, Bucuresti. Capota, Mircea and Viorica, children, their mother, Capota, Onita, Str. Rusetu lo, Apt. 13, Bucuresti.
3. Pavel Capota, Alea Pravat no. 6, apt. 71, Bucuresti, sec. 7.
4. Adrian Clonca, Str. Tirgu Neamt no. 12, bloc TD24, apt. 51, Bucuresti.
5. Radu Marvan, Str. Stela Spataru no. 12, Bucuresti.
6. Maria Dumitrescu, Gil-Septimiu Dumitrescu, so, Str. LANăriei no. 141, Bucuresti.
7. Dumitru Gache, Virgil-Severus Gache, son; Hristu Gache, son; Str. Moldovita no. 8, bloc EM5, apt. 63, Bucuresti.
8. Maria Gatalantu, Str. Popa Sapca no. 32, bloc A12, apt. 2, Timisoara.
9. Carbunescu, Panait, Str. George Bacovia 18, sect. 5, Bucharest. Scarlat, Dumitru, Str. 11 Iunie sect. 5, Bucharest; Scarlat, Georgeta, Comuna Balota, Jud. Dolj, Romania.
10. Barutia, Alexandru, Barutia, Maria, Barutia, Ionut; Della R. Popa, B. Barutia, Gheorghe Popa, Str. Hrisovului 13, bloc D3, apt. 7, Bucharest.
11. Ionescu Lungu, Maria, Ionescu Lungu, Dan, Ionescu Lungu Ecaterina; Str. Australul 48, sect. 3, Bucharest.
12. Pantea, Monica, Pantea, Dan; Parcul Lenin 19, apt. 24, Oradea, Romania.
13. Panaitescu, Eugen Gabriel, Str. Alexandru Bălăscanu no. 4, Bucharest.
14. Puscas, Maria, Puscas, Mihaela; Str. Victoriei no. 73/23, Bala Mare, Romania.

PERSONS WHO SO FAR DID NOT GET IN TOUCH WITH THE EMBASSY TO ADJUST THEIR STATUS ABROAD

1. Bucur, Seren, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003.
2. Balu, Constantin, 800 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561.
3. Bebelea, Irina, 155 Logan Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208.
4. Burnazian, George, 3548 Normandy Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120.
5. Botosani, P. George, 72 Seeley Street, Bridgeport, Conn.
6. Corclovel, Toader, 800 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561.
7. Chelariu, Maria, married, Williams, 872 Massachusetts Avenue, Apt. 811, Cambridge, Mass. 02130.
8. Dumitrescu, Constantin, 41-47 55th Street, Woodside, N.Y. 11377.
9. Fara, Gheorghe, 1031 Hamilton Street, Somerset, N.J. 08873.
10. Frangu, Dan Mircea, 104-60 Queens Blvd., Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375.
11. Graur, Walter, Spencer's Arms Hotel, 140 W. 69 Street.
12. Constantinov, Alexandru, 100 Manhattan Avenue, Apt. 610, Union City, N.Y.
13. Ciobanu, Vasile, 43-10 44th Street, Apt. 2D, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104.
14. Hulubel, Basil, 515 W. 50th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.
15. Muresan, Anton, 351 W. 53rd Street, Apt. 1E, New York, N.Y. 10019.

10. Nicolescu-Matasareanu, Valeria, 5950 Carmelita Avenue, No. 6, Huntington Park, Calif. 90255.

17. Mateescu, Ioana, 45-14 42nd Street, Sunnyside, Apt. 2C, New York, N.Y. 11104.

18. Nicolae, Ion, 9386 McDougall Street, Hamtrac, Mich. 48212.

19. Palamaru, Ludmilla, 48-50 37th Street, No. 7K, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101.

20. Popa, Dumitru Alexandru and Tatiana, 77-12 Woodside Avenue, Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373.

21. Pitu, Ilie and Angela, 44 Cabot Street, Beverly, Mass. 01915.

22. Reznic, Stefan, 195 Nassau Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11222.

23. Sandulescu, Stefan, 48-50 37th Street, Apt. 7N, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101.

24. Stefan, Serban, 1870 Drunclole Road, E. Staten Island, N.Y. 10309.

25. Sandulescu, Alexandra, 48-50 37th Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101.

26. Stefanescu, Raluca, 133-24 Sanford Avenue, Apt. 3G, Flushing, N.Y. 11355.

27. Turdeanu, Eugen and Eva, 30-95 29th Street, Astoria, N.Y. 11102.

PERSONS LIVING IN OTHER COUNTRIES THAN U.S.A.

1. Micusanneurhrer, Christine, 3090 Savard, Montreal 44K 1 T 8, Canada.

2. Pavelescu, Alexandru, 1500 Stanley Street, No. 118, Montreal, Canada.

3. Petre, Dorel, 52 a Route de Châtelard, 1018 Lausanne, Switzerland.

4. Ungureanu, Gheorghe, 4200 Avenue de Courtral, Apt. 19, Montreal, Canada.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C., September 10, 1976.

HON. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
*Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Embassy of Romania,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: Thank you for your letter of September 1, which is a partial reply to my request for the status of the emigration requests of 107 individuals and for other information.

Your reply appended a list of 45 cases whose status was explained in three categories: 14 of the cases were listed as "Persons already arrived in the United States"; 27 were listed as "Persons who so far did not get in touch with the Embassy to adjust their status abroad"; and 4 were listed as "Persons living in other countries than USA."

As to the first category, I have checked with those people who originally referred these cases to me, and at least five of the people listed have not, in fact, arrived in the United States: Butiu Gabrielle-Rodica, Radu Marvan, Panai Carhunescu, Dumitru Searlat, and Georgeta Searlat. Of the 27 in the second group, seven have receipts for payment of the \$201 fee required in order to "adjust their status," so that there can be no mistake that they have contacted the Embassy. Their names are: Irina Bebelea, P. George Botosani, Dan Mircea Frangu, Ludmilla Palamaru, Ilie and Angela Pitu, Stefan Sandulescu, Alexandra Sandulescu, and Raluca Stefanescu.

And as to the last group, I do not consider it relevant whether the person concerned lives in the United States or not. Freedom of emigration does not imply which particular country individuals may choose to emigrate to, nor does Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 specify that persons should be permitted to emigrate to any particular country.

I would appreciate your attention to obtaining a correction of the errors in this list and to informing me of the status of the applications of all those concerned. I am also waiting for a reply as to the other 62 cases which I have referred to you and to my questions concerning the treatment of persons speaking a minority language. I again would like to know whether it is true that only two Romanian-speaking children can obtain a class in their language, while it takes 25 children speaking a minority language to obtain a primary school class in their language and 36 at the secondary level.

I await your response.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 20, 1976.

HON. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: Thank you for your letter of September 7. Notwithstanding my pleasure in seeing that some cases have been solved, I am really disheartened to see that there has still not been any action concerning the people whose names I have individually brought to your attention. For your reference those names are:

1. Marilena Grigore, Bucharest, Romania.
2. Anton Balta, Cluj, Romania.
3. Lucretia Schiau, Ioiesti, Romania.
4. Dumitru Caranfil, Bucharest, Romania.
5. Petit Nicolae, Bucharest, Romania.
6. Mioara Naum, Bucharest, Romania.
7. Alexandru and Stefan Suciu, Bucharest.
8. Alexandra Marandici, Sorana (wife), and Mircea (son), Bucharest.
9. Vladimir Fridman.
10. Emilia Mironescu Manea, her husband (Vasile), and child (Ilgana).
11. Ilie Tutulianu and Mircea Meleese.
12. Maria Leuca and daughter, Ioana Monica.
13. Marius Petrescu.
14. Besarab Alexandreacu.

I would hope that I could have some news concerning these cases by this Thursday, September 23. Because these cases have been individually brought to my attention, I am taking a particular interest in finding out what their status is.

Unfortunately, I do not believe that the response to requests for the status of individuals desiring to leave Romania has been entirely satisfactory to me or to other Congressmen. As a result, I am contemplating introducing a resolution calling for the disapproval of most favored nation status for the Republic of Romania, and I am preparing such a resolution at the present time. I would hope that the responses received by the various Congressmen and Congresswomen to their requests for information on emigration and other matters of concern would obviate any desire to disapprove the present congenial trade relationship enjoyed by both the United States and Romania with regard to their mutual trade.

Thank you for your timely attention to the matters I have raised with you.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA,
Washington, D.C. September 23, 1976.

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH,
Member of Congress, Congress of the United States, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Answering your letter of September 20, 1976, please be advised that according to the information I have just received from my home authorities the requests of: Lucretia Schiau, Ploiesti; Dumitru Caranfil, Bucharest; Mioara Naum, Bucharest; Vladimir Fridman, Bucharest; Besarab Alexandrescu, Bucharest, have been approved.

Please be sure that as I did before I will keep you informed about the status of the rest of the cases.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

NICOLAE M. NICOLAE, *Ambassador.*

Senator RIBICOFF. Our next witness this morning is Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Rabbi Schindler, we are pleased to have you appear before the subcommittee this morning and you may proceed in your own way.

**STATEMENT OF RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER, REPRESENTING
THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEW-
ISH ORGANIZATIONS**

Rabbi SCHINDLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee.

I appreciate your giving me this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations of which I am chairman. The conference is the coordinating body of 32 national Jewish organizations and speaks for the organized American Jewish community on this and related issues.

We are in favor of continuing the most-favored-nation status which has been conferred on Romania.

Ours is a qualified endorsement. The law's requirement of free emigration assuredly has not yet been achieved; many Romanian Jews desiring to be reunited with their families here and elsewhere are denied the right to do so. Yet we see this failing against the background of those considerable rights which are granted to the Romanian Jewish community itself.

We see it also in the context of that independent foreign policy which the Romanian Government has pursued and which we favor—her efforts to normalize relations with nations outside the Soviet bloc, with our own country and with Israel. Nor are the gates of emigration entirely shut; some flow, however sluggish and uncertain, is encouraged. And so we support an additional 1-year waiver of section 402, in the hope that continuing efforts by our officials will, in fact, lead to the achievement of the Trade Act's ultimate objective: a free movement of peoples.

My testimony is based not just on a careful sifting of passport and visa statistics, but also on more personal observations gleaned on a journey through Romania. I traveled there some weeks ago on the invitation of the Romanian Government, her Jewish community, and with the cooperation of our State Department. I toured Bucharest and five or six centers in the northeast section of that land. I met with leaders of some twenty Jewish communities which I was unable to visit personally. I conferred with governmental officials and party chiefs—among them the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

Of course, I also counseled with our own Embassy officials who were most helpful in all of these encounters and whose manifest devotion to the moral concerns of our Government I have come to respect and value greatly.

The Romanian Jewish community enjoys many rights. There are synagogues and communal centers. Worship is unrestricted, liturgical materials are at hand, and even religious instruction is permitted. Canteens have been established in every major Jewish population center and free kosher meals are provided to one and all, even, by special transport, to the home and bedridden.

Special medical and dental care is available, and food and clothing are distributed regularly. Several old-age, nursing homes are in operation and much needed for a population whose median age is 65. All of these institutions and activities are administered by the local Jewish community with the approval and cooperation of the Romanian Government. They are given considerable financial support by the Joint Distribution Committee, an American Jewish charitable institution, whose efforts are facilitated by the MFN status which Romania now enjoys.

These rights which the Romanian Government accords to its Jewish citizens are on a full par with the rights given to her other minority groupings. Yet the concept of human rights, as we perceive it in its fullness, must encompass the right of emigration. And it is on this score, and this score primarily, that our testimony is qualified.

The facts speak for themselves. When Romania was originally granted most-favored-nation status, Congress asserted and administration witnesses agreed that further renewal of this special relationship must depend on a steady flow of emigration. The House Committee on Ways and Means, in offering its concurrence, actually foresaw a dramatic rise in this emigration, based on its upward trend during the weeks preceding last year's hearings.

But there has been no upswing in Romanian emigration. In the 12 months preceding the approval of MFN, 2,592 Romanian Jews were allowed to leave; in the 12 months thereafter, emigration declined by nearly 100 souls.

Reports for the first 7 months of 1976 allow us to project no more than 2,300 emigrants, still a further marked decline. If those figures which swelled during last year's hearings and on which the House committee based its projections had been realized—an average of 307 per month for the 2 months preceding the 3 months following the hearings—the annual rate of emigration would have approached 3,700, precisely the same number of Jews who left Romania during 1973 and 1974. Thus, the current emigration rate is actually 37.5 percent below what might have been expected if the rate which Romania "demonstrated" to Congress had been sustained.

Former Romanian Jews now living in Israel and elsewhere insist that many of their relatives still in Romania want to be reunited with them, and indeed many have indicated to Romanian authorities that they have a desire to do so. Many more undoubtedly want to join their relatives abroad but have not made formal application to leave because of the difficulties which still inhere in the emigration process: the requirements or prior approval from several national and local authorities, lengthy interviews probing motivation, risk of job loss, indefinite delays.

Frequently passports are fully processed, even to the point of having visas entered by the Israeli Consulate, only to be withheld at the very last moment for weeks and months on end, with no perceivable pattern, and for no apparent reason.

A governmental policy of restricted, carefully controlled emigrations—which these statistics and procedures could well be interpreted to reflect—is clearly inconsistent with the letter and the spirit of the

1975 Trade Act. This is why we qualify our approval of the President's proposal that he waive the requirements of section 402, which we support on other, weighty grounds, with the request that the emigration figures be kept under continuing careful review and that our Government's representatives continue to bend every effort in order to make certain that the practices of Romania will lead substantially to the achievement of a full and free emigration.

I cannot conclude my testimony without once again expressing my admiration and gratitude to the members of our State Department and in particular to our representatives in Bucharest whose words and actions bear testimony to the fact that insofar as the United States is concerned interests in the extension of trade and political sway do not supercede our concern for the extension of human rights, and that among these rights, the free movement of peoples is an ideal to which our national honor is pledged.

[The attachment to Rabbi Schindler's testimony follows:]

Romanian emigration since 1963

| Pre-MFN: | | Post-MFN: | |
|-----------|--------|-----------|-----|
| 1963 | 13,000 | 1975: | |
| 1964 | 26,000 | August | 250 |
| 1965 | 11,000 | September | 295 |
| 1966 | 3,600 | October | 360 |
| 1967 | 800 | November | 140 |
| 1968 | 220 | December | 110 |
| 1969 | 1,400 | 1976: | |
| 1970 | 5,200 | January | 350 |
| 1971 | 1,650 | February | 243 |
| 1972 | 2,650 | March | 103 |
| 1973 | 3,700 | April | 51 |
| 1974 | 3,700 | May | 140 |
| August | 612 | June | 222 |
| September | 328 | July | 237 |
| October | 267 | | |
| November | 200 | | |
| December | 200 | | |
| 1975 | 2,140 | | |
| January | 70 | | |
| February | 45 | | |
| March | 100 | | |
| April | 80 | | |
| May | 50 | | |
| June | 210 | | |
| July | 430 | | |

¹ Total for year.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Rabbi Schindler.
The next witness is Mr. Rosenthal.

**STATEMENT OF MILTON F. ROSENTHAL, REPRESENTING THE U.S.
SECTION OF THE ROMANIAN-U.S. ECONOMIC COUNCIL**

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Senator Curtis.
I am Milton F. Rosenthal, president of Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corp., and chairman of the U.S. section of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council. The Council is sponsored jointly by the

Romanian and U.S. Chambers of Commerce. A brief description of the Council is attached.

[The material referred to above follows:]

ROMANIAN-UNITED STATES ECONOMIC COUNCIL

CHAIRMAN

Milton F. Rosenthal, President, Engelhard Mineral and Chemical Corp.

VICE CHAIRMEN

George G. Gellert, President, Atlanta Corp.
 John O. Logan, Chairman, UOP, Inc.
 David Morse, Partner, Surrey, Karasik and Morse.
 Mark Shepherd, Jr., President, Texas Instruments Inc.

Robert Boulogne, Director of International Buying, J. C. Penney Purchasing Corp.

Kristian H. Christiansen, Vice President, General Manager, International Sales Division, General Electric Co.

G. W. Fincher, Executive Vice President, General Tire International Co.

James A. Gray, Executive Vice President, National Machine Tool Builders Association.

Roy C. Hackley, Jr., Special Adviser to Continental Oil Co.

Robert A. Hanson, Senior Vice President, Deere & Co.

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H. Follett Hodgkins, Jr., President, Lipe-Rollway Corp.

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Thomas Kenneally, Chairman, International Systems and Controls Corp.

Dr. Alexander Lewis, Jr., President, Gulf Oil Foundation.

Ian MacGregor, Chairman, AMAX Inc.

David W. Mitchell, President, Avon Products, Inc.

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Kurt Orban, President, Kurt Orban Co., Inc.

William P. Orr, President, Lummus Co.

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Robert Royer, President, Pfizer International.

Bruce Torell, President, Pratt & Whitney Aircraft.

Tom L. Tyler, President, International Division, Clark Equipment Co.

Ralph Weller, Chairman of the Board, Otis Elevator Co.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I am pleased to appear here today in support of President Ford's request to extend the United States-Romanian Agreement on Trade. I speak on behalf of the American membership of the 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 promoting commercial ties with Romania.

Our activities, financed independently by the U.S. section members, are aimed at the elimination of obstacles to expanding business relations between Romania and the United States. We pursue this objective through studies and through annual joint meetings—the most recent of which was held June 24–25, 1976, in Bucharest. The Council enjoys the support of both the United States and Romanian Governments as evidenced by the presence of Treasury Secretary Simon and Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Patan at our June meeting.

The U.S. section of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council strongly urges the Congress to continue the agreement on trade relations between the United States and Romania, which, in part, extends non-discriminatory tariff status with respect to Romanian products. To

this end, we have testified on several previous occasions. Recently, we also submitted a letter of support for the agreement to all members of the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees.

In short, we believe the extension of the waiver authority is in the national interest and will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 by permitting the continuation of the United States-Romanian Agreement on Trade.

As we all know, the international situation which resulted in the withdrawal of MFN status for Romania in 1951 has changed dramatically over the last 25 years. We have moved from an era of confrontation to a period characterized by careful exploration of opportunities for cooperation between varying social systems. This shift in our relationship with the Socialist world—and most noticeably with Romania—has been marked by an increasing number of political and economic exchanges and agreements reflecting our shared commitment to improve relations.

Toward this goal, over the last year, numerous religious leaders and U.S. congressional delegations have toured Romania to assess firsthand Romania's domestic policies. Congress has approved a double taxation treaty. A maritime agreement has been established. Less than 2 months ago, Treasury Secretary Simon held talks in Bucharest and most recently one of Romania's highest political leaders, Party Secretary Stefan Andre, had useful discussions with U.S. administration and congressional leaders on issues of concern to both countries.

These initiatives are clear evidence that both the United States and Romania are determined to improve relations across the board.

Concurrent with the progress made in United States-Romanian relations, Romania has continued to pursue a policy of independence and international cooperation. It has been an active participant in the GATT, the IMF and the World Bank, and recently was elected to the Security Council of the United Nations.

In addition, Romania has enacted a series of domestic reforms designed to facilitate and expand commercial relations with the United States and other Western countries. Romania was the first Warsaw Pact nation to allow equity joint ventures with Western firms and remains the only Eastern European country that trades more with the Industrialized West than with its Socialist neighbors.

Also noteworthy has been the increase in the number of American enterprises—totaling to date nearly a dozen—now accredited for offices in Bucharest.

It is our view that the United States should encourage Romania's independent economic and political initiatives by establishing our bilateral trading relationships on the same footing as those we conduct with over 100 nations of the world. Mutually beneficial trade can be an ideal mechanism to stimulate domestic industry, but, equally important, it can promote an exchange of ideas essential to international understanding and strengthens the framework of world peace.

While there has been a slight decline this year in U.S. exports, we believe Romania remains anxious to import a large variety of U.S. capital goods and agricultural products in the coming years. It has recently contracted for more than \$70 million in U.S. industrial goods, including ball bearing and rayon production equipment, as well as a steel plating mill.

Responsible Romanian foreign trade officials report that more than \$80 million worth of raw materials and agricultural products is likely to be purchased over the next 6 months. Capital goods projects, totaling more than \$150 million, are currently under discussion with U.S. firms. Given these developments, total trade turnover for 1976 could, experts agree, reach \$400 million.

Not surprisingly, Romania has, under the conditions of MFN, increased and diversified its sales to the United States over the last year in such areas as clothing and furniture. To date, the major increase has been in fuel exports to the Northeastern United States, Romania's low-sulfur fuels contribute to our efforts to reduce environmental pollution.

At the same time, as a non-OPEC source, they contribute to the diversification of U.S. energy supplies. In short, we are confident Romania will, over the long term, look to the United States as a source of supply as much as it will as a market for its own products.

Although the Romanian-United States Economic Council is concerned with issues which are of a purely commercial character, we cannot but observe with satisfaction that the Romanian emigration flow has been continuous over the past year. This performance would appear to meet the requirements prescribed by Congress in title IV of the Trade Act of 1974.

In conclusion, we feel neither the trade nor the emigration figures cast any substantial doubt on the ultimate merits of the United States-Romanian Agreement on Trade. In other words, we think that the original wisdom shown by the Congress in approving the agreement still applies.

I thank you for this opportunity to share our views.

Senator RIBICOFF. We thank you very much for your statement.

Are there any questions?

Senator CURTIS. I have no questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. The next witness is Mr. Mark Richardson, please.

STATEMENT OF MARK E. RICHARDSON, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN FOOTWEAR INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

Mr. RICHARDSON. I am Mark E. Richardson, president of the American Footwear Industries Association with headquarters in Arlington, Va.

Our industry has serious problems with extending most-favored-nation tariff treatment on imports of nonrubber footwear from Romania. These problems are based on the rapid increase in footwear imports from Romania since MFN was granted in July 1975 coupled with the proven injury, without relief, which this industry has sustained from imports over the years and our industry's experience with Romanian trade practices.

It is common knowledge that our industry is being injured by disruptive imports. In 1970 President Nixon initiated an escape-clause investigation of the non-rubber-footwear industry, the only such investigation ever requested by a President. He then failed to act on a

tie vote of the Tariff Commission and imports continued to grow aggressively.

In February of this year, as a result of a second escape-clause petition (filed by the industry and the two shoe workers unions) the International Trade Commission unanimously found that we were, indeed, seriously injured by imports.

Unfortunately, President Ford reneged on administration promises made to the industry and to Members of the Senate to provide meaningful relief should such a decision be rendered by the ITC. The result was that, again, no meaningful import relief was provided to this industry.

Imports have continued to increase rapidly and production and employment in the industry have continued to decline at alarming rates.

It is against this background that we are here today to discuss the MFN issue with regard to Romania. In 1975, after the Treasury Department had concluded as a result of our antidumping petition that Romania welt work shoes were being dumped (at a rate of 25 to 30 percent under prevailing home market prices) into this market, the ITC accepted an 11th hour bombshell proposal by the Romanians.

The proposal was that they would unilaterally restrain shipments of welt work shoes into our market in 1975 and 1976. Import data for the first half of 1976 now show that the Romanians are renegeing on that pledge. Welt work shoe imports from Romania are up by over 67 percent this year in violation of their unilateral pledge (which proved acceptable to the ITC) to hold such exports to no more than 50 percent above 1975 levels.

In addition to the welt work shoe problem, the Romanians have adroitly moved into other lines of footwear production and export. Total footwear imports from Romania this year show they are up by more than 68 percent over the same period of last year and will reach an all-time 1-year high from that country.

Despite the safeguards provisions written into the United States-Romania Trade Agreement and verbal assurances by the President, the record of this administration indicates that no relief will be forthcoming should Romanian imports continue to injure our industry.

Therefore, we urge the Congress to exempt all non-rubber-footwear imports from Romania from MFN treatment.

Senator CURRIS. May I ask unanimous consent at this point, Mr. Chairman, relating to the witness who is No. 8 on our list, Mr. Szaboles Mesterhazy. Mr. Mesterhazy appeared at my office and gave some assistance and we gave him some assistance in preparing his testimony.

I also must leave to go to a tax conference. I know this is an unusual request but as the chairman well knows we have tried to plan this matter to fit in with a very busy program today.

I would like to ask unanimous consent that Mr. Mesterhazy be placed at the bottom of the list and that the subcommittee resume at 12 so that I can be here and hear his testimony at that time.

Senator RIMCOTT. That will be done and we will be glad to do that. The next witness will be Congressman McDonald. You may proceed.

**STATEMENT OF HON. LARRY McDONALD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA**

Mr. McDONALD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I am Congressman McDonald. I have with me Fred Smith. I appreciate the opportunity to present my views before this subcommittee today. My appearance here is in support of Senate Resolution 511, introduced by Senator James Buckley, from New York, on August 5, 1976.

In the past, the U.S. Government and the U.S. Congress was known as the greatest bulwark of freedom and human rights in the world. Unfortunately, during the last decade, this reputation has been diminished by the practice of real politik and often unnecessary moral and political compromises made to the countries of the Communist bloc.

We are now pursuing a policy to encourage a more balanced and freer foreign and internal policy by some states of the Warsaw Pact, and those goals have merit. There is, however, a wide gulf between the theory and the present practices. We seemed to have embraced a Communist government in Romania as our friend and recipient of the most-favored-nation status which has a particularly tyrannical reputation even within the Communist bloc. Significantly, the greatest number of defections from the Iron Curtain countries during the recent Olympics came from Romania.

The Romanian Government is known to hinder emigration to an even greater extent than other states of East Central Europe with the exception of the Soviet Union. Take the case of the nuclear scientist who defected to Sweden and the engineer who had defected to the United States who were not allowed for years to bring out their families from Romania.

This reminds us of the worst practices of the Communist governments in the 1940's and 1950's when families were kept as hostages in order to enforce compliance or to punish defectors. Your committee is well aware of the cyclical nature of the granting of exit visas to separated family members whenever Romania's MFN status is being discussed.

They multiply at crucial junctures when the Romanian Government becomes afraid that the rightful wrath of Congress will block extension of the MFN status and are correspondingly reduced whenever such an extension has been granted. I have received many such letters in my office from Romanians.

Human rights are widely disregarded in Romania despite constitutional guarantees and Romania's accession to several international agreements and documents on human rights. Artistic freedom is unknown, foreigners are still so suspect that Romanian citizens who had any contact with them have to report to the militia the content of their conversations otherwise they become subject to criminal charges.

The economic consequences of the forced tempo of industrialization on food supply and consumer goods have created havoc. Reports corroborate the fact that queues are still forming before the meat shop in the cities everywhere and that wages remain extremely low.

A particularly onerous phase of Romanian internal politics remains the discrimination against the national minorities, particularly the 2.5 million Hungarians and the about half-million Saxons (Germans).

These historical nationalities of the province of Transylvania are second-class citizens even more than the already oppressed Romanians.

Their school system is curtailed, admissions of their sons and daughters to universities are getting fewer and fewer, church archives have been reportedly confiscated in 1975 in many congregations (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, February 2, 1972), bishoprics are unfilled, religious instruction outside some villages is practically absent, and the drive for assimilation and denationalization is constantly exacting its toll.

Recently, the Wall Street Journal published an editorial on the question of MFN status of Romania and came up with a similar conclusion stating that "we feel embarrassed" by our new "friends" and warned us to raise again and again the issues of more freedom and human rights.

I believe that Senate Resolution 511 goes to a great length in expressing our embarrassment with the company we keep, which I fully share. Therefore, I would like to suggest that your committee take into consideration both its reporting provision and the clause that ameliorative measures must be taken if Romania is to be granted extension of the MFN status.

May I also point out that this is our only opportunity to get the Romanian Government to bend a little toward its oppressed citizens, Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans alike. We should grasp the occasion rather than to sweep under the rug all the grave problems that exist and abandon the cause of freedom and human rights which we so proudly hailed in the past and should in the future if we are to remain loyal to the great principles upon which this Nation has been founded. Thank you.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Congressman McDonald.

Secretary Hartman, Ambassador Barnes, Mr. Downey, and Mr. Feketekuty. Gentlemen, I imagine that, having read your testimony, your objectives are basically the same. I wonder if one of you could be the spokesman for the administration. All your statements will go in the record as if read.

STATEMENTS OF ARTHUR A. HARTMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE; HARRY G. BARNES, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA; ARTHUR DOWNEY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EAST/WEST TRADE, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE; GEZA FEKETEKUTY, OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS; AND GERALD L. PARSKY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Mr. HARTMAN. That would be agreeable to us, Mr. Chairman. I would like to introduce Ambassador Barnes, who is here with us today. Mr. Chairman, would you like me to then read my statement or summarize?

Senator RIBICOFF. You can do as you please. You have 5 minutes. There are four of you. Why don't you summarize the administration's position generally as it reflects the thinking of the panel here.

Mr. HARTMAN. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I would like to set forth very briefly, if I may, the foreign policy background against which we view our relations with Romania and thereby suggest the reasons why we continue to believe that waiving section 402 of the Trade Act is warranted.

President Ford in his recent message to the Congress noted that the dominant theme of Romania's foreign policy is a desire to maintain a high degree of independence. By virtue of the tenacity with which it pursues this goal, Romania has come to occupy a unique position in Eastern Europe.

It is a member of the Warsaw Pact and of COMECON, but it is also expanding its ties with the West.

Romania continues to restrict its participation in Warsaw Pact military exercises and has no Soviet troops stationed within its borders.

Romania's independence is also shown by its continued ability to maintain good relations with countries of widely differing social and economic systems: with the United States, the People's Republic of China, Israel, and the Arab countries. Romania kept open its embassy in Israel and continues to maintain constructive relations with the Israelis although other Eastern European countries severed relations upon the outbreak of Arab-Israeli hostilities; and Romanian petroleum products continued to flow to the United States during the oil embargo.

We believe it is in the interest of the United States to encourage this independence. We also believe that good United States-Romanian relations contribute to our policy of reducing East-West tensions. Accordingly, the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement and MFN are significant political developments which play an important role in our foreign policy.

In our statement, Mr. Chairman, we have summarized the various aspects of our trading relations that have developed over the time that most-favored-nation treatment has been in effect, and I believe that what it shows is a trend of gradually increasing trade relations, not entirely satisfactory in terms of building up our export potential, but we believe with the increasing activities of American businessmen, one of whom I believe you will hear during this hearing, the chairman of our United States-Romanian Business Council, that we will be able to develop a satisfactory export performance.

Turning now to the emigration aspects of this agreement, we are very mindful of the interest of the Congress in this matter. As you know, we had some reservations about the linkage between emigration and trade, but since the passage of the Trade Act, we have taken our responsibilities in this regard seriously.

Mr. Chairman, you and other members of your subcommittee are personally aware of our efforts and those of Ambassador Barnes and our Embassy in Bucharest, to help resolve the many hundreds of emigration and humanitarian cases that have come to our attention.

Because of the general waiver authority granted the President under section 402 of the Trade Act and its application to Romania, it has been possible to pursue our interest in easing emigration restrictions in the context of good United States-Romanian relations. Consequently, I am pleased to say that a good proportion of these cases have been favorably resolved.

As I noted during my testimony last year, we believe the understandings we reached with the Romanian Government on this issue satisfy the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act. We believe the Romanian performance on emigration during the past year has contributed to the achievement of the objectives of the act.

I must caution, as I did in my testimony last year, that the question of linkage between the trade agreement and emigration is a very delicate and sensitive one for the Romanian Government. There is a limit to what can be said about this issue publicly. We continue to believe that the focus of attention should be on Romania's actual performance with respect to emigration.

I would be less than candid if I did not point out that Romania does not encourage emigration by its citizens. The procedures for intending emigrants are in many cases burdensome and time consuming. Success in every case is not assured.

Since the passage of the Trade Act, however, we have been in frequent contact with Romanian officials, both in Bucharest and Washington, regarding emigration questions. The Romanian Government has demonstrated an understanding of the importance we place on this issue and a willingness to discuss our concerns whenever we raise them. The result of these contacts has been a continuing dialog of which we have kept the Congress regularly informed.

Senator RIBICOFF. Ambassador Barnes, you are a man of responsibility. You are there in Bucharest. Could you give us your reactions as to what you find as our Ambassador, especially, of course, concerning those who want to come to the United States. Are there roadblocks being placed on the ability of the Romanians to emigrate to the United States or any other nation of their choice?

Ambassador BARNES. Mr. Chairman, in general, over the last year and a half, there have been fewer roadblocks placed in the way of those who want to emigrate to the United States. There are, however, those general obstacles to which Mr. Hartman referred. Procedures are cumbersome. There are delays. There even are differences in the way Romanian regulations are applied from one part of the country to another. Consequently, it requires a significant amount of persistence on the part of applicants who wish to leave for abroad, I would say.

Senator RIBICOFF. You say persistence on the part of applicants. Many of these people want to come. They don't have excess funds. How do they handle their problems? How do they communicate with the Romanian authorities and what is the action of the Romanian authorities toward these applicants who want to emigrate?

Ambassador BARNES. Mr. Chairman, as far as emigration to the United States is concerned, as I stated earlier, that situation in general has improved and there is a presupposition, I would say, of favorable decision toward those who want to emigrate toward the United States. It is not easy, and one of the major roles I see that we have, we as the American Embassy in Bucharest, is to serve as counselors to those who wish to come to this country to join their families. We do this both in our contacts with relatives in the United States as well as with those who are still in Romania.

Senator RIBICOFF. Is there anything special that a Romanian must show who wants to come to the United States as far as your Embassy is concerned?

Ambassador BARNES. As far as our Embassy is concerned, there are of course the requirements of our own immigration law and here it would be a question of showing that they have relatives in the United States of sufficient closeness to entitle them to preferential treatment.

I would stress again though, the improvement in the whole situation over the recent period as shown by the situation with which I think you are familiar—substantial numbers of approvals for departures, substantial numbers of visas which we have issued to those who wish to come to join us here.

Senator RIBICOFF. What do you do if a Romanian who wants to come to the United States runs into a roadblock or obstruction? Do you make representations to the Romanian Government concerning some of these people?

Ambassador BARNES. Yes; we make several types of representations. We may even make a representation before there are any roadblocks encountered; whether there are any roadblocks encountered or not. That is if we hear from the relative in the United States or from a Member of Congress. Then we get in touch with the Foreign Ministry at Bucharest and tell them of our interest and the interest of the Member of Congress in this particular individual's family. If the potential immigrant runs into some difficulty or other, then we would get in touch again with the Romanian authorities and talk about the problem with the individuals concerned and ask that instructions be sent, say, to the local militia office to untangle the problem.

Senator RIBICOFF. What cooperation do you receive from the Romanian authorities when you run into a roadblock situation?

Ambassador BARNES. On the whole, we get very good cooperation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Because of, shall I say, bureaucratic problems, sometimes the instructions from the central authorities are slow in getting to the local authorities. Sometimes they misunderstand and sometimes have to go back a second time to make sure the problem can be untangled.

Senator RIBICOFF. Rabbi Schindler, I wonder if I could ask a comment from you as to whether or not you were in Bucharest investigating the situation at the Israeli Embassy. We have the comments here of an Ambassador concerning Romanians who want to go to the United States. What is the experience concerning the Romanians who want to go to Israel?

Rabbi SCHINDLER. Well, the experience is substantially the same. I am not in a position to ask the Ambassador to say that the situation has improved. There is very little doubt in my mind that there is still a substantial number of Romanian Jews who desire to go to Israel, and the procedures are not designed to make life easy for them. They encounter a great deal of difficulty, there is no doubt about it.

Despite reassurances to the contrary which we have received from the Romanian authorities, there are, without any doubt, substantial numbers of Jews who want to go to Israel. We have evidence of this through the word of their relatives in Israel and here in the United States. There are many of those who want to rejoin their families and who, for a variety of reasons, are not allowed to do so.

The procedures are cumbersome. Many of them do not make application to leave, I am convinced, because they are afraid that the request to leave would expose them to some liabilities in their lives.

My own judgment is that—this is only a guesstimate. One doesn't become an expert on a country by visiting it for 5 days, but I have done research on my own and my own guess would be that somewhere in the neighborhood of 20,000 to 25,000 Jews probably will desire to leave. There are about 65,000 Jews in Romania—65,000 Romanians; 50 percent are over the age of 65. Most of the old people to whom I have talked—there is really no desire to go. They have lived there and most of them desire to stay. When I talked to the younger people, there are many who want to go and start over in other lands.

A good many have fully adjusted to the system which they confront and are a part of it: teachers in universities, academicians, professionals of one sort or another.

I would say therefore, based on that, there are perhaps 20,000 or 25,000 Jews who will want to go which means that the current immigration figure is about 10 percent per annum, if the present trend is maintained, which means in effect that over the next 10 years most of those who would want to go would actually be permitted to leave.

We on our part feel that there is no reason under the sun why this process shouldn't be speeded up. Why there should be what seems to be a deliberate, very carefully calculated policy of a restrained low-level emigration—I personally feel that this is inconsistent with the spirit of the Trade Act.

But on a relative basis and for those other reasons which I elucidated in my testimony, we nonetheless endorse the recommendations of the administration.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much. Mr. Downey, would you please report on your progress in negotiating the agreement with Romania?

Mr. DOWNEY. I would like to pass on to Ambassador Barnes. They were negotiations that were intense last May and we have every expectation, I think, that by the end of the year certainly an agreement will be reached and perhaps Ambassador Barnes would like to comment on that.

Ambassador BARNES. I was trying to get what we call cooperation arrangements as compared with straight commercial arrangements. By cooperation I mean the sort of arrangements whereby an American firm and a Romanian enterprise might agree to work jointly on a product which they would then market jointly.

It may actually take the form of a joint venture, where the American firm would make some investment in the plant. It might be simply a marketing arrangement. I would like to try to take some of the ideas and the trade agreements and principles and put them into this framework agreement which we hope from the American standpoint will provide more interest to American firms to engage in cooperation with Romania.

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Feketekuty, would you comment on what products would be coming into the United States under this bill? Could you name the major products that would be coming in?

Mr. FEKETEKUTY. I would have to check, Mr. Chairman. I can't say off the top of my head—the major items we have listed here are chemicals, feathers and downs, wood furniture, boring and drilling machines and cheese and this all adds up to roughly \$7 million for the year.

Senator RIBICOFF. I think one of the things that concerns many of us is the unevenness of the emigration rate. There is always a lot of action out of Bucharest just about the time these hearings are to start. It would seem to me that the Romanians, if they are sincere, should have some steady flow all year round, completely independent of the hearings that are held, and I know many of my colleagues react the same way. It would seem to me, Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Hartman, that this should be under serious discussion with the Romanians concerning their sincerity in this matter.

Mr. HARTMAN. Mr. Chairman, I believe there are attached to my testimony several tables which indicate the monthly totals. Granted, these statistics are not always very accurate because we have to get our statistics from various sources, particularly with respect to the rate of emigration to Israel.

I think you will note that while there is an unevenness, I would think that the rate through the last year from July 1975 on has been fairly regular with the exception of the 2 months early in this year, March and April, in which we understand there were discussions within the Romanian Government about the procedures to be followed, and I would say quite frankly that there was a review of their policy during that period, but then the rate picked up again and it seems to be maintaining its level.

We have been discussing these matters continually through the Ambassador and I have been discussing it with the Romanian Embassy here in Washington and on visits to Bucharest. Our discussions have been in the context of a joint statement that was agreed to by our two governments on our desire to deal with the humanitarian problems.

I think we must realize that there are different approaches between our Government and the Romanian authorities to this program, but it seems to me that the most important thing for us to look at is not whether we achieve the ideal, not whether we have been able to get the entire and full response that we would like as Americans, but whether or not we have been able to make some progress in these areas of concern to our countrymen and to our Government, and I think that we can point to that in these figures and in our ability to discuss this problem with the Romanian authorities.

It is an ability that we really do not have with other governments in that area, although we do from time to time make representations about emigration and divided families and humanitarian matters. We can conduct this kind of discussion and I think that is why it is important for us not to look for the perfect, but we are making some progress.

Mr. RIBICOFF. All your testimony will go in the record as if read. [The prepared statements of the preceding panel follow:]

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ARTHUR A. HARTMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify on behalf of continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment for Romania.

I would like to set out for you the foreign policy background against which we view our relations with Romania and thereby suggest the reasons why we continue to believe that waiving Section 402 of the Trade Act is warranted.

As President Ford recently noted in his message to the Congress concerning extension of the waiver provision, "the dominant theme of Romania's foreign policy is a desire to maintain a high degree of independence." By virtue of the tenacity with which it pursues this goal, Romania has come to occupy a unique position in Eastern Europe. A member of the Warsaw Pact and of COMECON—the communist economic grouping—Romania has gone well beyond its fellow members in these organizations in expanding its ties with the West and with the world's developing countries. Romania has also met with considerable success in its efforts to mold its relations with its Eastern European neighbors along lines that further Romania's freedom of action on the world stage.

Romania continues to restrict its participation in Warsaw Pact military exercises and has no Soviet troops stationed within its borders. Both before and during the European Communist Party Conference held in East Berlin this June, Romania was among the most active proponents of greater autonomy with regard to the Soviet Communist Party.

Romania's independence is also shown by its continued ability to maintain good relations with countries of widely differing social and economic systems—with the United States, the People's Republic of China, Israel, and the Arab countries. Romania kept open its embassy in Israel and continues to maintain constructive relations with the Israelis although other Eastern European countries severed relations upon the outbreak of Arab-Israeli hostilities; and Romanian petroleum products continued to flow to the United States during the oil embargo.

Romania is the only COMECON country to be a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It leads the other COMECON countries in the proportion of trade that it conducts with the West. It is also a participant in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

When the Soviet Union rejected the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment in January 1975, the other Eastern European countries which might be affected by the waiver provision—that is, those which, unlike Poland and Yugoslavia did not already enjoy most-favored-nation status—made clear that they were unwilling to accept the terms of Section 402. Romania was the only country to negotiate a trade agreement with the United States and to receive MFN under the terms of Section 402. Nothing which has happened during the past year and a half gives reason to believe that the position of the other Eastern European countries on this matter has changed. In this respect, as well, Romania has demonstrated a willingness to strike out on its own path.

We believe it is in the interest of the United States to encourage this independence. We also believe that good U.S.-Romanian relations contribute to our policy of reducing East-West tensions. Accordingly, the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement and MFN are significant political developments which play an important role in our foreign policy.

As United States relations with Romania in the political, cultural and scientific areas improved so dramatically over the last decade, it became increasingly anachronistic to continue to discriminate against Romanian exports. As you well know, for nearly 200 years it has been the basic policy of the United States to conduct its trade relations on the basis of most-favored-nation treatment. Therefore, our ability to extend such treatment to Romania is consistent both with our historic general policy on tariffs and with our specific policy of encouraging Romania's independent policy orientation. In addition, as I will describe below, in the year that has passed since implementation of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement, we also have been able to make progress on emigration, which the Trade Act of 1974 has linked to trade with non-market economies such as Romania.

Since the Senate Finance Committee reviewed the proposed United States-Romanian Trade Agreement in early July 1975, a number of positive developments have occurred in United States-Romanian relations. President Ford's visit to Romania in August 1975 highlighted a series of high-level contacts and provided the occasion for exchange of instruments of ratification which brought the trade agreement into force. Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Trade Minister Patan came to the United States in November for the Second Meeting of the United States-Romanian Economic Commission which reviewed the entire range of our bilateral economic relations with Romania.

A United States-Romanian Maritime Agreement was signed in May to provide the basis for continued expansion of our maritime relationship. The

Romanian Ministry of Finance has implemented the agreement it reached with the U.S. Foreign Bondholders Protective Council in June 1975 on a settlement of bonded indebtedness. During the past year, considerable progress has been made in negotiation of a Long-Term Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation Agreement, setting forth principles and guidelines for the conduct of trade, including joint ventures and other forms of cooperation, which we believe will be of substantial assistance to United States businessmen seeking to do business in Romania.

These government-to-government agreements and meetings have been supported by a steady pattern of programs and activities in the academic, scientific, commercial and cultural fields, some officially sponsored and some private, which have served to expand our relations with Romania and to broaden the exchanges between our two countries. In general, our relations with Romania have been highly satisfactory and of benefit to the United States.

My colleagues from other agencies will discuss in some detail the course of United States-Romanian trade during the past year and a half and, therefore, I will not review this matter at any length. I will, however, touch upon a few significant aspects of the trade situation.

During 1975 U.S. exports to Romania totaled \$189 million. This was a drop from the previous year, which had seen an unusually high demand for U.S. agricultural exports owing to shortages in Romania caused by drought. In addition, the 1974 total of \$277 million had included high value civil transport aircraft—a transaction which, not surprisingly, was not repeated in 1975. Aside from these special circumstances affecting imports from the United States, Romania in 1975 was under pressure to limit hard currency imports from all sources to reduce hard currency deficits which had begun to build up during the two previous years. Romania's hard currency imports from all sources in 1975 were, therefore, reduced by \$136 million.

Although the short-term results have been somewhat disappointing in terms of U.S. exports to Romania, we believe that, for the longer term, Romania's ability to reduce its deficit augurs well for its future access to international credit markets and for its ability to increase and pay for imports. We anticipate that Romanian imports will accelerate during the coming year as its current five-year plan moves into high gear, increasing demand for imported equipment and materials, while economic development in Western developed countries helps to revive sagging demand for Romanian goods and enables the Romanians to earn the currency they need for imports.

Romanian exports to the United States during 1975 rose by \$2.5 million. Fuel oil, an increasingly needed product in the United States, continued to represent a major component of Romanian sales. In the first half of this year, imports of Romanian fuel oil amounted to \$42 million, nearly half of Romania's exports to the United States.

Mid-year trade totals show a nearly balanced trade with Romania, with U.S. exports (amounting to \$89 million) just behind imports (\$90 million).

We continue to believe that the Trade Agreement, which as you know includes safeguards against market disruption protecting American firms against injury, represents a sound investment in economic as well as political terms.

Turning now to the emigration aspects of this agreement, we are very mindful of the interest of Congress in this matter. As you know, we had some reservations about the linkage between emigration and trade, but since the passage of the Trade Act, we have taken our responsibilities in this regard seriously. Mr. Chairman, you and other members of your Subcommittee are personally aware of our efforts, and those of Ambassador Barnes and our Embassy in Bucharest, to help resolve the many hundreds of emigration and humanitarian cases that have come to our attention. Because of the general waiver authority granted the President under Section 402 of the Trade Act, and its application to Romania, it has been possible to pursue our interest in easing emigration restrictions in the context of good United States-Romanian relations. Consequently, I am pleased to say that a good proportion of these cases have been favorably resolved.

As I noted during my testimony last year, we believe the understandings we reached with the Romanian Government on this issue satisfy the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act. We believe the Romanian performance on emigration

during the past year has contributed to the achievement of the objectives of the Act.

I must caution, as I did in my testimony last year, that the question of linkage between the Trade Agreement and emigration is a very delicate and sensitive one for the Romanian Government. There is a limit to what can be said about this issue publicly. We continue to believe that the focus of attention should be on Romania's actual performance with respect to emigration.

I would be less than candid if I did not point out that Romania does not encourage emigration by its citizens. The procedures for intending emigrants are in many cases burdensome and time-consuming. Success in every case is not assured.

Since the passage of the Trade Act, however, we have been in frequent contact with Romanian officials, both in Bucharest and Washington, regarding emigration questions. The Romanian Government has demonstrated an understanding of the importance we place on this issue and a willingness to discuss our concerns whenever we raise them. The result of these contacts has been a continuing dialogue of which we have kept the Congress regularly informed.

Mr. Chairman, we have provided to you and to members of your Subcommittee statistics which enable us to assess Romania's performance with regard to emigration. If we compare the figures for emigration to the United States during Fiscal Year 1975 and Fiscal Year 1976—which correspond closely to the year before and the year after the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement went into effect—we can see an extremely favorable trend. In fact, the number of emigrants to the United States for the past fiscal year—1,428—is more than four times as high as that for the year before MFN was granted.

In addition to monitoring emigration from Romania to the United States, we have also followed closely the progress of Romanian emigration to Israel. As you may know, Romania has over the years followed a liberal policy toward Jewish emigration. Well over 300,000 Jews have been permitted to move to Israel and other countries. How many of those who remain would wish to emigrate is almost impossible to judge. There is even some disagreement as to the number remaining. While our best estimate places their number at about 60,000, there are no accurate census figures on which to rely. It is clear in any case that many are elderly, and others have intermarried into their native communities. Recent emigration figures, however, do show that since MFN went into effect, the flow of Jewish emigrants has been generally steady, although with some ups and downs. This steady progress in Jewish emigration convinces us that the best policy to follow is to keep this matter constantly before the Romanian Government—but in the context of good relations, not confrontation.

We believe that the positive impact which the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement has brought to our general bilateral relations fully justifies continuation of the Agreement. In addition, we have through the improved atmosphere been able to further the worthy humanitarian objective of freer emigration. The stimulus which the Agreement has provided to Romanian independence promises to pay dividends for years to come. Continuation of the Agreement will help assure that both of these benefits remain.

TABLE I.—EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA TO UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL

| | Fiscal year— | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-------|
| | 1975 | 1976 |
| Emigration to United States: † | | |
| 1st half..... | 185 | 763 |
| 2d half..... | 127 | 576 |
| Total..... | 312 | 1,339 |
| Emigration to Israel: | | |
| 1st half..... | 1,913 | 1,498 |
| 2d half..... | 510 | 1,064 |
| Total..... | 2,423 | 2,562 |

† Dual nationals not included.

TABLE II.—Romanian immigration to the United States, monthly totals

[Immigrant visas issued by Embassy Bucharest]

| Fiscal year 1975: | | Fiscal year 1976: | |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| July 1974 | 27 | July 1975 | 110 |
| August | 34 | August | 182 |
| September | 20 | September | 181 |
| October | 30 | October | 131 |
| November | 23 | November | 62 |
| December | 51 | December | 97 |
| January 1975 | 27 | January 1976 | 74 |
| February | 13 | February | 87 |
| March | 14 | March | 130 |
| April | 24 | April | 97 |
| May | 20 | May | 77 |
| June | 29 | June | 111 |
| Total fiscal year 1975 | 312 | Total fiscal year 1976 | 1,339 |
| | | July 1976 | 96 |
| | | August | 78 |

NOTE.—Dual nationals are not included; approximately 60 per year were processed during this period. Also, beginning with December 1975, figures include immigrants handled under "Third Country Processing" (TCP) arrangements, which were initiated during that month. These are persons not eligible to receive US immigration visas from Embassy Bucharest (due to lack of immediate relatives in the US) who travel to Rome for processing of their applications for admission to the United States as conditional entrants. For this reason monthly statistics in this table do not correspond exactly with those in Table III.

TABLE III.—Statistics on Romanian emigration to the United States since 1965

[Immigration visas issued by Embassy Bucharest by fiscal year]

| | | | |
|------|-----|------|-------|
| 1965 | 274 | 1971 | 620 |
| 1966 | 104 | 1972 | 269 |
| 1967 | 19 | 1973 | 357 |
| 1968 | 23 | 1974 | 511 |
| 1969 | 154 | 1975 | 328 |
| 1970 | 372 | 1976 | 1,428 |

TABLE IV.—Romanian Jewish Immigration to Israel, Monthly Totals

| Fiscal year 1976: | | Fiscal year 1975: | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Number of immigrants | | Number of immigrants |
| July 1974 | 331 | July 1975 | 403 |
| August | 612 | August | 238 |
| September | 328 | September | 262 |
| October | 274 | October | 350 |
| November | 193 | November | 130 |
| December | 175 | December | 115 |
| January 1975 | 62 | January 1976 | 328 |
| February | 41 | February | 232 |
| March | 102 | March | 69 |
| April | 60 | April | 51 |
| May | 46 | May | 143 |
| June | 199 | June | 211 |
| Total fiscal year 1975 | 2,423 | Total fiscal year 1976 | 2,502 |
| | | July 1976 | 237 |
| | | August | 260 |

¹ Approximate.

Approximate annual totals for Romanian Jewish immigration to Israel

| | Number of immigrants | | Number of immigrants |
|------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1971 ----- | 1,000 | 1974 ----- | 3,700 |
| 1972 ----- | 3,000 | 1975 ----- | 2,000 |
| 1973 ----- | 4,000 | 1976, 1st 7 months ----- | 1,300 |

STATEMENT OF HON. ARTHUR T. DOWNEY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR EAST-WEST TRADE

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman: It is a privilege to appear before this subcommittee today to support the Administration's request for an extension of the waiver authority for Romania under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. Extension of this waiver will result in continuation of most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania until July 3, 1977.

One year ago both Houses of the Congress approved by overwhelming margins the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement under which MFN was extended to Romania. By so doing, the Congress gave substance to the efforts to normalize trade relations with Romania, including the removal of discriminatory tariffs and the extension of Eximbank facilities. Now, in compliance with the provisions of the Trade Act, we ask you to reaffirm your support for continuing normalization of United States-Romanian trade relations.

While the focus of today's hearings is on emigration from Romania and on other humanitarian issues involving that country, I am aware that you are also interested in the current status of our trade relations and in particular our trade during the past year when MFN tariff treatment has been in effect.

STATUS OF TRADE RELATIONS

While total trade in 1975 declined from the record year of 1974, our two-way trade with Romania has shown a steady and impressive growth rate since 1970. In each of the past 5 years, U.S. exports comprised the majority of that trade. So far this year, our trade is roughly balanced (See Tables 1 and 2).

Growth in our trade with Romania is, in part, the result of efforts by both countries to create a climate favorable to a greater exchange of goods and services. On the government-to-government level the American-Romanian Joint Economic Commission has been active since its founding in 1973. The Commission met in 1974 and 1975 in full sessions and has been supported by numerous experts meetings and working groups. This body provides a very useful forum for an annual review of bilateral trade relations and for the resolution of general problems arising in our trade. It is next scheduled to meet in November of this year in Bucharest. The Secretary of Commerce, as co-chairman of the Commission, will head the U.S. delegation to this session.

We have also maintained a continuing dialogue between Romanian and U.S. officials responsible for economic and trade matters. Among the more important visits during the past year were: a Congressional delegation to Romania led by Speaker of the House Albert in August 1975; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture Miculescu to Washington in September 1975; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation Patan to Washington for the Second Session of the Economic Commission in November 1975; Secretary of Agriculture Butz to Romania in November 1975; Minister of Transportation and Telecommunications Dudas to Washington in June 1976; and Secretary of the Treasury Simon to Bucharest in June 1976. The most important visit occurred in August 1975 when President Ford visited Romania. During that visit he and President Ceausescu reaffirmed their commitment to improving United States-Romanian commercial relations and signed the documents bringing the Trade Agreement into effect.

In the past year, several other agreements have been signed and others are still under negotiation. In addition to the Trade Agreement, we signed two agricultural protocols in September, 1975. These protocols provide for cooperation in the development of agriculture in both countries, for the conclusion of long-term purchasing arrangements between our exporters and Romanian foreign trade organizations, and for exchange of agricultural economic information. In June of this year, we signed a Maritime Agreement by which we

accord each other's ships and cargoes most-favored-nation treatment within our ports and waters subject to port security regulations. That agreement also provides that maritime enterprises may maintain permanent operations representatives in the territory of the other party. In January of this year, the U.S.-Romanian income tax treaty entered into force. That treaty facilitates the expansion of trade and investment between our two countries through provisions designed to avoid double taxation.

Additional agreements are currently under negotiation. We negotiated a Fisheries Agreement with Romania, but before it was signed, new U.S. legislation changed the conditions under which the agreement had been negotiated. As a result, we have completed renegotiations on this agreement and expect to sign it this fall or winter. We have reached an understanding on an Airworthiness Agreement which would permit the sale of Romanian gliders in the U.S. We are in the final stages of negotiating this agreement and expect to sign it soon.

We are continuing negotiations on a Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation. The purpose of this agreement is to complement the provisions of the Trade Agreement. More specifically, it is intended to promote cooperation activities between U.S. firms and Romanian economic organizations.

Regarding the financial aspects of our trade with Romania, we have continued to cooperate effectively. Following Congressional approval of the Trade Agreement, the Export-Import Bank resumed its lending operations in Romania. Since then, Eximbank has approved a direct credit of \$13.1 million to support the sale of \$24 million worth of U.S. equipment to be used in a roller bearing plant and has issued Preliminary Commitments supporting other U.S. export to Romania, including the sale of \$22 million worth of equipment for a heavy plate steel mill.

Since 1970, Romania has used CCC credit programs to finance a total of \$138 million worth of agricultural imports from the U.S. In April of 1970, a \$47 million line of CCC credit was approved for financing sales of U.S. soybeans and soybean meal. Romania is currently drawing down on that credit and importing the commodities.

Romania itself continues to take steps to liberalize its foreign trading system in a manner designed to bring benefits to American companies. It has passed legislation permitting U.S. and other foreign firms to open their own offices in Romania. Legislation has also been passed to allow foreign equity ownership in joint companies with Romanian partners. In addition, Romania has expanded opportunities for cooperation activities between its trading and producing organizations and foreign companies, including American firms.

We are pleased with the efforts Romania has made to integrate its economy into the world economic system. Romania is currently a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD). This has resulted in the further outward expansion of Romania's trading relationships to the point where about half of Romania's trade today is with the industrialized West.

At the private sector level, we note with much satisfaction the work of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council in facilitating increased contact between U.S. firms and their Romanian counterparts. At its recent third session in Bucharest, the Council continued to work actively and effectively in promoting and developing our commercial relations with Romania. We look forward to the Council's important and continuing support for the expansion of commerce between our two countries.

To date, eleven U.S. companies have established commercial offices in Romania to facilitate sales of U.S. goods and services. Others are engaged in cooperation activities in which they are establishing a commercial presence of one form or another in Romania. Still others are negotiating sales, cooperation or joint venture agreements from which we expect more U.S.-Romanian trade to develop. Some of the larger commercial contracts signed by U.S. firms with Romania this past year include: A \$23 million contract with Wean United for two steel mill stands. A \$23.0 million contract with Alpe-Rollway for equipment for a roller bearing factory.

EFFECT OF MFN AND GSP U.S.-ROMANIAN TRADE

In examining our recent trade pattern with Romania we must keep in mind that 1975—particularly the second half—was an unusual year marked by some rather significant events.

Romania went from discriminatory tariff treatment at the beginning of 1975 to preferential tariff status at the end of that year. Not only did we grant MFN tariff treatment to Romania in August of 1975, but on January 1, 1976, the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) was extended to Romania in keeping with Romania's current status as a developing country.

Overall Romanian exports stagnated in early 1975 due to the worldwide recession.

Romania underwent severe flooding in June-July of 1975 which resulted in extensive damage to the Romanian economy.

These latter two events reduced Romania's hard currently earning export capability, forced a curtailment of all but essential imports from the West, and led to an effort on Romania's part to produce more goods at home that might otherwise have been imported from the West.

It is in this setting that we must look at our recent trade with Romania. Total trade of \$228.2 million for the first seven months of 1976 is running 32% ahead of the total for the first seven months of 1975 (See Table 2). Romanian exports to the U.S. increased by 160% during this period, while U.S. exports dropped by 10%. For the reasons outlined above, U.S. exports to Romania had dropped off sharply in the latter half of 1975, but in 1976 they have begun to recover (See Table 3).

Since the extension of MFN treatment to Romania, there has been a marked increase in Romanian shipments of fuel oil to the U.S. It is these fuel oil imports which accounted almost entirely for the surge in Romanian exports to the U.S. during this period. Except for fuel oil, U.S. imports from Romania underwent normal development, indicating that the impact of MFN and GSP has been minimal so far. Actually, even the fuel oil import data do not tell the whole story since, after a sharp drop in late 1974 and early 1975, these imports have merely recovered to the level of the first half of 1974 (See Table 4).

What makes our trade with Romania look different in the past year is not so much the impact of MFN on Romanian exports as the decrease in U.S. exports to Romania through the last half of 1975. We had expected data from the immediate post MFN period to show a gradual increase in Romanian exports to the U.S. coupled with increased Romanian imports of U.S. goods. In fact, the factors which led to a downturn in U.S. exports to Romania—stagnating Romanian export earnings caused by worldwide recession and severe flooding—were not anticipated but had an important impact. With the flood damage now repaired and with the world economy picking up, we can expect to see Romanian imports of U.S. goods increase. We feel that the last seven months of trade (through July) and several large export contracts that are expected to be signed indicate a pattern of increased Romanian imports of U.S. goods through the rest of this year and into 1977 (See Table 3).

Romanian exports to the U.S. of fuel oils will be influenced by international market price fluctuations and may well continue as a significant variable in our trade. Other goods which will be exported to the U.S. include footwear, food products, and clothing. U.S. exports of corn, raw cotton, soybean meal and cake, radio equipment, and both heavy and light machinery will continue. We also expect to export more aircraft and aircraft parts in the future. In addition, trade and investment opportunities exist for American companies in the Romanian chemical and petrochemical industries, in the metallurgical industry and in the energy field.

In this context, then, we see the Trade Agreement as having provided a framework for a lasting, long-term trade relationship with Romania. Our trade will probably remain more balanced than before and will continue its steady growth. We still hope to attain our goal of \$1 billion in two-way trade by 1980.

SAFEGUARD PROVISIONS OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT

In inserting safeguard provisions into the Trade Agreement, it was our intention to provide the greatest possible flexibility in dealing with problems caused by disruptive imports. This includes the right to call for consultations with Romania, to restrain Romanian imports unilaterally, or to act under the provisions of the Trade Act.

Within the past year three issues have arisen involving imports from Romania. About the time of last year's hearings on the Trade Agreement, there was an antidumping action brought regarding the importation of work welt shoes from Romania. In that case the International Trade Commission determined that U.S. industry was not being injured nor likely to be injured by these imports since Romania agreed to limit these exports to the U.S. Romania has performed in full conformity with their agreed commitments on this matter.

More recently, the Treasury Department on the basis of preliminary findings by the Customs Service, launched a formal antidumping investigation into the sale of clear sheet glass in the U.S., from Romania. That investigation is currently in progress.

On another front, the interagency Committee for the Implementation of Textile Agreements (CITA), acting under the GATT multi-fiber arrangement, recently requested consultations with Romanian authorities regarding the large increase in their sales of men's and boys' suits and coats, as well as knit shirts. As yet, no date has been agreed upon for these consultations, which could result in a multi-fiber bilateral agreement that restrains Romania's apparel exports to the U.S.

Furthermore, in order to carry out effectively the responsibilities of the U.S. Government under the safeguard provisions of the Trade Act, the Department of Commerce is instituting an automated data processing system to monitor Romanian imports. This program not only will alert us to unusually rapid increases in imports of particular products, but also will provide a data base that will be readily available for use in cases where a domestic industry becomes concerned about increased imports from Romania.

BUSINESS FACILITATION

An important provision of the Trade Agreement pertains to business facilitation. Under this provision important benefits are offered to U.S. business. These benefits include, among other things, assurances that American firms establishing offices and securing housing accommodations for their personnel in Romania will receive no less favorable treatment than that accorded to firms of other foreign countries. Another benefit involves the right for U.S. firms to deal directly with buyers and users of their products for purposes of sales promotion and servicing.

The presence of these business facilitation provisions in the Trade Agreement has been useful to us this past year in promoting the interests of U.S. firms encountering business facilitation problems in Romania and in providing an incentive to U.S. firms expressing an interest in doing business there.

CONCLUSION

We are convinced that the Trade Agreement has served our nation's economic interests well during the past year. We are equally confident that it will continue to do so in the future. Extension of the Trade Agreement will provide increased impetus for the development of U.S.-Romanian economic and trade relations and for the expansion of cooperation between our two countries on a firm and enduring basis.

TABLE 1.—UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE

| | (In millions of dollars) | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 |
| U.S. exports..... | 66.3 | 52.4 | 69.1 | 116.5 | 277.1 | 189.3 |
| U.S. imports..... | 13.4 | 13.8 | 31.5 | 55.7 | 130.5 | 132.9 |
| 2-way trade..... | 79.7 | 66.2 | 100.6 | 172.2 | 407.6 | 322.3 |
| U.S. surplus..... | 52.9 | 38.6 | 37.6 | 60.8 | 146.6 | 56.4 |

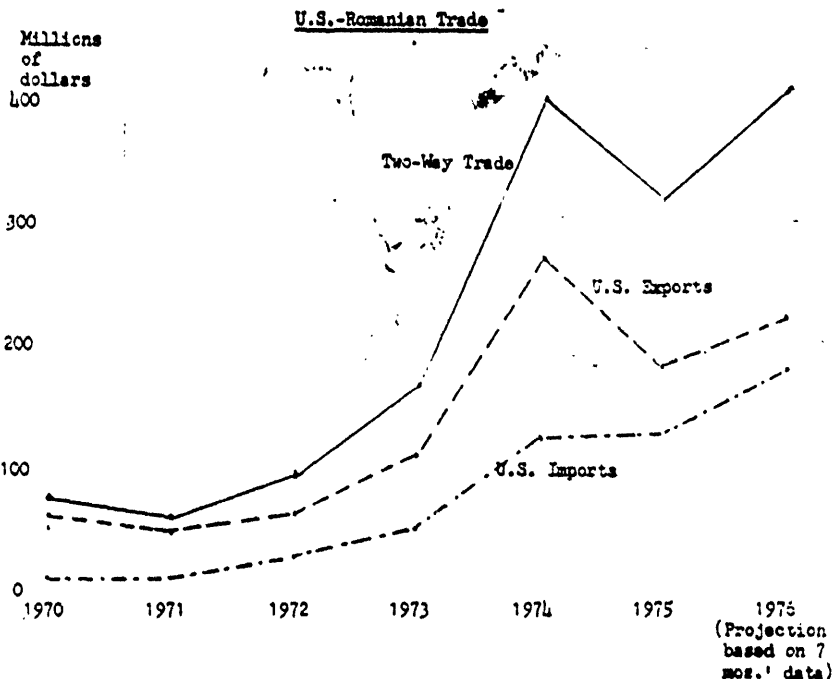


TABLE 2.—UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE, 1st 7 Mo. OF 1975 AND 1976

[In millions of dollars]

| | 1st 7 mos of— | |
|-------------------|---------------|-------|
| | 1975 | 1976 |
| U.S. exports..... | 131.5 | 118.8 |
| U.S. imports..... | 42.0 | 109.4 |
| 2-way trade..... | 173.5 | 228.2 |
| U.S. surplus..... | 89.5 | 9.4 |

TABLE 3.—UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE, QUARTERLY

[In millions of dollars]

| | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 |
|------------------|-------|------|------|
| U.S. exports: | | | |
| 1st quarter..... | 71.2 | 73.9 | 43.0 |
| 2d quarter..... | 87.3 | 47.9 | 46.2 |
| 3d quarter..... | 42.2 | 38.5 | |
| 4th quarter..... | 76.5 | 29.0 | |
| U.S. imports: | | | |
| 1st quarter..... | 28.5 | 18.0 | 45.1 |
| 2d quarter..... | 62.0 | 17.9 | 45.4 |
| 3d quarter..... | 18.0 | 35.4 | |
| 4th quarter..... | 22.0 | 61.6 | |
| 2-way trade: | | | |
| 1st quarter..... | 99.7 | 91.9 | 88.1 |
| 2d quarter..... | 149.3 | 65.8 | 91.6 |
| 3d quarter..... | 60.2 | 73.9 | |
| 4th quarter..... | 98.5 | 90.6 | |

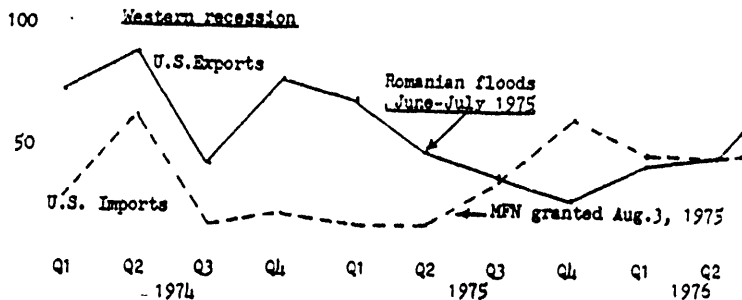
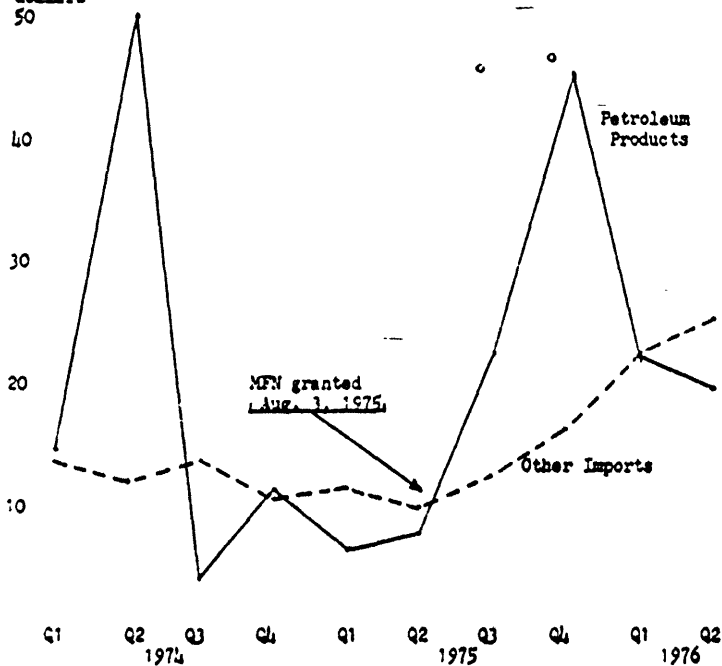
U.S. Exports to and Imports from RomaniaMillions
of
dollars

TABLE 4.—U.S. IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA: PETROLEUM PRODUCTS AND OTHER IMPORTS, QUARTERLY

(In millions of dollars)

| | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 |
|----------------------------|------|------|-------|
| Petroleum products: | | | |
| 1st quarter..... | 14.8 | 6.4 | 22.2 |
| 2d quarter..... | 50.0 | 7.9 | 19. |
| 3d quarter..... | 4.1 | 22.8 | ..... |
| 4th quarter..... | 11.3 | 45.3 | ..... |
| Other imports: | | | |
| 1st quarter..... | 13.7 | 11.6 | 22.7 |
| 2d quarter..... | 12.0 | 10.0 | 25.5 |
| 3d quarter..... | 13.9 | 12.6 | ..... |
| 4th quarter..... | 10.7 | 16.3 | ..... |

¹ Almost entirely fuel oil.

U.S. Quarterly Imports from RomaniaMillions
of
dollars

STATEMENT OF GEZA FEKETEKUTY, DIRECTOR OF POLICY PLANNING, OFFICE OF THE
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to participate in these hearings on the continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment to Romania. As you know, Ambassador Dent has taken a particularly keen interest in East-West trade. He strongly supports continuation of the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement and regrets that he is unable to appear before you today to present personally the views of STR.

The preceding administration witnesses have, I believe, made a compelling case—for reasons both of economic and foreign policy—for extension of the waiver authority granted by section 402(c)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974. The Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations supports unequivocally the views expressed.

I would like to supplement what has been said by reviewing more fully the development of our commercial relationship with Romania and the prospects for future U.S.-Romanian trade. I hope that this broad perspective on our commercial relations will provide something of a framework within which this Subcommittee can address the immediate question of continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment (MFN). Failure to continue MFN will, of course, create a major obstacle to the satisfactory development of U.S.-Romanian trade.

Since the 1960's—and even 1970—United States trade with Romania has increased dramatically. 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 accepted an increasing degree of interdependence and created a stake in maintaining improved general 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 as a whole. A fundamental premise in approaching trade with Romania therefore is that, quite apart from the commercial opportunities involved, there are important political benefits from encouraging fuller integration into—and reliance upon—the international trading system. It is a powerful argument for encouraging expanded U.S.-Romanian trade.

However, the case for increased trade with Romania rests equally on more narrow commercial considerations and it is this aspect of the issue that is of particular concern to STR.

Over the last few years, Romania has been not only a good customer for U.S. exports—both agricultural and manufactured goods—but also a reliable supplier of needed petroleum products. Further, the Romanians, while increasing their exports to the U.S., have avoided disrupting U.S. markets. Bilateral trade has been mutually beneficial and promises to remain so.

In 1965, total two-way trade amounted to only \$8.2 million. By 1970, it had climbed to almost \$80 million and in 1974 reached a peak of \$407.6 million. U.S. exports for these years were \$6.4 million, \$66.3 million and \$277.1 million respectively. In 1975 and the first six months of 1976 both total trade and U.S. exports declined from the record levels of 1974, but remained well above the levels of previous years.

Moreover, during the next few years there should be a marked improvement in the U.S. export performance. In 1975 and 1976, the effects of the international economic recession limited Romanian hard currency earnings and contributed to a shortage of reserves which restricted Romania's ability to purchase abroad. With reduction of Romania's balance of payments deficit and resulting easier access to western capital markets, we expect that Romania's ability to import will be improved. While the special factors that led to record exports in 1974—a major, but non-recurring, purchase of commercial aircraft and an unusually high demand for U.S. agricultural exports caused by drought in Romania—will not be repeated, this general improvement in Romania's ability to purchase should be reflected in future trade flows. Romania will need substantial imports from the West, particularly of high-technology goods, to meet development objectives.

As our trade grows, we expect that the exports of both manufactured goods and non-manufacturers will benefit. While agricultural commodities have traditionally provided the largest portion of U.S. exports to Romania, exports of manufacturers have increased substantially. There will undoubtedly be fluctuations from year to year—for example, in 1974, as I have noted, a sale of \$44.5

million of aircraft weighed heavily in total exports of manufacturers. However, under the current Romania five-year plan we can reasonably expect a steady growth in both industrial and agricultural products.

On the other side of the trade equation, imports from Romania have increased considerably over the past few years. This increase has resulted in large part from increasing import demand—especially for fuel oils—as the U.S. economy has recovered from the recession. In part, the increase also has been generated by the extension of most-favored-nation treatment and, to a lesser extent, the eligibility of Romanian imports for generalized preferences. However, too much should not be attributed to these "concessions". For example, in 1975, total Romanian exports which benefitted from GSP were only \$7.38 million. This represents only 0.3% of total imports eligible for GSP and only 5.5% of our total imports from Romania.

As our bilateral trade grows, imports from Romania will, of course, continue to increase. As a general proposition, it is unlikely that our future bilateral trade balance will reflect the lop-sided U.S. surplus of the late sixties and early 1970's. However, with the expected increase in U.S. exports our trade should result in an acceptable balance.

In appraising the import side of U.S.-Romanian trade, it is important to bear in mind that Romania has been, and remains, a reliable supplier of needed petroleum products. In 1975 and 1976, fuel oil imports accounted for nearly one half of total imports from Romania.

Further, there is no evidence that Romanian exports to the U.S. of manufactured goods have caused or have threatened to cause disruption of U.S. markets. The provisions of section 406 of the Trade Act (and the terms of the U.S.-Romanian Agreement) were carefully drawn to provide effective remedies to prevent market disruption caused by imports from communist countries. To date, however, no complaints of disruption have been filed. There have been two antidumping petitions filed concerning imports from Romania but the trade impact is minimal. The first—involving imports of welt work shoes—was settled by a mutually satisfactory agreement and, based on that agreement, a finding of no injury was made by the international trade commission. For their part, the Romanians have more than live up to the commitments made. Imports have remained below agreed levels. The second, involving clear sheet glass, is still in the preliminary stages of investigation.

U.S.-Romanian trade will be influenced by agreements reached in the multi-lateral trade negotiations (MTN) currently underway in Geneva. The Romanians (and several other East European countries) are participating actively. The U.S. has encouraged fuller participation by Romania in the international trading system. As I have said, such participation involves acceptance of interdependence which we believe will lead to a greater Romanian interest in a general improvement of relations with the United States and other western countries. However, we will expect of Romania satisfactory reciprocation of concessions on both tariffs and nontariff barriers and, further, will expect that post-MTN trade will reflect the benefits of these concessions.

A major challenge in the MTN will be to develop provisions in the various agreements to be negotiated that at the same time encourage the integration of state trading countries in the trading system and entail satisfactory concessions by such countries. In some cases—for example rules on product standards—their participation may be on substantially the same basis as market economy countries. In other cases—for example, tariffs—special provisions will likely be required.

The administration is currently examining the problems raised by negotiating in the MTN with state trading countries. No decisions have yet been made. The following might offer possible approaches.

Tariffs.—Tariff reductions by the state—trading countries confer real benefits on the U.S. insofar as they involve a favorable shift in our terms of trade. However, under a planned economy, the impact of tariff reductions on trade flows is limited by administrative controls. This creates a question as to the value of tariff concessions made by these countries. There is a need to develop satisfactory alternatives. A possible solution might be to insist on general or specific (i.e., with respect to particular product sectors) commitments to increase imports by agreed percentages. If commitments are made with respect to particular product sectors, this would represent a new approach to trade with the East and could provide a basis for better assuring satisfactory development of trade flows. Another possibility might be to consult regularly with a

view to making such adjustments in exports or imports of state trading countries as might be required to maintain satisfactory bilateral trade.

Nontariff Barriers.—On preliminary analysis, it appears that the provisions of the Standards Code and any agreement that may be reached on customs procedures (except for questions of valuation) should apply equally to socialist and market economy countries. At the other extreme participation of Romania and other East European countries in a government procurement code may be impossible. In a sense, the entire economy of such countries involves government purchasing and it is therefore unlikely that they will be prepared to assume the burdens of a procurement code. In this case, the U.S. could attempt to fashion special provisions to allow the participation of state trading countries, or alternatively, could under the provisions of the Trade Act withhold from them the benefits of greater access to the U.S. procurement market.

The most difficult areas with respect to the participation of nonmarket economy countries may be countervailing duties and safeguards. Because of problems in determining pricing policies in state trading countries, the U.S. countervailing duty law does not apply well to imports from such countries. It is impossible to determine with any accuracy the existence or amount of subsidy. An alternate approach could be to apply a market disruption test in place of or in addition to the investigation of subsidies and application of countervailing duties.

A market disruption approach will also be raised in connection with negotiations on safeguards. The trade act of 1974 provides special procedures for responding to market disruption caused by imports from communist countries. They afford access to relief to domestic producers more readily than do the procedures for relief from injurious competition from market economy countries. The rationale, of course, is that Romania and other state trading countries can direct exports to third countries without regard to regular free market mechanisms. To the extent a safeguards code deals with nonmarket economy countries, it will have to take into account the special problems of market disruption caused by imports from such countries.

Affecting our negotiations in the MTN—and indeed our bilateral trade as a whole—is Romania's status as a developing country. Title V of the Trade Act (section 502(b)(1)) was modified by the Senate with express intention of authorizing the designation of Romania as a beneficiary developing country for purposes of generalized system of preferences. By the same token, Romania has been viewed as a developing country for purposes of the Tokyo Declaration which formally initiated, and prescribed the framework for, the MTN. This will not excuse the Romanians from the requirement of reciprocal concessions. As I mentioned, the U.S. will insist on satisfactory reciprocity in each of the various agreements negotiated.

However, analysis of what constitutes "satisfactory concessions" will include appreciation of Romania's status as a developing country. Having said this, I should add that among developing countries, Romania is one of the most developed. This means that the U.S. will expect (1) a higher level of initial concessions than will be the case for many other LDCs and (2) quicker "graduation" to full responsibilities under the trading system.

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 periodic consultations with Romania in which trade is reviewed with a view to maintaining a satisfactory commercial relationship.

In conclusion, I should emphasize that the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement and our extension to Romania of most-favored-nation treatment were the result of a deliberate policy to encourage Romanian integration into the world trading system and the expansion of U.S.-Romanian trade. The premises on which this policy was based—that integration into the 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 policies. For these reasons, the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations urges the continued extension of the waiver authority section 402(c) (1) of the Trade Act of 1974.

**STATEMENT OF HON. GERALD L. PARSKY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

I am pleased to join in this review of the U.S.-Romania Trade Agreement. Both the Department of the Treasury, and the East-West Foreign Trade Board, chaired by Secretary Simon, strongly favor extension of the waiver pursuant to authority conferred by section 402 of the Trade Act. An extension of the waiver allowing the U.S.-Romania Trade Agreement to remain in force will promote continued improvement in our economic and political relations with that country and serve our national interest. It will allow us also to build upon the important foundations laid in the last few years.

We are grateful, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to discuss the issues involved in the further expansion of U.S.-Romanian economic and political relations. We believe it can help create an environment of public understanding and confidence; an environment which will permit political and economic relations between the United States and Romania to develop in a mutually advantageous manner.

The United States and Romania have enjoyed a special relationship since at least 1969, when we chose Romania as the first country in Eastern Europe to be visited by a U.S. President since World War II. While the U.S. now enjoys extensive relations with older Eastern European countries, particularly in the areas of trade and joint scientific research, our relations with Romania are among the best with countries of the Warsaw Pact. This is demonstrated through scientific and cultural exchanges, by the frequency and frankness of consultations between senior officials, in trade and economic relations, and in other ways.

The U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement has marked a major step forward in the development of our economic and political relations with Romania. We are convinced that the continuation of the Agreement will contribute to the growth and stability of the economies of both countries, and to a further increase in two-way trade.

Strengthening good U.S.-Romanian relations, both economic and political, serve the interests of both countries. Romania has adopted a number of policy initiatives that are aimed at providing the country with a high degree of independence. More than any other Warsaw Pact country, Romania has pursued friendly relations with countries of differing political and economic systems—with the United States, the People's Republic of China, the developing world, and with Israel as well as Arab countries. Romania participates actively in a number of international organizations. It is the only COMECON country which is a member of the IMF and the World Bank. Romania has acceded to the GATT. It leads the COMECON countries in the proportion of its trade with the West.

Romania's economic viability is the key to its strategy of independence. We believe that it is in our interest to encourage Romania's independent policy orientation through the expansion and improvement of our bilateral relations. Continuation of the Trade Agreement with Romania is essential to this end. Moreover, closer economic ties and expanding trade strengthen the economies of both countries.

TRADE OVERVIEW

In our desire to encourage Romania's independent policy we have been in favor of the expansion of American-Romanian economic and commercial contacts for many years. The notable increase in total U.S.-Romanian trade during the last eleven years is a demonstration of the special relationship we have established with that country.

U.S.-Romanian trade turnover was \$8 million in 1965, \$80 million in 1970, and reached a high of over \$407 million in 1974, when the Romanians purchased relatively large quantities of U.S. aircraft and grain (see attached table). Although total bilateral trade declined from 1974 to 1975, the 1975 volume of over \$322 million was still almost twice the total in 1973, and more than three times the volume in 1972.

Throughout this period of increasing trade, the United States has consistently sustained a positive annual trade balance with Romania. Our exports, composed primarily of agricultural and manufactured goods, grew nearly thirty times

reaching \$189.3 million last year. U.S. imports from Romania totaled \$133 million in 1975, more than seventy times the 1965 volume. The bulk of last year's imports consisted, as in the past, of mineral fuels and related materials.

As you know, the United States granted Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) tariff status to Romania in August 1975, as part of the U.S.-Romania Trade Agreement. And Romania was made a beneficiary of the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences on January 1, this year. The initial impact of these actions on our bilateral trade is at least in part reflected in the trade figures available for the first half of this year.

U.S.-Romanian trade during the first six months of 1976 totaled \$179 million, over 10 percent above the \$158 million in goods traded during the same period in 1975. Romanian exports to the U.S. through June of 1976 reached \$90 million, about two and one-half times the amount recorded during the same period of last year. This large increase in U.S. imports from Romania has, for the first time in recent years, resulted in a near balance in our two-way trade.

While extending MFN and GSP to Romania's products has contributed to this year's rise in our imports from Romania, the increase should not be attributed exclusively to these actions. Many factors other than tariff changes affect trade. In this instance, the recovery of the U.S. economy in 1976 has led to significant increases in our imports from many countries, including Romania. This is especially true of our imports of products such as fuel oil, which, in dollar terms, led the increase in U.S. imports of Romanian goods. During the first half of 1976, fuel oil imports from Romania reached over \$42 million, representing almost one-half of all our imports from that country so far this year.

I would also like to point out that the trade data for the first six months of this year dispel the often expressed fear that the U.S. market will be flooded with large quantities of imports disrupting U.S. domestic business when our imports from nonmarket economy countries are given MFN tariff treatment. This simply has not been the case with Romania. Since granting MFN status to Romania last year, our imports from that country have, as expected, increased, but certainly not to levels that would be considered disruptive for the U.S. market. To date, the U.S. International Trade Commission has received no petition or request under Section 406 of the Trade Act to conduct an investigation to determine whether imports of an article from Romania are causing market disruption, nor has U.S. countervailing duty authority been invoked against Romanian imports. The only case which has arisen since Romania received MFN status is the issuance of an Antidumping Proceeding Notice on Romanian clear sheet glass. The issuance of such a notice, however, merely begins the formal investigative procedure and does not necessarily imply a formal finding of dumping.

A continuation of the increase of total U.S. imports from Romania, stimulated further by the Trade Agreement and the granting of GSP, can be expected in the future, but will undoubtedly be accompanied by a continuation of the rapid rise of Romanian purchases from the United States. Thus we envision that both countries will continue to gain from increased trade, resulting from our present economic policy toward Romania, in which the U.S.-Romania Trade Agreement is a critical element.

PROSPECTS FOR U.S.-ROMANIAN TRADE

The prospects for future U.S. exports of goods and services to Romania are good, if we maintain the normalized trading conditions which the Trade Agreement has established. Both Governments anticipate a pickup in our bilateral trade during the last half of the year, bringing it to an annual total of around \$400 million, a 16 percent increase over 1975. At the first session of our Joint Economic Commission both sides agreed to set a goal of \$1 billion for our two-way trade by 1980. Romania's current Five-Year Plan projects substantial growth in the volume of Romania's foreign trade in support of a strong effort to expand and modernize Romanian industry. During the next five years, imports from the West are expected to increase by 60-70 percent over the 1971-75 period. If the U.S. share of Industrialized West exports to Romania continues at the level it has averaged over the past three years, we can expect to garner about 11 percent of the 60-70 percent increase.

U.S. exporters can expect to increase sales of plants, machinery and equipment in a number of industrial sectors particularly targeted for growth. Among

these are machine building, chemicals, and petrochemicals. While the Romanian Five-Year Plan augurs well for increased exports of U.S. manufactured goods, we expect that U.S. agricultural exports will continue to comprise an important component of our total sales to Romania. Soybeans, cotton, and to a lesser extent wheat, have been and will continue to be leading U.S. exports in the agricultural sector.

Many barriers to commercial contacts in Romania and to the establishment of trading patterns and relationships have been largely overcome in the past few years. Knowledge that the U.S. has become an open and dependable market for Romanian exports is causing Romania to look to the United States as a source for high quality competitively priced manufactures, as well as important agricultural products.

MFN AND CREDITS

Romania's ability to expand its imports from the United States and other Western countries, which help it to pursue its policy of independence, will of course depend upon its ability to earn or borrow the hard currency needed to finance these imports. To earn hard currency, Romania's exports must have access to Western markets, including our own. Our Western allies have given most-favored-nation status to imports from Romania. In granting MFN to Romania, the United States did not of course give that country any special privilege; we simply allowed Romania's products to enter the U.S. market and compete on an equal footing with the products over 100 other nations which also receive MFN tariff treatment from us. Without a continuance of equal tariff treatment of Romania's products, we will force Romania to conduct much of its hard currency business with our West European competitors, and we will face the possibility of losing our potential exports to Romania in the process.

At the same time that access to Western markets is vital for Romania to continue its import program, sources of Western financing, both public and private, are equally important. In the 1960's, when the Romanians began their move toward independence, this policy combined with rapid industrialization seemed likely to get them into political and financial trouble. In the 1970's, however, the Romanian approach, consisting of a strong commitment to succeed in world markets combined with considerable investment in selected industries, has begun to show impressive results in production and exports. But the Romanians still have a need to borrow in the West to help finance their ambitious import program and to service their existing outstanding debt.

In order for Romania to adequately manage its hard currency debt situation, the Romanian Government will have to monitor its economy carefully to ensure that it does not grow more rapidly than can be sustained.

In light of the continuing Romanian interest in Western sources of financing, the availability of credits is expected to be an important factor in Romania's purchasing decisions. Without a continuation of the Title IV waiver for Romania, Eximbank and the Commodity Credit Corporation would, of course, have to cease making loans or guarantees to that country.

As of June 30, 1976, Eximbank exposure in Romania was \$75.6 million. In addition, outstanding preliminary commitments from Eximbank total about \$21 million for proposed projects with a total export value of \$49 million. While the flow of official credits from the U.S. represents only a small fraction of the capital available to Romania for trade in general, Eximbank credits are nonetheless necessary to facilitate export financing and to place U.S. firms on a competitive basis with their industrial competitors in doing business with that country. The inability of Romania to obtain Eximbank credits would probably result in a cancellation of many current and future orders for exports to Romania from U.S. businesses. Should that occur, our mutually beneficial trading relationship with Romania would be placed in jeopardy over the long-term.

It is my hope that counter-productive competition among Western industrial nations for exports through government-supported credits will soon end. At the end of the economic conference in November 1975, at Rambouillet, France, the Heads of State of the Governments of France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States declared that their Governments would intensify efforts to achieve a prompt conclusion of discussions then underway, among themselves and Canada, concerning export credits. Renewed discussion among these Governments resulted in a consensus that counter-productive competition must be avoided with respect to government-supported export credits. While it

was not possible to reach a formal agreement to implement this consensus, all of the Governments issued their own declarations or instituted internal procedures to establish their own guidelines on minimum rates and maximum terms on official export credits. These guidelines are designed to bring official export financing procedures closer to those standards determined by the market and thereby reduce the concessional element derived from government support. This will allow exporters to compete in world markets on the basis of price, quality, and servicing of product rather than on artificial incentives.

Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits also play an important role in our trade with Romania. Since 1970, CCC has been quite active, financing a total of \$137.9 million worth of U.S. agricultural exports to that country. Romania has been a good customer with prompt repayment. These credits have stimulated the growth of our agricultural exports, and at the same time, have supported the integration of Romania into the world community. If the waiver for Romania is not extended, the U.S. Government will also lose its authority to extend CCC credits to Romania.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman, our experience with the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement has convinced us of its continued importance. In commercial and economic terms it has been a central propellant to the growth of U.S.-Romanian relations.

Though the question of linkage between the Trade Agreement and humanitarian issues is a very delicate and sensitive one for the Romanian Government, the record of Romanian action on humanitarian and emigration cases during the past year has contributed to the achievement of the objectives of the Act. Secretary Simon, during his visit to Bucharest in June of this year, held frank discussions with Romania's leaders about the extension of the waiver pursuant to authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act. We were encouraged by the importance Romania's leaders place on this issue. The pivotal role that the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement plays in our bilateral relations became very apparent during the course of our discussions.

During the last year we believe that Romania's emigration performance has contributed to the achievement of the objectives of the Trade Act. There is no doubt that the continuation of the waiver will provide the climate in which we can expect the Romanian Government to continue to be responsive to our very deep interest in human rights. On the other hand, failure to extend the waiver could prompt a reaction by Romania which will be inimical to the humanitarian goals of the Trade Act.

In conclusion, then, we believe that extension of the waiver allowing the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement to remain in force is in our national interest.

UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE TRENDS

(In millions of dollars)

| | 1965 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | January to June 1975 | January to June 1976 |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------------------|----------------------|
| U.S. exports: | | | | | | | | | |
| Manufactured goods ¹ | NA | 18.8 | 15.4 | 18.8 | 31.7 | 108.6 | 56.9 | 32.2 | 17.8 |
| Other | NA | 47.5 | 37.0 | 50.3 | 84.8 | 168.5 | 132.4 | 89.6 | 71.4 |
| Total | 6.4 | 66.3 | 52.4 | 69.1 | 116.5 | 277.1 | 189.3 | 121.8 | 89.2 |
| U.S. imports | 1.8 | 13.4 | 13.8 | 31.5 | 55.7 | 130.5 | 133.0 | 35.9 | 90.5 |
| Trade turnover ¹ | 8.2 | 79.7 | 66.2 | 100.6 | 172.2 | 407.6 | 322.3 | 157.7 | 179.7 |
| U.S. trade balance | 4.6 | 52.9 | 38.6 | 37.6 | 60.8 | 146.6 | 53.6 | 85.9 | -1.3 |

¹ SITC 5 through 8 statistics not available (NA) for 1965.
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, BEWT.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL POINTS INCLUDED IN THE STATEMENT

1. Both the Department of the Treasury, and the East-West Foreign Trade Board, chaired by Secretary Simon, strongly favor extension of the waiver pursuant to authority conferred by section 402 of the Trade Act.

2. We believe that continuation of the Agreement serves our foreign policy interests. The dominant theme of Romania's foreign policy is the desire to maintain a high degree of independence. Continuation of the Trade Agreement with Romania is essential to this end, as Romania's economic viability is the key to its strategy of independence.

3. We believe that continuation of the Agreement serves the economic interests of both countries. We have continued to encourage the expansion and improvement of American-Romanian economic and commercial relations. The increase in our contacts is reflected by U.S.-Romanian trade figures. The \$322 million in two-way trade in 1975 was 4 times that of 1970 and 40 times that of 1965.

4. Romania's current Five-Year Plan calls for substantial increases in imports of goods traditionally supplied by the United States. Romania's ability to expand its imports from the United States and other Western countries, and to continue to pursue its policy of independence, will depend upon its ability to earn hard currency needed to finance these imports. To earn hard currency, Romania's exports must have access to Western markets, including our own. Without a continuance of equal tariff treatment of Romania's products, we will force Romania to conduct much of its hard currency business with our West European competitors who have granted most-favored-nation status to imports from Romania, and we will face the possibility of losing our potential exports to Romania in the process.

5. While access to Western markets for Romania's products is vital for Romania to continue its import program and its independent policy, sources of Western financing, including U.S. Eximbank and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), are equally important. Without a continuation of the Title IV waiver for Romania, Eximbank and the CCC would have to cease making loans or guarantees to that country. Should that occur we will face the possibility of losing potential exports to Romania and place in jeopardy over the long-term our mutually beneficial trading relationship.

6. Our experience with the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement gives us no cause to question its continued usefulness. Though the question of linkage between the Trade Agreement and humanitarian issues is a very delicate and sensitive one for the Romanian Government, the record of Romanian action on humanitarian and emigration cases during the past year has contributed to the objectives of the Trade Act.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Very Reverend Galdau.

**STATEMENT OF THE VERY REVEREND FLORIAN M. GALDAU,
CHAIRMAN, THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR AS-
SISTANCE TO REFUGEES**

Reverend GALDAU. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I wish to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today in my capacity as the chairman of the American-Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees, and rector of the St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York City, N. Y.

I am a U.S. citizen born in Romania. For the last 21 years I have worked to bring thousands of Romanian refugees here who have managed to leave Romania under very difficult conditions. I understand that President Ford has transmitted to Congress on June 2 of this year his recommendations under section 402(d) of the Trade Act between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States, that the waiver authority be extended another 12 months.

This extension was intended to promote a more liberal emigration policy for Romania and to honor its signature on the Human Rights Declaration, the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947, and the Helsinki Declaration of 1975.

In the Trade Act, the Socialist Republic promised to let its citizens, both gentile and Jewish, leave on humanitarian grounds, that is, with-

out any harassment or loss of property. This commitment was not kept. All of those who left or are leaving Romania had to leave their possessions, including fully furnished apartments and all valuables which, in Romanian terms "had to be donated to the Romanian state."

From 1970 to date, I submitted to the U.S. Department of State several lists of persons wishing to emigrate from Romania to the United States of America or to other countries. These lists were officially transmitted to the Romanian Foreign Ministry which advised all of those concerned to apply for passports and exit visas, for exit documents. The rest were deprived of their jobs. Out of 446, only 220 have left. The rest were deprived of their jobs and are having to live off friends and relatives and charity from the United States as best they can.

Senator RIBICOFF. Father, do you have any thoughts as to why some were allowed to leave and the other half were not allowed to leave? Do you have any idea why that was?

Reverend GALDAU. To the best of my knowledge, I don't know, but they change their policy. First of all, as far as the humanitarian is concerned, they gave permission in some cases—not in all cases—to some of the people to join their husbands or wives or relatives here in the United States.

I have a case of a gentleman who was 80 years of age. He asked permission to come with his wife, 76 years of age, to visit their son here and the old gentleman was allowed to come on the condition that when he gets back to Romania, then his wife will be allowed to come, and it took 6 months for the old gentleman to come here and he went back to Romania and it took 6 months time and a lot of pressure until the wife, 76 years of age, was allowed to come. She is coming tomorrow.

Senator RIBICOFF. How would you explain that type of harassment? Here you have an elderly couple who certainly couldn't make any contribution to the industrial life or economic life of Romania. Why would they be harassed? Have you any idea?

Reverend GALDAU. It is very difficult for me to say because I have to rely upon the information from the people concerned. But, for instance, there is another case of a gentleman 55 years of age. He is very sick. His sister is here in America for many years and they tried to bring him for a short medical visit to this country. They refused many times to let him come.

Senator RIBICOFF. When you run across a case like that, what do you do?

Reverend GALDAU. First of all, I bring it to the attention of the American Government and to the various Representatives of the House of Representatives, and in the Senate—Members of the Senate.

Senator RIBICOFF. If you have a case like that, I would suggest that in addition you do not hesitate to contact Mr. Richard Rivers of our staff when you have an unusual case that seems to be based on humanitarian grounds. It is indefensible for the Romanians to deny people in these kinds of cases visas and this is what concerns me, the good faith of the Romanian Government in cases such as you have cited.

Reverend GALDAU. There is another case of an old clergyman. He is retired and he wants to come to visit his son here for a short visit, not for any other purpose, and both he and his wife were refused visas to come because there is another significance to that. If this clergyman, however, would have liked to get into the so-called archdiocese,

the Romanian archdiocese of the United States, he would have received a visa immediately, but because he refused for some reason or another—I don't know if he was accepted under the jurisdiction of this archdiocese, this archdiocese is nothing else except a fifth column introduced into this country to infiltrate into our rank and file in this country to create confusion and to create trouble.

The Romanian Embassy here is doing absolutely nothing from a diplomatic point of view except get as many people—informers and agents and spies in this country—through this kind of agency, which is absolutely unbelievable, but this is what is the real fact.

So this clergyman who was supposed to receive an exit visa to come to visit his son, he was refused. Why, nobody knows.

Senator RIBICOFF. And have you taken that case up with the American authorities?

Reverend GALDAU. Yes, I have taken that up.

Senator RIBICOFF. How long ago?

Reverend GALDAU. For the last several months. What is very important, we just received through Congressman Koch a list that was presented by the newly approved Romanian Ambassador here who is really a good man of good will. He plans to do something for this purpose.

Senator RIBICOFF. As Congressman Koch testified earlier today, my feeling is that in a case like that, concerned Members of Congress should follow it with the Romanian Ambassador.

Reverend GALDAU. What I meant to say is, two of the lists that were presented to Congressman Koch in this connection, there are many people who were supposed to have arrived in this country. That is not true. There are some other people, for instance, who are on another list which the Ambassador claims that they did not contact the relations according to their instructions, but these people already paid the fee of \$210 that is required by the Romanian Government and they got the permission, the renunciation in writing. They are on that list and never contacted the legation. I believe that there is nothing that they can say about it, but these are the facts.

Senator RIBICOFF. I do appreciate this and if, after this hearing recesses, if you have specific cases you could give them to the staff here; they will follow up with the proper authorities.

Reverend GALDAU. We have over 100—about 170 cases. All of them are in the same situation. Nobody can explain why they were refused exit visas or passports and they were harassed. It is absolutely unbelievable the way they are treated just because they applied for a visa. I told the Bishop of Romania—I said, what kind of statesman are you when you are trying to quarrel with two girls or a girl of 7 years of age of something like this instead of letting these people come. A lot of Jews who want to get out of Romania, they refused to let them go unless they are subject to all kinds of things and harassment and what-not.

It seems to me this is not the kind of liberal emigration policy that the Romanian Government is thinking that this is what they consider as a liberal emigration policy.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, we have this list here that you have submitted to us and we will follow this up with the staff and with both

the American and Romanian authorities to see if we can be of any further help to you.

Reverend GALDAU. I would appreciate it very much, because this is very important. They are taxpayers in this country and we want to give any kind of support to the Romanian people. Why the Romanian Government is behaving this way, we cannot understand. This is one of the mysteries that is still prevailing nowadays in our relationship with the Romanian Government and with the situation that is created by very few people that should have been released and should have been able to come to see their relatives in this country.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much. We appreciate your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Galdau follows:]

TESTIMONY OF THE VERY 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

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I wish to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today, in my capacity as Chairman of the American-Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees and Rector of the St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York City.

I am a native of Romania and an American Citizen. I have worked for the last 21 years, to assist the Romanian refugees who managed, under various hard circumstances to get out of Romania and to bring them over to the United States.

As I understand, the Honorable President Gerald R. Ford, transmitted on June 2, 1976, to the Congress, his recommendation, under the Section 402(d) (1) of the Trade Act between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States of America, that the waiver authority be extended for another 12 months. This extension of the waiver authority, of the above mentioned Trade Act, was intended to promote the objective of a more liberal emigration policy on the part of the Communist Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to honor its signature on the Human Rights Declaration, Paris Peace Treaty of 1947, and recently of the Helsinki Declaration of 1975.

Last year, I had the privilege and honor to present to your Committee, a list of 275 persons and, later on, to the Department of State, Washington, D.C., 2 other lists of 191 persons, which makes a total of 446 persons, who wished to join their relatives abroad and who were not included in any other previous lists. 222 persons were allowed to get out of Romania, but the rest were refused to receive a passport or/and an exit visa.

According to the provisions of Title 4 of the above mentioned Trade Act, Romanian citizens, regardless of ethnical origin or religious faith, can emigrate or visit any foreign country as tourists, without having to serve the interests of their government or leave behind, family members as hostages, against their return.

With the deepest regret, I respectfully submit, that the Romanian Government, under various pretexts, has not honored its own signature and is making it more difficult for both, Christians and Jews, to get out of Romania and join their families abroad.

Therefore, I, respectfully, take the liberty of presenting herewith a new list of 261 persons and the following information of typical cases which prove that the Communist Government of Romania is not yet ready to change its emigration policy:

1. (a) Mr. Petre Schiau and his wife Lucretia, of Plata 16 Februarie No. 6 Bloc A et, I, Scara C. Apt. 29 Ploesti, Romania, an elderly couple, 80 and 76, was promised consecutive visas to visit their son, a legal U.S. resident. The husband came first, returning home after only ten days to allow his wife to follow. Upon his return (six months ago) his wife, Mrs. Lucretia Schiau was never issued her visa to visit her son.

(b) Aida Filibosian (English spelling Phillbosian), spent the past ten months in Romania trying to marry her childhood sweetheart, Radu Grossu, of Blvd. Garil No. 6, Brasov. Ms. Filibosian is a U.S. citizen and, as such, the Romanian Government is charging her \$10 a day, each day she stays. The marriage petition

has been refused and the young couple has appealed. At the request of the Honorable Senator Henry M. Jackson, they were allowed to marry on May 27, 1976. Miss Phillibosian had to return to the United States, but so far, her husband was not yet allowed to join her in the States.

(c) Mrs. Lucy May (Romanian name Lucia Smantanescu) is a U.S. citizen, residing at 165 West 66 Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. To have her daughter Cornelia Malorescu Cociaş and grandson Radu Cociaş come here, she paid \$201 in 1974. According to the Romanian Embassy list, both were to get visas in July last, then in December. However, this past April, they were told that their visas had been refused, and that they would never see their mother and grandmother again.

(d) Mr. Mihal Vanatoru—an American Citizen—of 1413 Durham South Ave., Plainfield, N.J. 07080, wanted to bring his mother, Mrs. Maria Muntean—52 years of age—of Str. Teodor Aman No. 27, Bucureşti, Romania to join him here. He fulfilled all the formalities required by the Romanian Government—i.e. renounced his Romanian citizenship, paid the \$201 to the Romanian Government, etc., but on July 9th, 1976, his mother was refused the passport and exit visa, without any explanation whatever. Now she has to wait another 60 days, to renew her application for a passport and exit visa; but she is not sure if she will be allowed to leave Romania.

There are some cases, who applied for passports and visas for nine times until they succeeded. This harassment and waste of money, is typical of the so called "liberal emigration" of the Romanian Government.

(e) Mr. Alexandru Constantin Pop of 3675 King Str. Apt. 14, Lemon Grove, California 92045, tried to bring his wife: Mrs. Elisabeta Maria Tenescu, and step-daughter, Cristiana Metef-Grigaraş, of Str. Milda No. 11, Bucureşti, Romania; but they have been refused passports and exit visas. They were told they have no reason to leave Romania; and they should do everything to force him to return to Romania, which for obvious reasons, he does not want to do, since he knows that if he returns, he will be subject to persecution, torture and even death.

(f) Mr. Anton Balta of Cluj, Romania, was allowed to leave Romania in January 1973 for one month, to accept an invitation to present a paper to the Adenauer Foundation in Bonn, West Germany. From Bonn he wrote LEARN Foundation of Four Lancaster Place, Huntington Station, N.Y. 11746, that he would like to come to the U.S.A. to continue his English studies. With the assistance of several people, LEARN was able to get him admitted to CW Post College and helped support him till June 1974, at which time he successfully obtained his master degree.

During his stay here, Anton worked at odd jobs and also as an assistant at the college. He also obtained a passport for Romanian citizens living abroad, and assurances from the Romanian Embassy, Washington, D.C., that he would be allowed free entry and exit visas from Romania with that passport. On the conclusion of his studies here, at the urging of LEARN, he returned home. Immediately on his return his passport was confiscated and he was told that he would not be employed in the education system, since he was "not fit to teach Romanian youth". He has since been unable to obtain employment and has decided to try to emigrate; but the Romanian Government refuses to let him go. Now, he is not allowed to work in Romania, is not allowed to get out of Romania and followed everywhere by the Romanian Security, and his life is in danger.

Do these facts speak of a "liberal emigration policy" of the Romanian Government?

(g) Mr. Ciobanu Vasile of 4310 44th St. Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104, a permanent resident, liked to have his father, Ciobanu Vasile, and his mother, Ciobanu Tatiana, 73 and 62 years of age respectively, of St. Nazareca No. 59 Sector 8 Bucureşti, Romania, for a short visit here. In spite of all their attempts to obtain passports and exit visas, so far they were not able to get out of the country.

(h) Mr. Bucur Vasile of The Inn, Rancho Santa Fe, California 92607, made every possible effort to bring his wife Bucur Maria, 38 years of age and his children, Bucur Gheorghitia, 16 and Bucur Camelia, 5 years of age, to join him here, but so far he did not succeed.

(i) Mrs. Ion Tabuc of 26-45 9th St. Apt. 600, Astoria, L.I.C., N.Y. 11102, made every possible effort to bring her father Constanti Campan, 58 years of age and her mother Elisabeta Campan, 50 years of age, and Mircea Campan, her brother, 19 years of age, of Str. Cezar Boliac No. 35-Bucureşti, Romania, Sector 4, but to no avail. As a result she joined a Hunger Strike, together with other Romanians in front of the United Nations in New York City, against the Romanian Govern-

ment's "liberal emigration policy". Her family were not only, repeatedly, refused but her brother, Nircea, was taken in the army—so called "Armata cu Lapata" (forced military labor camp) and was told by the Romanian Embassy in Washington D.C., that he would never see her relatives again. Since she was pregnant in the 7th month, she lost her child, and as a result, her husband, in their desperation, made the mistake to threaten the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Washington D.C., which, naturally, made it more difficult for them; but they do not want to discontinue their struggles against the Romanian Embassy in Washington and against the Romanian Government, until they will succeed to make them honor their promises for a "liberal emigration policy".

2. In the Trade Pact, Romania has promised to let its citizens—both Jewish and gentile—leave on humanitarian grounds, i.e., without any harassment or loss of property. This commitment was clearly not kept, as I mentioned above. All those who left afterwards had to leave their possessions including fully furnished apartments and all valuables, which, in Romanian terminology, had to be "donated" to the state.

3. Between 1970 and 1975 the State Department submitted to the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry a number of lists of persons wishing to emigrate from Romania to the United States. Foreign Affairs officials advised persons on the lists to apply to the Passport and Visa Office for their exit documents. Although everyone on the lists compiled, out of 446 persons only 220 have left. The rest were deprived of their jobs and apartments, having to live off friends and relatives and charity from the United States as best they can.

In protest, some 20 Romanians started a hunger strike opposite the United Nations in New York, last May 17, which lasted nearly two months. Some of their relatives got their exit visas, while others, subjected to severe harassment, are still waiting. To date, another 29 Romanians are on a hunger strike before the U.N. in a fresh protest, since May 1976.

4. From time to time, the Romanian Embassy in Washington, has persuaded legal U.S. residents to return to their native Romania under a variety of trumped up reasons. Frequently those who comply are arrested, or otherwise subjected to severe hardships. Those who do not return have to keep a status of Romanian citizen abroad for ten years, often being asked to serve Romanian interests, although U.S.A. residents.

5. To renounce Romanian citizenship costs \$201, clearly in violation of Title IV, Sec. 402(a)(3) of the Trade Pact. Those who pay it, in the majority of cases, get neither receipt, acknowledgment, nor exit visas for their families.

We could go on describing many similar incidents, or cases as the above, involving both Jewish and gentiles. We think, however, we have amply demonstrated the untrustworthiness of the Romanian Communist Government. In conclusion, we would respectfully urge you to use your good offices to compel the Romanian Government to live up to the spirit and letter of its Trade Agreement or not to renew it when it comes up shortly. Romania has shown its non-compliance with the Pact's humanitarian guidelines which directly violate Sec. 402(a)(1), (2) and (3) concerning Freedom of Emigration.

Senator RIBICOFF. I understand that Mark Sandstrom is here on behalf of Mr. Berry and will summarize Mr. Berry's statement.

STATEMENT OF MARK SANDSTROM, REPRESENTING THE EAST-WEST TRADE COUNCIL

Mr. SANDSTROM: Mr. Berry is unavoidably detained and I will testify in his place. I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before you on behalf of the East-West Trade Council. I am Mark Sandstrom and I am general counsel of the council.

The council is a nonprofit organization whose membership includes solely U.S. businesses, financial institutions, associations, academics, and interested individuals. Our members are either involved in or are deeply interested in trade with the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, and the People's Republic of China. The council is financed solely from its membership.

The East-West Trade Council strongly supports the extension of the President's authority to waive section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 and the continuation of most-favored-nation tariff treatment for the imports of Romania as requested by the President on June 2 of this year.

The council has consistently advocated the normalization of trade relations between the United States and the Socialist countries. We testified before your committee last year in support of congressional approval of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement which initially provided MFN tariff treatment for Romanian imports.

The trade agreement between the United States and the Socialist Republic of Romania, which went into effect during the summer of 1975, represents a significant step in the series of events which has characterized the improvement in relations between the United States and Romania for the past 25 years.

Since 1960, the two countries have concluded a series of agreements covering a variety of subjects, including the restitution of U.S. property claims, the revision of export licensing procedures, civil air transport, fisheries, taxation, industrial and economic cooperation, and, most recently, a major maritime agreement has seen fruition. During this period, political relations between our country and Romania have also improved substantially.

There has also been a significant improvement in trade relations between the United States and Romania which is, of course, the primary goal and purpose of the East-West Trade Council. In 1967, total trade between the United States and Romania attained a level of \$24 million. Last year, this total trade amounted to more than \$355 million.

During most of this period, the United States has experienced a growing export market for its goods and a major trade surplus with Romania. Although the trade surplus has narrowed this year, the long-term trend reflects a growing market for U.S. exports as well as a growing total trade turnover with Romania. The recent decline in the trade surplus, which resulted in a trade deficit during the first quarter of 1976 appears to have been based primarily upon short-term factors.

The trade balance returned to a surplus during the second quarter of this year. While the United States will probably not experience trade surpluses, the magnitude of past years, both U.S. exports to Romania and total trade with that country, should continue to grow over the coming years.

It is essential that imports from Romania continue to benefit from most-favored-nation treatment if the significant growth of United States-Romanian trade is to continue. Romania is currently operating under a development plan which stresses a major increase in industrial growth. This industrial growth will require substantial imports of manufacturing and capital goods. In order for Romania to finance these imports on a long-term basis, it will be necessary for it to sell its products in the markets of the industrialized countries from which it purchases.

In this regard, it should be stressed that Romania has, since 1973, conducted more than half of its trade with non-Communist countries and is the first member of Comecon to do so. A termination of most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romanian products would have a

significant adverse effect upon the U.S. economy since it would result in a significant decrease of the growing share U.S. producers enjoy in the Romanian market.

The council is aware that the Trade Act of 1974 requires the Congress to consider noneconomic issues in deciding whether to continue the waiver authority under title IV of the Trade Act—that is, the waiver of emigration. Overall emigration from Romania has increased in the period following the original granting of MFN as compared with the period immediately prior to MFN.

The goal of promoting emigration has thus been served by the conclusion of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement under the scope of the Trade Act of 1974. That goal would appear to be further enhanced by the continuation of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement and MFN tariff treatment thereunder.

The East-West Trade Council therefore supports the extension of the waiver and the continuation of MFN tariff treatment for the imports of Romania. These actions will promote the continued expansion of trade between the United States and Romania, which is of mutual benefit.

In addition, favorable consideration by this committee will help to promote the continuing improvement in all of the elements making up overall United States-Romanian relations: Economic, political, scientific, and cultural.

On behalf of the East-West Trade Council, I want to sincerely thank the subcommittee for this opportunity to testify. I will be pleased to answer any questions committee members might have.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you, Mr. Sandstrom.

Mr. Birnbaum, please.

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN JEWRY AND STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Two tests can be applied to examining the emigration situation. No. 1 is the increase or decrease of numbers of emigrants; second, volume of complaints in respect to obstacles. It is very difficult to get this information. There is a lot of fear in giving up this information and in my written testimony I give some examples of this.

During the past year, I have managed to collect a number of letters from relatives of would-be emigrants from Romania, and had a number of discussions with returned visitors. This has enabled me to compile lists of would-be emigrants to the United States, Canada, and Israel, the latest of which I attach to my testimony.

Let us look at the internal obstacles which seem to have increased rather than decreased, according to my information. Applying for a passport is an endless ordeal. There are a number of very intimidating processes. You have to appear before the local party committee. Then there is a people's council of the district. After all that, the applicant may register at the local police station for application forms, only to find that the forms are out of stock. This happens frequently. For many weeks, forms were "out of print" all over the country.

Again, the consequences of applying are also frequently very serious, particularly in terms of job demotion and job loss. We have many cases of years of separation of couples. This internal effort of severe limitation on emigration is buttressed by a study of the overall figures of emigration, particularly to Israel. Looking at the Israel figures, we see that the years 1975 and 1976 show about 2,000 per annum compared with 4,000 in 1973 and 3,700 in 1974. This means that a far higher number left during 1973 and 1974 than during 1975 and 1976. Responsible authorities have estimated a Jewish emigration potential of at least 40,000.

With the 1975 waiver of most-favored-nation legislation and President Ford's assurances, we might have expected a substantial expansion of emigration and a diminution of internal obstacles, instead of a steep decline and increased local difficulties. Consequently, it seems to me that a simple straightforward waiver at this time would seem hard to justify.

The Romanians will surely need to give us much more concrete assurances of improvement. Bucharest has so much to gain from the American connection that uncomplicated emigration practices would be a small price to pay for an uncomplicated relationship with Washington. It seems to me that some form of conditional most-favored-nation status should be granted, on the understanding that a process of continued hearings be established in this subcommittee, starting let us say, in February 1977.

Furthermore, and on this I finish, Mr. Chairman, I think that if we set up some kind of systematic congressional review mechanism on Romanian emigration, this would promote an increase of steady coordination and consultation between the various agencies involved, thus keeping the Romanian emigration picture current at all times, because there is a great deal of lack of information and lack of coordination.

Senator RIBICOFF. In your written testimony, you cite a number of cases. Have you ever taken up these cases with any governmental officials?

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Yes; at great length.

Senator RIBICOFF. Who did you take them up with, your Congressmen or Senators?

Mr. BIRNBAUM. These cases have been sent throughout the land to many Congressmen—Senators and Representatives—to the State Department, to the various congressional committees, and to the Romanian authorities. They have been extensively examined and discussed. I am afraid the Romanian response has not been very good. A number of people have come out, but it is a very small proportion and particularly the difficult cases have to be dealt with, the kinds of cases which will not come out unless there is a very exceptional kind of pressure such as these hearings; ordinary congressional pressures will not work in these cases.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, I mean as far as this committee is concerned. If you have these exceptional cases in which you believe there is harassment or hardship that is completely unjustified, if you would make that known to this committee, we will certainly follow it up.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Well, these are the hardest, but there are so many others which are unnecessarily harassed.

Senator RIBICOFF. We will try. Unless we have the specifics, we cannot operate. I have found the State Department and our Ambassador in Bucharest very helpful at times and if there are any of these cases, we would like to do as much as we can for those who want to either come to the United States or Israel or any other country, because this is an objective in the Jackson amendment and it is a law and we are certainly concerned that if we are going to grant MFN, the provision of the Jackson amendment should be observed.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Yes. I must pay tribute to the great help which the Ambassador and the State Department have given.

Senator RIBICOFF. That is why I said to you, as I did to Father Galdau and others that we endeavor to do our best in some of these cases and sometimes we can be of help.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Yes. I think, however, that a somewhat stronger stand on the part of Congress would help enormously in this respect. I had a letter last week from Europe in which a young man wrote saying that he did not feel that the United States knew quite the extent of its strength in terms of the flexible but firm approach and he felt—and this is what I hear constantly throughout Eastern Europe from Czechoslovakia through many countries in Eastern Europe—they feel that the United States doesn't know quite how to exert its strength. I am speaking about quiet, firm diplomacy.

Senator RIBICOFF. I get your message.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Thank you.

[The prepared statement and letter of Mr. Birnbaum follow:]

STATEMENT BY JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN JEWRY
AND STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. Chairman, I have been engaged in the struggle for human rights in East Europe for thirteen years, mainly but by no means exclusively in behalf of Jews. In the spring of 1964, I founded the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry and two years later the Center for Russian Jewry. Last year, following my intervention with Romanian Ambassadors Bogdan and Dacu in behalf of a Romanian Jew, Andre Asher, sentenced to death for economic crimes, I became more and more involved with the problems of Romanian Jewish emigration. After a few days, Ambassador Dacu called me to say that Asher's sentence had been commuted to twenty years' imprisonment (Asher was 64). Since then, letters from relatives of would-be emigrants from Romania to the U.S., Israel and elsewhere, as well as discussions with returned visitors, have given me a picture of the internal emigration situation, and have enabled me to compile lists of would-be emigrants, the latest of which is herewith attached (U.S., Israel, Canada). A good part of this testimony will be authenticated by appropriate quotations from these letters.

In 1975, the Congress agreed to the President's request to waive the requirements of section 402 of Title IV of the Trade Act (Jan. 3, 1975) denying MFN and credit privileges to Romania, on the understanding that substantial progress was being made and would in future be made to improve that country's emigration practices. Unfortunately, the evidence does not point to such progress.

Two tests can be made to ascertain the situation: A. Increase or decrease of numbers of emigrants. B. Volume of complaints re obstacles.

A. NUMBERS

The statistics have been used in misleading fashion to show important increases. A group of months in 1975 and 1976 have been compared to indicate a doubling. The overall picture however is different. The combined Romanian emigrant totals for Israel and the U.S. for 1973 and 1974 show well over 4,000 for each of those years. For 1975 (in the middle of which MFN was extended) we have about 3,000, while the 1976 total points to something in the region of 3,200. A further breakdown of these totals as between Israel and the U.S. will

prove illuminating. While in the years before 1975, Romanian emigration to the U.S. ranged from 19 in 1967 to 407 in 1974, under pressure from Congress that figure rose to 945 in 1975, to a possible 1,000 or 1100 in 1976. Percentage-wise this may be considered a large increase but in terms of the totals hardly a significant amount. Incidentally, very few of these are Jews. Last week, however, a HIAS representative reported that 2,900 Romanian Jews were registered with his agency for immigration to the U.S.

An examination of Romanian immigration to Israel indicate a startling decline in recent years. 1972—3,000, 1973—4,000, 1974—3,700, 1975 (MFN year)—2,008, 1976—again pointing to slightly over 2,000. The monthly figures can be juggled in deceptive fashion but the larger perspective dramatically illuminates Bucharest's real policy.

Much has been made of the ageing and the decline in numbers of the Romanian Jewish community. There is however considerable evidence to indicate that the 1973/4 levels of 4,000 could easily be reached again and even raised to 5,000 and more for a number of years. Well over a year ago, a highly placed Romanian personage said that he believed that before 1975 was over, some 3 to 4,000 Jews will have emigrated to Israel. Though the actual figure was 2,008, he must have regarded the higher figure as a completely reasonable one. Furthermore, he estimated that by 1980 another 20-30,000 Jews may have opted to emigrate. He must have had in mind a figure of 4-6,000 a year for five years. I have also been informed that a very authoritative source reported that a conservative Israeli estimate of Romania's Jewish emigration potential was not less than 40,000.

B. DISCOURAGEMENT OF APPLICATIONS FOR EMIGRATION

The bare statistics just discussed do not convey the amount of unnecessary suffering often undergone in the process of leaving Romania. The extracts from the communications in my possession quoted here will give some indication of this. Unfortunately, after some soul searching, I decided not to name my sources at this time, though they are of course available to the Chairman and committee members on request.

Fear

A very recently returned visitor informed me that he had been told in Bucharest that anyone whose name appeared on a list from abroad "will never leave"; that some of these people had been warned and intimidated because their names had appeared on such list. Those who spoke to my informant all refused to introduce themselves. The work of gathering information this past year has been most difficult because of the lack of communication engendered by an often pervasive fear. There are persons who, though desperate to join their relatives in the U.S., "have not gotten to the stage of applying for a visa at the U.S. Embassy—in fact most never even contacted the Embassy for information" in the words of an authoritative source. We do of course know of persons who have gone. Last summer, for example, would-be applicants were emboldened by the knowledge that Congress was concerned.

Applying for a passport

Here are several stages as reported by a knowledgeable source. "The mere fact of applying for a passport implies a long ordeal.

1. First step: Asking your employer for his permission. The applicant must appear before the Director of place of work and the local party committee to argue why he or she wants to leave and to face their aggressive questioning, threats and attempts to dissuade.

2. If he is stubborn enough, he will reach the next step, this time at the People's Council of the District—a similar test of steadfastness and obstination.

3. If he survives, he may register on a waiting list at the local police station for the application forms, only to be told that the forms are "out of print". In December, 1975 they remained unavailable for months.

4. After applying, the attempts to convince or frighten resume at regular intervals, sometimes every month."

"We cannot force our citizens to emigrate"

An extract from a recent letter, involving a simple case of family reunion in the U.S. with no complications of any kind, will illustrate the above: "Despite her repeated requests, they refused systematically to give her application forms for travel documents and exit visas. She was finally sent by the police in charge of

handling these problems to the Communist party boss of the city who tried to intimidate and dissuade her from applying for the reunification of her family. Her problem was discussed by the party "cell" of her place of work. They called a meeting attended by the employees and she had to explain publicly her reasons for asking to leave. I believe the *new stratagem of the Romanian Authorities is to refuse the petitioners the right to file for travel documents* and when questions from abroad arise, the answer may be "Sorry but the people you mention never filed an application and we don't force our citizens to emigrate." This has indeed been a common reply by Romanian officials, from President Ceausescu down.

SOME CONSEQUENCES OF APPLYING FOR EMIGRATION

Job displacement and demotion

These are not uncommon occurrences. An old couple in their 80s wrote—"Our son asked for a visa about two years ago. Ever since, he and his wife were sent out of their jobs and now they and their young children are close to starving. Every week they are told they will never leave".

From a smuggled letter: "I applied for emigration in July 1975 because I believed it was a fortunate moment, since at that time the Romanian Govt. got from the American Congress the Most Favored Nation clause which required the liberalization of emigration. I hoped that in such circumstances the Romanian authorities would agree to my leaving the country. But on the second day, I was put out of my scientific work, discharged of job and my wages cut down. Almost every day I have been called to several authorities and unofficially in a "friendly" manner advised to withdraw my petition, because anyway I shall not be allowed to go, I shall be fired and be jobless—my stubbornness would spoil my life and destroy me professionally—my situation is indeed desperate: to live for me in Romania is no more possible without job, and to leave the country I am not allowed."

SEPARATION OF COUPLES AND PROHIBITION OF MARRIAGES WITH NON-ROMANIANS

A young man wrote: "The permanent incertitude regarding emigration forced us to postpone our marriage and we lived four years as husband and wife (without formal marriage I managed to leave Romania but my fiance has little hope to leave. She was several times hindered to hand in the application. Moreover, the Govt. has forbidden (!) Romanian citizens living in Romania to marry those who left the country. *This law is kept secret*, has never been published—as many others of the same kind."

A young woman of Romanian origin has returned to visit Romania many times during the past few years in her efforts to marry her fiance, still trying to leave.

PUNISHING CHILDREN FOR THE DEEDS OF THEIR PARENTS

A young woman writes—"My application for emigration was turned down because of father's alleged "guilt". A man with young children has been told again and again that he will never leave because of his father's "guilt", has been demoted from his professional position and forced to take a rough menial bare subsistence job. The family lives in a state of abject misery and constant humiliation from the neighbors.

HARDEST CASES: THE STATE INSISTS ON CEASELESS PUNISHMENT IN THE NAME OF ITS JUSTICE

A number of former managers, trade officials, administrators became enmeshed during the 1960s and 1980s in the power shifts of Romanian politics and were scapegoated. Usually, they were accused of economic crimes. Often, whether their guilt was real or not, they were sentenced to long imprisonment and fined enormous sums, impossible to pay off. Now elderly, sick and old, many of these people are living out the remainder of their lives with bitter memories of prison and before that, the murder of their families by the Nazis. Mostly, they wish to leave Europe behind and join relatives in Israel or elsewhere. Whether they were guilty or not and whatever the degree of any guilt, they more than served their time, they have suffered enough. This kind of state-ordained eternal punishment can no longer be regarded as Justice but as something else. They should finally be let go.

A young woman from Israel wrote: "My father was unjustly involved in a deliberately made-up antisemitic trial. These were the trials of the Romanian Jews who had been working in Romanian foreign trade, that took place 1958-1964. The principle aim of these terrible trials, with both economic and political consequences, was to remove all Jews holding senior positions in Romanian foreign trade at that time—It is hard to understand how the tragic reality of these trials in which the only ones convicted were Jews, was hidden to world opinion". She concludes "My parents are elderly and sick, completely alone (all my mother's family are in Israel, while my father's was completely exterminated by the Nazis). Their single natural desire after having wrongfully suffered for so long is to join me, their only child, in Israel."

Another man was refused till he paid enormous fines for himself, the equally enormous fines of two others accused with him were also to be paid off, plus accumulated interest over the many years, plus collection expenses!

CONCLUSION

With the 1975 waiver of MFN legislation and President Ford's assurances, we might have expected a substantial expansion of Romanian emigration and a diminution of internal obstacles rather than what we have seen—a steep decline and increased local difficulties. Out of a minimum Romanian Jewish emigration potential of 40,000, only 2,000 a year are permitted to leave. This being so, a straight-forward waiver of subsection 402 a. & b. of Title IV of the Trade Act, withholding MFN to a country which "denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate", will need some justifying. There is little, if any, evidence that last year's waiver "substantially promoted the objectives of freedom of emigration".

RECOMMENDATIONS

It would seem appropriate for Congress to ask the President to seek from the Romanians *renewed and very concrete "assurances* that the emigration practices of their country will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of freedom of emigration".

I retain the belief that there is sufficient goodwill between the Romanian Govt. and ourselves for a better resolution of problems in the coming months. Bucharest has so much to gain from American support, American know-how, American technology, American trade, that an uncomplicated emigration policy would be a small price to pay for the enormous potential benefits of an untroubled relationship with Washington.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW MECHANISM FOR ROMANIAN EMIGRATION

There is a lack of steady consultation, coordination and information exchange between the various involved agencies in Washington. To this end, it would seem helpful to establish some form of systematic congressional review mechanism whose function would be to (a) ascertain more precisely than hitherto the current Romanian emigration situation, both in terms of numbers and of internal operation; (b) lead to a more informed and frequent dialogue with the Romanians on the individual cases.

To be effective, the review mechanism would have to meet regularly, say, bi-monthly, with provision for plenty of mutual consultation among staff people between formal meetings.

ADDENDUM

A Romanian emigre's perception of the American role in East Europe

A few days ago I received a letter from Europe, from which I extract: "The fact that the U.S. became interested in my case was decisive. Not even money, usually the most successful way of emigration (from Romania) helped me. My relatives paid \$5,000 to a go-between but to no avail. American political influence could supplement the 'money' method.—I think that Washington is not totally aware how strong its influence in that part of the world could be."

He insists on the importance of the U.S. keeping up its political pressure on the Romanians and warns of the dangers of "weak U.S. diplomatic activity".

He concludes: "Don't Trust Words and Promises, Ask for Facts". By "facts", he means concrete evidences of Romanian good faith in terms of emigration.

ROMANIAN JEWS DESIRING TO EMIGRATE TO U.S.A. OR CANADA

- List of Abbreviations: s.=son, d.=daughter, b.=brother, sl.=sister, f.=father, m.=mother, w.=wife, ch.=child, chn.=children, cr.=close relative such as cousin, u.=uncle, a.=aunt, P.=Prisoner, FP.=Former Prisoner, BU.=Bucharest, **=Extreme cases, (E)=Emigrated.
- Aronsohn, Janku—Nitu Vasile 46, BU.—cr. B. Rothenberg, 1909 Quentin Rd., Brooklyn, NY 11220. Ernestina Korner, 8785 Bay St., Brooklyn, NY.
- Albu, Dr. & Mrs. Eugene—3 Cibrian Porum Bescu, BU.
- Adam, Anna Clara—Batistei 9, BU.—cr. J. Manollu, 751 Layne Ct., Ap. 6, Palo Alto, CA 94306.
- Abraham, Ghidali, w. Lisa, d. Anna—Udricani 25; b. Aron 142 Pershing Crescent, Briarwood, NY 11435.
- (E) Breier, Fredi, w. Manuela, d. Hedl—Sabinelor 72a, BU. (see Tarnaceanu) u. Dr. A. Rogers, 70 Edgewood Dr., New Hyde Park, NY 11040.
- Benyik, Imre & Family, G. Enescu 30, Oradea: B. Julius, Vestal Plaza, Ap. 3-3, Binghamton, NY.
- Benes, Solomon, w. Ludmilla—Hrisovulul 26, BU.—Parents, Mr. & Mrs. Moritz Benes, 1125 Commonwealth Av., Ap. 16, Boston, MA.
- Bucicov, Vladimir—Bd. Micurini 5a, BU.—H. A. Natasha Hirsch, 140 West 55th St., N.Y., NY 10019.
- Clejan, Mrs. Toni, s. Avrum, w. Eugenia, 2 chn.—Ramure 1, Ploesti B. Silviu Schmelzer, 8807 Link Pass, Houston, TX.
- Cojocaru, Aron Hers, w. Yenta—December 30, Dorohol grands. Sholem Zeligher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., NY 11415.
- Costescu, Minel—BLV. Magheru 7, BU. (see m. Sitaru, Ruhla).
- David, Kalman, w. Betti, Trandafirilor, Dorohol, s. David, Sumer, w. Suzanna, d. Lora, cr. Sholem Zeligher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., NY 11415.
- Elias, Baruch, w. Maria & son—Blv. 1 Mai 152, BU., b. David Cotter, Enclia Dr., Escalon, CA 91316.
- ** (FB) Edelstein, Sami, w. Ghitla, Blv. Magheru 29, BU.: sl.: Gita & Leen Litner, 53-23 97th St., Reg. Pk., NY 11368.
- Frost, Leo, w. Anutza, s. Andrei—Bd. Dinicu Golescu 37, Bu.—Passport received, cancelled sl. Julia Han, 156 West 106th St., Ap. 4c, N.Y., NY 11025.
- Friedman, Vladimir, Brezolanu 26-32, Ap. 52, BU. wife: Leibovici Brandusa, 314 East 86th St., Ap. 4d., NY 10021.
- FP. Ghinsbruner, Angelo, w. Silvia—Maria Rosetti 17, BU. cousins: Dr. Armin Casvan & Lucy Feuer, 140-95, Burden Crescent Briarwood, NY.
- (E) Illovi, Marc, w. Kathrin, d. Irina—Sipotul Fintinilor 5, BU. cr. Leonard Chase, West Hartford, CN.
- Ingel, Isu, w. Frida—Trandafirilor, Dorohol: c. Sholem Zeligher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., NY 11415.
- Lerner, Moishe, w. Liba, ch. Josilca—Trandafirilor, 17 Dorohol., cr. Sholem Zeligher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., NY 11415.
- Lehrer, Mihail—Calea Pretentia 20, Radauti—U.S. brother.
- Micraugi, Anton, w. Rosalia, Communa Vladimirescu, Garel 4, Jud. Arad d. Teresa Schneider, 77 Bronx River Rd., Yonkers, NY 10704.
- (E) Moldoveanu, Victor, w. Florica, d. Alice—De Mijloc 13, Brasov d. Monica Shevack, 201 Foster Av., Brooklyn, NY 11230.
- ** FP. Morsky, Bernath—G. ral Florescu 16, BU.—d. Mrs. Joe Bergida, POB 2848, St. Thomas, Virgin Isle, U.S.A.
- Marcus, Saul, w. Teresa, chn. Lulza, Cecilia, m. in law, Gitla Rabinovici, Lucaei 113, BU. b. David, 3811 N. Newhall St., Milwaukee, WI 53211.
- (E) Munteanu, Mariana—Dr. Lister 5a, BU.—Fiance, V. Radulescu, 43-33 46th St., NY 11140.
- Merovici, Mr. & Mrs.—Helesteulul 21, BU.
- ** Mendelovici, Moshe—Al. Pioneer Ilor, Visuel de Sus: cr. Leibl Mendelovich, 1427-55th St., Brooklyn, NY.
- Mihaescu, Dr. Edith, b. Constantin—Cartier Nord 40, Rimnicu Vilcea (s. Adrian) ss. Elizabeth Herdan, 5910 Kirby Rd., Bethesda, MD 20034.
- Necula, Emanuel, w. Carmen, s. Horia—Cal Grivitei 35, BU. F. Dr. Virgil N. c/o St Luke's Hospital, 1090 Amsterdam Av., NY 10025.
- Prato, Rut—Gal. Grivitei 240, BU.
- Preis, Adela, d. Erica—Vasile Conta 18a Oradea: cr. Mary Weiss, 81-14 Baxter Av., Elmhurst, NY 11373.

- Rabinovici, Gitla—Lucaci 113, BU. (see Marcus S.).
 ** FP. Stosel, Josef, Florentina Blv 10 N. Sulea, Bl. 13, Bu. U. Josef Stosel, 184 Routledge St., Brooklyn, NY.
 Serban, Pia (Schwarz), Tudor Arghesi 26, Bu.
 Sharf, Solomon, Grivitel 163, BU.—U. Max Kluger, 149 E. Bradford Av., Cedar Grove, NJ 17009.
 ** FP. Salovici, Martin—Parcu Traian 1, Jud. Oradea: U.S. brother.
 Simon, Martha, chn., Rita, Toma—Unirii 7, Cluj cr. Lester Harrison, 80 Old Colony Rd., Hartsdale, NY 10530.
 Simon, Isidor—Roselor 26, Satu Mare: b. Simon, Zelig, 950-43, Brooklyn, NY 11219.
 Sitaru, Rubla—Dum Petrescu 79, BU. (see Costescu D.).
 Sigal, Dr. Janku Solomon, w. Aura, d. Rolande—Al Avocat Salaganu 7, BU. cr. Eva Strominger, 104-40 Queens Blvd., F.H., NY 11375.
 (E) Tarnaceanu, Jean, w. Rubla—Sabinelor 72a, BU. (see Breler) b. Dr. A. Rogers, 70 Edgewood Dr., New Hyde Park, NY 11040.
 ** Wexler, Mrs. Viorica—Bolinteanu 2, Bu.: Ss. Carol Kohn, 90-56 Av., Flu., NY 11373. Sister: Silvia & Marcel (Mendel) Simon—M. Eminescu 36, BU.
 Zonis, Isak, m. Sara—Al. Fetesti 6-12, bl. 1-26, BU. F. Jacob Zonis, 210 West 101st, New York City.

Canada

- Clejan, Mrs. Toni, s. Avrum, Eugenia, 2 chn—Ramure 1, Ploesti. Brothers: David Schmelzer, 6260 Deacon Rd., Montreal. Bernard Schmelzer, 3450 Drummond St., Ap. 1424, Montreal.
 Frank, Defiderill, w. Ecaterina, s. Mark—Al. Compozitor Ilor, 11, Ap. 57, BU. cr. Lawrence Cohen, 121 Hunter St., Ap. 616, Hamilton, Ontario.
 (E) Mendel, Irena—Al. Zoe 2, Sect. 1, BU. m. Vrabio, Adriana—Al. Zoe 2, Sect. 1, BU., wish to join husband & son Ernst Mendel & Radu, 5475 Rosedale Av., Ap. 407, Montreal.
 (E) Panjel, Marcel, w. Silvia, d. Rifca—Sos. Mihai Bravu 116-122, Bl. D 14, ap. 162, BU. b. Mihael Habet, 5105 Sax St., Ap. 202, Montreal.
 FP. Rubinger, Herman, w. Gina Nicos Beloianis 9, Bu. s. Rubinger Bruno, w. Gaby, s. Marchy Nicos Beloianis 9, Bu. d. of Herman & Gina, Carla Ulpian, 4680 Bouchester St., Montreal.

Addendum to U.S. names

- (E) Glancz, Yakov—Mihail Viteazu 4, Oradea: U.S. Ambassador Bogdan wrote Congressman Fred Richmond (Oct. 23, 1975) that Glancz had permission to study in the United Talmudical Academy of Brooklyn. Unfortunately, nothing seems to be happening.

ROMANIAN JEWS DESIRING TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL

- s.=son, d.=daughter, b.=brother, si.=sister, f.=father, m.=mother, w.=wife, ch.=child, chn.=children, cr.=close relative such as cousin, u.=uncle, a.=aunt, P=Prisoner, B=Bucharest, F.P.=Former Prisoner, **=Extreme cases, (E)=Emigrated
 **P. Asher, Andrei, w. Ibolica, Kolantina 11, B. b. Tibor, zahal 47, Haifa, s. Mrs. Isak Horenstein, 1549 55th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 ** Asher, Petru, w. Hermina, chn. Simona, Alize; Masina de Pline 69, B. (son of Andre).
 **P. Aronovici, Marcu—Sibiu Prison: 5 brothers, sister in Israel, Eldest b.—Haim Doron, Allenby, 40, Tel Aviv.
 Anghel, Dr. Razvan, w. Dr. Maria—Blvd Nic. Balcescu 35, B.
 Abraham, Ghidali, w. Lisa, d. Anna—Udricani 25, B.—3 brothers in ISr., 1 in N.Y. (F.P.) b. Shimon, Aronovich 8, Holon; Itshak, Raines 15, Murasa, Ramat Hasharon.
 Avrum, Saul Ber, Splru Haret 34, Dorohol.
 Bucur, Viorel, si. Adina, si. Karmen—Zurchi 2, Tinisoa. Grandm. Frida Jeger, Rehovot.
 Bernstein, Miriam, Anni, Robert, Cecilia—Tiglina III, Galati.
 **Blum, Anna—Pope Soare 62, (F.P.) B.—Magda Barna, Kiriat Asor, 526, Nahariya.
 Belgrader, Andrei, w. Dora—Drobeta 3, B.—U. Boris Bendarski, U.S. or Canada.
 Baltusch, Marian, w. Felicia, s. Alexandru: Drumul Taberei 23, B.

- (E) **Brettman, Harry, w. Vera, chn. Rolly, Yvonne:** [A. Hedda Fodor, Weltzman 5, Natanya.] Vacarescu 12, Timisoara.
- Chisinezschi, Emile, w. Odette, 2 sons:** c/o Mrs. Chisinezschi, V. Manu 42, B. Yuri, w. Ina, baby, c/o Mrs. Chisinezschi, Georghe, Biv. N. Balcescu, B., B. in Israel, Andrei, Kibbutz Gan Shmuel.
- David, Adrian and m.—Dora—N. Balcescu, 86, B.**
- **FP. () Davidovich, Lazar—Carpati 17, Visuel de Sus: W. & b. Josef, Yotfat, Bl. 82, Natseret Alt cr. Maurice Nemes, 518 McLean Av, Yonkers, N.Y. 10705.**
- Donath, Paul, s. Peter, w.—Bivilie Bintilic 12, B.**
- **Dorfman, Haim, w. Enta, s. Enech, c/o Mania Halperina, Soseauatuturoa 15, Jassy.**
- Ellas, Radu—Biv. Lenin 5, Cluj.**
- FP. Faibish, Surica. Com. Bacesti, Jud. Vaslui: s. Sabina Cohen, Nahlat Yitshak, 11, T.A.**
- Feldman, Julian, w. Lillian, s. Alexandru; Romulus 17, B.—B. Aurel, Itshak Sadeh 88/8, T.A.**
- Fabian, Alexandru, w. Charlotte—Salcimilor, Satu Mare.**
- Fabian, Andrei—Galati 27, Cluj.**
- Fleisher, Carolina, Bl. Leontin Salajan 48, B.—Emigrated to U.S.**
- Gainaru, Rodica & Viorica—Casa de Copii, Beius Oradea (16 yr. old twins waiting to join mother, Melinda Herskovic, Shikun Ramat 14/17, Lod.**
- **Gelber, Aron—Intr. Lemnea 3, B.—s. Harry, Kiriati Ono.**
- Gherstin, Julian, w. Dana, Bucharest.**
- Goldenstein, Hartin—Lugofalul, 60, B.**
- Herscovici, Max—Corvin, Cluj.**
- Herscu, Radu—Plata Splalului 3-5, B.**
- Herscu, Sofia—Palatulul, Bl. 7, ap. 45, sect. 7, B.**
- Herscovici, Corina, h.—Al. Lapusneanu 24, Galati, probably left, to be checked.**
- Hajos, Ladislau—Galati 48-50, B.—Fiancee in Israel: Vita Milstein, Tagore 11, Ramat Avi.**
- (E) **Hirsch, Nicolae—Comel 3, Brasov: Wife in Israel, Toni, 2 Chn, c/o Yona Zaler, Rashbam 13, Bnai Brak.**
- Isser, Mendel—Poliana Narciselor 7, B.**
- Israel, Iancu-Armeanu 16, Jassy.**
- **P. Itzikon, Avram, prison unknown here, B. Marcel, Hagana, 25/28 Rehovot.**
- **FP. Itic (Ungar), Avram Natan—Manmulari 8, B.—B. Aric, Rashi, 15a, Haifa.**
- Jacob, Iosif, w. Roji—Mihail Eminescu 12, Nassaud Reg Cluj. brother in Israel—[Emil, Moshe, Noah, Rubin/cousins in U.S.A.]**
- Kaufman, Harry—Petru Rares 12, Galati [Eugene and Bertalan Siegelstein, Brooklyn, N.Y.]**
- Kirshenbaum, Bernath—Vlad Tepel 3, Dej [Richard Rubin, 827 Kirkindine Av., L.A., Ca.]**
- Lehrer, Mihail—Calea Pretenia 20, Radauti.**
- ** (F.P.) Leibovici, Mendel, w. Eliza—Al. Cimpul cu Flori 8, B.—Sisters in Israel Frida Bercovici, Aticot Ashkelon 285/14, Bernacit Herscu, Der. Anitabon, Ashkelon.**
- Manescu, Vlad—Popa Savu 3a, Section 1, Bucharest [Fiancee in Israel—Inberg, Susana].**
- Manhalm, Georghe, w. Ernestina, chn. Anrei, Annmarie—Involrii 12, B.**
- Moscovici, Maral, w. Sofia—Sfantulsava, 10, Jassy—want to join children.**
- Mendlovidi, Sanilica, Bl. 23, August 24, Timisoara.**
- Moscovici, Elias—Nicolina 3, Jassy.**
- Mayerson, Samson, w. Hermina—Mantuleasu 12, B.—M. in Israel, Rebecca, Nitsana 199, Ramat Josef and 3 sisters.**
- **Negrea, Anton, w. Maria, 5 chn—Biv Magheru 9, B.—Desperate parents in Israel, Herscu Schwartz (82), w. Rebecca (78), Maon Haakademaim, 225, Kiriati Haim, Haifa.**
- Oslas, Hersu, w. Draga, d. Mariana—Cerbullin 32, Brasov—multiple refusals.**
- **FP's wife, Pal. Paraschiva—Kogalniceanu 27, Dej, Jud. Cluj.**
- Popar, Zoltan—Trib. Jud. Bihor 1785/1968, Oraden.**
- **Popescu, Silviu—Apolodor 18, B. U. Leelefner, R. Kibbur Golyat 650/2, Ashdod, Israel B. Nathan Kaufman, Rue General Riberto da Costa 121, Ap. 401, Rto de Janiero, Brazil.**
- (E) ****FP. Recu, Misu, w. Franchetten—Solca 5, B.—2 da. in Israel: Violet Wilk, Hamlacha 7, Ramat Gan, Marcela Garon, Hadar Yosef.**

- **FP. Rosinger, Adalbert, w. Malvino—Stirbel-Voda 4, B.D.—D. Veronica, Hana Senesh 2, Bnai Brak; M. Haia Herscovici, Der. Tsarpat 15/16, Kiriat Sprin-zak, Haifa.
- **FP. Rosenberg, Heinrich, w. Lilica—Lapusneanu 24, Galati: D. Corina Hers-hovici arrived Israel with husband.
- Reichman, Herman—Deda Brista Reg. Tg. Mures.
- Reichman, Isidor—Gral Florescu 16, B.
- Smilovici, Herscu Marcel—Decembriu, 60, B.
- Solomon, Leon—Stefan Cel Mare, 33, Birlad, Jud. Vaslui: cr. Rabbi Ahad Haam, Petach Ti.
- **FP. Scheener, Otilia—Cal Grivitel 67, B.—A. Lotte Schener, Hamaleh Korech, 16, T.A.
- **FP. Suzin, Micu, w. Veronica, d. Mariana—Plata Buzesti, O, B.—Si. Lilh Deutsch, Yavneh.
- Solomon, David, w. Clara, and daughter—Decembrie 30, 43., Dorohol.
- Sigal, Dr. Janku Solomon, w. Aura, d., Rolande—Al. Avocat Salaganu 7, BU. b. Marcel Segal in T.A., si in Haifa, Clara Schecter.
- Schwartz, Benjamin, w. Corina—Prof. Georgescu 27a, B.
- Schwartz, Martin, w. Adriana 111 Calarosi. B.
- Schwartz, Mayer, w. Miriam—Antin 37, B.
- Schechter, Ichil—in Decebal 67, Constanta.
- Salomon, Alexandru Garrli 35, Osorhol, Jud. Bihor.
- **P. Schwalb, Dr Naftali—Petru Maior 10, Braila. W. Dr Betty, 5 chn Si Eva Bar Sina (Schwall), Hanasi 24, Haifa.
- **P. Simian, Samoil—Tauti de Sus 18, Bala Mare 4800: Si. Esther Berger, Nordau 5, Petach Tikw.
- Schachter, Y.—13 Decembrie 9, Falticani Reg Suceava.
- **Unger, Nathan (F.P.)—Mamulari 8, B.—B. Arle, Rashi 15a, Haifa.
- (E)**FP. Useriu, Mihail—Justitel, 7, B.—B. Israel Ochri, Habas 71, Haifa.
- **Usher, David, (F.P.—Negresti Vaslui, Decebal 4, Jassy—B. Avraham, R. Avoda 23, T.A.
- Vasilescu, Stefan, w. Leontina—Al. Episcopul Ambroisie, Apt 5, B.—Trying 9 years.
- (E) Weinberger, Zoltan—N. Balchescu 5, Brasov.
- **FP. Weiss, Nissim David, w. Floreta, s. Lucian—Intr. Pictor Vermont 3, B. b. Jancu, Haifa P.O.B. 4072, b. Lazar, Kikar Hilarut, 6, Noscher Haifa.
- Wulch, Milea—Prisaca Dornol 6, B.
- Zeld, Levi, w. Golda—Calarosi 111, B.

THE CENTER FOR RUSSIAN JEWRY.
New York, N.Y., September 21, 1976.

Re Romania's MEN status and the "Freedom of Emigration" legislation.
Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Trade Subcommittee, Senate Finance Committee,
Kirkman Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RIBICOFF: I appreciate having been given the opportunity of testifying before the Subcommittee on September 7, 1976. Unfortunately, in the rush to dispose of Congressional business by the end of the month, no analysis was made of ways of helping to ensure Romanian compliance with so significant a piece of legislation, an exercise of Congressional authority which provides millions of East Europeans with a sense of protection and hope for the future.

In my testimony I indicated the necessity of developing a series of pressure points during the coming year. The most effective of these would be the strengthening of the now inadequate monitoring and review facilities existing within the Subcommittee in relation to Romanian emigration.

THE MONITORING AND REVIEW MECHANISM

I. Functions: The hundreds of cases coming in should not merely be forwarded to the State Department, without careful attention within the Congressional framework. There is work of compilation of information and coordination with involved agencies to be done, so that Congress should:

(a) Have the best possible current picture at all times of general trends and individual cases.

(b) Be able to consult in authoritative fashion with State, and with such Romanian officials as happen to be in contact.

II. *Composition*: At least one full-time staff person, plus a secretary/assistant. The unit would make monthly reports to members of the Committee.

III. *Auspices*: The findings would be formally reviewed every quarter by a small oversight group of Congresspersons, appointed by the Committee. This group would be empowered to hold detailed "minor" hearings at any time but certainly prior to the time of quarterly review.

IV. *Budget*: A yearly allocation of \$50,000 for the time being has been suggested.

It is our conviction that this sum is a modest price to pay for preventing a steep decline of Congress' authority in East Europe and sustaining the hopes of those whose protection we represent.

EVIDENCES OF ROMANIAN GOOD FAITH

May we further suggest that a sense of the Committee's unease with the present Romanian emigration situation be communicated to President Ford and to the Romanian Ambassador himself. Much more concrete assurances need to be sought from the Romanians this time, accompanied by substantial evidences of good faith in the near future. These should include: (1) Early release of extreme cases, (2) cease harassing would-be emigrants, (3) raise emigration rates to Israel at not less than 3-400 a month and maintain the continued growth rates to the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

JACOB BIENBAUM, *National Director.*

Senator RINICOFF. Thank you very much. We have three more witnesses left. We are going to recess until 12 o'clock, at which time Senator Curtis will return and hear Mr. Mesterhazy, Mr. Szaz, and Mr. Hamos. So the committee will stand in recess until 12 when the other three witnesses will have an opportunity to present their testimony.

[Whereupon, at 10:30 a.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 12 noon, the same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION

[The subcommittee reconvened at 12:05 p.m., Senator Carl T. Curtis presiding.]

Senator CURTIS. The committee will come to order and the first witnesses we call are Mr. Hamos and Mr. Szaz. They are appearing together. Each of you will give your full name and address for the reporter.

STATEMENT OF Z. MICHAEL SZAZ, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AMERICAN-HUNGARIAN FEDERATION

Mr. SZAZ. My name is Z. Michael Szaz, Ph. D. I am the international relations consultant and a member of the board of directors of the American-Hungarian Federation, the national organization of American Hungarian churches, fraternal associations and societies since 1906. I am a member of the Presidential Council of the Transylvanian World Federation representing organizations from the United States, the Americas, and Australia.

Both organizations support Senate Resolution 511, introduced by Senator James Buckley on August 5, 1976, and call attention to the continued abridgement of human rights of the 2.5 million Hungarians in Romania despite article 2 of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 transferring sovereignty over Transylvania to Romania, the guarantees contained in the Romanian Constitution, the Final Act of the Helsinki

Conference, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which was signed by Romania. Hungarians in Romania cannot exercise their rights in many substantial areas of life, education, and employment.

There are few Hungarian sections in technical high schools or courses in Hungarian on the university level. Only one out of nine Hungarian students attends Hungarian language vocational school sections, and only about 5 percent of the Romanian university student body are composed of Hungarians, although approximately 10 percent of the population of Romania is Hungarian.

The only university with a sizable Hungarian student body at Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) offers a mere 20 out of its about 210 courses in Hungarian. More examples are provided in our written statement.

Bilingualism, as provided for in the Constitution, is mostly absent. There are no signs in Hungarian in any cities outside of the Székely region, and even there they are sporadic. In the offices, Hungarians dare to speak only in Romanian to one another.

Although Transylvania was originally transferred to Romania only in 1920, the school fails to teach the 1,000-year-old Hungarian history of the province, except for a few isolated events and peasant risings, and even what they cover is grossly distorted. Tourist literature fails to reflect the Hungarian heritage of the cities of Transylvania and often centuries-old Hungarian landmarks are presented as monuments of Romanian culture.

Religious freedom is curtailed. The Greek Catholic Church is still banned, bishoprics remain unfilled in nationality areas; the bishops I have visited could receive me only in the presence of the local director of the Ministry of Cults, and under state pressure they refused even charitable gifts from abroad.

University graduates are mostly assigned to areas outside of Transylvania and the ongoing industrialization, despite its beneficial economic effects, is also diluting and dispersing the homogeneous Hungarian nationality blocs.

In June 1976, I met with Deputy Prime Minister Janos Fazakas and Deputy Foreign Minister Vasile Gliga and other leaders. I visited six Transylvanian cities and my appointments were arranged by our Ambassador, Harry G. Barnes, to Romania.

While I enjoyed a cordial reception and gained new understanding, I found the aforesaid situation. While Romanian officials admitted errors, announced the opening of a substantial number of Hungarian language sections in technical high schools in September 1976, and promised to rewrite the city histories for tourists, we do not yet have corroboration of these measures.

Therefore, we support Senate Resolution 511 as an expression of the sense of Congress that, besides the problem of emigration, minority rights should be utilized as a yardstick in regard to human rights in determining the continued MFN status of Romania. For family reunification presents a limited problem, but the safeguarding of human rights of the minorities will be with us permanently.

While we are not inherently opposed to expanding trade relations with Romania, or to Romania's most-favored-nation status, we agree with Senate Resolution 511 that concrete ameliorative measures regard-

ing the human and cultural rights of the nationalities should be taken if the extension were to occur.

We hope that such steps would be implemented by the Romanian Government, but should they not take place in the near future, the American Hungarian Federation would be compelled to expose the continued grievances and oppose any further favors by the United States toward the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Senator CURTIS. Thank you for your statement. Because of the limitation on time, we are holding this during the noon hour. I would ask you a question, but keep your answer as brief as you can. The Trade Act makes a condition for the most-favored-nation treatment for Romania. There are certain requirements about their immigration policy. In your opinion, have they met those requirements? Has Romania met those requirements?

Mr. SZAZ. I understand there are grave problems remaining in regard to family reunification and emigration. I think we had several witnesses who referred to that on the basis of tables and statistics which I do not have with me.

Senator CURTIS. One other question. I gathered from your paper that it is your contention that the Hungarian people living within the jurisdiction of Romania are deprived of equal rights in several respects; is that correct?

Mr. SZAZ. Yes.

Senator CURTIS. Do you have a statement?

Mr. HAMOS. Yes.

Senator CURTIS. Give your name and address, please.

Mr. HAMOS. I am Laszlo Hamos.

Senator CURTIS. How long is your statement?

Mr. HAMOS. It is 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF LASZLO HAMOS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

Mr. HAMOS. Mr. Chairman, my name is Laszlo Hamos. I am chairman of the Committee for Human Rights in Romania, which is an ad hoc organization supported by all major associations of the approximately 1 million Hungarians in America. We are grateful for being given the opportunity to personally appear before this subcommittee.

Our committee is concerned with the fate of the 2½-million-member Hungarian minority in Romania. We are well informed of their situation through publications issued by the Romanian Government itself, through accounts of persons who have escaped from that country and through personal contacts which our various members have with relatives and friends still in Romania.

Mr. Chairman, the basic assumption underlying the formation and activity of the Committee for Human Rights in Romania is simple and straightforward: We fervently believe that Congress truly meant what it said in section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 and will see to it that this particularly noble piece of legislation is firmly adhered to in letter and in spirit. We have been especially encouraged in this belief by the following words of the Senate Finance Committee, commenting

on the provisions of section 402 in Senate Report 93-1298, November 26, 1975; and I quote:

The committee 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.

Unfortunately, these words are often ignored and forgotten, and only the right of free emigration is discussed.

Mr. Chairman, we contend that the right of free emigration is a very important human right, but the Trade Act did not restrict its concern for fundamental human rights to this right alone. The right of free emigration is only an escape chute—a means of last resort when all other measures to protect human rights have failed.

The right of free emigration is most important for those members of the Jewish community who decide to emigrate to Israel. They leave with the joyful idea of returning to their ancient homeland. But the rights of those who, because of age, family ties, or any other reason, elect to remain must also be protected.

The problem of the 2½-million Hungarians cannot be resolved through easing restrictions on emigration. They already live in their ancient homeland, and most have no desire whatsoever to leave. To restrict the humanitarian concern expressed in the Trade Act to the right of free emigration alone would mean that the plight of these people would be completely ignored.

In our written testimony, we have carefully analyzed the Trade Act. A correct interpretation of section 402 reveals that the provision allowing Presidential waiver of the requirement of free emigration was not meant to undermine the human rights objectives of the section. It was meant instead to open the way for consideration of human rights other than free emigration.

Our major contention is that the President's message of June 2 recommending waiver of the requirement of free emigration falls far short of the language specified in the act and should therefore be rejected by the Senate. According to existing international law, the United States would have every right to protest minority oppression in Romania, even if title IV of the Trade Act did not exist. It is an established fact that human rights are of international concern as a matter of course.

Major elements of the assault on the Hungarian minority are documented in detail in our written testimony. These are:

1. Falsification of population statistics; 2. Discrimination in the field of education; 3. Dissolution of Hungarian communities and dispersion of professionals; 4. Curtailment of cultural opportunities; 5. Lack of bilingualism; 6. Falsification of history; 7. Confiscation of church archives; 8. Obstructing contacts with relatives abroad; and 9. Religious persecution.

Our committee believes that instead of encouraging Ceausescu to further excesses, the State Department would serve him well by impressing upon him the seriousness of Congress's dedication to the promotion of fundamental human rights.

Romania's President should realize that by satisfying the reasonable needs of the country's minorities, he would significantly strengthen his position of carrying on a foreign policy independent of the Soviet Union—providing that that is indeed his intention.

Far from wishing to meddle in international politics, all we want is to urge strict adherence to a particularly noble piece of American legislation, section 402 of the Trade Act, to benefit our oppressed brethren in Rumania. We think Hungarian-Americans have paid their dues to the United States and can rightly expect its support when their culture is under vicious attack.

Romania desperately needs most-favored-nation status and trade benefits from the United States. Our country, therefore, has strong leverage to influence Rumania's behavior in the area of human rights and it should be utilized to the fullest extent.

Senator CURTIS. I want to ask you one question. In your opinion, has Rumania met the requirements laid down in the act by Congress in order to receive the most-favored-nation treatment?

Mr. HAMOS. In our opinion, Rumania has not.

Senator CURTIS. Then it has been obviated by use of the waiver?

Mr. HAMOS. Our opinion is that the waiver provides the United States an opportunity to raise other humanitarian rights aside from free emigration. After all, the waiver of the requirement of free emigration requires that other improvements be shown—improvements in other areas.

Senator CURTIS. We thank you very much for your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hamos follows:]

— TESTIMONY OF LASZLO HAMOS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA

SUMMARY

Statement of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, containing its requests to the United States Senate concerning the extension of Rumania's most-favored-nation status.

Analysis of the Relevant Provisions of the Trade Act.—A correct interpretation of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 reveals that the provision allowing Presidential waiver of the requirement of free emigration was not meant to undermine the general trust of the section, but was meant to open the way for the consideration of human rights other than free emigration.

The President's Message of June 2, 1976.—In light of the provisions of the Trade Act the President's Message recommending waiver of the requirement of free emigration falls short of the language specified in the Act, and it is therefore unacceptable.

On the Right of Free Emigration.—The heavy preoccupation with Jewish emigration in the legislative history of section 402 is a reflection of the fact that this section was enacted with a prospective Soviet Trade Agreement in mind. In Rumania, there are other problems which can be solved by pressure through trade policy. As far as the Hungarian minority is concerned, the right of free emigration is only of secondary importance in contrast to several more significant considerations.

The True Nature of the Ceausescu Regime versus its "Public Relations" Image.—While slightly annoying the Soviet Union every now and then, the Ceausescu regime is basically oppressive and Stalinist in nature and strictly adheres to the worst traditions of Marxism-Leninism in almost every facet of public policy. The alleged "Independence" of the Ceausescu regime is hardly more than opportunistic double-dealing.

Minority Oppression is a Matter of International Concern Per Se.—According to existing international law, the United States would have every right to protest minority oppression in Rumania even if Title IV of the Trade Act did not exist. It is an established fact that human rights are of international concern as a matter of course.

The Airing of Our Grievances and Reactions in Some Quarters.—The response to the publicizing of the plight of our brethren in Rumania was predictable on the part of the Rumanian government: a campaign of slander, evasions and lies.

Most unexpected, however, was the unprincipled behavior of our State Department. Shedding even the semblance of objectivity it degraded itself to parroting the official Rumanian line of falsehoods and omissions.

Major Elements of the Assault on the Hungarian Minority.

1. *Falsification of Population Statistics.*
2. *Discrimination in the Field of Education.*
3. *Dissolution of Hungarian Communities and Dispersion of Professionals.*
4. *Curtailement of Cultural Opportunities.*
5. *Lack of Bilingualism.*
6. *Falsification of History.*
7. *Confiscation of Church Archives.*
8. *Obstructing Contacts with Relatives Abroad.*
9. *Religious Persecution.*

What Could the State Department Do?—Instead of encouraging Ceausescu to further excesses, the State Department would serve him well by impressing upon him the seriousness of Congress' dedication to the promotion of fundamental human rights. He should realize that by satisfying the reasonable needs of the country's minorities he would significantly strengthen his position of carrying on a foreign policy independent of the Soviet Union—providing that indeed is his intention.

Conclusion.—Far from wishing to meddle in international politics, all we want is to take advantage of a particularly noble piece of American legislation, section 402 of the Trade Act, to benefit our oppressed brethren in Rumania. We think Hungarians have paid their dues to the United States, and can rightly expect its support when their culture is under vicious attack.

STATEMENT

The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania respectfully requests that the United States Senate, using the authority granted by section 402(d)(4) 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, 1976 recommending extension of the above waiver authority is seriously deficient in fulfilling the requirements of section 402(d)(1) 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, mandate at least a temporary suspension of the trade benefits accorded to Rumania.

Furthermore, the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania respectfully requests the United States Senate to adopt Senate Resolution 511, an important device for promoting the observance of human rights in Rumania.

Analysis of the relevant provisions of the Trade Act

Our contention is based on the proper interpretation of the text of section 402 of the Trade Act, according to the structure, grammar and logic of that text.

Structurally, the section 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 proceeds to define the *means* for achieving these objectives as the requirements of free emigration as a condition for extending trade benefits to nonmarket economy countries. The relationship between the ends (fundamental human rights) and the means (requirement of free emigration) is unmistakable.

The precise definition of the objectives of section 402 is important in light of the provisions contained in section 402(c). According to that subsection, the President may waive the requirement of free emigration "if he reports to the Congress that—

"(A) he has determined that such waiver will substantially promote the objectives of this section; and

"(B) he has received assurances that the emigration practices of that country will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of this section."

Unfortunately, the objectives twice referred to in the above text are frequently obscured by a practice—either unwitting or purposeful—of misrepresenting the

language of the Trade Act: other expressions are inserted to replace the words "objectives of this section", creating the impression that the new words actually appear in the Act. The most recent among many examples of this practice can be found in the "Background Materials" pamphlet (August 28, 1976) prepared by the staff of the Committee on Finance in anticipation of these hearings. Twice on the first and twice on the second page, it paraphrases the Act as if it had stated that the basis of the President's waiver is his determination that such waiver would promote the objective of freedom of emigration. The Act contains no such provision. We contend that the "objectives of this section" prescribed by section 402(c) are the "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. Paying no heed to this distinction, the authors of the above pamphlet twice commit the grammatical error of referring to freedom of emigration as objectives (plural), once mischaracterize section 402(c) as containing the word objective (singular), and finally omit any mention of the term altogether. In sum, 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. If we assume that the objectives of the section is freedom of emigration, then subparagraph (A) ("he has determined that such waiver will substantially promote the objectives of this section") makes no sense whatsoever. The manner in which a waiver of the *condition* of freedom of emigration could *substantially promote* the objectives of freedom of emigration is beyond the comprehension of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania. Moreover, if we accepted this nonsensical interpretation, there would be no need for *both* subparagraphs (A) and (B) because their meaning would be virtually identical.

It seems appropriate to present 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 as well. In light of this interpretation, the role of subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 402(c)(1) becomes instantly clear. The President can waive the requirement of free emigration if he reports to the Congress that—

"(A) he has determined that such waiver will substantially promote the objectives of this section [i.e. that instead of free emigration, there is a definite improvement in that country's practices concerning other human rights—for example, in Rumania's treatment of its minorities]; and

"(B) he has received assurances that the emigration practices of that country will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of this section [i.e. that there must be some assurance of progress in its emigration practices as well]".

The insertion of the Presidential waiver into section 402 was not meant to water down its provisions. Rather, it was intended to provide some degree of flexibility. Instead of imposing a rigid noncompromising requirement of free emigration, it gives the countries involved a clear choice; they can either comply with the requirement of free emigration, or they can show improvement in their general respect for human rights, together with the promise of improved emigration practices. This arrangement strikes us as being very sensible, aside from the fact that it is the only correct interpretation of section 402. All other interpretations advanced thus far seriously weaken the section, so much so that Rumania has been able to almost totally ignore it. We believe that the United States Senate should no longer tolerate this state of affairs.

One counterargument occasionally advanced is that the legislative history of Title IV reveals a concern for no other human right except free emigration, chiefly Jewish emigration. We have three answers to this contention:

First, it is a well-known tenet of legal research that legislative history is only a secondary source of interpretation. The strong presumption is that a piece of legislation means what it says it means. Grammatical and logical interpretation, therefore, always take precedence over historical interpretation. The latter gains importance only if the text is unclear.

Second, the creation of Title IV was accomplished with a prospective Soviet Trade Agreement in mind. Foremost among the legislators' concerns was the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate, and the record reflects the preeminence of this specific concern.

Third, the Senate Finance Committee, certainly the finest authority on this issue, has provided the clearest, most unmistakable reply. Commenting on section 402 in Senate Report 93-1298 (November 26, 1974) it stated:

"The Committee 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."

The President's message of June 2, 1976

In light of the above interpretation, and with respect to the statutory requirements of section 402(d)(1), the President's message of June 2, 1976 contains defects and omissions so massive as to render it wholly unacceptable. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that during last year's floor debates on the Rumanian Trade Agreement, strong objections were already raised in both Houses against the President's initial message of April 24, 1975, waiving the requirement of free emigration. The text was criticized as vague, unclear and falling short of the language specified in section 402 (c) and (d). The fact that, despite such well-founded disfavor, virtually the same message has been resubmitted this year only reveals the Administration's contempt for Congressional efforts to link trade benefits for communist dictatorships with humanitarian conditions. Apparently, the President expects Congress to rubberstamp this slipshod document without any serious investigation into the considerable ethical problems involved.

Specifically, the message nowhere shows the manner in which the waiver will *substantially promote* the objectives of section 402. It speaks instead in very general and glowing terms about such goals as "mutual beneficial growth in two-way trade", "very satisfactory political ties" and "Romania's independent policy orientation", all considerations which are completely uncalled for and irrelevant to the justifications for the waiver required by section 402. Even if the objectives of the section were restricted to the right of free emigration—as the Administration is eager to have us believe—the message falls far short of substantiating its claim. The allegation that "since the implementation of the Trade Agreement with Romania the flow of emigration from that country to the United States and Israel has increased markedly" is simply not true according to numerous Jewish groups as well as the very recent figures inserted into the Congressional Record (August 9, 1976, pp. H8550-52) by Congressman Edward I. Koch.

In sum, we maintain that the Presidents' high-handed almost contemptuous treatment of this very important piece of legislation as well as the right of Congressional oversight, merits a sound rebuff from this distinguished Subcommittee.

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.

On the other hand, it would be idle to charge us with opposition to the right of free emigration. The members of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania are either immigrants or the children of immigrants. Each of us considers it a true blessing to have been allowed the opportunity of gaining access to the liberties and prosperity of this country. But none of us have forgotten that it was a tortuous, agonizing experience, for our parents or ourselves, to make the final decision, pull up roots and bid a last farewell to an ancestral homeland. It is *in this sense as well*, that every American descendant of immigrants shares a common heritage. Those of our forefathers, whether one, two or more generations

away, who made the decision to emigrate to the New World, did so out of utter despair, as victims of political persecution, religious intolerance or economic misery. Under such circumstance, the right of free emigration could hardly inspire them to excesses of enthusiasm over their fate.

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.

Moreover, as we have already pointed out, the heavy emphasis on Jewish emigration in the legislative history of Title IV reflects Congress' preoccupation with the then-prospective Soviet Trade Agreement. At that time, among the innumerable violations against human rights in the Soviet Union, restrictions on Jewish emigration was the one problem *whose ameliorative by pressure through trade policy seemed most promising*. This is a very important distinction. It would be foolish to dream of turning communist dictatorships into liberal democracies solely through the granting or withholding of trade benefits. On the other hand, there are human rights abuses such as the prevention of Jewish emigration or the cultural oppression of minorities which are not *necessary concomitants* of maintaining a closed communist society. (Indeed, during the 1950's Rumania's own minorities were somewhat less oppressed than they are today.) We maintain, therefore, that improvements can and should be sought in *all areas* where they are *realistically attainable*.

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 permitted to leave for Israel, but those who elect to stay are also entitled to protection of *their* human rights. There are, for instance, only three rabbis for this sizable Jewish community. Some of the approximately 400,000 ethnic Germans (Saxons) in Rumania may leave for Germany, but the rest should be allowed to enjoy and develop *their* own culture as well. For the largest ethnic minority in Europe, the 2.5 million Hungarians of Rumania, the right of free emigration would be a dubious blessing at most. Indeed, if Congress authoritatively declared that of all human rights, it is only the right of free emigration that section 402 of the Trade Act was intended to protect, we would respectfully ask Congress to exempt the Hungarian population of Rumania from this "benefit". The dearth of Hungarian-speaking professionals attending to the needs of this minority population is already severe, having progressively worsened since the elimination of the 378 year-old Hungarian University at Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1950. Yet, given the campaign of discrimination and denial of human rights currently waged against the Hungarians in Rumania, the first to emigrate would be the group of young, mobile, urbanized intellectuals whose presence and services the minority population most sorely needs. To deprive them of this elite would merely contribute to the success of this campaign of cultural genocide. In sum, we strongly oppose the offer of free emigration without implementation of concrete measures to alleviate the plight of the Hungarian minority in Rumania.

Numerous members of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania are escapees from Rumania who would gladly be reunited with the relatives they left behind. The Committee, however, has followed a conscious practice of not appending listings of "personal hardship cases" to its publications. Though noble and desirable, the reunification of individual families detracts from the deeper, underlying problem: the fate of the 2.5 million Hungarians left behind. The true plight of this minority must not be allowed to fade in the shadow of spectacular, but individual solutions.

The true nature of the Ceausescu regime versus its "Public Relations" Image

The chief justification advanced for extending trade benefits to Rumania is the alleged "bravely independent" foreign policy of that country. The extent to

which this legend has been sold to the West, together with the vague image of a liberal regime trying mightily to break away from the Soviet camp, is astonishing.

The fact is, however, that Nicolae Ceausescu 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 politbureau, he has broken all records for nepotism, even in the Communist world.

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 the given geo-political factors appear to be his own achievements, thus pulling the wool over Western eyes.

Be that as it may, we would certainly welcome a genuine—even if partial—break with communist orthodoxy on Rumania's part. Such a step would benefit all the peoples of the area. On the other hand, we refuse to silently accept the brutal destruction of the culture of 2.5 million of our brethren as a reward for Rumania's having caused some minor irritations to the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, we are not alone in illuminating the real nature of the Ceausescu regime. For example, a June 25, 1975 memorandum prepared by the Library of Congress (cited in the Congressional Record, July 25, 1975, pp. 13733-35) states:

"Thus, Rumania has had an intensified campaign since July 1971 to keep close control over cultural policy and maintain the communist orthodoxy the Roumanian Government follows. As a result of this policy, Roumania is regarded by most observers as having one of the most closed and controlled societies in Eastern Europe."

Hardly a week passes without an article appearing in some newspaper, describing the almost sadistic manner in which the Rumanian regime persecutes dissidents, prospective emigrants or just plain nonconformists. Some examples from recent months are: "New Curbs on Art Likely in Rumania" (New York Times, May 28, 1976, p. A5); "Repression Rise Seen in Rumania, Emigration and Travel is Held Further Restricted" (New York Times, May 30, 1976, p. 13); "Dad's Visa Issue of Life and Blood, Romanian Boy Needs Anti-Cancer Transplant" (New York Daily News, July 9, 1976, p. 4) (The three year-old boy subsequently died because the Rumanian Government did not allow his father to come to the United States in time for the necessary tests.); "Paris Publishes Novelist Rumania Silenced" (New York Times, July 20, 1976, p. 40); "Family of Noted Exile Persecuted in Romania" (The Washington Post, August 20, 1976, p. F7).

Page after page could be filled with examples documenting the brutality of the regime. Perhaps it will suffice to mention only one revealing fact: of the six communist defectors at the Olympics in Montreal, one was from the Soviet Union and the other five were all from Rumania. That, in a nutshell, is indicative of the kind of country Mr. Ceausescu is running.

Minority oppression is a matter of international concern per se

Rumania's national minorities are of course subject 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 that article 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 provi-

sions 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, itself a signatory of the Helsinki Document, has every legal basis to insist on the restoration of fundamental rights to the minority populations of Rumania.

The airing of our grievances and reactions in some quarters

Early this year, and partly with the Congressional hearings in mind, the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania was formed by young Hungarian-Americans. The Committee is an ad hoc organization supported by all major associations of the one million Hungarians in America. Its objective is to call American public attention to the plight of national minorities in Rumania and to apply pressure on the Ceausescu regime to alleviate that plight.

In accordance with this objective, the Committee placed an advertisement in the New York Times (May 7, 1976, p. A15) in which we outlined the major grievances against Rumania. On the same day, that advertisement was inserted into the Congressional Record by Congressman Edward I. Koch (May 7, 1976, pp. 4115-16).

In his introductory statement; Congressman Koch called upon the Ambassador of Rumania, Cornelli Bogdan (since replaced) as well as the State Department to comment on the issues raised in the ad. Their replies appeared in the Congressional Record on May 26, 1976 (pp. H4904-95).

Ambassador Bogdan's response was predictable. He evaded the questions raised in our publication; his answers were totally beside the point. Instead of even attempting to meet our charges head on, he began his reply with the allegation that Rumanians were "the original population of his territory". Whether or not his statement is true, it is as irrelevant to the issue at hand as it is academically unresolved and perhaps unresolvable. It is especially distasteful to see a representative of a sovereign state make a claim of historic priority when confronted with questions concerning his government's treatment of its minorities. While on an academic level, a case may be made for the historic priority of Hungarians in Transylvania, we neither argued this claim, nor would we ever refer to such contentions as providing any basis for our demands in the area of human rights. While the Ambassador referred to our charges as "regrettable manifestation of arbitrary thought and action of an aggressive mentality which is losing ground in international life (sic!)", it is in fact his own letter to which these remarks most apply. It is he who attempted to justify ethnic oppression by referring to events which took place more than a thousand years ago.

Unfortunately, we found our own State Department's letter even more distasteful than the Ambassador's. After all, Ambassador Bogdan gave us what we expected. But the wholehearted agreement by the State Department with the evasions, distortions and outright lies spread by the Rumanian propaganda machinery was entirely new to us. We were not aware that detente had gone this far. The letter, signed by Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations Robert J. McCloskey, disclosed the subjects examined in an "exhaustive Embassy review" of the situation of Rumania's minorities directed by Ambassador to Rumania Harry G. Barnes, Jr. The letter claims that in preparing this report, "the Embassy searched out and utilized a wide variety of sources bringing its broad experience and judgment to bear in its evaluation". The result is pitiful.

First, no independent investigations were conducted, which is not surprising, since no one on the Embassy staff speaks Hungarian. The "evidence" consists instead of a practically verbatim repetition of official Rumanian statistics and the statements of Rumanian Communist officials. The credibility of the Rumanian Communist rector of the University of Kolozsvar (Cluj) (the former ancient Hungarian University) with respect to discrimination against Hungarian applicants is anyone's guess.

Moreover, Ambassador Barnes' persistent reference to the non-discriminatory nature of Rumania's internal policies brings to mind Anatole France's observation that in the Paris of his day both millionaires and paupers were forbidden to sleep

under bridges. After all, Hungarian schools are eliminated for all students, Hungarian and Rumanian alike, are they not? Rumanian is the only language allowed to be spoken by everyone everywhere, is it not? Where then is there any discrimination?

Major elements of the assault on the Hungarian minority

At this point, we would like to describe the primary features of the Rumanian campaign against minority cultures. Wherever possible, we shall disprove both the Rumanian counter-claims as well as their echo by the State Department.

1. 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. According to official government figures, the growth rate of the Hungarian population in Rumania was greater during periods of war and strife than during years of relative peace and stability. This result conflicts with all historical data on patterns of population growth—including the pattern of growth in the rest of Rumania.

The last three censuses in Rumania have produced the following published statistics on the Hungarian population:

| | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1930 | ----- | 1,426,500 |
| 1956 | ----- | 1,587,675 |
| | Percent change----- | +11.3 |
| 1966 | ----- | 1,619,592 |
| | Percent change----- | +2.0 |

According to these figures, between 1930 and 1956, the Hungarian population grew by 11.3%. Between 1956 and 1966, however, the net growth was allegedly only 2.0%.

It seems highly improbable that the population growth of Hungarians could have been higher in a period of war, turmoil and border shifts (1930-1956) resulting in mass expulsions and emigration of Hungarians, than during a period of relative stability (1956-1966).

In addition to this improbability, there are demographic statistics on Hungarians which suggest a significantly larger Hungarian population than that which is officially reported. According to official Rumanian sources, there are about 1.5 million active Hungarian churchgoers in Rumania. This number represents 92.6% of the Hungarian population shown in the table above. The magnitude of this percentage, however, is clearly absurd given the well-known pressure 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 percent. Taking the given 1.5 million Hungarian churchgoers and applying 62.9 percent, a figure probably still an exaggeration for a communist country, the size of the Hungarian population would be approximately 2.4 million.

In its review, the United States Embassy in Bucharest claims not to know of "any reasoned scientific or demographic basis for claims by certain Magyars living abroad that 2.5 million or higher may be the more correct estimate." The State Department might be well advised to consider the internal inconsistencies in the Rumanian statistics as well as the demographic data discussed above.

Falsification of statistics, either by the census taker at the source, or by the central census bureau itself, are obvious explanations for such inconsistencies. Beyond this, there is evidence of strong pressure, including outright intimidation aimed at forcing Hungarians to declare themselves Rumanian. Such practices are carried to such an extent that outstanding athletes of minority extraction may engage in international events only if their names are Rumanianized. Thus, according to the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* (August 16, 1976, p. 130) the Rumanian wonderchild of the Montreal Olympics, Nadia Comaneci, is actually Hungarian. Her name was changed from the obviously Hungarian Anna Kemenes when her athletic talents were discovered. *Der Spiegel* writes: "That the Rumanian Olympic officials concealed the background of the new

national idol can be explained by Rumanian party chief Ceausescu's policy of overzealous nationalism."

2. Discrimination in the field of education

Official Rumanian statistics indicate that of all pupils attending preschool institutions in Rumania, the proportion of Hungarians dropped by over 50 percent from 14.4% in 1966 to 6.8% in 1975. The proportion of primary and secondary school students during the same period dropped from 9.5% to 5.6%, and of high school students from 8.0% to 5.5%. The total decline in the above categories was from 10.0% to 5.8%. The percentage of Hungarian students attending Hungarian vocational schools dropped from 8.1% in 1956 to 1.5% by 1975. The figures used to compute these percentages are presented in the table below.

| | 1955/1956 | 1974/1975 |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Pre-school education: | | |
| All students..... | 275,433 | 770,016 |
| Hungarian students..... | 39,669 | 52,765 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 14.4 | 6.8 |
| Primary and secondary education: | | |
| All students..... | 1,603,025 | 2,882,109 |
| Hungarian students..... | 152,234 | 160,939 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 9.5 | 5.6 |
| High schools of general culture: | | |
| All students..... | 129,135 | 344,585 |
| Hungarian students..... | 10,370 | 19,050 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 8.0 | 5.5 |
| Vocational education: | | |
| All students..... | 123,920 | 615,876 |
| Hungarian students..... | 7,585 | 8,974 |
| Percent Hungarian..... | 6.1 | 1.5 |

These official Rumanian statistics further show that approximately 20% of Hungarian students do not have opportunity to obtain Hungarian preschool education. Similarly, according to official statistics, 85% of eligible Hungarian children cannot attend primary and secondary schools. These calculations assume that the 8.5% official Hungarian population statistic is accurate and that this percentage of prospective students holds for each educational level. If we use the more realistic Hungarian population figure of 2.5 million, the lack of opportunity to attend Hungarian educational institutions becomes even more striking.

In light of the discussion above, it is difficult to imagine how the State Department could have arrived at the conclusion that official Rumanian statistics "do not bear out the contention that there has been a precipitous decline" in Hungarian educational opportunities. An examination of these statistics leads to the inevitable conclusion that there has indeed been such a decline. Did the State Department examine these statistics? If not, what is the basis of its contentions?

The process whereby 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, are 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 law requires that a minimum of 25 elementary school students—36 students, on the high school level—are needed to maintain a Hungarian class. At the same time no such quotas are placed on Rumanian students. In fact, this law requires the maintenance of a Rumanian section in all communities which contain any Rumanian students, no matter how few. As most villages in Transylvania have only between 500 and 1000 inhabitants, the number of Hungarian students often may not reach the necessary quota. But, since the law requires a Rumanian section regardless of demand, Hungarian sections necessarily cease to exist. Once a school has thus been forced to become Rumanian, the use of the Hungarian language is forbidden even during recess. This tactic was reported by a London daily newspaper, *The Financial Times* ("Transylvania's Ethnic Strains", April 2, 1975), as follows:

"At least 25 students are required to set up a minority class in a school, but a Rumanian class has to be set up as soon as there are two Rumanian-speaking students. In the villages of the Szekely area, which are 95% Hungarian, children of six are compelled to learn to read and write in a foreign language if their

number is, say 24, and the children of the local officials (almost exclusively Rumanian) happen to exceed one in the same group. And this, according to official interpretation, is all supposed to be for the good of the minorities."

In all Hungarian schools and sections, in addition to the Rumanian language, literature, geography, and history are always 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. Let it be remembered that the present unrest in South Africa was initiated last June when the Government tried to force the black schoolchildren to learn Afrikaans.

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, of course, alleges that it is due to lack of popular demand that such courses are closed.

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

On March 5, 1950, The Bolyai University was forced to merge with the Rumanian Babes University. The elimination of this Hungarian institution constituted a major blow to the Hungarian minority. Three professors, including the celebrated writer László Szabédi, committed suicide out of despair at this arbitrary act. Today, many view its elimination 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, the general of the secret police dispatched to Kolozsvár to carry out this shameful decision was Nicolae Ceausescu.

Today, at the Babes-Bolyai University, all courses except for a few seminars on Hungarian language and literature, are conducted in Rumanian. As evidence that Hungarians are not discriminated against, however, the State Department is satisfied with the assurance of the Rumanian Rector of the university, Stefan Pascu, that entrance examinations may be taken in either language.

Since publication of the contention by both the Rumanian government and the State Department that of the 207 courses at the Babes-Bolyai University, 77 are in Hungarian, the Rumanian government has admitted the inaccuracy of this figure. It now claims that although 77 subjects are in Hungarian, *courses* in these subjects may be held only once every few years. Presumably, the State Department's opinion has changed accordingly?

In addition to this University, all other Hungarian institutions of higher education have also been systematically curtailed or eliminated.

The Rumanian government must be required to restore the Hungarian educational institutions it has eliminated since 1950. The process of reestablishing the Hungarian school network can easily be monitored, even from abroad. The United States Embassy could, for example, spot-check the schools named in listings periodically issued by the Rumanian government indicating the newly restored schools. The Rumanian government should also be required to amend the blatantly discriminatory Decree-Law 278 (May 11, 1973) to equalize the number of Hungarians and Rumanians necessary to maintain a class. Finally, the obvious discrimination inherent in the fact that a population of 2.5 million is not allowed to maintain even a single university should be ended through the restoration of the Bolyai University to its former status.

3. Dissolution of Hungarian communities and dispersion of professionals

As a communist dictatorship, the Rumanian government has almost complete control over its labor market. This control is used to break up homogeneous ethnic Hungarian communities.

The systematic denationalization of Hungarian cities has been noted in the *Financial Times* article cited above. The case of Kolozsvár (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 per cent of the population."

The aggressive dissolution of homogeneous Hungarian communities is conducted under the guise of "proper ethnic balance". This balance is enforced without regard to local conditions. The *Financial Times* further explains:

"In a city like Tirgu-Mures (Hungarian Marosvásárhely), where Hungarians are in a majority of 60%, only 10% of the locally employed may be Hungarian—just as in Iose, where there have never been any Hungarians. And with such an approach it can be asserted that Romanian workers must be settled in Hungarian and German cities "in order to ensure the correct ethnic composition" at work. Similarly, Hungarians can be dispersed in Romanian villages for the same reason. Hungarian workers from Transylvania who happen to be in a surplus are compelled to travel several hundred miles to work, leaving their families behind them."

The State Department proposes 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 Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) where in the past 10 years, as a consequence of industrialization, the percentage of Hungarians has fallen from 90% to 70%. This city happens to be in the heart of the Szekler region where the "hinterland" is purely Hungarian.

Clearly, the Ceausescu regime, which appeals to Rumanian 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.

Hungarian graduates of universities and trade schools are routinely assigned jobs outside their native community. 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 national 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 the rural areas, is that they cannot communicate with the local doctor.

The fact that Rumanians are also sent into Hungarian districts does not make this policy any less discriminatory, as implied by the State Department report. 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 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 in the previous chapter.

Since the Rumanian government assigns these jobs, it obviously keeps records of the assignments. Access to these records could provide the United States with a means of monitoring this practice.

4. Curtailment of cultural opportunities

The complete absence of any measure of cultural autonomy renders the situation of the minorities helpless. Hungarians and Germans are not allowed any association of their own which could safeguard their cultural rights or which could speak for them concerning their educational, linguistic, or religious problems.

The Council of the Working People of the Hungarian Nationality was established in 1968 supposedly to serve the interests of the 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."

Although there are officials of minority extraction at every governmental level, they are permitted no autonomous role concerning their own ethnic groups. They

are part of the Rumanian machinery, usually comprising a fraction well under even the 8.5 percent officially defined as the proportion of the Hungarian population. Yet, as the Hungarian writers of Transylvania often express it privately: "We do not want to keep our culture 8.5 percent, we want to keep it 100 percent."

In view of the already discussed decline in Hungarian educational opportunities and the increasing denationalization of Hungarian communities, the contention in the State Department report that "basic linguistic, didactic, literary and instructional needs are being met" is an obvious misrepresentation. The implication that the Rumanian government's cultural policies are nondiscriminatory because "their Rumanian counterparts in education and literature probably would make the same claim about their own situation" is ludicrous. These policies do not in any way encourage or force the Rumanians to abandon their language and heritage, as they do the Hungarians. The following are some examples of this discriminatory process:

No Independent Hungarian Literary Association may exist in Rumania today, despite the rich literary heritage of Hungarian writers of Transylvania; only a Hungarian section operating as part of the Rumanian Writers' Association of Kolozsvár (Cluj) is allowed.

Hungarian language publications are used by the State to further undermine the national identity of the minorities. Newspapers, magazines, and literary publications in Hungarian serve neither the political, economic, nor the cultural/spiritual needs of the Hungarian minority. Literary magazines are to a great extent devoted to the translated works of Rumanian authors and to the activities of the Communist Party.

The State Department sees a nondiscriminatory policy in the fact that both Hungarian and Rumanian language publications contain too much official propaganda. Official Rumanian propaganda is chauvinist in nature. It serves the interests of a chauvinistic dictatorship bent on robbing its minority population of its national identity. Thus even when applied equally to both Hungarians and Rumanians, it is inevitably discriminatory against the former.

The number of Hungarian language newspapers, frequency of publication and number of pages have all been forcibly curtailed in the past two years. For example, the six former Hungarian language dailies are now published only weekly. Religious publications are practically non-existent. For example, for the 700,000 Hungarian members of the Reformed Church, there is only one bimonthly publication with a circulation of a mere 1000.

Works by writers from Hungary reach the minority in Transylvania very late if at all. For example, the most widely known novel by one of the greatest contemporary writers in Hungary, László Németh, published in 1948, was not distributed in Rumania until 1967. This restriction on literary imports from Hungary applies also to works of classical literature, specialized scientific and technical texts, and phonograph records, even of Hungarian folk and gypsy music. The State Department explains this phenomenon by speculating that it is motivated by "fear of possible penetration . . . of pro-Soviet foreign policy line of the present Hungarian government . . ." and "the revanchist hints sometimes evident in Hungarian historical and literary material connected with Transylvania . . ." It is difficult to understand what pro-Soviet line, or revanchist hints can be found in these materials. Just as an effect cannot precede its cause, there can be no "revanchist hints" in anything written before 1918, and we challenge anyone to show us any revanchist material published in communist Hungary. The fear is not of "revanchist hints", it is that contact with its cultural heritage will help the Hungarian minority to maintain its national identity.

Twenty years ago there were six Hungarian theaters in Transylvania. Today only two of them exist, those of Kolozsvár (Cluj) and Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures). The other four have been merged into Rumanian theaters, where the management and service personnel are Rumanian. In 1974-75, the Hungarian Maros Dance Ensemble performed considerably more Rumanian than Hungarian dance numbers. This fact is symptomatic of how these allegedly Hungarian ensembles must apportion their time and repertoire.

In sum, minority cultural institutions (their officials, artists, and patrons alike) can function *only* as appendages of the majority Rumanian machinery, serving only the goals of the Rumanian party leadership. This leadership is intoxicated with dreams of eradicating any non-Rumanian cultural influence from this area.

5. Lack of bilingualism

Due to the complete absence of any degree of bilingualism and the chauvinism encouraged by governmental policies, members of minorities often have to put up with derision and threats for using their mother tongue.

Rumanian is the exclusive language in all levels of government bureaucracy. In addition, there is an increasing tendency to appoint Rumanian personnel to all positions that deal with the public, even in Hungarian areas. Bilingual street names and road signs are limited to a few localities in the Szekler region. Traffic safety signs and bureaucratic forms are all in Rumanian.

Rumania should be required to adopt the policy of bilingualism in any community where the minority population is, say, 20% or more. The United States can easily monitor the execution of this principle merely by having embassy personnel make periodic visits to the particular localities to which it applies.

6. Falsification of history

The Rumanian Communist Party produces and disseminates its own version of history designed to suppress the contributions of Hungarians to the culture, heritage, and history of Transylvania. This semi-fictional account dismisses the significance of the indigenous Hungarian culture. This suppression is clearly evident in history textbooks published in Rumania. They contain an almost complete silence on centuries of Transylvania's Hungarian history.

7. Confiscation of church archives

The United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide in 1948 accepted the following definition as one of the ways by which the crime of cultural genocide may be committed:

"... 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." (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 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 the main 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 State Department's contention that "the law has not been directed solely or discriminatorily against Magyars in Transylvania" is contradicted by the facts presented in the respectable Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* ("Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Rumania", February 1/2, 1975, p. 6):

"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, Bala-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."

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 is again reported by the *Financial Times*: "A favourite device is to 'facelift' the tombs and crypts of famous Hungarian families in the medieval Házsongárd cemetery in Cluj by allotting them to recently dead Rumanians. In this way, the ethnic composition of the former population, now dead, is restructured favourably."

Rumania should be required to return these archives to the respective parishes at once, and to amend Decree-Law 206/1974 to eliminate the possibility of such outrages.

8. Obstructing contacts with relatives abroad

Decree-Law 225/1974 prohibits the accommodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes with the exception of closest relatives. The law was ostensibly created for the protection of the hotel industry and applies to all visitors. Predictably, the State Department again asserts that this feature is a sign of non-discrimination. 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 abroad (the 10.5 million Hungarians in neighboring Hungary alone, not to mention the several million Hungarians elsewhere in the world. Since relatives from Hungary are usually of modest means, and since hotel facilities especially in rural Transylvania are scarce, visits by relatives from Hungary often become a practical impossibility.

Given this fact, it would be difficult to locate the source of the speculation by Ambassador Barnes that "the number of Serbian, Italian, and German visitors may have been reduced by as much or more than that of the Hungarians". In any case, the Ambassador again seems to argue that the law is non-discriminatory because it applies equally to all minorities in Rumania.

The fact that communist countries contain closed societies is especially true of Rumania, which is one of the most intolerant and repressive. One result is that no survey or investigation can be conducted without a stamp of approval from the communist officialdom. Our data collection, therefore, is necessarily dependent on official sources and on personal visits to relatives. Through Decree/Law 225/1974 the Rumanian government has conveniently limited accessibility to even these sources. This law not only isolates the Hungarians from their relatives, it also keeps the outside world from finding out more of the truth.

9. Religious persecution

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. Significantly, this happened at a time when elsewhere in Europe wars of religious intolerance were raging.

The Rumanian State, through its organ the 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, except for Sunday Mass, has to be approved by the State. This restriction harms especially the minority populations since the Church is the only remaining institution which could fulfill their socio-cultural needs and permit them to nurture their ethnic heritage.

By paying one third of church officials' salaries, 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 ma-

chinery—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.

Forced isolation harms minority churches which have sister communities in the western world and which are dependent to a great extent on donations from abroad for 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 non-communist countries.

Freedom of publication of theological books, periodicals, and other religious material is extremely limited. The propaganda booklet entitled "The Hungarian Nationality in Romania", distributed by the "Romanian Library" in New York is able to list only five theological books published in Hungarian in the last quarter-century.

The Hungarian Protestant Theological Institute of Kolozsvár (Cluj) came into being as a result of forced unification of the independent Presbyterian and Unitarian Theological Institutes in 1949. This institute is indeed, as the propaganda booklet claims, "a unique institute": 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 carefully designed and supervised by the Ministry of Cults. Exams, which are all oral, are chaired by an Inspector from the Ministry of Cults to insure that future ministers of the Hungarian minority keep in line with the policy of the State.

The State Department contention that in the treatment of organized religion "official strictures are not directed against Magyar Christians alone" proves to be misleading. Definite, ameliorative measures in this area should be required of Rumania, such as the restoration of the Protestant and Unitarian seminaries to their former independent status and an end to the requirement that State approval be necessary for Church gatherings of a social or religious nature.

What could the State Department do?

It is obvious from the above points that in its advocacy of the Rumanian position, the State Department completely disregards such *outright discriminatory* conditions as the fact that the enactment of Decree-Law 278/1973 leads to the elimination of the Hungarian schools, the fact that a highly cultured population of 2.5 million is not allowed to have a university of its own, the fact that Hungarian cultural institutions on all levels are being turned into appendages of Rumanian institutions, and so on. But the single most objectionable statement emanating from the State Department can be found in the McCloskey letter as follows: "Given the unfortunate history of antagonism between the Rumanian and Hungarian populations of the area, it is to be expected that any restrictions imposed by a predominantly Rumanian regime will be resented with special bitterness by the ethnic Hungarians whether or not these restrictions are imposed in a discriminatory fashion."

We emphatically reject this statement as an outrageous ethnic slur, a condescending denigration of the Hungarians of Transylvania, who are not as thick-headed as Mr. McCloskey seems to think they are. They can tell a discriminatory measure when they see one which is much more than we can say for our own Embassy personnel in Bucharest. By now, it must be clear that while the measures described above do nothing to jeopardize the Rumanian language, culture or heritage, they seriously curtail, atrophy and suppress those of the minorities. The execution of the "National Patrimony Law", for example, does not cut the Rumanians off from their national historic roots because Rumania, which admittedly seeks to be a "unitary national state", finds it in its own interest to maintain these roots.

From the report of a recent Congressional Study Mission to Rumania (House Committee on International Relations, August 4, 1976), we know that some United States diplomats—referring to our group—suggest that "while undoubtedly sincere in their beliefs, such groups may unwittingly play into the hands of nations that would benefit from dissension within Romania and disruption of United States-Romanian relation". This is certainly much more refined language than that used by the originators of this absurd notion. At the outset of our campaign last spring, selected Hungarian establishments and individuals were inundated with propaganda materials in which we were variously described as "the well-

known agents of the K.G.B.", "a small faction of fascist Hungarian extremists", and "decadent neohitlerite individuals". While some of this material lacked any sign of origin (author, publisher, printer, etc.), it was printed on the same size and quality paper, with the same type used in official propaganda materials issued by the Rumanian government through its propaganda outlet in New York and through its agents in the United States. Encouraged by the attitude of our State Department, therefore, the arrogance of the Rumanian government knows no limits. Last June, the owner of one of the Hungarian bookstores in New York City displayed one of our pamphlets in his window. He was visited by a Rumanian diplomat, who threatened him with retribution unless he removed the pamphlet from his window. If the present trend of friendship continues, we may find ourselves being arrested by Rumanian agents in New York.

The concerns and worries of our diplomats and the State Department can be answered as follows:

If our government expects increasing Soviet pressure on Ceausescu's regime and wishes to strengthen him, he should be told that it is not in his interest to have the sizeable minority population of the country bitterly antagonized. He can satisfy their just and reasonable needs without any extra effort. Such measures would simply involve the restoration of conditions that previously existed in Rumania. Hungarians have no natural inclination toward the Soviet Union as clearly proven by the 1956 Revolt. While we are attacking an orthodox Stalinist regime, the State Department plays the role of its apologist. We are not against Rumania because it broke with the Soviet Union but because it *did not break* with Stalinist practices. On the other hand, we would be more than happy to return here in a year or two to confirm a favorable image of Rumania's internal policies.

We began our movement because we believe Congress has every intention of adhering to section 402 of the Trade Act. We do not question our government's belief that East-West trade is desirable or that it would be advantageous to extend Rumania's trade concessions for commercial or political reasons. What we are against is the sacrifice of Rumania's minorities in the name of short-sighted political expediency.

We are not in the business of rearranging borders or of renewing old feuds. We want to see peace and friendship between Rumanians and Hungarians. If there is some latent antagonism between them, it is due to opportunistic, manipulative politicians.

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. We are aware that the Administration generally does not like section 402 of the Trade Act. Nevertheless, it is on the books, it is the law of the land, and it must be executed to the letter.

Hungarian-Americans did not arrive on our shores with empty luggage. Top United States scientists such as John von Neumann, Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, Edward Teller, and Dennis Gabor are all of Hungarian origin. In the fine arts, such world-renowned figures as Eugene Ormandy, Antal Dorati, George Szell, and Georg Solti are all Americans of Hungarian origin. Aside from all else, we feel that their legacy in American scientific and cultural development warrants the support and protection of their rich heritage.

Senator CURTIS: I will now call Mr. Mesterhazy. Mr. Mesterhazy, first, will you give your full name and your address to the reporter.

STATEMENT OF SZABOLCS MESTERHAZY

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Szabolcs Mesterhazy. I prefer not to give my home address. My mailing address is Post Box 3021, Center Line, Mich. 48015. I apologize for not giving my address. I know the Communists can kill me, but I don't want the fools to go against me.

Senator CURTIS. We understand that. This name and address will enable anyone who wishes to communicate with you to do so. Your entire statement will be received and printed in full as if given and I would like to start out by asking you a few questions, if I may.

You have appeared before the Finance Committee before, and you were one of the architects who initiated and helped draft that section in the trade law which puts certain restrictions on the granting of the most-favored-nation treatment to Romania; is that correct?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes.

Senator CURTIS. And since your work in that regard, you have had occasion to monitor its effectiveness?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir.

Senator CURTIS. And in that monitoring, you have gathered information from many sources?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Many sources.

Senator CURTIS. Now, back at the time that these requirements were placed in the trade law that Romania must meet in order to receive the most-favored-nation treatment, in the original discussions and negotiations of that, it was not subject to a waiver by the Government of the United States; isn't that correct?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir, and I can elaborate on this, if I may. Mr. Chairman, you have to take into consideration there is a mixup between section 409, which I drafted, initiated, and section 402, which was drafted and initiated by the distinguished Senators Jackson, Ribicoff, and Javits, and was carried out through secret negotiations with Secretary Kissinger.

I have knowledge this section 402 was drafted. I think no knowledgeable people believed in it in the Senate or otherwise. Do these Senators who wrote this mean what they say? But there was a damn fool person. It was Szabolcs Mesterhazy, he who believed in it. He came here to testify before the U.S. Senate. He was known by no one. He represented no one. This man comes to this country determined to defend his rights here by joining other Hungarians, but he found out that we Hungarians of Hungarian origin, we have all of our rights and so we needed to join the majority. So I joined the majority in this country. I didn't need to be defended.

My country accepted me here. Sir, in my first free election—you see how badly I speak English now. At that time I spoke even less. I was running for the Republican precinct delegate in my first free election in this country. There were two Hungarians in the precinct, my wife and myself. My wife voted against me. She said I have enough trouble with the Communists, She didn't want me to get involved again. I voted for myself, sir. In secret ballot, I got 97 votes and my opponent who was the precinct delegate and was supported by the State Republican Party got 83 votes. This was not a landslide, but my American-born neighbors accepted me to represent them. So from then on, I was an American.

Today it seems natural that I testify before you without representing interest groups. You are holding a hearing on one part of the law I drafted, but I never forgot the honor of it and that it was the brilliant staff of this committee with Mr. Best who arranged my first appearance before this committee in the spring of 1974, without knowing anyone in the Capitol. They are the ones who are building a bridge between the American public and the U.S. Senate.

Senator CURTIS. Mr. Mesterhazy, if we can go on to another point—

Mr. MESTERHAZY. I want to state, if I may, that those people who spoke before me, I heard their statements. I think this is not the primary thing which the Senate has to concern it, but I say that what they said was true. I traveled in the past few years in Romania. I worked for the U.S. Army in Europe and I saw the similar things to what I heard. They are under double suppression, but I have to tell you I want to be fair even to the Communists.

This was not the Communists who initiated this suppression; it was before, too. They just said, let's continue it, and they are doing it.

I want to tell you one story. I left my wife behind and she flew after me in an airplane. She was born in Romania. She was told to speak Romanian. She was born in Transylvania where there was no Romanian and it was all Hungarian. She went to the school but she was at that time able to learn Hungarian. She didn't learn anything but the Romanian national anthem.

They were very polite to me with my Army plate when I crossed the border but they took off all her clothes to find something or embarrass her, but they didn't find anything and she said she doesn't know anything.

Senator CURTIS. We want to cover these points and I am taking a little liberty because of your previous connection in this legislation with a little more time than some.

Is it true that when the committee first acted and then it was arranged that an amendment be offered on the floor, and I believe that Senator Helms was involved, that proposal laid down certain requirements that Romania had to comply with in reference to emigration before they could get the most favored nation. That was accepted on the Senate floor and then some time elapsed and a further amendment without notice to many of us was presented which made it subject to a waiver by the Senate; is that correct?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir, and I want to tell you what is the difference between sections 402 and 409. I have no objection to what was done by the Senators who introduced section 402 which meant that everybody must be able to emigrate. But I am sure these Senators didn't know that most Communist countries can allow this only after they gave up communism, and they expected this. This was just made a requirement. Then as everybody knows but don't admit, it was replaced by a deal that the free emigration was put out of business and the Communists will agree to increase Jewish emigration.

Now some people like to work and are able to work secretly to make restrictions. I, the private citizen, was unable to do, not because I am more honest than these Senators, but I don't have a Henry Kissinger who made a secret deal for me, so I decided, sir, to restrict myself, my amendment which is section 409, to cover only who suffered the most.

I restricted it only for fathers, mothers, wives, husbands, sisters, brothers, sons, and daughters.

Senator CURTIS. In other words, in requiring that Romania grant free emigration or free emigration as a condition for this trade concession, you restricted your provision to the uniting of families.

Mr. MESTERHAZY. But not all family members. My wife's relatives are in Romania and they are not covered because they are nieces and others, and I tell you it is a tragedy.

I said that the difference between 402 and 409 which was understood by everybody concerned, there was a gentleman's agreement between all concerned in the U.S. Senate and they accepted my amendment as introduced, except one, the one to eliminate the visiting provision when Senator Helms was so noble to come down and ask me: This is your amendment, what do we do now? I agreed with broken heart because there are many people who don't want to leave, they want to die there, but they want to see their son before they die and they cannot come to see their son because of this.

Senator CURTIS. What you are arguing for now is not only the right to emigrate for purposes of changing a residence but also for visitation?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes.

Senator CURTIS. Both directions?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir, but what I am saying, this is a bill after I monitored, sir, what was happening. I drafted a new bill which you were so kind to introduce.

Senator CURTIS. We will come to that in a moment. Now, it is your opinion—I am not talking about the new bill, but in the existing trade law—that the requirements that Romania must meet as set forth in that law have become ineffective because of the granting of the waiver? Do you feel that the provisions that are in the trade law now have not been effective because the waiver has been added?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir.

Senator CURTIS. So you are suggesting, if I understand you correctly, at this time that we repeal the waiver; is that correct?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir, but I want to state to you, sir, first of all on the public record that it was not the U.S. Senate who broke the gentleman agreement that was reached in my amendment. It was done by a single Senator after a tired, long Senate session with a near empty floor. He was in. I am sure he didn't wait until the participants of the gentleman agreement left and then he stood up. He just didn't know what was going on on the Senate floor in the day, so he wanted to help Senator Helms and me by asking unanimous consent to attach the waiver to my bill.

Senator CURTIS. We will leave out some of the details as to how it happened, but in other words, you came here and advocated a provision which laid down these requirements which must be met by Romania. It was taken up on the Senate floor and while not totally accepted, then some time went by and later in the day the amendment was offered, making it possible for the provision that they adopted to be waived and as I understand it, it is your position that the exercise of that waiver has nullified the provision you wrote in.

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Yes, sir.

Senator CURTIS. And so therefore at this time you feel that the Congress should repeal the waiver?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Sir, I am advocating this, only if this can be done before the end of this month.

Senator CURTIS. But by repeal of the waiver, we are referring to repeal of the waiver as it applies to your emigration section.

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Sir, what I am suggesting, this will be the only fair thing to the American public, and I think this is the interest that

the American public will have in our system, as I still do, seeing all the difficulties, but this is what I am asking and this is fair and just that if the Congress and the President can act fast to repeal this one statement, subsection (d) from section 409 which was attached to it by mistake in the night, that this will be killed, this will be, and the President signed it before September. You acted even faster in 2 days to continue the tax deductions. This can be done in 4 days. If this cannot be done, then the Senate has the right and obligation to pass a resolution of disapproval of the President's authority to waive the requirements of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

The Senate has the right now until early October to veto the continuation of the waiver on section 402 because under the present law this is the only way to remove the waiver from section 409.

Senator CURTIS. Mr. Mesterhazy, you made a great contribution here in this whole field of legislation, but I would suggest this. You have a perfect right to recommend the repeal of the waiver, and I agree with you. Now, as to time schedules, you let somebody else worry about that because the income tax, 212 million people are interested in that, and it rolls pretty fast, and you can't make those comparisons.

Now I want to take occasion just for a few minutes to elicit a little information concerning an additional bill which you have suggested which I introduced, and I ask at this point for the reporter to insert a copy of S. 3524.

[The bill referred to follows:]

[S. 3524, 94th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend section 409 of the Trade Act of 1974 relating to freedom of emigration from Communist countries

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Freedom of Emigration Act".

SEC. 2. Section 409 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2439) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 409. FREEDOM TO VISIT OR TO EMIGRATE TO JOIN A VERY CLOSE RELATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES.

"(a) To assure the continued dedication of the United States to the fundamental human rights and welfare of its own citizens, and notwithstanding any other provision of law, on or after the date of the enactment of the Freedom of Emigration Act, no nonmarket economy country shall participate in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, directly or indirectly, and the President of the United States shall not conclude or renew any commercial agreement with any such country, during the period beginning with the date on which the President determines that such country—

"(1) denies its citizens the right or opportunity to visit or to join permanently through emigration (within six months of the date of application or attempted application for the proper passport or other documents necessary to be able to leave for the United States) a very close relative in the United States, such as a spouse, parent, child, brother, or sister;

"(2) imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration or on passports, exit visas, or other documents required for visits or for emigration, for any purpose or cause whatsoever, on a citizen described in paragraph (1);

"(3) imposes more than a nominal tax, levy, fine, fee, or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the citizen's desire to visit or to emigrate to the country of his choice;

"(4) does not allow a citizen described in paragraph (1) to pay for the transportation needed for the visit or emigration, and to take along currency equal to, if visiting, one-half, and if emigrating, five times the cost of the

tourist fare for a regularly scheduled airplane to the United States, in addition to the payment for transportation;

"(5) does not allow a citizen described in paragraph (1), if retired and receiving a pension or other old age benefit, to receive the benefits while visiting in the United States, or after emigrating to the United States; or

"(6) makes it difficult or impossible for a citizen described in paragraph (1) to receive visitors from the United States by forcing the visitor to exchange or spend a certain amount of western currency, while visiting, or by other means applied to circumvent the requirements of this section, and ending one year after the date on which the President determines that such country is no longer in violation of paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6).

"(b) After the date of the enactment of the Freedom of Emigration Act. (A) a nonmarket economy country may participate in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, and (B) the President may conclude or renew a commercial agreement with such country, only after the President has submitted to Congress a report indicating that—

"(1) the country is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6) of subsection (a), and it was never in violation of any of such paragraphs while it was obligated to observe them; or

"(2) the country has not been in violation of any of such paragraphs during the one-year period ending on the day on which such report is submitted.

Such report with respect to such country shall include information as to the nature and implementation of its laws and policies and restrictions or discriminations applied to or against persons wishing to visit or to emigrate to the United States for any reasons. The report required by this subsection shall be submitted initially as provided herein and, with current information, on or before each June 30 and December 31 thereafter, so long as such credits or guarantees are extended or such agreement is in effect.

"(c) If the Senate or the House of Representatives by resolution of either House finds that a country is in violation of paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6) of subsection (a), then the President shall treat that country as being in violation for the purposes of this section."

Senator CURTIS. Mr. Mesterhazy, that bill is not now the subject of consideration, but I want to ask you just a question or two about it. Is it your feeling that until Romania ceases to discriminate against persons living there, not only in reference to emigration but in reference to other matters, that this Government, the U.S. Government, should not extend credit and credit guarantees and investments in that country?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. Sir, I can be prejudiced in this field. I am Hungarian born and in Romania they are suppressed. My relatives are suppressed. I don't feel that I can give to my American country an unprejudiced answer to this question.

Senator CURTIS. Now, in reference to the imposing of a tax or an additional charge on someone who wants to emigrate or secure a passport or exit visa or permit, briefly what is happening in Hungary or Romania now according to your information?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. You are asking, sir, to get a passport. The first thing is, why deny a passport to a person? Just look back. The easiest way to do it is, don't accept the application. This is the first step, of course. It doesn't work all the time, but it cuts off half of the applicants. I have information on this.

Senator CURTIS. Just go ahead and enumerate.

Mr. MESTERHAZY. The second thing is, who is asking to emigrate, and if he is not a professional, he loses his job. Here is the person who can say that. His sister applied 8 years ago to emigrate to this country.

She didn't get an answer from the passport office but from her employer. She was dismissed.

Senator CURTIS. Will you state your name to the reporter?

Mr. MADO. My name is Arpad Mado. I was born in Romania, but I am Hungarian. Because my sister is a Hungarian, she lost her job. I have here my statement. It is very short.

Senator CURTIS. We will receive it in the record at the end of his statement.

What else is done?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. I want to say this, that I told him at lunch this was a mistake to send her money because it can be used against this country by sending it to their spies, and so there was no reason to let his sister go.

Senator CURTIS. What else besides this?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. This is the second. Third is to scare them. If this happens—you remember Kovacs Josef. He disappeared 2 years ago and nobody saw him anymore. They don't say what happened to him. I lived in Hungary and there was that kind of practice and others. So what I am saying is they are scaring the people.

Senator CURTIS. What is the next thing?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. When they apply, usually if there is no way out except the application, then they just don't reply. They don't reject it. This can go on and on. You just don't get a reply, no rejection, no nothing. This is the other way to get around it. I don't know exactly, I have to admit, sir, what it is in Romania, but in Hungary there is a law that nobody can emigrate only after 55 or 50 years of age. The Romanians—I don't believe they have a law on this. They are a different nation.

Senator CURTIS. What practices prevail about a tax or a charge of some kind that discourages them?

Mr. MESTERHAZY. I have letters which I can present to you from a German-origin person translated into English—his letter from Romania. The first thing to do if they let a few—because there are a few who can get out who have, for example, a big house which is his personal property, and then they have to sell this to the state with no more—it is in the letter—than 10 percent of the value. This is one of the taxes you know they pay to leave.

Senator CURTIS. Then they are required to sell their property to the state, but instead of getting its true value, it is a small percent.

Mr. MESTERHAZY. His bad luck is his sister doesn't have a house.

Senator CURTIS. Mr. Mesterhazy, there will be another time, I hope, that we can have a hearing on this bill. I want to make sure that I understand what is happening in Romania. There is acutally a discrimination and oppression coming from two sources: one, the long-time action of the Romanians themselves in their treatment of Hungarians, and then on top of that is the Communist oppression and by reason of those two things, you have raised this new legislation and you also feel what was originally done in the first amendment be adopted, in the first amendment to this act be adopted on the Senate floor, should be allowed to go on without—

Mr. MESTERHAZY. That is my recommendation. I have two recommendations in short: one, to eliminate subsection (d) from section 409 in this month and because I see that the problems you face here

in Congress, I feel honestly this urgent bill that you introduced, if this be done and only then can we wait until maybe next week, but it is important to be enacted now.

Senator CURTIS. Yes, I am inclined to agree that even if the waiver were repealed even at the later date, that it would become effective.

If there are any other additional letters or written statements that you wish to include, either of you.

Mr. MESTERHAZY. One thing I want to give you, sir, is a letter of my son, who wrote this when he was still in Hungary. There are similar other letters, desperate letters from close relatives. As you know, my son and his family are here this day. They are happily here, but my heart is broken seeing the other American fathers and mothers who are in worse conditions than me and they cannot see their loved ones, and that is why I am here today on my own expense.

Senator CURTIS. This letter will be received and entered in the record and we want to thank you for your appearance.

[The information referred to follows:]

[From the Congressional Record, June 8, 1976]

FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION ACT—S. 3524

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, today I am introducing a bill entitled "The Freedom of Emigration Act."

This is a bill which I am sure every Senator will want to support. It provides that no credit, direct or indirect, or no guarantees, or no trade agreements, shall be entered into with any nonmarket economy country that denies its citizens the right and opportunity to visit or to join permanently with their close relatives in the United States, such as spouse, parent, child, brother, or sister.

Mr. President, the need for this is very great. The substance of our country should not be used to support the economy of countries where their own people are not allowed to visit with their close relatives in the United States and to emigrate therefrom.

I send the bill to the desk and ask that it be appropriately referred.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this bill I have introduced be printed in the Record at this point.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be received and referred to the Committee on Finance.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"S. 3524

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Freedom of Emigration Act".

"SEC. 2. Section 409 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2439) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 409. FREEDOM TO VISIT OR TO EMIGRATE TO JOIN A VERY CLOSE RELATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES.

"(a) To assure the continued dedication of the United States to the fundamental human rights and welfare of its own citizens, and not withstanding any other provision of law, on or after the date of the enactment of the Freedom of Emigration Act, no nonmarket economy country shall participate in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, directly or indirectly, and the President of the United States shall not conclude or renew any commercial agreement with any such country, during the period beginning with the date on which the President determines that such country—

"(1) denies its citizens the right or opportunity to visit or to join permanently through emigration (within six months of the date of application or attempted application for the proper passport or other documents necessary to be able to

leave for the United States) a very close relative in the United States, such as a spouse, parent, child, brother, or sister.

"(2) imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration or on passports, exit visas, or other documents required for visits or for emigration, for any purpose or cause whatsoever, on a citizen described in paragraph (1) ;

"(3) imposes more than a nominal tax, levy, fine, fee, or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the citizen's desire to visit or to emigrate to the country of his choice ;

"(4) does not allow a citizen described in paragraph (1) to pay for the transportation needed for the visit or emigration, and to take along currency equal to, if visiting, one-half, and if emigrating, five times the cost of the tourist fare for a regularly scheduled airplane to the United States, in addition to the payment for transportation ;

"(5) does not allow a citizen described in paragraph (1), if retired and receiving a pension or other old age benefit, to receive the benefits while visiting in the United States, or after emigrating to the United States ; or

"(6) makes it difficult or impossible for a citizen described in paragraph (1) to receive visitors from the United States by forcing the visitor to exchange or spend a certain amount of western currency, while visiting, or by other means applied to circumvent the requirements of this section, and ending one year after the date on which the President determines that such country is no longer in violation of paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) or (6).

"(b) After the date of the enactment of the Freedom of Emigration Act, (A) a non-market economy country may participate in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, and (B) the President may conclude or renew a commercial agreement with such country, only after the President has submitted to Congress a report indicating that—

"(1) the country is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6) of subsection (a), and it was never in violation of any of such paragraphs while it was obligated to observe them ; or

"(2) the country has not been in violation of any such paragraphs during the one year ending on the day on which such report is submitted.

Such report with respect to such country shall include information as to the nature and implementation of its laws and policies and restrictions or discriminations applied to or against persons wishing to visit or to emigrate to the United States for any reasons. The report required by this subsection shall be submitted initially as provided herein and, with current information, on or before each June 30 and December 31 thereafter, so long as such credits or guarantees are extended or such agreement is in effect."

"(c) If the Senate or the House of Representatives by resolution of either House finds that a country is in violation of paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6) of subsection (a), then the President shall treat that country as being in violation for the purposes of this section.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

For: Senator Phillip A. Hart, Michigan—Translation (Hungarian).

TRANSLATION

BUDAPEST, Friday, the 25th of April, 1975.

Dear Father and Mother !

I received Dad's letters dated on April 17 and 18, both yesterday, that is, on the 24th of April. As I have written already in my previous letter, the time needed for the evaluation of our renewed appeal is 30 days. Accordingly, we shall be informed about the matter before the 17th or 19th of May. In Hungary, there are conditions set for emigration cases as defined by government decrees. If we do not fall under these conditions (emigration permit for minors through the public guardianship authority, legally set age limit as reached by the parents—which, in this case, means only Agnes and me—permit by the Minister of Defense, which is needed only in my case), or if we do not satisfy part of these conditions,

or if we are not in a position to comply with them, the passport could be issued only in special instances, on the basis of special considerations. Both Agnes and I are lacking one of the most essential conditions, the completed *age limit* as set for emigration—but we also lack the permit from the Minister of Defense. I have written all this in such detail in order to make it clear to my parents that our own chance here is in the consideration of the application of special consideration. I put my faith in the fact, that my particular situation—my separation from my parents and the rest of my family which happened without my personal blame—will qualify in the evaluation of our appeal as a case deserving consideration. I have tried to describe all facts calmly, although it required extraordinary efforts on my part, if for no other reason, than that my yearning and my psychological powerlessness would stay with me even if we could not satisfy the conditions set for us. My dearest Mother, I would like very much, after all, cutting out my mind and logic, forgetting all the adverse factors, to live only for one sentiment, one desire, to live in the joy which I can attain only from a reunion, freely, after these 19 years.

As I am waiting for such a consideration—almost begging for it—I am seeking the only condition missing from my happy state of mind. Its absence, in spite of all other joyful experiences of my lifetime, caused various disturbances and shocks in my psyche. I could not eliminate this shock, not even by the purest logic, because, independently from my reasoning and will power, it just continues to exist in me like some incurable sickness. My moral sense is incapable of formulating any accusation against anybody; therefore, left entirely to myself, I just continue to agonize in my own helplessness, slowly, unconsciously, unnoticeably, consuming my own health. The awareness that, even in more tragic situations than mine, it would be my duty to stand on my own feet, holds me back from becoming dissatisfied with the outer world or even with my immediate environment, or actually even from making a search for a hearing or understanding in my matter. Here is the origin and the nourishment of the impotence which starts with me and ends up with me. I would like to hope and to believe that I not only deserve but that I will also receive the missing part of my personal happiness. In exchange for that, I cannot give anything but my honest life, for all those who appear to be considerate of me, who will understand and help me. Some years ago, in 1960, I reasoned and felt this way, as a six-year old child: at that time¹, I regained part of my missing happiness, my health, which, at that time, managed to reunite me with my Mother and my family although for a short time only, in the autumn of 1966. At the present also I am thinking with the mind of that six-year-old child who, for a few years,² managed to regain something, just to get it lost again. I don't know how I would be able to go through another disappointment; sometimes I am under the impression that somebody should say a prayer for my clear reasoning, for my clear mind also.

With loving kisses your son,

(Signed) ZSOLT.

Translator's note: The transcript prepared by the father of the writer of this letter contains two references which are helpful in understanding some biographical details related to the writer. They are as follows (index numbers relative to these footnotes were inserted by the translator):

TRBOY, MICH.

GENTLEMEN: During the past eight years I have tried by every means available to obtain a passport for my sister in Romania. The great amount of time and money spent in the pursuit of this goal has created many hardship for my mother and myself; however, we have not given up.

My sister, Florica Madau, lives alone in Romania. She is 48 years of age, single, and has no close relatives there. Her family is here in the United States.

About eight years ago she applied for a passport in order to rejoin her family. She did not get the passport; however, she was discharged from her job and has since lived only off of the money my brother and I were able to send her. My brother recently died, and I am now her sole support.

The Romanian government has treated her cruelly and unfairly; it will not allow my sister to leave, but neither will it allow her to work and support

¹ The writer of the letter was in a Budapest sanatorium isolated with T.B. infection, as a 6-year old child. The parents were far from Budapest, in the country.

² Meaning the years of 1951-1956.

herself. In my opinion, it is keeping her in Romania solely because she is an economic asset—she brings in needed American dollars.

We cannot allow her to be treated in this manner. She is not an object, but a human being, with human feelings and human dignity; she is not, however, treated as such in Romania.

In the United States she could lead a full, productive life amid the love of her family. She could help others instead of constantly having to depend upon their help. There her life is meaningless; here it could be worthwhile.

You, gentlemen, are my final recourse. I call upon your pity, your compassion, and your sense of justice to help me unite my family once again. Please help me, for you are my only hope.

Thank you for hearing me out.

ARPAÐ MADO.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
Washington, D.C., September 1, 1976.

Senator CARL T. CURTIS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CURTIS: I am a U.S. citizen engaged to marry a Romanian Citizen. I believe that Congress in its review of the MFN for Romania might regard the expeditious handling of marriage cases as a legitimate condition for the continuation of favorable trade relations with Romania. Therefore, in your forthcoming testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, I encourage you to press this issue. The following brief account is added for completeness; I am sure that it contains nothing which you do not already know.

I lived in Romania for six months in 1974 as an American exchange scientist, and I returned for a short personal visit last April. The internal situation was bad in 1974 and is worse now. The short but much appreciated period of Jewish emigration in the summer of 1975 was aimed, naturally, at gaining the favor of the U.S. Congress. Unfortunately but not surprisingly, that is all it was aimed at. Having achieved their purpose, such periods are quickly terminated. Their continuation requires continuous pressure by Congress. At present, secret police activity and the strangulation of legitimate human aspirations implied thereby, as well as laws hampering contact with foreigners are more extensive than at any time in the past five years. The borders are virtually sealed.

In general, I urge Congress to exercise the greatest circumspection in reviewing the waiver provision extension of the Trade Act of 1974. Needless to say, I wholly support your pending legislation, S. 3524, concerning foreign trade and human rights.

Yours truly,

(Dr.) R. F. HASSING.

Mr. Chairman, a trade agreement is before you, for your consideration—a routine, innocent-looking treaty. The only excitement shining in its surface is a new break-through in the wall of unanimity of the Warsaw Pact Countries, who rejected any trade agreement with us based on the Trade Act of 1974. Yes, it looks like our brilliant Secretary of State has achieved a new break-through, similar to the one for which he so proudly received his Nobel Prize for Peace.

Troubled as we are with the collapse of our trade agreement with the Soviet Union and Hungary—it looks as a great gift from independent-minded Romania. This is how it looks, but I know it is not true; and I know the great danger hiding under its shining surface. Seeing this modern wooden horse, it will be simple to use against it the same argument that another private citizen used in ancient times: "Quid, quid id est; timeo danaos et dona ferentes." In English, "It does not matter, how it looks; I am afraid of the Greeks, even when they arrive with a gift." But when Cassandra used this argument, the Trojans were not afraid of their Greeks, as we are not afraid of ours anymore. The Trojans were hypnotized by the great gift as we are drugged by the sleeping pill produced just for us by detente.

Therefore, with the will that produces miracles, I transferred myself to a termite, ate myself through the wood, through everything surrounding this treaty—to see what is inside the horse to see from where this treaty comes from:

how it arrived before your gates; what is written on its lines and between its lines, and what it can produce to us in the short, as well as in the long-run.

Today, I will try to tell you what this termite saw inside the wooden horse. But before I proceed with my presentation, I wish to jump just for a moment into *Medias Res*, into the middle of the subject and state: It is my conviction that beside the many, many other questions raised by this treaty, the main one is this: After we paid so high a price, with nearly everything we had for re-making the President in 1972, is it fair to ask us now to pay his campaign debt of 1968 as well, with this treaty? It looks like his shadow is still in the White House, nourished by his only surviving advisor and cabinet member, who was able to bring in, even reinforcements, including our present Vice-President. Yes, this is the main question before you, Mr. Chairman, and I wish to speak about it in detail, at the proper time in my presentation.

But after jumping into *Medias Res*, into the middle of the subject for a moment, now I wish to jump back to the start.

Mr. Chairman, as I said, you are considering, today, whether or not to give your consent to a treaty, to which, for the first time, the proper provisions of the Trade Act of 1974 will apply. It is not so surprising maybe, that I am able to testify before you, today, because it was my idea to include Section 409 into this Act. I drafted it in its original form. But fourteen months ago, in a beautiful Washington spring, when I was able to appear before you, Sir, for the first time representing no-one but myself, and my ideas, I didn't have the background, moreover, I didn't know anyone on Capitol Hill. But it was still possible for me to testify. It was possible, because our system is working, and the American dream can still be realized. It can, contrary to the loud statements of those who are of little faith. Yes, our system is working, because it has such hard working, dedicated and capable servants, like the staff of your committee, Mr. Chairman. Only one of them has the name, Mr. Best, but in my heart and in my dreams, I call them all The Best. And to those who claim that our system is not working, I can say only this: If I, with neither an organization nor resources, and with a so-broken English like mine, if I was able to correct injustice first by convincing the Congress of the United States to include the amendment I drafted for this purpose into the Trade Act of 1974, and if now I am able to correct a major injustice in its implementation, then, my dear fellow Americans, who are of little faith, please see the light and come on and work and fight inside our system to help correct things for the better. Because, you see, you can succeed—and I go farther: you *will* succeed.

While I was drafting this statement, I feel I found the key to my success, which can be yours, and I wish to share it with you. You must love your country at least as much as you love your ideas. This is the key, my fellow Americans. There are people who cannot understand how there can be one God in three Persons. And you see, in this past years, I saw the one Uncle Sam in many, many persons, coming to my aid, without my asking for it. The Uncle just felt that he was my first concern, and that he just didn't want to let me down.

As I indicated originally, I wish to testify about the Trade Act of 1974 now being implemented in this treaty, especially Section 409, which I drafted in its original form. This gave me the inclination to testify, in the first place. But the more I examined this treaty and its environment in space and time, the more I realized that because of my special background, it is my duty to my country to share with you my personal experience and knowledge with every aspect of this treaty.

Romania. I know the land, I know its people, and this present status of life. I was born in an area with mixed Romanian and Hungarian population, which belonged to Hungary when I was born in 1914, but became part of Romania when I was six years old. I became a Hungarian citizen only in my twenties. My father was an administrator of a farm of around one-hundred employees, partly Hungarians and partly Romanians. I do not have the time to go into detail—unless you ask for it. But it was much, much easier to control the Romanians, under a Romanian Government, for a Hungarian administrator, than to control the Hungarians. The Romanians were just born to obey orders, unlike the Hungarians, with their rebellious nature. They were controlled by others throughout nearly all of their history without open resistance.

When Hitler told Hungary and Romania to go to war, Hungary went with half of her heart and with a quarter of his military force. I, for one, did not take part in the war. But Romania mobilized its population from eighteen to sixty, and sent them to war.

The Romanian people are good-hearted people, who are helping others in trouble. The Romanians are nationalistic people, who maybe never had the courage to revolt for their full independence, but were always ready for great sacrifices for a partial autonomy through their history.

Today, the people in the richest country in the Warsaw Pact are sacrificing with their partial starvation, with their greatest internal suppression in the whole Eastern Europe, for the luxury not to see foreign troops in their soil. And the so-called not-existing monolithic Communists accept this gracefully, with Communist flexibility, knowing that the Romanians are paying more than their share for the Communist cause with their sacrifices.

Romania had bad luck through its history having joined in the start of every war, always on the losing side. But with the help of her first-class diplomats like Titulescu and Ciulesescu, she was able always to end up with the winning side, through a timely switch of partners in the duration of the game. As I said, the Romanians are easy to control, and they are good-hearted . . . in general. So I will always be glad to hire Romanians to work for me, and I will never hesitate to accept a Romanian as a friend.

But I would be screening very carefully the terms and circumstances on which I will accept a Romanian as a trading partner. And I will not believe with my own naked eyes if I see a Romanian revolt against great odds. At least I will run after my glasses. With the experience I was able to gain by living with Romanians and by learning her history first from Romanian, and then from Hungarian texts, and by visiting Romania so many times, including twice in the last three years, I feel I can make a quite accurate judgment as to what we can or cannot expect from Romanians and their leaders in the present circumstances. For example, I am convinced that Romania, even with an anti-Communist Government in power, never will say or do anything against the wish of the USSR, while sitting in its geographic stomach. Especially not now, in the so-called post-Vietnam period—I do not believe anymore in dummy rebellions staged in Moscow against Moscow. But I cannot blame anyone who does.

I cannot, because once, I believed in it, too. And I did, after I lived under Communist rule for more than a decade; after I graduated from Communist Political Science, with honors, and after I was briefed as a trustful Communist by an administrative mistake. Yes, after all this experience and knowledge, I fooled myself in 1956, to accept a puppet of the USSR as a great hero of freedom. Yes, I accepted him, together with the millions of Hungarians with similar backgrounds like mine.

How did it happen? You may recall in 1956, the episode which started the Hungarian fight for freedom. But people have short memories, and I was taught by the Communists to count on it. So today, I am afraid that I must remind most of you that the historic revolution of the children and of the Proletariate of Hungary against their Communist-ruling gang was born before a statue with a cry. The statue with a cry. The statue was the statue of the legendary Polish General Bem, who fought in the middle of the nineteenth-century against the combined suppression of Russia and Austria—first in Poland and then in Hungary. And the cry was: Bem and Gomulka, Bem and Gomulka, Viva Gomulka.

As you may recall, an unorganized revolution with the great anti-soviet sentiment was in the making in Poland many months before the Hungarian revolution started. Then suddenly, the brilliant Gomulka jumped into the front, and with the occupied Soviet army in the background, he had the courage to demand the immediate expulsion from Poland of the Soviet General who was then the Secretary of the Defense in Poland. His demand was in the minds and hearts of the millions of Poles, but only Gomulka had the guts to say it openly. By this act, he was accepted as the actual leader of the revolution. Then without any resistance from occupying Soviet forces, he ousted the old pro-Soviet Communist Government and established a government of his own, with a liberal and mild anti-Soviet tone. The Poles celebrated their liberation from the Communist Soviet Union, and their great leader Gomulka, who achieved it without Soviet intervention and bloodshed.

You know, today, the fate of Gomulka: When a new unrest erupted in Poland recently, Gomulka was deposed as a puppet of the Soviet Union by a new mildly anti-Soviet liberal person, the present chief of Poland. Now it is history that Gomulka carried out skillfully the assignment of the Kremlin in 1956 with dummy resistance. It was not his fault that he was unable to carry out any longer. His people are much less controllable than the Romanians, and he was no match to Chaiasescu. There's always a temptation when we have to deal

with anybody to assume our partner has the same thinking habit, definition for terms in discussion, as we have. The Communists are right, when they say, that we are tempted to believe only what we like to hear. When we see something really bad, we will say: It is impossible. I will never do that. How can I believe they do? At least they are human, too. Yes, the Communists are human, all right, but they are a different type, who are forced to think differently, plan differently, and act differently in order to be able to preserve their dictatorship. They have no other choice.

But it is not enough to realize this. We must keep this always in mind, when we are dealing with Communists. The Hungarians did realize this, but without keeping it always in their mind. The result: In 1956, the millions of Hungarians cried as one: "Viva Gomulka."

I had no intentions to tell you a part of history, Mr. Chairman. This, you and your committee know as much, if not better, than I do. I wish only to remind you and ask you to keep in your mind this part of history, if you wish to come with me, now, to see how this treaty, before you was born.

In the second part of the sixties an ex-vice-president of the United States decided to challenge the sitting vice-president for the presidency. To beef up his chances as an expert in foreign affairs, he planned an East European trip including the Soviet Union. The Communists planned to deal with a good hearted, naive president, and never, dreamed that the former vice-president would be the best for them. So a decision was made in Moscow to cut him down, but with Communist flexibility, with different methods and with an insurance policy for the case, if he might win anyway. The producer in the Kremlin assigned for himself a middle-of-the-road character in the play. He let him in the country as a tourist, but the visitor was able to see the Kremlin only from the outside. There were no discussions with the former Vice-President, this time, neither in the kitchen nor elsewhere. Because of the great voting population of Polish origin in our country, Poland got the role not to let him in, even as a tourist.

President Ceausescu of Romania offered that he will provide the insurance policy, the hardest part of the play, and his offer was accepted. Accordingly, the stage was set, and independent-minded Romania in the geographical stomach of the USSR revolted against her master, in the first time in her history. While the Kremlin closed its doors, and Poland, even its borders before the candidate, President and Chairman, Ceausescu opened the red carpet for him. And this is how this treaty and detante were born.

So it was just fair that the producer in Moscow was generous and not jealous, when the Candidate, after becoming president, paid his first tribute with his visit to the best actor of the play, in Bucharest, and not to the producer in Moscow. The man in the Kremlin smiled in satisfaction when the President stepped into the footsteps of the Candidate in the Romanian red carpet in the land where detante was born with such fine products like our Soviet wheat deal, the free travel of the Soviet spyships in our Great Lakes, the sleeping pill for our national awareness and the peace for all Indo-China, with the prospect to extend this type of peace to the whole world.

But this visit to Romania was only an advanced payment for the red carpet by the candidate. As you know the Trade Agreement before you was arranged by the Candidate after becoming President. But as you may assume no producer will agree to be left in the cold and let the Best Actor of his play profit only from his own production. Therefore, no one can blame the Kremlin for requiring a fat trade agreement for itself, and for some others in its orbit. So a Trade agreement was concluded soon with the Soviet Union and with Hungary as well, and all of them containing the delivery of the most favored nation status. No other President would ever hope to get away with such a sellout except the one with a communist-baiting past. But even he had to maneuver wisely, because the nut was hard to bite and too big to swallow by Congress. And Congress was at that time still the only branch of Government capable to grant most favored nation status. So he picked the old, good-working cliché, an authorization buried in a huge Trade Act.

I heard Mr. Chairman, that some of your power was taken away by our Courts and even more by our Executive Branch, but with full respect combined with frankness I must state that sometimes you are tempted to give up some of your remaining power by authorizing the Executive Branch to act on your behalf, mostly when the nut is too hard to bite. Your voters may not make you responsible for the actions taken by the Executive Branch through your authorization,

but History surely will, as well as your children and grandchildren who will suffer as a result of the delegation of your remaining power to the bureaucrats.

Our founding fathers gave us a Republic two centuries ago with such safeguards that no Executive Branch can transform it into a monarchy, to an imperial Presidency without your help, without the help of Congress. If this will happen no one will be responsible for it but you, Sir. When our former President buried his request into the Trade Bill, it looked as if our national interest would go down the drain and our national security would be seriously damaged. But then an unexpected source came to our rescue: the determined and powerful pro-Israel lobby, and soon the original-nation saving Jackson-Vanik amendment was born. This original Jackson-Vanik amendment looked to me as an answer to a request for more rope by a hangman, who is killing freedom by now so famous a "step-by-step" approach. The answer looked to me as follows: "Dear Hangman, we see you are running out of rope. You now ask us to send more on credit. We have a habit of helping our enemies more than we help our friends, but we just do not like your profession. If you wish to get more rope from us on credit: You must first change your profession. If you don't, we still will not try to harm you, we do not need to, because without our rope, sooner or later you will be unable to continue your present profession."

Inexperienced in the day-to-day politics, I admired the Jackson-Vanik team and I hoped to see them in the White House some day. I knew their amendment would be unacceptable to the Soviet Union unless she changed her aggressive nature. And for this reason, I came to Washington to testify before your Committee, Mr. Chairman, that time to support the amendment.

It is our tradition to help our *past* enemies and I for one was glad and willing to help the Soviet Union if she would become a *past* enemy, but not until then.

I am 61 years old, and I never loved anyone in my whole life more than I loved my dear Mother, who was a Jew. One of my cousins is a diplomat of Israel and others were burned in Dachau. So I was proud to see that the Pro-Israel lobby realized that no one else is able and willing in the long run to save Israel for the children of Israel, but our own United States. I thought they came with this amendment to stop us from committing suicide. But soon my illusions were gone. The shortsighted lobby agreed to replace the historic effect of the original Jackson-Vanik amendment with a secret deal with the Soviet Union for stepped-up Jewish emigration only. I was shocked and soon I arrived in Washington again, but this time not to defend the Jackson-Vanik Amendment ready to be waived, but with 120 copies of my own amendment, hoping to find someone to introduce it in Congress.

While trying to sell my amendment to the legislative assistants of U.S. Senators. I had an argument with one of them, a gentleman who was later to become an official of the Jewish Defense League; today he is the executive vice-president of an Israel-supporting organization and is a registered lobbyist in Congress. It was in the heat of the argument that he revealed to me that negotiations were underway with Romania to revive the trade agreement negotiated by our former President. Some of you, Gentlemen, may believe that the renewal of the trade agreement before you was constructed by the appropriate section of our State Department, the Directorate for Eastern European Affairs in our State Department. But by accident, I learned, Mr. Chairman, that this was not the case. It was not, because the head of the Directorate for Eastern European Affairs in our State Department learned of the negotiations from me and no one else. He was at first surprised and asked my source. When I revealed it, he said quietly, "If he said it, it must be true because he knows." He did. And the renegotiated treaty, renegotiated by whom I do not know, is before you for your consideration.

And now I wish to quote a sentence from an earlier part of my testimony: "So it was just fair that the Producer in Moscow was generous and not jealous when the Candidate, after becoming President, paid his first tribute with his visit to the best Actor in the play in Bucharest, and not to the Producer in Moscow." And I can assure you, Sir, that contrary to the artificially spread rumors of anger of the Soviet Union toward Romania for agreeing to this treaty in actual fact, the Producer in Moscow is still generous and not jealous seeing the best Actor in his play breaking through for him once more. For many, but not for all, it is a mystery why the Trade Agreement with the U.S.S.R. broke down after a secret agreement was concluded and the Trade Act of 1974 was passed and became law. It is my judgment that the heated debate on the Senate floor about the unjust, one-sided, secret deal with the Soviet Union made it impossible for the dealmakers in our country to carry out their commitment. I am convinced it was not the Soviet

Union this time who broke the deal which was at least ten-to-one in its favor. The unjust secret deal with the USSR, and with it the Soviet-U.S. Trade Agreement, was killed unwillingly by Senator Javits, on the Senate floor. This old professional member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was maneuvered skillfully, politely and patiently into a corner and presented with a dilemma by a freshman Senator before my own eyes. Senator Javits had but two choices: (1) to admit that he and his partners made the secret deal for stepped-up Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union and from Romania to Israel—from the two countries where Jews were left alive by Hitler—discriminating against U.S. citizens who wanted to be reunited with their children, brothers, sisters, and parents living in Eastern Europe; or (2) deny this discrimination and by doing so gamble that the USSR would deliver more than she agreed to. He decided to gamble; the USSR declined and the deal was dead. It was dead, but only temporarily. "Why pay one more in this deal when I have a Ceausescu," the man in the Kremlin thought; and then he concluded: "What I was unable to get without paying more, Ceausescu will. And then who will dare to discriminate against me, asking more from me than from Romania? I just have to hint that this discrimination will insult me, resulting in unpredictable consequences. Then they will cave in, for sure."

The dealmakers in Washington learned their lesson from their fiasco and this time they were super-quiet. In the final steps of the deal with Romania, the brilliant Chairman Ceausescu stopped in town quietly to conclude the deal with them. The Dealmakers being able to influence, if not control, our news media, the general public of our nation did not even notice that the President of independent-minded Romania was in Washington. As a result it looked to the public as if there were no secret deal this time and if no secret deal, how can there be discrimination against our own citizens? But if there was no secret deal, and there was no open one, then this treaty before you, Mr. Chairman, is not a sellout. It is a precedent setting give-away.

The amendment I drafted was really a moderate one, as you know. It asked from the big emigration pie only a thin slice for U.S. citizens who, with their tax money and by the weakening of their national security, are paying so much for the whole emigration pie. As you know it required only the freedom to emigrate or to visit to the children, parents, brothers and sisters of United States citizens. Uncles, cousins, and anyone else were excluded from this amendment. I proposed to restrict it so harshly with the purpose of being able to make it mandatory without exceptions. The public without justification is already losing faith in our political system. So I do not wish to put gasoline on the fire, but he who did the job knows well what method he used to glue the waiver to this so restricted amendment. The method was outdated in my humble judgment to say the least.

The original Trade Agreement with Romania as it was concluded in 1973 by our former President is not available to me, but it is to you and to your experts, Mr. Chairman. I feel it will be useful to compare it with the one you are considering, if it has not been done by now. I am not an expert in Trade Agreements, and even less in their language. But there were some points which I was able to observe.

1. In the 3rd paragraph of the preamble, the Trade Agreement in question gives treaty sanctions, quietly, to Executive Agreements between our former President and the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania—specifically, the agreements of December 5, 1973.

2. If someone does not wish to completely misunderstand the treaty, he must read it backwards. Oh, I do not mean completely backwards, in a literal sense, but I mean that he must read the last Annex before he reads anything else. It is entitled: "Annex 3: Definitions."

From the two definitions contained in this paragraph, one can learn that at least in part, the terms of the treaty means different things for the United States, and different things again for the Socialist Republic of Romania. But to those who lived behind the Iron Curtain for a decade, like myself, to those people, it is clear that the terms of this treaty mean different things—not partially, but nearly completely—to the parties involved. In practice, then, it amounts to a precedent-setting give-away.

Just as an example of the inequality within an apparent equality: there will be no discrimination against U.S. citizens working for U.S. firms in Romania. They will enjoy the same basic freedoms as the Romanian citizens enjoy in their country. There will be no discrimination against Romanian citizens work-

ing in the United States for Romanian "companies" (see definitions). They will enjoy the same basic freedoms as U.S. citizens enjoy in their country. But this is only one example, and if you wish, I can go on, read the trade agreement, and mention the rest I discovered.

But I must mention one more inequality in an equality. Some persons may assume that the Communist world and the Western world will gain equal opportunities for espionage by being granted greater access to each other through trade relations. But the situation in each case is different. Indeed, by the terms of the agreement, Romania is classified as an underdeveloped country, while the United States is classified as a developed country. We get to spy on an underdeveloped country, which has little of consequence, but Romania will be sending its agents to a highly developed country.

But this injustice can be corrected easily; and some of us may be tempted to do just that. We just have to approve a trade agreement with the Soviet Union with similar terms as with Romania. And this can be the carrot to the stick of the Soviet threat of serious consequences if we do not promise her the same terms as Romania received.

Mr. Chairman: I still support the original, broader Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which did not have the waiver. Because with it on our books, we will give aid and comfort to our past enemies only and not to our present ones. But if we have to carry out what was written in the Bible—I mean in the Communist Bible written by Lenin—that the Capitalist World will send to the Communists the rope to be used to hang them and the shovels to be used to bury them. If we cannot escape our final fate, then, at least until that fate comes, I ask you, Sir, to stop at least partially the discrimination against U.S. citizens. I ask you, Sir, if you do not judge that U.S. citizens deserve justice, then take this action for humanitarian reasons. I do not blame those who wish to achieve their goals through secret deals. And I hope they do not blame me that I wish to achieve mine in the open. Not because I am more honest than they are; I cannot judge myself. But simply because I am a one-man lobby without any resources. And I cannot sit on Capitol Hill to conduct secret deals. So I am forced into the open. But I have to admit to you: I am at home there. And as a conclusion, I wish to present to you a proposal:

Hold up your recommendation on the trade agreement until the following are realized:

1. If possible, the waiver is completely eliminated from the Trade Act of 1974. In precise terms: until subsection (d) of section 402 is completely eliminated.

2. If you consider it impossible to achieve my first proposal, then eliminate the effect of the waiver from the very restricted amendment which I first proposed for the relief of U.S. parents, children, brothers and sisters, making the relief for them mandatory, and not selective—because this one-man lobby cannot fight for them forever. In precise words, I propose that in Section 400 of the act, subsection (d) be eliminated.

3. If neither my first nor my second proposal is acceptable to you, Sir, then I beg that you require a written commitment from the President that if subsection (a) and/or (b) and/or (c) are violated by the Socialist Republic of Romania, then he will revoke the most favored nation status at once.

Mr. Chairman, if I appear arrogant, I ask you to forgive me. I believe in our system, and I have faith in Congress and especially in your Committee. I am no more than just a plain U.S. citizen, who feels he owes more to his new country than others, and who may have a little more courage to say what so many millions of U.S. citizens feel.

And now Mr. Chairman: the one-man private lobby wishes to quit. His proposal above was his last request and it would be polite if it could be granted. The one-man lobby is grateful for Senator Curtis and what he did for his cause, but he thinks that Senator Curtis as the Chairman of the Republican Conference did already as much as he possibly could. But the one-man lobby has further great expectations from a young Senator, the Senior Senator from North Carolina. I will not turn out the light from my torch now when I quit—I will just hand it to Senator Jesse Helms who will carry it with as much courage and dedication as I did. Finally, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank your staff, as I thank those in our news media who helped my cause when I carried the torch. Please support the torch I carried, regardless of who holds it in his hand.

TESTIMONY OF SZABOLCS MESTERHAZY

Mr. Chairman: As that private citizen, who initiated and drafted in its original form Section 400 of the Trade Act of 1974, I felt compelled to monitor its effectiveness in its present waived condition on the emigration prospects of immediate family members of Americans living in the Socialist Republic of Romania. I selected Romania, of course, because it is the only communist country that received Most Favored Nation status and many other benefits under the one-sided trade agreement we concluded with it. I will be glad to show you, Mr. Chairman, or anyone else who disagrees with me exactly why it is one-sided.

However, if anyone is blaming, those in the State Department responsible for executing our foreign policy in Eastern Europe for this one-sided agreement, I must defend them categorically. They are innocent. Mr. Nicholas Andrews, Director of Eastern European Affairs in the State Department, didn't even know about the secret negotiations with Romania when they were already in an advanced state. It was I who informed him about them. If you don't know the details of this incident, I can provide them for you.

It can be argued that foreign policy must be conducted by the executive branch of government, and not legislated by the legislative branch; however, I cannot agree fully with this. What is even worse, in my humble opinion, is when our foreign policy is conducted outside of all three branches of government, as it was done at least in this case. However, despite this and other similar incidents, I am still convinced that our system is still the best on the globe.

There exists nowhere in this universe a system which provides as much opportunity to a citizen to shape his destiny and that of his nation as that of the United States. I am living proof of this. However, you cannot win all of the time. My testimony on the Romanian Trade Agreement was cancelled through the intervention of the Department of State, and the agreement was approved by the United States Senate. It was approved, but not before the Senate had quasi-instructed the President through Senate Resolution 219 to terminate the waiver at once, if the Socialist Republic of Romania withheld the departure of even one of those people who are covered by Section 400 of the Trade Act of 1974. (The text of the Resolution: "Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that the President should certify to Congress that he will use his authority provided in Section 402(c) (3) of the Trade Act of 1974 to terminate by Executive Order any waiver granted under Section 402(c) (1) of such Act to the Socialist Republic of Romania when the Socialist Republic of Romania engages in any act or practice described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of Section 400(a) of such Act.")

As you may know, it was this private citizen before you, who initiated and drafted this resolution to help enforce the part of the law he had written. It was Senator Helms who introduced and defended it, and Senator Curtis who co-sponsored it. But it was Senator Long—the manager of the Romanian Trade Agreement—who insisted that the resolution—I initiated and drafted—be adopted before the vote was called to decide the fate of the Romanian Trade Agreement. He may have felt that the prior adoption of the resolution was necessary to insure the two thirds majority needed to ratify the Romanian Trade Agreement. Or, maybe he just wished to underline how important it is to insure the reunification of every divided American family. Now I quote from the Congressional Record how it happened:

"Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I would hope that the Senator would ask for the voice vote on his resolution after the roll call vote on the pending business.

"Mr. HELMS. Very well, that is fine.

"Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a voice vote now on the Helms resolution.

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered."

The adoption of the resolution as a quasi-precondition of the Romanian Trade Agreement I hoped will insure what is required—the reunification of every divided American family without exception and not just on empty unkept promises like the Helsinki accord. So, when I arrived back to Michigan I proudly said that we can at least depend on the United States Senate not only look after our interests, but even to instruct the President to do likewise. But a cynic replied:

"It is unwise to vote against motherhood, especially when it serves no purpose to oppose it whatsoever. Senate Resolution 219 was an unbinding resolution. Its adoption was plain hypocrisy. The Senate just wanted to look good back home knowing that the President will ignore it anyway and so no special interest group who lobbied against the resolution will get mad or the Senators who adopted it. This way everybody will be happy. The damned fool people back home and the lobbyists in Washington as well. The people like you can claim victory without receiving any result, and the smart lobbyist in Washington will be delighted to get what they wanted through a dummy defeat."

But this was the voice of a cynic, Mr. Chairman, and this citizen has a different experience with this United States Senate.

This Senate acted honestly and not hypocritical when it acted on my original amendment in December of 1974. My amendment was adopted through a Gentlemen's Agreement by all the parties concerned after Senator Helms, who introduced it, agreed to the only change requested, namely the elimination of the visiting provision from it.

It was not the United States Senate that broke the terms of this Gentlemen's Agreement, by attaching a waiver to Section 409, as subsection (d) on the night of December 13, 1974, when after a tiresome long Senate debate on the Trade Act, the Senate Chamber was near empty. It was done by a single Senator, who looks was not informed, what happened during the day on the Senate floor.

I do not believe that the gentlemen wished to break the Gentlemen's Agreement after the parties to it left. It was just a mistake after a tiresome day.

And it was not the Senate, but the conferees on the side of the House, who inserted into it as subsection (c) the so-called Polish Loophole, which exempts the requirement of the reunification of American families of Polish origin without ever mentioning the word Polish.

It is my experience the United States acted honestly and not as a hypocrite. So I am convinced that when it passed without even one opposing voice, Senate Resolution 219 in 1975, the Senate meant what it said. And so, I am convinced that the Senate today—when this month under the law—it has the power to do so, it will remove the waiver from Section 409 by eliminating through legislation before the end of September, 1976, subsection (d) from Section 409 if possible, or rejecting the continuation of the waiver of Section 402 of the Act which is its prerogative until early October, and what the Senate asked the President to do in its resolution.

As the result of my monitoring activity, I can report to you today, Mr. Chairman, that the Socialist Republic of Romania paid as much attention to the sense of the United States Senate (as expressed in Senate Resolution 219) as did our Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. It seems that the Secretary did not feel obligated to heed Senate Resolution 219 and thus revoked the waiver when the Socialist Republic of Romania violated the requirements of Section 409 of the Trade Act of 1974 one day after another, as well as those of the Helsinki accord, by blocking the reunification of American families. There are many, many violations which I as a private citizen was able to monitor. I brought one of the victims of this violation before you today. He pleads for his sister. His mother was unable to come to plea. She wasn't able even to say anything. When we left she just held my hand with tears in her eyes. So I am pleading for her today and for all those Americans who have loved ones in the cages of these Communists who we feed.

It looks as though Secretary Kissinger felt that it was enough that the Socialist Republic of Romania, unlike the Soviet Union, honor its secret deal with him for increased Jewish emigration, mainly to Israel from its territory.

It also seems that Secretary Kissinger feels that it is enough that the ransom for the release of Jews from Romania is paid by the American taxpayers through subsidized credits and credit guarantees, rather than by American Jewish organizations as before. But, is this enough with the United States Senate? That is the question.

It may seem to some that I am anti-Semitic. To those that know that I am a Jew under the laws of Israel—my mother was a Jew—it may seem that I am a traitor to the Jewish cause. But I never loved anyone more in my life than I did my mother. I love my surviving relatives living in Israel. As one who was born into a small, brave nation (Hungary), I admire the small, heroic nation of Israel.

I informed my cousin, an Israeli diplomat, of my feelings and activities. He wrote in reply, and I agree with him, that his smart and hardworking people

can take care of themselves and defend themselves against the concentrated attacks of all their neighbors. What they cannot do, however, is to defend themselves against any type of attack by the Soviet Union. It is here that we have a responsibility to help them.

We need our strength and determination for our own survival, but we must also use it to insure that the Soviet Union never dares to attack this heroic nation, the home of the Jewish people, who have suffered so much throughout the centuries.

My grandmother once told me and I quote: "We Jews have a great principle, which is our heritage as well. It is 'Leben und leben lassen' which means, in English, 'live and let others live as well.'" And she continued, "When, in our history, we neglected this great principle of ours, we paid an unbelievably high price—we paid with our lives for our neglect."

With this statement of mine, Mr. Chairman, I haven't ignited a fire. The fire is already burning under the ashes. The American people are intelligent people, and they do not need any information. They are just polite and patient, but they insist upon getting a slice of the Romanian emigration pie for themselves. They paid quite a high price for it, and now they insist upon the principle of "Leben und leben lassen"—"Live and let others live as well."

For this reason, Mr. Chairman, this humble citizen, who may appear to be arrogant to you, proposes that you recommend to the Committee on Finance, and through it to the United States Senate, that it revoke the waiver from Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. This is the only way that we may presently remove it from Section 409, until other changes can be made through legislation. As you may know, Bill S-3525, titled "Freedom of Emigration Act", would achieve this and many other purposes. It is presently before the Committee on Finance for consideration.

The enactment of the aforementioned bill is a necessity, and I could prove this if provided with the time. However, if the time now available is not long enough for the bill to be enacted during this session of Congress, then there is a temporary solution to the problem, which is to remove through legislation at least Subsection (d) of Section 409 of the Trade Act of 1974 by no later than September 30, 1976.

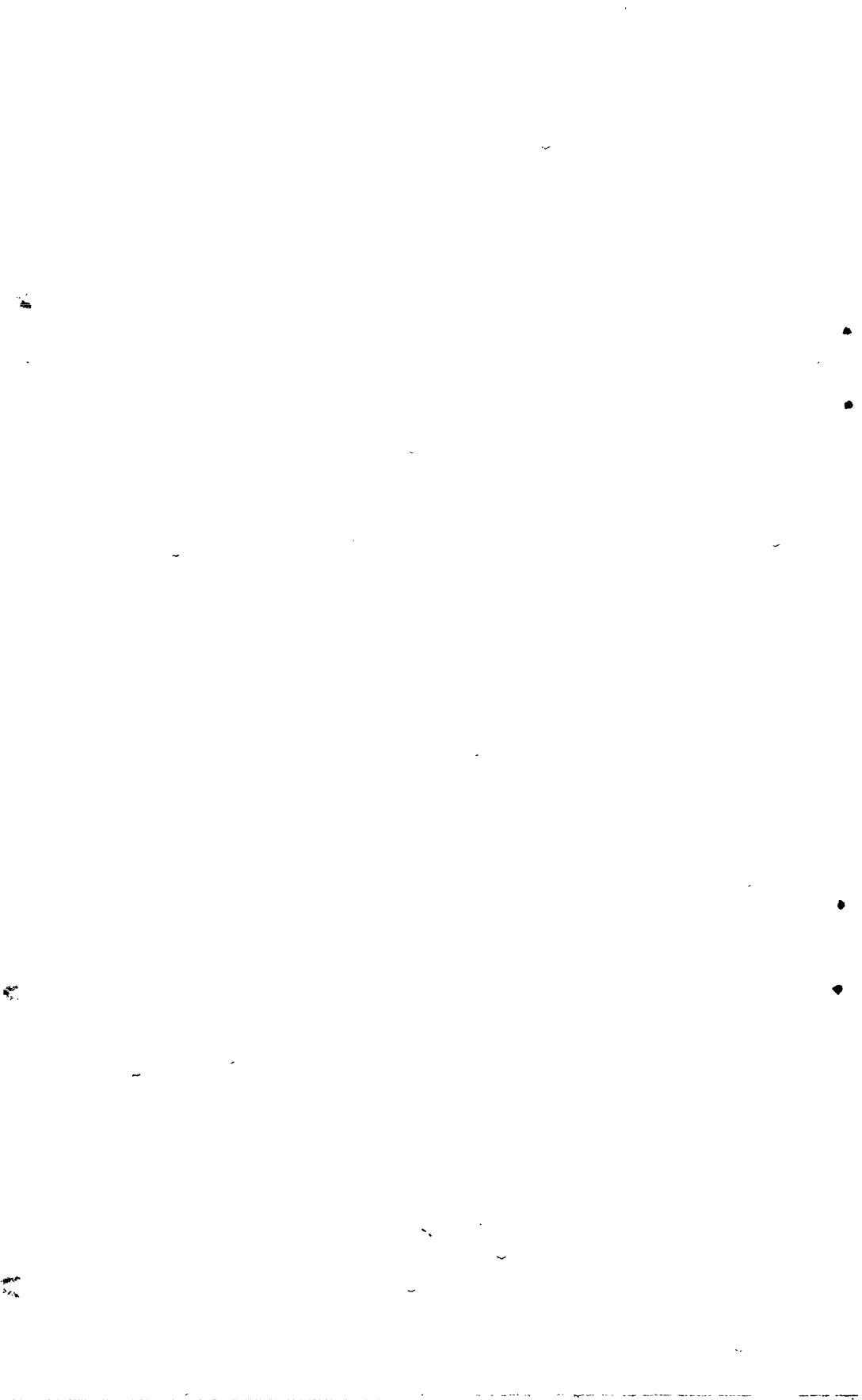
As you well know, this Subsection was attached to Section 409 after it had already been adopted by the United States Senate, through an agreement by all the parties involved.

Today it may seem natural that I testify before you without representing interest groups. You are holding a hearing on one part of the law I drafted. But I never forgot, and the American public should not either, that it was the brilliant staff of the Committee on Finance, with Mr. Best, who arranged my first appearance before the Committee in the Spring of 1974 without knowing anyone on Capitol Hill. They are the ones who are building a bridge between the American public and the U.S. Senate.

Senator CURTIS. I am informed that there are some individuals in the room who were not scheduled as witnesses. Those people who appeared and were not scheduled, it will not be possible to hear you orally, but you can give your statements to the staff and if no objection is raised by Senators on the ground that it does not fit in here, they will be printed in the record as if given.

The committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene subject to call of the Chair.]



**Appendix A.—United States-Romanian Trade and the Extension
of the President's Authority to Waive Section 420 of the Trade
Act of 1974**

Background Materials Relating to
United States-Romanian Trade
and the Extension of the
President's Authority to
Waive Section 402 of the
Trade Act of 1974

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE

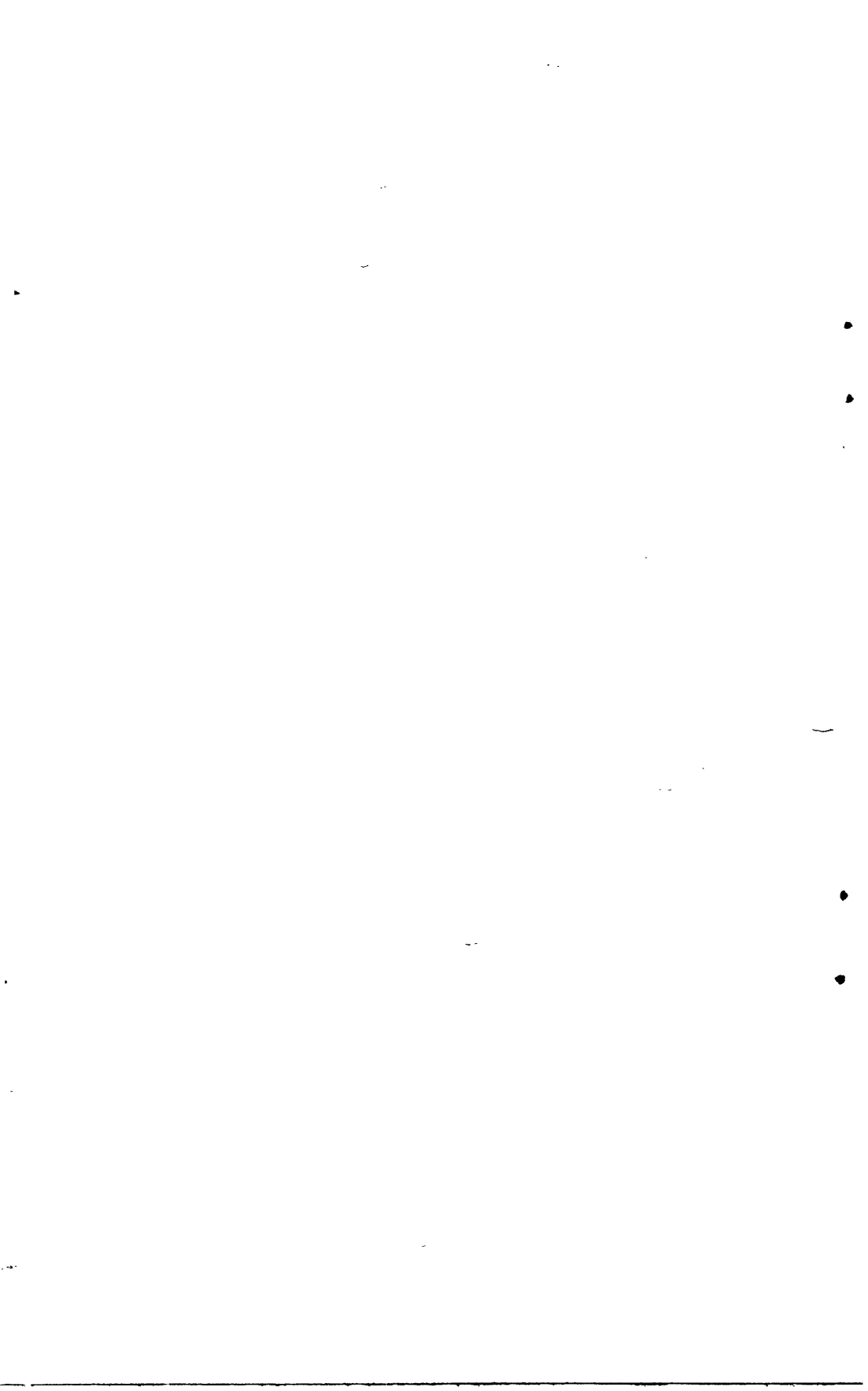
RUSSELL B. LONG, *Chairman*

Prepared by the staff for the use of the
Committee on Finance



AUGUST 26, 1976

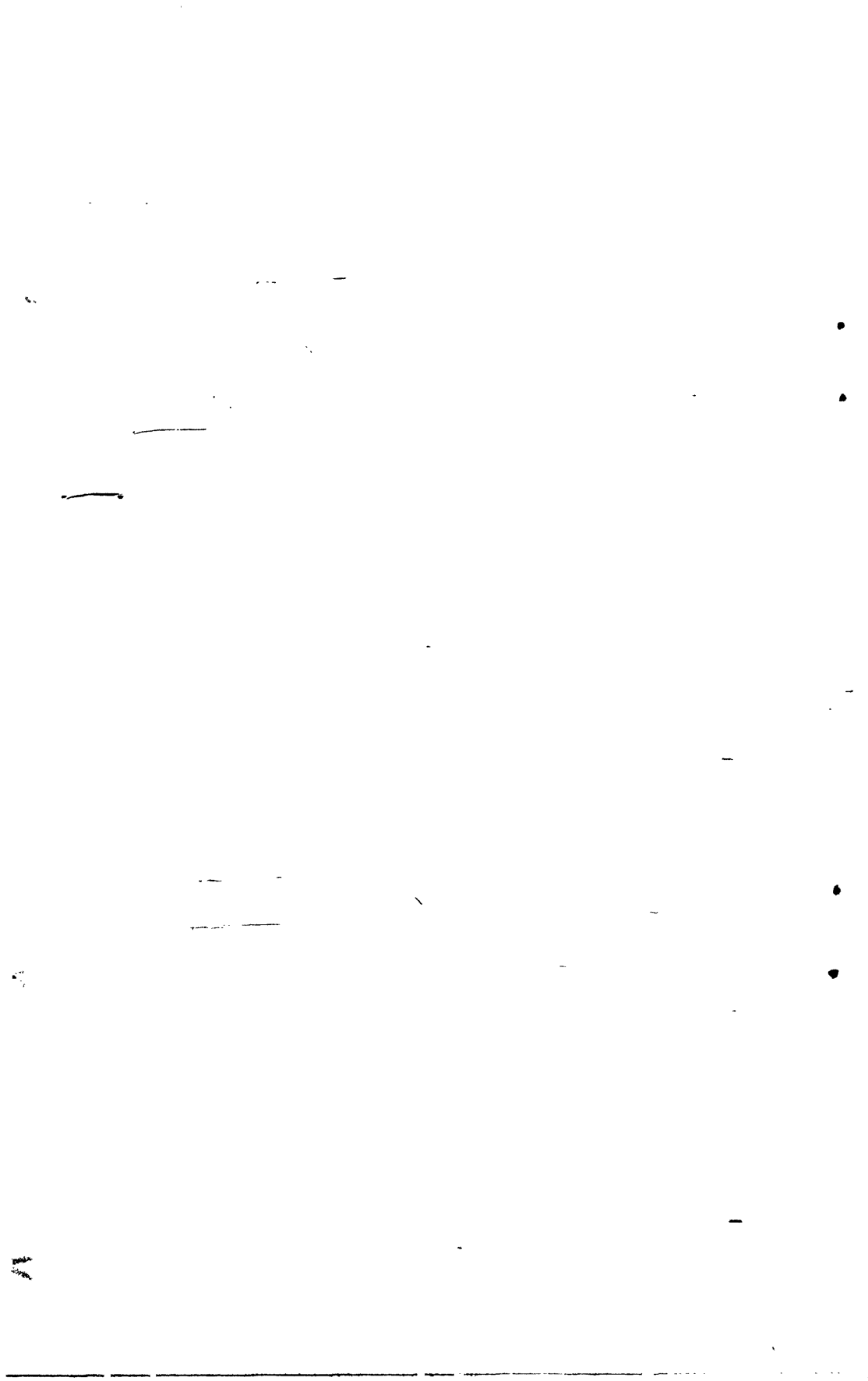
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1976



Preface

On July 28, 1975, Congress approved a bilateral commercial agreement with the Socialist Republic of Romania. The agreement, which granted Romania most favored nation tariff treatment, had been negotiated by the President under the authority of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618). The question whether Congress should extend for twelve months the President's authority to waive the freedom of emigration provisions of the Trade Act has come up for review under the procedures contained in Section 402 of that law. This pamphlet has been prepared by the staff of the Committee on Finance to assist the Committee and the Senate in that review.

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Summary

On June 2, 1976, the President asked Congress to renew for twelve months his authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements of the Trade Act of 1974. Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 prohibits the granting of most favored nation (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 emigrate. Section 402 permits the President to waive this prohibition for limited periods of time if he determines that doing so will promote freedom of emigration. Specifically at issue is whether MFN treatment should be continued in the case of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the only communist country to have been designated for such treatment under the Trade Act. The President is not expected to exercise the authority with respect to any other country during the next twelve months.

The President's request set in motion an elaborate timetable of procedures by which Congress may terminate, affirmatively vote to extend, or permit by inaction the extension of the authority under which the President may waive the requirement of freedom of emigration. The deadline for Congressional action is October 15, 1976. After that date, if Congress takes no action, the waiver authority is automatically extended until July 3, 1977. Tables presenting available information on Romanian emigration appear on pages 4 and 5 of this pamphlet.

U.S. trade with Romania has grown steadily in recent years, with the exception of 1975 when economic recession caused a temporary decline. (See table, page 6.) The U.S. has traditionally enjoyed a substantial trade surplus with Romania, though there are signs the U.S. advantage may be narrowing. Romania has been designated a beneficiary developing country under the Generalized System of Preferences, entitling certain of its exports to the U.S. to duty free treatment.

Freedom of Emigration and the Trade Act

Subsections 402(a) and (b) of the Trade Act prohibit the granting of MFN treatment, the extension of government credits, or the negotiation of a commercial agreement with any non-market economy country not now receiving MFN, if such country:

- (1) denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate;
- (2) imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration; or
- (3) imposes more than a nominal charge on any citizen who wants to emigrate to the country of his choice.

Section 402(c)(1) of the Trade Act authorizes the President to waive the requirements of section 402 (a) and (b) until July 3, 1976, for any communist country if he reports to the Congress that:

- (1) he has determined that the waiver for that country would substantially promote the objectives of freedom of emigration;
- and

(1)

(2) he has received assurances that the emigration practices of that country would henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of freedom of emigration.

The first period for congressional review of the President's waiver authority has now begun. In recommending the extension for another 12 months of MFN treatment to Romania, the President has determined that the continuation of his waiver authority promotes the objective of freedom of emigration. (See appendix, page 7.) The Trade Act establishes an elaborate timetable under which the extension of the President's waiver authority can be reviewed. The Congress had an opportunity between June 3 and July 3, 1976, to approve the extension of the waiver authority for one year by a concurrent resolution; if that concurrent resolution had been defeated by both Houses, the waiver authority and Romanian MFN treatment would have expired on July 3. Such a concurrent resolution was not introduced in either House of Congress. During the period beginning July 3 and ending August 31, Congress may extend for one year the waiver authority and MFN treatment for Romania by concurrent resolution. If both Houses vote to defeat the concurrent resolution, MFN treatment and the waiver authority would be discontinued. If there has been neither a positive nor a negative vote by both Houses on the concurrent resolution by August 31, the Congress may veto the extension of the waiver authority by a one-House vote from September 1 until October 15, 1976. If neither House vetoes the extension of the waiver and MFN treatment for Romania during this period, the waiver will be automatically extended through July 3, 1977.

Further extensions of the waiver authority may be recommended by the President for successive 12-month periods. In such event, either House of Congress will have a 60-day period following the end of the previous extension (July 3) in which to veto the extension. If neither House has vetoed the extension by the end of that period, it will be extended automatically until the following July 3.

Procedures for Review of the Waiver Provisions of Section 402 of the Trade Act

Beginning with the date of enactment of the Trade Act, January 3, 1975, the President was given authority to waive the requirements of section 402 until July 3, 1976, 18 months, for any country after receiving assurances that the emigration practices of that country will lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of section 402.

Eighteen months after the date of enactment of the Act, the waiver authority may be renewed upon the adoption of a concurrent resolution extending the authority for one year. If an extension is desired, a request shall be made by the President no later than 30 days prior to expiration of the 18-month period, or June 3, 1976.

In the event that the Congress has not voted on a resolution of approval by the end of the 18-month period, the waiver authority will be extended for up to 60 days after the end of the 18-month period, September 1, 1976, to permit the Congress additional time to act on the concurrent resolution. If the vote on the resolution of approval fails in both Houses, the waiver authority expires.

In the event that Congress within 60 days after the expiration of the 18-month period does not adopt or disapprove a concurrent resolution on the issue of extending the authority, the authority will nevertheless continue in force unless either House of Congress (within 45 calendar days of the expiration of the 60-day period, October 15, 1976) passes a simple resolution of disapproval of the continuation of the waiver authority.

The waiver may be further extended by Executive Order at one-year intervals upon a Presidential determination and report to Congress that such extension will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402, provided that neither House of Congress (within 60 calendar days of the issuance of the Executive Order) adopts a resolution of disapproval of the extension.

The statutory language permits the concurrent resolution or the simple resolution of disapproval to exclude one or more countries from the extensions of the waiver authority. Resolutions may be amended to include or exclude any particular country.

Any extension of waiver authority will not apply to any country which has been excluded in a concurrent resolution or in a resolution of either House.

Key Dates Under the Waiver Provisions of Title IV

(Enactment of Trade Act on January 3, 1975)

January 3, 1975–July 3, 1976.—President may waive requirements of section 402 (denying MFN and credits to any nonmarket country which denies free emigration) upon a determination and a report to Congress of assurances that the emigration practices of such country will lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of free emigration.

June 3, 1976.—President may request a 1-year extension of the waiver by June 3 (30 days before expiration) if the Congress has not defeated a resolution extending the waiver.

July 3–Sept. 1, 1976.—Waiver extended for 60 days if President has so requested. Congress may extend waiver by concurrent resolution (majority of both Houses). Waiver expires if concurrent resolution vote fails.

Sept. 1–Oct. 15, 1976.—If there is no vote, President may extend waiver another 45 days. Congress may cut off MFN and credits to any country by a simple majority of either House.

Thereafter, July 3–Sept. 1 of each year.—President may extend waiver for one more year by Executive Order, provided he submits a report on the progress of free emigration. Congress may rescind waiver by majority vote of either House (resolution of disapproval). If Congress does not vote resolution of disapproval in July or August, waiver extends through the following June.

Emigration from Romania

The tables below present available information on emigration from Romania:

TABLE I. *Romanian immigration to the United States—Monthly totals*

| | <i>Immigrant visas issued by Embassy Bucharest</i> |
|--|--|
| 1975: | |
| January | 27 |
| February | 13 |
| March | 14 |
| April | 24 |
| May | 20 |
| June | 29 |
| July* | 110 |
| August | 182 |
| September | 181 |
| October | 131 |
| November | 62 |
| December | 97 |
| Total 1975..... | 890 |
| Dual nationals..... | 60 |
| Grand total..... | 950 |
| 1976: | |
| January | 74 |
| February | 87 |
| March | 130 |
| April | 97 |
| May | 77 |
| June | 111 |
| July | 96 |
| Total for first 7 months of 1976..... | 672 |
| Dual nationals..... | 40 |
| Grand total for first 7 months..... | 712 |

*The Congress approved most-favored-nation treatment for Romania on July 28, 1975.

Note.—Starting with December 1975, figures include immigrants handled under "Third Country Processing" arrangements, which were initiated during that month. These are persons not eligible to receive U.S. immigration visas from Embassy Bucharest (due to lack of immediate relatives in the United States) who travel to Rome for processing of their applications for admission to the United States as conditional entrants. For this reason monthly statistics in this table do not correspond exactly with those in table II.

Source: Department of State.

TABLE II.—*Statistics on Romanian emigration to the United States since 1965—Immigration visas issued by Embassy Bucharest by fiscal year*

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| IV's issued fiscal year 1965..... | 274 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1966..... | 104 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1967..... | 19 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1968..... | 23 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1969..... | 154 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1970..... | 372 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1971..... | 629 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1972..... | 269 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1973..... | 357 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1974..... | 511 |
| IV's issued fiscal year 1975..... | 828 |
| IV's issued calendar year 1975..... | 849 |

Source: Department of State.

TABLE III.—*Romanian Jewish immigration to Israel—Monthly totals*

| | <i>Number of immigrants</i> |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1975: | |
| January..... | 62 |
| February..... | 41 |
| March..... | 102 |
| April..... | 60 |
| May..... | 46 |
| June..... | 199 |
| July*..... | 403 |
| August..... | 238 |
| September..... | 262 |
| October..... | 350 |
| November..... | 130 |
| December..... | 115 |
| Total..... | 2008 |
| 1976: | |
| January..... | 328 |
| February..... | 232 |
| March..... | 99 |
| April..... | 51 |
| May..... | 143 |
| June..... | 211 |
| July..... | 237 |
| Total first 7 months of 1976..... | 1301 |

Annual totals for Romanian Jewish immigration to Israel

| | <i>Number of immigrants</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1971..... | 1900 |
| 1972..... | 3000 |
| 1973..... | 4000 |
| 1974..... | 3700 |
| 1975*..... | 2008 |
| 1976 (first 7 months)..... | 1301 |

*The Congress approved most-favored-nation treatment for Romania on July 23, 1975.

NOTE.—Total first 7 months of 1975 equals 913.

Source: Department of State.

United States Trade With Romania

Trade between the United States and Romania increased substantially during the past decade. Total trade between the countries was valued at \$8 million in 1965 and \$80 million in 1970. Growth continued during the seventies. In 1974 U.S. exports to Romania were more than double their 1973 level because of unusual, nonrecurring purchases of new aircraft and grain. U.S. imports from Romania in 1975 were more than 4 times their value in 1972. The balance of trade has been in favor of the United States for each year of the past 10.

The following tables illustrate the level and content of United States-Romanian trade in recent years:

UNITED STATES-ROMANIAN TRADE, 1972 TO MARCH 1976

[Millions of dollars]

| | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | January-March | |
|---|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| | | | | | 1975 | 1976 |
| U.S. exports: | | | | | | |
| Manufactured goods ¹ | 18.5 | 31.7 | 108.6 | 56.9 | 18.70 | 10.41 |
| Other..... | 50.6 | 84.8 | 168.5 | 132.4 | 55.24 | 32.63 |
| Total | 69.1 | 116.5 | 277.1 | 189.3 | 73.94 | 43.04 |
| U.S. general imports ²: | | | | | | |
| Trade turnover..... | 34.7 | 61.4 | 143.8 | 146.5 | 19.9 | 49.7 |
| U.S. trade balance..... | 103.8 | 177.9 | 420.9 | 335.8 | 93.8 | 92.7 |
| | 34.4 | 55.1 | 133.3 | 42.8 | 54.0 | -6.7 |

¹ Schedule B-5 through 8.² Imports are c.i.f. values.

Source: Department of Commerce.

U.S. IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION FROM ROMANIA, 1973 TO MARCH 1976

[in millions of dollars ¹]

| Schedule A | Commodity | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 6 mo | |
|---------------|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | | | pre-MFN ² | post-MFN ³ |
| 0 | Food and live animals..... | 7.70 | 11.15 | 9.64 | 4.63 | 6.96 |
| 1 | Beverages and tobacco..... | .04 | .19 | .02 | .01 | ..... |
| 2 | Crude materials, inedible except fuels..... | .99 | 1.02 | 3.58 | 1.15 | 2.68 |
| 3 | Mineral fuels, lubricants and related products..... | 15.76 | 76.41 | 85.65 | 22.63 | 67.79 |
| 4 | Animal and vegetable oils and fats..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 5 | Chemicals..... | .54 | 3.64 | 2.00 | 1.61 | 1.22 |
| 6 | Manufactured goods by chief materials..... | 7.17 | 5.82 | 7.65 | 3.35 | 9.28 |
| 7 | Machinery and transport equipment..... | 6.26 | 8.55 | 9.62 | 4.13 | 5.51 |
| 8 | Miscellaneous manufactured articles not elsewhere classified..... | 16.87 | 18.69 | 15.34 | 6.66 | 14.31 |
| 9 | Items and trans N/class..... | .25 | .35 | 1.55 | .45 | .41 |
| | Total | 55.58 | 125.82 | 135.06 | 44.61 | 107.87 |

¹ Imports are customs value.² 4th quarter 1974 and 1st quarter 1975.³ 4th quarter 1975 and 1st quarter 1976.

Source: Department of Commerce.

UNITED STATES EXPORTS TO ROMANIA, 1973-75

[In millions of dollars]

| Schedule B | Commodity | Total | | | Quarters (4th) | |
|---------------|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| | | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1974 | 1975 |
| 0 | Food and live animals..... | 38.20 | 93.35 | 75.60 | 45.63 | ..... |
| 1 | Beverages and tobacco..... | ..... | .13 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 2 | Crude materials, inedible except fuels..... | 40.59 | 69.16 | 37.90 | 6.94 | 7.58 |
| 3 | Mineral fuels, lubricants, and related products..... | 5.89 | 5.54 | 17.56 | 1.90 | 10.78 |
| 4 | Animal and vegetable oils and fats..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 5 | Chemicals..... | 5.69 | 7.94 | 4.90 | 2.34 | .05 |
| 6 | Manufactured goods by chief materials..... | 4.95 | 10.72 | 6.59 | 3.64 | .89 |
| 7 | Machinery and transport equipment..... | 20.41 | 88.24 | 42.37 | 15.61 | 8.33 |
| 8 | Miscellaneous manufactured articles, not elsewhere classified..... | .63 | 1.65 | 3.76 | .36 | 1.32 |
| 9 | Items and trans N/class..... | .14 | .38 | .60 | .05 | .07 |
| | Total | 116.51 | 277.14 | 189.28 | 76.47 | 29.02 |

Source: Department of Commerce.

Appendix

(From the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*,
June 7, 1976, Volume 12, No. 23, page 991.)

TRADE WITH ROMANIA—THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS
TRANSMITTING HIS RECOMMENDATION TO EXTEND WAIVER AUTHORITY
GRANTED BY SECTION 402(c)(1) OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974;
JUNE 2, 1976

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, I transmit herewith my recommendation that the authority to waive subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 be extended for a period of 12 months.

This recommendation sets forth the reasons for extending waiver authority, and for my determination relating to continuation of the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, as called for by subsections (d)(1)(B) and (d)(1)(C) of section 402 of the Trade Act. I include, as part of this recommendation, my determination that extension of the waiver authority, and continuation of the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

GERALD R. FORD.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 2, 1976.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EXTENSION OF WAIVER AUTHORITY

Pursuant to section 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, I have today determined that extension of the waiver authority granted by section 402(c)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, and continuation of the waiver extended by Executive Order 11854 of April 24, 1975 currently applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania pursuant to section 402(c)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

Extension of the waiver authority conferred by section 402(c)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 is desirable because it would permit the continuation in effect of the US-Romanian Trade Agreement, which I believe to be in the national interest.

I am convinced that the continuation of the US-Romanian Trade Agreement will serve to promote mutually beneficial growth in two-way trade between the United States and Romania. This agreement has marked a major step forward in our economic relations with Romania. It places our bilateral trade on a basis beneficial to economic growth in both countries. Further, it brings our commercial relations into accord with our very satisfactory political ties.

Continued good US-Romanian relations, both political and commercial, serve the foreign policy interests of both countries. The dominant theme of Romania's foreign policy is the desire to maintain a high degree of independence. More than any other Warsaw Pact country, Romania has pursued friendly relations with countries of differing political and economic systems—with the United States, the People's Republic of China, the developing world, and with Israel as well as Arab countries. Romania participates actively in a number of international organizations. It is the only COMECON country which is a member of the IMF and the World Bank. Romania has acceded to the GATT. It leads the COMECON countries in the proportion of its trade with the West.

(7)

We desire to encourage Romania's independent policy orientation through the expansion and improvement of bilateral relations. I am convinced that continuation of the Trade Agreement with Romania is essential to this end.

I believe that continuation of the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. Since the implementation of the Trade Agreement with Romania the flow of emigration from that country to the United States and Israel has increased markedly. Nearly twice as many persons left Romania with Romanian approval for the United States in the ten-month period between July 1, 1975 and April 30, 1976 than left in any preceding twelve-month period in the past two decades.

Emigration from Romania to Israel also increased following the implementation of the Trade Agreement with Romania. While emigration figures to the United States and Israel are subject to fluctuation on a monthly basis, I am confident that the generally positive and encouraging overall trend in emigration from Romania will continue.

I therefore recommend to the Congress pursuant to subsection 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 that the waiver authority granted by subsection (c)(1) of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 be extended for a period of twelve months.

**TRADE WITH ROMANIA—PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION No. 76-17;
JUNE 2, 1976**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Subject: Determination under section 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974.

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978; hereinafter called the Act), I hereby determine, pursuant to section 402(d)(1) of the Act, that the extension of the waiver authority granted by subsection (c)(1) of section 402 of the Act will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. I further determine, pursuant to subsection (d)(1)(C) of section 402 of the Act, that continuation of the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

GERALD R. FORD.

**Appendix B.—Communications Received by the Committee ~
Expressing an Interest in This Hearing**

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JAMES L. BUCKLEY

Mr. Chairman: This statement is provided in support of my resolution, S. Res. 511 which is pending before your subcommittee.

This resolution is primarily designed to focus attention on the issue of human rights in Romania in accordance with Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1975, which declares the respect for human rights as one of the main purposes of the Act in regard to the granting of Most Favored Nation status to (Non-market) countries.

We are all aware of the allegations concerning the behavior of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania in regard to family reunification and of the cyclical nature of the granting of such exit visas to emigrants in apparent anticipation of the Congressional review of the Most Favored Nation status and the United States-Romanian trade agreement of 1975.

Today, I would like to focus on the issue of the abridgment of the human and cultural rights of the national minorities in Romania. There are two sizeable minorities, the 2.5 million Hungarians and half million Germans in the same province residing mostly in Transylvania.

Independently collected information and testimony and a perusal of the Romanian, Hungarian and German language press of Transylvania suggests the presence of conscious discrimination at least on the local and county level, and a general curtailment of the rights of these national minorities. If true, this is especially offensive because the Socialist Romanian Government has been the signator of many international treaties and agreements forbidding any discrimination on the grounds of national origin. I refer to Part II, Article 3 of the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty transferring sovereignty over Transylvania to Romania, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and finally, the provisions of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania itself (Articles 17, 22 and 102).

The evidence suggests that major curtailments and violations of human rights may be taking place. They include the minority school system where it has become increasingly difficult for students of Hungarian nationality to attend school sections where the language of instruction is mostly Hungarian. According to statistics published in *The Hungarian Nationality in Romania* in Bucharest, 1976 only one out of nine Hungarian students has attended Hungarian sections in the vocational schools, and only one out of three Hungarian students has attended academic high schools with Hungarian sections. The proportion of Hungarian university students is 5.8% while there are approximately 10% Hungarians in the population of Romania.

There appears to be a systematic tendency to assign Hungarian university graduates to areas outside of Transylvania and to admit fewer and fewer Hungarian students to the universities. Instruction in the Hungarian language survives only sporadically at the Babes-Bolyai University at Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvar) and at the Medical-Pharmaceutical Institute in Tirgu Mures (Marosvararhely).

The free use of the mother tongue is guaranteed under the Romanian constitution. Yet Hungarian officials dare to converse only in Romanian in the offices, there are no bilingual signs except in the counties with near-100% Hungarian majority, and Hungarians are discriminated against in many professions and civil service jobs, particularly in legal, military, police, management and accounting positions and on the level of skilled workers and foreman.

While the Hungarians still retain some outstanding cultural institutions in Romania, some areas of culture, e.g., the 1000-year old Hungarian history of Transylvania, remain taboo for instruction and research alike. Only a few peasant risings or events involving Romanians outside of Transylvania may be mentioned.

There appears to be a systematic effort to present historical landmarks, buildings and castles as creations of the Romanian spirit despite the fact that they were built by Hungarians and Germans (Saxons). E.g., the city histories of Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsavar) and radea (Nagyvarad) for tourists which are still at least half Hungarian, fail to mention so much as the word Hungarian.

There has been reports in Western newspapers (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*) in February 1975 about confiscation of the church archives of the Hungarian Protestant churches in northwestern Transylvania, which, if true is another example of the effort to erase the Hungarian history of the region.

Churches are strictly controlled and their activities greatly curtailed. One church, the Greek Catholic Church with Hungarian and Romanian faithful, remains officially banned. Parishes and congregations are left without priests and ministers, bishoprics in the nationality areas remain unfilled. Bishops are pressured into refusing charitable gifts from abroad needed to repair their churches and rectories. Except for the countryside, religious instruction is non-existent in view of subtle, but effective, Party pressures.

In view of these assertions by many informed observers, we must find a mechanism which could effectively monitor the situation and help us determine the most feasible and appropriate action in this regard. It is for this reason that I have submitted by resolution. It does not grant or deny the MFN status of Romania. It does not add new requirements to the decision to extend such status. Rather it emphasizes that respect for human rights (which include minority rights) must be a yardstick against which Romania's statistics and publications at face value in reporting as it has done in the past.

We cannot change the policies of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania or interfere with its internal affairs. But we can certainly expose the areas where they are contravening internationally valid agreements and even their own Constitution in failing to allow the national minorities and, let us make no mistake, their citizens in general, the human rights and cultural opportunities guaranteed to them.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-S.C.)

Mr. Chairman: In considering the Trade Reform Act of 1975, let me call your attention to Section 402, which defines the ensurance of "respect for fundamental human rights" as the main purpose of the Act toward non-market Countries.

We have at the present time only one non-market Country in East Central Europe which has accepted the ramifications of the 1975 Act: the Socialist Republic of Romania. However, Romania's acceptance is not unequivocal. Free emigration, one of the *prima facie* requirements of the Act, is not observed by the Romanian Government. The emigration of the Jews remains slight, and family reunification cases are handled extremely slowly. Exit visas are given in a cyclical manner. This is, whenever the MFN status and the United States-Romanian trade agreement is in effect, visa grants fall to near zero. Whenever extension comes up on the agenda of the United States Congress, they multiply miraculously within weeks.

The Romanian regime remains one of the most Stalinist and rigid regimes in the Communist bloc. Onerous bias and discrimination are shown against the National minorities of the State, especially the 2.5 million Magyars (Hungarians) of Transylvania and the about 500,000 Germans (Saxons) of the same province.

Discrimination in managerial positions and dispersion of the recently graduated Hungarian intellectuals and professionals to areas outside of Transylvania continues despite the industrialization needs for manpower in the Hungarian areas. Hungarian history is almost fully ignored in the curricula as far as the 1,000-year history of Transylvania is concerned. Transylvania was Hungarian until 1920. Bilingual signs are non-existent outside of two purely Hungarian Counties. Even at gas stations you will not find signs in Hungarian.

The basic human right to education is also curtailed. Only about five percent of the Romanian university youth is of Hungarian nationality, while ten percent of the population is Hungarian.

The situation in regard to National cultural and human rights, the strict conformity imposed on art and literature (Romanian and Hungarian alike), and the continuing police regime do not favor the extension of MFN status to Romania.

If the MFN status is to be extended, the resolution submitted by my distinguished colleague from New York (Senator James Buckley), S. Res. 511, should be inserted into the empowering legislation or report. I strongly urge your consideration of this Resolution.

WESTDEUTSCHLAND, October 26, 1975.

Senator RUSSELL LONG,
Russell Building,
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

DEAR MR. LONG: Mr. Noel Bernard, the director of the Radio Station "Free Europe" gave me your address, and I beg you from the bottom of my heart to help me please.

I am a German Citizen, and since many years engaged to be married with a Romanian Certified Construction Engineer. We love each other very much and want to get married, but our application for a marriage licence has not yet been granted by the Romanian Government.

All my papers are at the Administration Department in Bukarest, and I myself have been there, but the result was, that my future husband was transferred to a small town, and besides this is earning much less money.

I am 35 years of age, divorced without guilt and I have two children at the age of 11 years and 14 years, the oldest one is spastic paralysed, and badly in need of my help and assistance, which I cannot give him, as I have to support my children and myself.

My future husband, who wants to be a father to my children, and wishes to give us a warm and happy home life, has tried everything to join us, but all his tryings have been disregarded by the Rumanian Government, which is not in accordance with the Security Conference of Helsinki, much to the contrary, our Situation has become worse and more hopeless.

I have heard that you occupy yourself with such problems as I have, I urge you wholeheartedly, please, to help me, and to open the way for my future husband to be with us soon.

His name and address is as follows: Teodor Tomida (born March 2, 1938), B-dul Macarele No. 51, Sectorul 4, Blocul j 38 Scara F- Apt 76, Bukarest.

Please don't look at this letter as one of many, believe me that this is a desperate cry for help, of a lonely woman with two helpless children.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness and help, I remain

Very sincerely Yours,

ELISABETH ACHERMANN.

AFL-CIO STATEMENT ON CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

The AFL-CIO urges this Committee to reject the President's request to continue low-tariff treatment for imported products from Romania. This special privilege for Romanian exports to the United States violates the purposes of the Trade Act of 1974—economic benefit for the United States and the promotion of human freedom.

Last year, on June 6, 1975, the AFL-CIO opposed the one-sided U.S.-Romanian trade agreement which granted "most-favored-nation" or low-tariff treatment for imports from Romania. We also opposed the President's waiver of the requirements of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, which the Congress inserted to promote human rights. This requirement states that the communist country which signs a bilateral trade treaty with the United States must grant freedom of emigration to its citizens. The issue before this Committee is whether this waiver should be continued.

The AFL-CIO said last year that the agreement itself would harm U.S. labor, harm U.S. trade and make a mockery of all concepts of human decency and freedom. The summary of our statement is attached (Appendix A).

This year, the record shows that the shameful results of the Romanian treaty have been worse than we predicted:

The harm to U.S. labor and trade is obvious. While the volume of trade with Romania is small, the agreement was signed at a time when the U.S. labor force was losing jobs from a combination of deep recession, low-wage imports and the export of U.S. technology. Today ten million Americans are still unable to find work, and manufacturing employment is still 1½ million below the pre-recession

level. To add Romanian imports to already impacted industries and jobless workers cannot promote economic or social benefits for the United States.

But, the types of imports that were encouraged by the granting of low-tariff or "most-favored-nation" treatment to Romania often added to the specific plight of already-stricken industries and workers.

The shoe industry is a case in point. In February 1976 the International Trade Commission found injury to this industry from imports after ten years of job losses and production shut-downs. But the President refused to act. He "expedited" adjustment assistance already available under the law.

Since the Trade Act of 1974 became effective over 10,000 American shoe workers have sought adjustment assistance. Other thousands had already received the dole but were still jobless. But imports of various types of shoes from Romania in 1976 have increased. The President now seeks to continue special benefits for tariffs on those shoes. (See attached table of "most-favored-nation" rates). (Appendix B)

Even worse, the case of dumping welt work shoes was before the Trade Commission when the Romanian treaty was signed. The Treasury found that the shoes were coming in at dumping prices. The Romanians assured the Trade Commission that the export of such shoes would be restrained in 1975. They were. But in the first half of 1976 the imports of welt work shoes from Romania are up over the first half of 1975.

Clothing imports tell a similar story. Men's and boy's suits, ladies' rainwear, knits—any apparel product in which American industry and jobseekers are suffering from an assault from imports, is given a benefit from the Romanian treaty. The reduction of tariffs provides added encouragement to ship from Romania to the United States at a cost of more jobs and more production in industries already struggling to survive. But according to the *Journal of Commerce*, (Appendix C) Italy has urged the European Common Market to reduce imports of Romanian suits. If this happens, the U.S. imports will rise further.

Glass imports are also affected. About 400 sheet glass workers in Mt. Vernon, Ohio are now applying for adjustment assistance because their plant was shut-down from imports. About 3,000 sheet glass workers have already been found injured by imports and certified for this dole. But the imports of sheet glass from Romania are now encouraged by a reduction in the tariff. Some types of glass imports were up 15% in the first half of 1976, and a dumping investigation of Romanian sheet glass is now in process.

The export predictions also turned out worse than the AFL-CIO predicted, because U.S. exports fell in the first half of 1976 below the first half of last year before the agreement was signed. But the types of exports—of the technology to produce good in which the already suffering American industries and workers need help, such as bearings—followed our predictions. An example of this was the January 1976 Eximbank announcement of a loan for exports of equipment to set up a Romanian bearing plant. The United States producers and workers would like to have loans to produce bearings here. The jobs and the industrial production have been lost over many years—across the nation, but particularly in states like Connecticut. We see no advantage in subsidizing the production of such equipment behind the walls of a Communist state while reducing tariffs on imports of the product.

Another technological transfer which exceeded our dire predictions is the export of \$500,000 worth of nuclear reactor equipment to Romania in the first half of 1976. The Eximbank has disbursed \$695,000 out of the \$1,060,000 credit for nuclear reasearch equipment for Romania. As we pointed out last year, Romania is committed by the Warsaw Pact to supply technology to the Soviet Union. Thus we do not believe that the export of America's technology to Communist states promotes America's economic advantage.

The overall trade balance also proved worse than AFL-CIO predictions: The trade surplus has been erased. In the first half of 1976 U.S. imports were higher than exports. Trade with Romania has traditionally shown a surplus for the United States. For all but five of the last 55 years, according to the East-West Trade Council, the U.S. has exported more to Romania than the U.S. has imported from Romania. From 1972-74, U.S. exports were about twice the value of imports from Romania. In the first half of 1975, the ratio was about three to one. Most-favored-nation treatment for imports was designed to help redress this imbalance. It has done much more than that. The trade balance turned to deficit for the U.S. (Appendix D).

In the first half of 1976, U.S. imports from Romania were higher than exports. As we indicated last year, the amount of fuel oil involved in these imports, while

much higher in 1976, will not solve America's problems. But the manufactured imports, often sold at dumping prices, have a sharp impact on U.S. industry and jobs. But we did not expect a drop in exports of some types of farm products, such as cotton and corn.

Exports to Romania are entitled to the benefits granted to exports of other nations. They receive the benefits of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Export-Import Bank, DISC, and government marketing and investment services, such as the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. With all of these tax breaks and subsidies, exports fell.

The economic case we made, therefore, turned out to be understated. The fact that Romania has no tariffs, has no price competition from imports and prices its exports at whatever value it chooses, means that the granting of most-favored-nation tariff treatment can work only against the economic advantage of the United States.

In terms of human freedom, our case is equally clear. There has been no change internally in conditions of labor in Romania. As we quoted last year, American firms have been encouraged by our government to use the "controlled" labor force in Romania to produce for this market. We find this an assault on human freedom. In addition, our friends in free labor movements in European countries cannot understand why the United States encourages imports from countries using Communist labor while it opposes subsidized imports from their countries. We share their confusion.

The waiver of the Title IV requirement that a Communist country grant freedom of emigration *before* most-favored-nation treatment is granted did not promote freedom of emigration. As the attached story from the *Christian Science Monitor* (Appendix E) indicates, the United States was still "nudging" Romania about its restrictions on emigration after the Romanian agreement was signed. As the attached advertisement in the May 7, 1976 *New York Times* (Appendix F) shows, many people still think human freedom in Romania is a contradiction in terms. Title IV does not call for "nudging." It is a legal requirement. But even the State Department representative who is urging this Committee to support the President's request cannot make a case that emigration is free from Romania.

Human freedom is not a numbers game. Title IV of the Trade Act and human freedom are being violated. We urge this Committee to reject the President's request to continue this mockery of human freedom at home and abroad.

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF AFL-CIO STATEMENT ON S. CON. RES. 35, PROVIDING FOR "MOST-FAVORED-NATION" TREATMENT FOR IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

The AFL-CIO opposes S. Con. Res. 35, a trade agreement extending "most-favored-nation" treatment to imported products from Romania. We urge the Finance Committee to recommend rejection of this agreement, because it is a mockery of fair international trade and an assault on human freedom.

I. U.S. job losses will be accelerated, particularly in industries already suffering massive layoffs and production cutbacks, and American labor standards will be undermined. Meanwhile, even proponents of the agreement do not claim it gives the U.S. commercial advantage.

A. Imports from Romania increased, even in 1974, in machinery and transportation equipment. Imports of shoes, clothing, glass, electronics and other industries struggling to survive the depression have already cost jobs, and further job losses cannot be tolerated.

B. Exports of U.S. products to Romania are what Romania's development plans require—food, raw materials, and technology. Romania imports technology from U.S. firms under contract to export from Romania, thus jobs from U.S. exports and jobs at home will be curtailed.

C. U.S. labor standards are threatened further by unfair competition from state-controlled labor in Romania, where 50% lower wage costs are a major attraction for U.S. companies.

II. "Most-favored-nation" treatment for Romania puts U.S. production and trade at a disadvantage because Romania's system of trade is totally different.

A. Romania has no tariffs. The MFN agreement would reduce U.S. tariffs on motor vehicles from 10% to 3%, on ball bearings from 35% to 6%, on sheet glass by 59%, on shoes from 20% to 5%, on clothing from 90% to 42%. (These are examples of items in each category).

B. Romania does not have price competition from imports; U.S. imports are encouraged to substitute for U.S. production at lower prices. Romania sets

values on imported products at the Romania domestic price. Values on exported products are set by the Romanian government and its multinational firm partners producing there. U.S. imports are valued at the "Romanian" price.

C. Romania wants and encourages transfers of technology to Romania, not vice versa; U.S. firms "compete" with one another and other Western firms to meet Romania's terms and locate or license production.

III. The trade agreement adds to unfair competition.

A. "Safeguards in the agreement" supposedly allow U.S. to halt imports when markets are disrupted or when the U.S. asks to halt them. This provision is little help because U.S. markets are already disrupted and depressed. Yet the President chooses not to help the U.S. but to make its markets even weaker.

B. Romania has already dumped work shoes in the U.S. and an International Trade Commission report is pending.

IV. Multinational firms and banks will accelerate technology transfers for their private profit and Romania's benefit—often at U.S. public expense.

A. ITT, Control Data, General Tire, Singer and other multinationals already license and/or have joint venture production arrangements in Romania.

B. Romania and other East Bloc nations pay "bargain basement" prices for U.S. technology.

C. U.S. government agencies have already subsidized these agreements between private companies and Romania—Eximbank, OPIC, Commerce Department and State Department.

D. Romania has nothing we need, except oil, and her increased shipments of oil reached only \$90 million in 1974. That is not enough to help the U.S.

V. Romania is part of Comecon: Thus it supplies technology and other goods to the Soviet Union and her Comecon trading partners. Therefore, this bill subsidizes communist states.

A. More than 50% of Romanian exports have gone to Poland and other satellites and Soviet Union; Soviet Union has cut off Romanian supplies when it gets too dependent.

B. Romanians make no secret of this obligation; whether they like it or not, it is a fact.

VI. The Trade Act of 1974 Title IV has been waived by the President as far as emigration provisions are concerned.

A. On April 24, 1975, the President reported to Congress that he has used his authority to waive emigration provisions required by Title IV as the Trade Act allows.

B. The human freedom question is thus a decision by the President of the U.S.; not by Romania, as to emigration; the human freedom question is a violation of labor rights as to labor standards.

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF 1975 TARIFFS AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFFS ON SELECTED CATEGORIES AND PRODUCTS EXPORTED BY ROMANIA¹

| | Current rate | MFN |
|--|--------------|------|
| Electric motors (percent)..... | 35 | 4 |
| Battery charging generators (percent)..... | 35 | 5 |
| Starter motors (percent)..... | 35 | 4 |
| Power transformers (percent)..... | 90 | 25 |
| Electrical parts (percent)..... | 35 | 5.5 |
| Automatic switches and relays (percent)..... | 35 | 8.5 |
| Switchboard panels (percent)..... | 35 | 8.5 |
| Electronic components (percent)..... | 60 | 15 |
| Electronics parts not specified (percent)..... | 35 | 5.5 |
| Tractors—Agricultural..... | Free | Free |
| Other (percent)..... | 27.5 | 5.5 |
| Trucks (percent)..... | 10 | 3 |
| Tires (percent)..... | 10 | 4 |
| Bearings (percent)..... | 45 | 7.5 |
| Iron and steel products (percent)..... | 45 | 8.5 |
| Furniture (percent)..... | 42.5 | 12.5 |
| Clothing (percent)..... | 90 | 42 |
| Knitwear (cents per pound)..... | 50 | 37.5 |
| Leather footwear: Shoes (percent)..... | 20 | 5 |
| Meat: Canned ham (cents per pound)..... | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Glass (cents per pound)..... | 1.5 | 0.3 |

¹ Some tariffs are examples of many varying tariff rates. For example, iron and steel, sheet glass, shoes, clothing, have many different classifications, with a variety of specific and ad valorem duties.

Source: U.S. International Trade Commission.

APPENDIX C

[From the Journal of Commerce, June 2, 1976]

ITALY GOV'T, EC BEING PRESSURED: ROMANIA SUIT EXPORT CUTS ASKED

(By Milo Farneti)

ROME—Italy's national Association of Clothing Manufacturers (AIA) is pressuring the Italian Government and European Communities to cut down growing Romanian exports of men's suits to this country and the Common Market.

Armando Branchini, AIA secretary general, contends Romania now ships to Italy enough men's suits to supply 5 per cent of a year's market demand, and about 30 per cent of men's trousers.

He said the association has won support of the foreign trade minister in seeking relief from the Common Market.

The ministry, according to the association, has told the EC it must limit imports from Romania at the 1975 level, or Italy will decide on its own to block incoming wearables.

LOWER PRICES CITED

Mr. Branchini acknowledged that the success of Romanian wearables is based on lower prices, and on styling that is "typically Italian." He claims the Romanian clothing is of equal quality but priced at only one-third of the equivalent Italian suits and trousers.

AIA listed imports from Romania in the first quarter of this year as already having passed shipments here for all of 1975. Mr. Branchini said 433,000 suits had arrived in the January-March 1976 period, compared with 419,000 for all of 1975, and 1,153,000 pairs of trousers, compared with 980,000 for all 1975.

EFFORTS OPPOSED

The AIA official said past efforts at containing Romanian exports had been opposed by West Germany and Holland.

"They had made a precise choice for the sector," he said, "cutting down domestic production and pointing on agreements for building plants in East European countries to manufacture on order."

AIA contends the price of Romanian imports has stayed unchanged for several years. An Italian manufacturer, it says, sells a man's suit to the retailer here at an average price of about 46,000 lire (\$50) while the same quality Romanian suit costs the retailer about 10,000 lire (\$12).

The association says Italian importers reported plans to government agencies here for importing about 8 billion lire (\$9.4 million) of men's suits, trousers and coats in the first quarter of this year. It lists imports from Romania for all of 1975 as totaling 9.2 billion lire (\$10.8 million).

Italian clothing manufacturers contend the Romanian "invasion" started after the Lebole family sold its clothing plants to the ENI-Lanerossi Group. Since then, the Leboles have built up a big import of Romanian wearables.

APPENDIX D

UNITED STATES EXPORTS TO ROMANIA

(In millions of dollars)

| 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 January to June | 1976 January to June |
|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| \$32 | \$66 | \$53 | \$69 | \$117 | \$278 | \$191 | \$122 | \$89 |

UNITED STATES IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|
| \$8 | \$13 | \$14 | \$31 | \$56 | \$131 | \$133 | \$38 | \$92 |
|-----|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Commission.

APPENDIX E

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 28, 1975]

RECENT SLOWDOWN ON EXIT PERMITS CITED: U.S. NUDGES ROMANIA ON JEWISH EMIGRATION ISSUE

(By Eric Bourne, special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor)

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA—The United States has quietly but firmly reminded Romania of the link between emigration and the trade advantages the U.S. granted it earlier this year.

Recently the issuance of passports to Romanian Jews who wish to go to Israel has slowed down. American officials are leaving the Romanian authorities no doubt of U.S. concern that the number of exit permits issued monthly began to fall shortly after passage of the trade bill that conferred most-favored-nation advantages on Romanian exports to the U.S.

U.S. officials are reminding them that this legislation is subject to review after one year, the inference being that extension could be affected by unwarranted delay or shortcomings in observance of the emigration process.

Romanian reaction so far has been a retort that the figures should not be viewed on a month-to-month basis but within the emigration picture overall.

Officials here claim that more than 300,000 Jews have left Romania in the past 15 years. The rate accelerated earlier this year, when emigration was a strong issue in Congress.

Precise figures for most recent months are not available, but there has been a marked fall in the granting of permits since the June-July peak; and subsequent Israeli press reports of withdrawals of exit papers already issued seem true in a number of cases.

The latest expression of the American view was made by Rep. Charles A. Vanik, whose visit here last week concluded with an hour's talk with President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The President apparently admitted awareness of a number of cases and seemed to indicate they would receive attention, though he insisted that others presented difficulties that would not be easily resolved.

Among the tragic cases is that of violinist Sylvia Marcovici and her husband, surgeon Aldea Tural.

Miss Marcovici is only 23. She is Jewish. In the view of many domestic and foreign critics, she is Romania's leading violinist.

She began to play at age eight. She wanted to sing, but the family could not afford a piano. Her teacher bought her a violin instead.

By 16 she was well known, and in the years since, she has played in most European capitals—London, Paris, Bonn, Berlin, and Moscow—and in the United States.

Three years ago she married. Her husband is a highly qualified Bucharest surgeon. Until this year he worked in the main emergency hospital here.

Last year Miss Marcovici was engaged for another U.S. tour. For the first time, she and her husband petitioned for permission for him to accompany her.

The foreign currency shortage here often is advanced to explain why Romanians are so rarely allowed to travel to the West, but the question did not arise in this instance because Miss Marcovici's American fees would finance her husband's trip.

But permission was refused, and the Marcovici family—father, mother, an ailing elder brother, daughter, and her husband—decided on emigration to Israel.

Almost immediately after the request for permits was made in January, Dr. Tural was dismissed from his hospital position. He has since been working with an ambulance crew. Miss Marcovici has not received a single Romanian concert engagement this year.

Moreover, two recordings of four Beethoven sonatas she completed about that time have been denied release for public sale.

Some two months ago the couple were called to security police headquarters and told by a senior officer that their application was refused. The officer went on to tell Dr. Tural that a Romanian man does not run after his wife—it is the other way around here.

Friends say the couple are quite desperate about their situation. What is going to happen to their careers?

Romanian officials profess a fear of an emigration of their professional elite. But in this instance they are likely to lose both a highly gifted musician and a talented surgeon when by normal tolerance—especially after signing the Helsinki declaration on humanitarian issues—they probably could have retained both.

EXHIBIT F

WILL THE UNITED STATES ENDORSE CULTURAL GENOCIDE IN RUMANIA?

Two hundred years ago the United States was founded on strong moral principles. The fashionable view today holds that those principles have largely eroded since 1776. We Hungarian-Americans do not adhere to this view.

The United States of America is still the champion of human rights and fundamental freedoms around the globe. It leads the fight for these ideals in the United Nations. It is the hope of oppressed Soviet Jewry and other minorities. As a last resort it gives haven to refugees of tyranny, as many of us have reason to appreciate.

There is now an opportunity to take a further step in the spirit of this noble tradition. Rumania's dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu, is pursuing an increasingly brazen program amounting to cultural genocide against that country's Hungarian, German, and other minorities. The six major elements of this program are:

1. ELIMINATION OF MINORITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Taking full advantage of the State monopoly on education, the Rumanian government eliminates, merges and reorganizes schools at will. As a result, from 1956 to 1974 the number of Hungarian elementary schools dropped from 1515 to 776. Even official statistics show that only 60-65% of Hungarian children have the opportunity to attend Hungarian grade schools, and only 25% to attend Hungarian secondary schools. Minority origin is a definite handicap when seeking admission to an educational institution. In 1959 the two Hungarian universities were arbitrarily eliminated—and *not* for the lack of students.

2. SUPPRESSION OF MINORITY LANGUAGES

In addition to manipulating the educational system, the Rumanian government employs other methods to suppress the use of minority languages. Rumanian is the exclusive language used at every level of government bureaucracy. This policy encourages chauvinism even in strictly private social situations. Members of minorities often have to put up with derision and threats for using their mother tongue.

3. FALSIFICATION OF HISTORICAL DATA AND POPULATION STATISTICS

The Rumanian Communist Party produces and disseminates its own version of history. Their semi-fictional version of Rumanian history dismisses the significance of the indigenous Hungarian culture which predates the emergence of the first Rumanian state by three centuries.

Through the notorious communist method of manipulating statistics, the population of minority groups is constantly falsified in government records. The Rumanian government thus manages the statistical annihilation of at least 30% of the actual minority population of the country.

4. CONFISCATION OF CULTURAL ARCHIVES

Even taken alone, this despicable act of the Rumanian government constitutes the crime of cultural genocide. Legislation is now on the books whose sole aim is the destruction of the historical roots of minorities. For instance, Decree-Law 206/1974 (amending Decree-Law 472/1971 on the National Archives) and Act. No. 63 of November 2, 1974 on the protection of the national cultural treasury. The State has used these regulations for outright appropriation of historical documents, relics, manuscripts, maps, photos, diaries, posters, engravings, imprints and other material in the possession of church archives, private organizations and individuals. Uncompensated confiscation of this kind was reported by the respectable Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* ("Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Rumania," February 1/2, 1975, p. 6):

"The material was—in many cases without receipt—loaded onto trucks and carted away. The historical order of the archives has become completely dis-

rupted 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.

"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 war-like designs against the religious and cultural minorities by the Rumanian regime was the Hungarian Reformed Church . . ."

5. OBSTRUCTING CONTACTS WITH RELATIVES ABROAD

Decree-Law 225/1975 prohibits the accommodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes in Rumania. Only immediate relatives are exempted. Since relatives from Hungary are usually of modest means and hotel facilities—especially in rural areas—are scarce, visits often become a practical impossibility.

6. DISSOLUTION OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

As in all Communist States the Rumanian government has almost complete control over the labor market. Rumania however, utilizes this control to break up homogeneous ethnic groups. University and vocational school graduates of Hungarian origin are routinely assigned jobs outside their own communities. Rumanians are then encouraged to replace them through offers of attractive income and housing opportunities in those communities.

Multiple Violations of International Law

The above measures violate not only international standards of human rights, but the Constitution of Rumania itself. Minority populations must bear these outrages in addition to the usual intolerance and terror which affects the life of every citizen of Communist states regardless of ethnic origin.

All of the above abuses continue despite Rumania's ratification of the 1966 U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 27 of the Covenant reads as follows:

"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."

The United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide in 1948, accepted the following definition as one of the ways by which the crime of cultural genocide may be committed.

" . . . systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion of alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic, or religious value and of objects used in religious worship." (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 the above language, Rumania's recent behavior exactly corresponds with this definition.

What can the United States do?

As a reward for her "independence" from Moscow, Rumania was granted most-favored-nation status by Congress last year. That decision overlooked the fact that this "independence" is not founded on decency and healthy respect for human liberty. The fact is that Rumania today is guilty of *the most blatant internal oppression of all the Soviet satellites*. The only condition upon which "most-favored-nation" status was granted was the requirement of free emigration. Such systematic oppression cannot be offset by an easing of restrictions on emigration. Such a "solution" could well be just what the Rumanian government needs to justify a policy of exiling minorities from home, property and country. The net effect would visit even more hardship and misery on those left behind. Free emigration may solve the problem of a handful of people, but the 2.5 million Hungarians and the 400,000 Germans want to live, work and prosper in a land which, in the case of Hungarians, they have inhabited for over one thousand years.

We urge Congress to reverse last summer's decision making "most-favored-nation" status solely dependent upon the easing of emigration restrictions. Congress should revoke that status from Rumania until she completely satisfied the

just and reasonable needs of her minority populations to maintain and develop their own contribution to Rumania's rich ethnic mosaic.

We urge the American Government to exert pressure on Rumania in any other manner to conform to enlightened standards in its treatment of minorities. The December 5, 1973 American-Rumanian joint statement specifically allows both parties to raise humanitarian issues with the other.

We urge the American public to show the same sympathy and solidarity toward these cultural people as it has toward so many other victims of political and cultural persecution over the last two hundred years.

Tomorrow, Saturday, May 8th at 2 P.M. a demonstration will be held in front of the Rumanian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, 60 East 93rd Street, New York City. The rally is sponsored by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, an ad hoc organization supported by all major associations of Hungarians in America. We urge you to lend your presence to this demonstration.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1976.

DEAR SIR: My name is Cheptea Ana. I write you on my son's behalf and I sign this letter as my son is not allowed to write you.

Here is, however, his sad story: My name is Cheptea Mircea, and I am twenty of age. I live in Bucharest, 68-70 Calea Victoriei St. My mother is a Jewess, I am a Jew, and all my mother's relatives have been living in Israel for many years (my father has got no relatives). I've been studying Hebrew since I was sixteen years old, and I guess I have a thorough command of Hebrew language and culture. For two years I was a good student at the course of Talmud Thora.

After I graduated from the Fine Arts School, in October 1975, I filed an application in which I stated my wish to leave for Israel, join my mother's family and complete my studies there.

The answer was in the negative, and my legitimate and justified claims were negated again and again.

My firm wish to leave for Israel greatly inconvenienced me in every respect. Moreover, it entailed serious retaliatory measures; three months ago—just the next day after receiving the latest negative answer—I was called up for military service. But I was very surprised when I found out that, in fact, I was deliberately sent to a military unit of labor.

For three months I've been toiling at carrying boulders together with returned convicts.

The most revelatory fact is that here, in this unit, I am one of the very few who have never been in prison. For three months I've been doing a labour injurious for my health, and humiliating for me and my family as well (my mother is a doctress, my father is a certificated economist)

What are the reasons for this retaliation?

What is my fault?

Being a Jew and wishing to live in Israel?

I should be greatly obliged if you would do something and help me to overcome this tough hurdle.

I apologize for asking your help, but I did my utmost, and so far all the means were found to be of no use. *I don't want to be a hopeless case.*

For the time being nothing was left to me but hope.

I'm frantically trying to find someone who can really help me as I feel I'm sinking too low and I cannot do anything by myself.

The only thing I claim is to be released from this military unit, to get free to leave for Israel, join my family there, and complete my studies.

I should be greatly obliged if you could help my son.

I warmly thank you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

CHEPTEA ANA.

DETROIT, MICH., September 3, 1976.

STATEMENT TO THE U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I am Valeriu Anania, Director of the Publishing Department, and Representative for Inter-Church Relations of the Romanian Orthodox Missionary Archdiocese in Amer-

ica; a Romanian clergyman (Archimandrite Batholomew) and literary author; former acting president of "Petru Maior" Academic Association of the University of Cluj (1946) and permanent resident of the United States of America since 1965. Not being able to testify in person before the Senate Committee, I respectfully submit this statement to express my support for Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 35 and the subsequent Presidential Proclamation of April 24, 1975 extending the status of "Most Favored Nation" to Romania.

In motivating my support, I do not want to repeat the reasons already expressed by others, nor in exchange do I make any personal demands or conditions. With your permission, I would like to begin my statement by rejecting some allegations and historical distortions presented to you by some people who are *against* granting a MFN to Romania, and to urge you not to take them into consideration on the basis of this contestation.

I am particularly concerned about the statement of Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, made on behalf of the American Hungarian Federation on June 6, 1975 and endorsed by Bishop Zoltan Beky, president, and Laszlo L. Eszeny, chairman, of the same organization. If the statement had to deal only with complaints on the present Romanian government's discriminatory policies against the Hungarian minority ethnic group in Transylvania, it would be more or less reasonable. Quite shocking is the fact that the most important part of the statement is a direct and dishonest attack against the historical truth; namely, against the *real* history of the Romanian nation. By carefully reading the statement as it was printed in the records, it is not hard to observe that the American Hungarian Federation is far less concerned about the situation of the Hungarian group in Transylvania or about a U.S.-Romania trade agreement, than it is—and much more so if not exclusively—concerned and interested in creating a "starting point" for a territorial claim. It is not the first time that the Hungarians try to pose as "victims" in order to secure the Great Powers' compassion in solving Hungarian major tasks. Before talking about old ages, I would like to testify on an as yet unpublished chapter of contemporary history.

HUNGARIAN PROVOCATIONS IN CLUJ, 1946

As is known, in 1940, Hitler and Mussolini, through the Vienna Dictate, snatched Northern Transylvania from Romania's body and relegated it to Horthy's Hungary in compensation for the services rendered by this country. During the next four years, the Romanian populace in the Hungarian-occupied territory was subject to continuous and officially-organized harassments, frustrations, atrocities and humiliations. The occupiers did not exclude priests, monks, nuns and prelates (among the latter category, the Orthodox Bishops Nicolae Colan and Nicolae Popovici, and the Greek-Catholic Bishop Iuliu Hossu). In October 1944, Northern Transylvania was liberated by the Romanian and Soviet armies, and the Romanians took over the administration. Only in the fall of 1945 was the Romanian University (then "King Ferdinand") able to leave its domiciled exile in Sibiu—Southern Transylvania—and to return to Cluj, while the "Bolyai" Hungarian University was functioning in the city of Targu-Mures (Eastern Transylvania). The temporary separation of the two universities was a wise measure and avoided the effects of a psychological tension between the then antagonistic nationalities.

At least during the school year, the populace of Cluj was overwhelmingly Romanian, due to the thousands of students living there, not only Romanians, but also a good number of Jews, the latter returning to studies after four years of prohibition by Antonescu's pro-Hitlerist regime. The minority ethnic group of Hungarians in Cluj—most of them working in factories and small businesses—seemed not to present a problem for the majority group, except for their constant refusal to speak Romanian (although they knew it) even in stores and barber-shops. Minor incidents were rapidly settled by police.

The students of "King Ferdinand" University were organized into the "Petru Maior Academic Association," led by a Central Committee with representatives—chosen by free elections—of all the University's schools and academic years. At that time I was a 25-year-old monk studying medicine, theology and music. In the spring of 1946 I was elected president of the Sophomore Year of the Medical School, and a few months later became acting president of the Central Committee. (Since I was directly involved in the events, my present testimony has all the guarantees of a living truth.)

In April, 1946, while the Budapest government was trying to persuade the Western powers to support the "return" of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, the radio stations released the news that the Allies had reached agreement on Transylvania: all the province was to be part of Romania's territory. Naturally, the news was hailed by the students who made a boisterous but peaceful demonstration from the University to the Orthodox Cathedral where they knelt in the huge plaza and sang "Christ is Risen."

From that time on it was noticed that the incidents between Hungarian inhabitants and Romanian students were increasing in number and gravity. Most of them were provoked by unknown individuals of Magyar extraction who used any means—insults, oaths, dirty words and gestures, and minor assaults, etc.—to irritate the subject and to make him fight. At that time, a provoker could easily obtain a swift blow from a young student whose national emblem had been snatched from his lapel. It was also noticed that almost every incident was photographed by a nearby individual—not known among Romanians—who seemed to be there purposely ready with his camera. All these facts made the "Petru Maior" Central Committee to open and conduct a discreet investigation. Soon it was discovered that the incidents were not occurring by chance and isolated from each other but were systematically organized within a network of chauvinistic and irredentist Magyar agents apparently directed by Budapest. The agents were instructed to provoke citizens of Romanian descent—particularly students, more temperamental and ready to reply—and to accept to be battered, beaten or even bloodied by them. The Romanian reaction had to be photographed. The pictures of the "victims," together with written statements, had to be gathered into voluminous "documentary" file to be able to convince the Paris Peace Conference—then in preparation—that the Hungarian people in Transylvania are "oppressed" by the Romanian "occupants" and consequently Transylvania—or part of it—should be "returned" to Hungary.

Aware of a new possible national problem, the "Petru Maior" Central Committee advised all the students to refrain from responding to any provocation; otherwise, the Hungarian instigators would obtain exactly what they want: scenes of violence to be readily photographed. My generation was mature enough to realize the situation and to behave accordingly. The best example was given by the new graduates of the Medical School who, after long debates and in order to avoid any possibility of provocation and uncontrolled replies, bitterly decided to cancel their traditional and colorful procession on the city's main streets. Such a cancellation occurred for the first time in the University's history.

Possibly irritated by the students' peaceful reaction; possibly needing a larger display of "Romanian violence" than scattered incidents between individuals, the Hungarian organizers took a new and unexpected step. On May 28, late in the evening, an unidentified "student" appeared in front of the "Avram Iancu" dormitory and called for a "pro-Transylvania" demonstration which—according to him—had started in Matei Corvin Plaza. A small number of students, already on the street, walked in column to the plaza but found no demonstration. Meanwhile, the unknown "colleague" vanished. Minutes later, the electricity was turned off in the campus area, the sirens started to sound at "Dermata" Shoe Factory and "CFR" Railroad Workshops, and a column of auto-trucks carrying an estimated number of one thousand workers ran to the "Avram Iancu" dormitory. Armed with crowbars, pistols and flashlights, the workers first demonstrated in front of the dormitory, stirring up each other by slogans delivered in Hungarian (among them: "Olah ver," that is "blood of Romanian"), then invaded the main floor and furiously devastated everything in their way: library, reading rooms, dining rooms, kitchens, even washrooms and toilets, nothing to say about doors and windows. A huge, wood cross affixed on the wall, just above the staircase entrance, was dropped on the floor and was smashed to pieces. Taken by surprise and hardly realizing what happened, the students had the necessary available seconds to close and lock the iron grilled door in the staircase, between the main and the first floors, a door mounted there by the builder and never used before. Then they made a barricade by dropping chairs, tables and cabinets in the staircase. Vainly they cried from the windows of the first and second floors, where their bedrooms were: no police officers or soldiers appeared. The invaders were trying to force the iron door when a Soviet squad, patrolling the area heard the noise and promptly intervened and summoned the aggressors to leave the spot. They did, but not before trying to set fire to the premises: the blaze was extinguished by a student caught on the main floor and hiding himself in a dark corner, under the only bed there.

It is not my intention to present unnecessary details on what happened during the next two days, but it is essential to say that the frustrated students urged the law enforcement authorities to take immediate steps to identify, arrest, investigate and bring the aggressors to trial. More than that, some members of their Committee volunteered to co-operate with the Police Department and provided some names of suspects, obtained through their neighbors. No sign of such action. Instead, some students were arrested under the charge of "nationalism" and "public disorder." The "Petru Maior" Committee did everything in its power to keep the irritated crowds under control and to avoid almost inevitable acts of violence. After long and dramatic debates, they decided to direct the students' protest to the most peaceful—and at the same time dignified—possible way. On June 1, at 10:30 a.m., an academic strike was declared by the acting president who urged the students to observe a major principle: "Be angry when *you* want, not when *others* want you to."

In the history of the Romanian student movements, the three week long academic strike of Cluj was the only one during which no person was struck and no window smashed. It was endorsed by the students of the University of Iassy (Moldavia) and by those of the Schools of Technology in Brasov and Timisoara. Solidarity with the students was shown not only by their Jewish colleagues but also by their professors with the exception of three: Emil Petrovici, rector of the University, Mihai Kernbach, dean of the Medical School, and Constantin Dalcoviciu, dean of the Faculty of Letters, all of them members of the Communist Party.

Through long and difficult negotiations, the arrested students were finally released. According to my best knowledge, the aggressors were never arrested or tried. Only later we found out that their leaders were clever enough to make them become members of the Communist Party. In a time when the Party was taking over the administrative control and was interested much more in politics than in justice, it was impossible for it to show that its own members are bad citizens. In turn, the "Petru Maior Academic Association" was abolished, I and some members of the Committee were expelled from the university, then several times arrested and finally put into political prisons under severe convictions, charged with "crime against the social order." Maybe the price was too high, but in turn no fabricated file of the Hungarian irredentists reached the Paris Peace Conference on February 10, 1947.

I survived to see with much bitterness how they are still militant after thirty years and how they use the same methods and tactics, now on a larger scale and under different circumstances. As in 1946, they try to pose as "victims" oppressed by Romanians and to gain the compassion of the Western world including the United States where the American Hungarian Federation is committed to help them not only by statements to the Senate but also by street demonstrations—in New York City on May 8, and in Washington, D.C. on June 16—displaying slogans as "Autonomy for Transylvania" and "Self-Government to the Hungarians in Transylvania." On behalf of the '46 Cluj Generation, I strongly protest against such provocations which might encourage the Hungarian ethnic group in Romania to start some kind of turbulence just to be able to call for foreign military intervention. By no means do we need another '68 Czechoslovakia.

FALSEIFYING HISTORY

The American Hungarian Federation's real aim not to ease the life of the Hungarians in Romania but to drive them out of Romania by a large territorial dislocation is obvious in Bishop Beky's and Dr. Szaz's statements of June 6, 1975. They grant an unusual extension to the "historical background," and in such a manner that the history of Transylvania seems to be a part of the Hungarian people's history. Not intending to make a detailed analysis of their numerous uncontrolled assertions, I confine myself to pick out some of the most shocking ones which are in total contradiction with the generally admitted historical truth.

According to Bishop Beky, the Hungarians' "forefathers lived there" (in Transylvania) "for more than 1,000 years and were there even before immigrants." In connection with the "immigrants," Dr. Szaz is more specific, to leave no doubt about the interpretation: the same forefathers "lived in the area for more than 1,000 years and even before the Romanian settlers." The historical truth is completely distorted. The Romanians are direct descendants not only from the Romans—who conquered Dacia (today's Transylvania) in 101—but also

from Geto-Dacians, people mentioned by Herodotus as being in organized existence in 514 B.C. and, according to the archaeological discoveries, living on Transylvania's territory for over 600,000 years. The Hungarians fled from the Urals and settled in Pannonia (today's Hungary) at the end of the 9th century, and started to enter Transylvania as aggressors at the end of the 11th Century. When the Romanians were completing their formation as a distinct ethnic group from the merging of Dacians with Romans in Transylvania and surrounding Roman provinces, there were no Hungarian traces in East Europe. Who then were the "settlers"?

Dr. Szaz states: "After 1001 A.D., the founding of the Hungarian Kingdom by St. Stephen, Transylvania formed an integral part of the kingdom . . ." The historical truth is that only at the beginning of the 13th century and after strong oppositions from Transylvania's Romanian "voivodes" (princes), the kings of Hungary succeeded to impose their domination on the province, and for 600 years they unsuccessfully tried to destroy the autochthonous population by any kind of inhuman means such as slavery, humiliation, discriminatory laws, torture, forced denationalization, religion and language. Transylvania was always considered as a distinct province and never as "an integral part" of the Hungarian kingdom.

According to Dr. Szaz: "Transylvania's princes were all Hungarians except for the short-lived (1½ years) invasion by the Voivode of Wallachia, Michael Vitez . . ." So, an "invader" is called one of the greatest Romanian princes, Michael the Brave (Dr. Szaz fails to translate into English the world "Viteaz"!) whose dream was to unite the three Romanian provinces—Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia—into one country.

Among the "Hungarian" princes of Transylvania, Dr. Szaz emphatically cites "John Huniady, both as a general and as the regent of Hungary" and "his son, King of Hungary between 1458-90" . . . "His reign is still considered the golden age of Hungarian culture and power." Everything is correct but Dr. Szaz fails to mention that both lances of Hunedoara ("John Huniady") and King Matelas were nobles of pure Romanian descent, members of the Corvin family. The fact is attested to even by Hungarian royal documents.

Finally, describing Transylvania as being surrounded by an arch of high mountains with the only opening to the West, Dr. Szaz concludes: "Thus, geographically and historically alike, Transylvania is connected with the Hungarian Plains rather than with the Romanian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia." To reach such a conclusion is as candid as saying that California is connected rather with Japan.

The above historical observations were made not for the sake of history. After all—you, Senators, may not be interested in what you might can an interminable dispute between two small East-European nations. I did it for two reasons: to demonstrate that the Hungarians' real claim is a territorial one; and to make you realize that the Hungarian complaints against the so-called ethnic discrimination in Romania are rooted less in the reality of the present and more in the psychology of the past.

RIGHTS OR PRIVILEGES?

Due to the historical circumstances, for 600 years the Hungarian minority in Transylvania was politically, economically and socially dominant. Except some peasants or "lobagi", the Hungarians enjoyed all the privileges granted by an administration—either Hungarian or Austrian—which was not interested in promoting the autochthonous element.

The situation changed in 1919 when, by the self-determination of its people, Transylvania came back to its mother-country and became part of Greater Romania. Since then, the Hungarians became just what they had to be: a co-inhabitant nationality living together with Romanians, Germans, Jews, etc., having equal rights and obligations under the same Constitution and the same laws. But when a national or social group enjoys privileges for 600 years, a psychological alienation occurs: privileges are taken for granted, and the notion of "privilege" becomes a notion of "right." When the members of the group are deprived of privileges they complain against their lack of rights.

This feeling of frustration was aggravated after 1946 when the communists took over full political power in Romania. By its ideology and structure, communism imposes restrictions in the freedom of expression, press, meeting and religion, in other words in what the Western standards call "human rights." We are not pleased, but this is a reality in Romania for 30 years. Thus the

Hungarian ethnic group was deprived twice: once in 1919, of its privileges, and once in 1946, of some of its rights.

In my opinion, the restrictions are imposed on all the citizens of Romania, not only on a specific minority group (for instance: the recent laws on tourism and National Patrimony). Interesting is the fact that the American Hungarian Federation makes no complaints or protests against communism itself and the restrictions it imposes, but only against some lack of liberties within the communistic regime, against "the general absence of human rights and civil rights of all Romanian citizens of Hungarian background" (Dr. Szaz's testimony). There are reasons to believe that behind the notion of "rights," that of "privileges" is psychologically lying, in terms of historical past.

In this respect, extremely relevant is Dr. Szaz's bitter protest against the fact that "a student in Romania must learn proficiency in Romanian whether he attends a Hungarian or Romanian section." It is generally admitted that every country has an official language and that it must be known at least to some extent, by every citizen. A Hungarian immigrant in the United States cannot become an American citizen before passing an examination on his proficiency in English. Being denied citizenship or a certain job because of his lack of knowledge of English does not mean discrimination or oppression. The majority of the population could be mono-lingual but a minority ethnic group must be at least bi-lingual: the mother-tongue and the official language of the country. If such a moral obligation is valid in the United States or Canada, why not in Romania? More than that, the Hungarians in America are immigrants while those of Transylvania were born there, they and their forefathers "for more than 1,000 years" . . . Nevertheless, the main difference is of another nature: the Hungarians come to and live in America as equal human beings while in Romania they lived as "masters" for 600 years. The real complaint is not that the Hungarians in Romania are not allowed to use their mother-tongue but that they are not allowed to speak it exclusively. This is what they used to do along the centuries and what they want to do now. It is a conception of ghetto rather than of integration.

The exclusive use of their mother-tongue was made possible for Hungarians in Transylvania even under the existing political regime. As known, the Hungarians gave a substantial contribution for the consolidation of communism in Romania. During the Stalinist era, men as Vasile Luca and Alexander Moghiorosh were almost as powerful as Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Ana Pauker. Due to their influence, in 1952 an "Autonomous Magyar Region" was created in South-Eastern Transylvania (about which Dr. Szaz is unhappy for not being large enough) whose inhabitants enjoyed the right (read "privilege") to use only Hungarian in schools, administration, courts, geandarmerie, etc. Inevitably, the situation led to abuses: there were occasions when a high official from Bucharest had business meetings with local officials and he needed an interpreter because the hosts were not relinquishing their "right" of speaking exclusively Hungarian. Wishing to correct some of the "errors of the past," the new governmental administration abolished the "Autonomous Magyar Region" and called its people back to "normal." Complaints followed; but losing privileges does not mean to lose rights.

One of the abuses of the former "Autonomous Magyar Region" was to change the names of Romanian towns and villages into Hungarian names. Now, when the normal nomenclature is being restored, Dr. Szaz complains while in his statement he gives Hungarian names to some of the purest Romanian cities: "Marosvasarhely" for Targu Mures, "Gyulafehervar" for Alba Iulia. It was an old practice of the dominant Hungarians in Transylvania to change not only the toponymy but also the patronymics, pressing for a forced magyarization of the natives. One of the means used by Romanians to resist forced denationalization was borrowing family names from the Bible and from Latin nomenclature, the only ones not able to be magyarized. This is why Transylvania is full of names like Adam, Moses, Aron, Eve, Rebecca, Sarah or Titus, Remus, Romulus, Fulvia, Vetulia, etc. In this respect, I am a living example. My father was born in Transylvania, and so his ancestors were also. One of them, in the process of resisting forced magyarization, picked up a name from the Bible. This is why I found myself as Anania, a name of pure Hebrew extraction, mention in both the Old and the New Testaments, although I have no drop of Jewish blood in my veins. Nevertheless, I am proud of it as well as of my brave forefathers, and have no intention to go back into the past.

In conclusion, it is my belief that the MFN status should be granted to Romania. If you would have enough reasons for denial, at least do not reject it on Hungarian grounds.

In 1946 the American Military Mission in Transylvania, probably knowing that I was in danger of being arrested as a consequence of my involvement in the academic strike, offered me the possibility to leave Romania and go to the United States. I politely declined. At that time I was part of a nation which was expecting from one day to another the Americans to "come." They never did. Now, by granting the Most Favored Nation status to Romania, make the Romanian people feel that the Americans, finally, came.

Thank you Mr. Chairman, thank you senators.

(V. Rev.) B. VALERIU ANANIA.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Hon. MICHAEL STERN,
Washington, D.C.

I am an author and journalist. I have different literary prizes.

I was candidate to the Nobel Prize. My candidature is open.

I am Romanian born and I came in the U.S.A. as a political refugee.

I was 13 years in Communist Romania's political jails and deported to forced labor in the concentration camp Danube-Black Sea Canal.

My mother, my father and my brother were killed by Romanian security, without any trial.

Since 1965 I was the General Secretary of Underground Romanian National Committee for Human Rights (which is working underground).

Here in the U.S.A. I organized the American-Romanian Committee for Human Rights, and the Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion. The first: May 17, 1974-July 17, 1975.

The second: November 11, 1975-January 11, 1976.

The third: May 24, 1976.

After 23 days was changed in permanent protest which was more than 100 days. The fourth, will start on September 5, 1976 in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Stern, please listen to my oral hearing of September 8, 1976, where I will speak as the Spokesman of Hunger Strikers (from Four Hunger Strikes for Family Reunion) about:

The Truth About Communist Romania.

The Human Rights in Communist Romania.

Four Hunger Strikes for Family Reunion in the United States of America.

Sincerely yours,

DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU (Costin Jurea).

RÉSUMÉ OF MR. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU (COSTIN JUREA), MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIA INTERNAZIONALE DI PROPAGANDA CULTURALE, LETTERE, SCIENZE, ARTI, ROMA, ITALY, AFFILIATED TO UNESCO SECRETARY OF THE UNDERGROUND ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, SINCE 1965

Field: Writer.

Pen Name: Costin Jurea.

Education (Abroad)

1933-37: Elementary School Nr. 5, Constantza, Rumania.

1937-41: High School Mircea Cel Batran, Constantza, Rumania.

1941-45: Military High School, Baccalaureat Diplomat, Iasi, Rumania.

1945-47: College of Law, Bucharest, Rumania, Bachelors' Degree in 1947.

1945-47: College of Philosophy, Bucharest, Rumania, Bachelors' Degree in 1947. The main study field was in the International Law: The Human Rights: the graduate thesis subject was: the Theory of Sensation Intensity. I speak eleven foreign languages.

Press Activity (Abroad)

1945-47: President of the Press Commission for the Young National Peasant Party "Iullu Manlu", Member in the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the National Peasant Party "Iullu Manlu", Member in the Council for the Young Friends of France, England and USA, Bucharest, Rumania.

1945-47: Deputy Chief Editor for the Newspaper "Dreptatea", Bucharest, Rumania, and Redactor for the following publications: Ardealul, Taranismul,

Dreptatea Satelor in Bucharest, and Tribuna (American-Rumanian Revue) in Sibiu, Rumania.

1955-56: Deputy Chief Editor for the Rumanian Television, Bucharest.

1966-67: Deputy Chief Editor for the "Magazin Istoric" Revue, Bucharest, Rumania.

Literary Activity (Abroad)

1. POETRY

1943: For the Country, for which was awarded the Prize of the Rumanian Academy for the Young Writers in 1943.

1946: Popeye visits Rumania, children book in rime.

1946: Pastorel in India, children book in rime.

1973: The Misadventures of the Kitten, political satyre in rime, disguised as a children book.

2. NOVELS

1946: Destiny, published in Bucharest.

1950-53: Road through Rock (manuscript written in the concentration camp "Danube-Black Sea Canal).

1953-74: Where to?, autobiographical novel in manuscript.

1971-74: Discussion with the 20th Century Humanists, literary portraits and interviews with the Presidents of all the Academies in the world and Nobel Prize winners, writers, artists.

3. THEATRE IN PROSE

1966: The Eagle.

1967: Storm in the Harbour.

1973: Cicero.

4. THEATRE IN RIME

1955: Scheduling.

1967: The Chief Comrade Lady.

1967: Where Time is not Money.

5. SCREEN PLAYS

1968: The Great Scientist Emil Racovitza.

1969: Michael the Brave.

1970: They Dreamed of Wings.

1971: Elena Teodorini.

1972: Carmen, based on Prosper Merimee's novel with Georges Bizet's musical colons for UNESCO's Georges Bizet Centennial, to be produced by Columbia Pictures.

1974: Where to?, based on the autobiographical novel.

6. AS A FREE-LANCE WRITER FOR

1965-74: Rumanian Television Literary Revues: Romania Literara, Contemporanul, Aripile Patriei, Orizonturi Romanesti, Sanatatea, Magazin Istoric, Tribuna (Cluj), Tomis (Constantza), Almanahul Institutului de Studii Pedagogice al Academiei Romane, Arici Pogonici, Luminita, Cutezatorii.

Membership

1946: Member of the Rumanian Author Society.

1972: Member of the Ovidianum, Societas Ovidianis Studii Inter Omnes Gentes Fovendis, Bucharest, Rumania, affiliated to UNESCO.

1973: Member of the Academia Internazionale di Propaganda Culturale, Lettere, Scienze, Arti, Roma, Italy, affiliated to UNESCO.

Literary Prizes

1948: Rumania Academy Prize for Young Poets.

1969: The 1969-1969 Centennial Medal of Chicago, Chapter A.I.A.

1972: Candidate for the Nobel Prize. My candidation is open.

Political Activity

1945-47: Leader of the Young National Peasant Party "Iullu Maniu", Bucharest, Rumania.

1947-50: Political prisoner in communist jails.

1950-53: Deported to forced labor in the concentration camp Danube-Black Sea Canal.

1953-56: Underground fugitive.

1956-57: Political prisoner in communist jail.

1957: Escaped from the Military Court of Bucharest, Rumania.

1957-58: Underground fugitive.

1958-62: Political prisoner in communist jail.

1962: Sentenced to death by the Security Council of State and escaped from the Jeep car when taken to the execution place.

1962-64: Underground fugitive.

April 1964: First political amnesty given by the Rumanian Communist Party, thus reentering in legality and starting the literary activity, as a free-lance writer.

1965: Became Secretary of the Underground Rumanian National Committee for Human Rights.

January 18, 1974: Succeeding to obtain an exit visa, after 20 refused applications, applied for political asylum in Rome, Italy.

July 2, 1974: Arrived as a political refugee in New York, USA.

International Political Activity

1966: Began the action to bring in Rumania the copy of COLONNA TRAIANA (Traian's Column) from Vatican, Italy, the Latin origin proof of the Rumanian people. The Column was to replace Stalin's statue in the Central Park of Bucharest. The problem was solved by writing letters to Pope Paul VI, in order to put President Ceausescu of Rumania in front of an accomplished fact.

1966: Began the action to open the Italian Catholic Church in Bucharest, unconstitutionally closed by the communists in 1948. The problem was solved by writing a protest letter to President Ceausescu, who later opened the Church.

The Family

Father: *Gheorghe D. Apostoliu*—Member of the National Peasant Party "Iuliu Maniu", killed by the communist Security in Constantza, Rumania, in 1954.

Mother: *Elena Apostoliu*, nee Hoffman, dead in Timisoara, Rumania, in 1955, where she took refuge at her brother, Prof. Dr. Constantin Ghimiceacu, doctor in Philosophy and Law from Paris, the Dean of Law College Bar Association, arrested by the communist Security in 1954.

Brother: *George G. Apostoliu*, Doctor in Law from Oxford University, England, member of the Rumanian National Liberal Party. Killed by the communist Security in 1948, in Constantza, Rumania, because he refused to cooperate with the Communist Party and did not accept the job of Minister Secretary General to the Justice Department, to which he was assigned.

Sisters: *Lucia Apostoliu*, married to Theodor Codreanu, Bachelors' Degree in Economical Studies from the Academy of Economical Science of Bucharest, Rumania. Mr. Codreanu is unable to work and medically retired, because of the many years spent in political prisons, where he was sent by the communist Security. They have three sons:

1. Victor Codreanu, medical assistant. He has not been admitted in the Medical College in Bucharest, Rumania, because his father was a political prisoner under the communists.

2. Constantin Codreanu, 22 years old, office worker in Constantza and part time for evening classes student in the High School. Because his father was a political prisoner and he had manifested against the Communist Youth Organization he had been excluded and forbidden from all Rumanian high schools.

3. Mihai Codreanu, 24 years old. He has not been admitted in the college, because of his father imprisonment, until last year, when he was first classified student at the admission examination for the Geography College of Bucharest, Rumania.

Aurora Apostoliu, married to Mihai Pelea, colonel commander of the border guard garrison in Constantza, Rumania, under royal system, purged from the army in 1947 by the communists. Now he is accountant for the Farm Bank in Arad, Rumania.

STATEMENT OF MR. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU (COSTIN JUREA)

MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIA INTERNAZIONALE DI PROPAGANDA CULTURE, LETTERE, SCIENZE ARTI, ROMA, ITALY, AND SECRETARY OF THE UNDERGROUND ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, SINCE 1965

I. The Truth About Communist Romania

On March 6, 1945, Andrei Ianuarevici-Vasinski, the foreign minister of the U.S.S.R., the man who killed the last Russian Tzar with his own hand, was sent by Iosif Visarionovici Stalin into the Kingdom of Romania with the special mission to change by force the democratic government of this country, lead by the General Ion Radescu and to replace it with the Communist one.

Vasinski surrounded the Royal Palace of Bucharest with the soviet armed cars unity commanded by the soviet colonel Susaikov. Then he went into the Royal Palace to meet with his Royal Majesty the King Mihail of Romania. At this meeting Vasinski pounded his fist on the table, threatened the King with death and forced him to replace general Radescu's government with the communist one, lead by Dr. Petru Grozea and composed by communists and by undercover communist infiltrated in three other Romanian political parties at that time: The National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu, The National Liberal Party Dinu Bratianu and the Socialist Party Titel Petrescu.

Among communists in this government were some leftists of the other three political parties. After the strategy of the International Communism lead by Kremlin, this is the first step to Communist power, so called "The Democracy of the People" and this kind of government is the so called "Government of the Democracy of the People".

The second step in the strategy of Communist Moscow is the purge of Government of leftists and liberals of other political parties, who cooperated with communists because of their artlessness and misinformation about the true meaning of communism. The goal is to appoint only Communists into the Government At the same time Moscow's strategy is to put only foreign communists in the position of Chief of State, as Secretary General of the Central Committee, and as members of the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party in each country. This "step of strategy" is applied for the reason that if the domestic political power is in the hands communists born in that country, these communists might not apply the Moscow laws against their own people, because they like their people and their nation.

In 1946 elections took place in the Kingdom of Romania. The government Dr. Petru Grozea started the Communist Terror.

They founded the first Forced Labor Camps and filled them with many members of the other three political parties: National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu, National Liberal Party Dinu Bratianu, and Socialist Party Titel Petrescu. When Nicholae Penescu, the Secretary General of the National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu—now in exile in Paris (France)—went to the Civil Court of Pitesti City to enlist his candidacy to the Election Commission the Communists armed with machineguns invaded the Civil Court and shot to death another candidate for assembly of the National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu, the Judge Gheorghe Mihai, who was the President of "The Youth Friends of the United States of America Association". As member of the staff of this association and deputy chief editor of the newspaper "Dreptatea" (The Justice), the central newspaper of the National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu, I informed the U.S. Military Mission in Bucharest about this murder. They sent a delegation to the funeral of this Romanian national hero killed by communists.

The U.S. Military Mission delegation wrapped the coffin of the Judge Gheorghe Mihai into the U.S.A. National flag showing deep respect for a man who was killed by communists because he defended the Freedom and the National Independence of Romania and his activity for the Traditional American-Romanian Friendship and Cooperation.

In 1946 the Communist Government Replaced the votes reached by the National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu with the votes obtained by the so called Blocus of Democratical Parties and formed a new communist government. The Communist Terror became stronger around the country.

In July 1947 the communists abolished the National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu and arrested all leaders and more than 200,000 of it's members.

I was arrested in July 1947 in Editor's Office of the newspaper "Dreptatea" "The Justice" and since 1947 until April 1964 I spent 13 years of my youth in

communist jails and concentration camps and other years of my so called Life, in Underground activities until on July 2, 1974 I reached the U.S.A. with God's help.

On December 30, 1947 the communists forced the King Mihai I to abdicate and go into exile. They transformed the Kingdom of Romania into the "Romanian People's Republic". From this moment on the Stalinist's Terror was unchained around the country.

Nicolae Ceausescu was made from shoemaker apprentice . . . General of Army and appointed as the Political Commandant and Deputy Minister of Defense. Then he received different important Party missions from Gheorghiu Dej, who designated him as his successor at the Central Committee General Secretariat and Chief of State. In this quality he purged the King's officers from the army and introduced into the Romanian Army the Politburo Apparatus after U.S.S.R. orders. As the right hand of the first stalinist dictator of communist Romania Gheorghiu Dej—a gipsy of Bulgarian descend, with his correct name Gheorghieff, as one can see at the museum of Romanian Communist Party near Victory Plaza in Bucharest—Nicolae Ceausescu.

"Step by Step" The Romanian Communist Party followed the Kremlin's orders in order to put Romania on the way to Communism. They destroyed the peasants' life through the Collectivization of the Romanian agriculture, which was done under the terrible terror by the security and Party activists. More than 50,000 peasants were killed in the "Step" and more than 200,000 peasants were arrested and convicted to different terms of political jail and Forced Labor Camps. The Party Leader of this operation and responsible for this "Step" toward Socialism was Nicolae Ceausescu, seconded by Vasile Valcu the first secretary of Dobrogea's Province Communist Party Organs.

The nationalization of factories and private houses.

The stabilization, which means the change of money in order to keep all money which each person has in bank saving accounts, and especially the cash reached by people with years of hard work.

The industrialization to change the Agricol's specific of the country into the industrial one.

The destruction of religious practice.

In 1948 the Romanian Unitarian Church was abolished. Five Unitarian Bishops were killed in tortures by the security. Later the Bishop Hosi died in his forced residence under security observations at the Caldarusani near Bucharest.

The brainwashing of children, youth and of the educated people.

The Crimes Against the Humanity Were the Communist Party's Weapon: 17 Students in the Medical College of Bucharest were burned alive in the Bucharest Crematorium in 1948 charged with conspiracy against the personal security of Ana Pauker.

Responsible for these crimes against the humanity was Glasser with the undercover name Ion Crisan—General Inspector of the Special Brigade of Security, who was in charge of the Ministers and the Political Leaders security and Ana Pauker's Nephew Ion Crisan, director of the Romanian Litoral but in reality the commandant of the 50,000 secret security agents in charge with the foreign tourists.

3000 Intellectual political prisoners were shot during the night in the security office buildings all around the cities of the country, then put in front of the different shops with a sign: "Theft killed in fight with Police". The city's inhabitants recognized the victims as honest teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, artists, scientists, who because of political prisoners under the communists' security terror, because they had told about Romanian's national independence.

More than 400,000 political prisoners died in the Forced Labor Camp Danube "Black Sea" so called—The Canal of Death.

More than 100,000 political prisoners died in the Forced Labor Camp Uranium Complex of Balta in Bihor County commanded by the Russian Engineer Marechal Muscalov—where the political prisoners worked as miners and took off Uranium for U.S.S.R.

They purged the President of the Romanian Communist Party Liacretiu Pablasceanu from the function of Minister of Justice and then they killed him. Communism means killers, murder, terror. If the communist leaders kill their own comrades it is clear how much care they have for other people.

Ceausescu's Stalinist Terror

After Nicolae Ceausescu became the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the President of Communist Romania in 1965 he played being independent from Moscow and induced in error many political leaders and journalists. But after the meeting of all communist parties lead by Moscow, which was in Crimea—Nicolae Ceausescu followed exactly Moscow's orders, purged from Government those Communist leaders who had advised him to become independent from Moscow: Alexandru Barladeanu, Corneliu Manescu and finally the Premier Ion Gheorghe Maurer.

II. The Human Rights in Communist Romania

Honorable Senators, in this moment you have in front of you a proof of the Human Rights in Communist Romania. I am this proof.

1. Each human being has only one mother. My mother was killed by the Romanian Communist security in 1955 in Timisoara City.

2. Each family has a father. My father, a National Peasant Party Iuliu Maniu member was shot together with 37 other political prisoners on the former train station of Constantza City, where today is the Communist Party Office Building of 1954.

3. My brother, a liberal lawyer, was shot at place by the first secretary of the Communist Party of Constantza because he refused to accept the job of General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. He appointed the killer of my brother as member of the Central Committee of Romanian Communist Party.

4. I was 13 years in communist political jails and deported as a white miner in the Brigade of Damned to Death in the Forced Labor Camp of Blacksea, in the same place where the famous poet Ovidius was exiled at his time.

One of my 25 years of prison conviction (punishment was pronounced because as author I was a Staff Member of the Youth Friends of the U.S.A. Association. I told the Romanian youth around the country about Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence. In 1962 I was damned to death by the Council of the Security of State but I jumped from the jeep when taken to the execution place and I escaped. That time I escaped because I was helped by the star of my destiny.

Now, near the star of my destiny, there are fifty more stars. They are the fifty stars of the U.S.A. National Flag which make me powerful and light me the ways of my Saint Fight for Freedom and Human Rights for the Romanian People, which suffered under Nicolae Ceausescu's Stalinist Terror.

In Communist Romania There are no Kind of Human Rights

A. Freedom of Press and Information.—In 1973 I wrote the book "Conversations" with the 20th century humanists literary portraits and interviews with the Presidents of all Academies in the World, Nobel Prize winners, writers, artists. *Surely that in this book there are many of famous American personalities of our 20th century.* I show to you the write proof signed by the Romanian Publishing House of Romanian Foreign Office which writes clear that the Romanian Foreign Office does not give the approval and is categorically against to print this book.

This is a written proof about the real policy of the Communist Romania's Foreign Office toward the U.S.A.

B. Freedom of Literary Creation.—In Communist Romania the authors must write their literary creations only after the indications of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The proof: In 1972 in Bucharest the hunger strike of two young Romanian poets and the Jews one—in the court of the Romanian Authors Association in front of the statue of Mihaila Minescu the greatest Romanian poet until now.

This hunger strike was related on International Press of the Free World by the famous Italian Press Agency A.N.S.A. in 1972.

C. Freedom of Religion.—One agent of Romanian communist security names Nenciu after he was instructed in the U.S.S.R. Academy of K.G.B. was sent back to Romania as General of Security and Counselor for Security Problems of the Domestic Minister in the level of Deputy Minister.

In April 1964, when Gheorghiu Dej—the Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party at that time changed the Romanian's policy of dependence of U.S.S.R. in the independence one, a lot of U.S.S.R. counselors were changed from their high functions. Nenciu was sent to the Culls Department (which is in

charge of Religious Problems) with the same high function: Vice President what means Deputy Minister.

He organized a network of U.S.S.R. spies in the churches inside the country. Then he organized the destruction of the Romanian Exile Unity which was realized in the Romanian Churches from the Free World tried to occupy some of these churches by force and transformed it into undercover offices of U.S.S.R. spies.

To accomplish this mission of KGB of U.S.S.R. he organized the two attacks against the Romanian Exile Church in Paris (France) related in the French Press and in all press of the Free World.

In the U.S.A., Nenciu sent two nephews of Romanian Patriarch Justinian Marina: Anania who is at the Communist Romania's Bishop that lead by the Bishop Victorin and the Reverend Mihai Iancu. I know these things directly from the Romanian Patriarch Justinian Marina with whom I was in relations in Communist Romania, because I was a classmate of his son Dr. Ovidiu Marina at the Military High School. The son is now Professor at the Medical College of Bucharest.

As author I visited the Patriarch Justinian to protest against the communist security pressure against the Romanian Reverends and asked him to stop this terror because if he wanted he could talk about this directly with Gheorghin Dej (before 1965) and with Nicolae Ceausescu after 1965.

D. Freedom of Conscience.—In Communist Romania there is not any freedom of conscience. Proofs: There is only a political party—the Communist one. All other political parties were abolished.

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 of candidates? Only when there will be a second political party there will be a real vote possible.

Nicolae Ceausescu has founded after the example of Bejnew's terrorist system the mental hospitals, where many political dissidents serve their terms in most terrible conditions, in most inhumanitarian prison conditions known until now in history.

E. The Free Circulation of Men and Ideas and of Cultural and Scientist National Heritages and Progress.—The first President of Communist Romania's Republic was Dr. Parhon. After he died—his daughter and scientist, married with the academician Mileu, the President of Medical Academie of Romania in 1973 made an application for an Exit Visa for an International Medical Congress in Paris, France. The Security rejected her application and sent in her place a nurse to that International Medical Congress.

Between 1965 and 1974 I was invited 20 times by different institutions of culture from the Free World as author. I made an application form for a day excursion in Communist Bulgaria. All my applications for exit visas were rejected by the security.

F. The Right to the Self-Determination.—The so called Nicolae Ceausescu's "independence from Moscow". If Nicolae Ceausescu is really independent from Moscow:

1. Why did he not ask the United Nations Organization the Rumania's provinces Basarabia and North of Vucovina to return from Moscow, which annexed these two Romanian Provinces by force? Karl Marx himself, recognized and condemned the fact that it was annexed by Tsarist Russia. And Karl Marx is accepted by Brejnew himself as the father of Communism.

2. Why does Nicolae Ceausescu not ask Brejnew to respect the father of Communism Karl Marx and to give the two provinces back? Maybe because he is independent from Moscow.

3. Why was one month ago Nicolae Ceausescu together with Bejnew in Crimea. Does that mean independence?

4. Why did after one of the all communist country crimea meetings lead by Moscow Nicolae Ceausescu purge all politburo members who advised Gheorghiu Dej to become independent from Moscow like: Alexandru Barladeanu and finally the Prime Minister Ion Gheorghe Maurer.

5. Why here in the U.S.A. in 1974, when an agent of Romanian's security was infiltrated into this country—the one so called Gheorghe Patrascu—and was arrested by the F.B.I. when he gave plans stolen from the Ford factory in Detroit to a Russian official, the former Romanian Ambassador Corneliu Bogdan payed the \$50,000 for the spy's freedom and return to Romania? Why was this not payed by the U.S.S.R. Ambassador?

6. Why did 6 months before the beginning of the Angola war Nicolae Ceausescu sent supplies for Communist guerillas as declared two Romanian sailors who defected in New York from a Romanian fishing ship? Because Nicolae Ceausescu is a Brezhnev spy in the free world and the Romanian officials too.

I remind you, Honorable Senators that one year ago in Stokholm, Sweden, one Romanian official with a high diplomatic function asked for political asylum. He told to the newsmen and to the authorities that he was instructed by the KGB in the U.S.S.R. to become a soviet spy. He gave to Sweden's authorities the full list of Romanian security agents working for the U.S.S.R.

In West Germany Mircea Oprisan, a former Minister of Communist Romania asked for political asylum. He told the newsmen about the real situation of the so called Nicolae Ceausescu Independence from Moscow, who in fact is a soviet spy.

Honorable Senators, If the minister asked for political asylum you might understand what truly is happening in Romania.

The Romanian Hungerstrikers for Family Reunion in the United States of America

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights—Article 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 United Nations Organization and must respect the Universal Declarations of Human Rights. But if someone else asks an application form for exit visas for a country of the Free World, he must accomplish many formalities which need a couple of months of harassment, threatenings and pressure from Romanian security. And generally this kind of applications for exit visas are rejected by the security.

For many years many American citizens, permanent residents and refugees of Romania descend attempted to bring their close relatives—hostages in Communist Romania—to the U.S.A. to accomplish the Most Profound Human Rights: The Family Reunion.

They contacted the Romanian Embassy in Washington D.C. The Romanian officials instead of satisfying their legal requests according to Romanian laws, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the U.N. Organization and to the all international agreements about the Family Reunion signed by the Romanian government as well speculated their family sentiments and attempted to attract them into action against the National Interest of the U.S.A. as to become Communist agents and spies.

The Romanian officials started their illegal actions involving into the domestic affairs of the U.S.A., violated the laws of their diplomatic status and offended the U.S.A. which accorded to them this diplomatic status and respected it. The Romanian officials attempted to force these people who requested their legal Family Reunion to reject their U.S.A. citizenship or status of U.S.A. residents and to become so called "Romanian citizens residents in foreign countries". This kind of citizens have the duty to swear confidence to Nicolae Ceausescu and to accomplish here all dirty missions received from Romanian officials damaging the political, economical and financial interests of the U.S.A.

Under such circumstances an American citizen or resident of Romanian descent who likes to be honest toward his new homeland the U.S.A. has to reject the Romanian citizenship.

The State Department sent such U.S.A. citizens or residents who requested to reject their Romanian citizenship to the Romanian Embassy in order to sign in front of a Romanian official the respective application form. There indeed in order to resolve the legal request the Romanian officials attempted to change the mind of solicitors and to transform them into Romania's intelligence agents threatened them that if they do not care about this they would never see their hostage relatives, who will be sent into jail in Communist Romania. I think that the State Department has to defend the rights of these American citizens or residents who are under the protection of U.S.A. laws and it is possible.

The Romanian officials do not send the application form to the solicitors and do not recognize the applications signed in front of an American public notary. But this is a violation of the law.

All Romanian officials in the U.S.A. have the special mission to discover American citizens or residents by Romanian descend who have died and do not have heirs in the U.S.A.

They recognize their signature made in front of an American public notary in order to bring into Romania their legacy and on this way to challenge damage in the American Financial area. If the died ones do not have heirs in the U.S.A. they recognize any signature made in front of any American public notary as well in order to bring into Communist Romania his legacy and challenge again damages in the American Financial area.

A Romanian official named Mircea Captna was responsible for this kind of problems in the U.S.A.

If they recognize any signature made in front of any American public notary for challenge damages in American Financial area they must recognize—as is legal—any signature made in front of any American public notary in any case of the rejectors of Romanian citizenship.

The Finance Committee has the economical interest that the American money and heritages remain in this country and do not go into foreign ones.

An American citizen or resident of Romanian descend who rejected his Romanian citizenship in order to reunify his family in the U.S.A. cannot have any heirs off the U.S.A. All he owns and all his family owns will remain here and will grow the national financial resources of the U.S.A.

In this matter the Finance Committee in cooperation with the State Department must support the Family Reunion with those who rejected the Romanian citizenship and insist that the State Department will obtain from the Romanian Foreign Office or the Romanian Embassy application forms for the rejected Romanian citizenship and impose them to recognize the signature made in front of an American public notary, and to provide the American citizens or residents with it. It also should advise them to reject the Romanian citizenship without going into the Romanian Embassy or Consulate. This way the Financial Resources of the U.S.A. will increase as it is written on each U.S.A. cent: *Ex Unun Pluribus*.

The Romanian intelligence infiltrated into the U.S.A. many agents who first worked underground but after they became American citizens started open and without fear their damaging actions against the National interests of the U.S.A. and especially in the Financial areas.

I cannot understand why, when the American Intelligence knows a lot about these damaging actions against the National interests of the U.S.A. the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives do not start any investigations and do not propose a bill in order to STOP FOR EVER all kinds of actions of foreign officials, especially representatives of Communist countries, which damaged the National interests of the U.S.A. I think that in this case there is a need for more cooperation between the U.S.A. Intelligence, State Department and U.S. Finance Committee.

Because of the refusal of the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. to solve the legally requests of Family Reunion, some American citizens, permanent residents and political refugees of Romanian descend residing in the U.S.A. started on May 17, 1975 the First Romanian Hungerstrike for Family Reunion in the U.S.A. in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City. In their 64 days of Hungerstrike were involved 25 people: men and women.

During that year the Romanian Communist Government expected to be granted by the U.S.A. with the most favored Nations Clause and our hungerstrike endangered this. Forced by our Hungerstrike the Romanian Government President Nicolae Ceausescu, who was in Mexico at that time, asked for an "Overprotokoll" appointment with the President of the U.S.A.—Mr. Gerald Ford. In July 1975 Nicolae Ceausescu came to Washington, D.C. and he promised to Mr. President Gerald Ford that he will grant the exit visas to all relatives of American citizens, permanent residents or refugees of Romanian descend and that he will start this action with all people enlisted on the list received from American authorities.

Then Nicolae Ceausescu invited to the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. many American political leaders as the Honorable Senators Mr. Henry M.

Jackson, Mr. James Buckley, Mr. Jacob Javits and others and also many representatives as Mr. William Green and others.

The meeting lasted longer than six hours and when Rabi Miller protested that there are many relatives of American Jews hostages in Communist Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu lied without shame, saying that he approved the exit visas to all people who asked for it, but that these people did not present any request to the police department for their passports.

The Honorable Senator Henry M. Jackson took a very strong position against Nicolae Ceausescu's offense of the political leaders. Nicolae Ceausescu asked to be "judged by facts".

After he returned to Romania he granted the exit visas to the relatives of the hunger strikers, but after he was temporarily granted with the most favored Nations Clause with the condition of freedom of emigration he stopped the emigration again.

On November 11, 1975 we started the Second Romanian Hungerstrike for Family Reunion in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City. In this 62 days of Hungerstrike 35 people—men, women and children were involved.

Forced by our second hungerstrike Nicolae Ceausescu released some hostage families and then stopped again the emigration.

On May 24, 1976 we started the Third Romanian Hungerstrike for Family Reunion in the same historical place of the right fight for Human Rights for Romanian people: United Nations Plaza, New York City. In this hungerstrike 50 people were involved: men, women and children.

Honorable Senators, you have received the recommendation of Mr. President Gerald Ford to grant again the most Favored Nations Clause to Communist Romania. Mr. President Gerald Ford argued his presidential recommendation with "the increase of emigration from Communist Romania since 1974 until 1976". Mr. President Gerald Ford was informed by Mr. Henry Kissinger about the INCREASE OF EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA. Mr. President Gerald Ford surely has confidence in his Secretary of State as he himself declared. Because he was very busy with the Presidential Primary he did not control the informations received from Mr. Henry Kissinger.

Honorable Senators, if you take a look at Mr. Henry Kissinger's informations about the so-called "Increase of Emigration from Communist Romania" adopted by Mr. President Gerald Ford—you can observe that the emigration was increased in the Three Steps of our Hungerstrike and as their results:

First one: May 17, 1975 to July 17, 1975.

Second one: November 11, 1975 to January 11, 1976.

Third one: May 24, 1976.

This is "the little" thing forgotten by Mr. Henry Kissinger: To show that

1. Nicolae Ceausescu did not increase the emigration from Communist Romania because he is a HUMANIST but because he was forced by our first hungerstrike and because he feared that he might lose the grant of the most favored Nations Clause.

2. After Nicolae Ceausescu was granted with the most favored Nation's Clause despite his personal promises made in Washington, D.C. he stopped the emigration again.

With this attitude Nicolae Ceausescu offended directly Mr. President Gerald Ford who supported him and also the American political leaders of the U.S. Senators and Representatives.

As an American I do not permit anyone to offend the President of this country or our elected Senators and Representatives.

Honorable Senators, please notice, that There Is No Emigration From Communist Romania. Within 12 months—May 17, 1975 to May 24, 1976 were three hungerstrikes for family reunion.

There is no respect of the most favored nation's clause condition to freedom of emigration from Communist Romania from President Nicolae Ceausescu and his Communist Government.

There is an offense of the President of the United States of America and of political leaders of the U.S.A. through the Romanian Communist President.

About our democratical fight for family reunion, please take your humanitarian conclusion from the Hungerstriker's Statement.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 15, 1976.

Re Reunion of the George Ardelean, Ecaterina Ardelean (wife) and Carmen and Maria Ardelean (daughters), and Corina Catrinel-Ardelean (daughter), all of Sinnicolaul Mare, Str. Closca No. 10, Jud. Timis, Romania.

THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I the undersigned am a Romanian refugee, having come via ITALY AND AUSTRIA under section 203 a 7, admitted in New York City on May 18, 1976. Imm. off. 911.1

I left Romania with the intention to come to America, in order to start a better life, and I came ahead and left my family behind, because first of all I could not take them with me, and I am now here trying desperately to get them over here.

Therefore I am turning to you, dear Sirs, with the fervent request that you kindly help me by contacting the appropriate Romanian authorities on their behalf in order to help them obtain passports and exit permits.

I heard that the President of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, will be in Washington on the 20th of June. I beg you from all my heart to bring the case of my family to his attention.

I am not yet a citizen of the USA, and all that I can do, is to ask you, dear Sirs, for understanding and assistance.

I hope and pray that you will be able to fulfill my request and thank you again and again.

Sincerely,

GEORGE ARDELEAN.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 16, 1976

Re Reunion of the Vasile Ardelean Family from Romania to USA; wife, Maria Ardelean; sons, Sorin Ardelean 9, Florin Ardelean 9; of Str. Oravitei No. 22, Sinnicolaul Mare, Jud. Timis, Romania.

THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am a former refugee of Romania, now a permanent resident of the USA. Allen REg. Card No. A 20 385 451 of Dec. 2, 1975.

I am very grateful to be in this country and I came ahead of my family to build a better future for all of us.

Much to my despair however, my family is still in Romania. They submitted their passport applications for about 3 months now, but they were not approved as yet.

I am turning to you, for help, requesting that if at all possible, you contact the Romanian Embassy on my behalf and if possible, also Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, the President of Romania, who will be in Washington, D.C. asking them to please give my loved ones the passports and permissions to come to the USA.

I thank you for all your kind assistance and am

Very truly yours,

VASILE ARDELEAN.

TESTIMONY OF MAURICE D. ATKIN, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, CHILEWICH CORPORATION, NEW YORK

On behalf of the Chilewich Corporation, 120 Wall Street, New York, we are pleased to have the opportunity to present this statement supporting the extension of Most Favored Nation treatment to Romania.

My name is Maurice D. Akin. I am Vice President of Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., Washington, D.C., consulting economists. In this capacity, we have been advisers to the Chilewich Corporation for the past 15 years.

For purposes of identification, the Chilewich family has been in the hide and skin business for over 100 years. The Chilewich Corporation has been operating from its principal office in New York City since 1939. In addition, the

company maintains offices in Europe and the Far East and warehouses in this country and Canada with a staff in excess of 150 employees.

Chilewich aggressively markets raw cattle hides on a worldwide basis through direct sales as well as through the use of a variety of transactions tailored to widely varying national conditions. Its reputation for integrity, and its willingness to undertake novel marketing methods, has enabled the company to develop very significant outlets for U.S. produced raw cattle hides.

Romania is an important market for cattle hides, particularly for use in the production of footwear. In recent years, the United States has been the principle supplier of whole raw cattle hides to that country. Imports from the U.S. account for well over half of the total volume of Romanian imports of whole cattle hides.

The following short table indicates the relative importance of Romania as a European market for U.S. produced raw cattle hides.

EXPORTS OF U.S. RAW WHOLE CATTLE HIDES TO EUROPE

(In millions of hides)

| | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 (6 mo) |
|---|------|------|------|-------------|
| All of Europe..... | 5.3 | 5.7 | 6.7 | 4.0 |
| Western Europe..... | 2.4 | 1.7 | 2.8 | 2.3 |
| Eastern Europe..... | 2.9 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 1.7 |
| Romania..... | 1.0 | 1.8 | 1.2 | .8 |
| Romania as percent of Eastern Europe..... | 34.5 | 45.0 | 30.8 | 46.4 |
| Romania as percent of all Europe..... | 18.9 | 31.5 | 17.9 | 20.0 |

The production of raw cattle hides is not unique to the United States, Mr. Chairman. Many other countries produce cattle hides and have a share of the world market. They would also like to participate to a greater degree than they do now. As indicated in the data cited earlier, U.S. exports of cattle hides to Romania represented approximately 19 percent of all U.S. cattle hide exports to Europe 1973, 31.5 percent in 1974 and 18 percent 1975. As far as U.S. exports of cattle hides to Europe are concerned, Romania is our largest single market, followed by Czechoslovakia and, more recently, Spain.

We believe that the Chilewich Corporation as well as other U.S. firms, having transactions with Romania, play an important role in the healthy development of U.S./Romanian commercial relations. Under these circumstances, many ancillary benefits develop for American businessmen. As Romanian/American trade relations build, there will be other markets for U.S. products. It would seem apparent that the presence of U.S. businessmen in Romania stimulates the interest of Romanian businessmen in state enterprises, in the development of commercial contacts with American businessmen.

The point we want to make, Mr. Chairman, is that Romania does constitute a significant dollar outlet for a specialized, but most important segment of American agriculture. Exports of hides and skins are a major part of the Chilewich Corporation enterprises as well as other U.S. hide exporters. And, as indicated above, it also provides an access door to Eastern Europe for mutually beneficial commercial relations. In this way, it has an accelerator impact on international trade in general with definite, if not measurable, effects upon American industry and American jobs.

Reapplication of early high tariffs would be a major deterrent to U.S./Romanian business relations. It would clearly reduce that country's sales of products to the U.S. and in turn its ability to purchase for dollars our export products, including hides. For the above reasons, we are pleased to support the extension of the Most Favored Nation treatment for Romania.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to present these views of the Chilewich Corporation to you.

GENERAL GLASS IMPORTS CORP.,
New Rochelle, N.Y., September 14, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Senate Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations
Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: We are writing you to express our affirmative opinion that most Favored Nation Duty Treatment should be extended for Romania.

Our company, and specifically my brother Arthur and myself, have been doing business in Romania since the early 1960's, and have made numerous trips to Bucharest and other main cities as well as industrialized centers of Romania on an ever increasing basis since that time.

Our experiences while in Romania have always been most cordial over all these years, while we have witnessed this remarkably hard working and serious people develop and modernize. We have always found the people friendly, hospitable, and strongly pro-American in their attitudes.

We have found that on the commercial level cooperation and incentive to do business with American Importers, and to conform to American standards and demands is of paramount importance to the Romanian glass producers, with whom we have done increasingly large business since 1960. This attitude has been greatly amplified since the advent of MFN treatment, and great efforts to expand and diversify sales in the U.S.A. for glass products, (glass tops, mirrored glass, automotive glass, etc.) previously prohibitively restricted due to the Column II duties, are underway. All of these products under development for future U.S.A. export, presently are only being imported from other MFN countries.

In the event of failure to renew MFN treatment for Romanian glass, not only would the Romanians suffer economic losses of their investment, since specialized equipment is required designed specifically for the U.S.A. demand, but also the American consumer would suffer, being obliged to pay higher prices for fabricated glass imported from more developed MFN countries, or possibly produced in the U.S.A. We should also take into consideration that the equipment for this specialized production is anticipated to be ordered from U.S.A. manufacturers.

Insofar as sales of traditional window glass products imported by General Glass regularly since 1960, the situation is similar. In recent years in spite of MFN treatment, Romanian exports to the U.S.A. have leveled off, and in fact, the trend now is for decreasing quantities. This is the direct result of better prices F.O.B. Constanza available to the Romanian producers from other markets. We are convinced that if MFN treatment for Romanian window glass is terminated, that the resulting increase in export prices for Romanian glass will not be borne by the exporter, and that as a result, exports of Romanian glass will be substantially reduced. Since most Romanian window glass is of a low level of quality and is sold primarily on a price basis to those industries not now requiring the substantially higher quality standards of more developed MFN countries or U.S.A. float glass, the effect would be to either cause various U.S.A. manufacturers now dependent on lower costing (but able to accept lower quality) Romanian glass to cease or limit these productions due to foreign competition in the finished product, or these manufacturers must raise their prices, placing additional inflationary pressures on our economy. Neither of these alternatives, we are sure you will agree, are desirable, or in the best interest of the U.S.A.

Clearly, in the event of failure to extend MFN treatment to Romania, our suppliers would be forced to raise their prices or reduce their shipments to the U.S.A. market. The void, caused by these reduced shipments, or by the higher resultant costs would have substantial and serious effects on U.S.A. producers now dependent on Romanian glass, and would overall prove to be inflationary.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT S. BALIK,
Executive Vice President.

PARIS, August 22, 1976.

DEAR MR. RIBICOFF: I am writing to you because you have the reputation of being one of the most active fighters for the Jewish emigration and for the human rights. Many people put their hopes in men like you and I do, too.

I am 30. Jewish. Working as an engineer for Framatome, a Franco-American company which designs and builds nuclear plants.

I emigrated from Rumania 8 months ago. This was achieved after five years of struggling against the Rumanian authorities.

Finally my efforts were successful thanks to American help generously given to me by several political personalities of the Congress.

The fact that the United States became interested in my case was decisive. Not even money (hard currency), usually the most successful way of emigrating helped me. My relatives from France paid \$5,000 to a go-between but to no avail.

America's political influence could supplant the purchasing method. I think that Washington is not totally aware how strong its influence in that part of the world could be.

Since I left Rumania I have constantly had the opportunity of reading and hearing news about the strengthening of the (anti-Semitic) climate in Rumania. (I enclose some revealing copies.)

The atmosphere was already bad: terror, suspicion, denunciation, pursuit, letter- and brain-censorship, phone tapping, etc. so it is hard to imagine how things could become worse but they have.

This is why I am extremely encouraged by your active stand against the inhuman policies of the Eastern governments.

I have heard of the Congressional Research Division's report directed by Mr. Francis T. Miko at the request of the Senator John V. Tunney.

Communist authorities are taking advantage of the fact that America's attention is focused on the presidential election by reducing the emigration to the lowest possible level.

As long as no one keeps the political pressure up, as long as the U.S. diplomatical activities are weak you can be sure that the Rumanian government will use all the trickeries to blind the U.S. Congress and the Jewish public opinion.

Words and promises are not to be trusted, facts should be sought.

I was also encouraged by Mr. Edward Koch's intention of suggesting to the Congress the withdrawal of the most favoured nation clause for Rumania. The desperate case of the dying child which had Mr. Koch's attention is far from being an isolated occurrence. The harshness of the Rumanian government has been proved in thousands of cases.

May I take the liberty of asking you to intervene in favour of my fiancée who needs help. We lived maritally four years (in my flat which was seized by the authorities before I left Rumania). The permanent incertitude regarding my emigration has forced us to postpone our marriage. My fiancée has little hope of ever leaving Rumania. She was several times hindered to hand in the emigration application moreover the government has forbidden (!) the citizens who live in Rumania to marry those who have left the country for good. This law is kept secret. It has never been published as well as many others of the same kind.

The name of my fiancée is Malvine Baceu. She is born Höprich. Her parents had to change their surname because of the post-war government's chauvinism. My father did the same thing. (His original name is Ebner).

My fiancée is living now in a 6 by 9 feet (!) room together with a relative, at the following address:

Malvine Baceu, Str. Dr. Felix No. 53, Bucharest sector VIII, Rumania.

She and I would be infinitely grateful to you if you could help her.

I realize that my request is demanding on your time but any help you could give to my fiancée would be most appreciated I know from this distance I can do little to repay your kindness but if there is any way I can be useful to you please let me know.

Sincerely yours

PETRE BANUS.

My address is: Petre Banus, 17, Av. MacMahon, 75017 Paris, France.

DR. VASILE C. BARSAN,
MANKATO, MINN., September 8, 1976.

MR. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: The undersigned Vasile Charles Barsan, American-born citizen of Romanian ancestry, Senior Professor of Foreign Languages at Mankato State University; Mankato, Minnesota, respectfully wish to submit to your kind attention and consideration the following facts related to, and in support of continuing most-favored nation tariff treatment of imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania:

(1) Two years ago, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, I established a cultural-exchange program of studies for American students at the prestigious University Cluj, Romania. The broad perspective and willingness to communicate ideas with Mankato State University was indeed, for all of us, a praiseworthy fact and a great step toward world peace and understanding.

(2) The City of Cluj located in the heart of Transylvania, dates back to 106 A.D., when it became a Roman province for 170 years, and the cradle of the

Romanian people. This historical and geographical background gave our young American exchange students to observe first hand the treatment of the co-inhabiting nationalities by the Romanians, especially of the Hungarians, Saxons and Jews. At the conclusion of their unique living and learning experience, they unanimously agreed that the Romanian government in its aims for economical, cultural and political development granted equitable rights and privileges to the minorities.

(3) Our eye-witness accounts and insight into Romanian cultural and civilization urged us to gather some significant statistical data. The much-debated issues of the minorities conclusively offer the following undeniable elements:

(a) Jewish emigration is free and unrestrained by the Romanian authorities. Like all the other co-inhabiting nationalities, the Jews are allowed to freely speak and learn in schools their parents' tongue. As for the main cultural aspect, the Yiddish theater of Bucharest is celebrating this year a century of existence.

(b) The Hungarian minority in Transylvania is represented in equal numbers with the Romanians in National, District, Party, and Regional assemblies. They also can make free use of their mother tongue, and are invited to take part in the entire economic, political and cultural life of Romania. They have access to all forms and levels of education, and the possibility of learning in their native languages. For such purposes, textbooks are provided by the state which ensures the training of the necessary teaching staff for education. Courses in Hungarian are taught in twenty faculties. At the University Babes-Bolyai of Cluj, of the total 207 courses, seventy-seven are in Hungarian.

(c) There are also 30 periodicals in Hungarian with a varied profile. The Radio and Television stations have broadcasts in Hungarian. In Cluj, there is a Hungarian National Theater and an opera. Timisoara is the site of a German-speaking Theater and Opera, just to mention a few.

4. It is an indisputable fact that there is freedom of worship for the following cults existing in Romania:

- (a) The Roman-Catholic
- (b) The Calvinist Reformed
- (c) The Unitarian
- (d) The S. P. Evangelic Cult ...

5. Recent information concerning emigration from Romania is that it indicates a sharp increase, and that it is not discriminatory.

We should keep in mind the fact that Romania is the East-European pace and peace setter in contacts with the West. In its desperate but continuous drive for independence, it plays a dangerous but determined role to elude the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact and its ruthless actions.

It is a matter of record that Romania in 1968 has refused to join the Warsaw Pact nations in the Soviet attack against Czechoslovakia. Since that time, it has become a "maverick on a tightrope," refusing to allow military maneuvers on its territory. It refused to join the anti-Israel chorus in the Middle East crisis.

In the light of these factual truths, and the importance of trade for peace and understanding in Southern Europe, I believe Romania fully deserves a special treatment. It will use it for the furtherance of its closer approach to the West and the Free World.

May I mention in closing that on September 2, 1976, I requested to testify in the hearings set for September 8, 1976, but the cutoff date had been already made on September 1, 1976. In lieu of this, Mr. Richard Rivers, urged me to send this letter explaining my position and assured me it would be considered if post-marked September 8, 1976 or before.

I deem it very important to send my point of view as part of the record to underline my particular position.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

VASILE C. BARSAN.

GENEVE, August 24, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: With reference to Press Release No. 41 issued by the Committee on Finance, Sub-Committee on International Trade, regarding hearing on continuing Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania; the under-signed Nora Barsan, residing in Switzerland 1 Quai des Vernets, 1227 Acacias; I present the following written statement for submission and in-

clusion in the printed record of the hearing and for the information of the Committee:

STATEMENT

I was born and lived in Romania till 1971, when I left for Geneva, Switzerland, for a medical treatment. I left behind by son Horatiu Birsan, then a student of the Polytechnical School for Architecture in Bucharest.

Because my health did not improve I had to continue medical treatment; I decided to remain in Switzerland. I got residence as a refugee and a job as dressmaker; which assured my existence.

I hoped that after my son will finish his studies, I will be able to bring him to live with me in Switzerland; giving him the great opportunity to live a decent life in freedom and democracy.

Unfortunately I got sick of TB and I was hospitalized in a sanatorium. My life was in danger. Thus I called in my son for a short visit. Although I proved my request by medical certification, The Romanian Government did not give permission to my son to visit me. I spent months and months on the hospital bed, lingering between to get well and fear that I will not be able to survive to see my son. All my numerous requests addressed to the Romanian Embassy, to the Romanian Government in Bucharest were disregarded. I did even not receive any reply.

Worse than that I got the bad news that my son was stopped to graduate as an architect; being forced to accept a degree of an undergraduate technician. My son had to suffer again for the political past of his father, whom I divorced years back.

I continued my efforts to get out my son. I sent appeals to the Switzerland League for the Rights of Man; to the High Commissioner for the Refugees; International Red Cross; to the President of the Romanian Government. But all were in vain.

Two years ago I was again in the hospital for surgery. I sent a new request to the Romanian Government. Even the physician of the hospital made a special intervention for an exit visa for my son; but all interventions were fruitless.

On advice received from the Romanian Embassy in Bern, I renounced my Romanian citizenship, paying required fees. I tried without any resolve to get an appointment with the Romanian Ambassador in Bern, to explain to him my case; but all my requests were rejected. One or two times I got appointments, but when I went there I was informed that "Mr. Ambassador is out of town".

Suddenly last year after the Helsinki conference, my son was informed that the Romanian authorities are willing to give him an exit visa. He made an application, but instead of a visa he was fired from his job, without any explanation.

I was sick, tired and hopeless. I was at the end of my strength. I did not see any possibility to see and save my son. In desperation I wanted to start a hunger strike, in protest, but my physicians stopped me.

Reading in the "The Herald Tribune of Geneva" of March 9, 1976 a news regarding the help received from The Honorable Betty Ford, First Lady of the White House in Washington, D.C. by the family of Mrs. Victoria Crenian of Geneva; I wrote a letter to First Lady, asking her for help.

I am sure that interventions were made, but in vain my son did not get exit visa from the Romanian Government.

Thus after over five years of struggle I hope that the hearing of my case by your Commission, the pressure of the public opinion in my case and the material interests of the Romanian Government in the extension of the Most-Favored-Nation Tariff will convince the Romanian Government to issue an exit visa to my son as soon as possible.

NORA BIRSAN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of August, 1976.

GARY S. BASKY,
Consul of the United States of America.

STATEMENT OF IRINA BEBELEA

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1.

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.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Irina Berelea, Romanian born and American citizen. While in Romania, for several years I have tried to leave the country to escape the oppression and the communist terror, the frustration and suffering I have endured.

On September 23, 1968, I left Communist Romania with a Tourist passport for a collective excursion in Turkey. At Istanbul I defected and I asked for political asylum.

After a couple of months I was sent by the Turkey authorities in Italy where I was granted political asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations Organization in Geneva and then I settled myself in the United States of America with the strong determination of starting a new life, here, in freedom.

I reached the United States of America on January 22, 1976, as a political refugee.

But, painfully, I had to leave behind in Communist Romania, as hostages: 1. Florian Bebelea, my son, born on March 1, 1956; 2. Marcela Gabriela Bebelea, my daughter, born on April 6, 1957, both of Strada Oltet Nr 6, Brasov.

All their applications for exit visas in order to join me here, in the U.S.A., were rejected by the Romanian Communist Security. All time they are investigated and terrorized by the Communist Romanian Secret Police and Security.

The Romanian Communist President, Nicolae Ceausescu does not respect: The Paris Treaty of Peace (1917), The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 10, 1948) The Helsinki Agreement (1975) nor the condition of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in the Trade Agreement and the Most Favored Nation's clause, closed with the U.S.A. in 1975 The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu lied without shame to the President of the U.S.A. and the political leaders of this country on June 1975 in Washington, D.C.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu kept as hostages Tausends relatives of American citizens, American permanent residents and political refugees from Communist Romania.

Since June 2, 1976 I joined the Third Romanian Hunger Strike for family Reunion in the U.S.A., in front of the United Nations Organization, in New York City and I do not leave the hunger strike place until my hostages, children come to the United States of America.

As an American citizen, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to use your influence in persuading the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant an exit visas to my children.

—————
MONTCLAIR, N.J., September 4, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: My niece Dolna Michaela Chercu and my nephew, Mugurel Stelian Chercu, residing at 5 Aleea Stanila Bloc.H. 7, Sc. A, Ap. 6, Sector IV, Bucharest, Romania, applied for passports to visit us at our expense, but their applications were rejected.

The Embassy of the Socialist Republic and the Honorable Consul Sef have the relevant information.

Any help you may consider towards re-opening their cases would be most appreciated.

Yours respectfully,

VIORICA BEJAN.

—————
BERRY, EPSTEIN & SANDSTROM,
Washington, D.C., September 2, 1976.

Re Hearing September 8 on U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade, Committee on Finance, U.S.
Senate, Washington, D.C.

Mr. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE:
On behalf of the Atalanta Corporation, headquartered at 17 Varlick Street, New York City, New York, I am pleased to submit for the Hearing Record this writ-

ten testimony in support of the continuation of most-favored-nation tariff treatment by the United States to imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania. On June 2, 1976, President Ford requested that Congress renew for 12 months, pursuant to authority granted him under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, MFN tariff treatment for Romania. As stated, the Atalanta Corporation supports this recommendation and feels that it is in the best interests of the United States for the Congress to grant our President's request.

The Atalanta Corporation is a marketing organization for a large variety of high quality food items which are distributed throughout the United States by its 70-man sales force located in New York City and eleven sales offices in various states. Atalanta imports food products from over 40 countries throughout the world, including canned hams from Romania. During 1975, Atalanta imported approximately \$13 million of high quality Romanian canned hams. In addition, Atalanta is a member of the Romanian-United States Economic Council which operates under the administrative scope of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States but is autonomous in matters of policy.

During the past decade, U.S.-Romanian trade has shown significant gain. In 1965 bilateral trade was \$8 million. In 1970 bilateral trade was \$60 million. In 1975 such bilateral trade had grown impressively to over \$335 million with the United States enjoying a favorable balance of trade. This favorable trend is expected to continue throughout this decade.

Jewish emigration from Romania has also improved throughout the first eight months of this year. From January 1 through August 25, 1976, Jewish emigration to the United States and Israel totaled approximately 2,360 compared with a total of 1,595 for the same time period in 1975. It is anticipated that the final emigration figures for 1976 will maintain this increased level over 1975. This justifies President Ford's request to the Congress to continue the United States-Romania Trade Agreement by virtue of his authority to waive Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

During the extensive hearings before this Committee in June of 1975 which were held to determine whether or not MFN tariff treatment should be granted Romania, the Atalanta Corporation placed into the Hearing Record lengthy testimony supporting MFN and the ratification by the United States of the trade agreement with Romania which we enjoy today. The favorable predictions for the U.S. which we made in our testimony at that time have come true. We once again take this opportunity to recommend that the Congress continue this mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and Romania. The following Department of Commerce chart indicates, in millions of dollars, that U.S.-Romanian trade, while small in comparison with U.S. trade with other countries, is nevertheless growing. It is important for the foreign relation interests of our country in that part of the world.

UNITED STATES TRADE WITH ROMANIA

(In millions of dollars)

| Year: | Total U.S. exports | Total U.S. imports |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1966..... | 27 | 4.6 |
| 1967..... | 18 | 6.0 |
| 1968..... | 17 | 6.0 |
| 1969..... | 32 | 8.0 |
| 1970..... | 60 | 13.0 |
| 1971..... | 53 | 14.0 |
| 1972..... | 69 | 32.0 |
| 1973..... | 116 | 55.0 |
| 1974..... | 278 | 131.0 |
| 1975..... | 189 | 146.0 |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Recently, the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, conducted a thorough study on trade between the U.S. and Romania and Hungary pursuant to H. Res. 1062. The Committee Report, dated August 4, 1976, stated, in part, "The granting of MFN to Romania has sparked hope and interest among other East European countries for similar trade agreements and status. Chairman Bingham's brief visit to Hungary (May 30-31) followed by only a few weeks an extended visit by the highest ranking Hungarian official to visit

the United States since the end of World War II—Deputy Prime Minister Gyula Szeker. During his visit the Deputy Prime Minister frequently mentioned Hungary's interest in MFN status with the United States, and in expanding trade prior to any such breakthrough in United States-Hungarian relations."

We agree that the granting of MFN to Romania will serve as an incentive for similar trade agreements throughout the rest of Eastern Europe. Atalanta not only markets Romanian products in the United States but is also engaged in a large sales operation in the U.S. of canned hams and other pork products from Poland, a country also enjoying MFN status. Atalanta also serves as a major importer of food products from Hungary. Atalanta therefore looks forward to the day that MFN tariff treatment is also granted to Hungary and believes that the United States-Romanian trade agreement will serve as an incentive for this to occur in the future. Atalanta feels that through normal trade relations with such countries, the U.S. foreign and economic policy will be enhanced leading to better overall relations between the East and the West. This will not only enable U.S. corporations to enjoy more profits, but will be a step toward securing world peace.

The Atalanta Corporation will continue to be an important factor of trade between our country and Romania. Atalanta's large purchases of Romanian canned hams will afford Romania foreign exchange for her purchases of U.S. products. This assists our own job market and gives the U.S. consumer quality food products from a country striving for her own independent policies.

On behalf of the Atalanta Corporation, I want to inform the Subcommittee that Atalanta appreciates the Committee's consideration of its views and the placing of such within the Hearing Record.

Sincerely yours,

MAX N. BERRY.

FOREST HILLS, N.Y., September 7, 1976.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMAN: Knowing that this subcommittee is holding public hearings on continuing most-favored-nation status with reference to the Socialist Republic of Romania, I should like to express my views concerning the way in which Romania is disregarding the provisions of section 402, the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618), provisions which were incorporated as a initial condition to the granting of the most-favored-nation status to Romania.

Although Romania is a signatory of many Human Rights Acts, including but not limited to the 1975 Declaration of Helsinki, none of the basic freedom rights expressed are observed or fulfilled in Romania.

Today's Romania is a Police State in which all the efforts are directed not towards establishing the happiness of its citizens, but towards maintaining and extending the dictatorship of the few who make up the Government.

Freedom as stated in all declarations is a non-existent fact, except for the "freedoms" which the Government decides that its subjects may have. Freedom of emigration is totally unheard of. Anybody who wishes to leave the country must pass unsurmountable delays and go through incredible "red tape" before he is even allowed to file an application for an exit permit. He must submit a numerous amount of documents, including a statement from his job certifying that he may apply. After the application is finally accepted the person must pass a security investigation conducted in a manner which disregards completely any personal consideration.

During these investigations various State Agencies try to change the mind of the applicant. If they are not successful in convincing the applicant to renounce his intention to leave the country, it is tried to accomplish this through various harassments which include cuts in salaries, transfers into "exile" to distant towns, demotion from one's position and ultimately dismissal from one's job.

This is the way the Security Police does its utmost to frighten the particular applicant into renouncing the application for emigration.

At the end it is still the Government who decides which persons may indeed receive an exit permit and which may not.

The case of my parents is only typical to the way the emigration applications are received and processed in Romania.

I am a United States Permanent Resident, married to a United States citizen. My parents, Tamara and Adrian Serban live in Bucharest, Romania, 63 C. Nottara Street.

Since I am their only child and since my father's only brother lives also in the United States (my father comes from a Jewish family) and my mother has no relatives in Romania, my parents have applied in June 1975 for permission to emigrate to the United States.

After months of delays, their office gave them the approval to request an exit permit. Once the application for emigration was finally accepted and the numerous documents submitted, the reprisals started.

First at their office. As my father used to be until ten months ago, chief of project at the Design Institute for Rolling Mill Plants in Bucharest, the reprisals were directed towards him. He was demoted from his position, his salary has been cut by a great percentage and he was even subject to be sent to another town far away from home. He was called to meetings where he and my mother (who works at the same Institute as an economical engineer) were called traitors and were criticized and humiliated in front of their colleagues.

In February 1976 were organized certain committees to discuss the applications for emigration. These committees were created not to render a final decision upon an applicant's desire to leave but to induce some to "voluntarily" withdraw their applications. After several meetings with these people in which they tried to make my parents renounce their intention to leave, my parents did not surrender and refused to renounce their application.

In May 1976 the Government refused to allow my parents to leave.

Desperately, my parents were repeatedly and insistently requesting a hearing with the Governmental Commission in charge of emigration with the hope to have their case reviewed. But they were refused such a hearing. Then, they tried their luck by sending memorandums and after a long time of waiting they got a reply that their case has been reviewed and the decision remains still the same. No reasons were given for their decision.

Furthermore, my parents are not permitted to file a new application for emigration.

In this desperate and hopeless situation my parents' only hope lays in the hands of the American Public Opinion and specifically in the fact that the United States Congress can oblige the Romanian Government to fulfill the obligations of the freedom of emigration act which was a part in granting Romania the status of the most-favored-nation.

Trusting that the above information will help your Committee to reach a proper decision in this matter, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

MARIANA BLUM.

CALGARY, ALBERTA, CANADA, September 2, 1976.

The Right Honourable A. RIBICOFF,
Chairman of the Subcommittee of International Trade, U.S. Senate, Senate Office
Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RIBICOFF: My name is Martin Blum, residing at 484 72nd Avenue, N.E., Calgary, Alberta T2K 4Z1, Canada.

I am writing in regard to my application to the Romanian State Council to marry Miss Maria Baciu Nicolae who is living in Bucharest Str. Antim Nr. 20.

I made this application June 10, 1974 and since then, after two years of repeated inquiries, either written or by means of a personal appearance in December 1975 before the Romanian State Council, and even after interventions by the Canadian Government, my fiancée received a negative answer on the 24th of May, 1976.

In our belief that the decision of the Romanian Government may still be revised, we hope that an intervention through your Office, based on Human Rights, would help us to get the approval for our marriage.

I would like also to mention that my fiancée has no job as a result of this application and lives under a continuous pressure to give up our intent to marry. At the suggestion of the Department of External Affairs, I sent to the Romanian State Council a Statutory Declaration in which I confirmed again my wish to marry Miss Maria Baciu Nicolae and that I am able to provide for her. I enclose a copy of the Statement.

Taking into account our profound sentiments and considering that all our interventions were without any positive result, we hope that an intervention through your office would help us to get the approval for our marriage.

Yours sincerely,

MARTIN BLUM.

STATUTORY DECLARATION

To The Romanian State Council, Bureau of Marriage, Bucharest, R.S., Romania. In the matter of the requested and desired marriage of Martin Blum of Calgary, Canada, to Maria Baciu-Nicolae of Bucharest, R.S., Romania.

I, Martin Blum, Engineering Student, of 484 72nd Ave., N.E. in the City of Calgary, in the Province of Alberta, Canada, hereby make oath and do solemnly declare as follows that:

1. I am presently a student registered in the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

2. I have been employed for three years by Keith Construction of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, part-time during my school year and full-time during the summer holidays and am therefore financially self-sufficient.

3. I have sufficient funds to pay all the travel costs including air fare and accommodation enroute of my fiancée, Maria Baciu-Nicolae, from Bucharest, R.S., Romania to Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

4. I am financially able and very willing to maintain, support and provide for my fiancée, Maria Baciu-Nicolae, here in Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

And I hereby make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing it to be of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of The Canada Evidence Act.

Declared before me at the City of Calgary, Province of Alberta, Canada, this 16th day of June, A.D. 1976.

MARTIN BLUM.

A Notary Public in and for the Province of Alberta.

B'NAI B'RITH,
Washington, D.C., September 8, 1976.

HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade,
Committee on Finance,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have the honor to submit herewith for the consideration of your committee the views of B'nai B'rith on continuing most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania.

With thanks for your consideration and good wishes.

Sincerely,

DAVID M. BLUMBERG.

Enclosure.

STATEMENT OF DAVID M. BLUMBERG, PRESIDENT OF B'NAI B'RITH

SEPTEMBER 8, 1976.

In testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee last year, B'nai B'rith expressed its appreciation for Romania's independence in pursuing its national interest and commended its efforts to normalize its relations with nations outside the Soviet Bloc—the United States and Israel in particular. We expressed the hope that Romania would demonstrate its right to trade concessions and most-favored-nation treatment under the Trade Act by establishing emigration policies that, in the words of the statute, would lead "substantially to the achievement" of free emigration. Now that the Congress is considering the question of the extension of MFN for Romania, we reaffirm those views and renew our hopes.

But neither Congress nor we can ignore the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which is a profoundly important feature of American trade policy. We remain committed to ensure its faithful implementation. After all, it does no more than call on Romania to honor the commitments it made when it subscribed to the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights whose Article 12 guarantees that all persons shall have the right to leave their country.

For many years the record of Romania with respect to Jewish emigration stood in welcome contrast to that of the Soviet Union. But today—one year after the grant of MFN to Romania—its policy and practice continue to raise questions.

Estimates suggest that there are approximately 60,000 Jews in Romania. We have reason to believe that—based on the information derived from relatives abroad and associations of Romanian Jews—that perhaps close to one-half of this number seek to leave. But in the twelve months ending July 31, 1976 (the first year of the trade agreement with Romania) Jewish emigration from Romania to Israel totalled barely 2,500. If this amount approximated last year's total, nonetheless, it is substantially below the 3,700 annual figures of 1973 and 1974. In the meantime, Romanian trade with the United States increased tremendously.

Surely, if the Jackson-Vanik Amendment is not to become a dead letter and a sorry precedent for the Soviet Union, where the emigration stakes are higher, it means that Romanian emigration practices should change substantially for the better, not the worse. We must therefore urge this Committee and the Senate to withhold decision on the extension of MFN until the very end of the period available to the Congress. It is to be hoped that the Romanian Government that it should honor the desire of the thousands who wish to emigrate. Recent history reminds us that affirmative action by the Romanian Government can change a monthly figure of 50 (May 1975) to 430 (July 1975).

For the sake of the integrity of the statute and in the hope of more cooperative Romanian-United States relations, B'nai B'rith hopes that Romanian emigration policy and practice would justify the extension of most-favored-nation tariff treatment to Romania.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Avram Botan. I wish to say that in Romania they don't give the right law for the people, and special for religious people.

The Roumanian Legislation say that walk out and strikes are free to be made by the people, but I have to make the hunger strike to obtain my passport for coming here with my son; for the strike what I made I was arrested in Bucharest. Why I was arrested if the strikes are free to made?

The Roumanian Legislation says that nobody can't be offended for his religion, but I was offended when I was to go; they said to me: "Go to your Baptism to capitalist and do the hunger strike".

The Roumanian Legislation says that everyone have the right to leave their own country, and to go were ever they want to, but our family can't come to us. Why they can't come if it is freedom?

In February this year the Roumanian Embassy promised me that in 3 or 4 months my family will be united, but my wife is still in Roumania.

In July the Roumanian Embassy promised me again that my wife will be here in two months, but my wife is not here yet, and she doesn't have her passport and they give her a lot a problems that she can't come here.

The Roumanian Legislation said that they gone give a goodwill in the case of illness for obtaining the passport, but I didn't found this goodwill for my ill son.

As I was strike in Roumanian in the time I was with my son ill, the Roumanian Authority strike in continue in my family, though stop my wife to come here.

Please help our family in granting the bill or rights which are in Roumanian Law and release our family to come here immediately.

AVRAM BOTAN.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Avram Botan, I am Romanian born (December 3rd, 1935) in the town of Lupeni-Romania and now a legal resident in United States where I received political asylum.

Many troubles marked my life under the communist regime in Romania. I am a Baptist believer and because of my religious faith, I have been thrown out of the Theological College where I was learning. Besides, as a practicing Baptist Reverend in office, I have been accused of excessive religious zeal and obliged to stop these activities.

I arrived in United States on September 16th, 1975 together with my son Flavius Botan, 17, who needed a special medical treatment. The Romanian communist regime refused for long to issue our passports, but in order to get them I entered a hunger strike in front of the State Council Building in Bucharest. Soon they arrested me and threatened me with two years of jail punishment.

The following are the members of my family still retained in Romania :

Eugenia Botan, wife, born on April 26th, 1938 in the village of Beregsau Mare, District of Timis, Romania and now living at the same address where born.

Ana Botan, mother, 65, maiden name: Ana Ghiuritan.

Elisel Botan, brother, 44 with: Victoria Botan, his wife, 41, and their children, Claudiu Botan, son, 5; Anea Claudia Botan, daughter, 5 and also Serafim Calta Mandra, my own nephew, 21, with Rodica Calta Mandra, his wife, 20, (maiden name: Rodica Botan) and their daughter Laura Calta Mandra, 1.

All of them now residing in the town of Petrila, District of Hunedoara, str. Traian Vula no. 12, Romania.

With the hope of having them all join me in this country of freedom, religious tolerance and opportunities, on February 28, 1976 I contacted the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. where I have been asked first to give up my old Romanian citizenship. I did so. The same Embassy assured me that this condition satisfied, the missing members of my family will be allowed to come in America and meet me very soon. With the same goal in mind, I contacted the American Embassy in Bucharest, the N.Y. State Governor, Hon. C. Carey and the N.Y.C. Major, Hon. Abraham Beame.

The above shown members of my family are still kept as hostages in Romania. The Romanian communist authorities led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement concluded with United States, and in this respect, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of United States.

Openly protesting the barbarian conduct of the Romanian communist regime, on May 31, 1976 I started a Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave this place until my hostage family will join me here.

I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority in order to persuade Romanian rulers grant the before shown members of my family the necessary exit visas for their travel to United States.

I warmly thank you for your humanitarian help.

AVRAM BOTAN.

AUGUST 26, 1976.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Finance Committee, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LONG: I strongly oppose America's continuing the most-favored-nation status presently given to Romania because Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 clearly states that a country that denies its own citizens the right to emigrate is not eligible for such status.

As a naturalized American citizen from Romania, and both lecturer in the Romanian Language Department and coordinator of the Romanian Language, Civilization and Culture program at the Ohio State University, I feel more than qualified in voicing my above mentioned belief.

My personal experience has proven to me the injustice and blatant hypocrisy of a government, such as Romania's, that openly defies set rules, in this case those referring to emigration, required by the United States government before granting the highly sought-after, most-favored-nation status.

Since 1969, when I left Romania as a refugee, I have struggled nonstop with the Romanian government and its cancerous bureaucracy to obtain a mere visa for my brother Radu Ciocanellea, Bd. Bucurestii Noi, Bloc C4 Etaj IV, Sector 7, Bucuresti, Romania, to visit his family here in America.

My 37-year-old brother, though a geologist for the government, is *not* a member of the Communist Party. Therefore, all attempts to obtain a visa for him have been consistently ignored by the Romanian government, even though a round trip plane ticket from Romania to the United States has been provided for him.

I now plead and demand that the American government carefully reconsider its renewal of most-favored-nation status for Romania in light of my battle for my brother's freedom, a battle that is sadly one among many.

Sincerely,

RODICA BOTOMAN.

AMTRACO COMMODITY CORP.,
New York, N.Y., September 1, 1976.

Re Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We support the recommendations of President Ford that the waiver authorities under Section 402(d) (1) of the Trade Act be extended 12 months.

Romania is an active trade partner with the United States and is importing important quantities of feed grains from the U.S. as well as other goods.

In order to buy from the United States they have to sell some of their goods here and can only be competitive if they have Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment.

The record will show that they have become a member of almost all international trade organizations and are living up to all their agreements with their trading partners.

We highly recommend that their MFN Treatment be extended.

Respectfully,

WALTER F. BROWNE, *Vice President.*

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL,
DEUTSCHE SEKTION E.V.,
D-35 Kassel, West Germany.

Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF (*Connecticut*),
Senate of the U.S.A.,
Washington, D.C.

HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF: I am a member of amnesty international. Our group attended to Mr. Peter Grosz. He is an 28 year old Rumanian citizen who was arrested because he tried to leave Rumania illegally. In summer 1975 Mr. Grosz was released from prison but he still wants to leave Romania. I want to ask you to use your influence on the Rumanian government to help Mr. Grosz leaving Rumania for a country of his choice, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

JOHANNES BÜTTNER.

GREENWICH, CONN.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Dumitru Capata, I am Romanian born (November 3rd, 1940) in Rebra, District of Bistrita-Nasaud, and since January 14, 1976 a resident in United States of America together with my wife Elisabeta Capata (maiden name: Elisabeta Neda), born on March 17, 1939 in Giroc-Timis, Romania.

My father Maftei Capata lost his entire estate during the so-called "collectivization of the Romanian agriculture" imposed by the communist regime in power in our old country. Because my father refused to become a member of the

Romanian Communist Party, I, his son, have been barred from attending in Romania any kind of school, except elementary courses. Only at the age of 23 I managed myself to graduate a simple driving school which gave me the possibility to work and live. I worked hard in Romania for more than 10 years, being able to build a household of my own, but very recently the communist regime forced me to give up all I gathered during those years of hard labor, under the pretext of the "struggle against the new-capitalism."

In this hopeless situation, I and my wife left together underground the communist Romania passing through Yugoslavia in Italy (April 25th, 1975) where we both received political asylum. With no delay we asked for the permission to emigrate in United States.

Unfortunately, leaving Romania, we left over there our daughter Dorina Corina Capata, born on August 28th, 1970. She is now in care of my old father Maftei Capata, residing in the village of Jelna no. 92, District of Bistrita-Nasaud, Romania. With a pension equal to \$25 monthly, my father cannot take care of our daughter. She is missing their parents, a careful familial education and has no future at all in Romania.

All our interventions to bring our daughter in this country of freedom and opportunities failed because the Romanian communist regime categorically refused to allow her come here. The Romanian authorities led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ignore not only in our case the provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement or the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with U.S.A., and despite all their promises and assumed responsibilities therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

In these circumstances, openly protesting the barbarian conduct of the Romanian regime, since May 29, 1976 I started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave that spot until my daughter Dorina Corina Capata will join me in this country.

I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect wholly their obligations and allow my missing daughter travel to United States for the reunification of our family.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

Sincerely yours,

DUMITRU CAPATA.

GREENWICH, CONN.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 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 return to his country.

HONORABLE SENATORS: I thank warmly to the U.S. Senate because I was invited at the hearing of September 8, 1976 to explain the tragedy of my daughter Dorina Corina Capata, who is only 6 years old and whom is Hostage In—Communist Romania. I am Dumitru Capata, Romania born (on November 8, 1940) together with my wife Elisabeta Capata born on March 17, 1934 (maiden name Elisabeta Neda). I became a resident of the U.S.A. since January 14, 1976. My father Maftei Capata lost his entire estate during the so-called collectivisation of the Romanian agriculture imposed by the Communist Party under the pressure of the Secret Police so-called Security. This happened because my father refused to become a member of the Romanian Communist Party. I was persecuted and barred from attending any kind of school in Romania, except for elementary courses. Only at the age of 23 I managed myself to graduate a simple driving school which gave me the opportunity to work and live. I worked hard in Romania for more than 10 years, being able to build a household of my own, but very recently the Communist Security forced me to give up all I gathered during those years of hard labor, under the pretext of the struggle against the new capitalism. In this hopeless situation, I and my wife left together underground the Romanian-Yugoslavia and Yugoslavian-Italian borders with the risk of our lives. We reached Italy on April 25, 1975 where we both received political asylum from The High Commissioner for Refugees from United Nations Organization from Geneva. With no delay we asked for the permission

to emigrate in the U.S.A. Unfortunately, leaving Romania we left over there as hostage 1. Dorina Corina Capata, our daughter 6, born on August 2, 1970 of Comuna Jelna No. 92-Yudetul Bistuta-Nasalu, Romanian. She is now in care of my old father Mattel Capata, who with a pension equal to \$25.00 a month, cannot take care of our daughter.

She is missing her parents, a careful Jaullal education and has no future at all in Communist Romania. All our interventions to bring our daughter to the U.S.A. failed because the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceauseacu does not respect The Paris Treaty Of Peace (1947) The Universal Declaration Of Human Rights (1948) The Helsinki Agreement (1975) nor The Condition Of Easing The Emigration From Romanian as agreed upon 1975 within the trade agreement and the most favored nations clause, close with the U.S.A. On June 9, 1975 Nicolae Ceauseacu lied Without Shame to President, Gerald Ford and The Political Leader of the U.S.A. in Washington D.C. He said that he released our families and our families are still hostages in Communist Romania !!! With these circumstances on May 9, 1976 I joined the Third Romanian Hunger Strike For Family Reunion in front of the United Nations organization in New York City. After one month I was sent home by our physcician to recover. Three days later The First Secretary of the Romanian embassy in Washington, D.C. called me by telephone and threatened me that if I come back in the hunger strike he'd kill me!!! I announced immediately about threat and his attitude to the Bishop, where I am working and the American Police.

In Romanian the Mayor of the village came over to the house and threatened my daughter 6, and my 69 year old mother, at night with jail if one of my brothers or sisters does not adopt immediately my daughter who was abandoned by her parents. The little girl was called in front of the Communist Court and she was forced to eject her parents. Only the Stalinist Terror of Nicolae Ceauseacu is able to try to destroy the heart of a 6 year old girl.

Our mail and telephone calls were cut. In these circumstances to defend my daughters life I will join the Fourth Romanian Hunger Strike For Family Reunion which will start on September 8, 1976 in Washington, D.C.

Desperately I appeal to the U.S. Senate, that it does not grant the most favored nation's clause to the Romanian Communist Government lead by the Stalinist tyrant Nicolae Ceauseacu until my hostage daughter 6, and the hostage families of all Romanian Hunger Strikers for Family Reunion joins us in freedom in the U.S.A.

Thanks for the U.S. Senate humanitarian support.

Desperately yours,

DUMITRU CAPATA.

RIDGEWOOD, N.Y.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

Article 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.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Maria Carbunescu, a political refugee in the United States, where I live with my 14-year old daughter Irene. We both escaped from Romania in 1974 by defecting from a tourist group.

It is already well known that no entire family can get out of Romania. My family was cut in two because my son and his family could not leave with us. They are:

Dan Carbunescu, 23, son; Helen Carbunescu, 23, daughter-in-law; George Carbunescu, 1, grand-child; Address: Str. Izvorul Crisului 9, Bloc A6, Sc. D, apt. 59 Berceni Sud 5, Sector 5, Bucuresti, Romania.

Wishing and needing badly my son here, as I am no longer a young and powerful woman, I have made several attempts to bring my son and his family over here; I filled out all legal procedures required by the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. My son in Romanian made also all the formalities required over there: he was forced to turn over his house to the Romanian government, to give up his job, to give up the Romanian citizenship. But everything was in vain. My son and daughter-in-law are now unemployed in Romania with no

means of supporting themselves and no hope of getting out. I was deceived by the Romanian authorities in my efforts to have my son joining me here.

In order to get the Most Favored Nation status, the president of R.S. Romania, N. Ceausescu obliged himself to grant exit visas to the relatives of American residents: a list was handed over to him by means of the State Department and my case was enlisted there at position 9. After Romania was granted the MFN status, president Ceausescu did forget immediately his word: my son and his family are still hostages in Romania.

The Romanian government respects neither the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, nor the bilateral agreements signed with the United States; and still they are taking advantages of the MFN status, long term credits and economical help.

As my last resource, since November 11 I have started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York, as a protest against the Romanian communist government, and to bring my plea to the attention of the America public. At the risk of my life I will not cease the strike until my son and his family would not join me here.

I appeal to you, to use your influence to persuade the Romanian government to let my son and his family to join me in freedom here, in the United States. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

MARIA CARBUNESCU.

STATEMENT OF IOANA G. CARMENT

My name is Ioana Gabriela Carment. I came from Roumania in October, 1974 and I got married to Paul Joseph Carment, January, 1975. He is an American citizen, an engineer working at General Instrument Corporation in Hicksville, New York. In September, 1975, I became a permanent resident. We have a very happy life; the only thing that shadows our happiness is that my parents, George and Silvia Carabin, age 52 and 53 respectively, are still in Romania. Their address is Coalkovski 6, Apt. 18, Sector 1, Burcharest.

I am their only child and, because my mother is very sick, they decided to file papers in August 1975 to leave Romania and come to the United States for the rest of their lives. As a quick revenge and possible intimidation from the Romanian Authorities in September, 1975, my father lost his position of Professor of Drama at the University of Bucharest after twenty-five years of dedicated work.

At the end of March, 1976, their papers were refused for the first time. My mother had a shock and she was in the hospital for three weeks. They filed papers again and were refused once more by a governmental committee at the end of June.

The Romanian Authorities as part of the present and forthcoming agreements with the United States should loosen the emigration laws. Why should the United States help with financial and material aid a country that once it has what it needs, it forgets what it owes?

The only thing we are asking for is the reunification of our family and the possibility to offer my mother the medical care that she desperately needs. I have the obligation in front of God for my parents to help them, to save my mother's life. Millions of families from all over the world have a right to be together to enjoy their life, but in Romania such rights do not exist.

I would like to recommend to the Sub-Committee not to extend the Treaty with Romania because they have not allowed free emigration. I would greatly appreciate if this statement will be put on the record.

I wish to thank the Sub-Committee for allowing me to present this statement.

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANT SCIENTISTS CORP.
Brookline, Mass., September 13, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Senate Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your mailgram of September 2, 1976. I regret that due to large number of witnesses who wish to testify at the Romanian trade

hearings and short amount of time available for hearings, it was impossible to schedule me for oral presentation. You will, therefore, find below a brief and concise statement.

It is evident that there are causes of unrest in that part of the world. It is also evident that cruel leaders are exploiting this situation: they falsify the history and the truth, they agitate their countrymen without any respect for God, law and order. The American Hungarian Federation may ask why so many Hungarians have relatively recently left their country? They should repeat the prayer that the eminent Hungarian-born scientist Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi (now a Director of research at the Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods-Hole, Massachusetts), wrote in 1964, in the "Crazy Ape":

"God! Clean my heart,
lift my mind,
And make me my brother's
brother."

As he says: "If everybody would remain straight and honest, life would be wonderful".

All facts considered, I believe that the traditionally friendly relations between the American and Romanian peoples should be maintained and the MFN act should be extended. This would help the cause of peace and the cooperation between the United States of America and Romania, which we so much cherish.

We read in the "Newsweek" of August 2, 1976: "A Star is Born". This was 14-year-old Romania's Nadia Comaneci at the Olympics '76, who proved to the astonished world that: "Din vultur, vultur creste, din stejar, stejar răsare" ("From an eagle, eagle grows, from an oak, oak rises").

Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who recently visited Romania, states (personal communication of July 8, 1976): "Romania has lately exercised greater humanitarian understanding toward the humanitarian problems facing divided families who desire to emigrate. This process must continue and should not be terminated upon diplomatic confrontation arising from alternative causes."

A scientist is not a poet. But let me, the mathematician that I am, quote, however, the verse from Baudelaire's "Le Mal des Fleurs" ("Flowers of Evil"):

"Si le ciel et la mer sont noirs comme de l'encre,
Nos coeurs, que tu connais, sont remplis de rayons."

This, better than anything, expresses my hope and good wishes for continued friendship and cooperation between the United States of America and Romania. Yes, the MFN Act must be prolonged. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN CARSTOIU, Ph. D., *President.*

CIC INTERNATIONAL LTD.,
New York, N.Y., August 16, 1976.

Hon. RUSSELL LONG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: It has come to our attention that the "Most Favored Nation" Status for the Socialist Republic of Romania will be up for review before the Congress very shortly. In this regard, we feel that our relationship and experience with the Romanian Government should be brought to your attention.

We have worked closely with the Romanian Economic Counselor's Office in New York, as well as with the commercial entities in Romania. Under our auspices, discussions are now in progress concerning a possible joint cooperation between Mack Truck and Auto-Dacia (a manufacturer of trucks in Romania). Initial discussions were held in Romania several months ago and, subsequent thereto, a delegation from Auto-Dacia visited the Mack Truck factory in Allentown, Pennsylvania. We are arranging for a meeting in Romania sometime in September between representatives of our firm, Mack Truck and Auto-Dacia.

The nature of this joint cooperation will involve procurement of certain parts in the United States and a participation by Mack Truck in the Romanian operation. The result of this enterprise, if successfully concluded, will have a favorable effect toward the United States' Balance of Payments.

In addition, we have worked closely with VITROCIM in Romania, who is a producer of cement. Our sales involve shipments to Third World countries, which result in profits earned in the United States, thus additionally, causing a favorable flow in the U.S. Balance of Payments.

Another major negotiation between our firm and Romania involves the potential trade in electric motors with the Romanian firm Electromotor. In this case, the trading with third party countries favorably influences the United States' Balance of Payments.

During the past two years, we have worked very closely with officials of the Romanian Government and have had an opportunity to observe and experience Romanian customs, culture and ethics. Our experience in foreign trade is world-wide, and our exposure to Romania can only be expressed in the most glowing terms. We have yet to find a Romanian Government Official who did not hold the United States Government and its people in the highest regard. In business negotiations, they are outstanding for their ethical and fair conduct.

From time to time, there have been those nationalities, jealous of Romania's friendship with the United States, that have sought to create the impression that education, culture, and equal rights are not prevalent in Romania. Romania grants equality to all citizens without limitation on the basis of nationality, race, sex, or religion. Romania does not require visas from U.S. citizens, and visitors have no impediments whatsoever in freely traveling about Romania. Any honest person who has visited Romania would readily confirm that such alleged prejudices are non-existent.

Romania has been, and will continue to be, a valued friend of our country. From our own country's point of view, Romania has been the leader of the Eastern Block Countries in establishing favorable relationships with the United States. The Romanian Government, by its performance and actions, has established itself as a leader in the world community and earned the continuation of its "Most Favored Nation" Status with the United States.

Should you deem it necessary or advisable, members of our staff who are well acquainted with Romania would be pleased to provide any more detailed information.

Sincerely yours,

A. E. CATES, *President.*

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT STUDIES,
New York, N.Y., June 3, 1975.

To: Senate Finance Committee.

From: Charles C. Smith and John C. O'Mella, Jr.

Subject: Granting the Socialist Republic of Romania trade relations with non-discriminatory treatment.

The YMCA Center for International Management Studies (CIMS), an operating unit of the International Division, National Board of YMCAs of the United States of America, believes it is important to promote and expand East-West economic cooperation. In this regard, CIMS feels it is necessary to remove the remaining discriminative barriers in the sphere of trade and economic policy and for developing relations on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and mutual advantage in order to secure the most beneficial conditions for trade and economic cooperation.

More specifically, CIMS urges the Congress of the United States to grant Romania trade relations without discriminatory treatment. We favor giving most-favored-nation treatment to Romania because:

(1) Through seven years of bilateral cooperation, we have been able to establish contacts and continuing relationships with a wide variety of Romanian Government officials related to trade and commerce and are convinced that the extension of non-discriminatory treatment would be in the best interests of the United States by enabling American companies, in a variety of fields, to begin to establish long-term economic cooperation which would be of mutual benefit to the two countries.

(2) We have, during the ensuing years, been able to assess the human dimensions of the Romanian situation and feel confident that there is a satisfactory emigration policy exercised by Romania that permits citizens, particularly of Jewish origin, to emigrate to the country of their choice.

Since 1969, the YMCA Center for International Management Studies has organized a series of management-related exchange programs with a number of counterpart organizations in the Socialist Republic of Romania, including: The State Planning Committee; the Ministry of Labor; The "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy; and The Romanian Chamber of Commerce.

These bilateral exchanges have enabled American teams, consisting of corporate executives, to visit Bucharest and other parts of Romania, as well as similar teams from Romania to visit the U.S. on a reciprocal basis. The results of these exchanges have indicated that it is in the best interests of the United States that we extend non-discriminatory treatment with regard to commercial agreements and that full economic relationships be mounted as soon as possible between the two countries. U.S.-Romanian trade has expanded from \$22 million in 1968 to \$409 million in 1974, and it is expected that the granting of most-favored-nation to Romania could result in a trade total of \$1 billion by 1980, including both exports and imports.

Our experiences in Romania during the above mentioned bilateral exchanges have assured us that all humanitarian cases, particularly those involving emigration, will be solved through mutual agreement and with goodwill. We believe that any difficulties in emigration will not be because of ideological reasons but for bureaucratic or economic reasons. Whenever difficulties arise procedures are in place or will be in place to handle such cases. In fact, the President of the United States will monitor such procedures and Romania implicitly recognizes "Title IV—Trade Relations With Countries Not Currently Receiving Non-Discriminatory Treatment".

Other non-economic aspects of Romanian policy that should be noted include: Romania's position vis-a-vis China helped the United States reestablish relations with that country; Romania did not participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia; Romania maintains diplomatic relations with Israel; Romania will permit equity investment by foreigners; and Romania maintains a positive attitude toward Yugoslavia which should help provide a normalizing influence during the post-Tito era.

In conclusion, the Center for International Management Studies urges the Congress of the United States to grant the Socialist Republic of Romania non-discriminatory treatment with regard to trade relations between the two countries. Such action by Congress will enable both countries to find specific and practicable ways to improve and expand economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Romania and the United States, which will in turn help contribute to the furtherance of world peace.

We would like to bring to your attention the fact that other trade oriented organizations with whom we are in contact have a position in favor of unrestricted trade with Romania and to the best of our knowledge, you will hear directly from those organizations. These include: U.S. Chamber of Commerce; New York Chamber of Commerce; New York District Export Council; Emergency Committee for American Trade; and, International Executive Association, Inc.

NEW YORK, N.Y., September, 9, 1976.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance,
U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I was ready to leave for Washington to be a witness in the rehearing before the Senate Finance Committee, regarding MFN status for Romania. I received a mailgram from Mr. Michael Stern, Director of your staff, advising me not to go to Washington because it was impossible to schedule all witnesses to be heard by the Subcommittee. For this reason I would like to mention that it is in the interest of my family to submit the following request for our family reunion.

I have, in Romania, a brother Mr. Constantin Chelmu, married to Mrs. Elena Chelmu with their residence at 23-25 Dinicu Golescu Blvd., apt. 64, Bucharest 12, Romania. My brother was born on May 20, 1932, and my sister-in-law on March 11, 1949; both of them are now employed in Romania working as metallurgical engineers.

I am alone in the United States and I lived most of my life in Romania with my brother to whom I am very attached. Therefore, I would like to be reunited with them. I would like to mention the fact that my brother being older than myself, supported me in Romanian schools and was more like a father to me. At this time, I have a very good position in New York City, as an Assistant Microbiologist, Supervisor at The Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center. Therefore, I can afford to support them until they could find a job.

Although my brother and my sister-in-law submitted the request for an exit visa in June 1976, the Romanian authorities have repeatedly refused to accept their application without any reason. I myself sent a request to the Romanian authorities on this matter, but this request was also ignored.

During the month of July, I wrote to the following Senators requesting their assistance: 1. Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Chairman of the Government Operations; 2. Senator Henry M. Jackson, Chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs; 3. Senator Jacob Javits of New York; 4. Senator James Buckley of New York. They were so kind to inform me that they would proceed to do their best in behalf of my family.

The Romanian authorities did not accept my brother and sister-in-law's application for an exit visa, and yet they demoted my brother from his engineering position where he had been working for almost 20 years. They transferred him by himself to the town of TRGOVISTE in an unskilled job, two hundred miles away from his wife and home in Bucharest. His wife was also demoted from her engineering position to an unskilled job, being forced to remain alone in Bucharest. It is evident that the Romanian government wanted to punish, threaten and discourage them in all ways and to make their lives impossible.

I am convinced that you will understand my feelings and will help me. As a moral human being, I ask you to use all your influence to bring about the Romanian Communist's government respect for human rights.

I hope to find your highest understanding and help regarding the unification of our family.

Respectfully yours,

SILVIA CHELMU.

Enclosed please find the copies of the Senators' letters.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, D.C., August 6, 1976.

SILVIA CHELMU,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR Ms. CHELMU: Thank you for your recent letter.

I appreciate your taking the time to inform me of the plight of your brother and I share your desire to secure his freedom. From your description it appears that he has not been receiving humanitarian treatment which formed the underpinnings of both the Helsinki Agreement and our understandings preceding the extension of most-favored-nation status to Romania. This is deeply disturbing, and I have expressed my concern repeatedly to the leading Romanian officials. Unfortunately, they have not been responsive to my urgings.

As part of the procedure whereby Romania received MFN status, the Congress must pass upon the continued extension of MFN treatment to Romania this year, and in so doing it will have to consider Romania's emigration policy. As Chairman of the Trade Subcommittee of the Finance Committee, I will personally review this matter. Please be assured that at that time I will keep in mind the case of your brother as an example of Romania's failure to uphold its agreement. Since Romanian officials will want to demonstrate their willingness to implement a freer emigration policy at that time, they will hopefully take positive steps to implement a freer emigration policy at that time, they will hopefully take positive steps to ease their restrictive policy. If you have any more information which might enable me to make this point more clearly, please see that I receive it.

Sincerely,

ANN RIBICOFF.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., July 20, 1976.

Ms. SILVIA CHELMU,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR Ms. CHELMU: Thank you for calling my attention to your efforts to help secure exit permission for your brother and his wife to join you in the United States. I am making representations on your behalf with the State Department and the Romanian Ambassador.

Divided families are a primary Congressional concern and I will be back in touch with you when I receive any word on your own situation. Because of your interest, I am enclosing my statement in connection with Senate approval of the U.S.-Romanian trade agreement.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,

HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S.S.

Enclosure.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C.

SILVIA CHELMU,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR Ms. CHELMU: After receiving your recent communication, I have contacted the appropriate agency on your behalf. I have now received the agency's reply concerning the matter you outlined, and a copy of this reply is enclosed.

I certainly hope you will find this report helpful. If I may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to write again.

With best wishes,
Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS, U.S.S.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., August 11, 1976.

Hon. JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: Thank you for your recent inquiry on behalf of Ms. Silvia Chelmu, who would like her brother, Mr. Constantin Chelmu, to come from Romania to join her in the United States.

The Department of State certainly sympathizes with Ms. Chelmu's desire to be reunited with her brother and is making a continuing effort on his behalf. Our Embassy in Bucharest has intervened with the Romanian authorities in support of Mr. Chelmu on several occasions, most recently on July 28, 1976. We are of course disappointed that our efforts have not yet been successful, but you may be assured that we will persist in this case.

Sincerely,

KEMPTON B. JENKINS,
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations.

Enclosure.

THE BRONX-LEBANON HOSPITAL CENTER,
Bronx, N.Y., July 19, 1976.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Please be advised that Silvia Chelmu is employed by our Hospital as an Assistant Microbiologist in the Microbiology Department from 12/1/69 to the present. She currently earns a salary of \$15,800.00 per year and her employment is of a permanent and satisfactory nature.

Very truly yours,

ANA RUIZ, Personnel Officer.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Queens, ss

I, Silvia Chelmu, residing at 238 East 30th St., New York, N.Y., 10016, being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

That, I am employed at The Bronx Lebanon Hospital Center as an Assistant Supervisor in the Microbiology Department and I earn a salary of \$14,972.88 annually.

That I will be the sponsor for my brother Constantin Chelmu and his wife Elena Chelmu residing at 23-25, Dinicu Golescu Blvd. apt. 64, Bucharest 12, Romania, when they will be accepted as immigrants in the U.S.A.

That I will guaranty them food, lodging and clothing until they will be in need of.

SILVIA CHELMU.

Sworn to before me this 19 day of January 1976.

ANTHONY STAMIDIS, Notary Public, State of New York.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

NOTICE OF APPROVAL OF RELATIVE IMMIGRANT VISA PETITION

Name and address of petitioner: Silvia Chelmu, 238 East 30th Street, Apt. 2F, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Name of beneficiary: Constantin Chelmu; classification: 203(a)(5); file no. TRO 10/56; date petition filed: January 20, 1976; date of approval of petition: February 7, 1976.

Your petition has been approved and is valid for the duration of your present relationship to the beneficiary.

Please be advised that approval of the petition confers upon the beneficiary an appropriate classification. The approval constitutes no assurance that the beneficiary will be found eligible for visa issuance, admission to the United States or adjustment to lawful permanent resident status. Eligibility for visa issuance is determined only when application therefor is made to a consular officer; eligibility for admission or adjustment is determined only when application therefor is made to an immigration officer. Also, please note the items below which are indicated by "X" marks concerning this petition:

1. Your petition to classify the beneficiary as an immediate relative of a United States citizen has been forwarded to the United States Consulate at ----- This completes all action by this service on the petition. The United States Consulate, which is under the supervision of the Department of State, will advise the beneficiary concerning visa issuance. Inquiry concerning visa issuance should be addressed to the Consul. This Service will be unable to answer any inquiry concerning visa issuance.

2. If you become naturalized as a citizen of the United States and an immigrant visa has not yet been issued to the beneficiary, notify this office immediately, giving the date of your naturalization. At the same time, if the petition was in behalf of your son or daughter, also advise whether that person is still unmarried. This information may expedite the issuance of a visa to the beneficiary.

3. Your petition for preference classification, as shown above, has been forwarded to the United States Consulate at Bucharest. This completes all action by this service on the petition. This service has nothing to do with the actual issuance of visas. Visas are issued only by United States Consuls who are under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of State. Under the law only a limited number of visas may be issued by that department during each year and they must be issued strictly in the chronological order in which petitions were filed for the same classification. When the beneficiary's turn is reached on the visa waiting list, the United States Consul will inform him and consider issuance of the visa. Inquiry concerning visa issuance should be addressed to the Consul. This Service will be unable to answer any inquiry concerning visa issuance.

4. The approval of the petition is conditioned upon the beneficiary being accompanied to the United States by the parent or spouse through whom it is claimed the beneficiary is chargeable to a country in the eastern hemisphere or a dependent area and, if such parent or spouse is not a lawful permanent resident alien, upon the issuance of an immigrant visa to such parent or spouse pursuant to application for such visa made simultaneously with the beneficiary.

5. The petition states that the beneficiary is in the United States and will apply to become a lawful permanent resident. The enclosed application for this purpose (form 1-485) should be completed and submitted by the beneficiary within 30 days in accordance with the instructions contained therein. (If the beneficiary had previously submitted form 1-485 which was returned to him, he should resubmit that form within 30 days.)

6. The beneficiary will be informed of the decision made on his pending application to become a lawful permanent resident (form 1-485).

7. The petition states that the beneficiary is in the United States and will apply to become a lawful permanent resident. However, an immigrant visa number is not presently available, therefore, the beneficiary may not apply to become a permanent resident.

8. Since the beneficiary is a native of the western hemisphere, he is ineligible to become a lawful permanent resident other than by departing from the United States and reentering in possession of an immigrant visa issued by an American Consul.

9. Documents which you submitted in support of your petition have served our purpose and have been forwarded to the American Consulate.

10. Remarks

Very truly Yours,

MAURICE F. KILEY, *District Director.*

STATEMENT OF GHEORGHE CIOACA AND IRMA CIOACA

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR, We the undersigned:

Gheorghe Cioaca, husband, born on March 6th, 1942 in Bucharest-Romania, specialist in freezing installations, and

Irma Cioaca, wife, born on July 27th, 1942 in Cobatesti-Harghita, Romania, professional tailor, both residing in Romania at the following address: Str. Tg. Neamt no. 12. Bloc TD 24, Apt. 51, Sector V, Bucharest—

herby submit to your attention this memoranda in the hope of having your help in order to solve a grave problem concerning both of us and especially our son Adrian Cioaca aged 12 (born date: March 15, 1964) now living in Romania at the before shown address.

We two came in United State of America on September 22, 1975 using Romanian tourist passports. The reason of our arrival over here was the illness I, Gheorghe Cioaca, have for long time and which caused my blindness for the whole of my life to come. I have been scheduled to a medical treatment made by American speciallists. My wife came along with me as conductor and caretaker.

My medical treatment took place at the National Institute for Researches, in Maryland. The speciallists in charge with my case called very seriously my attention to the fact that my illness is hereditary and transmissible and insisted that my son above named must be brought in U.S. for medical tests in view of a preventive treatment. He can lose his sight any time.

In the month of February 1976 I asked Romanian authorities to allow this son of mine come in United States, but my request has been rejected without explanation. Next month my wife and me contacted the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. for the same purpose and with the same negative result.

The complete blindness of our son can occur from one day to another. The refusal of Romanian communist authorities to grant him the necessary exit visa which will enable him come in United States for the salvation of his future means cruelty and, in the last resort, a crime. This refusal cannot be qualified from the human point of view.

In this desperate situation, we the parents of a child exposed daily to the danger of complete blindness strongly protest against the barbarian conduct of the Romanian authorities and with this in our minds, on May 29th, 1976 we both started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City. We will not leave that spot until our son Adrian Cioaca will come in U.S., as shown above.

Our dramatic case is not unique at all. Many Romanian refugees in this country of freedom still are victims of the tyranic line followed by the Romanian rulers lead by President Nicolae Ceausescu, their families being kept prisoners in communist Romania. With the same inhuman cruelty, the Romanian authorities refused to allow me to leave that country in time for medical care abroad, which led fatally to my complete blindness of today.

We appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your full public authority in order to persuade Romanian authorities grant the necessary exit visa to our son and respect the basic human rights where they are ignored.

Thank you for your humanitarian support.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1976.

DEAR SIR: My name is George Ciomo. I live at 55 Donald Drive, Hastings on Hudson, New York 10706. I am a U.S. citizen.

I was born in Rumania in 1929. My mother Parascheva Ciomu and my brother Nicolae Ciomu still live in Bucharest, Rumania, both at the same address: str. 11 Iunie No. 75 c.

My relatives strongly desire to join me and my family here in the U.S.A. Therefore I have filed on their behalf petitions for issuance of immigrant visas to the U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service. My petitions have been approved in March 1976 and have been forwarded to the U.S. Consulate at Bucharest. I was recently informed that the consulate had already processed the petitions and that the beneficiaries were found eligible for immigrant visa issuance.

However these visas can be issued only on a valid passport and it is with this respect that I need help, since all passport applications filed by my mother and my brother were repeatedly rejected by the Rumanian authorities. The last attempt was made on July 6, 1976, when a passport was again denied to my mother.

In order to eliminate one of the denial grounds, frequently and arbitrarily used by the Rumanian officials, I have complied to the procedure established by the Rumanian government for former Rumanian citizens. According to this procedure, I have filed an application of renouncement to my previous Rumanian citizenship and I have submitted the forms, together with the required fee, to the Rumanian Embassy in Washington, on December 4, 1975. I was notified soon after, that my petition was forwarded to Bucharest, but so far I have not received any answer.

In July 1975 the U.S. Congress has approved a trade agreement with the Rumanian government. According to this approval, Rumania acquires the status of a "most favored nation" and enjoys all the advantages conferred by this status. In exchange to this, the Rumanian government pledged to grant some basic human rights to the Rumanian people, such as freedom to travel or to emigrate, especially when the objective is family reunification. Judging from my case this condition was not met by the Rumanian government.

To my knowledge, the trade agreement is soon due for renewal before the U.S. Congress. I express my hope that with this opportunity, firm guarantees will be requested of the Rumanian government, in reference to the fulfillment of their obligations stipulated in the trade act.

I will also be very grateful for any assistance in my behalf (namely my efforts to obtain passports and exit permits for my direct relatives living in Rumania).

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE C. CIOMO.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your request that I submit my written statement for the record of the hearings on the U.S.-Romania Trade Agreement of 1975 I am presenting this paper. I would have preferred to answer personally to the questions of the commission, but since I was not granted this privilege I am forwarding the following short statement.

My name is Alexandru Ciurea M.D. I was born and have lived in Transylvania approximately 40 years until 1968 when I left Romania and came to the U.S. where I became a naturalized U.S. citizen. The reason for my writing this statement is the fact that I accidentally came upon and read the Statement of Michael Zoltan Szasz and of the American Hungarian Federation which was presented to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. in May of 1975. I have been asked by a group of Transylvanian Romanians, who felt equally outraged at the untruths or half truths contained in the above mentioned statements, to write this paper and present it to you with the occasion of the hearings now in progress. My decision to present this statement became even more firm when I found out through the news media that in the recent past members of the Hungarian community in the U.S. carried out some manifestations in New York City and in Washington, D.C. demanding that Transylvania be taken from Romania and given to Hungary. It is not pure coincidence that the statement of Mr. Szasz and of the Hungarian American Federation was only a precursor of the above mentioned demonstrations.

It is well known that Hitler gave Transylvania to Hungary because Romania did not play the German political games at that time. Also, Hitler promised Transylvania back to Romania when Hungary did not comply with his demands. Later, Khrushchev tried to play the same game with Transylvania but, for a reason unknown to me, this did not work as well for him as it did for Hitler. At the present time it seems that something in the attitude of the Romanian Government does not go with the liking of the Kremlin, and the game has started anew. So it seems that Transylvania has become a sort of gift which is offered to one country or the other (Romania or Hungary) according to the pressing political necessities of big powers. It seems that this game is taken seriously by people such as Mr. Szaz who hope to gain something by it by distorting the facts. Mr. Szaz states on page 218 that Transylvania "constituted" an integral part of Hungary between the 10th century AD and 1919. But Hungary was constituted by a multitude of ethnic groups such as Slovaks, Croatians, Romanians, etc. where, as in Transylvania, Hungarians were then a minority as much as they are today.

In the same work, on page 223, under the subtitle "Protocol" Mr. Szaz mentions a Mr. M.P. formerly a resident of Cluj, who states that in Romanian schools ". . . in history we were taught that the Hungarians were a barbarian nomad people settling over an autochthonous Romanian population—although we were aware that the original settlers were Hungarians and not Romanians, and that the majority of the Romanians settled there after 1760".

I think that only God, Mr. M.P., and his teachers know why the Romanians would choose the year 1760 to migrate to Transylvania, and why the already settled Hungarians (peaceful descendants of Attila) allowed the Romanians to settle there and become a majority as fast as they did. But let the historians solve that mystery. It is no surprise that anyone stating such untruths as Mr. Szaz would go to any lengths to mislead and misinform the American authorities in any hearings dealing with the "hot" problem of Transylvania as well as anyone else who would give them ear.

I did my medical studies at the Medical School of the Cluj University after the end of WWII. At that time, it seems to us, the Romanian government was afraid that the Romanian refugees from Transylvania (after the dictate of Vienna) would revenge themselves on the Hungarians who had committed crimes and terrorised them during the Hungarian occupation of Transylvania. This government did not enjoy the support of the Romanian population since it was imposed by the Russian troops. This problem was rapidly solved by the bringing en masse of the Hungarian people into the Communist Party. In this way the Hungarian minority came to power at that time in Transylvania. Members of the Hungarian minority occupied key positions in the Communist Party, in the political and economic sector, as well as in the Secret Police.

The consequences of this became felt soon after: in stores many people were not served if they did not speak Hungarian; Hungarians had priority to the assignment of dwelling units because the housing offices were administered by them.—Around the year 1948-1949 methane gas was introduced in Cluj and a central gas pumping station was necessary. Diggings were planned to be made in the downtown area of the city; at a depth of about 5-6 meters were discovered remains of the Roman settlement of Napoca consisting of a Roman house and road. Prof. Dr. V. Bologa of the Cluj University proposed to the mayor's office that these ruins be kept open for the public to demonstrate the Latin origin of the people of Transylvania. But the Hungarian mayor of the city of Cluj, Mr. Veres, ordered that the station for methane gas be built and the Roman ruins covered up. According to his Hungarian point of view there was no need to show any Roman ruins to the people of Cluj to demonstrate that the Romans, the forefathers of the Romanian people, were there before the Hungarians.

In Mr. Szaz's report, on page 219, under the subtitle "School and Educational Discrimination" there is no mention that at the Bolyai University in Cluj every subject was taught in Hungarian and that few Romanians were accepted to study there. The same applies to other Magyar Autonomous Region Universities. We are left with the feeling that the authors consider that the Hungarian minority is persecuted because the Romanian state does not duplicate in Hungarian the whole administration.

It seems that the authors, according to this way of thinking, must feel persecuted in the U.S. as well because they have to give their lectures and reports in English and not in Hungarian. On the same page (219) Mr. Szaz states that ". . . Hungarian graduates of the universities are given positions in purely

Romanian areas outside of Transylvania". I lived in Cluj for 20 years, as a student in medical school and after that as a physician, and during this time according to my knowledge there were only two regional chief physicians of the Cluj region: Dr. Lenghel and Dr. Karacsany, both Hungarians. These two physicians were the ones who assigned the new medical school graduates according to the "people's needs", the Marxist principle. I can assure you that they did not favor non-communist physicians or Romanians. If Mr. Szaz is right concerning Hungarian graduates' distribution, as he says, in purely Romanian areas outside of Transylvania, he must not know about the city of Sovata, a resort area in the area in the Magyar Autonomous Region. I was ordered to work there for about 3 or 4 summers and found out that the physicians working there, as well as their director, Dr. Deak, were only of Hungarian origin.

Under the subtitle "Cultural Discrimination" Mr. Szaz makes use of a well known method of distorting the truth by mentioning out of context only a small part of the problem.

On page 220 he states that "There are only three Hungarian theaters and their programs consist in one third of cases of presenting Hungarian translations of Romanian plays. In Cluj the Romanian National Theatre in turn did not present any Hungarian plays in 1973". I consider it necessary for you to know that in Cluj, at least until 1968 when I left Romania, there were not one, but two National Theatres, one presenting plays in Romanian and the other in Hungarian, and two State Operas, one Romanian and the other Hungarian. These Romanian and Hungarian institutions had their own programs, orchestras and ballet groups; these were Romanian in the Romanian Theatre and Opera, and Hungarian in the Hungarian Theatre and Opera. All of this existed in the city of Cluj which had at that time only about 200,000 inhabitants. I doubt that any other city of this size in the world can pride itself on having such cultural facilities for its minorities.

As I reach the end of my statement I would like you to know the following: it is known that prior to WWI the Hungarians sustained a constant campaign of Hungarianization of the ethnic groups under the rules of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For example, they forced the Greek Orthodox Romanians to change their religion to Greek Catholicism. They translated Romanian names into Hungarian sounding ones; for example, the literal translation from the Romanian name Ion Negru (John Black) to Janos Fekete.—During my work as physician at the Cancer Institute in Cluj in 1964-1966, I noticed that quite a few patients bearing Hungarian names were actually Romanians whose names were Hungarianized, and who did not speak any Hungarian but only Romanian. These were people of Romanian origin whose names were Hungarian and who, because of their names could well have been considered Hungarian in the census.

Although the Romanian authorities were aware of this, nothing was done to change the situation at that time. But the highest surprise came to me when my father-in-law came to the U.S. in 1969 to bring my daughter from Romania. Looking at his passport I saw, to my surprise, that his name was put down as Andras Czurea and not as Andrei Ciurea, his original Romanian name; the name on his passport was a Hungarianized version of his Romanian one. When I asked him how that happened he gave me this explanation: when he was born in 1899 under the Austro-Hungarian Empire administration his name was mutilated on his birth certificate. He never used the Hungarian version of his name, but his real Romanian one, the name of his ancestors. But in 1969 when he requested a passport for the U.S. at the Passport Office, the clerk there, a Hungarian, refused to put on the passport his Romanian name, the name he has used on all documents and on all occasions during his life, but the Hungarianized version of this name. This can be proven to you if you care to follow up the matter.

I mentioned these facts only to show you how the campaign of Hungarianization went on in Transylvania even under the Romanian Administration. I am wondering how many Romanians with Hungarianized names were counted as part of the 2.5 million Hungarian minority that is so "persecuted" in Transylvania according to Mr. Szaz and his colleagues.

In this statement I have tried to present to you only a few facts which came directly to my observation and which constitute part of my personal experience while living in Transylvania. I also tried to make you aware of some tactics which have been used for more than half a century by the Hungarian revisionists in order to get hold of Transylvania where even they admit to being in a minority.

Respectfully Yours,

ALEXANDRU CIUREA M.D.

STATEMENT OF EMIL T. COCIOABA

I strongly opposed the granting of the Most Favored Nation status to Romania, as provided by the Trade Act of 1974, for the following reasons:

The right of emigration never existed in Romania, and it does not exist now. Not even the right of visiting a relative in the Western world ever existed, and it does not exist now.

Romania denies its own citizen the right to emigrate to join a close relative. It denies the right of my wife and daughter to join me here.

I was never allowed to come to see my brother, an American citizen, Dr. Ion Cocloaba, MD, Director of the Research Laboratories, Beth Israel Hospital, while he was still alive.

Only at my brother's death I was allowed to come alone to the United States, as beneficiary of his will (over \$100,000 dollars, numerous scientific works, and the life insurance of \$28,000). But I was only allowed on the condition of returning back, while my wife and daughter remained as hostages in Romania. From March 1974 till today I keep asking for my wife and daughter to be released, but everything was in vain so far. They are: Eliza Cocloaba, wife; Dr. Smaranda Cocloaba, MD, 27.

The Romanian Government through the Romanian Embassy in Washington is asking me to liquidate all the assets here, and to bring the money and the scientific work of my brother in Romania. They are pressuring me to return to Romania, where my family is kept as hostages, using all kind of tricks, red-tape, etc. One night two Romanian Embassy officials, Mr. Gaspar and Mr. Matel broke into my house in Huntington where I live alone. Only my security dog saved me by attacking Mr. Gaspar and giving me time to take my hunting gun to protect myself, at which point the intruders left. For the past two years they keep terrorizing my family in Romania, and myself here.

Why the United States should encourage such governments who has no respect at all for any human rights, who terrorize its own citizens not only in their country, but on the United States territory too.

After living almost 30 years in communist Romania I can say that Romania never respect any International agreement. Interested in obtaining the MFN treatment, the Romanian Government hastily allowed a handful of people to leave Romania, in order to let the impression here that they have changed their emigration policy. But there are still thousands of relatives plus many other people who are oppressed and terrorized over there and to like to emigrate and live in freedom.

Please use my testimony to judge if Romania deserves a MFN treatment. Thank you very much.

WOODSIDE, NEW YORK.

DEAR SIR: Knowing your steady activity in order to secure the fundamental liberties of man as well as the role you played in persuading the Romanian Government to observe the conditions agreed upon in 1975 in the trade agreement with the United States, I take the liberty to kindly ask you to help me with my efforts to obtain an exit visa from Rumania for my brother Teodor Cornelli Nicolau, whose personal data are listed below:

Teodor Cornelli Nicolau; residing at str. Barbu Vacarescu 145, apt. 2, sector 1, Bucuresti, Romania; born January 13, 1941, in Bucharest, Romania; profession Engineer; working at ISPE (Institutul de Studii si Proiectari Energetice), Bucharest.

I should like to mention that my brother is not a member of the Romanian Communist Party.

My brother has been systematically refused even the right to fill in an application for being issued a passport enabling him to visit me in the United States of America.

In most cases he has not been given any explanation for this rejection and when he was given one, it was of the kind: "we do not have printed application forms" or "first you must have the approval of the working people's committee in your institute, so that you may travel abroad". Of course, such an approval is, by care of the party organization in the respective institute, denied to him. This seems to be the latest discovery in matter of chicaneries exerted by the Romanian Government which, by refusing to accept a passport application, pretends that such a request does not exist and, consequently, nobody wishes to leave the country and that there is no problem to be solved.

In the meantime all kinds of intimidations have been exerted upon my brother and my parents.

I consider that my and my brother's wish to be together is human and that my brother is being refused one of the fundamental rights of man: to travel wherever and whenever he likes.

As the official representatives of Romania strongly claim that it is their concern for observing the human rights, while my brother and other people like him are denied these rights, I beg you, Sir, to help me solve my request of my brother being given a passport.

Very truly yours,

Dr. VICTORIA MARIA CONSTANTINESCU.

MIRCEA TIBERIU COSAMBESCU, *New York, N.Y.*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Mircea Tiberiu Cosambescu, I am Romanian born on August 5th., 1941 in Pelisor, District of Sibiu, Romania and since December 6th, 1972 a permanent resident in United States of America.

The Romanian Communist regime considered and treated my father and grandfather as "war criminals" because my father worked as Commissioner in the old Romanian State Security and my grandfather vehemently opposed the communism before the Soviet invasion of our country and also after the Romanian Communist Party came to power. Because of this, my father spent 5 years in the hardest jails built by the new regime. As for me, I had to cope with endless difficulties and didn't get any promotion during my work years in Romania.

On July 24th, 1971 I finally obtained a tourist passport for Italy, where I asked at once political asylum and the permission to emigrate in U.S.

Unfortunately, escaping from the communist Romania, I left in that country my parents:

Ioan Tiberiu Cosambescu, father, 58, now residing in Bucharest-Romania, Soseaua Glurghiului no. 100-111, Bloc A, et. I, Apt. 8, Sector V and

Maria Cosambescu, mother (maiden name: Maria Suciu), 60, living at the same address.

Both are old and after a very difficult life under the communist regime they need my support for their remaining years.

My parents and I myself repeatedly asked Romanian authorities to give them the due exit visas in view of the reunification of our family in this country of freedom and opportunities, but every time the answer was negative. Our case is not an exception at all. Many Romanian refugee are waiting for their still captive families in Romania to join them here. The Romanian communist authorities led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate, in this respect, the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with U.S. and despite all their promises and assumed obligations therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

Openly protesting the barbarian conduct of the Romanian communist regime, on May 30, 1976 I entered the hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave that spot until my above shown parents will come and join me in this blessed country.

Calling your attention to this dramatical situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade Romanian rulers respect wholly their obligations and grant, among others, my hostage parents the necessary visas for their travel to the United States and the happy reunification of our split family. At the same time, I respectfully ask you to oppose the renewal of the most favored nation treatment to the communist Romanian Government, now under examination in U.S. Congress.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

Sincerely yours,

MIRCEA TIBERIU COSAMBESCU.

STATEMENT OF BRUTUS COSTE, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IN THE NAME OF THE TRUTH ABOUT ROMANIA COMMITTEE

In the matter of continuing most favored nation tariff treatment on imports from Romania and on extending the President's authority to waive the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 (the Freedom of Emigration provision) of the Foreign Trade Act of June 2, 1974 (Public Law 93-618).

Summary

I. INTRODUCTION

The primary reason for the presidential recommendation is not compliance by the SRR with the freedom of emigration provision of the Foreign Trade Act of 1974, but encouragement of Romania's independent policy orientation. The statement therefore focuses on the question of whether or not the SRR is pursuing an independent foreign policy serving the interest of both Romania and the U.S.

II. ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE: REALITY OR MYTH?

The statement examines seven groups of factual arguments usually invoked in support of the view that Romania is following an independent course.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion of this examination is that the posture of independence is in the case of the SRR a substitute for internal reforms the Romanian Communist Party was reluctant to enact; its emergence in 1964, at the time when a shift in the Soviet political strategy occurred (from intimidation to detente) is not a mere coincidence. Soviet leaders tolerated Romanian gestures and rhetoric because they felt that these were likely to earn the Romanian regime some domestic support while also serving the new European strategy of Moscow. The most recent developments suggest, however, that the Romanian posture has become a nuisance or has come to be viewed as obsolete. This could mean that the independence of the Romanian regime, whether a mere myth or reality, is rapidly approaching a terminal point. The argument that granting economic privileges serves the interests of both the U.S. and SRR is thus becoming more doubtful than ever before.

IV. ADDITIONAL FACTS, WITH SUPPORTING EVIDENCE, ARE OFFERED ON THE SRR EMIGRATION POLICIES AND THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST-RULED ROMANIA (WITH SIX ANNEXES)

Enclosed: Biographic sketch of witness.

I. INTRODUCTION

By his message to the Congress of June 2, 1976, the President has for the second time recommended that his authority to waive, in the case of the Socialist Republic of Romania, subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Foreign Trade of 1974 be extended for another period of 12 months.

The primary reason offered in support of this recommendation is that it will "substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 which, in the words of the presidential message, is "to encourage Romanias' independent policy orientation through the expansion and improvement of bilateral relations."

The very fact that instead of certifying compliance by the Socialist Republic of Romania (hereinafter to be referred to as SRR) with subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the 1974 Foreign Trade Act, the President has chosen to issue another waiver is indicative of the Administration's awareness that the SRR continues to deny to its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate.

This awareness finds its reflection in the wording of all official statements. While not claiming compliance by the SRR with the restrictive provisions of the Foreign Trade Act, they strike nevertheless a mildly positive if qualified note. They usually speak of the "generally positive and encouraging overall trend in emigration from Romania".

When it comes to the much broader area of observance of human rights, the official standard procedure now seems to be in eschew answering such questions

as the one directed at the last years' hearings by Representative Bill Archer to Assistant Secretary of State Arthur A. Hartman: is the SSR observing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

Leaving aside the fact that the silence of official spokesmen when faced with such clear-cut questions represents in itself an admission that the Rights of Men are denied to the Romanian people, there is today a practical consensus in the West that the political system in Romania is a Stalinist-type of despotism.

Since the SRR record on emigration and on the observance of human rights was providing a much too shaky ground for making the Romanian regime eligible for non-discriminatory treatment, U.S. Government credits, credit and investment guarantees, it became necessary, in both 1975 and 1976, to base such eligibility primarily on general and subjective considerations of national interest—economic as well as political.

It follows that any realistic discussion of the matter must focus—as we shall endeavor to do—on the major consideration invoked in support of the advantages granted to the SRR, namely the proposition (which is being put forward as an unquestionable fact) that the SRR has been and is pursuing an independent foreign policy which serves the interests of both Romania and the U.S."

II. ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE: REALITY OR MYTH?

During the last twelve years the communist regime in Romania has gradually acquired the reputation of conducting an increasingly assertive, independent foreign policy. In maintaining an unexceptionable line of domestic orthodoxy, it is said, and in skillfully exploiting the Sino-Soviet conflict, the SSR has managed to push to the outer limit of Soviet permissiveness without, however, overstepping it.

The factual arguments adduced in support of this widely held viewpoint are, at first sight, quite impressive. We shall list, describe, discuss and, whenever warranted, refute them in the order of their occurrence.

1. The SRR is supposed to have thwarted in the early sixties Soviet plans to establish a supernational economic planning system and machinery in the framework of the Council of Economic Assistance (better known under the name of Comecon); to have successfully resisted Soviet pressures to curtail its industrialization and to have sought more than any other East Central European country, to expand trade with the non-communist world, particularly with the industrialized West.

The facts cast serious doubt on the accuracy of this interpretation.

The failure of the Comecon integration attempts is due primarily to two insuperable economic obstacles: (a) the adoption in the late forties of the Soviet pattern of industrial development along autarkic lines, with a high priority to heavy industry, and (b) the inapplicability of the simplest approach to economic integration—the custom union or common market. Custom duties in nonmarket economies are meaningless, while the arbitrary currency rates and pricing system preclude the resort to any other means than the extremely difficult method of arbitrary division of specific production tasks.

The important point is that, with the adoption in 1971 of a Comprehensive Program, the process of economic integration has been given a new impetus. Instead of opposing the program, the SSR has become in the last two years the most vocal advocate of increased industrial cooperation and specialization, of the establishment in Romania of joint Comecon enterprises and organizations, as well as of expanded intra-Comecon trade.

Far from opposing the Romanian economic plan for 1960-1965, which provided for the construction of a four million ton capacity steel complex at Galati, on the lower Danube, the Soviets endorsed it and supplied for it many installations. In the West the project was described as one designed to bolster Romanian independence by strengthening its industrial-military underpinning. Few bothered to ask why then was the complex set up less than three miles from the Soviet border. The only opposition to the Galati project came from East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Their reason? Probably the desire to preserve their position as the principal suppliers of heavy industrial products.

As regards foreign trade, Romania's commercial exchanges with Western countries have gone up from 20 percent in 1959 to 35 percent in 1965 and 36.6 percent in 1973, while Soviet trade with the same countries jumped from 25 percent to 36 percent in 1965 and has since been fluctuating around that figure. To the extent Romanian trade with non-communist has grown proportionally

faster than that of other communist-ruled states, this could be due to two principal reasons:

(a) Western credits totalling 1.5 billion dollars were extended in the seventies to SRR in recognition of its "independent" foreign policy.

(b) Romania has been conducting an increasingly one-way trade with under-developed and developing countries which provide the only market for the products of Romania's heavy industry. This market exists only as long as Romanian products can be obtained on credit (long and medium term). No wonder then that Romania has become a lender to such nations as Egypt, Brazil, Syria, Iran, Cuba, Algeria, Argentine, Portugal, to list only nations that owe Romania at least 100 million dollars. According to the best available figures, the credits extended by the SRR between 1961 and 1975 aggregate \$1.6 billion.

In broad outline the Romanian economy functions as follows: the only products for which hard currencies can be earned are oil, grains and other foodstuffs. These are exported with very scant regard for internal consumption, as shown by the ubiquitous queues for even such staples as potatoes and bread). The foreign exchange thus earned is used to purchase machinery for the Romanian heavy and engineering industries whose products can only be sold on credit and at discount prices to developing and under-developed countries.

2. *A Declaration issued in April 1964 by the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party (since renamed Romanian Communist Party) was and still is hailed in the West as a courageous proclamation of independence.*

The document is largely a rehash of a Soviet document: the November 1960 Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ruling communist parties. The only addition is a greater emphasis on the Soviet-endorsed Bandung principles (independence, national sovereignty, equal rights, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs) and a call for postponement of supra-national economic planning until all Warsaw Treaty states will have attained the same level of industrial development.

In retrospect the Declaration appears as an opening shot in a consistent effort to build up the reputation of the SRR into a living evidence of the contention that communism and national independence are perfectly compatible. The fact that this declaration coincided with the Soviet shift from Khrushchev's intimidation and confrontation, to Brezhnev's subdued détente—the latter involving a steady effort to sow complacency in the U.S. and Western Europe—suggests that the monistic view prevalent in the West is, to say the least, questionable.

3. *The rulers of the SRR are praised for their neutral and independent position in the Sino-Soviet rift.*

What are the facts? In early 1964 the SRR undertook, with the obvious blessing of Moscow and the assent of Peking, the task of a mediator in the Sino-Soviet quarrel. The Romanian recommendations were promptly endorsed by the Soviets. After some delay, they were rejected by Peking. Both on their way to China and on their return journey the Romanian delegation called upon and reported to the Soviet rulers. The presence in all the Romanian delegations visiting Peking of Emil Bodnarus, the Romanian Politburo member, is another indication that Moscow wanted to maintain the Romanian Communist Party in the role of a channel of communication with Peking. According to Khrushchev (in his "Khrushchev Remembers," pp. 515-514), Bodnarus "was a good friend of the Soviet Union, an old Bolshevik * * * who enjoyed or absolute confidence and respect."

In the face of such facts, the most sensible explanation of the reputation of neutrality toward the Sino-Soviet conflict the SRR gained is to be found in Peking's eagerness to play up the Romanian connection to cover up, domestically, China's isolation. The fact is that when Chou-En-lai, on a visit to Romania, in 1966, tried to deliver a severe attack against the Soviet leaders he was made to desist. The true nature of the Sino-Romanian relationship was revealed a few days later. During the visit of Chou-En-lai to Albania, the press of that country forcefully castigated "false neutrals"—a transparent allusion to Nicolae Ceausescu.

The peculiar relationship maintained by Bucharest with Peking is a connection potentially useful to Moscow, and a function of Soviet-Chinese relations rather than a component of an independent Romanian-made policy. The persistent efforts of the Romanian Communist Party to bring about a settlement, or at least a truce, between Moscow and Peking, tend to cast doubt on the interpretation according to which a Romanian policy of independence was made possible by and has taken advantage of the Sino-Soviet conflict. Should the Romanian C.P.

leadership be anxious—as it is assumed to be—to promote a policy of independence by exploiting the schism, it should then be equally anxious that the gulf between Moscow and Peking be maintained (albeit in a manageable state) *not bridged*. It would seek to play up and manipulate their differences, and not endeavor, as Bucharest has been doing, to compose and reconcile them.¹

4. *In the area of relations with non-communist states several deviations are usually brought forward:*

(a) Romania has been casting non-conformist votes in the United Nations. Closer examination shows, however, that these were invariably on minor matters. They look as if intentionally chosen to foster the image of an independent communist Romania.

(b) Apart from the Soviet Union, Romania was the first Warsaw Treaty state to establish in 1967, in defiance of the bloc, diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. This action may be construed with almost equally persuasive arguments as a genuine deviation, or as a concerted maneuver to undermine the Halstein Doctrine by virtue of which West Germany would not establish or maintain diplomatic relations with states recognizing East Germany (German Democratic Republic). Economic necessity must have been here the deciding factor. Germany rapidly became Romania's, and later East Europe's major creditor.

(c) In 1967 Romania was the only communist-ruled country to maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. This was eagerly greeted as another proof that Romanian independence is a reality. Wouldn't it be more realistic to ascribe this decision to the need of the communist bloc to preserve a channel of communication and an observation post of great importance.

For once Yugoslavia could not render this service to Moscow. Its close relations with Nasser and the Third World precluded it. Therefore, Romania, with its established reputation of a quasi-non-aligned state, was the natural choice for the role of the man left behind to carry on a significant mission.

(d) Romania was the only socialist state to join G.A.T.T., I.M.F. and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. By 1976 the SRR had already drawn loans amounting to 445 million dollars from these U.N. agencies. The profitability of membership is likely to attract other applicants from East Central Europe. In any event, the SRR has demonstrated its usefulness as pathfinder for the communist bloc.

(e) The 1969 visit of President Nixon and the 1975 visit of President Ford to Romania are among the indicators of SRR behavior most often referred to. The visits are generally depicted as gestures of quasi-defiance on the part of "President" Ceausescu. If this were so, the invitation to the American presidents would have been gestures of deliberate provocation or an indication of total misreading, on the part of the SRR dictator, of American willingness to defend them if attacked by Soviet Russia. After Czechoslovakia's experience in 1968 it is difficult to believe any of these explanations. The much more plausible explanation would be that the visit had the prior blessing of Moscow. The Soviet leaders may have found it, indeed, useful to their campaign of détente; they may have felt that such visits would vividly drive home to Romanians and Poles that the American Presidents weren't visiting them but their oppressors; they may have reasoned that a reinforced image of Romanian independence may enhance the credibility of the nationalist and liberal image the West European communist parties were about to forge for themselves.

5. *The alleged obstruction by the SRR of the Soviet-proposed World Conference of Communist parties was viceved from 1964 to 1969, in the West, as a dependable evidence of the reality of Romanian assertiveness.*

For years the Western press was fed with information about such obstruction. When the conference finally met, in 1969, Ceausescu signed the Soviet-prepared Declaration on the dotted line. Before doing so, he entered a rather revealing reservation. He objected, he said, to certain paragraphs of the Declaration, namely those dealing with the problem of divergences among Socialist countries and/or parties. He felt that these paragraphs conveyed the impression that such divergences were the result of imperialist activity. This, he pointed out, overrated the capability of imperialism to divide the "international working class movement" and underrated the unity of the world communist movement.

This line of argument lends a new emphasis to one of the favorite justifications the Romanian C.P. has been offering for its independence stance: Western

¹ Romania's Foreign Policy Reconsidered, by Vladimir Socor, ORBIS, Fall 1976 Issue.

public opinion and western governments are so addicted to wishful thinking and so vulnerable to deception that the surest way to sow complacency and disunity among them is to plug the idea that the communist-ruled East European countries have ceased to be satellites of the Soviet Union.

It was in this spirit that the often quoted 1964 Declaration of the Central Committee of the Romanian C.P. pointed out that the new relationship among communist parties "exerts a strong appeal in the world arena, is watched with the utmost attention by all peoples and represents a mobilizing factor in the struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist countries and in the newly independent states."

In other words, the 1964 statement clearly intimated that the "satellite" image had been a handicap to the expansion of communism, whereas a new perception of truly independent but voluntarily cooperating and sometimes diverging parties and states will have a double effect: it will render communism more attractive and the Western powers less keen on preserving their alliance and on maintaining an adequate defense posture.

6. Romania is purported to have taken the initiative, independently of Moscow, for the suppression of blocs and foreign military bases and for the withdrawal of armed forces stationed in foreign lands. It is furthermore credited with having successfully resisted Soviet plans for tightening up the structure of the Warsaw Treat Organization (W.T.O.).

Regarding the Warsaw Treaty, it is undeniable that since 1967 there has been a methodical effort (via leaks to the Western press), on the part of agents of the Bucharest regime, to represent Romanian statements for the suppression of military blocs and foreign bases, as well as for the withdrawal of troops stationed in foreign countries, as Romanian positions taken in defiance of Moscow.

The fact is that as early as February 1954, at the Berlin Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, the Soviet Union had proposed every one of the measures for which the SRR was claiming credit in 1967. The same proposals were repeatedly reiterated in subsequent years. What else than deception can explain the false Romanian claims?

Regarding the alleged obstruction by Ceausescu of Soviet plans for strengthening the WTO, suffices to note that the present structure of its political organs reflects the reluctance of Moscow to accept majority rule in any international body. The Soviet Union would have even less to gain from changes in the military command which is fully controlled by Moscow on every level and in every compartment.

Developments in the area of Soviet-Romanian interstate relations underline the contrast between the latitude exercised by Bucharest on the propaganda and espionage fronts (where Romanian networks operated very successfully in Western Europe for the benefit of Soviet Russia) and the limitations it has to contend with on the political and economic action level.

Romanian historians are occasionally permitted, as they were during the past year, to allude to Romanian provinces annexed by Soviet Russia (Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and the Hertza territory). Yet the regime subscribes, without the slightest reservation, to formal documents declaring all borders of the signers (including the Sino-Soviet border) as final, inviolable may sacred. The Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference is a case in point.

The Romanian regime often refers to the principle of equal advantage, but dares not, or cannot, halt or curb the continuing economic exploitation of Romania by the Soviet Union by means of underpriced Romanian exports and over-charged imports from the Soviet Union.

7. It is contended in the West that the SRR has once more demonstrated its emancipation from Soviet control by the independent line it took at the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The three main points made by Ceausescu in these meetings were:

(a) individual states and not blocs must be the components of the proposed European Security System;

(b) the C'ESC should be institutionalized (ie. become a permanent organization);

(c) the Helsinki Conference should be viewed merely as an initial step in a long term process of comprehensive change in the power relationships and political structure of Europe. (This should be read in the context of the SRR position on the Mutual Force Reduction talks in Vienna: "Force reductions on the Central Front should be considered as interim measures toward the removal of

all foreign bases and troops from Europe's states and toward the dismantling of military alliances."

Anyone half-familiar with the Soviet policy for the mutual suppression of military blocs (NATO and WTO), a policy the Soviets pursued with utmost patience ever since they made WTO, in 1955, their response and exchange-chip for NATO, will easily recognize the purpose of the SRR proposals. They were attempts to achieve in a roundabout way the long-standing Soviet of swapping WTO for NATO in the sure knowledge that the demise of WTO will not mean the end of the Soviet bloc, while the suppression of NATO will entail the end of the Western alliance and the withdrawal of American military power to the American continent.

It should be noted that the SRR's contribution to the acceptance by the NATO powers of the European Security Conference project, the Soviets revived in 1966 and pushed hard ever since, was not confined to the preparatory phase of the Helsinki Summit meeting. Since 1966 Romanian diplomacy was diligently and steadfastly courting the NATO countries and the European neutrals to sell them the view that the proposed European Security System was the only means available to ease the lot of the East-Central European nations. Within the system and the partnership it would create, it would be easier to develop a European counter-weight to Soviet power.

III. CONCLUSIONS

1. The posture of nationalism and independence the Romanian regime has assumed since 1964 is preponderantly a substitute for internal reforms, political and economic, which a qualitatively weak communist party, like the Romanian, was reluctant to enact. The carefully orchestrated and amply publicized "assertions of independence" coincided with a significant shift in the European political strategy of Soviet Russia, the shift from intimidation to détente. The quadruple purpose of the policy of détente was (1) to detract attention from the huge military build-up in the Soviet Union; (2) to foster a false sense of security and complacency in the West; (3) to secure the formal acquiescence of the West for the Soviet-imposed status quo in East-Central Europe, and (4) to gain easy and massive access to Western long-range credits and advanced technology. The means employed to further these purposes included promoting the view that Moscow had its hands full with the "Chinese menace" and feeding Western wishful thinking with facts indicating "irreversible" trends toward "de-satellization (in Romania) and "de-stalinization" (in the other Soviet-dominated states.) As a result, a new perception of communism as an increasingly loose movement, no longer capable of cohesive action, no longer dangerous—was born in the West. And this perception has already contributed to the weakening of Western unity and willingness to maintain a level of military preparedness commensurate to the evergrowing might confronting them.

2. Toward the Soviet leaders both Gheorghiu-Dej and Nicolae Ceausescu justified this posture (a) as the surest and least risky road to a measure of popular acceptance, and (b) as a useful contribution to the success of the Soviet grand strategy in Europe. The fact is that both these objectives, equally desirable from the viewpoint of the world communist movement were substantially advanced in the West (much less if at all in Romania) by the new projection of the Romanian Communist leadership.

3. Romanians disagree with the view that economic relations and cooperation are conducive to political gains. For them long and medium term credits and other forms of economic help enable the communist regimes to maintain, for political reasons, inhuman and economically unworkable systems, such as collectivized agriculture. Without such help the communist regimes might be forced, by the pressure of necessity, to give priority to economic considerations, such as dissolving or radically reforming collective farming. Developments along the above lines would be apt to strengthen the economic independence and hence the political potential of the staunchly anti-communist peasantry.

4. The highly favorable publicity the Romanian regime gained throughout the Western world and the entirely new experience of a modicum of popular acceptance appear to have produced a dizzying effect in Bucharest. Assertive gestures and statement reached, indeed, provocative levels in the summer of 1968. In connection with the Czechoslovak crisis and subsequent Soviet military intervention. This time, Soviet reaction obviously went beyond mere irritation. The fact

is that within a few days from the occupation of Czechoslovakia all criticism disappeared from Romanian statements and from the Romanian press. Moscow had clamped down.

5. Recent developments would indicate that the Soviet leaders might have come to the conclusion that the SRR's posture of independence has become a nuisance or has lived out its usefulness. This seems to be the meaning of a Brezhnev-Ceaușescu joint statement, following Soviet-Romanian talks in the Crimea. The statement describes as "basic principle" of relations between communist countries (the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism (i.e. the idea that Moscow has the right to intervene, by force if necessary, in any communist country whenever a pro-Moscow government appears imperilled). In the light of a commentary by the authoritative Soviet foreign affairs weekly *NOVOYE VREMYA*¹), the conclusion seems warranted that the much vaunted independence of the SRR, whether a mere myth, as most Romanians believe, or reality, as the Western observers are inclined to believe, has come to a terminal point. The argument that granting economic privileges serves the interest of both the United States and the SRR has become more doubtful than ever before.

IV. ADDITIONAL FACTS ON THE SRR EMIGRATION POLICY AND THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST-RULED ROMANIA

The obstructionist emigration policy conducted by the SRR and its continued denial of human rights have amply been treated in statements submitted to the Subcommittee by several spokesmen for aid-to-refugees organizations. These accurately described the numerous and increasingly imaginative obstacles Romanians wishing to emigrate must hurdle, and the endless chicaneries employed to wear them down and bring them to give up. In endorsing their findings and conclusions, I would like to submit, as annexes to my own statement, a few documents that would shed further light on the efforts of the Romanian authorities to maintain control over Romanian subjects even after they have given up their Romanian nationality, as well as on the climate of "quiet desperation" reigning in the land so glibly depicted in the west as domestically progressive and internationally skillful in its assertion of national independence.

The first document (annex 1) is a copy of the questionnaire (Romanian text with official Romanian translation in small print) U.S. resident Romanians wishing to renounce their nationality must fill out and file with the SRR Consulate in Washington, D.C. It will be noted that such petitioners must list all their relatives in Romania, with complete data on their employment history and residence. The petitioners are also obliged to list their income (salary, social security benefits, rents, etc.), as well as their properties and other assets (questions 25 and 26).

The second document is the English translation and Romanian original of the form U.S.-resident Romanians must fill out and file with the Romanian Consulate in Washington, D.C. when trying to shed their Romanian citizenship. This form shows that the petitioner must attach to his application (addressed to the President of the SRR) a sworn statement by which he or she would undertake "not to engage, after losing his or her Romanian citizenship, in any action likely to cause harm to the interests of the Romanian state or people. This provision clarifies the reason prompting Romanian authorities to exact information on the petitioner's relatives in Romania. The purpose is clearly to facilitate retaliation should their emigrant relative fail to abide by the obligation not to engage in political activities displeasing to the Romanian communist regime.

The third document is an affidavit established by Columbia University doctoral candidate Vladimir Socor. He declares, on the basis of direct knowledge of the matter, that not even the daughter of the recently recalled Ambassador of the SRR in Washington was permitted to leave Romania and join her American fiance.

The fourth enclosure is a report under a Vienna byline by a distinguished American correspondent, Eric Bourne (*Christian Science Monitor*, May 11, 1976) showing that the obstructionism practiced by the SRR authorities with regard to emigration for family reunion is not confined to relatives of U.S. citizens or residents but is general policy of the SRR.

¹ "Analyzing the events that have taken place recently, we can say with certainty that all objective preconditions exist for the further consolidation of general Soviet-Romanian cooperation". (*New York Times*, September 9, 1976, Malcolm Brown under Belgrade byline)

The other two enclosures are recent eyewitness stories by American correspondents. One of these (annex 5), by an experienced East European correspondent of the New York Times, describes the nightmarish tribulations of the most talented younger Romanian novelist because of his refusal to tow the party-line. The other (annex 6), an article by a Romanian-born American intellectual visiting after 14 years the country of her birth. She sadly concludes (and her conclusions perfectly match our own information and judgment):

(1) "The truly haunting image from Rumania is of the mind and soul. It is a picture of quiet desperation. Harassment, fatigue, fear, hunger and boredom are gradually taking their toll.

(2) "The sense that hope is fading is inescapable—certainly there is little hope for salvation from America, Rumanians have come to accept the reality of detente, which they see to be increasingly working to the advantage of their oppressor, Russia. Not that they do not continue to love America. They love it in spite of (often because of) the official propaganda against it: while envying us our wealth and despising us for our naivete, while realizing that we are, indeed, becoming weaker, Rumanians continue to love America.

(3) They (Rumanians) understand that the west isn't learning anything from the East, indeed, is increasingly unwilling to learn."

ANNEX 1

AMBASADA
CONSULATUL

PHOTO

CHESTIONAR*)
FORM

privind rezolvarea cererii de dobândire, redobândire, renunțare sau clarificare a cetățeniei române.
regarding acquisition, reacquisition, giving up the Romanian citizenship or clarifying the citizenship

1. Numele și prenumele _____
Name and surname
2. Numele anterior _____
Previous name
3. Data nașterii: ziua _____ luna _____ anul _____
Date of birth: day month year
4. Locul nașterii: localitatea _____ județul _____ țara _____
Place of birth: town county country
5. Numele la naștere _____
Name at birth
6. Domiciliul actual: țara _____ localitatea _____
Present residence: country town
strada _____ nr. _____ județul _____
street no county
7. Cetățenia în prezent _____ indicați ziua, luna și anul obținerii ei
Present citizenship indicate day, month, year of its acquisition
_____ actul prin care dovedești cetățenia _____
the document proving it
8. Naționalitatea _____
Nationality

*) — Răspundeți complet și exact la toate rubricile; în caz contrar, vor fi necesare date suplimentare, care pot întârzia soluționarea cererii dvs.
Furnish complete and exact all the data required; otherwise additional details should be necessary for, which may delay the solution of your request.

— Dacă nașterea sau căsătoria a avut loc în România, indicați localitățile după organizarea administrativ-teritorială actuală a României;
If the birth or marriage took place in Romania, indicate the places according to the present administrative territorial organization of the country.

— Dacă pe lângă redobândirea, renunțarea sau clarificarea cetățeniei române solicitați și viză de intrare, repatriere, stabilire în străinătate sau eliberarea unui pașaport pentru cetățeni români domiciliați în străinătate, nu este necesar să completați un alt formular.
Whether beside the reacquisition, giving up the Romanian citizenship or clarifying the citizenship you request also entry or repatriation visas, establishing of permanent residence abroad or issue of a passport for Romanian citizens living abroad it is not necessary to fill in another form.

In cazul cind spațiile de mai jos nu sînt suficiente, completați o fișă separată.
 In case that the below spaces are not enough, fill in the rest on a separate paper.

Arătați următoarele date despre soția (soțul) și copiii do.:

Indicate the following data about your wife, (husband) and children :

| Nr. crt. | Numele și prenumele Name and surname | Data și locul nașterii Date and place of birth | Gradul de rudenie sau calitatea față de solicitant Degree of relationship or position to the applicant | Cetățenia Citizenship | Ocupația și locul de muncă Occupation and place of work | Tara și domiciliul Country and residence |
|----------|---|---|---|--------------------------|--|---|
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

Arătați următoarele date despre părinții (socrii) și celelalte rude ale do. din România:

Indicate the following data about your parents (parents-in-law) and the other relatives of Romania

| Nr. crt. | Numele și prenumele Name and surname | Data și locul nașterii Date and place of birth | Gradul de rudenie sau calitatea față de solicitant Degree of relationship or position to the applicant | Cetățenia Citizenship | Ocupația și locul de muncă Occupation and place of work | Domiciliul Residence |
|----------|---|---|---|--------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

Arătați următoarele date despre părinții (socrii) și celelalte rude ale do. din țara unde domiciliați și din alte țări:

Indicate the following data about your parents (parents-in-law) and the other relatives of your country of residence and other countries.

| Nr. crt. | Numele și prenumele Name and surname | Data și locul nașterii Date and place of birth | Gradul de rudenie sau calitatea față de solicitant Degree of relationship or position to the applicant | Cetățenia Citizenship | Ocupația și locul de muncă Occupation and place of work | Tara și domiciliul Country and residence |
|----------|---|---|---|--------------------------|--|---|
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

Previous citizenships: indicate the periods and circumstances in which you have lost them

10. Studiile: indicați instituția, localitatea și anul absolvirii
 Studies: indicate the institute, town and year of graduation

11. Profesia indicați ocupația în prezent și locul de muncă
 Profession indicate present occupation and place of work

12. Locurile de muncă unde ați lucrat anterior în România, în ce perioade și funcțiile
 Places where you worked at previously in Romania, which periods and functions

13. Starea civilă: indicați dacă sînteți căsătorit, văduv, divorțat, celibatar
 Civil status: indicate if you are married, widow(er), divorced, bachelor

locul înregistrării căsătoriei ziua luna anul
 place of marriage's record day month year

numele soției (soțului) dv. la naștere
 name of your wife (husband) at birth

numele soției (soțului) dv. înainte de căsătorie
 Name of your wife (husband) before marriage

14. Indicați dacă ați fost condamnat(ă) de alte instanțe decît cele române și pentru ce fapte
 Indicate whether you were convicted by other courts than the Romanian ones and why

15. Arătați dacă în prezent sînteți învinuit sau inculpat într-o cauză penală sau dacă aveți de executat o pedeapsă penală.
 State if you are at present accused or defendant in a penal case or if you have to execute a penal punishment.

16. Dacă ați locuit în România, arătați perioadele și domiciliile avute consecutiv
 Whether you lived in Romania, state the periods and residences you had consecutively

State the travelling document with which you left the country, who issued it, the date, reason and circumstances of the departure.

17. Dacă nu sînteți originar din țara în care vă găsiți în prezent, indicați data intrării dv. în această țară.
If you are not born in the country where you are living, indicate the date of your entry in that country.
-

18. Indicați ce solicitați: readobîndirea, renunțarea sau clarificarea cetățeniei române _____
Indicate the object of your request: reacquisition, giving up the Romanian citizenship or clarifying the citizenship
-

19. Arătați detaliat motivele cererii dv. _____
State in detail the reasons of your request
-
-

20. Indicați veniturile din care vă întrețineți în străinătate (salariul, pensie, rente etc.) _____
Indicate your income abroad (salary, social security, rents etc.)
-

21. Arătați în ce constau bunurile dv. mobile și imobile, valoarea lor, țările în care se află și ce intenționați să faceți cu ele după dobîndirea sau readobîndirea cetățeniei române în cazul stabilirii dv. în România.

State in what consist your movables and the real estate you possess, their value in what countries, and what you intend to do with them after the acquisition or the reacquisition of the Romanian citizenship in case of establishing your permanent residence in Romania.

22. Indicați dacă aveți obligații patrimoniale față de statul român, față de persoane juridice sau fizice din România; în ce constau acestea și cum înțelegeți să le îndepliniți;
Indicate if you have pecuniary obligations to the Romanian state, to individuals or juristic persons of Romania; in what consist these and how you think to solve them.
-
-

23. Anezez următoarele acte:
I enclose the following documents:

— copie (fotocopie) de pe actul de naștere;
copy (photocopy) of the birth certificate

— 6 —

— copie (fotocopie) de pe actul de căsătorie sau divorț; în caz de deces al soției (soțului), copie (fotocopie) de pe certificatul de deces.
 copy (photocopy) of the certificate of marriage or divorce; in case of death of your wife (husband),
 copy (photocopy) of the death certificate.

Localitatea completării _____ ziua _____ luna _____ anul _____
 The place (town) day month year

SĂNNĂȚIRĂ,
 Signat: re

OBSERVAȚIILE ȘI AVIZUL MISIUNII DIPLOMATICE (OFICIULUI CONSULAR):

Sigiliul și semnătura

ANNEX 2

Translation from Romanian of Form issued by the Embassy
of the Romanian Socialist Republic to applicants renouncing
their Romanian citizenship

COMRADE PRESIDENT,

The undersigned.....(original surname)
..... born on.....
..... District of.....
son (daughter) of..... and of.....
residing at..... Street and Number.....
Country of....., hereby request approval
of my renunciation to Romanian citizenship for the following
reasons :

I meet the conditions set forth in Section 2, subsections
a-c of Law No. of December 17, 1971, with regard to Romanian
citizenship. To this end I am enclosing the following documents :

1. Sworn statement by which I undertake not to engage,
after losing my Romanian citizenship, in any action likely
to cause harm to the interest of the Romanian State and
people; by which I declare that I am not charged or indicted
for any criminal activity not am I under any unserved penal
conviction; by which I furthermore declare that I have no
financial obligations toward the Romanian state or toward
corporations or individuals in Romania, furnishing guaran-
tees to this end through.....(or alternatively)
that I have such obligations toward.....
and intend to discharge them through.....
and for which purpose I am furnishing the following guarantees
(personal salary, saving accounts at CBS S), personal properties
in or outside Romania.

2. Receipt for the amount of 2,001 representing the fee
for renunciation to Romanian citizenship.

3. Certificate of birth No..... (original, copy or
photocopy translated into Romanian and sworn, legalized or cer-
tified depending on circumstances).

Place..... Date..... Signature.....

*) C.A.S. DE ECONOMII S. CECUMI (Saving and Checking bank)

To Comrade President
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

TOVARASE PRESEDINTE,

Subsemnat _____ (numele de familie
 avut anterior) _____ născut la data de _____
 _____ în localitatea _____ Județul _____
 fiul(fiica) lui _____ și al _____, domiciliat(ă)
 în localitatea _____ Str. _____ Nr. _____
 țară _____, solicit aprobarea renunțării la cetățe-
 nia română pentru următoarele motive: _____

Intrușore condițiile prevăzute de Art.22 literele
 a-c din Legea Nr.24 din 17 dec.1971 privind cetățenia română.

În acest scop anexează următoarele acte:

1. Declarația autentică prin care mă oblig să nu
 săvârșesc după pierderea cetățeniei române fapte de natură să
 aducă atingere intereselor statului și poporului român; prin
 care declar că nu sînt învinuit sau inculpat în vreo cauză
 penală și nici nu am de executat vreo pedeapsă penală; prin
 care declar, de asemenea, că nu am obligații patrimoniale
 față de statul român sau față de persoane juridice ori fizice
 din România, prezentînd garanții în acest sens prin _____
 _____ (sau după caz) că am astfel de obligații față de _____
 _____ și înțeleg să le îndeplinesc prin _____
 pentru care prezint următoarele garanții: (salariul personal,
 depuneri la CEC, proprietăți personale în țară sau străinătate
 etc);

2. Chitanța în valoare de S 201 reprezentînd taxa
 de renunțare la cetățenia română;

3. Actul de naștere nr. _____ (în original, copie
 sau fotocopie tradusă în limba română și autenticată, legli-
 zată sau certificată, după caz).

Locul _____

Data _____

Semnătura,

TOVARASULUI PRESEDINTE

AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA

ANNEX 3

CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF ROMANIAN CITIZEN SVETLANA BOGDAN AND U.S. CITIZEN CHRISTOPHER G. HOGE

Svetlana Bogdan, citizen of Romania and daughter of the outgoing Romanian Ambassador to the U.S. Corneliu Bogdan, has for two years now been denied by the Romanian government permission to marry her fiancée and father of her child, U.S. citizen Christopher Gales Hoge from Washington, D.C.

The couple, whose daughter Alexandra was born on March 17, 1974, have petitioned the Romanian government for permission to marry, in accordance with Romanian laws and procedure. Their application submitted in September 1974 was denied by the Romanian government in May 1975. They renewed it June 1975 their application, only to have it once again denied in September of the same year. The couple then submitted a third application, which remains as yet unresolved.

Miss Bogdan resides at Strata Dr. Lister No. 63, Sector VI, Bucharest, Romania.

Mr. Hoge, a lawyer, resides at 1615 Riggs Place NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. The child is with the mother in Romania.

In faith whereof I am signing this statement today, July 1st, 1976, in Great Neck, N.Y.

VLADIMIR SOCOR.

ANNEX 4

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 11, 1976]

BUCHAREST: PERMIT FOR FOREIGN MARRIAGE INTERNAL AFFAIR—ROMANIA'S EMIGRATION PRACTICES DELAY WEDDING

(By Eric Bourne)

Romanian-born Maria Vera Willinger, now a West German citizen, and Dumitru Cucu, a Romanian who, until last year, was a well-known science commentator for Romanian television, have been wanting to marry for a long time.

They have known each other from youth. Now she is 39 and he 40.

When the Willinger family, part of Romania's large ethnic German minority, was able to emigrate to West Germany in 1972, Maria stayed behind studying medicine.

She believed her fiancée would secure the necessary authorization to marry a foreigner and then leave with her.

His first request was refused. Since January, 1974, Mr. Cucu, his mother, fiancée, and her parents between them have addressed no fewer than 45 statements and petitions to the state authorities.

REQUEST FOR HELP

Miss Willinger's parents have asked help from the German Red Cross, the German Embassy in Bucharest, President Gerald Ford (during his visit to West Germany last year) and President Kekkonen of Finland when he opened last summer's Helsinki summit conference on European security and cooperation.

Maria's aunt, who lives in New York, appealed to Romania's embassy in Washington. She wrote also to Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D) of Washington, and received a sympathetic reply, stressing the administration's continued interest in Romanian emigration practices and indicating that the facts were being transmitted to the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest.

Last October, Mr. Cucu even seized the opportunity of a visit by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Bucharest market to hand yet another petition to one of his guards.

U.S. SCRUTINY

To date, however, it has all been to no avail. Mr. Cucu received his latest refusal in March. Some nine months earlier he was dismissed from his job.

Romanian attitudes on humanitarian issues came under U.S. scrutiny when Congress amended the trade bill to ensure free Jewish emigration in return for trade concessions to East bloc countries.

When Mr. Ceausescu visited Washington last June, he was able to satisfy Congress, and President Ford signed an agreement with Romania (including "most favored nation" treatment) immediately after the Helsinki summit.

Since then Jewish emigration has increased, although the figures have fluctuated.

There also has been what an American diplomat in Bucharest described this week as steady progress in granting exit permits to reunite Romanians with relatives living in the U.S.

"There are several indications," the diplomat said, "that the Romanian Government is anxious to build up a good record before Helsinki reconvenes next year. But on marriages, the record is not good. A number of Western embassies are greatly concerned and are currently making demarches over cases in this field."

ROMANIAN VIEW

The Romanian view is that a foreign marriage permit is not a bilateral but a purely Romanian affair. To Bucharest, emigration and related issues were extremely sensitive from the start. Only economic-political considerations have prompted it to show some latitude when pressed by the U.S. or various Western European countries.

Official policy, which Mr. Ceausescu oppresses unequivocally and frequently, is that there are only Romanians in Romania, regardless of ethnic origins, and "the place of each citizen, regardless of his nationality, is here working for the country's progress.

The Romanian leader wishes to avoid a mass exodus, particularly of skilled persons as within the big German minority. But observers find it hard to understand the attitude cases such as that of Mr. Cucu and his fiancée.

Mr. Cucu's TV work took him to many Western countries. When he visited his fiancée's family in West Berlin, he could easily have stayed and solved his marriage problem.

Instead he returned home because there were "no legal impediments" to his marriage in Romanian law and he wished to "do everything legally."

ANNEX 5

[The New York Times, July 20, 1976]

PARIS PUBLISHES NOVELIST RUMANIA SILENCED

(By Henry Kamm)

Bucharest, Rumania—"We are stifling in silence," said one of Rumania's best-known novelists. "I have no means of making my living."

But the important Paris publishing house of Gallimard, where two novels of Paul Goma have appeared in the last five years, is preparing to publish a third next October, and a fourth may follow.

Mr. Goma's novels have been published also by Suhrkamp in West Germany and the Netherlands and are being read throughout Western Europe. Critical reviews, particularly of his first book, "Ostinato," frequently compared Mr. Goma with Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn.

There is little literary basis for the comparison, because the Rumanian is a much less traditional novelist than the Russian. But they write about the same world, that of the prisons of the Soviet camp, and of intellectual repression.

Like Mr. Solzhenitsyn, the younger Mr. Goma is a graduate of the world about which he writes and which obsesses him. He was arrested for the first time at the age of 16, in 1951, for high-school political activities. He was soon released.

The Hungarian revolution of 1956 stimulated Mr. Goma, then a Bucharest University student, to write a harsh work berating Rumanian students for not following the Hungarian example and "I told them to throw out the Russians," he recalled.

It stimulated him also to read fragments from the work to an astounded class at the university. He was sentenced to two years in prison and on completing his term was banished to work on a remote farm for three years, as was the custom. That banishment was prolonged for two years, also in keeping with custom.

When he was released in 1963, he was sent to work in rail yards for two more years. One result is that Mr. Goma, who has an avant-garde, difficult literary

style, has the rugged exterior of a lumberjack, the broad firm hands of a farm laborer and a ruddy face ringed by a prematurely gray beard.

"They are silencing me efficiently and nonviolently," the writer said in describing his plight; he is barred now from both literary and manual work.

GIVEN A PASSPORT

He began to earn his living by writing after he left the university, to which he returned in 1965. "I had to leave because the police pressed me to become an informer against other students," he said.

Beginning as a freelance journalist, he turned to short stories and won a literary prize. But "Ostinato," which he submitted for publication in 1967, was never published in this country. It appeared in France and West Germany in 1971.

Despite the publication, Mr. Goma was allowed to remain in his job as an editor of a literary weekly until he was given a passport—highly coveted in a country that severely restricts foreign travel except for the politically reliable—to accept an invitation from Western literary groups for a visit. He spent a year, mainly in France.

"I came back because they wanted me to stay abroad," he said, explaining his surprising return in 1973. Friends said he came back also because he felt an obligation to write what Mr. Solzhenitsyn wrote for the Soviet Union: An account based on testimony from survivors of the Rumanian "Gulag."

Mr. Goma found himself barred from his magazine job or any literary work. He translated a novel of the Japanese author Michima under contract to a publisher. When he submitted it, he was told it could be published only under his wife's name, not his.

"MADE ME SIGN"

"They made me sign a paper that said, 'I, Paul Goma, declare that the translation was not done by me,'" he said with a dry laugh.

Since then, his wife has also been disqualified from translating. They live with their 8-month-old son in the mountains about 60 miles from here, supporting themselves from family contributions. His Western advances on his books are spent and royalties are small.

For a few weeks he did manual work for a sculptor, hiding when the state television came to film the sculptor at work. He has applied for work in the construction trade, but was told he was too educated for that.

Friends who tried to get Mr. Goma's work found themselves thwarted when the authorities learned who the applicant was. He was refused a passport when another Western European invitation was offered last year.

NOVEL RETURNED

The last novel he submitted was returned to him with changes by a "friendly" editor who said that the changes would make it possible to publish the work. "I rejected the arrangement," Mr. Goma said.

He tried to write something unpolitical, retellings of Rumanian fairy tales. "It went all right for about 10 pages, then it became political without my wanting it to," Mr. Goma said, shrugging.

He shrugged again when asked what his future held.

"They want to see me on my knees, and then they would refuse me," he said. "Between us there is no reconciliation."

ANNEX 6

[The National Review, Feb. 20, 1976]

WHERE QUIET DESPERATION REIGNS

(By Juliana G. Pilon)

The impressions most Americans have of Rumania (apart from Dracula, Frankenstein, and assorted vampires) come from the media, which have lately been reporting that the little Latin oasis in the Balkans is taking an "independent" stand from the Soviet Union on such issues as participation in Comecon

(the East European EEC), the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the correct posture toward Israel. This has led many to believe that Rumania is becoming "freer," and that the Communist monolith is indeed a myth of the cold war. And who can fault the average American, in this era of an extra-terrestrial handshake, for failing to scrutinize this image? Detente in space must surely mean detente on earth.

I had not returned to Rumania since the day in 1961 when I left with my parents (who had been trying to emigrate for 17 years). I was anxious to revisit the land of my childhood, to compare impressions of my adolescent years with present reality. Talking to other Rumanian expatriates over the intervening decade had hardly led me to fantasize; I knew that Rumania had not become a land of milk and honey; not even of bread and margarine. But what I found was disquieting beyond expectation. Rumania is providing us, to use a phrase of Solzhenitsyn's, with "lessons from the future."

A preliminary note: every Rumanian who comes into contact with any Westerner must report not only that he has met and conversed with a foreigner but what they discussed as well. The secret police are everywhere; many such discussions have been taped. Given that Rumanian authorities have a record of everyone who talked to me at any length during my stay in the country, I must be discreet. And so I will relate here what I saw myself rather than what I was told.

I was struck by the poor condition of many of the quaint French-style buildings which had once earned Bucharest the title—"the Paris of the Balkans." But the new buildings—almost exclusively high-rises—were even shabbier, certainly more cheaply constructed. A government tourist brochure or an American TV camera might, from a distance, convey the impression of "progress," missing the reality altogether. Flowers along some main roads helped the general appearance, but this was veneer; the parks beyond the tourist centers were overgrown with weeds. Dirt, neglect, decay—Bucharest has aged badly under Communism. I tasted its farm soft drinks, rode its steaming buses (instead of Pepsi-Cola, we should have exported Right Guard), lost money in its few but invariably inoperative public telephones, was followed by its ubiquitous special agents. I brought home to America memories of the inconveniences, the plain irrationality of Communist life.

In the West we take for granted that shopkeepers are in business to do business, that they are anxious—sometimes excessively anxious—to do so. Not in Rumania. A foreigner may not be unceremoniously invited to leave a store, but it happens frequently to native Rumanians. On several occasions the salesman (shopkeepers are rare) flatly refused to serve me on the ground that the merchandise I was asking for was unavailable; he would be outraged when I pointed to the item in question. At other times he would let me wait for another salesman who, for reasons unknown, would never appear. The frustration surrounding the simple act of trying to buy something brought home how Westernized my expectations had become. But without the incentive to work—the pay is the same whether a sale is made or not made—why should the salesman be anxious to satisfy the customer? His employer—the government—will not go out of business. Next time you might go to another store and leave him alone.

FOR SALE

Or better, you might offer him a bribe. With many items—notably clothing—it is hard to find what you want without bribes. Even for such services as medical care bribes help; they will often persuade the doctor to examine you a bit more carefully before writing your prescription. Which should hardly be wondered at; doctors earn about \$8 a day—an average salary—while rent is about \$30 to \$50 a month and a pound of boneless beef costs about \$3. (So much for free medical care.) Almost anything is for sale, in one way or another: entrance to a university or vocational school, a better job, a reservation at some Black Sea hotel. (In this classless society such hotels are segregated into four classes: for Rumanians not belonging to the Party, Rumanian Party members, tourists from other Communist countries, and Westerners.)

BRIBES AND BOOTLEGGERS

So a familiar (but too little heeded) first lesson from the future: eliminate incentive, eliminate the market, and a black market will return—through the back door. The economy is not thereby revitalized: central planning has already

done more harm than could ever be corrected by these feeble (and illegal) attempts to reintroduce incentive. Controls create shortage—there are lines for everything from oranges to fabrics. But bribes do not stimulate production, as higher prices do in a genuine market, so shortages persist.

Shortages persist for most Rumanians, that is, but not for the aristocracy, the dictators of the proletariat, with their special privileges: special hospitals, special cars, special status in society. When you impose egalitarianism, inequality re-enters by way of special treatment. Not for the best and the brightest, necessarily, but for the "ins" at the expense of the "outs." Most people in Rumania live in very crowded conditions (the average living space of one hundred square yards per household has resulted in the unsightly partitioning of old homes and apartments, in bloody quarrels among strangers sharing kitchens, and in married thirty-year-olds living with parents), but the new aristocracy lives in sumptuous old mansions. The elimination of differences in wealth has resulted in a polarity of opportunity: the "cans" versus the "cannots."

These day-in and day-out realities are, in the ultimate reckoning, relatively unimportant. The truly haunting image from Rumania is of the mind and soul. It is a picture of quiet desperation. Harassment, fatigue, fear, hunger, and boredom; are gradually taking their toll. Even the children are tired. And little wonder, when their summers—there being no child labor laws—are spent doing "voluntary work" on such hard labor as construction. There are 16-year-olds engaged "voluntarily" in building those shabby new dwellings.

The sense that hope is fading is inescapable—certainly there is little hope for salvation from America. Rumanians have come to accept the reality of detente, which they see to be increasingly working to the advantage of their oppressor, Russia. Not that they do not continue to love America. They love it in spite of (often because of) the official propaganda against it: while envying us our wealth and despising us for our naïveté, while realizing that we are, indeed, becoming weaker, Rumanians continue to love America.

NOW, NO HOPE

This belief, then, that no help is in sight constitutes the most striking change over what I remembered from 14 years ago. It is due in part to the unquestionably greater availability of foreign news and, therefore, more realistic appraisal of the world situation. Rumanians are not forbidden to read publications such as *Le Monde* and *Paris Match*; they listen to Radio Free Europe religiously, though information obtained from such capitalist sources cannot be openly discussed or commented upon. Even Solzhenitsyn is widely read, mostly in French editions. (All of which raises a little-noted point: the "free exchange of ideas" is useful only to those who have at least a chance of seeing these ideas applied. Otherwise it results in further frustration.) And they understand. They understand that the West isn't learning anything from the East, indeed is increasingly unwilling to learn. With great personal sadness, then, I had to conclude that Solzhenitsyn was right about the Third World War: South Vietnam is one victim, Rumania another.

Coming back to the States it seemed as if I had awakened from a bad dream. After beholding the land of shadows, like Plato's philosopher, one must begin to get used to the light. Yet amidst the health and joy of people here going about their business, there are echoes of another world. Obsession with "extensive" CIA buggings, consumer protection agencies, controls on oil, wheat deals . . . The dream refuses to go away. The Helsinki Conference—travesty, insult. The Hollow Men are whining, whimpering.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 15, 1976.

*The Senate Finance Committee,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.*

Re Reunion of the Covalschi Family in USA.

DEAR SIR: I am a refugee from Romania, having been admitted to this country under section 203 at 7 in New York City on June 10, 1976. Imm. Officer 8.

I left Romania in order to build a better future for myself and my family in USA. I am grateful to be here.

My biggest problem now is to get my family over here as soon as possible. Since I am not yet a permanent resident of this country, I cannot file yet visa petitions.

But I beg you from all my heart to kindly help me by contacting the proper Romanian authorities on our behalf, so that they may get passports and exit permits for USA.

I have heard that the president of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu is coming to Washington on June 20.

I beg you from all my heart to contact him on behalf of my loved ones, asking him to please permit them to get passports and exit permits and to come soonest to me.

May God bless for any assistance you can give in this matter and I hope and pray that you will succeed. Thank you from all my heart.

Sincerely,

MIHAIL COVALSCHI.

NEW YORK, N.Y. August 27, 1976.

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Finance Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am a U.S. citizen and I have petitioned to the U.S. Immigration authorities that my sister and her family presently living in Romania be allowed to settle in this country. My petition was approved on February 22, 1976, #203 A 5.

My sister's name is Emilia C. Mironescu (which is her maiden name and she has kept it, though married), her address is 19 Bujoreni Street, Apt. 57, Scara 2, 5th floor, Bucharest VII. Her husband's name is Vasile Manea, their child's name is Ileana Manea, 13 years old.

After having obtained the entry visa for my sister and her family, they attempted several times to apply for an exit visa to emigrate from Romania to the United States.

They were unable to file an application to leave Romania as they were told that no application forms were available.

I thought it would be advisable in connection with the forthcoming hearing dealing with the most favored nation status of Romania to bring this to your attention. As the MFN status is linked to freedom of emigration, I do not believe that making application forms unavailable to those interested to obtain them is in line with congressional expectations.

Very truly yours,

OLIMPIA DAVIDOVICI.

THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS,
Washington, August 19, 1976.

HON. ABE RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of August 10th concerning the public hearings to be held on September 8, 1976 on the question of extending the President's authority to waive freedom of emigration requirements of the Trade Act of 1974. I appreciate the invitation for a witness from my office to appear and am pleased to advise that General Counsel of STR will be our witness.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK B. DENT.

THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS,
Washington, August 20, 1976.

HON. ABE RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: With reference to my letter of August 19th, I find it necessary to send Mr. Geza Feketekuty, Director of Policy Development, as our witness at the September 8, 1976 hearings rather than Mr. Alan Wolff, General Counsel, as previously advised.

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK B. DENT.

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 5, 1976.

Sen. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: I am respectfully asking for a personal interview in order to present to you my plea for family reunion and the problem of renewing Romania the most-favored-nation treatment. Unfortunately, in this respect I was not allowed to testify neither last year nor this year. However, I did submit a written testimony. While I am not directly opposing the renewal of the most-favored-nation treatment, I suggest that Romania should first be demanded to respect basic human rights before getting privileges from the United States. As a Ph. D. and a professor; as a former Romanian citizen with a vast knowledge and experience on Romania and Eastern Europe, I feel strongly qualified to express a competent opinion on the matter. At the same time, I have two brothers and a sister (please see attached sheet) who would like to join me here, but were not even allowed to apply for exit visas. Would you please intervene on their behalf and my plea. At the same time I would very much like to be granted a personal interview. Since at present, I work for the federal government in Washington I could very probably come to your office at the most convenient time for you.

Very sincerely yours,

NICHOLAS DIMA.

Enclosure.

PERSONAL DATA ON NICHOLAS DIMA'S FAMILY DESIRING TO JOIN HIM
IN THE U.S.A.

Ion Dima, brother, age 48, engineer, with: Sevastita Dima, age 48, wife, and Crinu Dima, age 7, son. Their Address: Calea Floreasca 126, Bucharest, Sector 1, Romania.

Constantin Dima, brother, age 49, accountant, with: Roxandra Dima, age 33, wife, and Mihai Dima, age 8, son. Their Address: Str. Suren Spandarian 6, Bloc OD18, Ap. 22, Bucharest, Sector 2, Romania.

Cornelia Necula (born Dima), sister, age 29, housewife, with Constantin Necula, age 28, husband, and Ionut Necula, age 1, son. Their address: Str. Eufrosin Poteca 4, Bucharest, Sector 3, Romania.

STATEMENT OF NICHOLAS DIMA, PH. D., A NATURALIZED U.S. CITIZEN OF
ROMANIAN ORIGIN

In the matter of continuing most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania and on extending 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). Remarks on "The Current Status of Emigration in Romania," "The Status of Human Rights," and "The Present Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Romania."

The United States of America, the greatest and most benevolent of all nations, granted to the Socialist Republic of Romania in June, 1975, for a one-year trial period, the most-favored nation treatment allegedly based on that Country's relaxed emigration record.

Now, upon expiration of that one-year trial period, the United States Congress, pursuant to President Ford's request, is considering renewal of the Romanian most-favored nation tariff treatment.

This statement will encompass the matter of Romania's current emigration policy, its overall violation of human rights, and the current status of the Hungarian minority in Romania. It is hoped that the facts presented herein will enable the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance to be more fully apprised of the internal policies of the Romanian Government, currently in practice prior to rendering its final decision in the matter.

THE CURRENT STATUS OF EMIGRATION IN ROMANIA

The fact remains that, overwhelmingly, Romanian citizens are not allowed to apply for exit visas, nor are they permitted to hold passports; potential applicants are discouraged, threatened and, in some instances, arrested.

In order for permission to be granted to apply for an emigration visa, a Romanian citizen, in most instances, must prove that he or she has a close relative abroad.

Application procedures are confusing, extremely complicated and very costly so as to discourage applicants. An example of some of such procedures follows:

a. legally, applications must be filed with the local police (milittia), accompanied by the required application fee;

b. prior to filing an application, a Romanian citizen must first obtain from the company for whom he is employed a written statement that the company agrees to the applicant's request for an emigration visa. In most instances the companies are reluctant to issue such statements based on specific instructions from the Government, or in fear of the consequences involved. This results in excessive delay in filing the required application;

c. when an applicant has been successful in obtaining the aforesaid company permission, he must then obtain from every service company, or Government office (which include housing, electric, gas, water, t.v., radio, etc.—some 20 in all) a separate certificate from each company or office stating that said applicant is not indebted to the company or Government for such services even though the applicant may not have in his home the conveniences aforementioned. An applicant is required to pay to each company or office aforesaid (all, of course, owned by the Government) a separate fee for such certificate. Additionally, applicant is subject to a prolonged delay by such company or Government office in issuing of required certificates either through purposeful delay or indifference on the part of the company or office concerned. Consequently, it is a common practice for an applicant to pay a bribe to such company or Government official in order to expedite the procedure;

The aforesaid required certificates are issued for a 30-to-90 day period. Therefore, when an applicant finally obtains the required certificates as mentioned above, in most instances the certificates are considered invalid, thus necessitating the applicant to reapply for valid certificates, again paying another fee for each. There is nothing to guarantee that such new certificates will be valid by the time the officials finally consider the application. This procedure can become endless unless the applicant is fortunate to have contacts either inside or outside of the Country who can intercede in his behalf.

After final acceptance of an application by the Romanian Government, for further consideration, years of hardship and trouble may ensue before permission to emigrate is finally given. In most cases, applicants are subject to rejection of their application, one time-several times—or indefinitely. The following facts reveal only a miniscule amount of problems encountered by potential emigrants:

a. Upon official acceptance of an application for emigration, in most instances applicant, his immediate family, and/or close relatives are summoned for a meeting with the local party secretary and the community council. The purpose of such meeting is to forcefully convince (or in some instances frighten) the applicant into reconsidering his intention to leave the Country. It is important to mention that the community councils have been appointed in each district of Romania (sectors) during the past 12 months, with the only purpose of harassing, discouraging and intimidating prospective emigrants.

b. If such meeting, as aforesaid, fails, and the applicant is still determined to leave Romania, he is immediately demoted to a lesser position or even fired from his job. Thereafter, he is subject to continuous harassment by the Romanian officials. Such harassment may be in the form of intimidation, blackmail, investigation and compulsory summons by the secret police of applicant's relatives resulting in impairment to the applicant's and relatives' normal way of living, or some other form of torment.

c. Applicants who own their own homes, or apartments, must relinquish their property to the Romanian Government, for which the Government will compensate the applicant in an amount of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the actual value of such property. The exact term which can be used for such relinquishment is in fact "confiscation".

An interesting fact, currently in existence, is that if a applicant has sold his real property two years prior to his submission of an application for emigration purposes, he is required to surrender to the Romanian Government the monies received from such sale.

d. Applicants who are fortunate enough to own personal property items such as automobiles, etc., are permitted to sell such items prior to actual departure

from Romania. However, applicants are not permitted to leave the country with any cash whatsoever, regardless of the denomination. As a result, all Romanian citizens who emigrate to another country leave Romania as "paupers".

c. It has been meticulously calculated that it costs a small family an average of six month's salary to pay for required fees and other expenditures required to complete the necessary documentation in order to leave Romania "legally". It is no wonder, then, that most Romanian citizens cannot even begin the necessary emigration proceedings.

f. Referring to paragraphs (a) through (e) herein, if an application is rejected by the Romanian officials, an applicant can appeal to the Consular Committee of the Government. The fee per person for such appeal is 180 lei (for example, if a family of four desire to emigrate, the fee would be 720 lei, provided the four persons are adults—children do not come under this category). This fee represents an average of four to five working days' pay per person.

g. Romanian citizens who live outside of the capital city of Bucharest actually suffer more intense hardships and are subject to more costly expenditures to obtain exit visas. It has been proved that such applicants have been terrorized by the local authorities and militia, have been beaten and even arrested for desiring to emigrate.

h. Applicants who reside in rental apartments are required, prior to departure, to surrender their apartments in better condition than when the applicants initially occupied the apartments. Apartments are checked prior to applicants' departure, and—in most instances—the officials find them unsatisfactorily repaired or painted and require applicants to again redo the painting and repairs. This procedure may be required for at least two or three times before the Government is satisfied with the job. This procedure, of course, involves a great expenditure on the part of the applicant, in addition to delaying departure dates.

A serious problem which must be brought to the attention of the U.S. Congress is that while Romanian citizens who try to emigrate must undergo all of this ordeal, naturalized Romanian Americans who desire to sponsor relatives from Romania, as immigrants or visitors in the United States, are subject to other pressures generated by the Romanian authorities or Embassy in Washington.

The Romanian emigration laws are not known neither by the Romanian citizenry, nor by the Romanian Americans. The U.S. Congress should ask the Romanian authorities to make these laws known to the general public of Romania and the U.S. State Department. For example, printed forms and letters received from the Romanian Embassy in Washington specify that: "In accordance with a law dated December, 1971, it was now necessary for all Romanians living outside the country to complete an application form either requesting repatriation or permission to live abroad, for which a fee would be required to be paid to the Romanian Government, or renunciation of Romania Citizenship, before any visas would be granted to Romanian citizens desiring to visit or join relatives in the United States."

Nevertheless, when in direct contact with the Romanian Embassy in Washington naturalized Romanian Americans or U.S. permanent residents are faced with different requirements from case to case.

Most commonly, they are strongly urged to accept a Romanian passport valid for ten years and especially designed for Romanians living abroad, though most of the time these Romanians are defectors. Such passports require special fees, regular visits to the Romanian Embassy, dangerous connections with the Romanian officials and endanger the American citizenship of people accepting them.

In lieu of this, the Romanian authorities may ask for a legal renunciation of the Romanian citizenship which involves a fee of \$201.00 U.S. dollars. Nevertheless, the procedure takes a long time and there is no guarantee by the Romanian Government that relatives would be allowed to leave.

There are also other documents required by the Romanian authorities such as proof of property owned by the Romanian Americans wishing to sponsor a Romanian relative, documents showing their savings accounts, their current salary and many other things, all of which represent flagrant interference in the life of Americans of Romanian origin.

Romanian citizens who wish merely to visit the United States, as well as their sponsors, are subject to several of the regulations mentioned herein. Consequently, such Romanian citizens must wait years in some instances before receiving permission to visit the United States, and in other instances are never even granted such permission.

As a result, legal emigration becomes almost impossible and it has actually dropped within the last 12 months. No wonder, then, Romanian American citizens or permanent residents resort to desperate gestures in order to bring their pleas to the attention of the American public and authorities. This year, on May 24, for example, a group of 25 such persons, with close relatives in Romania, started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations in New York City, followed by a permanent vigil.¹ After four months of public protest most of their relatives in Romania were not even allowed to apply for emigration visas.

All of these abuses and violations of basic human rights should deeply be considered before granting the present Government of Romania most-favored nation treatment.

OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In addition to the aforementioned, there are many other counts on which the Romanian Government violates coarsely the basic human rights of her own citizens. For example:

a. If a person leaves Romania without proper permission or fails to return after a visit abroad, his property is automatically confiscated by the Romanian Government;

b. Spouses of defectors are pressured in many ways to obtain a divorce, thus disrupting the very basis of society—the family;

c. There exists a continuous violation of correspondence, with letters from or to relatives in the Western world being opened, delayed or never delivered; parcels sent from abroad must first pass through Customs where they are opened and thereafter excessive fees are charged by Customs to the consignee, sometimes being as much as three times the value of the article; also, various items which the consignee had known in advance to be contained in the parcel were found to be missing therefrom upon delivery to consignee;

d. In January, 1976 the Romanian Government announced to the general citizenry that duty-free parcels would be permitted to be sent to Romanian citizens from abroad for a period of approximately three to four months. Nevertheless, parcels mailed from abroad to such citizenry in January, 1976 were received in Romania at Customs but were not delivered to consignee in many instances until August, 1976, thus allowing the Romanian Government to assess a Customs duty which, as aforementioned, was well in excess of the actual value;

e. American citizens of Romanian origin, as well as other foreign visitors to Romania, are not permitted to stay with their immediate families or close relatives. Such visitors are obligated to utilize the Romanian hotel accommodations and are required to pay at a minimum twice the fee for such accommodations as paid by the general Romanian public;

f. There is no reciprocity in the matter of pensions. While retired American citizens of Romanian origin are permitted to receive their earned pensions in Romania, Romanians who have worked their entire life in Romania and, for various reasons, now live in the United States, are not entitled to any pension. The Romanian Government should be required to observe reciprocity in this respect if it expects to receive the economic benefits derived from these U.S. dollars which such Romanian/American citizens receive.

g. Another grave problem is the present penal code of Romania, which is completely anti-democratic, and provides many years in prisons for those who do not like the regime and express their views in different ways. When the author of this Statement was 20 years of age, for example, he tried to escape from the Socialist Republic of Romania. He was caught and spent almost four years in political prisons and labor camps, suffering abuse, suppression and molestation along with thousands of other political prisoners. The present penal code of Romania still provides up to three years imprisonment for those persons who try to escape. The whole penal code of Romania should be revised and this specific article should be declared null and void especially in cases where a person has been denied an exit visa.

h. Last, but not least, religion is systematically suppressed in Romania, the entire population and especially children being the subject of endless ideological brainwashing. This monstrous practice, which mutilates the human mind and soul, should be curbed forever. People should be allowed to know God and develop spiritually in harmony.

¹ Attached is a list of persons having close relatives in Romania who provided most of the information for this statement and who are also cosignatories to this statement.

Based upon the many counts of violations it may be concluded that the Government of Romania has no respect for the basic human rights of its own citizens. With the exception of a handful of party people and bureaucrats, the citizens of Romania are subject to abuse and violations regardless of their social category, religion or ethnic origin.

THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY OF ROMANIA

As a responsible Romanian American and a professor of Geography with a deep interest in nationality problems, it is my moral obligation to bring to the attention of the United States Congress the distorted and misleading facts concerning the Hungarian-Romanian minority presented to the Congress and the public by various Hungarians. Romanian-Hungarians suffer, too, in Romania. They are not persecuted, however, for being Hungarians per se. On the contrary, the Hungarian minority in Romania has always enjoyed, under communism, more advantages than the ethnic Romanians. Actually, out of their opportunism and hatred for Romanians, the Hungarians living in Romania have provided most of the early communists of Romania. Thus, numerous party members and countless of secret police agents who have terrorized the Romanian people, especially in Transylvania, were of Hungarian origin. Many of them still hold dominant positions—a complaint of persecution in this respect is an "absurd" statement. Behind their innocent-looking but misleading plea for human rights for Hungarians living in Romania is the old Hungarian chauvinism. As a matter of fact, numerous Hungarian articles and maps reveal their real targets. Recently-published Hungarian maps, for example, show a great Hungary which incorporates the western half of Romania, the northern half of Yugoslavia, portions of eastern Austria, southern Czechoslovakia and portions of western Ukraine. A narrow chauvinistic attitude does not allow some Hungarians to adjust to the 20th century Europe and world. What is more sad in this respect is that some free Hungarian-Americans let themselves be instigated by Budapest and used by Moscow, which, in its drive to Divide et Impera, will do everything to subdue Eastern Europe completely and forever.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the United States Congress should not grant Romania privileges, credits, or other advantages, unless Romania demonstrates beyond any doubt her commitment to respect all human rights: unless the Romanian citizens will be allowed to possess passports, to leave, return and even emigrate. America has the best opportunity possible now to improve human conditions, especially so far as Romania is concerned, and it should do so. America is in an advantageous position now to not only render a beneficial economic uplift to the Romanian Government, but also to render a hope to the entire Romanian population for a better life.

Prepared for/and on behalf of The Truth About Romania Committee and The Romanian-American Committee for Family Reunion.

LIST OF PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR RELATIVES IN ROMANIA DESIRING TO EMIGRATE OR TO VISIT THE U.S.A.

People in the United States and their relatives in Romania

1. Antonovici, John Arno, 3 Lawson Lane, Great Neck, N.Y. 11020. Elena Pereteanu, of: Bd. 1 May 339, Bl. 15, apt 102, sector 8, Bucuresti.
2. Botoman, Rodica, 23-47 Neil Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43202. Radu Ciocanalea, brother, of: Bd. Bucurestii Noi, Bl. C14, Bucuresti.
3. Botan, Avram, 18-17 Palmeta Str., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11227. Eugenia Botan, wife, Bergsaul Mare 284, Timi. Ana Botan, mother, Elisei Botan, brother, Caltu Mandra Serahim and his family, all of Str. Traian Vuia 12, Petrila, Jud. Hunedoara.
4. Bebelea, Irina, 155 Logan Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208. Florian Bebelea, son and Marcela Bebelea, daughter, both of: Str. Oltet 6, Brasov.
- 5-6. Capata, Dumitru and Elisabeta, Seabury House Box 372, Rond Hill Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Dorina Corina Capata, daughter, 6 of: Jelna 92, Jud. Bistrita Nasaud.
7. Caromeau, Florin, 45-26 44 Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Ioan Carmocan, brother, w. wife and daughter of: Str. Pregresului 2, Constanta.

8-9. Crisu, Elena and Constantiu, 67-14, 41 Avenue, Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Matilda Scutaru, mother, of: Str. Pictor Neguliei 13, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

10. Cosambescu, Mircea, 8 East 48 Street, Apt. 4B, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tiberiu and Maria Cosambescu, father and mother of: Sos. Giurgului 109-111, Bl. N, Sctor 5, Bucuresti.

11-12. Constantinescu Victoria (MD) and Serban: 50-06 46 Str. Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Teodor Corneliu Nicolau, brother, of: Str. Barbu Vacarescu 145, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

13. P.F.C. Dan, Vlad, Co. Meddac, Fort Dix, N.J. 08640. Ana Dan, mother, of: Str. Vanatorilor 10, Zarnesti, Jud. Brasov.

14. David, Constantin, c/o Crisu, 67-14 41 Ave., Woodside, N.Y. Justina Lupus, sister of: Str. Pictor Neguliei 13, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

15. Davidovici, Olimpia, 160 West End Ave., No. 226, New York, N.Y. 10023. Emilia Mironescu, sister, of: Str. Bujoreni 19, Sector 7, Bucuresti.

16. Dima, Nicholas, c/o Rev. Useriu, 215 C Street S.E., Apt. 107, Washington, D.C. 20003. Cornelia Necula, sister, with husband and child, of: Str. Eufrosin Poteca 4, Sector 3, Bucuresti. Ion Dima, brother, with wife and child of: Calea Floreasca 126, Sector 1, Bucuresti. Constantin Dima, brother, with wife and child, of: Str. Suren Spandarian 6, Bl. DO18, Sector 2, Bucuresti.

17. Domsa, Sorin, 780 Riverside Dr., No. 10 D, New York, N.Y. 10032. Doina Iovanut, mother, of: Str. 16 Februarie 14, Timisoara.

18. Fara, George, 20 Harwey Str., New Brunswick, N.J. 08901. Ilie Tutulianu and Mircea Meleasa, cousins, of: Bd. Gh. Dimitrov 124, Blg. 5, Sector 3, Bucuresti.

19. Gavrilescu, Ana, 123 Post Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10034. Dumitru Gavrilescu, husband, and Alexandra, daughter of: Piata Natiiunle Unite 3, B1.B2, Sector 5, Bucuresti.

20. Graur, Walter, 140 W 69 Str., Hotel Spencer, New York, N.Y. Mioara Graur, wife, and Melania Graur, daughter of: Str. Caporal Dumitru 68, Ploiesti, Jud. Prahova.

21. Gatalantu, Stefania, 233 E. Erie Str. #1606, Chicago, Ill. 60611. Maria Gatalantu, mother, of: Str. Popa Sapea no. 32, B1 A12, apt. 2, Timisoara.

22. Basli David Hulubay, 515 W. 59 Str., New York, N.Y. 10019. Ana Hulubel, mother, Victoria Hulubel, sister, Razvan Anastasiu, nephew; all of: P-ta Coamonautilor 1 A, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

23-24. Lefter, Jean and Yvonne, 17-32 202 Stree, Bayside, N.Y. 11360. Dumitru Lefter, Father, Elvira Lefter, Mother, of: Str. Viltorului 8, Barlad, Jud. Vaslui.

25. Leuca, Vasile, 178 Touhy Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60626. Maria Leuca, wife, of: Str. Apostollilor 59, Sector, 5, Bucuresti.

26-27. Manta, Maria and son, Mania, Constantin, 414 Onderdopk Ave., Ridge-wood, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11237. Mircea Manta, son, Florentina Manta, daughter, Stefan Manta, son, with wife and child, Mihai Manta, son, with wife and child, Dumitru Manta son, with wife and child, all of: Sos. Stefan Cel Mare, Sector 2, Bucuresti.

28. Marcu, Mona, 609 Kappock Str., Bronx, N.Y. 10463. Iosefina Britchi, mother, of: Str. Cosbuc No. 3, Brasov Mirela Britchi, sister, of: Bd. Dumitru Petrescu 65, Sector 5, Bucuresti.

29-30. Marin, Constanta and Dumitru (MD). Elena Dimitrov, mother, of: Str. 30 Decembrie, 7, comuna Ocnita, Ocnite Mari, Jud. Valcea.

31. May, Lucy, 165 West 66 St., New York, N.Y. 10023. Cornelia Elena Malorescu, daughter, and child, of: Calea Floreasca 9-11 apt. 25, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

32-33. Mateescu, Ioana and husband Strambu, Ion, 45-14 42 St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Cornelia Mateescu, Mother, of: Bd. Muncii 8, Sector 4, Bucuresti; Daniela Stancu, sister, with husband and children of: Str. Emil Racovita 29-31 B1 EM, Sect 5, Bucuresti.

34-35. Moisidis, Nicolae and wife, 964 E. Broadway, South Boston, Mass. 02127. Maria Moisidis, mother, of: St. Sealeovski 8, ap. 25, Sector 1, Bucuresti. Constantin Moisidis, brother, with wife and children, of the same address.

36. Munteanu, Ion, 32-27 41 St., Astoria, N.Y. 11103. Florea Berbecaru, brother, with wife and children of Sat Serboieni, Com. Buzolesti, Jud. Arges.

37-38. Puscov, Ioana and husband, 25-21 31 Ave., Astoria, N.Y. 11106. Maria Pustov, sister, of: Str. Gloriei 14, Timisoara.

39-40. Pantea, Ion and Florica, 645 E. Penn St., Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Monica Pantea, daughter, Dan Pantea of: Parcul Lenin 19, Oradea.

41. Secu, Valerie, 319 Avenue C, New York, N.Y. 10009. Gabriela Teodorescu, sister, with husband, son, Maria Bocancea, mother, of: Str. Virgiliu 15, Sect. 7, Bucuresti.

42-43. Stoica, Ion Victor and wife: 32-27 41 St., Astoria, N.Y. 11103. Aldea Stoica, father, of: St. Postel 8, Ploesti, Henica Zaharia, mother, of: St. M. Eminescu 22, B1.7, Ap. 22, Ploesti.

44. Stoica, Adriana, 45-19 42 St., #2C, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104, Angela Gall, mother, Mihai Gall, father, of: Str. Clucea 1 B1.P10, Apt. 33, Sect. 4, Bucuresti.

45. Saratean, Simion, 345 W. 86 St., New York, N.Y. 10024. Elena Saratean, wife of: Str. Republicii 6, Cluj.

46. Surmenian Teodorescu, Alice, 43-05 44 St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Aztaber Surmenian, father, Hribstine, mother, Eduard Gabriel Surmenian, brother, of: Bd. Lapusneanu 173, B1.T1, Apt. 24, Constanta.

47-48. Tabuc, Ion and Constanta, 26-45 9 St., Queens, N.Y. 11102. Constantin Campean, father, Elisabeta, mother, Mircea Campean, brother, of: Str. Barbu Vacarescu 145, Sect. 1, Bucuresti.

49. Teodorescu, Dinu, 43-05 44 St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Mihai Teodorescu, brother, with wife and child, of: Str. Sapunari No. 4, Ploesti.

50. Tanasoiu, Anca, 39-76 57 St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Vladimir Tanasoiu, father, Victoria, mother, of: G-ral Alex. Radovici 16, Bucuresti.

51-52. Vladescu, Narcisa and Stelian, 111 Van Nostrand St., Englewood, N.J. 07631. Anton Maza, brother, of: Str. Baba Novac 2, Bucuresti.

53-54. Williams, Maria and Donald, 1220 11 St., Apt. 1, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Eaterina Chelariu, mother, Serban Chelariu, brother, both of: Str. Lebedei 8, Sect. 8, Bucuresti.

55. Cocloba, Emil Trandafir, 1 Laurel Drive, Huntington, N.Y. 11743. Luisa Cocloba, wife, Smaranda Cocloba, M.D., daughter, both of: Comuna Costeul, Jud. Timis.

56. Dumitrescu, Constantin, 41-47 55 St., Woodside, N.Y. 11477. Maria Cerchez, mother, of: Str. Gh. Cosbuc 63, Balcol, Jud. Ploesti; Stefania Petriceanu, grandmother, of: Str. Oborul Nou 13, B1.P10, Apt. 414, Bucuresti.

57. Ionescu, Cornelia S., 74 Amity St., Apt. 11, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Sorana Marandici, nee Ionescu, sister, with family, all of: Str. C. A. Rosseti 19, Sect. 1, Bucuresti.

58. Lichardopol, Nicolae, 220 Miriam St., Bronx, N.Y. 10458. Tudor Lichardopo, 1 brother, of: Str. Cosmonautilor 7, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

59-60. Serdici, Sergiu A. and Ana Maria: 41-25 77 St., Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373. Silvia Serbanescu, mother, Str. Stejarului 38, B1.G5 Sect. 4, Bucuresti.

61. George Muscanu, 26-16 W. Foster, Chicago, Ill. 60625. Gabriela Muscanu, Plata Teatrului B1. 71, Brasov 2000.

62. Ardeleanu, Gheorghe, 4624½ N. Wolcott St., Chicago, Ill. 60640. Eaterina Ardeleanu, wife, with two children, Carmen & Corina, of: Str. Closca 19, Sin-Nicolaul Mare, Timis.

63. Bucur, Vasile. The Inn Rancho, Santa Fe, Calif. 92067. Maria Bucur, wife, with two children Georgeta & Camela, of: Com. Valul Traian, Jud. Constanta.

64. Crisan, Ana, 1922 N. Foster, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Gheorghe Crisan, husband, of Str. Anul 1848, No. 24, Timisoara.

65. Dogariu, Elena, 511 W. Belmont Apt. 8, Chicago, Ill. 60659. Iulian Dogariu, son, and Ana Dogariu, daughter, both of: Str. Lenigrad 7, apt. 5, Timisoara.

66. Franek, Richard, 4529 N. Kenneth, Chicago, Ill. 60639. Eva Peters, daughter, with husband and children, of: Str. Aurel, Vlaicu 28, Deta.

67. Flueraș, Maria, 4624½ N. Wolcott, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Ion Flueraș, husband & children, of: Str. N. Opreanu 58, Com. SinNicolaul Mare, Jud. Timis.

68. Hasnas, Dimitrie, 1951 W. Farragaut Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60640. Vasile Hasnas, son, with wife & children, of: Bd. Marasesti 63, Sector 5, Bucurest.

69. Ionescu Lungu, Alexandru, 1637 W. Fargo Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60626. Maria Ionescu-Lungu, wife Dan Ionescu-Lungu, son, both of: Str. Australul 48, Sect. 3, Bucuresti.

70. Iusco, Gheorghe, 2876 N. Clark, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Maria Iusco, wife, of: Str. Victoriei 38, Com. Negresti, Jud. Satul Mare.

71. Kekkino, Elena, 26-30 W. Winnemac, Chicago, Ill. 60626. George Bosceanu, brother, with wife and daughter, all of: Str. Mangallei 96, 81.01, Constanta.

72. Mocuta, Maria, 7861 S. South Shore Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60649. Ioan Mocuta, 1-st cousin, Com. Curtici, Str. 23 Aug. 132, Jud. Arad.

73. Manea, Daniel, 908 E. Elm Ave., Monroe Mich. 48161. George Manea, father, and sisters: Silvia, Mariana, Magdalena, Olimpia Str. Muntele Galna 30, Oradea, Jud. Bihor.

74. Pop, Mircea, 4929 N. Drake, Chicago, Ill. 60625. Lidia Pop, wife, of: Zona Circumvolutlunii 4, Bl. 23, Apt. 23, Timisoara.

75. Schirel, Joseph, 6016 Dakin, Chicago, Ill. 60634. Liselotte Fodor, daughter w. husband & child; of: Com. Tomnatec 66, Jud. Timis. Erna Tyebo, daughter w. husband, of: Com. Tomnatec 863, Jud. Timisoara.

76. Stangaciu, Edela, 4832 Wolcott Str., Chicago, Ill. 60640. Ion Stangaciu, husband, & Eugen, 6, son, Bd. 6 Martie 14, apt. 18, Timisoara.

77. Vaslu, George, 8 E. 48 St., apt. 48, New York, N.Y. 10017. Georgeta Vaslu, wife, of: Bucuresti, Romania.

78. Flinnston, Lucy, 401 East 86th Street, New York, N.Y. 10028. Nicolae Petit, brother, Str. Masina de Paine 20, Bucharest, Romania.

79. Manolescu, Angela, 1760 Main Street, West, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. Elisabeta Moisin, mother, Mihaela L. Moisin, sister, Bucharest, Romania.

80. Rauta, Constantiu, 7636 17th Street, Washington, D.C. 20012. Rauta, Ecaterina Gabriela, wife. Rauta, Mihai Catalin, son. Str. Alex. Moghloros 32, Bucharest 7.

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.

From: Mr. Constantin Dumitrescu, former National and International Bicycle Race Champion, 41-47 55 Street Woodside, New York City, N.Y. 11377.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Constantin Dumitrescu, Romanian born, permanent resident of the United States of America since August 10, 1973 and I will become an American citizen in the Bicentennial year, on August 10, 1976.

Since 1951 until 1971 I was National and International Bicycle Race Champion. In 1962, in my native country Communist Romania I was arrested, interviewed, tortured and put in Communist jail by the Romanian Communist Security which charged me that I attempted to defect in the Free World.

I was suspended for life from all sport activities. After two years of strong interventions and protests from International Federations of Sport, I was accepted again to races. On April 23, 1967 I defected in Rome (Italy) where I won an International Bicycle Race Road. After four days I reached Paris (France) where I was granted with Political Asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations Organization from Geneva. On August 10, 1971 I reached The U.S.A. Painful I left as hostages in Communist Romania.

1. Maria Cerchez, now 65 years old, my mother of Oborul Nou Nr 13 Bloc P 10, t.5, Apt 414, Sector 3, Bucuresti, and

2. Steliana, Petriceanu, now 84, my grandmother who grew me, of Strada George Cosbuc Nr. 63, Balcoi, Regiunea Ploesti.

All their applications for exit visas in order to join me here before their death were rejected by the Romanian Communist Security. One year ago I pay their trip to New York through the Romanian Air Planes Companie TAROM. But the Romanian officials lied me without shame. My mother and my grandmother are still hostages in Communist Romania. . .

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu does not respect: The Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) the Helsinki Agreement (1975) nor the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon the Trade Agreement and the most favored nation clause closed with the U.S.A. on 1975 too, and he kept without shame as hostages two old mothers and thousands relatives of American citizens and residents by Romanian origin.

Honorable Sir,

I think that is a shame that in our twenty century when the man was going on the moon, two old mothers do not have the right to see their son before their death! . . .

Since May 24, 1976 I joined the third Romanian hunger strike for family reunion in front of the United Nations organization in New York City and I do not leave the hunger strike place until my mother and my grandmother come here in the U.S.A. the country of really democracy and freedom!

As, honorable sir, do not vote more for grant against the M.F.N. to Communist Romania which does not respect the human rights.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu lied without shame on June 1975 in Washington, D.C. The President of the U.S.A. and the political affairs of the United States of America that he release from Communist Romania

a few relatives of the American citizens and residents by Romanian origine. The third Romanian hunger strike for family reunion is a proof about his life. I appeal to you, honorable sir, to use your influence in persuading the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exist visas to my hostage mother and grandmother!

Thanks a lot, honorable sir, for your humanitarian support.

Sincerely yours,

CONSTANTI DUMITRESCU.

SUNNYSIDE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Nicolae Dumitrescu, Romanian born and a political refugee in the United States of America.

In the past I made, together with my wife, my son and my parents a lot of applications for exit visas, because of political communist oppression, persecutions and systematic terror, but all of them have been rejected by the Romanian Communist Security.

After 25 years, finally I left Romania in September, 1975 with a tourist passport for Italy. Being in Italy, I obtained an entry visa in West Germany, where I defected and immediately asked for political asylum. At the same time, I noticed Romanian authorities about my firm intention to give up my old Romanian citizenship, paying all due consular fees.

Admitted to emigrate in United States, I arrived in New York on December 11th, 1975, starting here my new life in freedom.

Unfortunately, leaving Romania, I left behind in that country the following members of my family: Marie Dumitrescu, wife, born on August 23rd, 1935; Gil Septimiu Dumitrescu, son, aged 6; Constantin Dumitrescu, father, born 1904; Tudora Dumitrescu, mother, born 1907.

All of them are now living in Bucharest-Romania, str. Linariel no. 141, Sector V.

It is my strong desire to have them all with me in United States of America enjoying the freedom of this blessed country. For this, because the Romanian authorities refused to grant them exit visas, on December 12, 1975 I started my first Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City, which became after a while a permanent protest lasting up to the date of January 10th, 1976.

The Romanian authorities refused again the requested visas.

In this desperate situation, on May 24th, 1976 I began my second hunger strike on the same spot, joining this time a group of Romanian refugees in United States also striking for the reunification of their families.

The Romanian communist regime headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947), The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Helsinki Agreement (1975) or the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with the United States and despite all their promises and assumed responsibilities therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

Calling your attention to the above shown situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as representative of the American people in order to persuade Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to my hostage family the necessary visas for their travel to United States and the reunification of we all.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

Sincerely yours,

NICOLAE DUMITRESCU.

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y., August 30, 1976.

DEAR SIR: My name is Eugenia Enachescu. I am originally from Romania. Recently, I became a naturalized citizen of the United States and therefore I am no longer a citizen of Romania.

My mother in Romania, Enachescu, Angela who lives at Str. Lainici No. 17 Sectorul 8, Bucuresti, has applied many times since 1972, to join me for a visit in the U.S.A. and was refused.

Based on recent relationships between Romania and the U.S. Government my mother again asked for a passport to be able to come and visit me but was again refused on August 25, 1976.

A U.S.-Romanian trade agreement was adopted by the Senate on July 25, 1975 and by the House on July 28, 1975. This agreement made possible many things for Romania and the Romanian people. One of these is the progress on Romanian emigration so that Romanians seeking to be reunited with their families in the U.S. would now be possible.

It appears to me that the refusal of my mother again on August 25, 1976 to visit in the U.S. is a violation of this agreement.

I understand this agreement will go before the Senate again this year for renewal and I hope that the promises made will be fulfilled.

I would appreciate anything that you can do to help my mother get her passport so she may come for a visit here in the United States of America.

Thank you.

Sincerely

EUGENIA ENACHESCU.

MONTREAL, P.Q., August 26, 1976.

HON. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
U.S.A. Senate,
Russell Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am not only aware, but deeply impressed by your concern and determination in fighting for recognition of human rights within communist countries, where, despite united nations resolution, and Helsinki Agreements, people still live under inhuman psychological terror, and oppression.

This letter is a plea for help if at all possible, if you could help my family and I in any way, we would be eternally grateful to you.

I realized my dream in 1969, when I left Romania as a tourist to Yugoslavia, then on to Austria where I asked for immigration to Canada. Subsequent to my arrival in Canada, I have taken Canadian Citizenship, thus relinquishing with the acceptance of the Romanian authorities, my Romanian Citizenship.

My "illegal" action has had adverse effects on my family, especially my sister and her husband, who have endured for quite a long time psychological stress and professional persecutions, being considered political opponents. They wish desperately to leave Romania and join me in Canada.

In this respect my sister and her husband were granted immigrant visas for Canada in January 1976.

On September 2nd, 1975 they applied for permission to leave Romania, but to date have had no reply from the Romanian authorities.

We as a family, ask your assistance in obtaining a positive and fast reply to my sister and her husband's request to leave Romania, if, this is humanly possible.

Their names, ages and professions are :

Ana Roxana Lega, 33 yrs. old, Chemist; Matei Lega, 35 yrs. old, Petroleum Engineer.

Their address is: 51 Calea Calarasi, 3rd Floor, Apt. 37, Bucarest, Sector 4, Romania.

Thanking you in advance for any assistance you can offer us, and hoping that once obtain your intervention with Romanian authorities, can end another violation of human rights.

Gratefully yours,

CONSTANTIN C. ENCIU, P. Eng.

SOUTH PLAINFIELD, N.J.

HONORABLE SIR: I am George Fara, American resident of Romania origine (A10-587-300) who still have some relatives in Romania.

I have tried several times in the past two years to bring some of my relatives over here in the United States only for a visit. All my attempts have been completely unsuccessful, because the Romanian government refused to grant them the exit visa.

My relatives are: Ilie Tutulianu, 34, cousin, living at: Bd. Dimitrov 121, Bloc G 5 Apt. 24, Sector 3, Bucuresti, Romania. Mircea Melease, 21, cousin, living at: Str. Bujoreni, 43, Bloc P13, Sc. 2, Apt. 38, Sector 7, Bucuresti, Romania.

I want to thank you for your interest in this humanitarian problem, and I hope that with your influence you can persuade the Romanian government to allow those people to come and visit me here in the United States, in spirit of Helsinki Accord and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I hope that the Romanian government will not force me to use any other way to bring my relatives here using new methods.

I want to mention that the Romanian government prevented them from registering the application for passport and exit visas.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE FARA.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

HONORABLE SIR: I am George Fara, American citizen of Romanian origine (A19-507-306) who still have some relatives in Romania.

I have tried several times for the past two years to bring some of my relatives over here in the United States at least for a visit. All my attempts have been completely unsuccessful, because the Romanian government refused to grant them the exit visas. My relatives are: Ilie Tutulianu, 34, cousin, living at: Bd. Dimitrov 121, Bloc G5, apt. 24, Sector 3, Bucuresti, Romania; Mircea Melease, 21, cousin, living at: Str. Bujoreni 43, Bloc P13, Sc. 2, apt. 38, Sector 7, Bucuresti, Romania.

In July 1975, in order to get the Most Favored Nation status, the Romanian government promised to grant exit visas to our relatives in Romania, who wish to visit us here. After Romania was granted the MFN status, the Romanian government did forget immediately his promises. A list of our relatives in Romania had been handed over to the Romanian government by means of the State Department, (my relatives were also listed there) and we were promised that everybody in this list will be allowed to leave Romania. All our hopes have been deceived when Romania was granted the MFN status, and along with it long term credits and economical help.

As my last resource I appeal to you, to use your influence to persuade the Romanian authorities to keep their promises of allowing our relatives to visit us in the United States. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE FARA.

NEW YORK, September 1, 1976.

HON. SENATOR ABRAHAM RIBICOFF.

Chairman of the Sub-Committee on International Trade of the Committee of Finance, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR RIBICOFF: I, the undersigned Lucy Finnston, American Citizen, for 26 years in the United States, residing at 401 East 86th Street, New York, N.Y. 10028, United States of America, I am asking you kindly to support my request, to help and assist me.

1. My brother Petit Nicolae (55 years old) Architect, residing in Bucharest, Romania. Strada Masina de Paine, 20, has heart trouble, seriously heart trouble and I wanted him here in order to consult heart specialists, to take care of his heart, here in the United States, with the best medical care and facilities we have only here.

2. My brother applied for Romanian Passport in February this year 1976, to come to me (his sister) here for medical care of his sick heart.

3. The Romanian Authorities refused the passport and exit visa to my brother 6th of July this year 1976. No reason for refusal. They do not let my brother to come here even to visit me as a visitor.

4. I have a very sad and painful experience with the Romanian Authorities when a few years ago, my mother died because she did not have the Passport in time to bring her here for medical treatment which in Romanian is completely backwards.

5. I insist that my brother must come here to the United States for his heart treatment. I do not want to loose him, I do not want him to die like I lost my mother which died in Romania.

6. My brother can not speak freely about his cause or his adequate treatment because of fear from the Romanian Authorities.

This is my answer to the Department of State. (our Depart. of State.)

I do not want to mention that I also am not well and I had to have an operation which I postponed, till I have my brother near me.

This is my sad story. I want to tell you also that in my struggle with the Romanian Authorities I sent 3 Telegrams to President Ceausescu (May 29, June 17 and 23) also 2 telegrams to the Romanian Committee for Passports.

Result. Refusal of my brother passport the 6th of July 1970.

In my position are many Romanians here and in Romania where they can not speak.

I want to inform you and kindly ask you to take action. This is what we get for granting Romania the Status of the most Favorite Nation. Hoping that you will help me to bring my brother here.

Thank you ever so much, Sincerely yours,

LUCY FINNSTON.

[From the Sunday News, New York, N.Y., Sept. 5, 1970]

WANTS A LIFE IN SWAP FOR TRADE RIGHTS

(By Richard Edmonds)

Lucy Finnston, an articulate, middle-aged woman from the East Side, will personally appeal to the Senate for help when the United States opens hearings this week in Washington on a move to grant special trade benefits to her native Romania.

Mrs. Finnston, an American citizen, resident here for the last 23 years, has been engaged in an unsuccessful, months-long struggle with Romanian authorities to secure for her ailing brother in Bucharest an exist visa or passport to visit the United States for sorely needed clinical heart care.

In recent years, the United States has been pressing for freer Communist-bloc emigration in exchange for trade advantages.

SAYS BROTHER MAY DIE

Early last year, Romania was one Soviet-bloc nation that signed a trade agreement with the U.S., a pact that many observers thought would presage greater emigration for Jews, and especially ethnic Germans, from Romania. But such has not been the case, according to Mrs. Finnston, of 401 E. 86th St.

She said last night: "The Senate will probably grant special trade benefits to Romania, but the officials must also be made to hear that my brother, Peti Nicolae (who is 55), will probably die unless he is allowed to visit the United States for treatment."

KOCH IN HELPING

Mrs. Finnston has received some assistance from Rep. Edward I. Koch (D-N.Y.), who wrote on her behalf to the Romanian ambassador to the United States, Nicolae M. Nicolae.

In Nicolae's reply to Koch, the ambassador reported that he had forwarded Mrs. Finnston's request to the "appropriate authorities" and that he would notify Koch of the disposition of the request as soon as he received word from Bucharest.

RIDGEWOOD, N.Y.

From: Mr. Stefan Florea,
Mrs. Viviana Henriette Florea,
Antonela Florea,
Marius Florea.

HONORABLE SIR: We are Florea family, all Romanian born, now residents in the United States, the country we have chosen to live in freedom after years of struggles and sufferings in Romania.

After several attempts to leave the country because of political communist oppression, persecution and systematic terror, we finally succeeded to get a Jugoslavian tour, from where we defected to the Western free world.

We left behind our parents, and we would like to bring them over. They have applied several times for an exit-viza, but with no result whatsoever. Even in

this free country we feel terrorized by the communist regime of Romania, which is using all kind of red-tape to intimidate us. When we ask for various personal papers, such as school diplomas, we are blackmailed, and all our efforts are in vain.

Romania was granted the Most Favored Nation status this year with the belief that its government will release the emigration, but our own case is a negative example. The Romanian communist government will never respect any international agreement. They have signed and agree with the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, but they still do not allow our entire family to leave Romania. Our relatives in Romania we are asking for are: Maria Zaharescu, mother; Nicolae Zaharescu, father; Violeta Zaharescu, sister. Address: Str. Gloriei nr. 3, Bloc 205, Sc. B, apt. 30, Ploiesti, Romania.

As our last resource after several attempts to bring them over here, we have started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations in New York, as a protest against the Romanian government's refusal to permit our relatives to join us here.

We are respectfully asking for all your support, to use your influence with the State Department and the Romanian government in helping us to solve our request.

Thank you very much.
Sincerely yours,

STEFAN FLOREA.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 16, 1976.*

Re Reunion of the Fluleras Family from Romania to USA; Ioan Fluleras, husband; Gabriela Fluleras 12 yrs. daughter; Simona Fluleras, 8 yrs. daughter; all of Str. N. Oprean No. 58, Simnicolaul Mare, Jud. Timis, Romania.

THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am a refugee from Romania, having been admitted to the USA as such on May 15, 1976.

I am now trying to build a new life for myself and my family in the USA. So far however, my struggle has been without result.

They submitted some forms with the Militia in Timisoara, but were not given application forms for emigration passports to the USA. They received no reply at all.

I beg you from all my heart to kindly approach the competent Romania authorities, the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. and also if possible the President of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, who will be in Washington, begging him in my name to please allow the Fluleras family to submit applications for emigration passports to the USA and to please approve them.

As a Mother and Wife, I am begging you to please help me, and I thank you in advance for any assistance you will be able to render.

Sincerely,

MARIA FLUIERAS.

MONTREAL, *September 1, 1976.*

DEAR SENATOR: I am sorry for disturbing you with my rather personal problems but I dare to do so, knowing you as a person who's been fighting for the human rights since a long time.

I am Rumanian born Jew professional engineer, now landed immigrant in Canada.

I left Rumania last September (1975), together with my wife and child, in the moment your constant efforts had forced the Rumanian government to allow many of Romanian Jews to leave the country. Therefore, I have been and I will be grateful to you.

Once again I am asking for your help, now when my parents have applied to join us, here in Canada, and the Rumanian authorities have not yet liberated the final application forms.

Their personal data are:

Tiberiu Frank, 53 years old, leather and furs specialist.

Geny Frank, 53 years old, technical translator.

Their address is: 208, Calea Dorobantilor, sector 1, Bucuresti, Romania.

Please help us to live again a real family life all together.

Thanking you in advance for any assistance you can offer us, and hoping your intervention on the Rumanian authorities will help people to have their human rights once again.

Gratefully yours,

D. FRANK.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE TESTIMONY OF VERY REVEREND FATHER FLORIAN M. GALDAU, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR), AND RECTOR OF ST. DUMITRU ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF NEW YORK

The Very Reverend Florian M. Galdau, as Chairman of the American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees (ARCAR) and Rector of St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York City, N.Y. 10024, presents a new list of 261 persons who were denied passports and exit visas to get out of Romania and join their families in the U.S.A.

Among others, he gives some of the most striking examples of persons who were entitled to these passports and exit visas from Romania, but which were denied under all kinds of pretexts by the Romanian Government.

In conclusion, Father Galdau, respectfully, urges the members of the Finance Subcommittee to discontinue the Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment for Imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania, unless the Communist Government of Romania would like to honor the provisions of the Trade Act of 1974, Public Law of 93-618, of a more liberal emigration policy, both for Jews and Gentiles.

TESTIMONY OF THE VERY 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

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: I wish to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today, in my capacity as Chairman of the American-Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees and Rector of the St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York City.

I am a native of Romania and an American Citizen. I have worked for the last 21 years, to assist the Romanian refugees who managed, under various hard circumstances to get out of Romania and to bring them over to the United States.

As I understand, the Honorable President Gerald R. Ford, transmitted on June 2, 1976, to the Congress, his recommendation, under the Section 402(d) (1) of the Trade Act between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States of America, that the waiver authority be extended for another 12 months. This extension of the waiver authority, of the above mentioned Trade Act, was intended to promote the objective of a more liberal emigration policy on the part of the Communist Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to honor its signature on the Human Rights Declaration, Paris Peace Treaty of 1947, and recently of the Helsinki Declaration of 1975.

Last year, I had the privilege and honor to present to your Committee, a list of 275 persons and, later on, to the Department of State, Washington, D.C., 2 other lists of 191 persons, which makes a total of 446 persons, who wished to join their relatives abroad and who were not included in any other previous lists. 222 persons were allowed to get out of Romania, but the rest were refused to receive a passport or/and an exit visa.

According to the provisions of Title 4 of the above mentioned Trade Act, Romanian citizens, regardless of ethnical origin or religious faith, can emigrate or visit any foreign country as tourists, without having to serve the interests of their government or leave behind, family members as hostages, against their return.

With the deepest regret, I respectfully submit, that the Romanian Government, under various pretexts, has not honored its own signature and is making it more difficult for both, Christians and Jews, to get out of Romania and join their families abroad.

Therefore, I, respectfully, take the liberty of presenting herewith a new list of 261 persons and the following information of typical cases which prove that

the Communist Government of Romania is not yet ready to change its emigration policy:

1. a. Mr. Petre Schiau and his wife Lucretia, of Plata 16 Februarie No. 6 Bloc A et. I, Seara C Apt. 29 Ploesti, Romania, an elderly couple, 80 and 76, was promised consecutive visas to visit their son, a legal U.S. resident. The husband came first, returning home after only ten days to allow his wife to follow. Upon his return (six months ago) his wife, Mrs. Lucretia Schiau was never issued her visa to visit her son.

b. Aida Philibosian (English spelling Philibosian), spent the past ten months in Romania trying to marry her childhood sweetheart, Radu Grossu, of Blvd. Garii No. 6, Brasov. Ms. Philibosian is a U.S. citizen and, as such, the Romanian Government is charging her \$10 a day, each day she stays. The marriage petition has been refused and the young couple has appealed. At the request of the Honorable Senator Henry M. Jackson, they were allowed to marry on May 27, 1970. Miss Philibosian had to return to the United States, but so far, her husband was not yet allowed to join her in the States.

c. Mrs. Lucy May (Romanian name Lucia Smantanescu) is a U.S. citizen, residing at 165 West 68 Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. To have her daughter Cornelia Malorescu Cocias and grandson Radu Cocias come here, she paid \$201 in 1974. According to the Romanian Embassy list, both were to get visas in July last, then in December. However, this past April, they were told that their visas had been refused, and that they would never see their mother and grandmother again.

d. Mr. Mihai Vanatoru—an American Citizen—of 1413 Durham South Ave., Plainfield, N.J. 07080, wanted to bring his mother, Mrs. Maria Muntean—52 years of age—of Str. Teodor Aman No. 27, Bucuresti, Romania, to join him here. He fulfilled all the formalities required by the Romanian Government—i.e. renounced at his Romanian citizenship, paid the \$201 to the Romanian Government, etc., but on July 9th, 1976, his mother was refused the passport and exit visa, without any explanation whatever. Now she has to wait another 60 days, to renew her application for a passport and exit visa; but she is not sure if she will be allowed to leave Romania.

There are some cases, who applied for passports and visas for nine times until they succeeded. This harassment and waste of money, is typical of the so called "liberal emigration" of the Romanian Government.

e. Mr. Alexandru Constantin Pop of 3675 King Str. Apt. 14, Lemmon Grove, California 92045, tried to bring his wife: Mrs. Elisabeta Maria Tenescu, and step-daughter, Cristiana Motet-Grigoras, of Str. Midia No. 11, Bucuresti, Romania; but they have been refused passports and exit visas. They were told they have no reason to leave Romania; and they should do everything to force him to return to Romania, which for obvious reasons, he does not want to do, since he knows that if he returns, he will be subject to persecution, torture and even death.

f. Mr. Anton Balta of Cluj, Romania, was allowed to leave Romania in January 1973 for one month, to accept an invitation to present a paper to the Adenauer Foundation in Bonn, West Germany. From Bonn he wrote Learn Foundation of Four Lancaster Place, Huntington Station, N.Y. 11746, that he would like to come to the U.S.A. to continue his English studies. With the assistance of several people, Learn was able to get him admitted to CW Post College and helped support him till June 1974, at which time he successfully obtained his master degree.

During his stay here, Anton worked at odd jobs and also as an assistant at the college. He also obtained a passport for Romanian citizens living abroad, and assurances from the Romanian Embassy, Washington, D.C., that he would be allowed free entry and exit visas from Romania with that passport. On the conclusion of his studies here, at the urging of Learn, he returned home. Immediately on his return his passport was confiscated and he was told that he would not be employed in the education system, since he was "not fit to teach Romanian youth". He has since been unable to obtain employment and has decided to try to emigrate; but the Romanian Government refuses to let him go. Now, he is not allowed to work in Romania, is not allowed to get out of Romania and followed everywhere by the Romanian Security, and his life is in danger.

Do these facts speak of a "liberal emigration policy" of the Romanian Government?

g. Mr. Clobanu Vasile of 4310-44th St. Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104, a permanent resident, liked to have his father, Clobanu Vasile, and his mother, Clobanu Tatiana, 73 and 62 years of age respectively, of St. Nazarea No. 59 Sector 8 Bucuresti, Romania, for a short visit here. In spite of all their attempts to obtain passports and exit visas, so far they were not able to get out of the country.

k. Mr. Bucur Vasile of The Inn, Rancho Santa Fe, California 92607, made every possible effort to bring his wife Bucur Maria, 38 years of age and his children, Bucur Gheorghita, 18 and Bucur Camelia, 5 years of age, to join him here, but so far he did not succeed.

l. Ion Tabuc of 26-45 9th St. Apt. 600, Astoria, L.I.C., N.Y. 11102, made every possible effort to bring her father Constantin Campan, 58 years of age and her mother Elisabeta Campan, 50 years of age, and Mircea Campan, her brother, 19 years of age, of Str. Cezar Boliac No. 35 Bucuresti, Romania, Sector 4, but to no avail. As a result she joined a Hunger Strike, together with other Romanians in front of the United Nations in New York City, against the Romanian Government's "liberal emmigration policy". Her family were not only, repeatedly, refused but her brother, Nircea, was taken in the army—so called "Armata cu Lopata" (forced military labor camp) and was told by the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., that she would never see her relatives again. Since she was pregnant in the 7th month, she lost her child, and as a result, her husband, in their desperation, made the mistake to threaten the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Washington, D.C., which, naturally, made it more difficult for them; but they do not want to discontinue their struggles against the Romanian Embassy in Washington and against the Romanian Government, until they will succeed to make them honor their promises for a "liberal emmigration policy".

2. In the Trade Pact, Romania has promised to let its citizens—both Jewish and gentile—leave on humanitarian grounds, i.e., without any harassment or loss of property. This commitment was clearly not kept, as I mentioned above. All those who left afterwards had to leave their possessions including fully furnished apartments and all valuables, which, in Romanian terminology, had to be "donated" to the state.

3. Between 1970 and 1975 the State Department submitted to the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry a number of lists of persons wishing to emigrate from Romania to the United States. Foreign Affairs officials advised persons on the lists to apply to the Passport and Visa Office for their exit documents. Although everyone on the lists complied, out of 446 persons only 220 have left. The rest were deprived of their jobs and apartments, having to live off friends and relatives and charity from the United States as best they can.

In protest, some 20 Romanians started a hunger strike opposite the United Nations in New York, last May 17, which lasted nearly two months. Some of their relatives got their exit visas, while others, subjected to severe harassment, are still waiting. To date, another 20 Romanians are on a hunger strike before the UN in a fresh protest, since May 1976.

4. From time to time, the Romanian Embassy in Washington, has persuaded legal U.S. residents to return to their native Romania under a variety of trumped up reasons. Frequently those who comply are arrested, or otherwise subjected to severe hardships. Those who do not return have to keep a status of Romanian citizen abroad for ten years, often being asked to serve Romanian interests, although U.S.A. residents.

5. To renounce Romanian citizenship costs \$201, clearly in violation of Title IV, Sec. 402(a) (3) of the Trade Pact. Those who pay it, in the majority of cases, get neither receipt, acknowledgement, nor exit visas for their families.

We could go on describing many similar incidents, or cases as the above, involving both Jewish and gentiles. We think, however, we have amply demonstrated the untrustworthiness of the Romanian Communist Government. In conclusion, we would respectfully urge you to use your good offices to compel the Romanian Government to live up to the spirit and letter of its Trade Agreement or not to renew it when it comes up shortly. Romania has shown its non-compliance with the Pact's humanitarian guidelines which directly violate Sec. 402 (a) (1), (2) and (3) concerning Freedom of Emigration.

We are enclosing herewith a new list of persons who were refused exit visas.

**THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR)
UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX EPISCOPATE OF AMERICA
AND UNION AND LEAGUE, R.S.A. INC.**

NAMES OF PERSONS, WHOSE RELEASE IS SOUGHT FROM THE S.R. OF ROMANIA

1. Name: Alexandres, Brigitte, American citizen, 3700 Massachusetts Avenue, Alban Towers, Washington, D.C. 20016. Persons involved: Diplan, Incretia-Gheorghiu, daughter: 37 years; Diplan, Constantin, son-in-law: 40 years; Cracuin, Diana, niece: 16 years; Str. Dr. Nicolae Tomescu, Bucuresti—Sectorul 4.

2. Name: Badin, Alexandru, American citizen, 16 Teapot Lane, Smithtown, N.Y. 11787. Persons involved: Badin, Maria, mother, Str. Ion Adam No. 11, Constanta—Romania.
3. Name: Bogdan-Dulca, Margareta, American citizen, 6481 Ellwell Crescent, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374. Persons involved: Romasin, Victoria, first cousin, 34 years; Romasin, Oana, niece, 9 years, Str. Gura Vadului No. 2, Bloc G, 27 D. et. I, Apt. No. 34, Bucuresti—Of. Postal 57.
4. Name: Botan, Auran, 1817 Palmetto Street, Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Botan, Eugenia, wife, Bargasul-Mare, Jud. Timis, Romania.
5. Name: Bucur, Seren, Cond. Entrant—arrived USA 2.13.1975, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003. Persons involved: Bucur, Pavel, husband, 47 years; Bucur, Viorel, son, 23 years; Bucur, Adina, daughter-in-law, 23 years; Bucur, Carmen, daughter, 16 years; Str. Zurich No. 2, Et. II, Apt. 11, Timisoara, Romania.
6. Name: Bardasiu, Gheorghe, 50 West 80th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Bardasiu, Tudorita, wife: 27 years, Bardasiu, Mihaela daughter: 2 years, Str. Intrarea Pietricica No. 7, Bucuresti, Sectorul 3.
7. Name: Balu, Constantin, 860 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Balu, E. Grigore, father, 58 years; Balu, Eugenia, mother, 48 years; Balu, Gr. Grigore, brother, 29 years; Balu Eleftere, brother, 21 years; Balu, Augustina-Luminita, sister, 7 years.
8. Name: Bebelea, Irina: Permanent resident, 155 Logan Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208. Persons involved: Bebelea, Florian, son, 20 years; Bebelea, Marcela-Gabriela, 19 years, daughter, Str. Otet No. 6, Brasov, Romania.
9. Name: Burnazian, George, Permanent resident, 3548 Normandy Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. Persons involved: Burnazian, Ariana, mother, for a short visit, Str. Vigilentel No. 12, Apt. 5, Bucuresti, Romania.
10. Name: Butin, Sara: Permanent resident, 2203 25th Road, Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Butiu, Gabrielle-Rodica, daughter, 21 years, Piata Libertatii No. 26, Cluj, Romania.
11. Name: Botosani, George P., American citizen, 72 Seeley Street, Bridgeport, Conn. Persons involved: Popescu-Botosani, Paul Roger, son, 37 years; Popescu-Botosani, Maria-Cristina, 35 years; Str. Nufierlor No. 65, Bucuresti, Romania.
12. Name: Capata, Dumitriu and Ellsabetta, Seabury House, Bond Hill, Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Persons involved: Capata, Dorina-Corina, daughter, Delna 92, Jud. Bistrita, Naasaud-Romania.
13. Name: Capota, Gabriel, American citizen, 6010 171st Street, Apt. 5F, Jamaica, N.Y. Persons involved: Capota, Paula and her husband and son, Calea, 13 Septembrie, No. 98, Bucuresti.
14. Name: Capota, Emil, American citizen, 1408 West 81st Street, V Cleveland, Ohio 44102. Persons involved: Ioan, brother, 57 years, wife and son, Bulevardul, Bucurestii, Noi No. 78, Bucuresti Capota, Mircea and Viorela, children, their mother Capota, Onita, his sister, arrived last year but without her children. Str. Rusetu No. 10, Apt. 13, Bucuresti.
15. Name: Capota, Pavel, Permanent resident, 119 Payson Avenue, Apt. 8A, New York, N.Y. 10034. Persons involved: Pavel Capota, son, 19 years, Aleea Pravat No. 6, Et. VI, apt. 71, Bucuresti-Sect. 7.
16. Name: Capota, Gabriel, American citizen, 8010 171st Street, Apt. 5F, Jamaica, N.Y. Persons involved: Capota, Paula, sister, 49 years with her husband and son, Calea, 13 Septembrie No. 98, Bucuresti.
17. Name: Cautis, Clonia, arrived U.S.A. March 5, 1974, 666 West End Avenue, Apt. 20P, New York, N.Y. 10025. Persons involved: Diaconescu, Stefan, father, 64 years; Diaconescu, Sofia, mother, 62 years, Str. Stirbei Voda No. 2, Seara 3, Apt. 72, Sect. 7, Bucuresti.
18. Name: Cloaca, Gheorghe, 185 Metropolitan Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11211. Persons involved: Cloaca, Adrian, son 4 years, Str. Targul Neamt No. 12, Bloc TD, 24, Apt. 51 Et. 8, Seara 7, Bucuresti, Sect. 7.
19. Name: Cocloba, Emil-Trandafir, 1 Laurell Drive: Huntington, N.Y. 11743. Persons involved: Cocloba, Lulza: wife and children, Comuna Costeiu-Jud. Timis-Romania.
20. Name: Dr. Constandis, Decebal: Permanent resident, 155 West 68th Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. Persons involved: Dr. Constandis, Călin-Gheorghe, brother, 35 years, Strada De-Mijloc No. 11, Braşov, Romania.
21. Name: Corclovel, Toader, 860 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Corclovel, Toader, father, 60 years; Corclovel, Maria, mother, 60 years; Comuna Găneşti, Jud. Galati, Romania.

22. Name: Chelariu, Maria married: Williams, 872 Massachusetts Avenue, Apt. 811? Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Persons involved: Ecaterina Chelarin: mother 70 years; Serban Chelariu, brother, 31 years.
23. Name: Drocac, Sanda, American citizen, 68-37 108th Street, Forrest Hills, New York, N.Y. Persons involved: Marvan, Radu, brother, Str. Stelea Spătaru No. 12, București, Sect. 4.
24. Name: Dumitrescu, Nicolae, 43-05 44th Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Dumitrescu, Maria, wife; Dumitrescu, Gil-Septimiu, son, 6 years; Dumitrescu, Constantin, father; Dumitrescu, Teodora, mother. Str. Lănăriei No. 141, București, Romania, Sect. 5.
25. Name: Dumitrescu, Constantin, 41-47 55th Street, Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Persons involved: Dumitrescu, Maria Cerchez mother, Str. Oborul-Nou No. 13, Bloc P10 Scara 2, et. 5, București 3. Petriceaanu, Stefania, grand-mother; Str. Gheorghe, Coșbuc No. 63, Bălcoi-Prahov.
26. Name: Fara, Gheorghe, Permanent resident, 1031 Hamilton Street, Somerset, N.J. 08873. Persons involved: Tutuianu, Ilie, cousin, 36 years, Blvd. Dumitrov No. 121, Bloc G5, Sc. 5, Apt. 24, București; Meleasa, Mircea, cousin, 21 years; Meleasa, Gheorghita, aunt, 56 years, Str. Bujoreni No. 43, Bloc P13, Sc. 2, Apt. 38, București.
27. Name: Mrs. Flint, Mary, 8808 32nd Avenue, Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11370. Persons involved: Solman, Dumitru, brother, 45 years; Solman, Elena, sister-in-law, 44 years; Solman, Daniel, nephew, Ivanciu, Alexandrina, sister; Ivanciu, Alexandru, brother-in-law, Ivanciu, Dinu, nephew, Str. Alexandru Moghioros No. 13, București, Romania.
28. Name: Gache, Heana, arrived U.S.A., Apr. 9, 1975, 2419 41st Street, L.I.C., N.Y. 11103 Persons involved: Gache, Dumitru, husband, 39 years; Gache, Virgil-Severus, son, 7 years; Gache, Hristu, son, 3 years, Str. Moldovița No. 8, Bloc EM5, Apt. 63, Scara D. București.
29. Name: Gatalantu, Stefania, Permanent resident, 3610 North Pine Grove, Apt. 502, Chicago, Ill 6063. Persons involved: Gatalantu, Maria, mother, 51 years, Str. Popa Sapea No. 32, Bloc A 12, Scara C, Apt. 2, Timișoara.
30. Name: Gavrilescu, Ana, born Marinescu, Permanent resident, 123 Post Avenue, Apt. 3, New York, N.Y. 1034. Persons involved: Gavrilescu, Dumitru, husband, 50 years; Gavrilescu, Alexandru, son, 19 years, Piața Națiunile Unite No 3, Bloc B 2, Scara B, et. V, Apt. 5, București.
31. Name: Frangu: Dan Mircea, Permanent resident 10460 Queens Blvd., Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 Persons involved. Frangu, Traian, father, retired priest, 68 years; Frangu, Stela, mother, 62 years, Str. Eroilor No. 2, Bloc 36, scara B, Apt. 38, Camplina, jud. Prahova.
32. Name: Ghenu, Constantin, arrived U.S.A., Nov. 11, 1971, 8917 207th Street, Queens Village, N.Y. 11427. Persons involved: Ghenu, Mihai, brother, 35 years; Ghenu, Eugenia, sister-in-law, 35 years; Ghenu, Mihai, nephew, 8 years, Str. Colonelilor No 3, București.
33. Name: Graur, Walter, arrived U.S.A. April 7, 1976, Spencer's Arms Hotel, 140 W. 69th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Graur, Mioara, wife and daughter Melania, 4 years, Str. Caporal Dumitru No. 68, Ploiești, Romania.
34. Name: Bostan, Nicolae, arrived in United States March 1976, 5722 Catalpa Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Bostan, Helga (b. Hienz) wife; 26 years; Cartier Gojdu, Bloc MI, Apt. 38, Deva Hunedoara, Romania.
35. Name: Carbunescu, Danut and wife, arrived in United States March 1976, 1823 Cornelia Street, Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Carbunescu, Panait, father, 56 years, Str. George Bacovia, 18, Sector 5 Bucharest, Scarlat, Dumitru, father-in-law, 62, Str. 11 Iunie Bucharest, Sect. 5. Scarlat, Georgeta, mother-in-law, 43, Comuna Balota, Jud. Dolj, Romania.
36. Name: Constantinov, Alexandru, arrived in United States January 1972, 100 Manhattan Ave., Apt. 610, Union City, N.J. 07087. Persons involved: Constantinov, Lulza, b. Mihăilescu, wife, 28; Constantinov, Eduard, son, 7 years, Blvd. Schitu Măgureanu, 19 Bucharest.
37. Name: Dr. Cristescu, Teodor, 370 Ridelle Ave., Apt. 21-04, Toronto, Canada. Persons involved: Cristescu, Elena, wife, 38 years; Cristescu, Laurențiu, son, 17 years, Str. Polana Narciselor No. 14, Apt. 5, Sector 4, Bucharest, Romania.
38. Name: Cosambescu, Mircea, 8 E. 48 Street, Apt. 4B, N.Y. 10017. Persons involved: Cosambescu, Tiberiu, father; Cosambescu, Maria, mother, Bucharest, Sos. Giurgiului 100-111 Bl. N, Et. 1, Apt. 7, Sect. 5.

39. Name: Ciobanu, Vasile, arrived in United States 1970, 4310 44th Street, Apt. 2D, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Ciobanu, Vasile, 75; Ciobanu, Tatiana, 65 (in a short visit), Str. Nazarcea No. 59, Sect. 7, Bucharest.

40. Name: Florea, Stefan and Viviana, 1700 Putnam Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Zaharescu, Maria, mother, 59; Zaharescu, Violeta Maria, sister, 23; Zaharescu, Nicolae, step-father, 57, Str. Gloriei Bloc 205, Apt. 30, Sc. B, Et. 4, Ploiesti.

41. Name: Harabor, Mihai, arrived in United States July 1975, 50 W. 89th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Harabor, Cristian, son, 10 years; Harabor, Vladimir, son, 8 years, Str. Fluierului 25, Sc. A, Et. 2, Apt. 7, Sector 7, Bucharest.

42. Name: Hulubel, Basil, 515 W. 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019. Persons involved: Hulubel, Ana, mother; Hulubel, Victoria, sister; Razvan, Anastasiu, nephew, Piața Cosmonauților 1 A, Apt. 56, Sector 1, Bucharest.

43. Name: Ilies, Maria, 1263 Park Ave., Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10020. Persons involved: Barutia, Alexandru Ch., son, 31 years; Barutia, Maria, daughter-in-law, 20 years; Barutia, Ionuț, nephew, 8 months; Della R. Popa, B. Barutia, 28 years, daughter; Gheorghe Popa, son-in-law, 31 years, Str. Hrisovului 13, Bl. D-3, Apt. 7, Sector 8, Bucharest, Of. P. 68 Romania.

44. Name: Ionescu-Lungu, Alexandru, arrived in United States 1973, 1637 West Fargo Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60626. Persons involved: Ionescu-Lungu, Maria, wife; Ionescu-Lungu, Dan, son, 18 years; Ionescu-Lungu, Ecaterina, mother, Str. Auștrului No. 48, Sect. 3, Bucharest.

45. Name: Kerpitchian, Reghina, arrived in United States January 1971, 17521 88th Street, Apt. 36, Jamaica, N.Y. 11432. Persons involved: Pandrea, Elena, mother; Pandrea, Miron, brother; Pandrea, Persefonia, sister-in-law, Alleea Polana Vadului No. 1, Drumul Taberei, Microraton 2, Bloc OD 8, Sc. C, Et. 11, Apt. 99, Bucharest. Pandrea, Constantin, brother; Pandrea, Petruța, sister-in-law; Pandrea, Mugur, nephew; Pandrea, Elena, niece, Str. Timișul de Jos No. 2, Bloc D 15, Sc. D, Apt. 34, Drumul Taberei Microraton 5, Bucharest.

46. Name: Kaladjan, Ardashes, American Citizen, 60 W. 80th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Andrei, Elena, niece, 16 years, Blvd. Dimitrie Cantemir Bloc 18, Sc. 2, Et. 3, Apt. 47, Sector 5, Bucharest.

47. Name: Kapkian, Angela, American Citizen, 4330 46th Street, Sunnyside, L.I.C., N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Valerică Nita, father, 64 years; Alexandrina Nita, mother, 64 years; Gheorghe Nita, brother, 28 years; Alexandrina Nita, sister-in-law, 26 years; Manuela Nita, niece, 4 years; Angela-Teodora Nita, niece, 9 months, Str. Ramuri Tei No. 31, Sector 2, Bucharest.

48. Name: Lichlardopol, Nicolae, 220 Mirlam Street, Bronx, N.Y. 10458. Persons involved: Lichlardopol, Tudor, brother, 30 years, 7 Cosmonauților Street, Bucharest, Romania.

49. Name: Muresan, Anton, 351 W. 53rd Street, Apt. 1E, New York, N.Y. 10019. Persons involved: Muresan, Anton Dorel, 18 years, St. Libertății No. 5, Apt. 179, Oraș Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, Jud. Bacau, Romania.

50. Name: Micusan-Neurhrer, Christine, 3090 Savard, Montreal H4K 1 T 8, Canada. Persons involved: Micusan, Cornelia, mother; Lupas, Marie-Anne, sister, B. Neurhrer, 39 years; Lupas, Ovidiu, brother-in-law, 43 years; Lupas, Ruxandra, niece, 14 years; Lupas, Andrei, nephew, 13 years; Lupas, Anna-Maria, niece, 7, Str. Burdujeni No. 1, Bl. A 12, Sc. 2, Et. 2, Apt. 21, Titan, Bucharest.

51. Name: Mitrea, Viorica, 48 Wilson Ave., Newark, N.J. 07105. Persons involved: Armeanu, Ana, mother, 83 years, Blvd. Independenței 44, Poiana Tapului, Prahova.

52. Name: Nicolescu-Matasareanu, Valeria, 5950 Carmelita Ave., #6 Huntington Park Calif. 90255. Persons involved: Matasareanu, Decbal-Emil, son, 8 years; Matasareanu, Viorel, husband, 56 years, Str. Buftea No. 1, Timisoara, Romania.

53. Name: May, Lucia (Smantanescu). Persons involved: Malorescu, Cornelia, daughter; Radu Cocias, nephew, Calea Floreasca, Nr. 9-11, Sector 1, Bucharest.

54. Name: Manta, Constantin, 414 Onderdonk Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11237. Persons involved: Manta, Nircea, brother, 25 years; Marinescu, Florentina, sister, 33 years; Marinescu, Alexandru, brother-in-law, 44 years; Marinescu, Cornel, nephew, 5 years; Manta, Mihai, brother, 35 years; Manta, Paula, sister-in-law, 26 years; Manta, Silviu, nephew, 2 years; Manta, Dumitru, brother, 30 years; Manta, Nicoleta, sister-in-law, 27 years; Manta, Ilie, brother; Manta, Gheorghe, brother, 39 years; Manta, Maria, sister-in-law, 37 years; Manta, Adriana, niece, 12 years; Manta, Elena, niece, 8 years; Manta, Carmen, niece, 7

years; Manta, Viorica, sister-in-law, 40 years; Manta, Virgil, nephew, 18 years; Manta, Stefan, brother, 36 years; Manta, Ana, sister-in-law, 32 years; Manta, Eduard, nephew, 6 years; Manta, Luca, brother, 45 years; Manta, Ecaterina, sister-in-law, 40 years; Manta, Antoaneta, niece, 10 years; Manta, Constantin, brother, 56 years; Manta, Ofelia, sister-in-law, 56 years; Manta, Viorica, niece, 24 years, Str. Stefan cel Mare No. 168, Bucharest.

55. Name: Mateescu, Ioana, 4514 42nd Street, Apt. 2C, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Mateescu, Coralia, mother, Bdul Muncii 8, Sector 4, Bucharest. Stancu, Daniela, sister; Stancu, Constantin, brother-in-law; Stancu, Bogdan, nephew; Stancu, Alin-Sebastian, nephew, Str. Emil Racovitã 2, 29-31 Bl. E M 2, Sect. 5, Bucharest.

56. Name: Nace, Victor, arrived in United States October 1969, 3224 74th Street, Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11370. Persons involved: Constantinescu, Ileana, sister; Constantinescu, Brãduț, nephew, Str. Pitar Moș No. 25, Et. 6, Apt. 20, Sect. 1, Bucharest (in a visit).

57. Name: Nicolae, Ion, Arrived in U.S. February 1974, 9386 McDougall St. Hamtrack 48212 Michigan. Persons involved: Nicolae, Maria, mother, Blvd. I. G. Duca Nr. 10-22 Et. 4 Apt. 72, Bucharest, Sector 8.

58. Name: Narcis Vladescu, American Citizen, 111 Van Nostrand Ave., Englewood, N.J. 07631. Persons involved: Maza, Anton Constantin and family, Str. Baba Novac No. 2 Et. 1 Apt. 4 Bucharest. Maza, Mihai Mina Vasile and family, Sos Mihai Bravu No. 100 Bl. D 16 Apt. 113 Bucharest.

59. Name: Oprea, Mariolara, Arrived in U.S. Nov. 1974, 45-57 39th Place LIC N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Cotel, Petcu, 57 years, father; Cotel, Gheorghijã, 56 years, mother; Oprea, Constantin, 42 years, husband, Str. Pãstro No. 4 Timișoara 1900 Romania.

60. Name: Platicea, Mișunica and husband Ovidiu; 315 E 65 St. Apt. 4K New York, N.Y. 10021. Persons involved: Stanescu, Elisabeta, mother, 69 years; Popescu, Elena, b. Stanescu, 41 years; Popescu, Mihail, brother-in-law, 42 years; Popescu, Andreea, niece, 12 years; Popescu, Luana, niece, 3 years, Aleea Tãrgul Neamț No. 1 Bl. D 9 Sc. A Apt. 5, Et. 2 Sector 7 Bucharest. Platicea, Virginia, mother-in-law, 65 years; Platicea, Adrian, brother, 27 years, Aleea Stanila No. 2 Bloc H 12 Sc. 2 Ap. 10, Sector 4 Bucharest. Platicea, Corneliu, brother-in-law, 38 years; Platicea, Mariana, sister-in-law, 39 years; Platicea, Gabriel, nephew, 13 years, Calea Grivițel No. 127 Sc. B, Ap. 20, Bucharest, Sector 7.

61. Name: Pop, Alexandru Constantin, 3675 Kilg St. 4 Lemon Grove Calif. 92045. Persons involved: Tenescu Elisabeta Maria, 42 years, wife; Cristina Motet-Grigoras, step-daughter, 18 years, Str. Midia No. 11 Sect. 8 Bucharest.

62. Name: Petrascu, Nicolae, 38 Moulton Ave., Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. 10522. Persons involved: Mortun, Sorin, nephew, 23 years, Bujoreni No. 7 Bl. P 1 Sc. No. 40 Bucharest, Sector 7; Odette Alexandrescu, cousin, 48 years, Bdul Ana Ipãtescu No. 5, Bucharest.

63. Palamaru Ludmilla, 48-50 37th St. No. 7K Sunnyside N.Y. 11101. Persons involve: Olga Papis, 90 years, mother; Tamara Sitaru, 60 years, sister; Nicolae Sitaru, 64, brother-in-law; Octavian Sitaru, nephew, 32 years, Com. suburbana Chiajna Daddu Str. Bisericii 36, Bucharest.

64. Name: Pantea Viorica, Arrived in U.S. Jan. 1973, 645 E. Pecan Str. Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Pantea, Monica, 23 years; Pantea, Dan, 18 years; Parcul Lenin No. 19 Apt. 24 Oradea Romania.

65. Name: Panaitescu, Ana, Arrived in U.S. Jan. 1973, 221 Norman St., Bridgeport, Conn. 06605. Persons involved: Panaitescu, Eugen Gabriel, husband, 34 years, Str. Alexandru Bălășeanu No. 4, Bucharest, Romania

66. Name: Popa, Dumitru Alexandru and Tatiana, 77-12 Woodside Ave., Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373. Persons involved: Popa, Dumitru Sterie, father, 75 years, Popa, Dumitru Chirala, mother, 75 years, Str. Burdujeni No. 16 Bl. 14 Sc. CApt. 21, Bucharest.

67. Name: Pavelescu, Alexandru, 1500 Stanley St. No. 118 Montreal, Canada. Persons involved: Pavelescu, Adriana, wife, b. Bordas, 33 years; Pavelescu, Sorin, son, 4 years, Calea Grivițel No. 148 Sc. 3 Et. 7 Apt. 07, Sector 8 Bucharest.

68. Name: Pirvu Vasile, Arrived in U.S. Nov. 1974, 64-63 Wetherole St., No. 24 Rego Park, N.Y. 11374. Persons involved: Pirvu, Alexandrina, mother, Str. Elena No. 35 Sector 2, Bucharest.

69. Name: Pop, Cornel Ioan, arrived in United States October 1974, 16-55 Woodbine Street, Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Pop, Henrietta-Georgiana, daughter, 7 years; Pop, Claudia-Renate, daughter, 6 years, Calea Sagulul, Bloc 36 Sc. C Et. III, Apt. 14, Timișoara, Romania.

70. Name: Petre, Dorel, 52 a Route de Châtelard, 1015 Lausanne, Switzerland. Persons involved: Petre, Lorena Claudia Gigliola, daughter, 5 years, c/o Ticuleanu Dumitru (grandfather), Str. Alexandru cel Bun No. 45, Fetesti, Ialomita, Romania.
71. Name: Puscas, Vasile, arrived in United States July 1973, 2622 W. Logan Blvd. Chicago, Ill. 60641. Persons involved: Puscas, Maria, wife, 33 years; Puscas, Mihaela, daughter, 7 years; Str. Victoriei No. 73/23, Bala Mare, Romania.
72. Puscov, Ioana, 2521 31 Ave., Astoria, N.Y. 11106. Persons involved: Puscov, Maria, sister-in-law, Timisoara, Str. Gloriei, 14.
73. Name: Pitu Ilie and Angela, 44 Cabot Street, Beverly, Mass. 01915. Persons involved: Pitu, Marin, 27 years, Pitu, Mihai, 24 years, Blvd. Ana Ipătescu No. 2, Sector 1 Bucharest.
74. Name: Radulescu, Gheorghe, 1870 Drumgoole Rd., East Staten Island, N.Y. 10309. Persons involved: Radulescu, Elena, wife, 34 years, Str. Chilla Veche 3, Et. 4 Apt. 29 Bucharest.
75. Name: Rauta, Constantin, arrived in United States November 1973, P.O. Box 5563, Washington, D.C. 20016. Persons involved: Rauta, Ecaterina Gabriela, wife, 27 years; Rauta, Mihai Cătălin, son 2, Str. Alexandru Moghioros No. Bl. A 11, Sc. F Apt. 90 Sector 7 Bucharest, Romania.
76. Name: Reznic, Stefan, arrived Apr. 1971, 195 Nassau Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11222. Persons involved: Reznic, Anton, father, 54 years; Reznic, Ana, b. Pietraru, step-mother, 40 years; Reznic, Paris Emmanuel, step-brother, 7 years; Reznic, Carmen Luminița, step sister, 5 years, Str. Sălcilor N. 17 Tulcea, Romania.
77. Name: Sandulescu, Stefan, 4850 37th St. Apt. 7N, Sunnyside N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Pepl Eldinger Patancius, sister, 45 years; Aristide Patancius, brother-in-law, 45 years; Daniel Patancius, nephew, 23 years; Anca Patancius, niece, 22 years, Str. Unității No. 68 Sect. 3 Bucharest. Stefan Brechea, brother, 18 years; Constanta Asador Brechea, sister-in-law, 45 years, Sos Villor No. 79 Sector 5 Bucharest.
78. Name: Sarkissian Elena, American Citizen, 7116 Clinton Road, Upper Darby, Pa. 19082. Persons involved: Ion Benni, brother, 60 years, Str. Reconstructiei No. Ap. 228 Bucharest.
79. Name: Sarateanu, Simon, 345 W. 86th Street, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Elena Sarateanu, wife, Str. Republicii, No. 7, Cluj.
80. Name: Stefan, Serban, arrived in United States November 1974, 1870 Drunciole Rd., E. Staten Island, N. Y. 10309. Persons involved: Stefan, Mihăiță, son, 22 years, Str. Edgar Quinet No. 3 Sector 1, Bucharest.
81. Name: Steclaci, Lucian, American Citizen, 195 Tarrington Heights Rd., Tarrington, Conn. 06790. Persons involved: Steclaci, Adrian, brother, 57 years; Steclaci, Livia, sister-in-law, b. Buzila, 51 years, St. Stirbei Vodă No. 2 Apt. 153 Et. Sc. 3, Sector 7 Bucharest.
82. Name: Stoenescu Maria, arrived in United States October 1970, 278 Riverside Drive, Princeton, N.J. 08540. Persons involved: Stoenescu, Elena, mother, 63 years, Stoenescu, Serban, brother, 36 years, Str. Galati No. 34 Bucharest (for a short visit).
83. Name: Stolca Adriana and son, 4519 42 Street Sunnyside Apt. 2 C N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Gall, Angela, mother; Gall, Mihail, father, Str. Clucea #1, Bl. P 16 Sc. 3 Et. 1, Apt. 33 Sector 4 Titan, Bucharest.
84. Name: Stolca, Ion Victor. Persons involved: Stolca, Aldea, father, Zaharia Henica, mother-in-law, Str. Postel No. 8 Ploiesti, Romania.
85. Name: Sandulescu, Alexandra, 4850 37th Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Necsutu, Mihai, 20 years (on a short visit), Str. Slobozia No. 20 Bucharest, Sector 5.
86. Name: Stefanescu, Raluca, 133-24 Sanford Ave., Apt. 3G Flushing, N.Y. 11355. Persons involved: Stefanescu, Corneliu George, 59 years, father, Str. Viting No. 6, Bucharest, Sector 7.
87. Name: Teodorescu-Surmenian, Alice and Dinu, 4300 44 Street Sunnyside Apt. 4H N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Surmenian, Atzataber, father; Surmenian, Hribisme, mother; Surmenian, Eduard Gabriel, brother, Bd. Lapusneanu 173 Bl. 7 1 Et. 3 Ap. 24 Constanta. Teodorescu, Mihail, brother-in-law; Teodorescu, Elena, sister-in-law; Teodorescu, Doina, niece, Str. Săpunari 4 Ploiesti.
88. Name: Timus, Adriana, American Citizen, 49 W. 71st Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. Persons involved: Enculescu, Anca, sister, 30 years; Enculescu, Serban; brother-in-law, 35 years, Bl. 87 (A+B) Titan Sc. A Et. 7 Ap. 20, Sector 4, Bucharest.

80. Name: Tuculescu, Gabriela, Permanent Resident, 7025 B Yellowstone Blvd., Apt. 3 L, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Pandelescu, Geraldina, sister, 35 years; Ionescu, S. Englantina, mother, 62, Str. Maxim Gorki No. 4 A Et. 3 Apt. 7 Bucharest. Cod 7 Romania (for a short visit).

90. Name: Tuculescu S. Mihai, permanent resident, 7025 Yellowstone Blvd., Apt. 175, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Radulescu, Tralau, 35 years, Calea Grivitei No. 159, Et. 6, Apt. 101, Sector 8 Bucharest, Galaction, Elena, aunt, 63 years, Str. Gala Galaction No. 51 Sector 8 Bucharest. Luta, Mircea, 35 years, Str. Fluierului, No. 24, bis Sector 3, Bucharest.

91. Name: Tuculescu A. Răzvan, permanent resident, 7025 Yellowstone Blvd., Apt. 3 L, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Tuculescu, Serban, father, 65 years; Tuculescu, Maria, mother, 64 years, Str. Levantical No. 61 Sector 4 Bucharest, Cod 7 (for a short visit).

92. Turdeanu, Eugen and Eva, 3005 29 Street, Asoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Turdeanu, Eugen, son, Cluj, Str. Avram Iancu No. 18 Apt. 4.

93. Name: Ungureanu, Vasile, arrived in United States April 1975, 965 Seneca Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Ungureanu, Zoe- Bullga, daughter, 21 years, Bullga Florica, niece, 3 years, Str. Cartierul Kiselef, Bloc A 8, Sc. 4, Apt. 17, Turnu Severin, Romania.

94. Name: Ungureanu, Gheorghe, 4200 Avenue de Courtrai Ap. 19, Montreal, Canada. Persons involved: Ungureanu, Ana-Maria, daughter, 3 years; Ganea, Rodion, father-in-law, 76; Ganea, Valentina, mother-in-law, 69 years, Str. Pitar Moș No. 25 Et. 7 Ap. 25 Sector 1 Bucharest.

95. Name: Eangeap, Titus-Liviu, 50 W. 89th Street, New York, 1024. Persons involved: Sangeap, Alin, son, 14 years; Sangeap, Daniel, son, 8 years, Str. Cucu No. Iasi, Romania.

96. Name: Vanatoru, Mihai, U.S.A. citizen, 1413 Durham Avenue, South Plainfield, N.J. 07080. Persons involved: Mrs. Maria Muntean, mother, 52 years, Str. Teodor Aman No. 27, București, Romania.

97. Name: Dan, Vlad, U.S.A. citizen, Co. Meddae, Ft. Dix, N.J. 08640. Persons involved: Mrs. Dan, Ana mother, 50 years, Str. Vanatorulor No. 10 Zărnești, jud. Brașov-Romania.

98. Name: Mera, Nicolae, permanent resident, 202 New Str., New Brunswick, N.J. 08901. Persons involved: Mera, Vasile, father, 60 years of age (for a short visit) Com. Săcel, jud. Cluj. Oficiul Postal IARA-Romania.

99. Name: Tabuc, Ion, Cond. Entrant, 2645 9th Str., Apt. 600, Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Campan, Constantin, 60 years, father in law; Camoan, Elisabeta, 50 years, mother-in-law, Camoa, Mircea, 19 years, brother-in-law.

RECAPITULATION

The number of the above-mentioned persons can be summarized as follows:

| | | |
|------------------------|-------|-----------|
| a. Parents: | | |
| Fathers | ----- | 22 |
| Mothers | ----- | 42 |
| | | <hr/> 64 |
| b. Children: | | |
| Boys | ----- | 51 |
| Girls | ----- | 41 |
| | | <hr/> 92 |
| c. Husbands | ----- | 8 |
| d. Wives | ----- | 16 |
| e. Brothers | ----- | 45 |
| f. Sisters | ----- | 36 |
| | | <hr/> 103 |
| Total persons involved | ----- | 201 |

The Very Rev. F. M. GALDAU.

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR)

ADDITIONAL LIST OF PERSONS, WHOSE RELEASE IS SOUGHT FROM THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

1. Name: Balaban, Cristache, U.S.A. citizen, 355 West Saratoga Street, Ferndale, Mich. 48220. Persons involved: Balaban, Ion, brother, 39 years; Balaban, Rodica, sister-in-law, 37 years; Balaban, Roxana-Grațela, 11 years, Blvd., Pacii No. 94-100, București, Sect. 7, Romania.

2. Name: Bucurescu, Marius, U.S.A. citizen, 15 Vermilyea Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10034. Persons involved: Bucurescu, Alexandru-Viorel, brother; Bucurescu, Magdalena, sister-in-law and 2 children, 15 years and 6 years, Blvd., Pacii, No. 74-76, apt. 24, București, Sect. 6, Romania.

3. Name: Gordan, Victor (M.D.), U.S.A. citizen, 120 Ruskin Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Persons involved: Gordan, Ana, mother, 78 years, for a short visit, Com. Bănășor, jud. Sălaj No. 326, Romania.

4. Name: Ionescu, Elena, permanent resident, 171 West, 71st Str., N.Y.C., N.Y. 10023. Persons involved: Irescu, born Ionescu, Micahela, 31, single, daughter, Bloc 6, Scara C, Apt. 2, Circum Valațiunii-Timișoara.

5. Name: Lefter, Jean, U.S.A. citizen, 1732 202th Street, Bayside, N.Y. 11360. Persons involved: Lefter, Dumitru, 70 years old, father, short visit; Lefter, Elvira, 63 years old, mother, Str. Viltorul No. 8, Bărlad, jud. Vaslui.

6. Name: Nituleasa, Gheorghe, permanent resident, 289 South 11th Avenue, Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Persons involved: Nituleasa, Vasile, 51 years, father (for a short visit); Nituleasa, Elena, 53 years, mother (for a short visit); Puzdrea, Dumitru, 32 years, single, step brother, for a short visit, Str. Arlesul Mare No. 2, Bloc I 11, Scara D, Apt. 47, București, Sec. 7, Romania.

7. Name: Stanescu, Stefan, permanent resident, 10403 Brush, Highland Park, Michigan, 48203. Persons involved: Stanescu, Mihaela, 17 years, sister, single, Str. Lazăr Săineanu No. 3, București, Sect. 7.

8. Name: Toma, Eremia, permanent resident, 3091 32nd Str., Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Toma, Teodor-Dorel, 29 years, Electro-Tech. Eng., son; Toma, Adriana, daughter-in-law, 29 years, Str. Baba-Novac No. 20, Bloc 24A, Scara A, Apt. 68, București, Romania, Sect. 4.

The Very Rev. FLORIAN M. GALDAU,
Chairman.

VITCO, DIVISION OF VITREOUS INTERNATIONAL TRADING CO., INC.,
MOUNT VERNON, N.Y., August 31, 1976.

Re September 8, 1976, Hearings on Extension of "Most Favored Nation" Status—
Romania.

SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Attention of Mr. Michael Stern (Staff Director).

GENTLEMEN: By our August 17 letter we had requested the opportunity of testifying at the subject hearings.

Unforeseen business problems will require the undersigned to be abroad at that period. Nevertheless, we would like our position to be a matter of record.

We are strongly in favor of maintaining the current Most Favored Nation status for Romania.

This policy is in the best general interest of our country, both on a short term and long term basis. Continuing and increasing trade means increasing contacts, increasing information, increasing understanding. Romania, politically Socialist, is striving for independence in the pursuit of its ideological and political goals. It is in our national interest to support this liberal tendency.

On a strictly commercial basis, MFN is also in the national interest. Our present trade balance is positive despite MFN. The more dollars Romania can earn, the more they will spend for U.S. goods with manifest benefits to U.S. production and industry. Romanian imports could tend to brake U.S. price inflation and cost of living.

To cancel MFN status would oblige Romania to direct their efforts to either other Western European nations or other Eastern European nations, and none of these channels would help us neither economically nor politically.

Not to ignore the emigration question, could we not be more influential in this domain by increasing our presence on the scene, rather than to withdraw and leave the game to be played by others.

Thanking you for this opportunity to voice our studied opinion, we remain,
Respectfully yours,

STEVE GANS.

STEFANIA GATAIANTU,
CHICAGO, ILL., August 24, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
*Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, U.S. Senate,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. STERN: My name is Stefania Gataiantu, and I am a Romanian emigrant, now a permanent resident of the United States and, as your committee is investigating the "Most Favored Nation Status" to Romania—my native country, and the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618), I would like to express my views on this subject.

Because of existing conditions in Romania, I decided to try to leave and find my freedom in the land where my father was born (he was born in Akron, Ohio).

In 1970, I escaped from Romania through Yugoslavia and found my way to Italy, where I received political asylum. In May, 1971, I immigrated to the U.S.A., where I am now a permanent resident and recently applied for naturalization.

My father has passed away and my brother too; my mother is now alone in Romania, with no one to take care of her. She is very ill, with a bad heart condition, and I am in a state of despair. It is my sincere wish to have her here with me so that I can take care of her. She resides at: Strada Popa Sapca Nr. 32, Bloc A12, Sc. C., Apt.-2, Timisoara, Romania, her name is Maria Gataiantu. Her wish is to come here to be with me, and she has discussed this a number of times with the American Ambassador in Bucharest.

In 1973, my mother applied for a passport but was refused an application. She tried again in 1974, and was refused; then in March of 1975, was refused again an application. The last time I know she tried for an exit visa was October 9th of 1975, with no results again. This year the Romanian Authorities refused a hearing with my mother regarding this matter.

To satisfy all the requirements of the Romanian Government, in July, 1974 I renounced my Romanian citizenship, and as yet I have not received acknowledgement. I very sincerely hope you can assist me in bringing my mother here. I am very concerned for her health and welfare.

Considering that the reunification of a family is a legal and moral act and the fact that Romanian Authorities are once more disregarding the International Laws by creating artificial barriers, I am now asking you to investigate the Romanian stand on immigration before decisions about our "Most Favored Nation Status" have been reached. Because such an important issue as "Freedom of Choice" has been ignored by Romania for many, many years, and too much distress created in our families—mine being only one of many, I entreat you to take into account this immigration problem, before making a decision on this agreement.

Sincerely,

STEFANIA GATAIANTU.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 30, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
*Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. STERN: Following, in accordance with your recent notice to those wishing to present their views, relative to the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974, is a resumé of my personal case to date.

I. PERSONAL STATISTICS

(a) ANA GAVRILESCU: refugee from Romania; permanent resident in U.S. since 1975.

(b) Family in Romania: husband, DUMITRU GAVRILESCU, holding a U.S. immigrant visa; daughter, ALEXANDRA GAVRILESCU, also holding a U.S. immigrant visa.

II. MY EFFORTS IN THE U.S. IN THEIR BEHALF

(a) Contacted the Romanian Embassy in Washington and spoke with Mr. Edu and Mr. Badalicescu, who advised (forced) me to accept status of a Romanian residing in a foreign country. I was promised that the problem of their emigrating from Romania would be resolved in time of 3 months.

(b) I wrote letters of appeal to Senators Jackson, Buckley, and Javits. Copies of the letters were sent to the American Embassy in Romania.

(c) Frustrated, with no hope in sight, on May 24, I joined the third Romanian hunger strike, manifesting before the United Nations, which after 23 days was organized on a permanent protest in which I have been an active member for the past 3 months to the present date.

III. RESULTS

(a) My husband in Romania was demoted three times in his job.

(b) My daughter was transferred to a less favorable job.

(c) Upon applying for passports, my husband and daughter were continuously refused the necessary applications forms with the pretext that new forms would soon be issued.

(d) After many months, they were finally told that they did not qualify for those wishing to emigrate. After protesting at the American Embassy, however, they were given the necessary forms and are presently waiting for an answer.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Based upon the above-mentioned frustrating account of my fruitless endeavors to convince the Romanian authorities to allow my family to be reunited with me in the U.S., I can only urge the Subcommittee, investigating the freedom of emigration clause of the Trade Act of 1974, to discontinue the granting of most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania until they release my family and the families of other refugees facing the same heartbreaking problem. The Romanians must be forced to answer for their shameless disregard of the provisions of the Trade Act.

Sincerely yours,

ANA GAVRILESCU.

STATEMENT OF ANA GAVRILESCU

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

Honorable SIR: My name is Ana Gavrilescu (maiden name: Ana Marinescu), I am Romanian born (September 9th, 1923 in Bucharest-Romania) and a permanent resident in United States since January 16, 1975, the date of my arrival for the first time in America where I have a brother now American citizen.

For 8 years in a row, the Romanian communist authorities rejected all of my petitions concerning the issuance of an exit visa which could allow me to leave Romania. Finally, after strong protests, I obtained a tourist passport and on May 6th, 1974 I reached Turkey. From that country I traveled to Austria and after to Italy, in July 1974 where I asked for political asylum and the due permission to emigrate in United States.

Established in this country of freedom, I contacted the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. (March 1975) in order to give up my Romanian citizenship. The answer: the necessary proceedings will last up to two years and my request can be rejected. The same Embassy advised me to accept the status of Romanian citizen permanently residing in U.S., the only way which will assure the emigration in America of my family left in Romania no later than 2-3 months after. I

did so. About eight months after my acceptance, I received the papers proving my new status in U.S.A.

The promises of Romanian Embassy in United States have been a trap. Instead of permission to leave that country, the Romanian authorities began to persecute the members of my family living over there. Their earnings have been cut short, any promotion denied and all kind of menaces used against them. The Romanian authorities turned down their applications for exit visa pretexting that they do not comply with the "general conditions" of emigration as viewed by the regime.

In this desperate situation, I contacted the U.S. Senators Henry Jackson and James Buckley and I hope that their interventions will be of real help.

The members of my family still in Romania are: (1) Dumitru Gavrilescu, born on May 20, 1924 in Bucharest-Romania, husband, (2) Alexandra Gavrilescu, born on July 9th, 1954 in Bucharest-Romania, daughter. Both are residing now at this address: Plata Natliunlor Unite, Bloc B2, Scara B, etaj V, Apt. 52, Sector V, Bucharest-Romania.

A split family creates an unbearable situation. In order to have my family along with me, on May 24th, 1970 I started a Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave this place until my daughter and husband will join me here.

The Romanian regime led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ignores the Human Rights and all responsibilities assumed internationally in this respect. Calling your attention to the above shown situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as representative of the American people in order to persuade Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to the hostage members of my family the necessary visa for their travel to United States and our togetherness.

Thank you for your humanitarian support.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,
August 30, 1976.

RICHARD RIVERS,
U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RIVERS: Thank you for sending me the Committee August 6 press release concerning the hearings on the subject of granting most-favored-nation tariff treatment to Romania.

In view of your remarks on the telephone, and in view of the obviously very crowded calendar you expect for the hearings, I am not requesting time to testify, and accordingly am not addressing this letter to the Committee Staff Director. I am enclosing with this letter a copy of the correspondence sent to the Romanian Embassy, concerning the plight of Professor Mihai Gavrilă formerly of the University of Bucharest. The Embassy has acknowledged the letter, but no action has been taken.

If this information is suitable for inclusion in the Committee records and report, I shall be very pleased to have it included. Should you feel that testimony from me would be helpful, I shall be very glad to testify of course. Most of all, however, I would appreciate your bringing this information about Professor Gavrilă to the attention of the Senators on your Committee, in the hope that they will be willing to use their good offices directly with the Romanian government, explaining that the release of Professor Gavrilă's children will be regarded as a humanitarian gesture in keeping with the intent of the emigration provisions of the Trade Act.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

EDWARD GERJUOY,
Professor of Physics.

Enclosure.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,
July 15, 1976.

HON. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
Ambassador, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR AMBASSADOR NICOLAE: I enclose a letter, signed by a group of American scientists from several institutions, requesting your aid in the reunification of

the family of the Romanian physicist Mihai Gavrilă. The letter details the circumstances and our knowledge of this family, and it urges reunification of this family in view both of the most favored nation trading status granted Romania and of the general humanitarian principles to which Romania subscribes. We request that you promptly transmit this letter to the highest Romanian authorities and urgently work to achieve the reunification of the Gavrilă family. We will hope to hear from you soon regarding the progress of your efforts; you may contact this group of scientists through me at this address. I would be pleased to meet with you in Washington to discuss this situation. I may be reached by phone at (412) 624-4353 (at work) or (412) 243-5774 (at home). If you are unable to reach me please contact Professor R. H. Pratt, at the same address, phone (412) 624-4304 (at work) or (412) 362-5567 (at home).

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD GERJUOY,
Professor of Physics.

Enclosures.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,
July 15, 1976.

HON. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
*Ambassador, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR AMBASSADOR NICOLAE: The undersigned wish to assist the children of Professor Mihai Gavrilă, who have been unable to obtain permission from Romanian authorities to leave Romania and rejoin their parents. We are physicists and scientists from various universities and research institutes in the United States, most of whom have known Professor Gavrilă personally and have collaborated with him. We are writing to request your assistance in reunifying this family.

Dr. Mihai Gavrilă worked for 23 years in the Department of Physics of the University of Bucharest, becoming a professor in 1968. He has done substantial research in the field of atomic physics, which we value and respect, making major contributions to the understanding of atomic photoelectric effect, Rayleigh scattering, and Compton scattering. He has collaborated with American physicists since 1959 and was well known to us, as well as to his colleagues in Romania, for his efforts to promote U.S.-Romanian scientific relations. These resulted in many visits of U.S. scientists to Romania, which he arranged, the coming of several Romanian graduate students for studies in the United States, his participation in cooperative research programs in atomic physics with some of us, the signing of a U.S.-Romanian agreement for scientific collaboration between certain institutions, etc. In the last ten years Dr. Gavrilă has spent, at various times, a total of three years in the United States, working at the Joint Institute for Laboratory Astrophysics (of the National Bureau of Standards and the University of Colorado), Boulder, Colorado and at the Department of Physics, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During these years he visited many universities and research institutes and became widely known among American scientists.

In 1975 Professor Mihai Gavrilă and his wife Liana Gavrilă-Serbescu decided not to return to Romania. They are now residents of Sweden and Holland. However, their two children (Ioa, daughter, age ten, and Dariu, son, age eight) are still in Romania, living in Bucharest, Str. Sf. Constantin 27, with one of their grandparents.

The efforts of Professor Gavrilă and his wife during the past year to obtain permission for their children to leave Romania and join them have been unsuccessful. These efforts may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, on August 3, 1975, a memorandum was presented to the Romanian embassy in Stockholm stating their intention of not returning to Romania and requesting exit permission for their children in Bucharest. On August 24 they filed application forms, received from the embassy, requesting the status of residents abroad. Similar memoranda and requests were sent in October 1975 to the "State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania" in Bucharest and to the Romanian embassy in The Hague. No answer was received. After a renewed request to the Romanian embassy in Stockholm in January 1976, they were notified that Romanian authorities in Bucharest had rejected their application to establish residence abroad, which is a prerequisite to obtain the children. (For your information, a copy of this response is enclosed.) This March they succeeded in talking personally to the Romanian ambassador in Stockholm, but the interview was not encouraging. In June the Romanian consul in The Hague

informed them that the application to establish residence abroad filed there had been rejected by the Romanian authorities.

We understand that meanwhile the situation of the Gavrila's family in Bucharest has deteriorated. The supervision of their children lies in the hands of the two grandparents still alive, age 74 and 78 years, infirm, in increasingly poor health, of limited physical stamina and less certain mental capacity. In these circumstances it is understandable that the remaining family can not properly care for themselves and are facing severe hardship.

We do believe that the Gavrila children should have the right to leave Romania to live with their parents. The right of emigration is in fact United States policy, and the Trade Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-618), for example, states that:

"To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights, * * * products from any nonmarket economy country shall not be eligible to receive non-discriminatory treatment (most-favored nation treatment), * * * such country shall not participate in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, directly or indirectly, * * * (and) the President of the United States shall not conclude any commercial agreement with any such country, * * * during the period (that) * * * the President determines that such country * * * denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate * * *."

Waiver of these provisions requires that the President determine that the objectives of the provisions are thereby substantially promoted and further that the President "has received assurance that the emigration practices of that country will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of (these) objectives." Continuation of such a waiver requires a recommendation by the President and a review by the Congress each year. We note that President Nicolae Ceausescu visited Washington, D.C. June 11, 1975 to inform President Ford and members of Congress that Romania was eligible for these United States trade preferences (New York Times, June 12); he was quoted as saying he wished Romania to be judged "on its performance." As you know, the resulting trade agreement was formally affirmed by Presidents Ceausescu and Ford in Bucharest August 3, 1975. Continued enjoyment of these trade benefits appears to be incompatible with a continued refusal to allow the remaining members of the Gavrila family to emigrate from Romania.

But, perhaps of still greater importance, we believe the apparent attitude of the Romanian authorities seems inconsistent with the humanitarian principles to which we all subscribe and which we understand Romania has often and openly advocated. We note that on August 1, 1975 in Helsinki President Nicolae Ceausescu signed on behalf of Romania the Declaration of the European Security Conference, which committed "the participating States [to] deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family; with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character" and to "deal with applications in this field as expeditiously as possible." A situation involving minor children and aged grandparents, separated from the parents, is clearly urgent. It is a basic humanitarian principle and right of the family that children should be raised by their own parents. It is not parents who should follow their minor children, but rather the reverse. Children should not be exposed to hardships in order to punish and exert pressure on their parents.

In bringing this case to your attention we request you to undertake all steps needed to urgently persuade the Romanian authorities to permit as soon as possible the children of our colleague, Professor Mihai Gavrila, to rejoin their parents. This would be a very positive step in the promotion of friendly Romanian-American relations and an indication that your government does honor its commitments. We will hope to receive a favorable response from you soon. We would be pleased to meet with you to discuss the situation. We are also prepared, if we conclude it appropriate, to discuss this problem more widely among our colleagues, our fellow citizens, the representatives of our government, and appropriate international organizations.

Sincerely,

EDWARD GERJUOY,
Professor of Physics.

Enclosure.

SIGNATURE PAGE

REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE IN REUNIFYING THE GAVRILA FAMILY

Myron P. Garfunkel, Professor, Chairman, Department of Physics and Astronomy; Jurg X. Saladin, Professor; Manfred Biondi, Professor; Wade L. Flite, Professor; Wilfried Daehnick, Professor; Ezra T. Newman, Professor; Bernard L. Cohen, Professor; Jeffrey Winicour, Associate Professor; Norman Austern, Professor; Frank Tabakin, Professor; Eugene Engels, Jr., Professor; Raymond S. Willey, Professor; David Jasnow, Associate Professor; Walter I. Goldberg, Professor; Allen I. Janis, Professor; Lorne A. Page, Professor; Frederic Keffer, Professor; Elizabeth Banger, Professor, Associate Dean of Faculty of Arts and Science; Darryl D. Coon, Associate Professor.

NOTE.—All of the above are members of the faculty of the Department of Physics and Astronomy, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15260.

Ronald Geballe, Professor, Executive Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences; Edward E. Stern, Professor; Hanan Shechter, Visiting Associate Professor; Professor, Chairman, Department of Physics; Norval Fortson, Professor; J. G. Dash, Professor, David G. Boulware, Professor; John S. Blair, Professor; Mark N. McDermott, Professor; Jere Lord, Professor; Lillian C. McDermott, Associate Professor; Kenneth C. Clark, Professor; Oscar Vilches, Associate Professor; John G. Cramer, Professor; Robert L. Ingalls, Professor; Fred H. Schmidt, Professor; Samuel C. Fain, Jr., Associate Professor; David Bodansky, Professor.

NOTE.—All of the above are members of the faculty of the Department of Physics, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98195.

Dr. Albert A. Bartlett, Professor of Physics; Dr. Robert D. Richtmyer, Professor of Mathematics; Dr. Carl K. Iddings, Professor of Physics; Dr. Ernest S. Rost, Professor of Physics; Dr. David A. Lind, Professor of Physics and Chairman of the Department of Physics and Astrophysics; Dr. Wesley E. Brittin, Professor of Physics; Dr. Neil Ashby, Professor of Physics; Ms. Ursula J. Palmer, Research Mathematician, Joint Institute for Laboratory Astrophysics; Dr. Jeffrey L. Linsky, Associate Professor Adjunct of Astrogeophysics, Fellow of JILA; Dr. Carl J. Hansen, Professor of Astrophysics; Dr. John P. Cox, Professor of Astrophysics, Fellow of The Joint Institute for Laboratory Astrophysics; Dr. John I. Castor, Associate Professor of Astrophysics, Fellow of The Joint Institute for Laboratory Astrophysics; Dr. Masataka Mizushima, Professor of Physics; Dr. Sydney Geltman, Professor Adjunct of Physics, Fellow of The Joint Institute for Laboratory Astrophysics; Dr. Kalyana T. Mahanthappa, Professor of Physics; Dr. Julius London, Professor of Astrogeophysics; Dr. Paul Phillipson, Associate Professor of Physics; Dr. William F. Love, Professor of Physics; Dr. David F. Bartlett, Associate Professor of Physics; Dr. Stanley C. Miller, Professor of Physics; Dr. John R. Taylor, Professor of Physics; University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Dr. Winthrop W. Smith, Professor of Physics, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.; Dr. Neal F. Lane, Professor of Physics, Rice University, Houston, Tex.; Dr. Donald G. Truhlar, Associate Professor of Chemistry, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

John S. Rldgen, Professor and Chairman; Cornel Eftimiu, Professor of Physics; Peter H. Handel, Professor of Physics; Jacob J. Leventhal, Associate Professor of Physics; Gerald R. North, Associate Professor of Physics; Phillip B. James, Associate Professor of Physics; Bernard J. Feldman, Assistant Professor of Physics; Department of Physics, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.

Myron Bander, Professor, Department of Physics, University of California; Paul Thomas, Resident, Physicist, DAMPT University

of Cambridge England and Department of Physics, University of California; Dr. Sydney Meshkov, National Bureau of Standards, Washington, D.C.; Frederick Reines, Professor of Physics, University of California; Riley Newman, Associate Professor of Physics, University of California; Gordon Shaw, Professor of Physics, University of California; Christoph Schmid, Professor, Eidgen. Techn. Hochschule Zürich and Cal. Tech.; Raoul Bott, Professor, Department of Mathematics, Harvard University.

Mark Mandelkern, Associate Professor, Department of Physics; Jonas Schultz, Professor of Physics and Dean of Graduate School; Gerhard Kallisch, Professor of Mathematics; Virginia Trimble, Associate Professor of Physics; Joseph Weber, Professor of Physics; Howard L. Resniko, Chairman, Department of Mathematics; Bruce Bennett, Associate Professor of Mathematics; Meinhard E. Mayer, Professor of Physics and Mathematics; Norman Rostoker, Chairman, Department of Physics; Douglas L. Mills, Professor of Physics; University of California, Irvine, Calif.

Aaron Temkin, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), Goddard Space Flight Center; R. Stephen Berry, Professor of Chemistry, The University of Chicago; Stuart A. Rice, Chairman, Department of Chemistry, The University of Chicago; Ugo Fano, Professor of Physics, The University of Chicago; Mark G. Inghram, Samuel K. Allison Distinguished Service, Professor of Physics, The University of Chicago; Isaac D. Abella, Associate Professor of Physics in the College, The University of Chicago.

Professor Benjamin Bederson, Chairman; Daniel Zwanziger, Professor of Physics; Leonard Rosenberg, Professor of Physics; Larry Spruch, Professor of Physics; Lawrence A. Bornstein, Professor of Physics; Edward J. Robinson, Associate Professor of Physics; Leonard Yarmus, Professor of Physics; Paul R. Berman, Associate Professor of Physics; Bernard A. Lippmann, Professor of Physics; Henry Stroke, Professor of Physics; Richard A. Brandt, Associate Professor of Physics; Department of Physics, New York University.

Dr. J. W. Mott, Gaithersburg, Md.; John H. Hubbell, Rockville, Md.; Dr. Randall S. Caswell, Silver Spring, Md.; Dr. J. Joseph Coyne, Kensington, Md.; Dr. Margarete Ehrlich, Chevy Chase, Md.; Dr. Charles E. Dick, Rockville, Md.; Dr. Lewis V. Spencer, Gaithersburg, Md.; Dr. Martin J. Berger, Bethesda, Md.; Charles M. Eisenhauer, Rockville, Md.; Dr. Samuel Penner, Potomac, Md.; Dr. Abraham Schwebel, Silver Spring, Md.; Dr. Wilfrid B. Mann, Chevy Chase, Md.; Dr. Robert Loevinger, Rockville, Md.; Walter R. Johnson, Professor of Physics, Notre Dame University; A. Dalgarno, F.R.S., Chairman, Department of Astronomy, Harvard University; G. A. Victor, Lecturer in Astronomy, Harvard University.

AMBASADA
REPUBLIC SOCIALISTE ROMANIA,
Stockholm, Ianuarie 20, 1976.

STIMATE D-LE PROF. GAVRILA: Confirmăm primirea ultimei dvs. scrisori și vă informăm că cererile privind aprobarea stabilirii domiciliului în străinătate au fost trimise spre soluționare autorităților competente din R.S. Romania, iar recent ni s-a comunicat că ele nu au fost aprobate.

Pentru lămuriri suplimentare, vă rugăm să luați legătura direct cu ambasada, telefon nr. 20.56.74, în zilele de luni, miercuri și vineri între orele 10-12,30.

ION PAVEL.

STATEMENT OF ANCA-DINA GOGA

I am Anca-Dina Goga a Romanian architect who on September 15, 1975, together with my son arrived in the United States with "permanent resident" status (A 35 332 026) to rejoin my husband, Gheorghe Goga, political refugee (from Romania) since June 1974.

I am presently working as a interior and furniture designer at Spencer and Company—8780 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles.

I am the only child of my parents living actually in Romania: my father, Gheorghe Declanu born at Sivita-Galati, Romania, in April 9, 1913, and my mother, Ellsabetta Declinau born at Craiova, Romania, in June 17, 1909. They live in Bucharest at 27 General Praporgescu Str. Sector I.

Since my parents have no other relative left in Romania, they as well as my husband and I wish to be reunited. Therefore I ask for an immigrant visa and a permanent residence for both parents. In March 1976, I and my husband sent to the American Embassy in Bucharest the affidavit of support.

On March 2, 1976 my parents went to the Romanian authorities and explained their intention to immigrate to United States, where their daughter is living holding a permanent residency. Romanian authorities denied their verbal request by holding them a questionnaire about their names, address, country of destination and reason of immigration. After they filled the questionnaire, they were told to go home and wait for authorities decision to send them the immigration forms. After one month the answer was no without explanation.

This is a new way for Romanian authorities to delude any written evidence of any demand. Therefore in an eventual international dialog between United States and Romanian authorities they would be able to show that nobody in Romania want to leave the country. My intention is to call your attention especially upon this main item.

After this denial was received, my parents went for various hearings to the Romanian authorities and wrote several complaints but without any result.

My parents went to the Consulate of the United States Embassy in Bucharest where they expressed their desire to go to their child and told them about their difficulties.

In the same time I received a letter from the American Consul in Bucharest, by which he informed me that my parents are able to apply for departure.

As per my above explanation the Romanian government does not observe the amendment which provides for the "reunion of the family" and which was a condition for ratification of "Most Favored Nation" treatment for Romania.

The government does not permit my parents to leave Romania despite the fact that:

—they are old people without relatives in Romania except for me.

—my parents have never held political office, or been involved in politics.

This case is very clear and is included in the provisions agreed to by Romania in signing the accord regarding "Most Favored Nations" treatment with the United States, and in signing the International Pact Regarding the Economic, Political, and Civil Rights (art. 12, par. 2).

I hope that the re-opening of debate in Congress in the near future over the "Most Favored Nation" treatment for Romania, will help in solving this case favorably.

I am a desperate daughter fighting for the liberty and existence of my parents and appeal to you with the hope that you will help me to save my parents.

WEST ORANGE, N.J., August 27, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBIKOFF,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RIBIKOFF: I am appealing to your humanitarian feelings, to help me reunite my family.

My sister in law Ioana Szabo resident of Bulevardul Leontin Salajan 31A Bloc D1 Scara 13 et. 1 apt. 6 Bucuresti Romania, would like to join her husband Paul Szabo resident of 2285 Rue Saint Mathieu apt. 405 Montreal Quebec Canada.

She applied for an exit visa and so far did not receive any answer. My brother in law (he is my wife's only brother) left Romania illegally last year to join us in the free world.

Thank you for your help.

Very truly yours

GEORGE GOTTHARD.

STATEMENT OF WALTER GRAUB

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ART. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Walter Graur, I am Romanian born (March 6th, 1946) in the village of Deleni, District of Vaslui, Romania and since April 7th, 1976 a resident in United States of America.

Soon after the year of 1950, the Romanian communist regime expropriated the entire estate of my family during the so-called "collectivisation of the Romanian agriculture". Because of this, my parents became poor and unable to pay off the expenses related to a higher education for me. So I attended a professional school, working after that as a mechanic with various plants.

On July 11th, 1974 I have been sent for work in the Democratic Republic of Germany, but on November 20th, 1975 I have been recalled in Romania without explanations. Instead of returning in Romania, I went underground to Italy where I asked for political asylum and permission to emigrate in U.S. I avoided to go back in my old country because refusing to become a member of the Romanian Communist Party, they stopped any promotion during my professional activities in Romania.

Coming to this country of freedom and opportunities, I left in communist Romania these members of my family:

Mioara Graur, wife, born on September 20th, 1947 (maiden name: Mioara Dumitrescu) and

Melania Giselle Graur, daughter, born on February 12th, 1974 both of them living now in the town of Pollesti-Romania, str. Caporal Dumitrescu no. 68.

As a young man, it is my firm intention to build up a happy new life for all of us, but the Romanian communist regime does not allow the missing members of my own family join me here. This regime headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon within the Trade Agreement of 1975 with the United States, and despite all their promises and assumed obligations therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford, and the political personalities of the United States.

In these circumstances, openly protesting the barbarian conduct of the Romanian communist regime, since May 31st, 1976 I started a Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave that spot until my missing member of family will come to United States.

Calling your attention to the above shown situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade Romanian rulers respect wholly their obligations and grant, among others, to my wife and daughter still kept hostages in Romania, the necessary exit visa for their travel to U.S. and the reunification of our split family.

I warmly thank you for your humanitarian help.

STATEMENT OF MR. WALTER GRAUR

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SENATORS: I thank you with all of my heart to the U.S. Senate because I was invited at the hearing of September 8, 1976 to explain the tragedy of my family who is hostage in Communist Romanian.

My name is Walter Graur I am Romanian born (on March 10, —) and I became a U.S.A. resident on April 7, 1976. Soon after the year 1950, the Romanian Communist Regime appropriated the entire estate of my family during the so-called collectivisation of the Romanian Agriculture.

Because of this, my parents became poor and unable to pay off the expenses related to a higher education former. So I attended a professional school, working after that as a mechanic with various plants.

On July 11, 1974 I was sent to work in the Democratic Republic of Germany, but on November 20, 1975 I was recalled to Romanian without explanation. Instead of returning to Romanian I went underground to Italy where I asked for political asylum and permission to emigrate in the United States of America. I avoided going back to my native country, because refusing to become a member of the Romanian Communist Party. They stopped any promotion during the

professional activities in Romanian. Coming to this country of freedom and opportunities I left behind in Communist Romanian my family as hostages.

1. Midara Graur, wife, born on September 20, 1947 (maiden name Nidara Dumitrescu) and

2. Melania Giselle Graur, daughter born on February 12, 1974 both of: Strada Caprol dumatres cu no. 63, Ploesti—Romanian.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu does not respect The Pariah Treaty of Peace 1947. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, The Helsinki Agreement 1975, nor condition of easing the emigration from Romania agreed within the Trade Agreement and M.F.N. closed with the U.S.A. in 1975 and kept as hostages thousands of relatives of Americans by Romanian descent. Since May 31, 1976 I joint The Third Romanian Hunger Strike for family Reunion in front of the United States organization of New York City which started on May 24, 1976 and after 23 days was changed in Permanent Protest and I was still protesting till now in order to persuade Nicolae Ceausescu to grant exit visas to my hostage wife and daughter 2 yrs. old. Instead of respecting his international agreement about free emigration and family reunion, the Romanian Communist Government headed by Nicolae Ceausescu does not give the application form for exist visas to my hostage wife and daughter. Since I joined the Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion my hostage wife is always interviewed under pressure by the Romanian Communist Secret Police so-called "security".

Our mail and telephone were cut. The Romanian Security lied that my wife does not want to join me here in the U.S.A.

Despite a lot of her letters in which she wrote to me to make all what is possible to bring her and my daughter to the U.S.A. as quick as I can. For this reason after one hunger strike and more than three months of Permanent Protest I will join The Fourth Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion which will start on September 5, 1976 in Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATORS: Desperately I appeal to the U.S. Senate that does not grant the most favored Nations clause to the Romanian Communist Government until my hostage family and the hostage families of all Romanian hunger strikers for family reunion join us in freedom in the U.S.A.

I thank again the U.S. Senate for the humanitarian support.

GENEVA, September 3, 1976.

Re Emigration visas from Rumania for Greceanu, Constantin, resident in Bucarest (Rumania), Columb street No. 13, in view of family reunification (his mother and sister living in Switzerland).

GENTLEMEN, I the undersigned, Mrs. Greceanu-Javet, Bianca, widow, of Swiss nationality, resident in Geneva, 8, chemin des Capucines, beneficiary of an old-age rent, 79 years old, kindly asks you to call in the good offices of competent authorities in order to facilitate the departure from his country (Rumania) of my son, Greceanu, Constantin, born December 6, 1923, resident in Bucharest, Columb street No. 13.

It is in my quality of desperate mother that I apply to you. I have not seen my son for six years and am advanced in age with all relevant health complications.

I am living in Geneva, with my daughter, 47 years old, political refugee in Switzerland who remained invalid after a severe illness—hemiplegia on the left side. My son and my daughter are my only children and my last wish is to have them with me for the end of my life, so much the more as I am relying upon the moral assistance of my son who took all the necessary steps for emigration.

I am at your disposal for any other information.

Very truly yours,

B. GRECEANU.

SOUNDESIGN CORP.,
Jersey City, N.J., September 3, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Subject: Determination under Section 402(d) (1) of The Trade Act of 1974.

DEAR MR. STERN: We wish to inform you of our interest in the upcoming Senate hearing on a review of our Trade Agreement with Romania.

Soundesign Corporation is a major importer of Home Entertainment Electronics.

Our volume of sales runs in excess of \$100,000,000 annually, and we are looking forward to a year which will show a marked increase in sales once again.

We have recently concluded negotiations with Romania for importation of a substantial quantity of radios, and we are of course most concerned that they should have an extension regarding most favored nations treatment.

We firmly believe that there is a very strong future for a business relationship between Romania and the United States which should be most helpful in solidifying mutually beneficial trade associations.

We strongly urge therefore that most favored nations status be extended to Romania.

Yours respectfully,

A. HAMOWY,
Director of Purchasing.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY,
Toronto, Canada, June 1, 1976.

Re MFN for Romania.
Senator RUSSELL LONG,
Chairman, Senate Finance Committee, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: I lived in Romania during the first half of 1974 as an American exchange scientist. I returned on a personal visit for a week in April of this year.

As you may be aware, the internal situation there has been worsening for the last two years. The brief but much appreciated period of Jewish emigration in the summer of 1975 was aimed at getting the good opinion of the U.S. Congress. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, that is all it was aimed at, and so it exemplified a highly discontinuous policy. Having achieved their purpose, such periods are generally followed by restrictions tighter than those previously obtaining. Thus, at present, borders are virtually sealed. In general: in terms of the suppression of legitimate human aspirations and the resulting dispiritness of the citizenry, Romania is, among East Bloc nations, second only to Albania.

A special interest: I will shortly request permission to marry a Romanian citizen. The procedure will be long and, for her, exceedingly difficult. If you or anyone known to you are in the practice of supporting such cases, I would be most grateful to learn about it.

In conclusion: I beg you to proceed with the greatest care in the upcoming review of the MFN for Romania.

Yours truly,

Dr. R. F. HASSING.

DECEMBER 2, 1975.

DEAR SIR: We have heard with very much joy about the fact that our country signed all the treaty from the International Conference from Helsinki and we have had impression that came the moment when we are free to emigrate from Romania.

Once again Jackson amendment given us new hopes receiving the clause of the most favoured nation through which the economic treaty has been conditioned by discharging of emigrations from Romania.

But our hopes were disappointed once again and we have no chance to emigrate.

We are a family which asked for since 1970 the approval of emigrations - but the respective authorities refused our requirement.

We have shown them all the reasons for which we want to leave this country and they are the following.

All our relations there are in Occident and we have shown their addresses from U.S.A., Israel, Brasil and France.

We believe in God and we are not well appreciated in our job if we are not Party member.

Our authorities told us that the country have need by us, but we are given out of our jobs because we asked for to emigrate.

I have duodenal ulcer and all this persecutions aggravate my sickness due permanent injustices.

Having in view the above considerations, please be so kind and help us in this problem, because the authorities in passports do not want to respect all the treaties and agreements signed with their hand.

We thank you from all our heart because you are untired fighter for human justices and people from our country is grateful for your constant with what you defend human dignity from all over the world.

If you want to give us an answer please write to the following address: Madame Huchet Hellene, 54, Avenue Gabriel Péri, 92230—Gennevilliers, France.

If some intervention can be made for us, our names and addresses are the following: Domnul Nedelcu Maur, Str. Dezrobirii nr 12, bl. 23, sc. A, et. 2, ap. 10, Sect. 7, Bucuresti, Romania; Domnul Nedelcu Cornellus, Str. Berzel nr 26, Sect. 7, Bucuresti, Romania; Domnul Nedelcu Emanuel, Str. Zori de Zi nr 77, Sect. 6, Bucuresti, Romania; Doamna Nedelcu Maria, Str. Zori de Zi nr 77, Sect. 6, Bucuresti, Romania.

We remain your faithfully.

HOHENBERG Co., Inc.

New York, N.Y., August 23, 1976.

Re Hearings on continued Most-Favored-Nations Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,

Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I would greatly appreciate your accepting my views in favor of continuing most-favored-nations during the current hearings.

My name is Bernard L. Hohenberg; I am president of Hohenberg Co., Inc. and Hobron Spinning Corp. My company is a distributor of yarn and textile fibers. We import many of our products from Western Europe.

Among our imports during the last year have been limited quantities of yarns and synthetic fibers from Romania.

It is my belief that the importation of products from the Romanian fiber industry is of advantage to the American public for the following reasons:

1. Romanian products are of very good quality and competitively priced with products from other European manufacturers and, considering market conditions, duty structure and other costs, are competing with unbranded products of US manufacturers on an equal level.

2. The products of the Romanian fiber industry are acting as a stabilizer as far as insufficient supply of US producers is concerned, which occurred in the third and fourth quarter of 1975 and the first quarter of 1976, in specific areas, such as polyester fibers.

3. Products of the Romanian fiber industry, which are a semi-raw material, are manufactured into finished products by the American textile industry and represent in its finished form good value to the American consumer, in the lower income brackets by utilizing American textiles and industry labor to its fullest extent.

4. Because the raw materials used in the Romanian fiber industry are petroleum based and such raw materials are generally of Romanian origin, American industry indirectly becomes less dependent on OPEC countries for supplies of petroleum based products.

It is for these reasons that I respectfully request the Committee's tariff treatment of continuing most-favored-nations for Romania.

Yours respectfully,

BERNARD L. HOHENBERG.

UNITED ISRAEL WORLD UNION,

New York, N.Y., September 7, 1976.

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,

Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RIBICOFF: I understand that your Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance is holding a hearing on the issue of

extending the most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania on Wednesday, 8 September 1976.

I wish to take this opportunity to inform you and your Committee that during several recent visits to Romania I was pleasantly surprised to find among the people and the leaders of Government a spirit fully consistent with democratic principles I have found in freedom-loving states. I had no feeling whatsoever of being in a country where its inhabitants do not enjoy full liberty and all the freedoms which we enjoy here in the United States.

In my several meetings with Romania's Chief Rabbi Moshe Rosen I received a clear picture of how the Jewish citizens all through Romania enjoy complete religious freedom and I was especially impressed with the many independent Jewish institutions, educational and religious, etc. I also found that the other minorities in that nation, such as the Hungarians and others, enjoy similar freedoms.

In this connection, I thought you may be interested in seeing a recent document entitled "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" (CERD/C/SR/295) concerning minorities in Romania and which was taken up at the fourteenth session of the Committee on 3 August 1976 here at UN.

Dear Senator, the fact that Romania retained her diplomatic relations with Israel when all the other Communist nations broke theirs during the 1967 war should prove something to us here in America. Therefore, we in our movement deem it most vital that the most-favored-nation status be extended.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID HOROWITZ, *President.*

STATEMENT OF BASIL D. HULUBAY

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Basil D. Hulubay. I was born in Romania, Bucharest, on March 13, 1927. I am a citizen of the United States through naturalization. In Romania I was an actor for 23 years at the "Lucia Sturza-Bulandra" theatre, where I performed many leading parts in classical repertory. Besides, I was Assistant Professor at the Institute of Arts (Bucharest, Romania) and screen writer. In May 1969 when our theatre performed in Italy, I defected from communist dominated Romania. In October 1969 I entered the United States.

My political life in Romania was a continuous chain of troubles and I was very well known as an anticommunist person. My grandmother's brother, Marin Barnowsky, who came to this country at the beginning of the century, was the first American in our family.

This year I managed to open a theatrical company in New York (of which I am the President). For the time being the aim of this company is to play American repertory in Romanian.

Unfortunately, leaving Romania I left behind me my close family who consequently had a great deal of trouble with the Romanian authorities. I was sentenced to 4½ years of prison for having defected from Romania.

My family I claim consists of: Mother: Ana Hulubel, age 75, born in Bucharest, Romania. She has no pension nor other income. Sister: Victoria Hulubel, age 52, born in Bucharest, Romania. She works as accountant and tries hard to face all difficulties. Nephew: Razvan Atanasiu, age 25, born in Bucharest, Romania. He is student at the Institute of Arts. All of them live at the same address: Piata Cosmonautilor 1A, Bucharest, Romania.

I dare to address this request to you because this is the only favorable and unique opportunity for my family to join me in this country. This is our last chance to be together. You certainly know more about this than I do. To wait for another trade like this might be hazardous and possibly too late for my mother ever to see me again. We desperately need your help; without it, my family is condemned to live behind the iron curtain forever. What is left to them is fear and a hopeless life, endless waiting, as my father waited for the Americans to come and free Romania, until he died. Please open my family their way to freedom!

Under these circumstances, as a protest against the Romanian authorities and their political attitude of non-acceptance to free people, I started a hunger strike at the United Nations today, May 24, 1976 and will not leave it until my family can join me in the United States. The Romanian authorities headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the Paris Treatise of Peace (1947), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Helsinki Agreement (1975).

I appeal to you, honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American Nation in order to persuade the Romanian Government to respect the most important of the human rights—Freedom—and let my family come over.

Thank you for your humanitarian understanding and help,
God Bless America; God Bless You. Honorable Sir.

BASIL D. HULUBAY.

STATEMENT OF BASIL DAVID HULUBAY

Considering this a very big chance for me to thank you for your invitation to the hearing, I take this opportunity to add my voice to the other thousands of people, informing you of the true conditions of life in Rumania where I lived for more than 40 years.

I express my strong opposition to the continuation of granting Rumania the most favored status. The Rumanian Government does not deserve it and Rumanian people have no benefit of it. Their life is so poor. Every day means another battle for food, a fight against starvation, doing "voluntary" unpaid overtime or attending endless political meetings where their brains are washed and they become nothing else but silent robots good only to work without thoughts.

Under these circumstances, your money, meant to help people, really goes exclusively for communist propoganda goals or for buying weapons for Portugal, Angola or South American guerrillas; or even worse, for underground war in the United States.

The Rumanian Government continuously and systematically refuses the emigration of Rumanians and other ethnic groups. They openly deny the rights of emigration of their citizens. Any person that legally tries or even only intends to emigrate suddenly becomes a suspect, hostile for the communist regime and an enemy of the country and from then on a long chain of troubles starts ahead, like: being retrograded on the job, moved to another job with a lower salary or moved to another city, if not dismissed for good. All methods are used to intimidate him, to pursue him to give up, to change his mind, by all means. Interrogatory sessions and terror are used day after day by security officers to threaten people. Useless to speak about freedom of speech and press.

Rumanian leaders always violate the agreements which they sign and the democratic principles upon which they swear. They never keep a promise, their rule is "lies and brazeness", in order to obtain your credits, to become stronger, to be able to oppress Rumanian people and to become more powerful to fight against you.

Honorable Sir, permit me to express my statement and my testimony against this inhuman, cruel dictatorship regime. I please you not to grant with the most favored clause this unpopular regime—full of prisons where people are terrorized "without discrimination".

Millions of Rumanians for whom America is the last island of freedom in this world expect so much from you, I mean really to do something for their freedom. . . . But if again you will trust the communists' skillful promises and grant them like always . . . they will soon change their face and it will be too late for us when, once again "the guillotine", the iron curtain, will cut through our destiny. Please, don't do it!

God bless America.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA,
Detroit, Mich., September 8, 1976.

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

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In the name of the Committee for the Defense of the Romanian Transylvania with Headquarters in Detroit-Michigan, I would like herewith to express our gratefulness for the privilege to testify on behalf of the continuation of the most favored Nations Status of Romania.

It is well realized that conditions in Romania are not the ideal ones? But that applies to all nationalities living within the borders of Romania in extending a helping hand to that nation, we pave the way toward a better understanding and through same? A better co-operation that will serve as an example to the other nations under the communist yoke.

The Hungarian minority in Romania of to-day, enjoys the same rights and privileges as any other national in Romania and many a time, even more so, since a majority of said population segment, occupy leading positions within the communist hierarchy of the state.

Access to the goods of the world, creates good will among the nations, eliminating thusly causes like envy, jealousy, greed, and hate from the table of world politics conducting same, on the road to world peace.

In the name of the Committee for the Defense of Romanian Transylvania.

I thank you sincerely,

Very Reverend Father MIHAI LANCU,
Spiritual Counsel, Honorary President, General Manager.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA,
Detroit, Mich., September 8, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
*Staff Director, Committee Finance,
Dirksen Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Please accept our deepest appreciation for the opportunity accorded us to testify as a witness, in front of the Finance Committee.

Our Organization's name is: The Committee for the Defense of the Romanian Transylvania" incorporated with the Department of Commerce, Lansing, Michigan, and with Headquarters at 222 W. Savannab, Detroit-Mich. 48202, or P.O.B. 34804 Detroit-Mich. 48234 where you'll find the largest Romanian Community.

We definitely dislike the communist regime of Romania, and for this reason, we emigrated to the United States of America. While in Romania, we occupied different positions under the communist regime, and can declare emphatically that although Romania is governed by a communist regime the exercise of religious-services is free, whereas the national minorities enjoy the same privileges as do all Romanians.

It is very true that there are no complete freedoms, or Civil Rights in Romania, however, these restrictions are applied equally for the whole Romanian Population, regardless of their origin, be they: Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons or German.

Concerning the emigration rights of the citizens of Romanian descent, there is no excuse for the Bucharest Government for imposing the restrictions it did, and we herewith insist, that those curtailments be removed immediately.

In regards to the Hungarian accusations, it suffices to mention that the emigration restrictions mentioned above, were exclusively applied only as against that part of the population of ethnic and Romanian nationality.

All other nationalities enjoyed unlimited rights to emigrate and proven by the record migrational figures of the other nationalities from Romania:

- 700,000 (seven hundred thousand) Mosals;
- 350,000 (three hundred and fifty thousand) Germans;
- 170,000 (one hundred and seventy thousand) Armenians;
- 100,000 (one hundred and sixty thousand) Greeks.
- 120,000 (one hundred and twenty thousand) Others;

In reference to the Hungarian population that emigrated from Romania into other countries, we have to state that this figure is a mere 1 percent, and almost inexistant. In any case, we can affirm that the Romanian authorities did not prevent any such desire to emigrate, the more, since they pretend such poor treatment.

The explanation consists in the fact that the majority of the population of Hungarian descent in Romania, occupied and maintain important functions and positions within the structure of the Communist Party or the Administrative Apparatus of the State. That is the reason why they enjoy privileges and rights, superior to the other nationalities, and to which, they do not want to renounce.

We have lived alongside the Hungarian Minority of Romania. We know that they live in good relations with the Romanians. The mixed marriages touch almost

mass proportions and all public manifestations are held alongside their Romanian neighbors, or the other way around. The Romanian National Hero, and the Romanian Symbol of the resistance against Communism, Iullu Maniu, declared all during his lifetime that all nationalities within the borders of Romania, be accorded equal rights, a fact applied by all the Romanian Governments at all times.

Our Committee regrets that the Hungarians of Romania together with the Nation's population; Romanians, Israelis, Germans, Saxons and Armenians support the communist oppression, and the lack of Civil Liberties resulting from their administration.

We maintain, however, that it is our duty, of all the American Citizens of Romanian or Hungarian descent to unite hand in hand in a common cause, so that all Romanians or Hungarians within the communist countries obtain and enjoy the privileges of freedom.

Only in this way, will we be able to assist them effectively, and not by the inventions of tales, causing misunderstandings, which eventually, can only aid the true oppressors.

Committee for the Defense of Romanian Transylvania

Spiritual Counselor, Honorable President, and General Manager, Very Reverend Mihal Iancu; President, Victor Manollu; Vice President, John Halmaghi; Second Vice President, Victoria Candea; Secretary, Cecelia Tancu; Treasurer, Katie Rusceak; First Trustee, Aurelia Peleo; Second Trustee, Staraiana Lazar; Committee Member, Morla Malma.

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.

SUNNYSIDE QUEENS, NEW YORK, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Leon Ifrim, Romanian born and a political refugee in the United States.

While in Romania, for several years I have tried to leave the country, to escape the oppression and the communist terror, the frustrations and sufferings I have endure as a simple worker man in my country.

In 1972 I served one year in the communist jail, as political prisoner, for "Attempt of underground cross of Romanian border". It would be hard for anyone to picture what does it mean a political jail in the communist Romania. In fact, Romania is a large prison by itself under the open sky, for the borders with their mine-infested approaches, electrified barbed wire fences, watch towers, sharpshooters, police dogs, would stop anyone's way to freedom.

But my desire to become a free man grew stronger, and again at a great risk of my life I have tried again to cross the Romanian borders, then the Jugoslavian borders, to make my way to the free Western world, and this time I was successful.

The High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations in Geneva granted me political asylum, and I came to the United States to start a new life in freedom.

Even though painful, I left behind in Romania my wife: Ghizela Ifrim, wife. Address: Aleia Tineretului nr. 1, apt. 132, Gavandari, Resita, Romania.

My wife's application for an exit-viza was refused by the Romanian authorities, and she is kept as hostage over there, investigated and persecuted by the Security Police.

This year Romania was granted the Most Favored Nation status based on the fact that Romania has a free emigration policy. My own story illustrates Romanian communist government's policy. It is about time for everybody in the United States to realize that a communist government would lie any time there is an advantage to be taken.

I respectfully appeal to you to use your influence in helping me to solve my problem, to bring my wife out of Romania, to join me here. On Tuesday, November 11 I started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in

New York, as a protest against the Romanian government's refusal to grant an exit visa to my wife, and I will not cease the strike until my wife comes here.

I thank you for your support.

Sincerely yours,

LEON IFRIM.

ROMANIAN PERSONS WISHING TO REUNITE WITH THEIR FAMILIES IN COUNTRIES
OTHER THAN THE UNITED STATES

- Mr. Valentin Nicola, Bucharest, Sector 2, 11 Despot-Voda Street, Romania—West Germany.
- Mr. Gheroghe Ivan, Bucharest Str. Macaralei nr. 2-4, Bl.M.31, Romania—West Germany.
- Mr. Paul Brad Keresztes, Bucharest-6, Linariel Str. 111, Sector 4, Romania—West Germany.
- Ms. Didona Roxana Visolanu, 37 Saturn St., Apt. 108, Brasov, Romania—West Germany.
- Mr. Wilhelm-Johann Itu-Welther, Str. Ialomitel 4, Tg. Mures, Romania—West Germany.
- Mrs. Ioana Soare and two children, Bucharest, Aleea Circului 1, sc. H, ap. 37, Romania—West Germany.
- Elisabeta, Francisc, and Herta Stemper, Str. Paulis No. 23, 1900 Timisoara V., Romania—West Germany.
- Mr. Stefan Teodorescu, Mrs. Regina Kolf, Codela, street Armata Rosie 70, Romania—West Germany.
- Mrs. Maria Hupfl (wife), Mrs. Maria Hupfl (mother), Timisoara, 35 Muntelui, Romania—West Germany.
- Mr. and Mrs. Alexandru Constantin, Mrs. Anastasia Constantin, Mrs. Maria Constantin (no address)—West Germany.
- Serban Otetelesanu, Calea Dorobanti 36-40, Bucharest, Romania—West Germany.
- Magda Randunel Jansen, Str. Costache Mirinescu No 29, Sector 8, 7000 Bucharest, Romania—New Zealand.
- Elizabeta Malanu, Str. Costache Marinescu No. 29, Sector 8, 7000 Bucharest, Romania—Italy.
- Iancu Flondor and family, Bucharest, Sector 1, Bd. Ana Ipatescu—West Germany.
- Mircea Flondor, Bucharest, Sector 1, Str. Puccini, 19—West Germany.
- Maria Bodnarus Zamfir, Str. Jean Texier No. 4, Sector 1, Bucharest, Romania.
- Mrs. Elena Matei, Bucarest, Aleea Livezilor 23, Sector 6, Romania—West Germany.
- Mr. and Mrs. Klaus Erhard Muller and daughter, Strada Zidul Cetarii No. 8, Sighisoara, Judet Mures, Romania—West Germany.
- Dr. Victor Caratun, 3-5 Vasile Conta Street, Floor 7, Apartment 84, First District, Bucharest, Romania—Israel.
- Mr. and Mrs. Negrea Antoa and 5 children, Bucarest, Bdl. Magheru No. 9, R.S. Romania—Israel.
- Eng. Vladimir Siperco, Valea Argesului 11, Bl. A6 Et. I Apt. 19, Scara B., Drumul Taberei, Bucarest—Sect. 7, Romania—Israel.
- Mr. and Mrs. Mihail Usleriu, Bucharest, Justitiel St. 70, Romania—Israel.
- Mr. and Mrs. Dumitru Julian, St. Dr. Stalcovici 45-49, Block 2, Apartment 10, Bucharest 35, Romania—Israel.
- Mr. and Mrs. Recu Misu, Bucharest, Solka Entrance No. 5, Raion Nlae Balcescu, Romania—Israel.
- Mr. and Mrs. Desideriu Merkler, Romania, 12 Victoriei Blvd., Timisoara 1900—Israel.
- Mr. Andrei Czik, Bucharest, Cozla St. 10, Bl. A11, Sec. 1, ap. 4, sect. 4., Romania—Israel.
- Ms. Dermenji Mery, Bucarest (no address)—Canada.
- Ms. Ana Manolescu, 12A Caragiale Street, Bucharest, Romania—Canada.
- Mr. and Mrs. Irimie Octavian, and two daughters, City Buteni Nr. 46, Province Arad, Romania—Canada.
- Mrs. Florica Olimpia Marlutan, Ms. Eliza Mirella Marlutan, Bd. Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej 17, Sector 6, Bucharest, Romania—Switzerland.

FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES

Nicolae Repezeanu, Dinu & Monica Hanesch, and child, Str. Alexanduna 26, Bucharest—West Germany.

Ecaterina and Serban Chilariu, Strada Lebedel, No. 8, Sec. 8, Bucharest—Switzerland.

Eleonora and Gheorghe Dimache, Str. Brezolanu 55, Bucharest—Italy.

Steluta Adriana Mihalescu, Str. Libertatii 22, 1000 Rm., Vilcea (Marriage case file # AC2603)—West Germany.

ROMANIAN JEWS DESIRING TO EMIGRATE TO CANADA OR ISRAEL

List of Abbreviations: s.—son, d.—daughter, b.—brother, si.—sister, f.—father, m.—mother, w.—wife, ch.—child, chn.—children, cr.—close relative such as cousin, u.—uncle, a.—aunt. P.—Prisoner, FP.—Former Prisoner, BU.—Bucharest.

Canada

Clejan, Mrs. Toni, s. Avrum. Eugenia, 2 chn.—Ramure 1, Ploesti. Brothers: David Schmelzer, 6260 Deacon Rd., Montreal. Bernard Schmelzer, 3450 Drummond St., Ap. 1424, Montreal.

Frank, Defiderilil, w. Ecaterina, s. Mark—Al. Compozitorilor, 11, Ap. 57, BU. cr. Lawrence Cohen, 121 Hunter St., Ap. 616, Hamilton, Ontario.

Israel

P. Aronovici, Marcu—Sibiu Prison: 5 brothers, sister in Israel, eldest b. Haim Doron, Allenby, 40, Tel Aviv.

Anghel, Dr. Razvan, w. Dr. Maria—Blvd Nic. Balcescu 35, BU.

Bucur, Viorel, si. Adina, si. Karmen—Zurchi 2, Timisoara. Frida Jeger, Rehovot.

Bernstein, Miriam, Anni, Robert, Cecilia,—Tiglina III, Galati.

FP. Blum, Anna—Pope Soare 52, BU.—a. Magda Barna, Kiriat Asor, 526 Nahariya.

Belgrader, Andrei w. Dora—Drobeta 3, BU.

Baltusch, Marian w. Felicia, s. Alexandru—Drumul Taberei 23, BU.

Breitman, Harry w. Vera, chn. Rolly, Yvonne Vacarescu 12, Timisoara a. Hedda Fodor, Weltzman 5, Natanya.

Chisinezschi, Emile, w. Odette, 2 sons c/o Mrs. Chisinezschi, V. Manu 42, BU.

Chisinezschi, Yuri, w. Ina, baby c/o Mrs. Chisinezschi, V. Manu 42, BU.

Chisinezschi, Georghe, Blv. N. Balcescu, BU. Brother in Israel: Andrei Chisinezschi, Kibbutz Gan Shmuel.

Donath, Paul s. Peter and wife—Blv. Ilie Bintil'e 12, BU.

Dorfman, Haim w. Euta, s. Enech—c/o Mania Halperin, Soseanattuttora 15. Jassy.

Fabian, Alexandru w. Charlotte—Salcimilor, Satu Mare.

Fabian, Andrei—Galati 27, Cluj.

Fleisher, Carolina—Bl. Leontin Salajan 43, BU.

Ghersin, Julian w. Dana—BU.

Herscovici, Corina h. Al. Lapusneanu 24, Galati.

Hirsch, Micolae—Comel 3, Brasov—Wife in Israel Toni, 2 chn. c/o Yona Zaler, Rashbam 13, Bnai Brak.

Isser, Mendel—Polana Narciselor 7, BU.

P. Itzidon, Avram—b. Marcel, Hagana, 25/23 Rehovot.

Manhaim, Georghe w. Ernestina, chn. Anrei, Annmarie—Invotrii 12, BU.

Moscovici, Maral w. Sofie—Sfintulsave, 19, Jassy—want to join chn.

Mayerson, Samson w. Hermina—Mantuleasu 12, BU. m. in Israel Rebecca Mayerson Nitsana 199, Ramat Josef and 3 si.

Oslas, Hersu w. Drage, d. Marians—Cerbulin 32, Brasov.

Reichman, Isidor—Gral Florescu 16, BU.

Sigal, Dr. Janku Solomon w. Aura, d. Rolande—Al. Avocat Salaganu 7, BU.

b. Marcel Segal in T.A., si. in Haifa Clara Schecter.

Schwartz, Benjamin w. Corina—Prof. Georgescu 27a, BU.

Schwartz, Martin w. Adriana 111 Calarasi, BU.

Schechter, Ichil—Decebal 67, Constanta.

P. Schwalb, Dr. Naftali—Petru Maior 10, Braila w. Dr. Betty Schwalb, 5 chn.—si. Eva Bar Sina (Schwalb), Hanam 24, Haifa.

- P. Simian, Samoil—Tauti de Sus 18, Bai Mare 4800: sl. Esther Berger, Nordau 5, Petach tikva.
 FP. Unger, Nathan—Mamulari 8, BU.—b. Arie Unger, Rashi 15a, Haifa.
 Vasilescu, Stefan w. Leontina—Al. Episcopal Ambroisie, Apt. 5, BU.
 Wulich, Milea—Prisaca Dornel 6, BU.
 Zeid, Levi w. Golda—Calarosi 111, BU.

ROMANIANS WHO HAVE SUFFERED HARASSMENT DUE TO REQUESTS TO LEAVE

1. Mihai Teodorescu and Eduard Gabriel Surmenian (USA) threatened with imprisonment.
2. Alin Constantinescu (USA) dismissed from job.
3. Ungereanu Family (USA) earnings of 30 years confiscated. Family in poverty. Wife harassed and interrogated by authorities.
4. Ecaterian Vasile (USA) apartment taken from her; exit fee increased.
5. Perisda Vima and three children (USA) forced to sell all possessions to pay "fees", then didn't allow one of the children to go without more "fees".
6. Mirara Ionescu (USA) lost her job as a high school teacher.
7. Recu Misu (Israel) continually increasing exit fees.
8. Monica Angelescu (USA) unable to continue education nor find a job.
9. Petre and Stela Bagear (USA) both over 70 years old, subjected to "chicaneries, humiliations and physical torture."
10. Otilia Cahnacanu (USA) intimidated by authorities.
11. Alin Constantinescu (USA) threatened with demotion or dismissal from job as biological researcher.
12. Eugenia, Anatasia, Marlana Popa and Alexandra Constantini (USA) confiscation of furniture, harassment by police.
13. Zaharia Ralnicinci (USA) told by authorities "If you don't keep quiet, you will get a bullet in your back."
14. Florian, Marieta and Diana Georgescu (USA) Florian and Marieta demoted to simple laborers and "harassed in many ways" by authorities.
15. Elena Dumitrascu (USA) dismissed from her job.
16. Englenie Tocarcius (USA) was removed from his job as a teacher and has been threatened with arrest and confiscation of his house if he continues to ask for a visa.
17. Dumitru and Ioana Georgescu and Family (USA) from that moment (of application for visa) they were badly persecuted.
18. Elena Matei (W. Germany) Elena has been brought up in front of Romanian Police and threatened that her son-in-law and daughter will be killed.
19. Emu-Elizabeth Olah (USA) put in jail fraudulently for one year.
20. Gheorghe Popa (USA) fired from his position as a journalist.
21. George Carabin (USA) lost job as university professor after 25 years.
22. Nicolae-Radu Berba (W. Germany) fired from job.

DETROIT, MICH.

U.S. SENATE.
 Dirksen Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I, the undersigned Gheorghe Ispas of Detroit, Michigan, wish to let you know my opinion on the continuation of your granting the most favored nation treatment to Romania, as well as the reasons why I would advise you against this continuation.

I was born in Romania, a most beautiful and rich country, where all my ancestors lived and died for over three thousand years. In spite of the constant barbarian invasions which lasted for one thousand years, the Romanians never emigrated but stuck to their land.

When the Russians overran my home country thirty-three years ago thousands of Romanians ran away to free countries to save their lives and their right to happiness.

I used to be a fisherman and a laborer in Romania, as all my forerunners were. But the oppression and terror compelled me to try to find a country where I could live a normal free life. After I fled Romania I reached the United States where I have earned my living as a worker; now I am employed by Huber Foundry, 6425 Huber Ave., Detroit, Michigan.

The hardship I went through and the troubles I had to face since I have left my native Romania during the adjustment period in this country permit me to openly speak out my opinion regarding your granting the most favored nation clause to Romania. Your granting it was an error and your renewing it will be an even greater one.

The Romanian Communist Government is not a representative government but it is a satellite one imposed by Moscow; terror, violence, corruption and abuse have kept it in power. During the thirty-two years of Communist rule, two million people have been killed, morally or physically crippled in Russian and Romanian jails; or forced to perform jobs they have never been trained for.

The highest percentage of killed and crippled people was given by those who, had they lived, would have been in their 60's today, the older generation, while people my own generation, at and around thirty-five years of age, we had to live under constant terror; each step we would take or go was constantly checked; we lacked all rights or hope for happiness and freedom. We have been deprived of the right to freedom of speech; of religious freedom; of political and cultural freedom.

We never have enjoyed the right to take part in the free decision making process.

The renewal of this treaty would grant a Communist country new advantages while they will never stop their propaganda against the free world countries, and mostly against the United States.

The average Romanian citizen will have no direct or indirect advantages from such a clause.

I would like to emphasize the fact that the Romanian Communist Government when asking for that clause have assumed the obligation to grant freedom to their citizens; in fact, they never kept their promise and word. Therefore, it is only normal that now when they ask for a renewal the simple promise of such a government cannot be trusted; their promise should be eventually put under several international control.

The Romanian people should be granted freedom of elections, religious freedom and the right to pursue one's happiness. Without international guarantees the renewal of the treaty actually means the opening of new graves for new born Romanians.

Such a government cannot be trusted because it does not represent the Romanian national interests. Among other things, this government has signed a treaty with Russia conceding to the robbing of some territories inhabited by Romanians for millenia.

If and when the United States government grant economic advantages these should be granted for the advantage of the peoples to enjoy them and not to the advantage of totalitarian, violent, terroristic and abusive governments.

Sincerely yours,

GHEORGHE C. ISPAS.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 19, 1976.

Re Immigration to the United States of America of my mother Elena Craioveanu, born 4-26-1902 in Romania, residing at: Moldova Noua, Jud. Caras-Severin Str. Nicolae Balcescu 23 Romania.

The SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am a permanent alien resident of the USA. Mrs. Craioveanu is my Mother whom I wish to bring to the USA.

In my endeavor to bring her over here, I am asking the assistance of your Committee.

I am taking this way in addressing myself to you, because the Romanian authorities are giving passports only with difficulty.

I beg you to contact the Romanian authorities in my name, asking them to please give my mother an emigration passport to the USA.

I am in the USA since April 5, 1973. I am steadily employed as a cabinet-maker and have savings to meet emergencies. I am healthy.

I thank you very much and am

Very truly yours,

CONSTANTIN IAVANARIU.

MIAMI, FLA., March 4, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: This letter is a request for your assistance with a very pressing problem. I believe that you, as an elected official of this country, will be sensitive to my situation and are in a position to assist me. As an individual of this country, I alone cannot confront a foreign government.

I am engaged to Roxana Ciorecan, a citizen of Romania living in Bucharest. We presented the required papers to her government on July 3, 1975, requesting to marry and for her to leave that country.

According to the Romanian government, it takes at least one year to receive an answer, positive or negative. Mr. Anthony Perkins, the American Consul in Bucharest stated that almost all cases are approved in a period of 8 to 10 months after presentation of the papers. Our case, whose number is A.C. 1317/75, is now 8 months old.

A friend of mine in a similar situation received help from many Senators and Congressmen and has received approval after only 7½ months. He believes the letters and telegrams sent to the American Consul in Bucharest on his behalf were instrumental in the approval he and his fiancée received this past Christmas. Mr. Perkins told me this also.

It is my understanding that the vote to see whether Romania will retain Most Favorite Nation trading status with the United States is coming up very shortly. One of the things associated with this is the right to emigrate from Romania. I am sure Romania will try to clear up some of its present cases prior to the vote to show their good intentions. Perhaps with a little pressure, my case can be one of those.

As you can imagine, I am getting concerned over the lapsing time; but of even greater concern to me is the subtle harassment Roxana is suffering at the hands of the Romanian government. Several times (once while I was visiting this past Christmas) she and her parents have been "called in" and the authorities have attempted to discourage her from her decision to marry an American. I believe this is against the Helsinki Convention Pact.

We would both very much appreciate any assistance, a letter or telegram, in which you might bring our case and its status to the attention of Mr. Perkins in Bucharest.

Respectfully yours,

DOUGLAS JORGE.

CEDAR GROVE, N.J., September 24, 1976.

Re: Scharf Solomon, age: 26, computer engineer, Calea Grivitel 168, Bloc J, Scara B, Apt. Et 3, Apt. 39, Bucuresti, Sector 8, Romania.

Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS,
352 Russell Bldg.
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My nephew, Scharf Solomon, desires very much to emigrate to the U.S.A. and join me and my wife. We assume full financial responsibility. Therefore, we are asking you to help us in this matter to the fullest extent.

Please contact the Romanian Ambassador, Nicolai M. Nicolai, 1607 33rd Street, N.W., Washington D.C., for his cooperation regarding this matter.

Truly yours,

Mr. MAX KLUGER.

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 22, 1976.

Hon. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Senate Finance Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: Sometime ago I wrote to you to enter our organization with me as the speaker to elaborate about the MFN status law in the inefficient manner in which it is applied in Romania, causing serious family tragedies.

Please inform me the date and place of the hearings both of the house of representatives and the Senate.

Please enter Victor Radulenu's esq. name on the speakers list. He will speak on behalf of the "Committee for the helping of immigration from Romania of

Jews and Gentiles." Please notify him at this address, 43-33 46th St., Apt. B15, Long Island City, N.Y. 11104.

In expectation of your answers by return mail I remain,
Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. KREMER, *President.*

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., June 3, 1976.

HON. MICHAEL STERN,
Director, Finance Committee, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I, the President of the R.J.F. of America, do hereby request permission to testify during the Hearings of the US Senate Finance Committee in reference to Romania's behaviour in connection with the enforcement by her of the provisions of the Most Favorite Nation status which they obtained last year.

Please notify me as to the time and place I am scheduled to appear before your committee at this address to Lewis N. Kremer AIA, Mainstreet, Old Chatham, N.Y. 12136.

Thanking you, I remain,
Very truly your,

CHARLES H. KREMER, *President.*

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., August 25, 1976.

HON. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Dirksen Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Since I will be out of the country, I will be unable to appear personally before the Senate Finance Committee hearings as I did last year.

Please place in your printed record my enclosed two statements X and Y and their exhibits, which will prove beyond doubt that Romania is not entitled to the M.F.N. Trade Act agreement.

Thanking you, I remain,
Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. KREMER, *President.*

Enclosure.

STATEMENT X

SUMMARY

The Roumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc. is against continuing M.F.N. trade treatment of imports from Romania and against extending the authority of our President to waive the implementation of Section 402 (sub-sections (a) and (b) relating to the freedom of emigration provision in the law in connection with the Trade Act of 1974. We are against giving our President the right to extend for another 12 months the waiver authority because free emigration has decreased in 1976, because the freedom of emigration is not being executed in full as demanded by the Romanian citizens, both Jews and gentiles. To this we add the failure of Romania to abide by the UN declaration of Human Rights, by the Helsinki agreement and the international and consular laws as brought out by the cases mentioned below in more detail as Dr. John Carje, Alex Pop and that of Dr. Charles H. Kremer, injured permanently by the son of President Ceausescu, Valentin Ceausescu. Since May 4th, 1971 when the accident occurred, Romania through fraud, lies and failure to notify the victim in time has consistently refused to compensate Dr. Kremer—who was forced to give up his practice because of pain and permanent disability.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, we take this opportunity to thank you for allowing our organization, the Roumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc., to express our views in connection with the continuation of according the Popular Republic, Romania, the advantages of the M.F.N. trade Act without Romania observing the full requirements imposed on her by this act.

In my capacity as an activist in Romanian Jewish affairs since 1927, past president for many years of the United Romanian Jews of America, Inc., and

present president of the "Roumaniff Jewish Federation of America, Inc.," we have been in the forefront as defenders of Romanian Jewry, always ready to work for the rights of Romanian Jews in the U.S.A., Romania, Israel and everywhere, whenever and wherever Romanian Jews needed our help.

I am not going to deal in detail with the passing of the Trade Reform Act of 1974; suffice it to say that the House, by a vote of 319 to 80, adopted the Jackson-Vanick amendment, which requires Communist countries to allow emigration if they desire to get economic concessions from the U.S. Since Romania has agreed to take advantage of the M.F.N. Trade Act, it has among her other responsibilities: (a) The obligation to allow free emigration for any citizen; and (b) respect and enforce the international and consular laws to which she placed her signature.

The Jackson-Vanick amendment actually forces her to honor her previous obligations which Romania had already agreed to honor in its past commitments such as when it signed Article 13 of the Declaration of Human Rights. This declaration stipulates that any citizen of any country in the whole world has the right of freedom of movement, and the right to emigrate or change his or her residence within and without the country's frontiers. Each citizen has the right if and when he or she chooses to leave the country in which he or she resides even his or her own native country and return or not to his or her country of origin if and when he or she chooses. Romania has also been a signatory of the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty, of the Consular Convention of August, 1973 and last year of the Helsinki agreement. Although Romania signed all these 3 documents it has consistently failed to implement them in full and allow free emigration.

Last year when I testified before the Hearings of the Senate Finance Committee I concluded with this statement: "We urge the U.S.A. Senate to vote in favor of the Romanian U.S.A. trade agreement providing that the government acts to increase the present rate of emigration and offers every Romanian the right to emigrate to any country in the world."

Today since Romania has not kept her word and fulfilled her obligations related to its international and consular commitments and for free emigration of Jews and Gentiles we desire to go on record against giving Romania the most favored nation trade status.

In the adoption and executing of this Trade Act we Americans are the real losers: (1) By helping Romania obtain Eximbank money at 6 percent, while we American taxpayers pay 8-10 percent interest on mortgages and 12 percent on personal loans and (2) by introducing our technology through some combinations of joint U.S.A.-Romanian ventures, thereby we give Romania the possibility to manufacture goods, which they produce and export cheaper than the U.S.A. with their forced and slave labor wages, and place them on the market place at reduced prices. In this manner Romania competes with our exports and our labor force. This is definitely one of the factors which contributes and influences our balance of trade, reducing it, and creates lost jobs for our American workers. In other words, we Americans pay additional and unnecessary taxes to help the ruined Romanian economy survive.

What does Romania do in our favor by this Trade Act? Nothing—except create and expand her light and heavy industries, increase her dollar balance of trade and assure additional jobs to her people. We sincerely believe that since Romania has not increased her emigration this current year she does not deserve to obtain the benefits of the Trade Act anymore. We have made repeated efforts to contact the RS Romanian Ambassadors, both past, Honorable Corneliu Bogdan, and present, Honorable Nicolae M. Nicolae, in order to obtain a list of Jews and Gentiles who were allowed to leave Romania in 1975 and 1976. We never received any lists. In order to confirm and verify the above statements and conclusions, with your permission, in order not to take up too much of your valuable time I will make as part of our report the following exhibits:

Exhibit A—Obtained from Reverend F. Galdau.

Exhibit B—Obtained from Mr. Jacob Birnbaum plus one additional page loose.

Exhibit C—Mr. Alex C. Pop letter dated June 14, 1976.

Exhibit C-1—Alex C. Pop letter dated June 10, 1976.

Exhibit D—Mr. Fotini Carazani dated June 4, 1976.

Exhibit E—Ambassador of Romania Nicolae M. Nicolae dated July 26, 1976.

Exhibit F—Consul Ion Edu Letter dated August 8, 1976.

Exhibit G—Medical-legal report by Dr. A. Mihalescu.

- Exhibit H—Honorable Ambassador of RSR to U.N., Ion Dăteu.
 Exhibit I—RSR Press Attaché at U.N., Domitru Rosu.
 Exhibit K—Dr. C. H. Kremer Statement at the Police Station in Bucharest
 May 6, 1971.
 Exhibit L—Letter to President Ford dated May 11, 1976.
 Exhibit M—U.S. State Department Correspondence.
 Exhibit N—2 Medical Certificates by Dr. Irving M. Etkind.
 Exhibit O—2 Medical Certificates by Dr. Zofia Laszewsky.
 Exhibit P—Dr. C. H. Kremer letter entitled "Boycott Romanian Tourism
 and Business."

Among the very many cases which we know, we will mention one in passing and one in greater detail in order to prove how low a communist regime can stoop in refusing to meet its financial obligations to our American citizens by disregarding its international and consular obligations and do as she pleases.

The first case involved a native born American citizen, Ion Carja, whose claim of \$300,000, representing damages suffered as a result of all the wrongful acts committed by the government of Romania: "This claim was endorsed by the Department of State and sent to the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest on September 29, 1967. Dr. Ion Carja did not receive a response." (Quote is from Dr. Ion Carja's letter printed in the Senate Committee hearing booklet on June 1975, page 128).

In connection with claims of American citizens and failure of Romania to meet its international and human rights we believe that it is important to disclose the following: The Romanian government makes sure that all its citizens collect in dollars their American inheritance but Romania refuses to execute the wishes in the wills of Americans who returned to Romania and died there, or Romanian citizens who will their fortunes to American citizens. Romania fails to compensate them, as we do when this is in our favor. To this injustice I wish to add the fact that we also pay out in dollars to our senior citizens their social security if they choose to live in Romania while Romania refuses to pay the pensions they owe to their senior citizens when they emigrate to the U.S. even if they maintain their Romanian passport and citizenship.

Our State Department, the foreign arm of our U.S. government, allows Romania to get away with such infractions of international law. Why? Oh Why! Who benefits from this? Possibly individuals at the State Department or elsewhere?

The second case is rather personal and involves me. I have hesitated for very many years to expose my case but I have finally decided *only* when the recently former Romanian Ambassador, Honorable Corneliu Bogdan, told me in front of a couple of people that if, "I want to be paid for injuries suffered in Bucharest at the hands of President Ceausescu's son, Valentin Ceausescu, I should go to our State Department for compensation."

Of course I went there and what I heard from the head officer of the Romanian desk, Mr. Richard A. Christensen, is not worth repeating here. Suffice it to say, that, in connection with MFN Trade Act, he tried to convince us (me and an international lawyer who was with me) that the implementation of the MFN Law is in U.S. favor by 97%. He said he cannot do anything for me. He cannot demand payment from the Romanian government. I left the State Department with the realization that here we have another cover-up, worse than Watergate, and that I became the scapegoat in a situation where our government pays off to others for favors, at the expense of our American taxpayers. Otherwise how can we explain the meaning of Mr. Christensen's letter dated November 12, 1975. In order to prove that I could not receive justice, it will be necessary to submit a number of documents which I consider in essence part and parcel of this testimony. These documents will prove how the Romanian government in order to find the President's son innocent, alleged author of 2 fatal auto accidents, has resorted to frauds and lies, forced the driver of my car to change his testimony, in order to emigrate and was instrumental to influence and force Major Pitigoiu, who was present at the scene of the accident and who investigated the case from the very beginning to see to it that Valentin Ceausescu comes out a clean and innocent man no matter what happens to anybody else. Here is how they proceeded: Through Major Pitigoiu they forced Dr. Adrian Mihailescu, the examining physician at the Medico-Legal Institute, to make out a false certificate dated May 6, 1971. (Exhibit G) stating that "It requires simple care 2-3 days from the date of the accident." My accident happened May 4, 1970. Dr. Mihailescu examined me May 6,

1976. According to her statement, by May 6th, I should have been completely cured, yet after 3 days after the accident she found 15 areas of injury clearly defined and quite large and mentioned them in her certificate.

When Major Pitigoiu brought me to be examined, he told Dr. Mihaiescu that he has some other injured patients to see and left. I was left in Dr. Mihaiescu's care, to be first fingerprinted and then examined. Fingerprinting is routine procedure in Romania. I refused. Instead I offered her my passport for identification. She entered all the data and then proceeded her examination very carefully. Major Pitigoiu, expecting Dr. Mihaiescu to fingerprint me, which should have taken her 10-15 minutes, returned later when Dr. Mihaiescu had already in loud voice dictated her findings when he glanced over the certificate and observed that Dr. Mihaiescu completed her examination and her diagnosis: "the said Kremer H. Charles has suffered a traumatism on the 4th day of May, 1971." Mr. Pitigoiu approached her closely and whispered to her that the guilty person was Valentin Ceausescu, the son of the President of Romania. Dr. Mihaiescu realized that she had to do something which will help. She knew she could not change her findings any more because she related them in a loud voice and was aware that I speak Romanian fluently. She therefore was forced to add at the bottom of her certificate "It requires simple care of 2-3 days from the accident." This prognosis of "2-3 days simple care" three days after the accident, is in direct contradiction with findings and diagnosis because 3 days after the accident, if she still could discover 15 different areas of injury on my head and body confirmed that I was seriously hurt. It is true that I did not break any bones. The real reason why Dr. Mihaiescu mentioned "2-3 days care" necessary for treatment was to prevent me from suing for damages according to local laws. Of course, I did not know this until I arrived in the U.S., when a Romanian lawyer noticed this. He informed me that I will be unable to sue for traffic violation compensation unless the certificate states that I was at least 10 days in a hospital.

Now, after 5 years, I am still under a doctor's care in continuous pain, with sleepless nights, permanently injured and forced to give up my dental practice. No dentist can practice his profession with a painful back and with a permanently injured back and legs as per Doctor's Certificates. The Romanian government purposely did not answer my correspondence for a long time. I sent cables and memoranda directly to President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, both in Bucharest and when he was here as a guest at the Blair house. Many letters I sent to Romanian Foreign Minister, Honorable George Macovescu, to his Eminence Patriarch Justinian of the Romanian Orthodox Church, to Honorable Ambassador of Romania at the U.N. Ion Datcu, etc.

Some letters, contained in Exhibits H, I, J, were sent twice to Bucharest, once through a friend of mine from N.Y.C. and the next time when delivered there personally contained in Exhibit H to the Honorable Ion Datcu. He was asked by Dr. Dumitru Rosu Romanian Press Attaché to the U.N. (Exhibit I) to send them through the diplomatic pouch. Mr. D. Rosu originally promised to personally deliver the documents to Prime Minister of RSR and the others like Foreign Minister George Macovescu, but last-minute he phoned me from the JFK Airport and asked me that since he has no time to pick up the file I should give it to Ambassador Ion Datcu who will deliver them through his diplomatic pouch.

To all these letters I received no oral or written answer.

I even travelled to Romania in August, 1972 with my son and daughter-in-law, especially to find a lawyer. But I failed. No Romanian lawyer would take on a case against the son of the President of Romania.

After the accident happened on May 4, the same night after midnight, and every day thereafter, Major Pitigoiu came to my hotel to obtain from me a declaration how the accident happened. (Declaration Exhibit K top) I refused for 3 days because I was in shock. Finally, he served me with a summons (Exhibit K bottom). Three days after the accident, I was forced to go to the police station in order to avoid arrest. In this declaration (Exhibit G) I testified that the accident happened in the same manner as Ignatz M. Greif had declared at the scene of the accident to Major Pitigoiu. I was a passenger in M. Greif's Renault (the smallest model) sitting at his right while his wife sat in the rear seat, back of him. When M. Greif's car crossed the street on the green which I noticed clearly, the traffic light changed to yellow when a car coming at high speed passed the red light and hit our car in the back door causing the front door to open and I fell on the street. This car, a Renault 16—the

largest Renault car model, was driven by the President's son, Valentin Ceausescu. Our car skidded on the wet pavement—it was raining very hard.

After some time, how long I do not know, since I was unconscious, when I opened my eyes I was sitting in the back seat of the car. Mrs. Greif whispered to me and said, "the man who hit you with his arms folded standing in front of the car talking to Major Pitigoiu is none other than the son of the President of Romania." I was taken to I. C. Frimu Emergency Hospital where I vomited. I was given some medication and sent home by ambulance. On arriving at my hotel, I found Mr. Pitigoiu waiting for the declaration, which I finally gave him on May 6th.

I reported to the U.S. Embassy, told them about the accident and was interviewed by the above-named Mr. Richard A. Christensen, who was, I believe, U.S.A. Consul at the time. I was there to get some instruction and guideline information to protect my future interests. Unfortunately, he offered nothing at all. This is a very sad and bad experience for an American citizen injured in a foreign country. Congress, please take notice and act.

On my return to New York City, I contacted the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest, our Senators Javits and Buckley, later on Ms. Bella Abzug, our State Department. I have a file of correspondence (Exhibit M) with tens of pages with each official. Suffice it to comment that I am rather disappointed by the fact that our State Department and my Senators Javits and Buckley and my representative Ms. Abzug just went through a routine of writing letters one to another and sent me their copies and answers.

I spent days and full weeks sending letters back and forth as I received the very same answers mailed by the State Department to Senators Javits, Buckley, Representative Bella Abzug and myself; the only difference in the letters were the dates and to whom the letters were addressed while the contents were word for word the same. In looking over the letters contained in the file of Exhibit O you will find the accuracy of my deductions.

I will submit for the record this correspondence between Mr. R. A. Christiansen and myself and the Senators (Exhibit M File). If you will take the trouble to read this correspondence you will come to this conclusion and namely: no effort to help me was made by the Senators or Congressmen and, of course, by the officials of our State Department. The Senators' job was that of a forwarding agent, who took my letters, mailed them to the State Department. When the State Department's answer arrived, the senators would mail the same letter to me without having made the least little effort to investigate the case, get down to cause and effect, see who really was at fault, contact the U.S. Ambassador in Bucharest, get the American authorities in Bucharest in turn to investigate the case, bring the case before the Romanian authorities, intervene directly at the State Department and come forth with a solution. The Senators always included the letter from the State Department with nothing added and with no effort to help my case.

As a result of this manner of handling my case while I was in pain, incapacitated, using up my reserve capital, I became the scapegoat for somebody's incompetence, neglect or somebody's interests in the employ of our government either in the U.S.A. or in Bucharest. Consider this a sellout and maybe a cover-up for some interests that I, as an ordinary citizen, am not aware of. There are grave accusations but how else can I explain when nothing was done in my case. If somebody from the State Department both here and in Bucharest, without being a genius, would have taken the trouble to go over my documentation and read my correspondence he would have come to this conclusion: Nothing was done for me. This was and is neglect, incompetence and creates distrust in our government. This is, as far as I am concerned, a real sellout of a citizen's rights, who was a scapegoat for some benefit to someone in the government or of the government itself for some reason. The accident happened to an American citizen, who did not drive the car, by the son of the President. The U.S. citizen, being permanently injured, should be compensated, especially when after 5 years he is still suffering and forced to stop working.

I am enclosing Exhibit P entitled "Boycott Romanian Business" and Exhibit L, a letter to President Ford, dated May 11, 1976.

My case proves without any doubt that the Romanian government does not meet its obligations under international laws and, because of this, is also not entitled to M.N.F. status under our American laws. Our Trade Act is based on international obligations. Romania is a signatory of international laws which it disregards, misinterprets, violates and even makes a mockery of, as when the

Romanian Ambassador to the U.S. told me to go to our State Department for compensation.

I have presented my case in the hope that some Senator or Representative and even this Honorable Finance Committee will see fit to find a way to come to the rescue of a taxpayer, an eighty year old citizen who can't fight any more because of lack of money and strength. Please help.

Please enclose this in your printed record.

Thank you again for allowing us to testify before your committee.

EXHIBIT A

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR) UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX EPISCOPATE OF AMERICA AND UNION AND LEAGUE, R.S.A. INC.

Names of persons, whose release is sought from the Soviet Republic of Romania

1. Name: Alexandres, Brigitte: American citizen, 3700 Massachusetts Avenue, Alban Towers, Washington, D.C. 20016. Persons involved: Diplau, Lucretia-Gheorghiu: daughter: 37 years; Diplau, Constantin: son-in-law: 40 years; Craciun, Diana: niece: 16 years; Str. Dr. Nicolae Tomescu, Bucuresti, Sectorul 4.
2. Name: Badin, Alexandru: American citizen, 16 Teapot Lane, Smithtown, N.Y. 11787. Persons involved: Badin, Maria: mother, Str. Ion Adam No. 11, Constanta, Romania.
3. Name: Bogdan-Duica, Margareta: American citizen, 64-81 Ellwell Crescent, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374. Persons involved: Romasan, Victoria, first cousin: 34 years; Romasan, Oana, niece: 9 years, Str. Gura Vadului No. 2, Bloc G, 27 D, et. I, Apt. No. 34, Bucuresti, Of. Postal 57.
4. Name: Boton, Auran, 18-17 Palmetto Str., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Boton, Eugenia: wife, Bãrgasul-Mare, Jud. Timis, Romania.
5. Name: Bucur, Seren, Cond. Entrant-arrived USA 2.13.1975, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003. Persons involved: Bucur, Pavel: husband—47 years; Bucur, Viorel: son—23 years; Bucur, Adina: daughter-in-law—23 years; Bucur, Carmen: daughter: 16 years, Str. Zurich No. 2, Et. II, Apr.-11, Timisoara, Romania.
6. Bardasiu, Gheorghe, 50 West 89th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Bardasiu, Tudorita, wife: 27 years; Bardasiu, Mihaela daughter: 2 years, Str. Intrarea Pietricica No. 7, Bucuresti, Sectorul 3.
7. Name: Balu Constantin, 860 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11501. Persons involved: Balu, E. Grigore, father—58 years; Balu, Eugenia, mother—48 years; Balu, Gr. Grigore, brother—29 years; Balu, Elefteria, brother—21 years; Balu, Augustina-Luminita, sister—7 years.
8. Name: Bebelea, Irina: Permanent resident 155 Logan Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208. Persons involved: Bebelea, Florian: son: 20 years; Bebelea, Marcela-Gabriela: 19 years: daughter, Str. Otet No. 6, Brasov, Romania.
9. Name: Burnazian, George: Permanent resident 3548 Normandy Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. Persons involved: Burnazian, Ariana: mother, for a short visit Str. Vigilentie, No. 12, Apt. 5, Bucuresti, Romania.
10. Name: Butiu, Sara: Permanent resident, 22-03 25th Road, Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons involved: Butiu, Gabrielle-Rodica: daughter: 21 years, Piața Libertății No. 26, Cluj, Romania.
11. Name: Botosani, George P., American citizen, 72 Seeley Street, Bridgeport, Conn. Persons involved: Popescu-Botosani, Paul Roger: son—37 years; Popescu-Botosani, Maria-Cristina—35 years, Str. Nuferrilor No. 65, Bucuresti, Romania.
12. Name: Capata, Dumitru and Elisabeta, Seabury House, Bond Hill, Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Persons involved: Capata, Dorina-Corina: daughter: Delna 92, Jud. Bistrita-Năssăud, Romania.
13. Name: Capoto, Gabriel: American citizen, 89-19 171st Street, Apt. 5F, Jamaica, N.Y. Persons involved: Capota, Paula and her husband and son Calea, 13 Septembrie, No. 98, Bucuresti.
14. Name: Capota, Emil: American citizen, 14-68 West 81st Street, V Cleveland, Ohio 44102. Persons involved: Capota, Ioan, brother, 67 years, wife and son, Bulevardul Bucurestii-Noi No. 78, Bucuresti. Capota, Mircea, and Florica, children, their mother, Capota Onita, his sister, arrived last year but without her children, Str. Rusetu No. 10, Apt. 13, Bucuresti.
15. Name: Capota, Pavel: Permanent resident, 119 Payson Avenue, Apt. SA-New York, N.Y. 10034. Persons involved: Pavel Capota, son, 19 years. Alcea Pravat No. 6, Et. VI, apt. 71, Bucuresti, Sect. 7.

16. Name: Capota, Gabriel, American citizen, 89-19 171st Street, Apt. 5F, Jamaica, N.Y. Persons involved: Capota, Paula: sister: 49 years with her husband and sons, Calea, 13 Septembrie, No. 98, București.

17. Name: Cautis, Clonia: arrived USA 3.5.1974, 666 West End Avenue, Apt. 20P, New York, N.Y. 10025. Persons involved: Diaconescu, Stefan: father—64 years; Diaconescu, Sofia: mother—62 years, Str. Stirbel Vidă. No. 2, Scara 33, Apt. 72, Sect. 7, București.

18. Name: Cloaca, Gheorghe, 185 Metropolitan Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11211. Persons involved: Cloaca, Adrian: son 4 years, Str. Târgul Neamt No. 12, Bloc TD, 24, Apt. 51 Et. 8, Scara 7, București, Sect. 7.

19. Name: Cocloba, Emil-Trandafir, 1 Laurel Drive: Huntington, N.Y. 11743. Persons involved: Cocloba, Luiza: wife and children, Comuna Coștelul—Jud. Timiș, Romania.

20. Name: Dr. Constandis, Decebal: Permanent resident, 155 West 68th Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. Persons involved: Dr. Constandis, Călin-Gheorghe: brother: 35 years, Strada De-Mijloc No. 11, Brașov-Romania.

21. Name: Corclovel, Toader, 860 East Broadway, Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Corclovel, Toader: father—66 years; Corclovel, Maria: moth—60 years, Comuna Gănești, Jud. Galați, Romania.

22. Name: Chelariu, Maria married: Williams, 871 Massachusetts Avenue, Apt. 811, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Persons involved: Ecaterina Chelariu: mother 70 years; Serban Chelariu: brother: 31 years.

23. Name: Drocan, Sanda, American citizen, 68-37 108th Street, Forrest Hills, New York, N.Y. Persons involved: Marvan, Radu: brother, St. Stelea Spătaru No. 12, București, Sect. 4.

24. Name: Dumitrescu, Nicalae, 43-05 44th Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Dumitrescu, Maria wife; Dumitrescu, Gili-Septimiu: son 6 years; Dumitrescu, Constantin: father; Dumitrescu, Teodora: mother, Str. Lănăriei No. 141, București-Romania Sect. 5.

25. Name: Dumitrescu, Constantin: 41-47 55th Str., Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Persons involved: Dumitrescu, Maria Cerchez mother, Str. Oborul-Nou No. 13, Bloc P10 Scara 2, et. 5, București. Petriceaanu, Stefania: grand-mother: Str. Gheorghe Coșbuc No. 63, Bâicol-Prahova.

26. Name: Fara, Gheorghe: Permanent resident, 1031 Hamilton Street Somerset, N.J. 08873. Persons involved: Tutulanu, Ilie-cousin: 36 years, Blvd. Dumitrov No. 121, Bloc G5, Sc. 5, Apt. 24, București. Meleasa, Mircea: cousin: 21 years, Meleasa, Gheorghita: aunt: 56 years, Str. Bujoreni No. 43, Bloc P13, Sc. 2 Apt. 33, București 7.

27. Name: Mrs. Flint, Mary, 88-08 32nd Avenue, Jackson Heights, N.Y. 11370. Persons involved: Solman, Dumitru: brother—45 years; Solman, Elena: sister-in-law—44 years; Solman, Daniel: nephew; Ivanclu, Alexandrina: sister; Ivanclu, Alexandru: brother-in-law; Ivanclu, Dinu: nephew, Str. Alexandru Moghioros No. 13, București, Romania.

28. Name: Gache, Ileana: Arrived USA: 4.9.1975. 24-19 41st Street, L.I.C.N.Y. 11103. Persons involved: Gache, Dumitru: husband: 39 years; Gache, Virgil-Severus: son: 7 years; Gache, Hristu: son 3 years, Str. Moldovița No. 8, Bloc EM5, Apt. 63, Scara D, București 5.

29. Name: Gatalantu, Stefania: Permanent resident, 3610 North Pine Grove, Apt. 502, Chicago, Ill. 60613. Persons involved: Gatalantu, Maria: mother 51 years, Str. Popa Sapca No. 32, Bloc A12, Scara C, Apt. 2, Timișoara.

30. Name: Gavrilescu, Ana: born Marinescu: Permanent resident, 123 Post Avenue, Apt. 3, New York, N.Y. 10034. Persons involved: Gavrilescu, Dumitru husband: 50 years; Gavrilescu, Alexandru, son: 19 years, Piața Națiunile Unite No. 3, Bloc B 2, Scara B W Apt. 5, București.

31. Name: Frangu: Dan Mircea: Permanent resident, 104-60 Queens Blvd. Forest Hill, N.Y. 11375. Persons involved: Frangu, Traian: father—retired priest 68 years; Frangu, Stela: mother—62 years; Str. Eroilor No. 2, Bloc 36, scara B, Apt. 38: Campina-jud. Prahova.

32. Name: Ghenu, Constantin: arrived USA Nov. 11-1971, 89-17 207th Street, Queens Village, N.Y. 11427. Persons involved: Ghenu, Mihai: brother—35 years; Ghenu, Eugenia: sister-in-law—35 years; Ghenu, Mihai: nephew—8 years, Str. Colonelilor No. 3, București.

33. Name: Graur, Walter: arrived USA: 4.7.1976, Spencer's Arms Hotel, 140 W. 63th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. Persons involved: Graur, Mioara, wife and daughter Melania—4 years, Str. Caporal Dumitru No. 68, Plocești, Romania.

34. Name: Bostan, Nicolae, arrived in United States March 1976, 57-22 Catalpa Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Bostan, Helga (b. Henz), wife, 20 years. Cartier Gojdu, Bloc M1, Apt. 38, Deva, Hunedoara, Romania.
35. Name: Carbunescu, Danut and wife, arrived in United States March 1976, 1823 Cornelia Street, Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Carbunescu, Panait, father, 56 years, Str. George Bacovia, 18, Sector 5 Bucharest. Scarlat, Dumitru, father-in-law, 62, Str. 11 Iunie Bucharest, Sector 5. Scarlat, Georgeta, mother-in-law, 43, Comuna Balota, Jud. Dolj, Romania.
36. Name: Constantinov, Alexandru, arrived in United States January 1972, 100 Manhattan Ave., Apt. 610, Union City, N.J. 07087. Persons involved: Constantinov, Luiza, b. Mihăiescu, wife, 28; Constantinov, Eduard, son, 7 years, Blvd. Schitu Măgureanu, 19 Bucharest.
37. Name: Dr. Cristescu, Teodor, 370 Ridelle Ave., Apt. 21-04, Toronto, Canada. Persons involved: Cristescu, Elena, wife, 38 years; Cristescu, Laurențiu, son, 17 years, Str. Poiana Narciselor No. 14, Apt. 5, Sector 4, Bucharest, Romania.
38. Name: Cosambescu, Mircea, 8 E. 48 Street, Apt. 4B, N.Y. 10017. Persons involved: Cosambescu, Tiberiu, father; Cosambescu, Maria, mother, Bucharest, Sos. Giurgiului 109-111 Bl. N, Et. 1, Apt. 7, Sector 5.
39. Name: Ciobanu, Vasile, arrived in United States 1970, 43-10 44th Street, Apt. 2D, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Ciobanu, Vasile, 75; Ciobanu, Tatiana, 65 (in a short visit), Str. Nazarcea No. 59, Sector 7, Bucharest.
40. Name: Florea Stefan and Viviana, 1709 Putnam Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Zaharescu, Maria, mother, 59; Zaharescu, Violeta Maria, sister, 23; Zaharescu, Nicolae, step-father 57, Str. Gloriei Bloc 205, Apt. 30, Sc. B Et. 4 Ploiesti.
41. Name: Harabor, Mihal, arrived in United States July 1975, 50 W. 80th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Harabor, Christian, son, 10 years; Harabor, Vladimir, son, 8 years; Str. Flulerului 25 Sc. A Et. 2 Apt. 7, Sector 7, Bucharest.
42. Name: Hulubel, Basil, 515 W. 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019. Persons involved: Hulubel, Ana, mother; Hulubel, Victoria, sister; Razvan Anastasiu, nephew, Piața Cosmonautilor 1 A, Apt. 56, Sector 1, Bucharest.
43. Name: Ilies, Maria, 1263 Park Ave., Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10029. Persons involved: Barutia, Alexandru Ch. son, 31 years; Barutia, Maria, daughter-in-law, 26 years; Barutia, Ionuț, nephew, 8 months; Della R. Popa, B. Barutia, 28 years, daughter; Gheorghe Popa, son-in-law, 31 years, Str. Hrisovului 13, Bl. D-3, Apt. 7, Bucharest, Of. P. 68 Romania.
44. Name: Ionescu-Lungu Alexandru, arrived in United States 1973, 1637 West Fargo Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60626. Persons involved: Ionescu-Lungu, Maria, wife; Ionescu-Lungu, Dan, son, 18 years; Ionescu-Lungu, Ecaterina, mother; Str. Austrului No. 48, Sector 3, Bucharest.
45. Name: Kerptchian, Reghina, arrived in United States January 1971, 175-21 88th Street, Apt. 36, Jamaica, N.Y. 11432. Persons involved: Pandrea, Elena, mother; Pandrea, Miron, brother; Pandrea, Persefona, sister-in-law; Alea Polana Vadului No. 1 Drumul Taberei; Microralon 2 Bloc OD 8 Sc. CET. 11, Apt. 99, Bucharest. Pandrea, Constantin, brother; Pandrea, Petruța, sister-in-law; Pandrea, Mugur, nephew; Pandrea, Elena, niece; Str. Timisul de Jos No. 2 Bloc D 15 Sc. D, Apt. 34, Drumul Taberei Microralon 5 Bucharest.
46. Name: Kaladjan, Ardashes, American Citizen, 50 W 89th Str., New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Andrei, Elena, niece, 16 years, Blvd. Dimitrie Cantemir Bloc 18 Sc. 2, Et. 3, Apt. 47 Sector 5 Bucharest.
47. Name: Kapikian, Angela, American Citizen, 43-30 46th St. Sunnyside, LIC, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Valerica Nita, father, 64 years; Alexandrina Nita, mother, 64 years; Gheorghe Nita, brother, 23 years; Alexandrina Nita, sister-in-law, 26 years, Manuela Nita, niece, 4 years; Angela-Teodora Nita, niece, 9 months, Str. Ramuri Tei No. 31 Sector 2 Bucharest.
48. Name: Lichiardopol, Nicolae, 220 Miriam St. Bronx N.Y. 10458. Persons involved: Lichiardopol, Tudor, brother, 30 years, 7 Cosmonautilor St. Bucharest, Romania.
49. Name: Muresan, Anton, 351 W 53rd St. Apt. 1E, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10019. Persons involved: Muresan Anton Dorel, 18 years, St. Libertatii No. 5 Apt. 179, Oras Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, Jud. Bacau, Romania.
50. Name: Micusan-Neurhrer Christine, 3090 Savard Montreal H4K 1 T 8, Canada. Persons involved: Micusan Cornelia, mother; Lupas Marie-Anne, sister B. Neurhrer, 39 years; Lupas, Ovidiu, brother-in-law, 43 years; Lupas, Ruxandra, niece, 14 years; Lupas, Andrei nephew, 13 years; Lupas, Anna-Maria, niece, 7, Str. Burdujeni No. 1 Bl. A 12 Sc. 2 Et. 2 Apt. 21, Titan, Bucharest.

51. Name: Mitrea, Florica, 48 Wilson Ave, Newark, N.J. 07105. Persons involved: Armeanu, Ana, mother, 83 years, Blvd. Independentei 44, Polana Tapului, Prahova.
- Name: Nicolescu-Matabareanu Valeria, 5950 Carmelita Ave #6 Huntington Park, California 90255. Persons involved: Matasareanu, Decebal-Emil, son, 8 years, Matasareanu, Viorel, husband, 56 years, Str. Buftea No 1 Timisoara, Romania.
53. Name: May, Lucia (Smantanescu). Persons involved: Malorescu, Cornelia, daughter, Radu Coclas, nephew, Calcea Floreasca, Nr. 9-11, Sector 1, Bucharest.
54. Name: Manta, Constantin, 414 Onderdonk Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11237. Persons involved: Manta, Nircea, brother, 25 years; Marinescu, Florentina, sister, 33 years; Marinescu, Alexandru, brother-in-law, 44 years; Marinescu, Cornel, nephew, 5 years; Manta, Mihai, brother, 35 years; Manta, Paula, sister-in-law, 26 years; Manta, Silviu, nephew, 2 years; Manta, Dumitru, brother, 30 years; Manta, Nicoleta, sister-in-law, 27 years; Manta, Ilie, brother; Manta, Gheorge, brother, 39 years; Manta, Maria, sister-in-law, 37 years; Manta, Adriana, niece, 12 years; Manta, Elena, niece, 8 years; Manta, Carmen, niece, 7 years; Manta, Florica, sister-in-law, 40 years; Manta, Virgil, nephew, 18 years; Manta, Stefan, brother, 36 years; Manta, Ana, sister-in-law, 32 years; Manta, Eduard, nephew, 6 years; Manta, Luca, brother, 45 years; Manta, Ecaterina, sister-in-law, 40 years; Manta, Antoaneta, niece, 10 years; Manta, Constantin, brother, 56 years; Manta, Ofelia, sister-in-law, 56 years; Manta, Viorela, niece, 24 years, Str. Stefan cel Mare No. 106 Bucharest.
55. Mateescu, Ioana, 45-14 42 St. Sunnyside Apt. 2C, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Mateescu, Coralia, mother, Idul Muncii 8 Sector 4 Bucharest. Stancu, Daniela, sister; Stancu, Constantin, brother-in-law; Stancu, Bogdan, nephew; Stancu, Alin-Sebastian, nephew, Str. Emil Racoviță 2, 29-31 Bl. E M 2 Sect. 5 Bucharest.
56. Name: Nace, Victor, arrived in U.S. October 1969. 32-24 74th Str. Jackson Heights N.Y. 11370. Persons involved: Constantinescu, Ileana, sister; Constantinescu, Brăduț, nephew, Str. Pitar Moș No. 25 Et. 6 Ap. 20 Sect. 1, Bucharest (in a visit).
57. Name: Nicolae, Ion, Arrived in U.S. February 1974, 9386 McDougall St. Hamtrac 48212 Michigan. Persons involved: Nicolae, Maria, mother, Blvd. I. G. Duca Nr. 10-22 Et. 4 Apt. 72, Bucharest, Sector 8.
58. Name: Narcis Vladescu, American Citizen, 111 Van Nostrand Ave., Englewood, N.J. 07631. Persons involved: Maza Anton Constantin and family, Str. Baba Novac No. 2 Et. 1 Apt. 4, Bucharest. Maza, Mihai Mina Vasile and family, Sos. Mahal Bravu No. 106 Bl. D 16 Apt. 113 Bucharest.
59. Name: Oprea, Mariouara, Arrived in U.S. Nov. 1974, 45-57 39th Place LIC N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Cotol, Petcu, 57 years, father; Cotol, Gheorghita, 56 years mother; Oprea, Constantin, 42 years, husband, Str. Păstro No. 4 Timisoara 1900 Romania.
60. Name: Platca, Macșunica and husband Ovidiu, 315 E 65 St. Apt. 4K New York, N.Y. 10021. Persons involved: Stanescu, Elisabeta, mother, 69 years; Popescu, Elena, b. Stanescu, 41 years; Popescu, Mihail, brother-in-law, 42 years; Popescu, Andreea, niece, 12 years; Popescu, Luana, niece, 3 years; Aleea Târgul Neamț No. 1B1.D 9 Sc. A Apt. 5, Et. 2 Sector 7 Bucharest. Platca, Virginia, mother-in-law, 65 years; Platca, Adrian, brother, 27 years, Aleea Stanila No. 2 Bloc H 12 Sc. 2 Ap. 10, Sector 4 Bucharest, Platca, Corneliu, brother-in-law, 38 years; Platca, Mariana, sister-in-law, 39 years; Platca, Gabriel, nephew, 13 years, Calea Grivitei No. 127 Sc. B, Ap. 20, Bucharest, Sector 7.
61. Name: Pop, Alexandru Constantin, 3675 King St. No. 4 Lemon Grove, Ca 92045. Persons involved: Tenescu, Elisabeta Maria, 42 years, wife; Christina Motet-Grigoras, step-daughter, 18 years, Str. Midia No. 11 Sect. 8, Bucharest.
62. Name: Petrascu, Nicolae, 38 Moulton Ave. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. 10522. Persons involved: Mortun, Sorin, nephew, 23 years, Bujoreni No. 7 BIP I Sc. 2 No. 40 Bucharest, Sector 7; Odette Alexandrescu, cousin, 48 years, Bdul Ana Ipătescu No. 5, Bucharest.
63. Name: Palamaru, Ludmilla, 48-50 37th St. No. 7K Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Olga Papis, 90 years, mother, Tamara Sitaru, 60 years, sister, Nicolae Sitaru, 64, brother-in-law, Octavian Sitaru, nephew, 32 years, Com. suburbană Chiajna Daddu Str. Bisericii 36, Bucharest.
64. Name: Pantea, Viorela, Arrived in U.S. Jan. 1973, 645 E. Pean Str. Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Persons involved: Pantea, Monica, 23 years, Pantea, Dan, 18 years, Parcul Lenin No. 19 Apt. 24 Oradea, Romania.

65. Name: Panaitesen, Ana, arrived in U.S. Jan. 10, 221 Norman St. Bridgeport, Conn. 06605. Persons involved: Panaitesen, Eugen Gabriel, husband, 34 years. Str. Alexandru Bălăseanu No. 4, Bucharest, Romania.
66. Name: Popa, Dumitru Alexandru & Tatiana, 77-12 Woodside Ave., Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373. Persons involved: Popa, Dumitru Sterie, father, 75 years. Popa, Dumitru Chirala, mother, 75 years, Str. Burdujeni No. 16 Bl. 14 Sc. Capt. 21 Bucharest.
67. Name: Pavelescu, Alexandru, 1500 Stanley Str. No. 118 Montreal, Canada. Persons involved: Pavelescu, Adriana, wife, b. Bordas, 33 years, Pavelescu, Sorin, son, 4 years, Calea Grivitel No. 148 Sc. 3 Et. 7 Apt. 97, Sector 8 Bucharest.
68. Name: Pirvu, Vasile, Arrived in U.S. Nov. 1974, 68-88 Wetherole St. No. 24, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374. Persons involved: Pirvu, Alexandrina, mother, Str. Elena No. 35 Sector 2 Bucharest.
69. Name: Pop, Carnel Ioan, arrived in U.S. October 1974, 16-55 Woodbine St., Ridgewood N.Y. 11227. Persons involved: Pop, Henrietta-Georgiana, Gaughter 7 years, Pop, Claudia-Renatte, daughter, 66 years, Calea Sagului Bloc 36 Sc. C Et. III, Apt. 14, Timișoara, Romania.
70. Name: Petre, Dorel 52 a Route de Châtelard, 1018 Lausanne, Switzerland. Persons involved: Petre Lorena Claudia Gliglola, daughter, 5 years, c/o Ticuleanu Dumitru (grandfather), Str. Aléxandru cel Bun No. 45 Fetești, Ialomița, Romania.
71. Name: Puscas Vasile, arrived in U.S. July 1973, 2622 W Logan Blvd., Chicago IH. 60641. Persons involved: Puscas, Maria, wife, 3 years, Puscas, Mihaela, daughter, 7 years, Str. Victoriei No. 73/23 Bala Mare, Romania.
72. Name: Puscov Ioana, 25-21 31 Av., Astoria, N.Y. 11106. Persons involved: Puscov, Maria, sister-in-law, Timișoara, Str. Gloriei 14.
73. Name: Pitu, Ilie and Angela, 44 Cabot Str. Beverly, Mass. 01915. Persons involved: Pitu, Marin, 27 years, Pitu, Mihai 24 years, Blvd. Aha Ipătescu No. 2, Sector 1 Bucharest.
74. Name: Radulescu, Gheorghe, 1870 Drumgoole Rd., E Staten Island, N.Y. 10309. Persons involved: Radulescu, Elena, wife, 24 years, Str. Chilla Veche No. 3 Et. 4 Ap. 29 Bucharest.
75. Name: Rauta, Constantin, Arrived in U.S. Nov. 1973, P.O. Box 5563, Washington, D.C. 20016. Persons involved: Rauta, Ecaterina Gabriela, wife, 27 years, Rauta, Mihai Cătălin, son, 2, Str. Alexandru Moghioros, No. 32 Bl. A 11, Sc. F Ap. 90 Sector 7, Bucharest, Romania.
76. Name: Reznic, Stefan, Arrived Apr. 1971, 195 Nassau Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11222. Persons involved: Reznic, Ana, b. Pietraru, step-mother, 40 years; Reznic, Paris Emanuel step-brother 7 years; Reznic, Carmen Luminița, step-sister, 5 years, Str. Sălcior No. 17, Tulcea, Romania.
77. Name: Sandulescu, Stefan, 48-50 37th St., Apt. 7N, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101. Persons involved: Pepl Eldinger Patancius, sister, 45 years; Aristide Patancius, brother-in-law, 45 years; Daniel Patancius, nephew, 23 years; Anca Patancius, niece, 22 years; Str. Unități No. 68 Sect. 3 Bucharest. Stefan Brechea, brother, 48 years; Constanța Asador Brechea, sister-in-law, 45 years; Sos. Viilor No. 79 Sector 5 Bucharest.
78. Name: Sarkissian, Elena, American Citizen, 71-16 Clinton Road, Upper Darby, Pa. 10082. Persons involved: Ion Benni, brother, 60 years, Str. Reconstructiei No. 10 Ap. 228 Bucharest.
79. Name: Sarateanu, Simlon, 345 W 86th St. N.Y. 10024. Persons involved: Elena Sarateanu, wife, Str. Republicii, No. 7, Cluj.
80. Name: Stefan, Serban, Arrived in U.S. Nov. 1974, 1870 Drumcoale Rd. E Staten Island, N.Y. 10309. Persons involved: Stefan, Mihăiță, son, 22 years, Str. Edgar Quinet No. 3 Sector 1, Bucharest.
81. Name: Steclaci, Lucian, American Citizen, 195 Tarrington Heights Rd., Tarrington, Conn. 06790. Persons involved: Steclaci, Adrian, brother, 57 years; Steclaci, Livia, sister-in-law, b. Buzila, 51 years, St. Stirbel Vodă No. 2 Apt. 153 Et. 3 Sc. 8, Sector 7 Bucharest.
82. Name: Stoicescu, Maria, Arrived in U.S. Oct. 1970, 278 Riverside Drive, Princeton, N.J. 08540. Persons involved: Stoicescu, Elena, mother, 63 years; Stoicescu, Serban, brother, 36 years; Str. Galați No. 34 Bucharest (for a short visit).
83. Name: Stoica, Adriana and son, 45-19 42 St Sunnyside Apt. 2 C N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Gall, Angela, mother; Gall, Mihail, father, Str. Ciucea #1. Bl. P 16 Sc. 8 Et. 1, Apt. 33 Sector 4 Titan, Bucharest.

84. Name: Stoica, Ion Victor. Persons Involved: Stoica, Aldea, father; Zaharia, Henica, mother-in-law, Str. Postel No. 8 Ploiesti, Romania.

85. Name: Sandulescu, Alexandra, 48-50 37th St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11101. Persons Involved: Necsutu, Mihai, 20 years (on a short visit), Str. Slobozia No. 20 Bucharest, Sector 5.

86. Name: Stefanescu, Raluca, 133-24 Sanford Ave., Apt. 3G, Flushing, N.Y. 11355. Persons Involved: Stefanescu, Corneliu George, 59 years, father, Str. Viting No. 6, Bucharest, Sector 7.

87. Name: Teodorescu-Surmenlian, Alice and Dinu, 4309 44 Str. Sunnyside Apt. 4H N.Y. 11104. Persons Involved: Surmenlian, Atzataber, father; Surmenlian, Hribstime, mother; Surmenlian, Eduard Gabriel, brother, Bd. Lapugneanu 173 Bl. 7 1 Et. 3 Ap. 24 Constanta, Teodorescu, Mihail, brother-in-law; Teodorescu, Elena, sister-in-law; Teodorescu, Doina, nelee, Str. Sapunari 4 Ploiesti.

88. Name: Timus, Adriana, American Citizen, 49 W. 71st St., New York, N.Y. 10023. Persons Involved: Enculescu, Anca, sister, 30 years; Enculescu, Serban, brother-in-law, 35 years, Bl. 37 (A+B) Titan Sc. A Et. 7 Ap. 29, Sector 4 Bucharest.

89. Name: Tuculescu, Gabriela, Permanent Resident, 70-25 B Yellowstone Blvd. Apt. 3L, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons Involved: Pandeles, Geraldina, sister, 35 years; Ionescu, S. Englantina, mother, 62, Str. Maxim Gorki No. 4 A Et. 3 Apt. 7 Bucharest, Cod 7 Romania (for a short visit).

90. Name: Tuculescu, S. Mihai, permanent resident, 70-25 Yellowstone Blvd. Apt. 175, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons Involved: Radulescu, Tralan, 35 years, Calea Grivitei No. 159 Et. 6 Apt. 101, Sector 8 Bucharest. Galaction, Elena, aunt, 63 years, Str. Gala Galaction No. 51 Sector 8 Bucharest. Lupa, Mircea, 35 years, Str. Flulerului No. 24 bis Sector 3 Bucharest.

91. Name: Tuculescu, A. Razvan, permanent resident, 70-25 Yellowstone Blvd. Apt. 3L, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375. Persons Involved: Tuculescu, Serban, father, 65 years; Tuculescu, Maria, mother, 64 years, Str. Levanticali No. 61 Sector 4 Bucharest, Cod 7 (for a short visit).

92. Name: Turdeanu, Eugen and Eva, 30-05 29 Str., Astoria, N.Y. 11102. Persons Involved: Turdeanu, Eugen, son, Cluj, Str. Avram Iancu No. 18 Apt. 4.

93. Name: Ungureanu, Vasile, Arrived in U.S. Apr. 1975, 905 Seneca Ave., Ridgewood, N.Y. 11227. Persons Involved: Ungureanu, Zoe-Bulgia, daughter, 21 years, Bulliga, Viorica, niece, 3 years, Str. Cartierul Kiselef Block A 8 Sc. 4 Apt. 17, Turnu Severin, Romania.

94. Name: Ungureanu, Cheorghe, 4200 Avenue de Courtraf Ap. 19, Montreal, Canada. Persons Involved: Ungureanu, Ana-Maria, daughter, 3 years, Ganea, Rodion, father-in-law, 76, Ganea, Valentina, mother-in-law, 69 years, Str. Pitur Mos No. 25 Et. 7 Ap. 25 Sector 1 Bucharest.

95. Name: Sangeap Titus-Liviu, 50 W 89th St. New York, N.Y. 10024. Persons Involved: Sangeap, Alln, son, 14 years, Sangeap, Daniel, sons, 8 years, Str. Cucu No. 22 Iasi Romania.

RECAPITULATION

The number of the above-mentioned persons can be divided as follows:

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| a. Parents: | |
| 1. Fathers | 20 |
| 2. Mothers | 39 |
| | 59 |
| b. Children: | |
| 1. Boys | 51 |
| 2. Girls | 41 |
| | 92 |
| c. Husbands | 8 |
| d. Wives | 16 |
| e. Brothers | 44 |
| f. Sisters | 36 |
| | 104 |
| Total persons involved | 255 |

EXHIBIT B

NAMES OF PERSONS, WHOSE RELEASE IS SOUGHT FROM THE S.R. OF ROMANIA

1. Name: Radulescu Victor: American citizen 43-33, 46th Street, LIC, New York, N.Y. 11104. Persons involved: Radulescu Ioana, mother, 74 years; Drumul Taberei 23, Bloc E 22, Apt. 16, Sector 7, Bucuresti.

2. Name: Pulu Romulus Gheorghe: American citizen, 1 Main Road, Montville, New Jersey 077045. Persons involved: Stinghie Nicolae, brother in law, 52 years; Stinghie Liana, sister, 43 years; Stinghie Anca, niece, 17 years; Stinghie Nona, niece, 17 years; Str. Suisul Castelului nr. 2, Brasov.

3. Name: Soni Maria, wife, 18 years, 40 Grace Road, Lake Hiawatha, New Jersey 077035. Persons involved: Sona Peter, husband, 20 years, Cluj-Napoca.

EXHIBIT B

ROMANIAN JEWS DESIRING TO EMIGRATE TO U.S.A. OR CANADA

List of Abbreviations: s.=son, d.=daughter, b.=brother, si.=sister, f.=father, m.=mother, w.=wife, ch.=child, chn. children, cr.=close relative such as cousin, u.=uncle, a.=aunt, P.=Prisoner, FP.=Former Prisoner, BU.=Bucharest.

Aronsohn, Janku, Nitu Vasile 46, BU., cr. B. Rothenberg, 1009 Quentin Rd., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11229 Ernestina Korner, 8785 Bay St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Albu, Dr. & Mrs. Eugene, 3 Cibrian Porum Bescu, BU.

Adam, Anna Clara, Batistei 9, BU., cr. J. Manoliu, 751 Layne Ct., Apt. 6, Palo Alto, CA. 94306.

Abraham, Ghidali, w. Lisa, d. Anna, Udricani 25; b. Aron, 142 Pershing Crescent, Briarwood, N.Y. 11435.

Breier, Fredi, w. Manuela, d. Hedi, Sabinelor 72 a., BU. (see Tarnaceanu) U. Dr. A. Rogers, 70 Edgewood Dr., New Hyde Park, N.Y. 11040.

Benyik, Imre and Family, G. Enescu 30, Oradea: B. Julius, Vestal Plaza, Ap. 3-3, Binghamton, N.Y.

Benes, Solomon, w. Ludmilla, Hrisovnlui 26, BU., Parents, Mr. & Mrs. Moritz Benes, 1125 Commonwealth Av., Ap. 16, Boston, Mass.

Buciov, Vladimir, Bd. Micuirlin 5a, BU., A. A. Natasha Hirsch, 140 West 55th St., New York, N.Y. 10019.

Clejan, Mrs. Toni, s. Avrum, w. Eugenia, 2 chn., Ramure 1, Ploesti B. Silviu, 8807 Link Pass, Houston, Texas, Schmelzer.

Cofocaru, Aron Hers, w. Yenta, December 30, Dorohol grands. Sholem Zelingher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., N.Y. 11415.

Coatescu, Minel, BLV. Hagheru 7, BU. (see m. Sitaru, Ruhla).

David, Kalman, w. Betti, Trandafirilor, 51 Dorohol, s. David, Sumer, w. Suzanna, d. Lora, Trandafirilor, 51 Dorohol, cr. Sholem Zelingher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., N.Y. 11415.

Elias, Baruch, w. Maria and son, Blv. 1 Mai 152, BU. b. David Cotter, Encia Dr., Escalon, CA. 91316.

Edelstein, Sami, w. Ohitla, Blv. Maghern 29, BU. SIGita & Leon Litner, 53-23 97th St., N.Y. 11368.

Dr. Frost, Leo, w. Anutza, s. Andrei, Bd. Dinicu Golescu 37, BU., Passport received, cancelled Si Julia Han, 156 West 106th St., Ap. 4c, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Friedman, Vladimir, Brezolanu 26-32, ap. 52, BU. wife: Leibovici Brandusa, 314 East 80th St., ap. 4d., N.Y. 10021.

Fp. Ghinsbruner, Angelo, w. Silvia, Maria Rosetti 17, BU., cousins: Dr. Armin Casvan and Lucy Feuer, 140-95, Burden Crescent, Briarwood, N.Y.

Illoviel, Marc, w. Kathrin, d. Irina, Sipotul Fintinilor 5, BU., cr. Leonard Chase, West Hartford, Connecticut.

Ingel, Isu, w. Frida, Trandafirilor, Dorohol: c. Sholem Zelingher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., N.Y. 11415.

Lerner, Moishe, w. Liba, ch. Josilica, Trandafirilor, 17 Dorohol, cr. Sholem Zelingher, 118-80 Metropolitan Av., F.H., N.Y. 11415.

Lehrer, Mihail, Calea Pretenia 20, Radauti, U.S. brother.

Micranli, Anton, w. Rosalia, Communa Vladimirescu, Garei 4, Jud. Arad d. Teresa Schneider, 77 Bronx River Rd., Yonkers, N.Y. 10704.

Moldoveanu, Victor, w. Viorica, d. Alice, De Mijloc 13, Brasov d. Monica Shevack, 201 Foster Av., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11230.

Fp. Morsky, Bernath, G-ral Florescu 16, BU., d. Mrs. Joe Borgida, POB 2848, St. Thomas, Virgin Isle U.S.A.

- Herscovici, Max, Corvin, Cluj
 Herscu, Radu, Piata Splaiului 3-5, B.
 Herscu, Sofia, Palatulul, Bl. 7, ap. 45, sect. 7, B.
 Herscovici, Corina, h., Al. Lapusneanu 24, Galati probably left, to be checked
 Hajo, Iadislau, Galati 48-50, B., finance in Israel: Vita Milstein, Tagore 11,
 Ramat Aviv
 Hirsh, Nicolae, Comel 3, Brasov: Wife in Israel, Toul, 2 chn, c/o Yona Zaler,
 Rashbam 13, Bnai Brak.
 Isser, Mendel, Poiana Narciselor 7, B.
 Israel, Iancu, Armeanu 16, Jassy
 P. Itzikon, Avram Prison unknown here, B. Marcel; Hagana, 25/23 Rehovot
 FP. Itic (Ungar), Avram Natan, Mamulari 8, B., B. Arie, Rashi 15a, Haifa
 Kaufman, Harry, Petru Rares 12, Galati
 Kirshenbaum, Bernath, Vlad Tepel 3, Dej
 Lehrer, Mihail, Calea Pretenia 20, Radauti
 FP. Ielbovici, Mendel, w. Eliza, Al Cimpul cu Flori 8, B., Sisters in Israel
 Frida Berecovici, Aticot Ashkelon 285/14, Bernact Herscu, Dr. Anitahou,
 Ashkelon
 Manhaim, Georghe, w. Ernestina, chn, Andrei, Anamarie, Invoiri 12, B.
 Moscovici, Maral, w. Sofia, Sintulsava, 19, Jassy, want to joint children
 Mendlovici, Sanilicu, Bl. 23, August 24, Timisoara
 Moscovici, Elias, Nicolina 3, Jassy
 Mayerson, Samson, w. Hermina, Mantuleasu 12, B., M. in Israel, Rebecca,
 Nitsana 199, Ramat Josef and 3 sisters.
 Negrea, Anton, w. Maria, 5 chn, Blv Magheru 9, B., Desperate parents in
 Israel, Herscu Schwartz (82), w. Rebecca (78), Maon Haakademaim, 225,
 Kiriat Haim, Haifa
 Oslas, Herscu, w. Draga, d. Mariana, Cerbulin 32, Brasov, multiple refusals
 FP's wife, PAL, Paraschiva, Kogalniceanu 27, Dej, Jud. Cluj
 Poper, Zoltan, Trib. Jud. Bihor 1785/1968, Oradea
 Popescu, Silviu, Apolodor 18, B.
 FP. Recu, Misu, w. Franchette, Solca 5, B., 2 ds. in Israel: Violet Wilk,
 Hamlacha 7, Ramat Gan, Marcela Garon, Hadar Yosef.
 FP. Rosinger, Adalbert, w. Malvina, Stirbel-Voda 4, B.-D. Veronica, Hana
 Senesh 2, Bnai Brak; M. Haia Herscovici, Der. Tsarpat 15/16, Kiriat Sprinzak,
 Haifa
 FP. Rosenberg, Heinrich, w. Lilica, Lapusneanu 24, Galati: D. Corina Hershovici
 arrived Israel with husband?
 Reichman, Herman, Deda Brista Reg. Tg. Mures
 Reichman, Isidor, Gral Florescu 16, B.
 Smilovici, Herscu Marcel, Decembriu, 60, B.
 Solomon, Leon, Stefan Cel Mare, 33, Birlad, Jud. Vaslui: cr. Rabbi Daitcu,
 Ahad Haam, Petach Tikv
 FP. Scheener, Otilia, Cal Grivitel 67, B., A. Lotte Schener, Hamaleh Korech,
 16, T. A.
 FP. Suzin, Micu, w. Veronica, d. Mariana, Piata Buzesti 9, B., S: Lill Deutsch,
 Yavneh
 Solomon, David, w. Clara, and daughter, Decembrie 30, 43, Dorohoi
 Sigal, Dr. Janku Solomon, w. Aura, d. Rolande, Al. Avocat Salaganu 7, BU. b.,
 Marcel Segak in T.A., SI in Haifa, Clara Schecter.
 Schwartz, Benjamin, w. Corina, Prof. Georgescu 27a, B.
 Schwartz, Martin, w. Adriana 111 Calarosi, B.
 Schwartz, Mayer, w. Miriam, Antin 37, B.
 Schecter, Ichil, Decebal 67, Constanta
 Salomon, Alexandru Garril 35, Osorhei, Jud. Bihor
 P. Schwalb, Dr. Naftali, Petru Maior 10, Braila. W. Dr. Betty, 5 Chn. Si. Eva
 Bar Sina (Schwalb), Hanasi 24, Haifa
 P. Simian, Samoil, Tauti de Sus 18, Baia Mare 4800: SI, Esther Berger,
 Nordau 5, Petach Tikva
 Schachter, Y., 13 Decembrie 9, Falticani Reg Suceava
 FP. Unger, Nathan, Mamulari 8, B., B. Arie, Rashi 15a, Haifa
 FP. Useriu, Mizail, Justitel, 7, B., B. Israel Ochri, Habas 31, Haifa.
 FP. Usher, David, Negresti Vaslui, Decebal 4, Jassy, B. Avraham, R. Avoda
 23, T.A.
 Vasilescu, Stefan, w. Leontina, Al. Episcopul Ambroisie, Apt 5, B., Trying
 9 years

Weinberger, Zoltan, N. Balchescu 5, Brasov
 FP. Weiss, Nissim David, w. Floreta, s. Lucian, Intr. Pictor Vermont 3. B.
 b. Jancu, Haifa P.O.B 4072, b Lazar, Kikar Histadrut, 6, Nescher Haifa
 Wullich, Milea, Prisaca Dornei 6, B.
 Zeld, Levi, w. Golda, Calarosi 111, B.

EXHIBIT C

LEMON GROVE, CALIF., June 14, 1976.

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION HELP COMMITTEE,
 Attention: Dr. Charles H. Kremer, D.D.S.

DEAR MR. KREMER: Thank you for your letter from June 10. Unfortunately I haven't had the opportunity to read the "Comunicatul" and the four questions referred to in your letter. I will try therefore to give you hereinafter all details I think are relevant for the matter. If you need additional details, please send me a copy of the "comunicatul", or if you think that time runs short, do not hesitate and call me collect any day, after 7 P.M. (Pacific Standard Time).

I am an electrical engineer, born on Aug. 9, 1935, in Cluj, Romania. For many years, my parents and myself, have been persecuted by the communist regime that has been established in Romania after World War II. My father, Valeriu Pop, a notable political personality of the pre-war years, has been imprisoned for 5 years, without trial and without any guilt except his democratic political beliefs and died shortly after being set free due to the extermination conditions he has been subjected to in prison. Our home and all our goods were confiscated abusively, we have been subjected to all kinds of discriminations, for a long time I have been prevented from attending university and later I have been repeatedly refused professional promotion.

Despite this, I have been hoping that sooner or later things would change and the country would come back again to a democratic regime. As years went by, I painfully found that although some improvements were perceptible, arbitrary and abuse were perpetuated by the communist party maintaining actually a dictatorship.

Finally, seeing that no opposition was possible and no substantial changes were to be reasonably expected, I decided to leave my homeland and resettle in a free and democratic country. Because Romanian regulations practically prevent from filing emigration applications any persons excepting those having close relatives residing abroad or being of another nationality than Romanian, the only legal way for me to leave Romania was to get a tourist passport and after several unsuccessful attempts I finally managed it and reached West Germany in August 1974.

On Dec. 11, 1975, I was admitted as a refugee to the United States (alien registration number A20 443 222) and presently I am employed with National Steel and Shipbuilding Co., in San Diego, Ca.

However, as price for my liberty, I had to leave back in Romania my family that were not permitted to travel abroad with me:

Elsabeta Maria Tenescu, wife, born on May 28, 1934, in Buzau, Romania (we married legally on Feb. 28, 1968, in Bucharest, Sector 4, registration number 2826, and as permitted by Romanian laws, my wife chose to keep her last name at birth) and

Cristiana Motet-Grigoras, stepdaughter, born on June 30, 1958, in Bucharest (my wife's daughter from her previous marriage with Dan Motet-Grigoras, legally terminated on May 18, 1961).

Both residing in Str. Midia Nr. 11, Bucharest, Sector 8.

After several unsuccessful attempts, they managed in November 1975 to file the applications for leaving Romania and join me in the United States, but no passports have been approved them so far.

I have asked repeatedly the Romanian Embassies in Köln, West Germany and more recently in Washington, D.C., the Governmental Commission for Passports and Visas in Bucharest and President Nicolae Ceausescu himself to permit my family to leave Romania, but for the time being I haven't received any answer to those letters, some of them written more than one year ago. The only message I received from the Romanian Embassy in West Germany in November 1975 was a short notice informing me that my settlement abroad (not my family's!) had been approved, period. The Romanian officials I could get in touch with in West Germany and more recently in the United States (Mr. Badalcescu, from the Romanian Consular Office in Washington, D.C.), refused me any concrete assistance upon this matter.

Meanwhile I have taken the necessary steps to establish my family's eligibility for a United States entrance visa. According to the news I recently received from my wife, the visa formalities at the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest are near to be accomplished. My wife has contacted several times Mr. Anthony C. Perkins, Consul of the United States in Bucharest, informing him about the impediments she and the child have in obtaining the passport from the Romanian authorities. I wrote the Embassy directly asking for help and Mr. Perkins stated in his answer that the Embassy will intervene on their behalf and will continue to support my family's case until they are able to obtain permission to leave Romania.

So the actual problem is to obtain the passports from the Romanian authorities. The officials competent to process emigration applications and to issue passports deliberately try by bureaucratic harassments, postponements and threats to discourage any person who wants to quit the country in the desire to escape the dictatorial communist regime. Treating people like slaves, the Romanian authorities do not respect the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (ratified by the Romanian National Assembly), the family reunification provisions of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation Declaration (signed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in July 1975), the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement and even the provisions on human rights of the Romanian Constitution and laws. In fact, they simply ignore these provisions because they contradict the totalitarian nature of the regime.

Therefore I insistently ask you to support me, my family and many other families in similar situations, by showing the Congress of the United States these Romanian realities, or in any other way in which you feel you could help us.

Thanking you for your anticipated assistance on this most important problem for my dependents and me, I assure you of my outstanding gratitude and remain,

Faithfully yours,

ALEXANDRU C. POP.

EXHIBIT C 1

LEMON GROVE, CALIF., *July 19, 1976.*

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION HELP COMMITTEE,
Atten. Dr. Charles H. Kremer, D.D.S.

DEAR DR. KREMER: I dare hold again your attention upon the case of my wife, Elisabeta Maria Tenescu and my stepdaughter, Christiana Motet-Grigoras, that are refused permission by Romanian authorities to leave the country and join me in the United States.

My wife informed me recently that the appeal she and my stepdaughter had filed with the Governmental Commission for Passports and Visas in Bucharest had been rejected and no explanation had been given them for this new denial.

She is going to appeal next with the Council of State, but 25 years of life under communist rule have learned me that asking for one's rights inside Romania has little if any efficiency at any level. The only thing Romanian authorities regime cares of nowadays is neither Human Rights, nor people's welfare, but the image the country and its leaders reflect to the outside world; and practice has shown that only direct or indirect pressure from outside can help achieving family reunions under circumstances similar to my case ones.

My wife has a delicate constitution and has always had a fragile health. The latest stresses have deeply depressed and brought her an ulcer (on nervous basis probably) and I fear she is facing now a severe nervous and physical breakdown that she could never recover of, so please understand and forgive my insistence in asking your help on this vital issue for me and my family.

Thank you again for the attention you have already given my case and for your further expected support.

Faithfully yours,

ALEXANDRU C. POP.

EXHIBIT D

EL CAJON, CALIF.,

June 14, 1976.

HONORABLE SIR: I dare solicit your attention over a humanitarian problem, knowing how helpful you have been in the past for people in situations similar to mine.

I am born in Romania in 1939 from a family of Greek origin, I am by profession hairdresser.

After many years of frustrations suffered in Romania because of the dictatorial communist regime established there after World War II, I decided to leave Romania and settle in a free and democratic country. I received a tourist passport and reached West Germany in Sept. 1974. On Feb. 18, 1976 I was admitted as a refugee to the United States and presently I am employed and attend English courses in El Cajon, California.

However, my brother, Teodor Dumitru Caraiani, born on Feb. 26, 1945 in Bucharest, Romania, his wife, Georgeta Caraiani, born on Apr. 10, 1952 in Bucharest, Romania, their children, Adrian Traian Caraiani, born on March 23, 1972 in Bucharest and Viorel Claudiu Caraiani, born on March 31, 1975, in Bucharest, all residing in Sts. Caporal Ruca Nr. 14, Bl. B0, Sc. I, Et. 8, Ap. 36, Bucharest (Sector 4), Romania, and having the same feeling like me about the present political regime in Romania, want to leave the country and have made several attempts to file applications for leaving the country during the last 10 years, but they have been constantly turned down.

Having no practical possibility to apply to somebody else from Romania, my brother asked me for help and therefore I kindly ask you to use your influence to persuade the proper Romanian authorities to permit my brother and his family to leave Romania, in compliance with the international agreements and treaties on Human Rights signed by Romania.

Thanking you for your anticipated support on this most important problem for my family, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

CARAIANI FOTINI.

EXHIBIT E

JULY 26, 1976.

HON. NICOLAE M. NICOLAE,
R.S. Romanian Ambassador,
Washington, D.C.

EXCELLENCY: On June 23rd 1976 I wrote you a letter but as of today no answer. When are you Ambassadors of Romania going to learn to be polite and act as a true ambassador and answer a letter? If I write a letter to any other ambassador of a non-Communist country I receive a prompt answer.

I have asked the previous Ambassador M. C. Bogdan to let me know the number of emigres from Romania this year both gentiles and Jews and he did not let me know. Evidently either no people left Romania or you refuse to let the U.S.A. know. Last year in this time Mr. Bogdan and all his force were after me to testify at the MFN hearing. I am going to the Senate Finance Committee hearing since I am already on their list of speakers I need this information.

In this reason I intend to tell them about my accident in Romania when Valentin Ceausescu passed a red light and injured me permanently and Romania thru Mr. Bogdan sent me to our State Department to collect damages Rusme De o Me de ori Rusme. Why don't you pay for my injuries. I was your only advocate for MFN law to be enacted last year.

I am enclosing my fier which is self-explanatory. Please answer.

Respectfully,

DR. CHARLES KREMER.

EXHIBIT F

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., August 8, 1976.

Mr. JON EDU,
Consul, RSR Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. EDU: Thank you for your letter dated August 2nd 1976, authorized by Honorable Ambassador N. M. Nicolae. You refer in your letter that on May 1974 you have advised me how to proceed legally. Will you please send me now a Xerox copy of that letter, because in looking over very carefully my file, I couldn't find that letter. It is not true that Mr. Greiff Ionatz Nihail passed the red light because we were sitting one next to the other when the accident happened and he made this declaration both in my presence and that of Mr. Valentin Ceausescu who had his hands folded when he gave the report to

the militia. Today both Mr. Greiff Ionatz Nihall and Dr. Adriana Mihaescu are residents of the U.S.A. Dr. Mihaescu after Major Petigom whispered in her ear in front of me, who speaks Romanian fluently, that the person who ran me over with his car is none other than the son of His Excellency President Ceausescu, Valentin Ceausescu. Dr. Mihaescu stated "It required simple care for 2-3 days (from the beginning). Since the examination was 3 days after the accident and she remarked on the certification that 15 persons were injured and I am still under the doctor's care after she diagnosed the case as "Traumatism". I cannot discuss the other things with you personally, since I cannot be in Washington before the hearings of the Senate Finance Committee will take place, when I intend to present my views as to MFN Trade Act with Romania and on which occasion I will speak about my injustice, put before the Senate my case in full, and documented in complete detail to prove how an American citizen and an invited guest of the government is treated in order to save the son of the President from proper punishment. .

I still insist again for you to let me know how many people, Jews and gentiles, have left Romania for U.S.A., Israel, and any other parts of the world because I intend to also discuss these demands both to Honorable Bagdan and Honorable Nicolae, Ambassadors, when I will speak on the Senate hearings.

In appreciation of a prompt answer, I remain,

Very truly yours,

CHARLES KREMER, *President.*

EXHIBIT G

REPORT OF MEDICO-LEGAL OBSERVATION

As a result of your letter No. 753746, dated May 5th, 1971, I have examined today, May 6th, 1971, the said Kremer, H. Charles, 73 years old, of the City of New York, 253 W. 72nd St. with Passport No. A1774018, and I have ascertained: The above named told us that he was in an accident on the day of May 4th, 1971.

He was examined at I. C. Frimu Hospital where no internal lesions were found.

Examined today, June 5, 1971, I see violaceae ecchymosis 5/3 cm. on the posterior surface on the right hand.

Violaceae ecchymosis with slight swelling of the small left finger, with retained mobility. Red ecchymosis 0,7/0,6 on the dorsal of the left ring finger.

Superficial excoriation 1/0, 8 cm. on the dorsal of the left medius finger. Red area 3/2 cm. on the forehead, left side. Reddish ecchymosis 3/1 cm. on the back of the head. Superficial excoriation 0,6/0,5 on the right elbow. Reddish violaceae ecchymosis 4/3 cm. dorsally on the right shoulder. Reddish violaceae ecchymosis 18/15 cm. on the left calf posteriorly. Excoriation ecchymosis 2/1 cm. on the left popliteal region. Red ecchymosis 3/2 cm. in the lumbar region. Ecchymosis 4/3 cm. Reddish-green on the left arm externally. Ecchymosis 3/2 cm. reddish-green on the right arm externally. Claims pain left ankle without external lesions. Reddish ecchymosis 3/2 cm. on the head in the occipital region.

CONCLUSIONS

The said Kremer, H. Charles, has suffered a traumatism on the 4th day of May, 1971. He required simple care, 2-3 days from the accident.

DR. MIHAESCU ADRIANA,
Medical Legal Expert.

EXHIBIT H

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., Iulie, 8, 1975.

Excelentel Sale DOMNULUI ION DATCU,
*Ambasadorul R. S. Romane pe langa Natiunile Unite,
Palatul Natiunilor Unite, New York*

EXCELENTA: In conformitate cu instructiunile ce le am primit dela Dl. Dumitru Rosu, Seful Presei R. S. Romane pe langa Natiunile Unite, si care a plecat in concediu, am onoare sa va trimit act alaturat un dosar continand precum si o serisoare personala adresata Domnului Dumitru Rosu din partea Domnului

Dean Milhovan, Directorul Ziarului Dreptatea si Presedintele Asociatiei Romanilor Crestini din Statele Unite ale Americii.

Doresc sa precizez ca in acest dosar se mai gasesc si urmatoare acte:

1. Citatia N° 564 din 6 Mai 1971.
2. Declaratia din 6 Mai 1971.
3. Raportul de constatare Medico Legal din 6 Mai 1971.
4. Acte din USA, Scrisori catre Dl. Pitigoiu (4a), catre Dl. Ambasador Bogdan (4b), 4 Dl. Irinolu precum si raspunsul Dlul. Irinolu din 6 Oct. 1971 (4d, 4e, 4f).
5. Certificatul Medical al Medicului Orthopedic (doua certificate dela 2 doctor.
6. Un dosar continand toate facturile cu platile ce au fost facute catre medicii cari m'au ingrijit.

Acest dosar cu toate anexele, va rog sa aveti amabilitatea sa expediat pe cale Oficiala Ministerului de Externe al R S Romane din Bucuresti pentru care va presint multumirile mele anticipate.

Ia scrisoarea ce o trimit Domnului Rosu, mai alaturez un anumit material compilmentar si aceasta conform intelegerii verbale ce am avut o cu Dl. Dumitru Rosu inaintea plecarii Dsale. in concediu.—

Doresc sa mentionez ca la aceasta scrisoare adresata Dlul. D. Rosu anexez in acelaasi timp o scrisoare adresata Domnului Macovescu Ministrul de Externe al R S Romane din Budresti, precum si niste facturi suplimentare, presum si anumit material ce nu se gaseste in dsarul alaturat. Toate acestea ca urmare la cele stabilite cu Dl. Dumitru Rosu personal.

Impreuna cu multumirile mele anticipate, va rog Excelenta sa bimervoiti a primi asigurarea inaltel mele stime ce va o pastrez.

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT I

ROMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., Iulie 19, 1975.

D-SALE

Domnului Dumitru Rosu

Atasat de presa-Al R. S. Romane pe linga Matiunile Unite.

DRAGA DOMNULE ROSU: Profit de ocazie sugestiei Dv. si trimit prin curier, special cu buna vointa Domnului T. Datcu Ambasador al R.S., Romina pe linga Natiunile Unite, urmatoarele acte:

1. Copia scrisoarei trimise cu aceasta ocaziune Domnului Ambasador I. Datcu, cu data de 8 Iulie 1975,
2. Dosarul accidentului meu cu actele colectate pina la data de 31 Octmbrie 1973,
3. Facturile primite dela medicii trata ce m-au si mai ma trateaza si aceasta numai din luna Martie 1975 pina la data de 1, Iulie 1975 pentru a se constata sumele de plata pentru acest serios tratament ce sunt nevcit sa-l urmez in urma accidentului ce l-am suferit; 4 copii scrisorilor adresate in acelasi chestiune: Domnului Prim Ministru, D-lui Ministru Bodnarus D-lui Ministru de Externe. La scrisoare adresata D-lui Ministru Macovescu am facut o corectura la paragraful No. 7,
4. O scrisoare in care am aratat sumele ce am achitat medicilor pentru tratamentul din Oct. 1973 pina in Iulie. 1975 dupa cum urmeaza:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Noembrie, 1973..... | \$200. 00 |
| Decembrie, 1973..... | 200. 00 |
| In cursul, 1974 (din Ianuarie 1975 pina in Iulie 1975 am achitat)..... | 2400. 00 |
| un total de..... | 4200. 00 |

Total general (patru mii doua sute nouazeci si sasa dollars)---- 4200. 00

Daca veti binevoi sa cititi scrisoarea mea citrae Comandamentul Militie din Capitala veti avea ocazie se constatati ca Dl. Valentin Causescu a fost singurul vinovat al acestui oribil accident dupa care am ramas infirm. Este eronata acuzatie adusa D-lui Greiff, dealtfel am luat contact cu D-na si Dl. Greiff cari actualmente locuiesc in San-Francisco cu care sunt in permanenta legatura.

Spre buna informare Dv., va pot spune ca Dl. Ministru adj. de Externe V. Gliga a avut personal o intervedere cu Dl. Harry Barnes unde intre celelalte discutii oficiale sa discutat si problema accidentului meu, dupa care fapt am fost cheamat telefonic de citre sectia Romina dela "State Department al U.S.A. din Washington" informindu-ma despre cele de mai sus.

Am convigerea ferma ca daca Dv. veti avea amabilitatea se explicati cazul meu autoritatilor competente din Capitala in lumina actelor doveditoare ce se afla la dosarul meu complet cu privire la accidentul, problema se va putea rezolva in mod absolut favorabil, pentru care eu iti voi ramine, recunoscator si obligat. Sper ca nu va mai fi nevoie sa insist ca si in viitor sa poti conta pe sprijinul meu total in servirea cauzei Tarei mele natale. In asteptare cu mult interes rezultatul favorabil al interventiei Dumitale iti rezerv cele mai sincere sentimente si respect.

Cu multumiri anticipate te salut.

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT DREPTATEA.

Times Square Station, New York, N.Y., Iunie 21, 1975.

STIMATE DOMNULE MINISTRU: Natura delicata a problemei pentru care ma adresez Dumneavoastra, ma obliga sa apelez la serviciile personale si confidentiale ale dl-lu Dumitru Rosu, aiisatul de presa Roman la ONU si pe care l-am rugat sa va transmita prezenta.

Este vorba despro revendicarile de-lui dr. Charles H. Kremer din New York, care in anul 1971 a fost accidentat la Bucuresti de masina condusa de fiul Excelentel Sale domnul Presedinte Ceausescu, Ceausescu, Valentin.

Personal nu asi dori sa ma amestec, dar am promis dr. Kremer ca voi veni la Bucuresti sa incerc rezolvarea acestui caz, promisiune pe care nu o pot realiza deoarece starea sanatatii mele nu-mi permito sa parasesc New York-ul.

Ca jurist imi dau seama de diferenta de conceptii ce ingreuiaza rezolvarea acestui caz:

Conceptiile si sistemul juridic Romanesc nu admite asemenea despagubiri, deoarece ele sunt compensate si acoperite automat de larghete a sistemului de beneficii sociale de stat.

In sistemul American, asemenea beneficii lipsesc, iar individul este nevoit sa suporte pe cheltulala proprie toate tranamentele si consecintele ce rezulta dintr-un asemenea accident, cel ce l-a produs este obligat sa despagueasca pe victima.

Acesta este baza juridica ce sta in sprijinul pretentiiilor De-lui dr. Kremer si cadrul in care eu apelez la intelegerea Domniei Voastre, fiindca eu personal consider ca dela rezolvarea acestui caz trebuie dela inceput exclusa participarea a: l. d. ambasador Cornel Bogdan, spre a nu fi acuzat ca faciliteaza interesele dr. Kremer si 2. Excelenta Sa domnul Presedinte Ceausescu, care se va gasi probabil in dilema conducatorului drept ce trebuie sa apere interesele statului si tempera de-a nu trezi suspiciuni de sentimentalism patern.

Dar dincolo de aspectul juridic sau procedural al acestei regretabile afaceri, eu doresc in mod special sa relev latura practica, sau a intereselor imediate si majore legate de ea.

Recentele evenimente din Congresul American sau intalnirea Excelentel Sale domnul Presedinte Ceausescu cu anumiti senatori si congreameni Americani—senatorul Jackson—a scos in evidenta mai mult ca oricand ca o parte din oficialitatile U.S.A. nu cunosc adevarata situatie a realitatilor ce confrunta politica Romaniei. Se poate afirma chiar mai rau, ca acesti oficialitati sunt influentate de propaganda calomnioasa a elementelor extremiste si dusmanoase ce activeaza in aceasta tara. Pentru combaterea activitatii iduantoare a acestor cercuri extremiste, noi am constituit un grup de cetateni Americani de origina Romaneasca, care chiar cata mu impartase convingerile dumneavoastra politice apare, doresc inso sa ajute si sa intere, ceterii.

Recent, noi am participasemina Comitetului Financiar a Congresului U.S.A. si suntem mandrii de succesul pe care l-am avut aparand interesele Romaniei si denuntand acuzatiile calomnioase co l sau adus.

Dorim sa continuam aceasta activitate si pe viitor, dar avom nevoie de serviciile si mai ales de prestigiul dr. Kremer, care ne poate asigura concursul cercurilor Evrolosti doosobit de valoroase si influente aici.

In fond, daca ar fi nimal modul cum dr. Kremer a denuntat in fata Congresului U.S.A. acuzatiile insulatoare ale soviniistilor Maghiari, sau cum al a completat favorabil declaratiile reprezentului Evrolosti din America, dr. Kremer ar merita din partea Guvernului Roman mai mult.

In consecinta, eu imi permit deci sa reg pe Excelenta Voastra sa l se recunusca dr. Kremer cororea sa si sa fie despagubit pentru daunele reale co l sau

adus, printr-o regretabila si nedorita intamplare caro oste nimerit sa fie data uitarii cat mai curend posibil.

Animat de cele mai sincero si curate sentimente,
Al Dumnoavoastra cu stima,

ADVOCAT DEAN MILDOVAN, *Editor.*

EXHIBIT K-1

BUCAREST, May 6, 1971.

DECLARATION

I declare from the very beginning that I renounce any claims taking into account that Romania is my country of birth, that I come here often, and, on the other hand, I am the President of the Romanian Jewish Federation, Inc.

To your question as to what claims I have, I answer:

Since the only thing that had me worried was related to my health, up to this moment I do not observe anything grave. The few sufferings on my hands, left leg, occipital and frontal areas, plus my right shoulder, for the time being, do not worry me. At the "Hospital for Emergencies" where I was transported, I received a tranquilizer and a medicine against vomiting. I will see during the time that I will be in this country, and after my return to New York, if the accident does not have any delayed results, since for the time being I have not had any claim in connection with my health. Eventually the delayed effect of the accident will be established medically. The only effective claim observed right now is the destruction of my suit, more exactly, my jacket. I want to state that this is a brand new suit made just before I left New York. The jacket cost me \$125.00 and the trousers \$28.00. Other claims for me personally I do not have.

I am sure that engineer, Ignatiu Greiff who had the amiability to take me to the city of Giurgiu at my dear father's grave and to always be at my beck and call everytime I asked him (he is the brother-in-law of a good friend of mine in New York) he will receive his respective reimbursement for repairing his car since the accident—I solemnly declare—did not take place because of his fault. This I could have seen well since I was sitting next to him in the front; he had passed quite a distance, past the first half of the road, before the yellow light appeared and then I was hit and I was thrown out of the car and dragged on the asphalt.

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT K-2

TRANSLATION FROM ROUMANIAN

ROUMANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Police I.M.N. Circulation Department, Penal File Nr. 564/196

Summons Nr. 564

Dr. Kremer C., son of ——— and of ——— of age — profession ——— in the City Bucharesti Str — Nr. — floor — apart — county — is called to this Police Station located in Bucharesti Str. Calea Victoriei nr. 17 county ——— 3rd floor, room nr. 333 for the date of 6th month may year 1971 hour II in capacity as an injured person caused by the accident on ———. In case of nonattendance the legal sanctions will be imposed.

Officer of Police.

EXHIBIT L

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD

(From the Committee for Helping Emigration of Romanian and Jewish people from Romania)

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 11, 1976.

Hon. President GERALD FORD,
White House Washington, D.C.

DEAR MISTER PRESIDENT: We desire to call to your attention the formation of the Committee for Helping Emigration of Romanian and Jewish People from Romania. It is our duty to inform you about some inconsistencies in the M.F.N. law which are detrimental to Romanian American citizens.

We do not like to be regarded as persons who throw an additional stone on your so much criticized foreign policy but on behalf of our country's benefits we

are compelled to reveal some facts pertaining to your Romanian policy interpretation and application.

The United States is still number one in the world. Yet some highly respected American and foreign persons consider that your administration has driven the country's prestige downwards.

We respectfully suggest that as far as Romania is concerned your action in reference to the M.F.N. status needs to be revised. Last year you granted Romania a waiver for one year on the condition that Romania will embark on a free emigration policy. Our Congress only after your assurance voted the Most Favored Nation Status for Romania. You gave Romania a great opportunity to compete in the United States market by granting Romania a duties free status for 98 of its exported commodities to the United States. In exchange Romania committed herself to free all the people who want to emigrate. But after Romania grabbed all these benefits it refused to allow emigration of all the people who wanted to emigrate.

The Romanian diplomacy in defying the United States prestige alleged that there was no international agreement signed between your administration and Romania in regard to emigration. If this is true this was a grave error on your administration's part.

In Romania there are over 300,000 people in tears awaiting to emigrate to various free countries. Romania, following a Soviet pattern on this matter avoids to inform the Free World that there is an emigration issue in Romania. The Romanian government refuses even to register their petitions. Most of the people who dare to implement their desire to emigrate are either imprisoned or terrorized or both.

The United States Embassy in Bucuresti protested many times, but the Romanian government ignored them.

For years husbands, wives, sons and daughters hoped to be reunited with their families in the United States. Since you have failed so far to take a strong action in this respect, we appeal to you to do so and help us reunite our families.

Last year you refused to discuss with Mr. Solzhenitsyn, the champion of the freedom of our era, for the sake of detente. Now even you abandoned the detente idea because you finally understand that the Communist doctrine is not compatible with detente; Communism cultivates hates, lies and world struggles. Detente was just another clever Soviet trap in which we fell, unfortunately.

To date Romania freed only 843 people out of 300,000. The small percentage illustrates how Romania fulfilled its commitments.

While you waited patiently for emigration our wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters or our children were thrown in jails only because they wanted to join us in the United States or leave for any other free country.

While you are campaigning to be elected president our families are interrogated and brutalized by the Romanian secret police only because they want to come to an "imperialist" country.

While you are going to church please think of our families left in Romania that can not pray God because they are forced to perform gratis work on Sundays to improve the Romanian ruined economy.

While you are having dinner with your wife and children please think of our starving families in Romania and of our crying here in the United States for our nearest of kin.

Dear Mister President, please take into account that most of us are United States citizens and all of us are taxpayers.

The law of this land allows us to ask our government for accounting. We hate to see our government in a class action. But in meantime we refuse to see that our tax monies is improving Romania's ruined economy and contributes to introduce there our high technology. This high technology later on might help Romania destroy us directly or indirectly, as was the case in Viet Nam.

President Ceausescu stated at the last Soviet Communist Party Congress held in Moscow that he wants to defeat imperialism jointly with the Soviet Union. Is that the detente the United States wants?

In view of the foregoing we request you to withdraw the waiver given to Romania last year as it has been proven that Romania is in default.

Trusting that you do believe in family unity and in freedom we remain;

Most respectfully yours,

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT M

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 24, 1976.

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER,
President, Roumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc.,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR DR. KREMER: I am pleased to acknowledge by this means your several recent letters concerning your claim against the Romanian Government for injuries suffered in an accident in May 1971.

You have inquired about the meaning of the statement "It does not appear that the Department, taking all the circumstances into account, is in a position to intercede formally with the Romanian authorities on your behalf." This was intended to indicate that the Department of State does not believe there is a valid claim which can be presented formally to the Romanian Government by the Department. A decision on this matter is based on the statement renouncing any claims which you signed at the time of the accident and on the existence of a Romanian court finding that the driver of the car in which you were riding was at fault in the accident.

You also inquired about the name of the Romanian official who indicated that the Romanian Government is not prepared to pay compensation in this case. The official to whom I referred is Gheorghe Popa of the American Directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In addition to your accident claim, you have inquired about the case of Bishop Valerian Trifa. This issue is something in which this office is not directly concerned. As you know, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has primary responsibility on this type of case. I note, however, that you have written to Senator Buckley concerning this case and 38 alleged Nazi criminals. Senator Buckley has forwarded your inquiry to the Department of State and he will be receiving an appropriate response.

Sincerely,

RICHARD A. CHRISTENSEN,
Economic Officer.

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., February 9, 1976.

Mr. RICHARD A. CHRISTENSEN,
Roumanian Affairs Office, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHRISTENSEN: I regret to say that as time marches on, I am getting older, in continuously pain, and I am forced to give up my profession because I can not stand on my feet, and my back is still hurting, at the same time our State Department is not taking a stand in my behalf with the Roumanian Authorities.

I do resent the fact that you fail to answer my letters, and especially my last letter addressed to you dated January 30, 1976.

Would you please answer what do you mean, when you state in your letter "It does not appear that the Department, taking all the circumstances into consideration is in a position to intercede formally with the Romanian Authorities in your behalf."

Expecting this time your favorable and prompt answer, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER, President.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 4, 1976.

Hon. JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: I have received your inquiry of January 9 regarding the claim of Dr. Charles H. Kremer for injuries suffered in an accident which occurred in Romania. I wrote to you on December 9 concerning this case.

I noted in my earlier letter that the Romanian Government had stated that it is not prepared to compensate Dr. Kremer for injuries suffered in this case. I also observed that Dr. Kremer had signed a statement in which he asserted that he had no claim in connection with the accident. He did mention in that

statement that any delayed effects of the accident would be determined after his return to the United States.

Dr. Kremer asserts that aggravated consequences of his accident in Romania did in fact appear following his return to New York. He further states that those consequences have been so serious as to disable him for the rest of his life. Dr. Kremer writes that it would have been unwise for him, while in Romania, to start an action against the son of the President of Romania, the driver of the other car. He also affirms that the Romanian lawyers whom he contacted refused to accept his case because "the defendant is the President's son."

A Romanian court found the driver of the car in which Dr. Kremer was a passenger at fault and not the President's son who was driving the other car. As I wrote you earlier, our Embassy in Bucharest has already approached the Romanian Government concerning Dr. Kremer's claim. We do not believe, therefore, that an additional approach by the Department to the Romanian Government would be useful in this case.

I regret that the Department is not able to be of assistance on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 4, 1976.

Hon. JAMES L. BUCKLEY,
*U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR BUCKLEY: I have received your inquiry of December 18 regarding the claim of Dr. Charles H. Kremer for injuries suffered in an accident which occurred in Romania. I wrote to you on November 18 concerning this case.

I noted in my earlier letter that the Romanian Government had stated that it is not prepared to compensate Dr. Kremer for injuries suffered in this case. I also observed that Dr. Kremer had signed a statement in which he asserted that he had no claim in connection with the accident. He did mention in that statement that any delayed effects of the accident would be determined after his return to the United States.

Dr. Kremer asserts that aggravated consequences of his accident in Romania did in fact appear following his return to New York. He further states that those consequences have been so serious as to disable him for the rest of his life. Dr. Kremer writes that it would have been unwise for him, while in Romania, to start an action against the son of the President of Romania, the driver of the car. He also affirms that the Romanian lawyers whom he contacted refused to accept his case because "the defendant is the President's son."

A Romanian court found the driver of the car in which Dr. Kremer was a passenger at fault and not the President's son who was driving the other car. As I wrote you earlier, our Embassy in Bucharest has already approached the Romanian Government concerning Dr. Kremer's claim. We do not believe, therefore, that an additional approach by the Department to the Romanian Government would be useful in this case.

I regret that the Department is not able to be of assistance on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., January 20, 1976.

Mr. RICHARD A. CHRISTENSEN,
*Roumanian Affairs Officer,
Department of State, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR Mr. CHRISTENSEN: I was pleasantly surprised by your telephone call, when I was waiting for a written answer to my previous letters addressed to you. I do feel, that notwithstanding the pleasure to receive your telephone call, due to the fact that I may require in the future a record of my representations, I am entitled to receive from you every communication in a formal written manner.

I would appreciate to receive your written answer to my last letters addressed to you, and would you please let me know in plain English language, what do you

mean when you state in your letter under reply "It does not appear that the Department, taking all the circumstances into account, is in no position to intercede formally with the Roumanian Authorities on your behalf".

As you very well know, I can not find lawyers in Roumania to act properly on my behalf so please find a way to intercede with the Roumanian Authorities on my behalf formally or informally, but please do intercede without further delays.

Enclosed please find photostat copy of an address I gave over the Radio stations W.N.Y.C., and W.E.V.D., when I took the opportunity to familiarize the American Public Opinion with my plight as a result of the accident I suffered in Roumania in 1971, and the lack of support from our Department of State.

In expectation of your prompt written answer, I remain,

Very truly yours,

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER, *President.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., December 9, 1975.

HON. JAMES L. BUCKLEY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BUCKLEY: Thank you for your recent inquiry on behalf of Dr. Charles H. Kremer who has written regarding compensation from the Romanian Government for injuries suffered in an accident which occurred in Romania several years ago.

The American Embassy in Bucharest has discussed this case with officials of the Romanian Government. Unfortunately, the Romanian Government is not prepared to pay compensation to Dr. Kremer for injuries which he may have sustained. According to the Romanian Government, the driver of the car in which Dr. Kremer was riding was found by a Romanian court to be at fault for the accident. In addition, Dr. Kremer signed a statement shortly after the accident in which he asserted that he had suffered no permanent injuries as a result of the accident and that he had no claim in connection with the accident.

I regret that I am unable to give you a more favorable reply to your inquiry. If I can be of any further assistance to you in this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

NEW YORK, N.Y., December 30, 1976.

MEMORANDUM B

In answer to the letter dated December 18th, 1975, written by Mr. Richard A. Christensen, Romanian Affairs Officer, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Mr. Christensen states in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the above letter the following:

"... Although you also noted in the same statement that the delayed effects would be determined after your return home, it does not appear that the Department, taking all the circumstances into account, is in a position to intercede formally with the Romanian authorities on your behalf.

While you may wish to consider what legal steps are available to you in Romania, I do not wish to encourage you to believe that such steps would lead to a favourable decision in view of the Romanian official's statement of the Romanian Government's position".

According to the above statements, Mr. Christensen concedes that I did not renounce to my just claims, yet the Department of State is in no "position to intercede formally with the Roumanian authorities", and THAT AFTER "taking all the circumstances into account."

I am an American Citizen since 1926. Under what circumstances is an American Citizen entitled to be protected, supported, and defended by our Department of State?

Is Mr. Christensen conceding that the State Department is incapable to protect American Citizens' most elementary rights?

This case is Prima Facie evidence of the wrongs suffered by me, and our Government is refusing to help, WHY?

I would suggest an inquiry, which may bring to light other important facts the public is entitled to know.

I sincerely believe that you will help in this JUST case. With thanks,

Very truly yours,

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER.

DECEMBER 30, 1975.

Mr. RICHARD A. CHRISTENSEN,
Roumanian Affairs Office, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHRISTENSEN: Thank you for your letter dated December 16th, 1975 and received December 27th, 1975.

I will answer your letter by enclosing two memoranda A and B.

I hate to think that I am being used as a scapegoat by our State Department for the many favors the Roumanian Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Bogdan or even President Ceauseacu have done for the U.S.A. as many Roumanians have called to my attention.

I appeal to you not to consider my case closed and not to accept as final the decision of the "responsible Roumanian official" namely that the Roumanian Government is not "prepared" to compensate me.

As to thanking you for your regrets and sympathy, I wish to state that at my age, over 78, I prefer the cash to the painful sleepless nights which I am forced to endure.

In expectation of a favorable reply and anticipating your further intervention in my behalf, I remain.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES H. KREMER, D.D.S.

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.

New York, N.Y., December 2, 1975.

RICHARD A. CHRISTENSEN Esq.,
Roumanian Affairs Officer, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHRISTENSEN, Since as of today's date I did not receive an answer to my letter dated November 21st, 1975, I am asking you again, to please answer my letter dated November 21st, 1975, which is self explanatory.

Please refer to this letter in order to answer today's date letter.

I am enclosing photostat copy of an article entitled "Dentist rebuffed in Roumanian Claim" and published on November 30, 1975, and another article published in the Roumanian paper America dated November 24th, 1975. The first above mentioned article was published in New York Times.

May I suggest with your permission that you study carefully my declaration dated May 6th, 1971 in which I stated: "I will see during the time that I will be in this country, and after my return to New York if the accident does not have any delayed results." "Eventually the delayed effects of the accident will be established medically."

Please do not delay the answer again, With thanks, I remain,

Very truly yours,

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER, *President.*

MEMORANDUM A.

NEW YORK, N.Y., December 9, 1975.

In answer to the letter dated November 18th, 1975 written by Mr. Robert McCloskey, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations to Representative J. Ellberg.

The statement referred to in Mr. McCloskey's letter, which was made on May 6, 1971 in Bucharest, Romania, three (3) days after the accident, a copy of which is enclosed, refers to the symptoms "I was experiencing at the time. As it is well known medically," delayed symptoms after a traumatic accident often appear at a latter time, and in my case this is exactly what occurred.

After my return to New York, soon after the accident, aggravated consequences "due to the accident appeared", and they have been so serious as to

fully disable me for a long period, and have rendered me disabled for the rest of my life.

I am in a position to present medical certification of my condition as well as medical testimony that this condition is directly attributed to and was caused by the accident in Romania.

It would have been very unwise for me to start in Romania an action right away against the son of the President of Romania, because I am born in Romania, and as such the U.S.A. can not protect me in my Country of Origin, as stated in my Certificate of Naturalization. I could not have left Romania for the U.S.A., unless I signed a final complete release.

I stated in my declaration to the Police, that "I will see after my return to New York if the accident does not have any delayed consequences" but unfortunately the delayed effects "arrived and were" established medically in New York. I indicated in my declaration that I will ask for compensation only "in case of delayed consequences".

Since I have insisted in my declaration that I depend on my doctors to decide on my disabilities if any as a result of the accident. I feel that I am entitled to compensation for damages since I am still in pain, disabled, and under doctors' care three (3) times weekly.

Mr. McCloskey's suggestion that in case I desire to pursue the matter further, that I engage an attorney in Romania from among the "Colegiul Avocatilor, Palatul Justitiei, Bucharest, "as a State Controlled association (Colegiul), as Mr. McCloskey states, which is the very organization which belongs to Valentin Ceausescu's father the Romanian Dictator, and President Neculae Ceausescu.

This kind of advise is unbecoming to a high official of the Department of State. This is just passing the buck, misinforming a U.S. Citizen, and another form of a cover up. I do have knowledge of many instances where the State Department, instead of working for the American Citizen's interests, looks away, gives bad advise, or discourages the action.

I want to add also, that in August 1972. I purposely went to Romania, not alone because I was afraid of being retained, so I took along my son and daughter in law, in order to get a lawyer. All the Romanian lawyers I contacted, refused to accept my case, because the defendant is the President's son.

Therefore Mr. McCloskey's advise is valueless. Regardless of the contentions of the Romanian Government as to the cause and consequences of the accident, the truth about the cause of the affair is exactly as I have given it in my various communications to all concerned including the Department of State. Whatever the language of my statement on May 6, 1971, may have been, which by the way reflected my nervous tension, at the moment, the intent of my statement was not to foreclose any claim. I intended rather to rely on medical authorities in the United States for their determination.

It is unjust that this matter should be peremptorily dismissed, and I beseech you to use your good offices to reopen the matter so that I may receive just compensation.

Mr. McCloskey's letter is typical of the American Government's bureaucratic handling of complaints made by its citizens to Congressmen, and Senators. This means the usual form letter. The I.N.S. and State Dept. are experts of using these "placating paragraphs" in their answers to many Jewish leaders both from the U.S.A. and from Israel, and of course to myself. They are masters at "cover up" or "brush up replies" and until they are absolutely forced in to it, they do not investigate at all. Believe me dealing with Mr. McCloskey is a waste of time.

As a citizen of the U.S.A., I sincerely believe that I have a right to expect the State Department to intervene immediately in my favor, and use its strong offices in my favour, to reopen the case and insist for Justice.

Very truly yours,

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., December 9, 1975.

I regret that I am unable to give you a more favorable reply to your inquiry. If I can be of any further assistance to you in this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DECEMBER 9, 1975.

Hon. JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: Thank you for your recent inquiry on behalf of Dr. Charles H. Kremer who has written regarding compensation from the Romanian Government for injuries suffered in an accident which occurred in Romanian several years ago.

The American Embassy in Bucharest has discussed this case with officials of the Romanian Government. Unfortunately, the Romanian Government is not prepared to pay compensation to Dr. Kremer for injuries which he may have sustained. According to the Romanian Government, the driver of the car in which Dr. Kremer was riding was found by a Romanian court to be at fault for the accident. In addition, Dr. Kremer signed a statement shortly after the accident in which he asserted that he had suffered no permanent injuries as a result of the accident and that he had no claim in connection with the accident.

I regret that I am unable to give you a more favorable reply to your inquiry.

If I can be of any further assistance to you in this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

NEW YORK, N.Y., December 30, 1975.

MEMORANDUM C

Mr. Robert J. McCloskey's letter dated December 9, 1975, and Mr. Richard A. Christensen letters, and especially the one dated December 18, 1975, which they included in their answer to the many inquiries made by Senators and Representatives on my behalf, is just a stereotyped answer with the same content, but only the name and address of the addressee changed, without taking the trouble to get to the roots of my complaint.

I do not consider this an appropriate help for our Citizens in need.

I am an experienced victim of such handling by the American establishment's bureaucracy, since I have been in public life for over 50 years.

I am not only tired, but thoroughly disgusted, and purely revolted at the manner in which an American Citizen's pleas, complaints, and doleances are handled by the so-called Representatives, Senators, and High Officials. All they do when they receive a letter of complaint from their constituents, they take this letter, mail it to the Department in question, when the answer from the Department which they contacted arrives, they mail it to the constituent, and this ends their mission in behalf of their constituent, adding to it 2-3 lines stating that this is the final status of the problem, and that they can not do anything more to help solve "your" problem.

I want to state that Senator Buckley, by appointing a member of his staff to look closer into my case has renewed my faith and confidence in our Senators.

I do not condemn the Senators or Representatives, as much I do condemn the various Government Agencies, because by failing to investigate the case in question they also fail to get to the bottom of the complaint and resolve it favourably.

I sincerely believe that after the case is handled so superficially, it is incumbent upon the Senators, or Representatives to introduce some legislation in Congress in order, that in the future, no other Citizen shall have similar losses or inconveniences.

Take my case: an American Citizen traveling in Romania, in case of being involved in an accident, or in case of loss of property or life is not able to collect compensation. Therefore our State Department should either intervene on behalf of our Citizens, or see to it that Congress passes a law not to issue permission for American Citizens to travel in Communist Roumania, unless they change their laws. The State Department should also warn American Citizens that in Roumania they are not protected against any losses to body or property.

My own action against the Roumanian Government and the son of the President of Roumania, Valentin Ceausescu: He threw me out of a car not driven by me, crossed against red lights to do this, injured me for the rest of my life,

being forced even after over 4½ years to go three (3) times weekly for treatment, yet Mr. Valentin Ceausescu, who is alleged to have had two (2) fatal accidents, still owns and drives a car in Romania? Why? because he is the son of the President. If you will read carefully the doctor's certificate, three (3) days after the accident you can still notice that the Doctor found fifteen (15) parts of my body which were injured, plus many more internal injuries, busted, bloodvessels, injured legaments, and muscles which failed to heal permanently, thereby causing me pain and even some now.

In 1972 one and one half years after the accident, I returned to Romania and demanded to see some Romanian official in order to arrange for compensation. A Mr. Ion Moraru who at that time was working in the Direction of International Relations in the Romanian Foreign Ministry, in Bucharest, came to see me daily for over a week at the order of President Ceausescu. I submitted to him a series of memoranda, which copies I still have, and mailed them later to President Ceausescu directly in Bucharest, and in 1973 when he stayed at the Blair House in Washington, also I sent them to Ambassador Bogdan in Washington, D.C. I never received an answer. I do have the receipts, as I mailed them by registered mail.

Mr. Ion Moraru was no stranger to me I met him in 1960 in New York, and thereafter for over 8 years when he was counselor at the Romanian Mission to U.N. Before he left in 1972, Mr. Moraru drove me to the airport in Bucharest and assured me that I will get a substantial sum of money upon my arrival in U.S.A.

How can the driver in which car I was riding be found guilty for an accident by a Romanian Court, when in May, 1971 while in Romania, both I and the driver of the car in which I was a passenger declared that the accident was caused by the failure of Mr. Valentin Ceausescu to obey the traffic law, and cross the street against a red light. After I left Mr. I. Greiff (the driver) a Jew, was forced to change his testimony, and declare that he crossed against the light, in order to be able to survive unmolested in Roumania. I am sure a deal was made. I kept on contacting by telephone and in writing to the Romanian Embassy in Washington, until finally I obtained two (2) letters. After 1½ years I found out that Mr. I. Greiff was forced to change his Statement. Why was I not informed immediately before the case was tried? Most likely the Romanian Government wanted to hush up the case and not give me a chance to appeal the case.

In 1972 I purposely traveled to Romania and I tried to get a lawyer, but what lawyer would have a case against the son of President Neculae Ceausescu? He had to promise first that he will not work against the interests of Valentin Ceausescu.

Mr. McCloskey stated that "Dr. Kremer signed a statement shortly after the accident in which he asserted that he had suffered no permanent injuries as a result of the accident and that he had no claim in connection with the accident."

This is a gross lie, and a misrepresentation of facts, Mr. Christensen, in his letter dated December 18, 1975 states the truth, that I did not renounce my claims. First of all I made a declaration at the Police station 3 days after the accident in a hostile environment, under stress and fear, knowing very well that I was in a communist Country where human rights and dignity do not exist, or count, and as a Jew born in Romania my American Citizenship can not protect me, as it says on my Naturalization Certificate. Since I did not break any bones and I never have had a major accident before, how was I to know that during the accident I tore ligaments, I busted arteries, and veins, causing later on blood clots which caused swelling and pain, and which every day today after so many years cause my legs to feel heavy and stiff. The torn ligaments and muscles cause me even today pains in my back, legs and joints.

Why does not Mr. McCloskey and Mr. Christensen read carefully my police declaration which is an exact statement of the very copy I made at the police. I took this statement, prepared at home before I went to the Police Station, and I copied it at the Police.

Here is what I said: "I do not observe anything grave." After 3 days I was a happy man to have escaped with my life because no car came on the opposite direction of the street when I fell out of my car on the wet pavement. I still have the soiled and torn pants and jacket to prove this.

At the hospital for emergency where I was transported I received a tranquiliser and medicine against vomiting. I did not vomit for joy. Evidently I had a

brain concussion, because I was brought unconsciously back to the car and, when I became conscious again I saw for the first time the crowd of people surrounding the car including Valentin Ceausescu. I was not sitting in the front seat but in the back seat of the car. I further stated I will see "during the time that I will be in this country and after my return to New York if the accident does not have any delayed results since for the time being I have not had any claim in connection with my health." This does not mean that I have or will not have any claim for compensation: I further stated: "Eventually the delayed effects of the accident will be established Medically."

Will Mr. Christensen and Mr. McCloskey read my statement carefully and notice how the accident happened and realize that my police statement was not contested. It was allowed to be integrated in the police statement in order to comply with the Romanian traffic laws. Here is my statement: the accident—I solemnly declare did not take place because of his fault (Mr. Greiff) This I could have seen well since I was sitting next to him in the front. He had passed quite a distance past the first half of the road, before the yellow light appeared, and then I was hit and I was thrown out of the car on the pavement. In Bucharest they have a green light which changes to yellow and then to red. Valentin Ceausescu crossed his red lights before it turned to yellow: instead of stopping because he was traveling very fast and he knew very well that if he stopped at the red he would have been hit by the cars in the back of his car, which were traveling at a high speed, thereby he would have been the victim and not I. My car was the smallest Renault car on the market, while he N. Ceausescu had the larger Renault, when it hit us, on the back door causing the front door to open. The car in which I was traveling skidded on the wet pavement and heavy rain, turned 180°. I being 6 ft. it took me a long time to fall out of the car, because in such a small car a person with long legs and body cannot fall out right away, thereby saving my life from being thrown out forcibly on the hard road, but on the other hand the wiggling slowly out of the car caused my upper half of the body to tangle longer in the air. This position of my body caused a greater strain on my back muscles and spinal vertebrae—is a result of which I still have continuous pain on my back, and legs.

Both my police declaration, and my summons to the police, and especially the medico legal certificate explain clearly that I was a passenger in an accident, in Romania, that the driver of the car was guilty of traffic laws and that he was none other than Valentin Ceausescu, the son of the Country's President. Since I am still suffering and incapacitated for life I believe that Justice demands that I shall be compensated.

I would like to know how can the Department of State come to this conclusion: "It does not appear that the Department taking all the circumstances into account, is in a position to intercede formally with the Romanian authorities on your behalf" when you stated in your own letter dated December 16, 1975, quoting from my police statement: "that the delayed effects would be determined after your return home." Does this not mean that I intend to sue for damages in case I have "delayed effects" home? I still have delayed effects! I have sleepless and painful nights, difficulty in walking, maintaining proper balance, and painful back and legs. Did I have to break bones to be considered incapacitated?

With such sequelae how can the Department of State allow the Romanian authorities to consider my case closed, and allow the Romanian Government to fail to compensate me and bring injustice to a suffering senior American Citizen? How can our State Department justify such an injustice to any human being and excuse such a reckless driver?

I sincerely believe that our State Department has a duty to protect the rights of American Citizens no matter where the country is situated. It is also the duty of our Congressmen and Senators to see to it that American Citizens are compensated for injuries, loss of life and property in foreign countries. No Department of State official has the right to consider a case closed before he consults with the victim and is informed of all the details and intervenes directly on his behalf. Why does the State Department fail to intervene and use its good offices on my behalf?

I accuse the Department of State of wilfully disregarding my case. The letters which Mr. McCloskey circulates to Representatives and Senators are doing no honor to our Country or to our State Department. By considering my case closed, why?

Are we possible closing our eyes in order to repay any favors which President Ceausescu, the Romanian foreign office, and the Romanian Ambassador to Washington Mr. Bogdan, have extended to us in the past by victimizing me personally?

I am an American Citizen since 1928. Under what circumstances is an American Citizen entitled to be protected, supported, and defended by our Department of State?

Are Mr. Christensen and Mr. McCloskey conceding that the State Department is incapable to protect American Citizens' most elementary rights?

This case is Prima Facie Evidence of the wrongs suffered by me, and our Government refusal to help, why?

I would suggest, what is needed is a Congressional inquiry, which may bring to light other important facts the public is entitled to know. I invite our Senators and Congressmen to act and inform the Department of State of its duties to our Citizens.

I sincerely believe that you will help in this just case.

With thanks, I remain,

Very truly yours,

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT N

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 31, 1972.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Dr. Charles Kremer has been under my care since 7/23/71 for injuries sustained in an accident in Bucharest, Romania on 5/4/71. Prior to seeing me, he was treated by other doctors.

Dr. Kremer is suffering from derangement of left knee, derangement of the low back, aggravation of the pain of a pre-existing osteoarthritic condition and post traumatic phlebitis of the legs. He also has sprains of both knees.

He has been receiving medication and treatments in my office. He was referred to a vascular consultant for his phlebitis and was also treated at the New York Center for Physical Medicine.

The patient has shown some improvement with medication and treatment, but he still is symptomatic to the degree that he still requires observation and care.

Dr. Kremer has been disabled, for all practical purposes, during this period of time.

Sincerely,

IRVING M. ETKIND, M.D.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Dr. Charles Kremer came under my care on 7/23/71. He gave a history of sustaining multiple injuries in an automobile accident in Rumania on 5/4/71, injuring his neck, head, lower back, shoulders, knees, left elbow and left hand. He was treated in Rumania and had seen other doctors in the United States prior to being examined by me.

On physical examination he was found to have restricted motion, swelling and tenderness about the affected parts. He had signs consistent with resolving soft tissue injuries about the extremities and back. X-rays of the involved areas were taken which showed no fractures. There were some underlying arthritic changes and soft tissue swelling about the peripheral joints.

He was treated with symptomatic medication, physical therapy and analgesics for pain. Blood workup was done, which showed that there were no signs of any rheumatoid activity, no signs of gout. All routine blood and urine tests were within normal limits.

Impression: Multiple soft tissue injuries to the neck, back, upper and lower extremities.

Prognosis: Patient has been under my care intermittently from the above-mentioned first visit through the present time. He is still symptomatic in these areas and has shown some relief of his problems, but not completely. In view of the fact that it is now 2½ years since his accident, it is my opinion, with a reasonable degree of medical certainty, that the injuries he sustained on 5/4/71 will be permanent in nature.

Sincerely,

IRVING M. ETKIND, M.D.

EXHIBIT O

NEW YORK CENTER FOR PHYSICAL MEDICINE AND REHABILITATION,
New York, N.Y., June 2, 1972.

Re Dr. Charles H. Kremer, 253 West 72nd Street, New York, New York.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: This will confirm that the patient named above has been under my care and treatment since December 3, 1971, for the residuals

of multiple injuries sustained in an automobile accident on May 4, 1971. His main complaints at this time are related to an injury to the low back with sciatic involvement of the left lower extremity.

Considerable improvement has been made in the patient's symptomatology since he started on treatment here, but he continues to have complaints of pain in the posterior left thigh; numbness and blunting of pin prick sensation in the dorsum, sole and medial aspect of the left foot; slightly diminished sensation in the entire left lower extremity; and recurrent low back pain.

I have been treating him with full-body whirlpool; medconsolator and medcolator to the various trigger points of pain; trunk and lower extremity strengthening exercises; and exercises to correct a tendency towards scoliosis.

Very truly yours,

ZOFIA LASZEWSKI, M.D.

NEW YORK CENTER FOR PHYSICAL MEDICINE AND REHABILITATION,
New York, N.Y., October 18, 1973.

Re Dr. Charles H. Kremer, 253 West 72nd Street, New York, N.Y.

To WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: This will confirm that the patient named above has been under my care and treatment since December 3, 1971. He gives a history of sustaining multiple injuries suffered in an automobile accident in Rumania on May 4, 1971. The patient was thrown out of the car by force of impact. His next memory was of being back in his care sitting in the back seat. He had been in front seat before the accident.

He was examined by Dr. M. Adriana in Bucharest whose report indicated multiple contusions and abrasions detailing at least 14 areas of the body on which she observed various ecchymoses and abrasions, including three such bruises on the head. X-rays of the involved areas were taken which showed no fractures. There were some underlying arthritic changes and soft tissue swelling about the peripheral joints.

The patient presented himself with pain behind the left knee joint as well as in the low back and radiation to the posterior aspect of the left thigh. Weakness of the trunk musculature has been obvious especially in the back extensors and hip extensors. Abdominal muscles were also affected. The patient was subjected to physical therapy treatment directed to relief of pain in spasm of the low back and left lower extremity which he successfully obtained after serial treatments. However, he is intermittently suffering recurrences of those pains as his symptoms have not been completely alleviated.

Dr. Kremer has been under my care from December 3, 1971 to the present time. He is still symptomatic in these areas. Since it is now 2½ years after the accident, it is my opinion that the injuries he sustained as a result of the accident on May 4, 1971 will be permanent in nature.

Very sincerely yours,

ZOFIA LASZEWSKI, M.D.

EXHIBIT P

BOYCOTT ROMANIAN TOURISM AND BUSINESS

(By Dr. Charles H. Kremer)

I had an accident in Bucharest, Romania, on May 4th, 1971, caused by the reckless driving, of Mr. Valentin Ceausescu, the son of Nicolae Ceausescu, the President of Romania. It is alleged that he has to his credit two fatal accidents.

After over five years of continuous efforts to obtain compensation, until today I have received no payment whatsoever for my injuries. My expenses are over 50,000 dollars and personal expenses plus financial losses. As a result of the above accident, I still need doctor's care. Because of pain and permanent injury to my back and legs, I was forced to surrender my dental practice.

If a person like I am, active and well known in Jewish & Romanian circles, is permanently injured by the son of the Romanian President and can not recover his losses, what chance has an American citizen to receive compensation in Romania for accident, loss of life, or loss of property, when he has accident caused by an ordinary Romanian citizen?

The former Romanian ambassador to the U.S.A. Mr. Corneliu Bogdan, had the audacity to refer me for compensation to our State Department who refuses to intervene and take legal action according to the international laws referring to insurance, to which the Romanian Government signed alongside the U.S.A.

I informed Senators: Buckley and Javitz, and U.S. Representative Abzug, but they only wrote letters to our State Department, but took no legal steps in Congress.

Romania is defiling all the obligations concluded with the U.S. Government, even though today Romania is getting many economic benefits following the provisions of its adaption of the most favored nation trade status.

Her treaty obligations are subject to her allowing all her citizens who choose freedom and desire to leave Romania, can do so without any harassment.

You and I as taxpayers by giving Romania, the most favored nation benefits are actual taxing ourselves. American citizens shall not be forced to pay extra taxes in order to improve the ruined economy of Communist Romania without any protection against losses caused by accidents in Romania.

STATEMENT Y

SUMMARY

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee. The main purpose in relating my accident is to prove with my own case that the U.S. government cannot trust the Republic of Socialist Romania to execute its obligations under the MFN trade agreement.

I was actually in an accident provoked by the negligence of Romania's President's son, Valentin Ceausescu. How can we trust the Romanian government to meet its obligation when it manipulated a trial through its officials, doctors, army (police in Romania is military) in a fraudulent and dishonest way in order to prove that the son of the President of Romania, Valentin Ceausescu, is an innocent man, finding guilty the real innocent man, Mr. Greif. Romania forced an innocent man to plead guilty in order to save the face of the President of Romania and his son, Valentin.

By this action Romania failed to meet their obligation to me, an American since 1919, now over 79 years of age, in pain and permanently injured. If Romania can do this for a measly sum to one individual can you imagine how much money and heartbreak Romania will cause in irreparable losses to the Americans investing in Romania in different ventures by defaulting in its business ventures with U.S. capital, know-how and all kinds of investments.

HISTORY OF MY TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS TO GET JUSTICE FROM THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT

The accident happened on May 4, 1971. A letter with all the details was written to Romanian ambassador C. Bogdan on September 22, 1971 which was answered on October 6, 1971 stating that R.S.R. Embassy of Romania cannot intervene and suggested engaging a Romanian lawyer or I should come *alone* directly there. Since I didn't know that my case was tried at the time I received this letter of October 6, 1971, and finding it impossible to get a lawyer I decided to go to Romania the following year in August 1972 with my son and daughter-in-law. Later on I received a letter dated April 26, 1972 which I offer here. (Exhibit 1.) I found out for the first time that fraud was committed by the Romanian government because the author of the accident became the innocent man and vice versa as per No. 804/B 1971 decision. (Exhibit 2 is my answer to this decision.)

Of course the innocent victim, Ignatz M. Greif was forced to compromise and change his previous plea from not guilty to guilty in order to save himself and his family from being punished, and it seems to me that some additional deal was made: that he plead guilty and in return he will be allowed to emigrate soon from Romania, which he did with his whole family. The question arises, why did the Romanian Embassy in Washington write to me on October 6, 1971 to get a lawyer to handle my case when they knew for months that my case was disposed of and closed? We can only conclude that the Romanian authorities failed to notify me in time in order for me to be confused and to postpone my appeal when it will be too late to be tried.

On May 25, 1972 I wrote again. Receiving no answer, I wrote a desperate letter of 3 pages dated June 2, 1972 (Ex. 3) to which I received this laconic answer written on a piece of paper postal card size on the stationery of the Embassy: "Answering your letter of June 2, 1972, please be advised that our Embassy is not able to forward to you a transcript of all documents of the entire penal file 560/971. Sincerely yours, Irinolu, Consul."

On July 1972, I went to Israel especially to find a Romanian typist to make me a complete file. On this occasion I mailed His Excellency, President Nicolae Ceausescu a letter dated July 4, 1972 (Exhibit 4) in which I asked him for an audience when I will be in Bucharest to discuss my case personally. In the letter I indicated the time I will arrive in Bucharest and at what hotel I will stay in order to be notified of the date and place of the audience in Bucharest. The same letter I mailed to Honorable, George Macovescu who was Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs and whom I met previously many times while he was R.S.R. Ambassador in Washington. While waiting to be called for an audience with His Excellency, President N. Ceausescu, I continued to search for a lawyer. This was hopeless. All said the same thing, "We cannot win against the president's son no matter how much justice is on your side." The reason is self-evident when my N.Y. lawyer called to my attention, on my return, this item about Romania's law practice. "As per November 1, 1950 the exercise of the legal profession is confined to 'Collective Offices of Advocates.' Only such offices may be retained for litigation as well as for other legal services of any kind." I had no alternative except to expect a call or a message in my hotel in Bucharest.

After I waited for about a week instead of receiving a notification, the concierge of my hotel notified me that a man wanted to see me. I went to the lobby and to my great surprise I met the former councillor of R.S.R. Embassy at the U.N. Mr. Ion Moraru, who came to discuss with me my accident case sent evidently by the Foreign Office, International division, where he was employed. I presented him with the file of about 50 pages containing 2 memoranda with all the documents in connection with the accident, my activities in USA and the doctors' bills and their certificates from New York. For the next 2 days we spent a few hours each time we met. Everyday he would say "Tomorrow I will have a definite answer for you."

On the fourth visit he said that he had submitted my full file to the proper authorities and suggested that I was free to leave now because it has been decided that he shall negotiate the deal for me that I don't need any lawyer and he finished by saying, "no use for you to wait here. Our man in the U.S. will contact you and give you your money." He then made an appointment to take me to the airport in style and he definitely did. I wrote to him repeatedly but the last time I wrote to him a letter dated May 14, 1973. (Exhibit 5.) As in the past I never got an answer to any of my letters. I wrote again on Sept. 14, 1973 to RSR Ambassador Bogdan (Exhibit 6) and on October 31, 1973 (Exhibit 6A) and received from R.S.R. Embassy a letter on February 20, 1974 which repeats everything as in Exhibit 2 but in Romanian. If it were in English I would have made a Xerox and submitted too. I continued my correspondence with Ambassador Corneliu Bogdan and with President N. Ceausescu, both in Bucharest and at the Blair House in Washington, and on May 16, 1974 I received a letter (Exhibit 7) that I should take to court Greif Ignatz M. who at that time was living in San Francisco. While Mr. Greif was in Romania the Romanian authorities never told me that I shall sue him for damages there. How could I sue him when I know that he did not cause the accident? The question is will the American jurisdiction take over the Romanian decision after I declared in RSR that Valentin Ceausescu was the culprit? Many letters followed between myself and the Romanian Embassy when I decided, after contacting many senators and the State Department without any result to arrange a conference at the suggestion of Mr. Dean Milhovan, editor of newspaper "Dreptatea" (the Justice) and Mr. Dumitru Rosu, RSR Press Attache to U.N. and myself. We all three agreed to authorize Mr. Dean Milhovan to write the same letter to a few high government officials. We sent one complete set of documents (Exhibits 8, 9, 10), with a friend of mine, who mailed them in Bucharest and another set with Mr. Dumitru Rosu.

He agreed at the conference to hand the documents over personally to the Romanian high officials in a couple of weeks on his trip to Romania. Instead, one afternoon he phoned me from the JFK Airport and asked me to give the file to the Honorable Ambassador Ion Dancu, the R.S.R. Representative at the U.N. I went personally to deliver all the letters in the attached files enclosing one letter addressed to a few different ministers (Exhibit 8) another letter addressed to Honorable Ion Dancu dated July 8 (Exhibit 10) and one addressed to Mr. Dumitru Rosu dated July 9 (Exhibit 9). I waited until October 25, 1973 and not receiving any answer I wrote again to the R.S.R. Romanian Ambassador Bogdan (Exhibit 11, dated October 25, 1973). During March 1976, Mr. Victor Radulescu, an international lawyer went with me to see Mr. Bogdan. After we

discussed my case, Mr. Bogdan said: "No use your coming here for damages. Go to the State Department for money." I decided, we both should go there since for years I corresponded with the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest and the State Department in Washington and namely with Mr. R. Christensen. I have a file of at least 20 different letters which I will submit, some of them are addressed to Mr. Christensen, all others addressed to Senators Javits, Buckley and Representative Bella Abzug. All have exactly the same content word for word, but they are addressed to different persons. This shows how our State Department makes a mockery of justice to our citizens, to our senators, to our representatives. See Exhibit M, attached to the other statement. I could document my case using hundreds of pages. I believe I have submitted significant evidence to prove my case that the U.S. government cannot trust and do business with such a corrupt, law breaker and fraudulent government and I appeal to this committee to deprive in the future Romania of the benefit of the M.F.N. Romanian trade agreement.

EXHIBIT 1

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA,
Washington, D.C., 26 aprilie 1972.

STIMATE DOMNULE KREMER, Vă facem cunoscut că prin ordonanța, nr. 804/B/1971 din 24 mai 1971 a Procuraturii Municipiului București, s-a dispus scoaterea de sub urmărire penală a învinutului Greiff Ignatz Mihail. Din cercetările efectuate a rezultat că accidentul de circulație a cărui victimă ați fost, s-a datorat conducerii neregulamentară a autoturismului de către învinutul Greiff Ignatz Mihail, care fără să sesizeze la timp schimbarea semaforului de pe culoarea verde pe culoarea roșie, a pătruns în intersecția străzii și a continuat traversarea acesteia, fără să oprească la schimbarea semaforului, tamponându-se cu un alt autoturism care, după schimbarea semaforului pe culoarea verde, circula reglementar.

Rezultă, de asemenea, din cercetări și certificatul medico-legal de examinare că ca D-vedlrs în urma accidentului ați suferit ușoare leziuni care au necesitat o îngrijire simplă de 2-3 zile de la producerea lor.

Asemenia faptă, produse din culpa, în împrejurările respective, nu constituie, potrivit legii noastre penale, o infracțiune, motiv pentru care s-a dat în cauză ordonanța de neurmărire.

Cu stimă,

NICOLAE IRINOIU, Consul.

EXHIBIT 2

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 25, 1972.

CATRE AMBASADA REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA,
Secția Consulară
Washington, D.C.

STIMATE DOMNULE CONSUL IRINOIU: Prin prezenta confirm primirea comunicării Dumneavoastra din 26 Aprilie 1972, referitoare la Ordonanța Nr. 804/B/1971, prin care s'a dispus scoaterea de sub urmărire penală a învinutului Greiff Ignatz Mihail, urmare unui accident de automobil din România, a cărui victimă am fost eu.

Am reținut motivele care au stat la baza Ordonanței date de către Procuratura Municipiului București în această cauză. Intrucât eu nu am fost informat despre această decizie pe ziua de 20 Aprilie 1972, după ce v'am scris și telefonat de nenumarate ori, este evident ca eu am fost înafara de cunoștința mersului cercetărilor, fiind citat conform Procedurii Penale Române. Eu consider ca scoaterea de sub învinuire a persoanelor implicate în accident, nu a rezolvat și pretentiile mele materiale, rezultate de pe urma leziunilor cauzate și a unor diminuări ale forțelor mele de muncă. (Pentru dovedirea prejudiciilor cauzate eu sunt în măsura de a prezenta Certificate Medicale, Onorarii platite medicilor, cheltuieli cauzate pentru îngrijirea medicală necesară, etc.)

Prin cererea de fata va rog sa binevoiti sa observati ca eu am fost decuzat ilegal din drepturile mele (cu toate ca sunt cetatean American) pe care nu mi le-am putut formula ca atare și, de aceea, eu va rog sa imi indicati cat mai curand posibil care sunt caile de urmat, in scopul obtinerii comunicării întregului meu dosar penal Nr. 504/1971, in care se cuprinde Ordonanța Nr. 804/B/1971. Pentru toate cheltuielile vor rezulta și pe urma copii integrale a Dosarului meu

mai sus amintit, eu ma angajez sa platesc cu valuta americana si, de asemenea, voi plati si transmiterea prin avion a materialului solicitat.

In cazul ca este nevoie sa intreprind vre'o interventie va rog sa ma incunostintati cat mai curand posibil, cum sa procedez.

In speranta ca veti aprecia urgenta cererii mele, va multumesc anticipat pentru amabilitatea Dumneavoastra.

Cu aleasa stima,

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT 3

ROMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.

New York, N.Y., June 2, 1972.

NICOLAE IRINOIU,
Consul, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am, via this letter, confirming receipt of your first intimation to me dated April 20, 1972 that a decision relating to Ordinance #804 B 1971, affecting defendant Greiff and absolving him of liability in the operation of an automobile which came in contact with another vehicle driven by Valentin Ceausescu and by reason whereof I sustained serious permanent injuries. There is not the slightest basis, either in fact or law, for such determination particularly when we must of necessity acknowledge that there were two separate drivers and two distinct vehicles involved and I was totally innocent from negligence of every kind, being as you evidently ascertained a passenger in the Greiff automobile.

The determination patently was predicated upon a total distortion of facts, strained reasoning and the shifting of liability upon one who was not the principal culprit yet totally exonerating the other active party from all responsibility. The belated notification of determination must necessarily be characterized as a "whitewash" particularly the complete disregard of my rights (a bystander) as a United States citizen whose interests and rights were literally ignored.

Further, the receipt of your advice pertaining to the improper disposition of the proceeding in which I was involved and vitally concerned which does not enable a third party to have any esteem for the administration of justice in the country of my birth. Particularly, when in the circumstances I have written many letters and utilized the telephone, similarly, on many occasions without any reply. Had I been properly informed in the circumstances and especially when the so-called activity was taking place, I would have furnished to you what I deem to be, clear cut evidence that either or both of the parties causing the mishap were liable to me for the injuries I sustained, which even though repetitious, were and still are of a serious nature and permanent in character.

The circumstances mandated that I be advised as to the procedural aspects of this matter and indisputably and regardless of anyone's tactics, the ultimate determination would and should have been a contrary decision to the extent that my rights are upheld and reimbursement granted to me for the severe and excruciating pain I underwent and for that matter for which I am still suffering. Rather than leave any phase hereof to conjecture, I state unequivocally that I feel extremely aggrieved at the determination and disposition made and I insist upon redress in any appropriate tribunal having jurisdiction. With this specific thought in mind, I respectfully request that you furnish to me the necessary procedural steps I must pursue to achieve, as stated, proper redress for the injuries sustained again bearing in mind that I am totally free of any negligence, contributorily or otherwise.

In line with the foregoing, it is also requested that you forward to me a transcript of all documents, evidentiary proof and the complete testimony submitted by any of the parties in the subject proceedings. I am, of course, referring to my entire penal file 504/1971 which contains the Ordinance #804/B/1971. Needless to say, I will fully compensate and pay upon being apprised of the amount thereof in U.S. Dollars.

I cannot be over-emphatic about the fact that I require and insist upon an immediate specific response to this letter.

I also request that your expeditious response be mailed to:

Respectfully yours,

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT 4

ROUMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., Tel Aviv, Israel, April 7, 1972.

DOMNULUI NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU,
Președintele Consiliului de Stat, al Republicii Socialiste,
Romania, București.

EXCELENTA: În calitate de Președinte al Federației Evreilor Români din America, SUA, am onoarea de a vă ruga următoarele!

1. În anul 1947 am fost unul din primii cetățeni americani care au vizitat România, atât în calitate de medic cât și de Casier al Soc. Roumanian American Medical Relief, cu care ocazie am adus în țară un transport de medicamente (penicilină, etc.) ca dar, către Ministerul Sănătății din București; acest transport de penicilină a salvat sute de copii din epidemia declansată atunci în Moldova.

2. Ulterior am militat în continuu pentru strângerea relațiilor de amiciție Romano-Americane, având ca bază respectul reciproc pentru fiecare în domeniul economic, cultural, etc.

3. Începând eu anul 1965, am vizitat R. S. România în anii 1967, 1968, 1970, 1971, fiind invitat de către Ministerul de Externe RSSR, cât și de Sef Rabin Rosen, luând cu această ocazie contact cu d. Ministru de Externe Manescu, cu d. George Macovescu, Dumitru Dogaru, Ambasador Ion Moraru, d. Ambasador Vasile Pungan, precum și cu șefii de cult Patralhă Justinian și Sef Rabin Rosen.

4. Venind acum din nou în țară cu un scop definit precum și ca invitat al Federației Comunităților Evreiești (M.), am onoarea de a vă solicita o audiență, pe cât posibil și la cruce data între 23-30 Iulie a.c. Va asigur, ca stiu cât de prețios este timpul Domniei Voastre, însă sper ca trecutul meu de activitate în SUA în domeniul comun al prețenției și pacii internaționale va va determina de a-mi acorda aceste câteva minute într-o chestiune foarte importantă.

5. Primiti va rog, excelența, expresia grațitudinii mele,

DR. CHARLES H. KRÆMER, Președinte.

EXHIBIT 5

MAY 14, 1973.

Mr. ION MORARU,
c/o DIRECTIA ORGANISATIEI INTERNATIONALE,
Bulevardul Republicii,
București, RS, Romania.

MY ESTEEMED MR. MORARU: Nine months have passed since I last visited with you in București. I thoroughly enjoyed the many hours we spent together planning different matters but in this letter I will limit myself to my accident and its consequences. On April 4th, 1973 two years have passed since my accident in București. You can rest assured that I did not celebrate the anniversary of this event because I am still going to many doctors, at least five visits weekly. If you figure each visit about \$20 to \$25 this runs into a huge sum of money way beyond \$10,000 so far. To this expense you have to add the tens of thousands of dollars which I lost in not being actively engaged in the daily practice of my profession. How about the inconvenience, the pain and the many sleepless nights I am forced to go through the last two years? All this without any compensation so far on the part of Mr. Valeriu Ceaușescu. I consider myself fortunate that I am not dead or a real cripple because of this accident. While I was in Romania last year I was told that I was not Valeriu's victim. At least I was more fortunate than the others because I escaped alive. The others were killed by his negligence. I sincerely believe that if I had been an ordinary American citizen I would have definitely been entitled to some compensation, add to this my many valuable contributions which I rendered for the last 50 years to my native land. I above anyone else deserve some compensation.

I have waited all this time because I believe in your promises and also because I did not want to embarrass our personal friendship, neither did I want to publicize my accident in the press thereby embarrassing Valeriu and his father, His Excellency President-Nicolae Ceaușescu, and my native land.

I think that now, after two years of great suffering and continuous expenses, I am definitely entitled to complain for a speedy solution of my case directly

to His Excellency the President. I am not threatening because threats are valueless—action is what counts now. Therefore, I have decided that this is the *last* time that I am writing to you asking you to negotiate my complaint. I shall wait four weeks from the date of this letter, and if I don't get an answer from you or from Mr. Valeriu Ceausescu, I shall present my grievance directly to His Excellency the President, including at that time all the memoranda I submitted to you last year but addressed to His Excellency. This will be preceded by a personal cable to His Excellency and then followed with similar cables at monthly intervals in order to remind him of his obligations as the father of his son and the Head of his country.

I deeply regret that I will have to take this action but I have no alternative: a man at my age (past 75 years) instead of spending my money to make my life easier has to spend my hard-earned money on doctors bills, averaging over \$100 a week.

In expectation of a favorable reply, I remain, with kindest regard,

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES H. KREMER, D.D.S.

P.S. I have decided to write this letter in English because I personally cannot type and I have no trusted person to type for me in the Romanian language. Will you please take this into account for which consideration I thank you.

EXHIBIT 6

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

HON. CORNELIU BOGDAN,
Ambassador of R. S. Romania, Washington, D.C.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have endeavored on innumerable occasions and in many ways to convey to you the pertinent facts relating to a rather sad, sorrowful and unfortunate event that occurred to me while I was a guest of the Roumanian government in May, 1971.

Specifically, on May 4, 1971, at the invitation of a citizen of Roumania, I was a passenger in a automobile, as a guest, which due to the negligence of a vehicle owned by Valeriu Ceausescu collided with the automobile in which I was a passenger causing me to suffer and sustain severe and permanent injuries which are prevalent as of this date causing me much pain and anguish, plus medical expenses.

The evidence and data relating to this accident has been forwarded to President Ceausescu and to you. This material includes the basic facts, all of which unfortunately have been ignored and disregarded since I have not, despite several follow-up letters and cables, received a reply.

With your permission I refer you to my letters dated August 15, 1973 and August 20, 1973 and request that they be considered as part and parcel thereof.

I have had conversations with Mr. Capatana and Mr. Rosu and have informed them that I would welcome the opportunity of your granting me an audience before September 20, 1973. Mr. Rosu informed me the other day that a time and place for a personal interview with you will be held soon so that a proper resolution would be made of this grievous injury which I suffered.

It should be apparent that I have refrained from all activity which would even in the remotest degree reflect upon the country of my birth. Since all my efforts have been unavailing, I have but one recourse to use every available means to convey generally and specifically to the public at large that I have been denied and deprived of proper and just consideration recognition and compensatory damages for the injuries I sustained without any contributory act on my part.

In amplification it is my intention to reverse my previous attitude and procedure and to utilize every available means at my disposal to emphasize the injustice and personal hurt that have been imposed upon me.

Respectfully yours,

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT 6A

NEW YORK, N.Y., October 31, 1973.

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA,
Consular Department, Washington, D.C.

STIMATE DOMNULE CONSUL: In urma convorbirii avute cu Excelenta Sa Domnule Ambassador C. Bogdan si in conformitate cu sfatul Domniei Sale, subsemnatul Dr. Charles H. Kremer, medic dentist domiciliat la adresa 253 West 72nd Street,

New York, N.Y. 10023 U.S.A., cetatean American si resident al Statelor Unite ale Americii din anul 1919, am onoarea sa Va supun urmatoarea.

CERERE DE DESPAGUBIRI

Pe care Va rog sa o cercetati cu atentie si apoi sa o inaintati autoritatilor romane competente sa statueze asupra pretentiilor mele care sunt formulate in baza unui accident de automobil, intamplat la Bucuresti, 4 Mai 1971 ora 10 P.M., cand ma aflam in vizita in tara mea natala.

Pretentiile mele se aseaza sub urmatoarele aliniate:

Cheltuieli rezultate de pe urma tratamentului medical imediat, medicina, plati pentru medic, fizioterapie, reabilitare, dela 4 Mai 1971 pana in prezent (in continuare) — \$10,000.

Pierderi materiale cauzate prin diminuarea puterii de exercitarii profesiei mele de dentist, timp de 2½ ani — \$40,000

Prejudicii morale, — discontinuitatea relatiilor si activitatilor sociale, suferinta fizice, si azi trebuind sa port ghete ortopedice si corset special peste mijloc din cauza durerilor continui, — Inxapactarea de a ma putea bucura de viata, — \$50,000

In drept imi bazez pretentiile mele pe dispozitiile articolului 998 c.e.r. care obliga la reparatii pe oricine care cauzeaza altuia un prejudiciu, in cazul de fata fiind vorba de cetateni romani care se fac vinovati de leziunile cauzate.

As dori sa mentionez ca in cazul ca autoritatile romane vor acorda toata atentia cererii mele si se va trece fara de intarziere la compensatia respectiva, eu sunt dispus sa imi reduc pretentiile de mai sus la o suma mai modesta, dar nici intr'un caz sub un total de \$50,000.00.

Istoricul Accidentului a carui victima am fost la 4 Mai 1971

In seara zilei de 4 Mai anul 1971 aflandu-ma in masina dlui Ignatiu Greiff, care imi era prieten am suferit un accident de masina de pe urma caruia in ma'm ales cu leziuni corporale tratate de urgenta la Spitalul roman I? C.Frimu din Bucuresti, plus si cu alte leziuni interne care au fost tratate si de care mai sunt tratat si in prezent la New York, U.S.A. unde domiciliiez permanent. De pe urma acestui accident forta mea de munca a suferit reduceri substantiale nemai putand lucra din plin ceea ce mi a atras scaderea veniturilor mele in mod direct, lucru care poate fi dovedit cu certificatele medicale pe care le anexez in copie.

Din procesele verbale dresate la fata locului accidentului de care organele de politie a circulatiei Capitalei Bucuresti, rezulta ca masina in care ma aflam eu, a fost lovita de o masina care depasit ilegal stopul, uerespectand semnalul rosu a semaforului. Din nenorocire cum am relatat mai sus, conducatorul masinii care a ciocnit masina in care ma aflam eu, a fost un cetatean roman, anume dl. Valentin Ceausescu dlui Conducatorul Statului Roman. De sigur, accidentul a fost intamplator si pentru mine, care traiesc in Statele Unite ale Americii, acestu nu a fost o noutate si nici nu este ceva de condamnat din punct de vedere penal. Despre felul cum s'a intamplat accidentul se poate afla precisa consultandu se cuprinsul Declaratiei mele dela Militia Bucuresti, pe care o anexez.

Eu doresc lusa sa notez ca eu eram un simplu pasager si nu conducatorul unei masini mele Gordini Renault cu patru usi. Eu sunt un om inalt si ca sa intru, la inaltimea mea (1.85 m.) inacest Gordin Renault, a trebuit sa ma asez la inceput intr-o parte perpendiculara pe directia masinii. Dupa aceea a trebuit sa ma intorc spre stanga si apoi dl. Greiff mi-a pus piciorul stang in masina si apoi piciorul drept, dupa care operatiune acesta a inceput usa. Masina in care ma aflam eu, extrem de mica si de usoara, inaintand pe strada prin ploate care cadea intr'un mod torontial, a fost izbita de masina dlui Valentin Ceausescu, care era un Renault 16, masina mult mai mare si mai grea decat masina in care ma aflam eu. Masina fiind izbita in usa din spate, din cauza fortei, usa din fata s'a deschis imediat, masina s'a invaritit 180° si eu am inceput sa alunec si sa cad afara, din crac cauza am atarnat in aler, rupandu-mi trunchiul care pana azi ma doare in mod groaznic si continui.

Am avut noroc ca masina in care am aflam fiind mica iar eu un om inalt si de vre'o 90 Kg. greutate, mi-a luat mai mult timp sa cad afara, ceea ce a facut, pe de-o parte, sa-mi salvez viata, iar pe de alta parte sa-mi intind trunchiul si sa mi cauzeze leziuni permanente corporale in regiunea spatelui si la picioare. In cele din urma eu am cazut afara din masina, pe sosea, si norocul salvarii mele a fost ca nu a mai venit vre'o alta masina in sens contrar, care m'ar fi strivit. Eu m'am ales cu lovituri la frunte in doua locuri, cu rani la ceafa si peste tot corpul si daca veti citi certificatul dat de catre Institutul Medico-Legist, va veti putea face o imagine

mai clara asupra tot ceea ce mi s'a intamplat, deoarece dupa trei zile inca s'au mai putut constata multe izbifturi. Examinarea medico-legala aci anexata a fost facuta dupa trei zile dupa accident.

Din cauza loviturilor am cazut in inconstienta. Cand mi-a revenit pentru o clipa, m'am trezit asezat in unghiul drept in scaunul din spate, avand in fata pe dl. Valentin Ceausescu, pe langa care erau si o seama de militieni. Cum am ajuns acolo nu stiu, deoarece eram inconstient. Am observat, dupa catva timp, ca se adunase o mare multime de oameni la locul accidentului. Eu am cerut un pahar cu apa. Cu chiu si vai l-am obtinut in cele din urma. De aici am fost transportat cu o masina la Spitalul de urgenta I.C. Frimu, iar de acolo o ambulanta m'a dus la Athenes Palace Hotel. Ca rezultat direct al acestui accident am fost nevoit sa port de atunci si pana in prezent un corset si ghete ortopedice speciale, pentru care am cheltuit o multime de bani. Azi inca ma duc, fara de intrerupere de atunci, la doctori de specialitate, sub a caror tratament ma aflu.

Intrucat de pe urma a acestui accident au rezultat o seama de lezinul corporale si, in afara de suferinta mea fizica, s'a produs o pierdere substantiala a castigurilor mele, justitia oricarui stat obliga la repararea acestor daune care mi s'au cauzat, in special ca eu personal nu am contribuit cu nimic la cretarea acestui accident si consecintelor lui nenorocite. Aceasta vrea sa spuna ca eu nu am nicio vina sau responsabilitate.

Acestea sunt ratiunile care m'au determinat sa formulez aceasta cerere de despagubiri, cerere pe care o consider perfect intemeiata legal, moral ori umanitar.

Eu am incercat sa obtin informatii asupra procedurii care se impune de urmat in asemenea imprejurari, ca sa pot merge pe calea legala indicata de legislatia statului roman. Dupa unele demersuri intreprinse, am fost sfatuit recent de dl. Ambasador Corneliu Bogdan ca sa intocmesc aceasta cerere in forma pe care v'o supun, primind asigurari dela Excelenta Sa, ca aceasta este singura cale a solutionarii echitabile a pretentilor mele dupa accidentul suferit, pozitia mea fata de acest accident si interesele Romaniei.

Eu nu am cautat sa profit de pe urma acestui accident si nu am cautat sa fac publicitate in presa straina. Din contra, am cautat sa evit publicitatea accidentului din care cauza m'am mutat chiar a doua zi dimineata dela Athenes Palace Hotel la Hotelul Neagolu ca sa evit intalnirea cu ziaristii straini de care banuim ca voi fi vizitat, dupa transpirarea unui accident de asemenea natura in care era implicat insasi fiul Sefului Statului Roman si un cetatean american. Eu sunt invatat ca la New York va inchipului ce s'ar fi intamplat daca un copil al Presedintelui Nixon ar fi izbit pe un cetatean strain la Washington. Intr'o ora, victima ar fi fost vizitata la hotel de fel de fel de ziaristi so oficialitati, ar fi fost vazuta la televizor so toate amănuntele relatate la radio, faptul fiind difuzat cunoscutintei publicului pri toate mijloacele de comunicare. Eu fiind obsisunit cu acetasta, m'am decis sa ma mut imediat dela Athenes Palace, unde accesul presei era foarte lesnicos.

Rudele so prietenii mei nu stiau ce mi s'a intamplat sol unde m'am mutat. In numai trei zile apoi am plecat spre New York ca sa nu va mai ambaranez pe dumneavoastra si cretz probleme tarii.

Sosind in USA nu am dat niciun interview presei americane unde sunt foarte bine cunoscut, nu numai pentru calitatea per care o am ca presedinte a Federatiei Eyreilor Romani din America, dar ca fost presedinte al organizatiei Zioniste din New York, fost presedinte a Lojel B'nei B'rit, Mason de gradul 32°, fost Chairman al federatiei Cluburilor muzicale si membru a ctiv al Partidului Democrat, precum si alte multe organizatii prea numeroase ca sa le mai mentionez aici. As fi putut sa obtin un interview in scopul de a anunta accidentalul acesta prin toate posturile americane de radio si statiunile de televiziune.

E nu am vrut sa dau publicitate accidentului meu fiindca staim ca asta ar fi fost pe placul dusmanilor tarii mele natale. Dimpotriva, am asteptat in taina sa va anunt despre aceasta intal Ambasadel Romane din Washington, dupa aceea am trimis un Memorandum Domnului Presedinte Nicolae Ceausescu, care a ramas fara raspuns si acum, de data aceasta, va adresez aceasta Cerere de Despagubiri Dumneavoastra, dupa sfatul Excelentel Sale Domnului Ambasador Corneliu Bogdan.

Pentru a avea o idee despre sentimentele mele fata de Romania, incepand dela data venirii mele aici in USA in anul 1919, mi permit sa va recapitulez inca odata cele mai importante contributi efective realizate de mine in acesta perioada, in scopul cretarii de legaturi de prietenie intre Romania si USA.

Intr'un alt Memoriu aici alaturat intitulat "Activitatile mele pentru tara mea natala, si militarea mea pentru a readuce in RSR pe calaul Vlorel Trifa, eu am descris mai pe larg cele

Doresc sa amintesc aici pe scurt numai urmatoarele:

1. Noaptea Romaneasca la Universitatea Pennsylvania in 1923.
2. Concertul dat la Barbizon Plaza in 1947 condus de mine si chiar eu fiind maestrul de ceremonie, la care au asistat Maestrul G. Enescu si reprezentantul Statului Roman, Ambasadorul Mihail Ralea.

3. Ultimul Concert al lui G. Enescu la New York, in 24 Noembrie 1948, sub auspiciile Federatiei Evreilor Romani din America, eu fiind organizatorul si directorul acestui Concert.

4. Vizita mea oficiala per cont propriu invitata de Dna Florica Bagdasar, ministrul Sanatatii.

5. Aducerea Penicilinei in 1947. Ministrul Sanatatii a intrebuinat penicilina adusa de mine in regiunea Iasi, devastata de o epidemie infectioasa infantila, salvand dela moarte multe sute de vietii de copil.

6. Am fost invitat si am asistat si am vorbit in 1960 la Banchetul dat in cinstea lui Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej la New York.

7. Primirea oficiala in 1962 a Sef Rabinului Dr. Mozes Rosen, de catre evreimea din tara, la o adunare prezidata de mine in calitate de presedinte al Federatiei Evreilor Romani din America si ajutorul meu oferit Eminentei Sale pentru lupta care a intreprins-o contra lui Vlorel Trifa.

8. Vizita mea oficiala in 1965 la invitatia Presedintelui Comunitatilor Evreiesti din Romania si Sef Rabin al Cultului Mozatic Dr. Mozes Rosen.

9. Vizita mea in tara in 1967 care a culminat cu un mare triumf-donatia a udoua surori Thora. Unul Pam daruit Rabinului Zvi Cuttman, astazi la Tel-Aviv (Israel), a carui doi fii au fost ucisi de bafetii lui Trifa si una la "Sinagoga Internationala" dela aeroportul J. F. Kennedy din New York.

10. In 1971 cand mi s'a intamplat accidentul eu eram invitatul tarii.

STIMATE DOMNUL CONSUL: Eu cred ca dacaveti citi cu atentie cererea mea si veti analiza aceste pe care le anexez in legatura cu accidentul care mi-a cauzat infirmitatea capacitatii mele de munca si suferintele continui, imi veti da dreptate si veti trata cu toata competenta doleantele mele, astfel ca acestea sa fie solutivate cat mai just posibil.

Eu v'am descris, pe scurt, activitatea mea pentru a vedea ca am lucrat intens pentru prestigiul si interesele Romaniei si sa vedeti, de asemenea, ca chiar din cauza acestor activitati ale mele tot ezitat sa cer despagubirile care mi se cuvin.

Dat fiind varsta mea inaintata de peste 75 de ani, imposibilitatea mea de a lucra continuu in cabinetul me dentar, neputand sta in picioarele nevindecate inca si cu spatele fracturat, pe langa si marile cheltuieli pe care le am fata de medicii, care nu imi iarta nicio nota de plata, sunt obligat de aceste consideratii sa cer autoritatilor romane sa imi plateasca ceea ce mi se cuvine, nimic mult.

In speranta ca veti indrepta cererea mea de despagubiri forurilor tutelare romanesti in competinta carora atarna rezolvarea ei, Va rog sa primit, Domnule Consul, asigurarea inaltel mele gratitudinal si stime.

Al Dumneavoastra,

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER.

P.S. Declaratie Suplimentara care face parte din aceasta CERERE DE DESPAGUBIRI Persoana numita Valeriu Ceausescu pe diferitele acte adresate anterior diferitelor autoritati romane-administrative si diplomatice—, precum si Excelentel Sale Domnului Nicolae Ceausescu, Presedintele RSR, a fost eronat numita astfel, deoarece in intentia noastra a fost sa numim pe dl. Valeriu Ceausescu, persoana care de fapt a fost aceea care a cauzat accidentul impotriva mea, la data de 4 Mai 1971 in orasul Bucuresti. Rugam ca pretutindeni unde a fost mentionat numele eronat sa se cteasca dl. Valentin Ceausescu.

EXHIBIT 7

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA,
Washington, D.C., 16 mai 1974.

Dr. CHARLES H. KREMER,
President,
New York, N.Y.

STIMATE DOMNUL KREMER, Urmare scrisorii dv. din 1 mai 1974, va informez ca autoritatile romane de resort ne-au facut cunoscut ca eventualele despagubiri civile le puteti cere numai de la Grief Ignatz Mihail care s-a facut vinovat de incalcarrea regulilor romane de circulatie pe drumurile publice, angajandu-se in intersectie pe culoarea rogie a semaforului electric.

Instanța competentă căreia puteți să vă adresați este Judecătoria Sectorului nr.8 din București.

Pentru lămuriri suplimentare vă stau la dispoziție și stăteți oricând binevenit la Ambasada.

Cu stimă,

ION EDU,
Consul.

EXHIBIT 8

DREPTATEA "THE JUSTICE,"
New York, N.Y., 21 Iunie 1975.

STIMATE DOMNULE MINISTRU: Natura delicata a problemei pentru care ma adresez Dumneavoastra, ma obliga sa apelez la serviciile personale si confidentiale ale d-lui Dumitru Rosu, atașatul de presa Roman la ONU si po care l-am rugat sa va transmita prezenta.

Este vorba despre revendicarile d-lui dr. Charles H. Kremer din New York, care in anul 1971 a fost accidentat la București de masina condusa de fiul Excelentei Sale domnul Presedinte Ceausescu.

Personal nu asf dori sa ma amestec, dar am promis dr. Kremer ca voi veni la lucere rezolvarea acestui caz, promisiunea pe care nu o pot realiza deoarece starea sanatatii mele nu-mi permite sa parasesc New York-ul.

Ca jurist imi dau seama de diferenta de conceptii ce ingreuiaza rezolvarea acestui caz:

Conceptia si sistemul juridic Romanesc nu admite asemenea despagubiri, deoarece ele sunt compensate si acoperite automat de larghetia sistemului de beneficii sociale de stat.

In sistemul American, asemenea beneficii lipsesc, iar individul este nevoit sa suporte pe cheltulala proprie toate tratamentele si consecintele ce rezulta dintr-un asemenea accident, iar cel ce l-a produs este obligat sa despagueasca pe victima.

Aceasta este baza juridica ce stat in sprijinul pretentii dr. Kremer si cadrul in care eu apelez la intelegerea Domnului Voastre, fiindca eu personal consider ca dela rezolvarea acestui caz trebuie dela inceput exclusa participarea a: 1. d. ambasador Cornel Bogdan, spre a nu fi acurat ca faciliteaza interesele dr. Kremer, si 2. Excelenta Sa domnul Presedinte Ceausescu, care se va gasi probabil in dilema conducatorului drept ce trebuie sa apere interesele statului si temerea de-a nu trezi suspiciuni de sentimentalism patern.

Dar dincolo de aspectul juridic sau procedural al acestui regretabil ufaceri, eu doresc in mod special sa relevez latura practica, sau a intereselor imediate si majore legate de ea.

Recentele evenimente din Congresul American sau intalnirea Excelenței Sale domnul Presedinte Ceausescu cu anumiti senatori si congressmani Americani—senatorul Jackson—a scos in evidenta mai mult ca oricand ca o parte din eficienta U.S.A. nu cunoase adevarata situatie a realitatilor ce confrunta politica Romanilor. Se poate afirma chiar mai rau, ca aceste oficialitati sunt influentate de propaganda calomnioasa a elementelor extremistice si dusmanoase ce activeaza in aceasta tara. Pentru combaterea activitatii daunatoare a acestor corciri extremistice, noi am constituit un grup de cetateni Americani de origina Romneasca, care chiar daca nu impartasese convingerile brunneavoastre politice, doresc insa sa ajute si sa apere interesele tarii.

Recent, noi am participat la sedinta Comitetului Financiar a Congresului U.S.A. si suntem mandriti de succesul pe care l-am avut aparand intereselor Romanilor si denuntand acuratile calomnioase ce l-au adus.

Dorim sa continuam aceasta activitate si po viitor, dar avom nevoie de serviciile si mai ales de prestigiul dr. Kremer, care ne poate asigura concursul concurrențelor Eyrolisti, deosebit de valoroase si influente alei.

In fond, daca ar fi numai modul cum dr. Kremer a denuntat in fata Congresului U.S.A. acusatii insultatoare ale sovietistilor Kaghiari, sau cum el a complectat favorabil declaratiile reprezentantului Eyrolisti din America, dr. Kremer ar merita din partea Guvernului Roman mai mult.

In consecinta, eu imi permit deci as reg pe Excelenta Voastra sa l se recunosc dr. Kremer cororea sa si sa fie despagubit pentru daunele reale ce l-au adus, printr-e regretabila si nedorita intamplare care este nimerit sa fie data uitarii cat mai curand posibil.

Animat de cele mai sincere si curate sentimente,

Al Dumneavoastra cu stima,

ADVOCAT DEAN MILHOVAN, Editor

EXHIBIT 9

ROMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., 9 Iulie, 1975.

D-Sale

DOMNULUI DUMITRU ROSU,

Atasat de presa Al R.S.Romane pe linga Natiunile Unite.

DRAGA DOMNULE ROSU, Profit de ocazie sugestiei Dv. si trimt pr in curier special cu buna vointa Domnului I. Dateu Ambasador al R.S. Romina pe linga Natiunile Unite, urmatoarele acte:

1. Copia scrisoarei trimise cu aceasta ocaziune Domnulul Ambasador I. Dateu, cu data de 8 Iulie 1975.

2. Dosarul accidentului meu cu actele colectate pina la data de 31 Octombrie 1973.

3. Facturile primite dela medicii ce ma-u tratat si mai ma trateaza si aceasta numai din luna Martie 1975 pina la data de 1 Iulie 1975 pentru a se constata sumele de plata pentru acest serios tratament ce sunt nevoit sa'l urmez in urma accidentului ce l-am suferit; 4 copii scrisorilor adresate in acelasi chestiune: Domnului Prim Ministru, D-lui Ministru Bodnarus D-lui Ministru de Externe. La scrisoare adresata D-lui Ministru Macovescu am facut o corectura la paragraful #7.

4. O scrisoare in care am aratat sumele ce am arhital medicilor pentru tratamentul din Oct. 1973 pina in Iulie 1975 dupa cum urmeaza:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Noembrie—1973 | \$200. 00 |
| Decembrie—1973 | 200. 00 |
| In cursul—1974 (din Ianuarie 1975 pina in Iulie 1975 am arhital)..... | 2400. 00 |
| Un total de..... | 1400. 00 |

Total general (patru mie doua sute nouazeci si sase \$)..... 4200. 00

Daca veti binevol sa cititi scrisoarea mea citre Comandamentul Militie din Capitala veti avea ocazie se constatati ca Dl. Valentin Causescu a fost singurul vinovat al acestui oribilul accident dupa care am ramas infirm.

Este eronata acuzatie adusa D-lui Greiff, dealtfel am luat contact cu D-na si Dl. Greiff cari actualmente locuiesc in San-Francisco cu care sunt in permanenta legatura.

Spre buna Informare Dv., va pot spune ca Dl. Ministru adj. de Externe V. Gliga a avut personal o intervedere cu Dl. Harry Barness unde intre celelalte discutii oficiale sa discutat si problema accidentului meu, dupa care fapt am fost cheamat telefonic de citre sectia Romina dela "State Department al USA. din Washington" informindu-ma despre cele de mai sus.

Am convigerea ferma ca daca Dv. veti avea amabilitatea se explicati cazul meu autoritatilor competente din Capitala in lumina actelor doveditoare ce se afla la dosarul meu complet cu privire la accidentul, problema se va putea rezolva in mod absolut favorabil, pentru care eu iti voi ramine recunoscator si obligat. Sper ca nu va mai fi nevoie se insist ca si in viitor se poti contape sprijenul meu total in servirea cauzei Tarei mele natale.

In asteptare cu mult interes rezultatul favorabil al interventiei Dumitale iti rezerv cele mai sincere sentimente si respect.

Cu multumir anticipate te salut.

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER.

EXHIBIT 10

ROMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., Iulie, 8, 1975.

Excelentel Sale,

DOMNULUI ION DATCU

*Ambasadorul R.S. Romane pe langa Natiunile Unite.**Palatul Natiunilor Unite, New York**60 E. 93 street*

EXCELENTA, In conformitate cu instructiunile ce le am primit dela Dl. Dumitru Rosu, Seful Presiei R.S. Romane pe langa Natiunile Unite, si care a plecat inopinat in concediu, am onoare sa va trimt aci alaturat un dosar conti nand file, precum so o scrisoare personala adresata Domnului Dumitru Rosu dipartea Domnului DEAN HILHOVAN, Directorul Ziarului DREPTATEA si Presedintele Asociatiei Romanilor Crestinii din Statle Unite Ale Americel.

Doresc sa precizez ca in acest dosar se mai gasesc si urmatoare acte:

1. Citatia N° 564 din 6 Mai 1971
2. Declaratia din 6 Mai 1971
3. Raportul de constatare Medico Legal din 6 Mai 1971
4. Acete din USA, Scrisori catre Dl. Pitivolu (4a), catre Dl. Ambasador Bogdan (4b), Dl. Irluolu presum so raspunsul Dlul. Irluolu din 6 Oct. 1971 (4d, 4e, 4f)
5. Certificatul Medical al Meleului Orthopedic (doua certificate dela 2 doct)
6. Un dosar continand toate facturile cu platile ce au fost facute catre medicii cari m'au ingrijit

Accest dosar cu toate anexele, va rog sa aveti amabilitatea sa expediatu pe cale Oficiala Ministerului de Externe al R S Romane din Bucure pentru care va presint multumirile mele anticipate.

La scrisoarea ce o trimit Domnului Rosu, mai alaturez un anumi material complimentar si aceasta conform intelegerii verbale ce am avut o cu Dl. Dumitru Rosu inaintea plecarii Dsale. In concediu.—

Doresc sa mentionez ca la aceasta scrisoare adresata Dlul. D.R. anexez in acelas timp o scrisoare adresata Domnului Macovescu Ministru de E ne al RSRomane din Budrestil, precum so niste facturi suplimentare, precum s anumi material ce nu so gaseste in dsarul alaturat. Tonte acestea ca urmare cele stabilite cu Dl. Dumitru Rosu personal.

Impreuna cu multumirile mele anticipate, va rog Excelenta sa voiti a primi asigurarea inaltei mele stime ce va o pastrez.

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER.

OCTOBER 25, 1975.

HON. CORNELIU BOGDAN,
R.S. Romania's Ambassador,
Washington, D.C.,

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: Over 4½ years have passed since Valentin Ceausescu, son of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, injured me permanently in Bucharest, by ignoring the traffic laws and crossing on a red light.

I have been patient but at my age of 78 I have not many more years to wait for justice. I am convinced that should God spare my life for many more years, my native country will need as in the past my services much more than I will. Since 1927 I gave freely and willingly of my time, money and knowledge.

On October 22, 1975, we had a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc., which after deliberations voted unanimously to adopt the enclosed resolution, my personal declaration, the fliers and posters of my accident which I am enclosing here.

These literature will be distributed in the following places where I will protest your governments' injustice:

1. ISALIA Area at the U.N. Piazza.
2. R.S.R. Mission at 60 E 83rd St.
3. Romanian Library, 860-2nd Ave.
4. Tarom and Romanian Tourist office, 500-5th Ave.

We also intend to call a press conference with Radio and TV participating. We also contact all the Newspapers and magazines and Radio Stations where you advertise your tourism business, and ask them as per our American laws to refuse your ads.

I urge you to contact your government and respond within 10 days. In case I fail to receive a favorable decision to pay for damages sustained by me, we are going on record right now that our action of protests at the above 4 places, including the poster and flier will begin, without further notice.

My fate is in your hands, as our former good President Harry Truman said: "The buck stops here". For once you have to assume your responsibility to contact Valentin Ceausescu or your government.

Very truly yours,

DR. CHARLES H. KREMER, *President.*

DEAR SIR: My name is Rodica Lackner and my husband's name is Iulian Lackner. I am a teacher of English and my husband is a mechanical engineer. We have a daughter of two years and 6 months.

Last September, we decided to leave Romania for Israel together with my parents.

We deposed our acts and in three months we received a positive answer that we were permitted to go. So that we finished with our jobs, we sold the majority of things in our house and we prepared the necessary acts to get our passports. Just on the day, when we went to take them out, the respective authorities announced to us that our passports were stopped.

The reasons were absurd and full of anti-Semitism because up to God the angels eat you.

My husband was very humiliated, insulted and for nine months we are waiting our case to be solved.

For six months both I and my husband were completely jobless because nobody engaged us in our situation. Now, we are working temporarily for the Federation.

We are young people who want to establish in Israel. It's a pity that we shall reach there so disgusted and with all our powers lost during this period of real miseries.

The Romanian authorities proved a total disinterest concerning the solving of our case. For example, my husband was accused from cruelty that he had a false diploma. As a matter of fact he has graduated Polytechnics in Bucharest, but to check his diploma it lasted one month and a half.

All our memories remained without any answer.

Please help us if it is possible. We'll be grateful to you.

Thank you very much.

RODICA AND IULIAN LACKNER.

Our address is: Rodica & Iulian Lackner, Str. Schitul Mateilor 14, Sector 6, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel. 311760 (Home), 315732 (Mother's), 141924 (Office).

STATEMENT OF LOUIS LEICHMAN, TREASURER TOSCANY IMPORTS, LTD.,
NEW YORK, N.Y.

This statement is submitted on behalf of Toscany Imports, Ltd., 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10016, a New York corporation with its principal place of business in the City of New York. Toscany has been in the business of importing and selling household glassware, lead crystal, porcelain and ceramic tableware, woodenware and other gift accessories since 1953. The bulk of our imported products come from Italy, Japan, Germany and more recently from Romania. This latter business commenced in 1960 when we decided that there was a market for types of plain, sandblast and greycut, and decorated ordinary household glassware produced in Romania. On a regular business trip to traditional suppliers in Europe our representatives traveled to Romania to seek out the manufacturers and exporters producing glassware of the quality and in the quantities necessary to meet needs of our United States customers.

Since the beginning, our relationship with our Romanian suppliers and indeed, with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, have been excellent. Initially, in 1960, Toscany purchased approximately \$20,000 worth of such merchandise from Romania. Demand has been brisk and in the fiscal year which ended in June 1976 we purchased over a million dollars worth of merchandise from this source. Without disclosing confidential data, we can report that Romanian merchandise now represents well over 10% of our sales of these types of products in the United States.

We at Toscany believe that it is in the National Interest to continue most-favored-nation treatment for products originating in Romania and it is for this reason that we respectfully submit that the President's waiver authority be extended 12 months pursuant to Section 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, Public Law 93-618.

Based on our corporate experience it is believed that the Romanian Government has endeavored to conform with the requirements of the Freedom of Emigration Section of the Trade Act.

We are very sensitive to the background and reason for the so-called Jackson amendment to the Trade Act which is basically the issue we speak to today. As the only nonmarket economy country which has been granted non-discriminatory or most-favored-nation treatment by the United States, Romanian commercial and personal relationships may be relevant to this inquiry.

The management of Toscany Imports, Ltd., is predominantly of the Jewish faith. Because of our abiding interest in Jewish philanthropies and worldwide

conditions affecting Jews, we have always carefully followed national and international policies affecting Jewish interests. In our company we have watched the developments in Eastern Europe with interest and concern not only for the fairness to individuals but for ourselves as businessmen trading in these areas. It is the experience of our executives who deal with Romanian suppliers that there have been no flagrant abuses of human rights during the past year. In fact, we feel that a continued extension of MFN is a symbol of United States desire to carry forward normal trade relations when our trading partner country seeks to conform to the goals and aspirations sought to be protected by Section 402 of the Trade Act. We believe that extension of MFN will be an important step forward.

The foregoing is not a selfish statement made because of our imports. To the best of our knowledge MFN treatment has no direct bearing on our expected import costs. For example if the duties were increased, other costs might be adjusted so that export prices would meet world market prices. In effect, we have found that under most circumstances, Toscani Imports pays the same total amount for Romanian merchandise regardless of the precise duty status. This situation, however, may not apply to all product categories (other than giftware). With inflation driving up costs in all countries of the world, including those in Eastern Europe, we believe that continued MFN treatment for Romania will significantly enhance political and economic relations between our countries.

If the Committee desires that this submission should be extended or supplemented with additional data, we will be happy to submit a post hearing statement.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 27, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
*Chairman, Senate Finance Committee, Russell Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR LONG: We, the undersigned, Gheorghe Lelutiu and Emilia Gh. Lelutiu (nee Grapa), residing at 1308 West 64th Street, Cleveland, Ohio (44102), submit to your attention the following complaint against the abuses practiced by the Romanian government at the local level against our property in Romania, as well as against our daughter and her three children.

I, Emilia Lelutiu, was born on July 25, 1921, in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1932, my mother, Paraschiva Grapa, took me on a visit to Romania in order to see my relatives. At that time, my mother's brother insisted that I stay with him and his family for awhile. My parents agreed to this due to the fact that there were difficult times in the United States as a result of the depression. My parents' financial situation never improved and, therefore, they were unable to bring me back to the United States.

Meantime, I married my husband, Gheorghe Lelutiu, on February 17, 1938, in Oltet Village, Fagaras County. My parents tried their best to help us at the beginning of our married life and bought us a home on a small farm in Oltet Village. Six children were born of our marriage. With the elapse of time a political crisis followed in Europe resulting in World War II and, as such, we were forced to remain in Romania until 1960. The Romanian authorities were against granting us an exit visa, despite the fact that I was born in the USA.

My husband and I worked diligently and from our savings, and my parents help, we managed to build a home for our children in Vistea de Jos Village No. 384, Fagaras County. I would also like to mention here that my husband was abusively arrested in 1948 and imprisoned for five years merely for the reason that we were communicating with my parents in the United States and that we had the intention of being reunited with them.

In 1960 my mother became ill and we succeeded in obtaining an exit visa for the United States as a result of improved relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States. A son of ours managed to come to the United States earlier, in 1957, since he was considered an American citizen because he was born of parents born in the United States in a certain period of time.

We have made extensive efforts to bring our five other children to the United States from Romania and have not succeeded. We have inherited our daughter, Mrs. Veronica Clornel (nee Lelutiu), with our home in Vistea de Jos Village No. 384, Fagaras County.

Last month the village council notified our daughter to evacuate the home, consisting of four rooms, within 48 hours and make it available for the village.

This action was undertaken on the basis of a law, No. 223, published in December, 1974 (an entirely abusive law) by which all the American citizens who owned property in Romania were deprived of it. It should be mentioned that a few years ago this same Romanian government encouraged foreigners to invest their money in buildings in Romania. Some of them were compensated in an arbitrary way by the local authorities, and others never received a penny.

The Romanian National Council, Inc., with main offices in New York City, has lodged a series of complaints to The White House and State Department against the aforementioned law. The State Department advised that, when notified, they will take each case into consideration separately.

We ask you to intervene, from your demanding position, with the Romanian authorities in order to advise them not to proceed with the dispossession of our daughter and her three children (her husband has abandoned the family). A home is the only property of our daughter who is a simple worker and would be unable to build another.

In case the Romanian government will not agree to return the home to our daughter, then we petition you to request an equitable compensation in the amount of 250,000 lei, which represents the value of the home and the garden. We claim that this compensation should be paid in American currency equivalent to the Romanian one, i.e. \$1.00 equals 6 lei.

The home which was bequeathed to our son, Jordan Lelutiu, who resides in Oltet Village No. 57, Fagaras County, has not been taken by the Romanian authorities as yet. If this should happen, then we reserve the right to claim compensation.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

GHEORGHE LELUTIU
EMILIA GH. LELUTIU.

CHICAGO, ILL.

HONORABLE SIR: I am a new emigrant to the free world, coming to the United States from behind the Iron curtain. I escaped from Romania through Germany, where I decided to remain in the free world and I asked to be admitted to the United States. I and my family suffered persecution and total lack of freedom in Romania. Just because I had a relative who worked for the American Embassy for about 30 years (Mr. Vasile Leuca, from 1930 to 1960) I was expelled from the military gymnasium, and all my relatives have been oppressed.

Even painful I left behind my wife and my daughter with the hope that I will be able soon to get them out of Romania to join me here.

They are: Maria Leuca, wife; Ioana Monica Leuca, 4, daughter; Their address: Str. Sf. Apostoll 69, sector 5, Bucuresti, Romania.

I chose to remain into the free world in order to be able to offer a better life to my family, in order to rear my children in freedom. I now appeal to you to help me get my family out of Romania. I strongly believe in the freedom of people and in my right to be together with my family, and I strongly hope that the U.S. Congress will listen to me plea.

Honorable Sir, please use your influence to persuade the Romanian Government to release my wife and my daughter from Romania.

Sincerely yours,

VASILE LEUCA.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Thank you very much for your invitation but it's impossible for me and my wife to be in time to your birthday. You know that four months ago, I and my wife tried to depose our acts for Israel but excepting some data they took from us, nothing was done to facilitate us to get the necessary dossiers for a definitive leaving.

Every day when we are going there to ask some information they postpone us and create us very many difficulties. At present, both of us are jobless and without any hope.

You know that we are young and want very much to leave for Israel to establish there.

Please help us if it's possible.

Thank you very much

MONICA AND LIVIU LIBER.

Our new address is: Str. Cuza Voda 45, Sector 5, Bucharest, Rumania, Tel. 239804.

LINON INTERNATIONAL LTD.,
New York, N.Y.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT TO BE PRESENTED AT THE MFN TARIFF TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA MEETING

1. In 1973 Linon International Ltd. began to investigate the possibility of trading with Romania. John Ziozis, President, visited Tehnoforest in Romania. Visited factories.
2. Discussed with officials products for the U.S. market.
3. Manufactured samples for the United States. Substantial orders from U.S. stores.
4. August 1975 President Ford signed Trade Agreement. Increased sales by 100 percent.
5. Linon feels this Agreement should be extended.
6. Exports exceed imports from Romania. With an extension this will increase.
7. John Ziozis has visited Romania more than 15 times in the last 3 years.
8. Spoken with officials and subordinates. Visited factories all over Romania. Complete freedom of speech and movement.
9. Impressed with his reception, freedom and business knowledge.
10. Found absolutely no evidence of discrimination.
11. Found no evidence of pressure on any groups from State or officials.
12. No evidence of unrest or unhappiness.
13. Impressed with feeling of happiness and well being.
14. Reciprocated feeling of love and respect.
15. Extension of Trade Agreement can only improve this.
16. No reason apparent for the extension not to be granted.

STATEMENT TO BE PRESENTED AT THE MFN TARIFF TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA MEETING

In 1973 Linon International Ltd. started to investigate the possibility of trading with Romania. John Ziozis, President of Linon, visited Tehnoforest in Romania with some major U.S. buyers. He was interested in importing into the United States, the fine Bentwood furniture produced there. He had found that the quality of the furniture was far higher than that available elsewhere. At the suggestion of Tehnoforest officials, he visited factories all over the country to view the standard of manufacturing. As part of this tour he visited Arad and Targu Mores, which as you know, are areas with a high concentration of Hungarian minorities. He discussed with officials in all the factories he saw, the possibility of producing furniture for the U.S. market. They started to manufacture samples for the U.S. market which, when presented to the buyers over here, were enthusiastically acclaimed. At that time the prohibitive import duty of 42 percent made the selling price rather high. Despite this the stores liked the products and substantial orders were placed by some large U.S. stores. In August of 1975 when President Ford visited Romania and signed the Trade Agreement the sales in the U.S. increased by more than 100 percent. For this reason Linon personally feels that the Agreement should be extended for a further twelve months. However, the increased sales are not the only reason for requesting the extension. The mutual benefit of both countries should be considered. At the moment exports to Romania far exceed imports from that country and if the Agreement is extended there is no reason why this trend should not continue. This would make the Balance of Trade figures for the U.S.A. even more favourable.

John Ziozis, as President of Linon, has visited Romania more than fifteen times over the last three years. On these visits he has seen factories all over Romania and discussed with both officials and subordinates the problems that have arisen with the production of the merchandise. During these visits he was, at no time, prevented from speaking freely to any group or individual on any subject he wished.

When he visited the country he was very impressed with his reception by the Romanians. He was always given complete freedom of movement and the courtesy shown him by everyone he met made the trips a pleasure. Also the business knowledge of all the officials was extremely good.

At no time did he, or any Linon representatives, find any evidence of discrimination between the various minority groups and the Romanians. In fact he found the exact opposite. All the different groups had their own churches, schools and theatres to go to if they preferred and, in most cases, even had their

own newspapers, in their own languages, if they wished. There was absolutely no evidence of unrest or unhappiness among these groups. Again the exact opposite was usually the case. He was very impressed with the atmosphere of happiness and well being among all the people and their ability to integrate. Through American influence, there had grown a feeling of love and respect between the two peoples.

Surely an extension of the Trade Agreement can only improve this situation. Mr. Ziola can see no reason for the extension not to be granted.

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y., September 8, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: I am Zita Marcol born Clugudean, U.S. Citizen, residing in New York, 26-17, 9th Street, L.I.C. N.Y. 11102.

I request that Congress terminates Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania, because the Romanian Government does not comply with the freedom of emigration provision of the treaty.

I base this statement on the fact that my sister Rodica Clugudean and her son Mihai Ungureanu residing in Padis Street Nr. 7 ap. 2 Cluj—Napoca Romania want to come here to the United States, to live with me, but the Romanian Authorities refused to give my sister the application for passport. Can this be called free emigration?

My sister is divorced, heart broken, alone and the major part of her family, myself, our parents and our brother are here in the United States.

It is clear that the Romanian Government has no intention to keep their agreement and free emigration from Romania.

Sincerely yours,

ZITA MARCOL.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee of Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C., United States of America

DEAR MR. STERN: With reference to Press Release nr. 41 issued by the Committee on Finance, Sub-Committee on International Trade, regarding hearing on continuing Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania, the undersigned Mihai Mariutan, residing in Switzerland,

I present the following written statement for submission and inclusion in the printed record of the hearing and for information to the Committee:

STATEMENT

I was born and lived in Romania till June 1974, when I left for Geneva, Switzerland, as a tourist. In the following days after my arrival, I asked the political refuge. I left behind my wife Floricea Olimpia Mariutan (31) and my daughter Eliza Mirela Mariutan (8).

In July 1974 I was accepted as a refugee and I got a job as auto mechanician which assured my existence.

I hoped that after a period of time, my wife and daughter will get an exit visa and come to live with me. For this purpose I was advised by the Romanian authorities in Bern to make an application and pay a tax to renounce the Romanian citizenship (as per art. 22, law 24, 1971) which I did. To this application I got a no-answer both to my resignation of Romanian citizenship and acceptance to bring over my wife and daughter.

From her side my wife has done the necessary formalities in Romania but got no answer at all. After many requests, appeals, memos sent to the Romanian authorities she was answered that they have to firstly grant me the renunciation to my Romanian citizenship (which they previously refused).

We continued our efforts from both ends. I sent appeals to High Commission for Refugees, International Red Cross, Mr. Ketterer, Swiss State Councillor, and Committee on Finance of U.S. I am sure that interventions were made, but in vain my wife and daughter have not received an exit visa from Romanian Government.

I made an application directly to Mr. Ceausescu, Romanian president (as he mentioned in a public speech) but again no result.

I tried without any resolve to get an appointment with the Romanian Ambassador in Bern to explain my case and I was rejected.

In desperation I wanted to start a hunger strike in protest, for which I made the necessary intervention to the Swiss authorities. I got the approval and I am decided to do it if all my efforts will be fruitless.

Thus, after over two years of struggle I hope that the hearing of my case by your Commission, the pressure of the public opinion in my case and the material interests of the Romanian Government in the extension of the Most-Favored-Nation Tariff will convince the Romanian Government to issue an exit visa to my wife and daughter as soon as possible.

MIHAI MARIUTAN.

For all my interventions and appeals and all negative answers I can submit photocopies at your request.

CONFEDERATION OF SWITZERLAND, CANTON AND C.T. OF GENEVA, CONSULAR
SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I, Justice B. Stevens, Consul of the United States of America at Geneva, Switzerland, duly commissioned and qualified, do hereby certify that on this 30th day of August 1970 before me personally appeared Mihai Mariutan to me personally known and known to me to be the individual described in, whose name is subscribed to, and who executed the foregoing instrument, and being informed by me of the contents thereof he duly acknowledged to me that he executed the same freely and voluntarily for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal the day and year last above written.

JUSTICE B. STEVENS, *American Consul.*

STATEMENT OF VALERIA NICOLIESCU-MATASAREANU

Hon. Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
*Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. STERN: With reference to the Press Release Nr. 41 issued by the Committee on Finance, Sub-Committee on International Trade, regarding hearing on continuing Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania; enclosed herewith I please you find my statement on the problem of the re-union of my family.

Kindly present it to the Committee and enclose it in the records of the hearings.

I enclose:

Statement.

Medical Certificate issued by doctor Joan Stancliu proving sickness of my son.

Letter of the Office of the United Nations at Geneva in my case.

Letter of the Embassy of the U.S.A. in Bucharest.

STATEMENT

Before I proceed let me introduce myself to you. I am Valeria Nicolescu-Matasareanu a native of Romania and the present a refugee residing at the 1710 N. Wilton #10, Los Angeles, California.

The purpose of this statement is make an appeal on behalf of my son and my husband for their to able to get an immigration visa to join me in the program of the re-union of my family.

My son Decebal-Emil Matasareanu born in 7/10/1968 (8 years old) lives now in Romania and he is suffering of cardiac insufficiency with hipertrophy due to a congenital heart disease. The Romanian physicians recommended treatment outside Romania.

My son lives with my husband and they live in poverty, because my husband lost his job as construction engeneer. My husband spent five years in prison as a political prisoner (1949-1953).

My husband and son address is: Vorel & Decebal-Emil Matasareanu str. Buftea nr. 1, apt. 9 Timisoara Romania.

I enclose:

1. Medical certificate issued by Joan Stanciu proving sickness of my son.
2. Letter of the office of the United Nations at Geneva in my case.
3. Letter of the Embassy of the U.S.A. in Bucharest.

State of California

County of Los Angeles

On September 1, 1976 before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public in and for said State, personally appeared Valeria Nicolescu-Matasareanu, known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed to the within instrument and acknowledged that she executed the same.

Witness my hand and official seal.

RAMONA E. NORTVEDT.

Children's Field Clinic-Timisoara, X-Ray Department.
No. 871, March 16th, 1976.

Case: Matasareanu, Emil; age 7.

Thorax X-Ray:

High degree of central pulmonary vascularity.

Cardiac silhouette enlarged to the left with the proeminence of the middle arc.

In LAO (left anterior oblic projection) enlargement of the ventricular arc(s) with the predominance of the right one.

High pulsations at the level of the pulmonary artery's cone.

STANCIU, IOAN, M.D.,

Radiology.

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA.

June 2, 1976.

Mrs. VALERIA NICOLESCU-MATASAREANU
Huntington Park, CA.,
U.S.A.

DEAR MRS. NICOLESCU-MATASAREANU, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, the contents of which have been noted with attention.

In accordance with a procedure set out in resolution 728 F (XXVIII), 1235 (XLI) and 1503 (XLVIII) of the Economic and Social Council and 1 (XXIV) of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, a summary of your communication will be included in a confidential list of communications which will be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights and to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. A copy of your communication will also be forwarded to the Member State of the United Nations to which it explicitly refers.

Copies of the above-mentioned resolutions are enclosed herewith for your information.

Yours sincerely,

JAKOB TH. MÖLLER,

Human Rights Officer, Division of Human Rights.

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, May 26, 1976.

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: The Ambassador has asked me to answer your letter of May 6, 1976, regarding the visa cases of Mrs. Valeria Nicolescu-Matasareanu's son and husband. The Embassy has no record on them but will invite them to visit the Consul Section at their earliest convenience.

After learning the facts in the case, I will do everything I can to assist them to obtain visas for the United States. I will also inform you when these are issued.

Sincerely,

ANTHONY C. PERKINS, *Consul.*

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, August 16, 1976.

Mrs. VALERIA NICOLESCU-MATASAREANU,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR Mrs. MATASAREANU, The Embassy has received your recent letter requesting assistance in the immigration case of your family.

Your husband visited the Embassy on June 24, 1976, at which time we advised him to apply for passports. On July 13, 1976, he telephoned from Timisoara and told us he was not allowed to apply for passports. The next day, the Embassy intervened with the Romanian authorities on his behalf. Our experience has been proved that over a period of time, these interventions are usually successful.

We shall continue to assist your husband to obtain exit documentation.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. SPIEGEL, *Vice Consul.*

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, August 24th, 1976.

Hon. A. RIBICOFF,
Chairman of the Subcommittee of International Trade, U.S. Senate, 227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

HONOURABLE SIR: I am writing this letter in the hope of enlisting your aid in my efforts to reunify my family. Although I am a Canadian, I am addressing this letter to you because I have heard that the Hearing regarding Rumania's fulfillment of their obligation to reunify the dispersed families will be held in September 1978.

My name is Angela Violeta Manolescu (maiden name: Angela Violeta Moisin). I was born in Rumania and being a permanent resident in Canada since June 17th, 1971, I applied for Canadian Citizenship.

Knowing your steady activity in order to secure the fundamental rights of man, I take the liberty to kindly ask you to help me with my efforts to bring my mother and my sister from Rumania to Canada.

Since the first days of January 1976, my sister and my parents (later on, March 17th, 1976, my father died of a heart attack) have tried to apply for passport visas to this country. They have been systematically refused even the right to fill in an application. In most cases no explanation was given for these rejections or they were told: "we do not have printed applications". In this manner, by refusing to accept the passport applications, the Rumanian Government pretends that such requests do not exist and consequently, nobody wishes to leave the country.

Later on, in June 1976, my sister and my mother were told that the Rumanian Authorities agreed to the reunification of our family, but in Rumania-- not in Canada. At this point I would like to emphasize that I am married and a mother of a Canadian born child.

I consider that my sister and my mother's wishes to live together with my family and I in Canada is human and in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I appeal to you, Honourable Sir, to use your influence in persuading the Rumanian Government to grant exit visas for my sister and my mother. My husband and my daughter will also be eternally grateful, for your noble assistance.

I am yours most truly,

ANGELA VIOLETA MANOLESCU.

PERSONAL DATA OF MY FAMILY

Sister

Name: Mihaela Lucia Moisin (single). Born: June 24, 1941, Bucharest, Romania. Profession: Senior Civil Engineer.

Mother

Name: Elisabeta Moisin (widow). Maiden name: Elisabeta Raicu. Born: January 4th, 1915, Ponoarele, Romania. Profession: Housewife. Address: Both are residing at: Str. Constantin Brancoveanu 119, Bloc V8, Et. II, Apt. 12, Bercent Sud II, Bucharest, Romania.

SUNNYSIDE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ART. 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR, My name is Ioana Mateescu, I am Romanian born (August 5th, 1938 in Bucharest-Romania) and since November 20th, 1975 a resident in the United States of America together with my husband IOAN STRIMBU.

Due to his past profession (financial inspector) and general democratic attitude, the Romanian communist regime have thrown my father out of job and he never resumed again his work, being obliged to accept all kind of employment way below his qualification. The living standard of my own family became next to poverty. In these conditions and because the Romanian communist Militia very often persecuted him, some time later my father paralyzed. I worked hard and finally graduated from a College with the qualification of movie cameraman and producer. The cosmetics plant of my mother has been expropriated.

On July 20th, 1975 I and my husband began a Mediterranean cruise for touristic purposes on a ship. Once in liberty, in Naples-Italy I asked for political asylum and the permission to emigrate in United States. The same did my husband, a doctor in agronomical sciences and up to that moment employed in a high Romanian governmental task (counselor of the CMEA, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance located in Moscow).

Defecting, we left in communist Romania the following members of my family:

Coralia Mateescu, mother, 63, maiden name: Coralia Popescu, residing in Bucharest-Romania, B-dul Muncii no. 8, Sector 1V

Daniela Stancu, sister, born on August 18th, 1942 (maiden name: Daniela Mateescu), together with

Constantin Stancu, her husband, 34

Bogdan Stancu, their son, 7

Alin Sebastian Stancu, their son, 3

all of them now living at: Str. Emil Racovita no. 20-31, Bloc EM 2, Scara E, Et. IV, Apt. 100, Sector V, Bucharest-Romania.

My mother, without retirement pension, is completely out of subsistence means.

The Romanian authorities asked both of us to return to Romania, but we rejected this proposal.

Our case is not unique at all. The Romanian communist regime led by President Nicolae Ceausescu do not respect and violate the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 in the trade agreement with United States, in this respect keeping on visibly deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of this country.

As an open protest against the barbarian conduct of the Romanian communist regime, on May 20th, 1976 I entered the hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York and won't leave that spot until the missing members of my family before shown will join us here.

I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect their obligations and grant, among others, the named members of our family the necessary exit visas for their travel to United States.

I warmly thank you for your humanitarian help.

Sincerely yours,

IOANA MATEESCU.

STATEMENT OF MARIA MANTA AND CONSTANTIN MANTA

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR, We the undersigned Maria Manta, mother of 10 children (born on October 24th, 1913 in Ploesti-Romania, maiden name: Maria Dala) and Constantin Manta, her son, born on July 21, 1943 in the town of Campina-Romania, permanent resident in United States since 1971 hereby submit this common memoranda asking your help for the reunification of our split family in United States of America.

In our old country Romania, where the missing members of our large family are still living, the persecutions against all of us have been numerous and endless. The Romanian communist regime abusively expropriated our own house and our prosperous business, the children born in our family were barred from high education. The title of emerit mother officially granted has been soon cancelled. All kind of menaces have been used against us, following our firm opposition to the political line of the Romanian Communist Party and Government.

The first among us who escaped underground from Romania, in 1971, is the undersigned Constantin Manta. I came in United States with the strong desire to have the whole family here and enjoy united the freedom of this blessed country. Knowing very well the barbarian opposition of the Romanian rulers to such a legitimate goal, during the summer of 1975 I started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and did not leave that place until my mother Maria Manta received permission to come over here as visitor and see me. Once in United States, she asked for political asylum and the right to live in United States, both granted by American authorities.

After these happened, the members of our family still in Romania applied for exit visas, their requests being rejected by the Romanian officials without motivation.

It is a human tragedy to live separated from 9 children. The Romanian authorities led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate in this respect the provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement or even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 in the Trade Agreement with the United States, and despite all their promises and assumed responsibilities therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

In these adverse circumstances, I, Maria Manta, openly protesting the inhuman conduct of the Romanian communist regime, on May 24th, 1976 entered the hunger strike taking place in front of the United Nations Organization in New York and will not leave this place until the following members of my hostage family will join us in United States:

1. Manta Stefan, son, born on June 20th, 1939 in Bucharest-Romania together with his wife Ana Manta (maiden name: Ana Nicu), born in 1943; also their child Eduard Manta, born in 1969.

2. Manta Florentina, daughter, born in Bucharest-Romania on March 31st, 1941 with her son Corneliu Manta, born in 1970.

3. Manta C. Dumitru, son, born on January 21st, 1944 together with his wife Nicoleta Manta (born in March, 1949) and their daughter Ana Maria Manta, born in 1975.

4. Manta C. Mihal, son, born on April 12th, 1948 with his wife Paulina Manta (maiden name: Paulina Georgescu) born 1948 and their son Silviu Manta, born in 1943.

5. Manta C. Mircea, son, born in Bucharest-Romania on January 21st, the year of 1951.

All these members of our family are now living at the following address in Romania: Sosocaua Stefan cel Mare no. 100, Sector II, Bucharest.

Calling your attention to the above shown situation, we both appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant to the before mentioned members of our family kept hos-

pages in Romania, the necessary exit visas for their travel to the United States and the reunification of our suffering family. At the same time, we respectfully ask you to oppose the renewal of the most favored nation clause which is to be given to Romanian communist Government, now under examination in the U.S. Congress.

We thank you warmly for your humanitarian help.
Sincerely yours,

MARIA MANTA.
CONSTANTIN MANTA.

RIDGEWOOD, N.Y., August 20, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
*Chairman of Subcommittee on International Trade,
Committee of Finance, U.S. Senate*

We, the undersigned, hereby submit this common statement to express our strong opposition to the continuation of granting Romania the Most Favored status according to the Trade Act of 1974, based on the following:

Romania had denied before and has been denying for the past 18 months the rights of its own citizens to emigrate out of the country.

The simple desire of emigration is still punished in Romania, for it is a crime. To avoid persecutions, terror, lack of freedom, the only way to get out of Romania is crossing the frontiers at the risk of your life. This is the way. I, Constantin Manta, escaped from Romania by enclosing myself in a large box which was sent in a truck out of Romania. I traveled there eight days with no food until I arrived in Austria where I defected asking for asylum in the United States. People are still jailed for trying to escape, or shot to death on the frontiers. (Brother of Mr. F. Carmocan of New York was shot to death on frontiers together with other three youngsters of 19 to 20, last years, still in the past 18 months.)

The Trade Act contains a provision refusing MFN treatment to a country which refuses to permit its own citizens to emigrate to join a close relative.

I, Maria Manta, have eight sons and one daughter in Romania, out of whom five had expressed the desire to emigrate to join us here in the U.S.A. Not even one of them has been allowed to apply for an exit visa, in the past 18 months.

With regret we learned that President Ford waived the Section 402 of the Trade Act, again on June 2, 1976. There is no grounds to do that for Romania did not improve its record of emigration for the past 18 months. In Romania where the rest of our family is living, the persecution against all of us never ceased. The communist government abusively expropriated our own house and little business, the children were barred from high education. The title of emerit mother officially granted by them for giving birth to ten children has been cancelled. All kind of menaces have been used against us. And this is why five members of my family wants to join us to live in freedom here. They are: Mircea Manta, son, Florentina Manta, daughter, Stefan Manta, son, with his wife and child, Dumitru Manta, son, with his wife and child, and Mihai Manta, son, with wife and child. For the past 18 months as in the past they have not been allowed even to apply for the exit visa, even though we have been asking and continuously protesting against this refusal of Romanian Government. I, Maria Manta, have been in hunger strike and then in permanent vigil in New York since 5/24 to protest against the Romanian refusal to allow my sons to join me here, and now I hope that our voices will be heard.

We hope you will use our testimony in judging if Romania deserves the MFN status, and that our strong opposition to MFN treatment for Romania based on the experience of our family and all our friends in the USA who have relatives kept hostages in Romania will help you to make the right decision. We thank you very much.

MARIA MANTA,
CONSTANTIN MANTA.

AUGUST 1, 1970.

STATEMENT

We, the undersigned, hereby submit this common statement to express again our strong opposition to the continuation of granting Rumania the most favored status according to the trade act of 1974, based on the following:

The United States of America always tried to help other nations in need and their people by according long term credits or giving them free goods, food and

meditation. It is the United States own way to do all this. It is a matter of human understanding and a superior way to approach life in this world. And all these goods are coming from this big country and from these so generous people of the most free country in the world. It is what people all over the world are expecting from the great United States of America.

But: will giving to the Rumanian government help Rumanian people deeply in need? Oh no! Definitely no! Do you know where your money goes? Exclusively to communist propaganda goals or for buying weapons for Portugal, Angola, South American guerillas or worse, for underground war in the very United States as: disturbances, instigation, sabotage or just destruction of this beautiful and so envied America!

The Rumanian government does not deserve this favored clause and Rumanian people have no benefit of it. Rumania is a very rich country but its people are the poorest even among the other socialist states. Every day means another battle for food, another fight against starvation, doing "voluntary" unpaid overtime, working sometimes 7 days a week out of 7, or attending endless political meetings where their brains are washed and they become nothing else but silent robots good only for work, thoughtless and hopeless. The Rumanian government speaks about democracy, criticizes all democracies but continuously and systematically refuses the emigration for Rumanians and other ethnic groups. They openly deny the rights of emigration of their citizens. Any person that legally tries or only intends to emigrate, suddenly becomes a suspect, hostile for the communist regime and an enemy of the country and from then on a long chain of troubles starts ahead, like: being retrograded on the job, moved to another job with a lower salary or moved to another city, if not dismissed for good. All methods are used to intimidate him, to persuade him to give up, to change his mind, by all means. Interrogatory sessions and terror are used day after day by security officers to threaten people. Useless to speak about freedom of speech and press. Every day another law appears—to stop, to intimidate, to defeat their will and punish their actions.

To avoid persecution and terror and lack of freedom, the only way to get out of Rumania is by crossing the frontiers at the risk of your own life; this is the way and many tried it and succeeded and many others paid the death toll for it.

Rumanian authorities recently dragged a child of six to court where judges tried to persuade her to deny her parents because they had fled. As the child refused to do so, the judges decided that the child has been abandoned by its parents and that she has to be taken to an orphanage to be educated there, against her parents and against her religion. This way she will become a good young communist and fight against "bourgeoisie" society. Another happening: a former Rumanian, actually resident of the United States, living alone in a country house had to face Rumanian officials that trespassed his door at midnight to summon him to give his inheritance to Rumania if he does not want to be tortured.

Rumanian leaders always violate the agreements which they sign and the democratic principles upon which they swear. They never keep a promise, their rule is "lies and brassiness", in order to obtain your credits, to become stronger, to be able to oppress Rumanian people and to become more powerful to fight against you.

During the last 18 months, even though Rumanian leaders promised in Washington D.C. to free emigration, they did not to further steps in order to release our families. Under these circumstances, after a 23 day hunger strike, we continued a 3 month protest without any results. We decided to start another hunger strike on September 5, in Washington D.C. on the stairs of the Capitol.

Honorable Sir, this is our statement and we kindly ask you to include our names on the testimony list against this inhuman, cruel regime and dictatorship. We please you not to grant with the most favored clause this impopular regime, full of prisons where people are terrorized "without discrimination". But if again you will trust the communists' skillful promises and grant them like always . . . they will soon change their face and it will be too late for us when, once again "the guillotine", the Iron curtain, will cut through our destiny. Please, don't do it!

God Bless America!

Strikers: Maria Manta, Constantin Manta, Emil Cocloaba, Basil D. Hulubay, Ana Gavrilacu, Ioana Puscov, Iosif Puscov, Eugen Turdean, and Ion Zagoneanu.

Supporters: Gheorgha Cloaca, Dimitrie Apostollu.

The list of the Romanian Hunger Strikers who started on September 5, 1976

| <i>The strikers' names and addresses</i> | <i>Hostages in Communist Romania</i> |
|---|---|
| Maria Manta, C-tin Manta, 414 Onderdonk Ave., Ridgewood, Brooklyn, N.Y. | Mireca Manta, son, Florentina Manta, daughter, with child Cornel, Stefan Manta, son, with wife Ana, child Edward, Mihail Manta, son, with wife Paulina, son Silviu, Dumitru Manta, son, with wife Nicoleta, child Ana, Address: Sos. Stefan Cel Mare 106 Sect. 2 Bucuresti. |
| Emil T. Cocloba, I Laurel Drive, Huntington, N.Y. | Luisa Cocloba wife, Dr. Smaranda Cocloba, daughter, address: Com. Costeiu-214, Cod 1844, Jud. Timis. |
| Turdean Eugen, 30-05 29th Str. 6E, Astoria, N.Y. | Eugen Turdean, son, address: Str. Avram Iancu 18, Ap. 4, Cluj. |
| Iosif Puscov, Ioana Puscov, 25-21 31st Ave., Astoria, N.Y. | Dr. Maria Puscov, sister, address: Str. Gloriei 14, 1000 Timisoara. |
| Ion Zagoneanu, 256 Irving Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. | Ana Zagoneanu, wife, Cristina Zagoneanu, daughter, address: Aleea Niseli 5, Bl.R 10, Ap. 08, Sect. 5, Bucuresti. |
| Ana Gavrilescu, 123 Post Ave., Ap. 3, New York, N.Y. | Dumitru Gavrilescu, husband, Alexandra Gavrilescu, daughter, address: P-ta Natiiunle Unite 3, Bl. B2, Sc. B, Etj. 5, Ap. 52, Sect. 5, Bucuresti. |
| Basil David Hulubay, 515 W. 50th Str. Ap., N-10, New York, N.Y. | Ann Hulubel, mother, Victoria Hulubel, sister, Razvan Atanasiu, nephew, Address: P-ta Cosmonautilor I-A Ap. 51, Sector I, Bucuresti. |

HON. RUSSELL LONG,
Finance Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

I am hereby submitting this letter as a formal protest. I strongly oppose the granting of the Most Favored Nation Status to Rumania, because Rumania has denied its own citizens the right to emigrate and to visit the U.S.A. as per (Section 402 of Trade Act 1974)

I am offering you the following information as evidence upholding my convictions. I had invited my sister, Mirela Britchi (Bdul. Dumitru Petrescu 65 Bl. c 1 b sc. A ap. 40 sect. 5 Bucuresti 7000) to visit the U.S.A. in May 1975. She was refused twice. In April 1976 I invited my mother, Iosefina Britchi (Str. George Cosbuc 3 Brasov 2200), to visit the U.S.A. and she too was refused. Please be advised, that together with the invitation was a round trip airline ticket with an affidavit of support. I am very distressed over this situation as I am very eager to see members of my family.

The emigration policy of Rumania has remained the same with no improvement in the past 18 months.

Respectfully

MONA MARCU.

STATEMENT OF DUMITRU D. MARIN, M.D. AND CONSTANTA MARIN, BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

REMARKS ON "THE CURRENT STATUS OF EMIGRATION IN ROMANIA" AND "THE STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS"

We respectfully submit to you the following:

We consider the renewal of the Romanian most-favored nation tariff treatment incompatible with the extreme violation of human rights by the internal policies of the Socialist Romanian government:

(a) Romania's political prisons and forced labor camps are full of thousands of innocent people subjected to savage torture. People suffer from constant fear of being sentenced to prison for every word and gesture.

(b) The five-year-plan has to be fulfilled in only four years, so in effect, the workers do not get paid for one year of work.

(c) Working people can often be laid-off because of poor political records; a poor political file may make finding another job impossible.

(d) There is no unemployment compensation nor medical assistance for fired people.

(e) There is no right to strike; if workers try to strike they are arrested and sentenced to prison for many years.

(f) There is no right to complain about the inadequate wages or pensions on which they can hardly survive; if a person dares to complain publicly about the above, he is arrested and sentenced to prison.

(g) There is a systematical boycott and suppression of religion and continuous religious persecutions in Romania. There is a daily, systematical, Marxist, anti-religious brainwashing of the entire population and especially of the children and the young people. There is fear to avow publicly the belief in God, to refrain from going to work on Christmas, to own or lend Bibles or other religious books. Priests and believers were recently arrested; among them, Ion Buzdgan, a 60 year old Adventist preacher from Arad, sentenced to ten years of prison.

(h) The severe housing shortage for the last thirty years forces millions of families to live with their children in one room, within an apartment shared by other families. Many cannot get married or separated because of the chronic housing shortage. These things as well as the permanent state surveillance causes the total lack of privacy in people's lives.

(i) The miserable wages, the permanent lack of food money and the critical food and housing shortage for the last thirty years makes people not want to have children, or more children. However, as a punishment for human beings living under such conditions, abortion is illegal, severely punished and there are no birth control pills or other contraceptives available.

That is why in despair, many women try to make abortions by themselves, resulting, at the very least, in critical infections. As for children, being permanently underfed, they cannot develop normally; many of them suffering from rickets, dystrophies, T.B.C., etc.

(j) There is no freedom of movement from town to town, especially to bigger cities.

(k) We talk about the issue of emigration from Romania. But, we do not talk about the essential fact: there is no right of emigration from Romania. No Romanian citizen has the right to state that he wants to emigrate. No Romanian citizen may apply for such a "miracle" with no risk of being arrested. And, no Romanian citizen knows whether there is an emigration law in Romania and, if it exists, what the provisions of that law would be.

So, in that country, even the notion of emigration is non-existent. As an evident proof is the fact that—except for a very few persons bought as slaves by their relatives abroad—all Romanian citizens established in the last twenty years in the U.S.A., left Romania illegally or through travel or work passports, to an Eastern or Western country.

This truth can be verified in the Romanian communities in the U.S.A. and in all other Western countries.

1. The only theoretical possibility of emigration from Romania has been given only recently to a very few Romanian citizens, through that special provision of joining a close relative abroad. But, even in this case, most of the applicants are discouraged and threatened to renounce their applications, or forced to make written statements that they do not want to leave Romania.

So threatened, fired from their jobs, subjected to continuous harrassments and investigations by the secret police—a very few persons were finally allowed to leave Romania in the last twelve months, joining their spouses or children in the U.S.A.

But the records showing the number of these people should not be judged in themselves, but only related with the real number of the people of the Romanian communities in the U.S.A., willing to bring over their close relatives. In reality there are hundreds and hundreds of applications in this regard which are said to be "in process", but in truth are repeatedly rejected by the Socialist Romanian authorities.

As a proof of this systematical refusal of Bucharest to permit its citizens to emigrate to join close relatives, twenty-two people of the Romanian community of New York City have been, since May 24, 1976, on a hunger strike and then on a permanent protest, asking in this desperate way for their close relatives kept as hostages in Romania. After ninety days of protesting they got no answer from the Socialist Romanian officials.

This is the third such desperate action which took place only in the U.S.A., in the last twelve months.

We should consider that a hunger strike asking for families reunion in the 20th Century represents a grave accusation against the government which refuses to permit its citizens to emigrate to join a close relative.

(m) The government of the Socialist Republic of Romania signed at Helsinki agreements aimed at permitting more freedom to travel, but there is no observation of those agreements. Travel to Western countries remains the privilege for the trusted Communist party and government elite. If mass groups travel in the West, then the travelers are always under the strict supervision of many undercover agents. When a person goes to a Western Country, all members of his family must remain behind, as a guarantee that the traveler will return.

If, however, some persons—generally old parents—not involved in Communist politics, are allowed (after many rejected applications for passports) to visit their close relative—children—in the U.S.A., they are brainwashed and threatened before their leaving to talk nothing about the real situation in Romania. Very often these parents are asked—under threats and various blackmails—to convince their children (or other relative here) to go back to Romania with all the money they have saved and desert their families in the U.S.A.

(n) Almost all medicines sent from the U.S.A. through parcel post are given to the consignees only in a partial quantity. There is the same situation regarding all medical products: from a pair of anti-embolic stockings, the consignee receives only one piece. Sometimes the parcels containing usual but absolutely necessary medicines, are rejected by the Socialist Romanian authorities. For instance: we got back three such parcels, with no explanation, while the old and ill consignees in Romania were not even notified that their medicine came to Bucharest and was sent back to New York.

As for me, Dumitru D. Marin, M.D., I once sent to the address of the hospital where I used to work in Bucharest, a large package via parcel post with medicine for some former patients of mine and especially for a little girl who was hospitalized at that time and was suffering for many years from a serious and chronic disease: Lupus Erythematosus Systemic (Collagen Disease). After three months I received the parcel back, with no explanation. I wrote to the parents of that girl and to the other patients asking them about that fact. Because of the censorship, some of them did not answer at all; others said that they appreciated my gesture, but they found the appropriate medicine in Romania.

One year later, I learned the truth from a doctor, a former colleague of mine, who went to Israel and was able to write to me what happened then. The parcel with medicine came into the hospital. All patients, the little girl included, learned about it, were happy and asked the doctor-director for their medicine. The director, followed by other doctors, was on his grand round in the room where the little girl was lying in her bed. He stated that, "they do not want to get any medicine from a person who fled Romania going to the American Imperialists." (Although my wife and I wanted to leave Romania legally, we could not do so, on the simple ground that there is no right of emigration in that country—see paragraph k.) --

Then, that little ill girl started to cry, imploring him to grant the medicine to her. But, the "doctor" refused.

(o) The Romanian citizens have received no benefits from the fact that in June 1975, the U.S.A. granted to the Socialist Republic of Romania the most favored nation treatment. During this period, the chronic food shortage got worse and the prices have risen every day in Romania. But, the Romanian nation has no right to ask the Socialist government where the generous help granted to the Romanian people by the American people is going.

CONCLUSION

We consider the overall violation of human rights by the internal policies of the Socialist Romanian government as incompatible with the renewal of the Romanian most favored nation tariff treatment. If the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania wants to receive the generous American economical privileges, it should demonstrate, in practice, through facts, a real respect of all human rights for the Romanian nation.

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y., September 1, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Wash-
ington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: My husband and I have been in this country since May 12, 1970 and expect to become American citizens in the near future.

I request to testify at the hearings which will be held on Wednesday, Sept. 8, 1976 at the U.S. Senate on continuing Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania.

I request that Congress terminate Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania, because the Romanian Government does not comply with the freedom of emigration provision of the treaty.

My closest relatives, my father and mother, my brother, his wife and their two children live in Bucharest: AL. SLATIOARA 1 BLOC 12 Apt. 34 Sector 5. They are: Mr. Vlad and Aurica; Mr. Munteanu Ioan and Margareta, Marius, and Monica.

They would like to apply for immigration to the United States and with my help start a new life in this country; but, my family's repeated request for passport application forms have been consistently ignored by the Romanian Passport authorities. Can this be called free emigration?

It is clear that the Romanian Government has no intention of keeping their agreement of free emigration from Romania.

Under these circumstances I find myself in a most painful situation of not being able to take any action toward the reunion of my family.

Respectfully yours,

ELENA MARINESCU.

ROSEDALE, N.Y., August 23, 1976.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Mrs. Francis Maris, nee Horvath Erzsebet Nov. 10, 1941 CLUJ Romania. My husband (Francis Maris) and I obtained a tourist passport and left Romania in Oct. 20, 1968 to Austria. Where we asked for asylum and the permission to emigrate in the U.S.A. In Nov. 10, 1975 by husband and I became citizens of the United States through naturalization leaving Romania I left behind my mother (father died 1955) Horvath Maria, (born in 1919 Sfintu Gheorghe Romania) who is living at the address below: Cluj—Napoca, Str: Budai Nagy Antal No. 79

I dare to address this request to you, because this is the only opportunity for my mother to join me, my husband and our little girl, who was born in July 25, 1972 New York, in this beautiful free country. We strongly believe that every human being has the right of living together with his/her family in a free country of his/hers choice.

The Romania authorities turned down my mothers application for a tourist passport in March this year (1976), telling her if she wants to come to the U.S.A., she has to come for good, so we sent her the second affidavit in April, last year (1975) in October together with the first affidavit support air frame Bucuresti-New York \$596.10. Till the present time no answer was given to my mother.

We write this letter in request Honorable Sir, because we are unable to appear at the time scheduled of the hearing.

We are begging you, to use your influence in helping us to bring my mother Horvath Maria (retired Sept. 1975) from behind the Iron curtain.

We respectfully thank you for your humanitarian support.

August 23, 1976.

ELIZABETH MARIS,
FRANCIS MARIS.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1976.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to you in the hope of obtaining your help for a young man who tries desperately to marry his fiancé.

He is a Romanian citizen, Mr. Petrescu Marius with the address—L. Rebreanu No. 35, Block M 15, Sc. B, #39, sector 4 Bucuresti, R S Romania. He is trying for more than 1 year to obtain approval for his marriage with an Israeli girl, and he is permanently refused. More, he has no hope of a possibility to

solve his problem in the future. As matter stand I thought that your intervention could have a beneficial effect in allowing him to choose freely his partner for a whole life.

Thanking you I remain,
Yours very sincerely,

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee of Finance, Dirksen Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN, With reference to Press Release nr. 41 issued by the Committee on Finance, Sub-Committee on International Trade, regarding hearing on continuing Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania, the undersigned Mihai Mariutan, residing in Switzerland.

I present the following written statement for submission and inclusion in the printed record of the hearing and for information to the Committee:

STATEMENT

I was born and lived in Romania till June 1974, when I left for Geneva, Switzerland, as a tourist. In the following days after my arrival, I asked the political-refuge. I left behind my wife Floricea Olimpia Mariutan (31) and my daughter Eliza Mirela Mariutan (8).

In July 1974 I was accepted as a refugee and I got a job as auto mechanician which assured my existence.

I hope that after a period of time, my wife and daughter will get an exist visa and come to live with me. For this purpose I was advised by the Romanian authorities in Bern to make an application and pay a tax to renounce the Romanian citizenship (as per art. 22, law 21, 1971) which I did. To this application I got a no-answer both to my resignation of Romanian citizenship and acceptance to bring over my wife and daughter.

From her side my wife has done the necessary formalities in Romania but got no answer at all. After many requests, appeals, memos sent to the Romanian authorities she was answered that they have to firstly grant me the renunciation to my Romanian citizenship (which they previously refused).

We continued our efforts from both ends. I sent appeals to High Commission for Refugees, International Red Cross, Mr. Ketterer—Swiss State Councilor, and Committee on Finance of U.S. I am sure that interventions were made, but in vain my wife and daughter have not received an exit visa from Romanian Government.

I made an application directly to Mr. Ceausescu—Romanian president (as he mentioned in a public speech) but again no result.

I tried without any resolve to get an appointment with the Romanian Ambassador in Bern to explain my case and I was rejected.

In desperation I wanted to start a hunger strike in protest, for which I made the necessary intervention to the Swiss authorities. I got the approval and I am decided to do it if all my efforts will be fruitless.

Thus, after over two years of struggle I hope that the hearing of my case by your Commission, the pressure of the public opinion in my case and the material interests of the Romanian Government in the extension of the Most-Favored-Nation Tariff will convince the Romanian Government to issue an exit visa to my wife and daughter as soon as possible.

MIHAI MARIUTAN.

For all my interventions and appeals and all negative answers I can submit photocopies at your request.

CONFEDERATION OF SWITZERLAND, CANTON AND C.T. OF GENEVA—CONSULAR SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I, Justice B. Stevens, Consul of the United States of America, at Geneva, Switzerland, duly commissioned and qualified, do hereby certify that on this 30th day of August 1976 before my personally appeared Mihai Mariutan to me personally known and known to me to be the individual described in, whose name is subscribed to, and who executed the foregoing instrument, and being informed by me of the contents thereof he duly acknowledged to me that he executed the same freely and voluntarily for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal the day and year last above written.

JUSTICE B. STEVENS, *American Consul.*

STATEMENT

August 21, 1970.

To Michael Stern, Staff Director, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate.
From Laszlo Mateffy, 225 East 72nd St., New York, N.Y.

I, Laszlo Mateffy, born (Vasile Matefi) in Cluj, Romania on 3 September 1930, arrived in the United States seven years ago as an escapee from Romania, after a 20 year struggle to escape. I have been a U.S. citizen for two years.

My 24 year old brother, Arpad Csaba Matefi, only 17 years years old at the time of my escape, and whom I did not wish to subject to the hazards of such an undertaking, still lives in Romania. Our father died in the meantime, and I have since attempted to fulfill the role of father to him.

Approximately five years ago, my brother discussed with three friends the possibility of escape; they were overheard, reported to the authorities, and sentenced each to three years in prison . . . simply for the thought and intention to escape. After serving the three years, he attempted to enter a university but was rejected; and the following autumn, presumably for having failed to complete military service, he was put into compulsory labor. In June, 1975, when he had served half of the forced labor term, he contracted hepatitis, and was given a year's furlough to return home, recuperate, and then continue the term at compulsory labor.

For obvious reasons deduced from the above facts, I am anxious to bring him to the United States. He is in constant danger, is not allowed an opportunity at higher education, cannot learn a trade, and has no future. I myself have in the meantime suffered several heart attacks. I want very much to have him with me for the few years I have left. I could afford him many advantages here because of my secure job, home and adequate financial resources and savings (details of which I shall be happy to furnish upon request).

I received from the U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization, on 19 May 1975, the Notice of Approval of Relative Visa Petition for eligibility for my brother's emigration to the United States. I have procured all the necessary documents and have sent them to the Romanian authorities. The latter demanded that I renounce Romanian citizenship, which I did on 22 September 1975, in addition to paying the \$201.00 fee in Washington for the Certificate of Renunciation. In spite of my having complied with all of the demands of the Romanian Government, they consistently refuse to allow my brother even to submit the original application for emigration to the United States, although he applies to them each week personally for such application. I sent him the air fare and \$50.00 for handling fees, on 13 December 1975.

Since there is nothing further either of us can do, we appeal to your Committee for whatever assistance and support you might afford to facilitate my brother's emigration to this country. You are our only hope.

My brother, Arpad Csaba Matefi, born 22 June 1952 Cluj, Romania.

Our parents, Father: Vasile Matefi, born 27 June 1905 (deceased). Mother: Borbala Matefi, born 7 December 1907.

LASZLO MATEFFY.

STATEMENT OF LUCY MAY, NEW YORK, N.Y.

As an American citizen I oppose the extension of Most Favored Nation Treatment to Romania for the following reason:

I have a daughter in Romania—Cornelia Maloirescu who has been trying for the past two years to emigrate with her son—Radu Cocias—to join me here.

She has been harassed and intimidated by the authorities and discouraged to submit her exit visa application. She has been also harassed at her job, her retribution being lowered though she has a child to support.

Only after I was on a hunger strike last November and after writing to Senators Henry Jackson and James Buckley, who pressured the Romanian Government countless times, was my daughter allowed to submit the exit visa application to the Romanian authorities on May 1970. Twice she was told she will

never obtain the emigrant visa; the third time she was promised the visa only if I would stop writing to the Senate.

Since then she fears that, because of my writing to the Senate, or my coming to the hearing, anything can happen to her and to her child.

With my case I want to demonstrate that nothing has been improved within the past twelve months regarding the emigration policy in Romania.

LUCY MAY.

NEW YORK.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Lucy May, American citizen of Romanian descent, living in New York with my daughter Dorela Malorescu, also American citizen. However, I still have in Romania my elder daughter and her child:

Cornelia Elena Malorescu, daughter, qualified nurse; Radu Alexanderu Coclas, grandchild, four years old; address: Calca Floreasca 9-11, apt. 25, Sector 1, Bucuresti, Romania.

My daughter in Romania, a specialized nurse, has made several attempts to get an exit-visa, but everything was in vain. Right now she is going through a lot of red tape in her attempt to submit a new application for emigration.

On the other hand, here in the United States I have tried to contact the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. in order to bring my daughter here. Even though I am an American citizen, I have been asked to make certain formalities and pay money for giving up my Romanian citizenship, which I did already two years ago. For two years therefore I have been waiting for an answer which never came. And with no answer to those formalities of giving up my Romanian citizenship, my daughter is not allowed to leave Romania, and here is a vicious circle characteristic to the Romanian policy in any emigration problem.

Romania was granted this year the Most Favored Nation status based on the false information about the Romanian emigration policy. However a list of relatives of American citizens and residents has been handed to the Romanian government who promised to release everybody on that list. As usual the communist Romanian government lied again, because my daughter along with other people on that list were not allowed to leave Romania.

The right of traveling and live in a country of your choice was established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which Romania refuses to observe.

We, the American citizens and residents, have no way of getting our dear ones out of Romania. This is why I have joined a group of people in New York in the same situation like myself and as our last resource we decided to start a Hunger Strike in front of United Nations as a protest against the Romanian government's refusal to let my daughter and her son out of Romania. We also want to call to the attention of the American public the fact that the United States grants economical help to those countries where our relatives are kept as hostages.

We appeal to you to give us any support you can. We respectfully ask you to use your influence with President Ford, the State Department and Romanian government to solve this painful problem of releasing our relatives from Romania.

Yours sincerely,

LUCY MAY.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., September, 8, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance.

DEAR SIR: The Trade Act of 1974 has proven unsuccessful in providing the Romanian people with a guarantee of the fundamental right to emigrate nor has it assured the implementation of Human Rights in Romania.

I am opposing the extension of the Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Treatment of Imports from Romania based on the following personal facts:

My father: Vasile Mera of Sacel Oficiul Postal Iara, Judetul Cluj, Romania, is applying for a Passport and an Exit Visa for a visit with me since November 1974 with no positive results. His applications are denied in spite of his advance age, 70, and his chances to see me, for a last time, are diminishing daily.

In January 1974 as a condition to see my relatives from Romania I was asked by the Embassy of Socialist Republic of Romania to pay the sum of \$201 as a fee to renounce my Romanian Citizenship. As of today I did not get any answer to my application nor my money back.

Very Truly Yours,

NICOLAE MERA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., August 23, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR RIBICOFF: Secretary Kissinger has asked me to reply to your kind invitation that he appear as a witness before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Senate Finance Committee during hearings on the question of extending the President's authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements of the Trade Act of 1974.

As I believe you are already aware, Secretary Kissinger has designated Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, to represent the Department of State at these hearings. You will recall that Mr. Hartman testified on July 8, 1975 at the Senate Finance Committee hearings on the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement.

Please let me know if I can be of any further assistance to you regarding these hearings.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., January 21, 1976.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: Thank you for your recent letter to Mr. Jenkins enclosing a number of letters addressed to the Committee on Finance from persons seeking assistance regarding the emigration from Romania of certain relatives there. Included is a letter from Mr. Traian Visolanu, a resident of the Federal Republic of Germany, with a petition signed by 20 other residents of the Federal Republic who are seeking the emigration of relatives to that country. Separate letters from Mr. Hans W. Muller and Ms. Elisabeth Ackermann are also enclosed; they are also residents of the Federal Republic.

The United States strongly supports the freedom of travel across international borders, especially where the reunification of divided families is involved, a principle emphasized in the final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. We have also discussed the subject of emigration on numerous occasions with officials of the Romanian Government, which is fully aware of the importance attached to this subject in the United States. We have noted in recent months an encouraging increase in emigration from Romania, and we hope that this will also benefit those persons with relatives in the Federal Republic of Germany.

However, it would be neither appropriate nor effective for the United States to seek to intercede in individual emigration cases where no American citizens or residents are involved. We thus recommend that these persons seek the assistance of the appropriate authorities of the Federal Republic, which maintains diplomatic relations with Romania and has an Embassy in Bucharest.

You also forwarded letters from a group of seven persons who have been participating in a demonstration in New York City protesting Romanian emigration policies. We are familiar with these cases. In each we have informed the persons of the various steps which must be taken in order to establish the eligibility of their relatives in Romania for U.S. visas, and also explained to them the process through which our assistance can be made most effective. I trust these persons have already begun to utilize avenues of official assistance which are available to them.

Also enclosed is a letter and an approved immediate relative visa petition from Mr. Nick Tirtopan, who is seeking to sponsor the immigration of his brother, Mr. Victor John Tirtopan, his wife Joanna, and their two children. We will forward

the petition to our Embassy in Bucharest, where it will be recorded. Mr. Tirtopan should also write our Counsel in Bucharest directly, forwarding an affidavit of support for his wife and family. He should write:

Mr. Anthony C. Perkins
 Consul
 American Embassy Bucharest
 c/o Department of State
 Washington, D.C.

Finally we have a letter from Dr. Ovidiu Platca, a permanent resident of the U.S. who has been seeking to have his mother and mother-in-law visit this country. We might be able to assist Dr. Platca's mother and mother-in-law, but we need their names and addresses in Romania. Dr. Platca should write Mr. Perkins in Bucharest, forwarding the names and addresses and affidavits of support.

In all instances where persons in Romania wish to emigrate to the United States, before taking any other step they should visit our Embassy in Bucharest and discuss their situation with an American consular official. You may be sure that our consular officials will give these persons their sympathetic assistance.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
 Washington, D.C., November 20, 1975.

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: Thank you for your recent enquiry to Mr. Jenkins on behalf of several persons who are seeking assistance regarding emigration from Romania. Each case mentioned is discussed below.

Constantinescu, Alin, and family, who wish to join his mother, Mrs. Ioana Ungureanu, in the United States. We have been in frequent touch with the Romanian authorities about this case. Mr. Constantinescu's situation was raised with Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Patan while he was in Washington on November 4, and was also again discussed with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on November 11. We will continue to seek a favorable decision from the Romanian authorities in this matter.

Plesca, Gabriel, who is seeking to join his wife, Dr. Ana C. Plesca, in the United States. Mr. Plesca's name is included on the Representation List of those persons for whom we intervene with the Romanian authorities. We will continue to seek a favorable decision in this case.

Mihalla, Lucretia, and her son Paul, who wish to join her husband, Simlon Mihalla, in the Federal Republic of Germany. It would be neither appropriate nor effective were we to seek to intervene in a specific emigration case in which no citizen or resident of the United States is involved. I assume Mr. Mihalla has been in touch with the authorities of the Federal Republic, which maintains diplomatic relations with Romania and has an Embassy in Bucharest.

Schilleru, Iuliana, who wishes to join her son, Dr. Grigore Schilleru in the United States. It is not clear from Dr. Schilleru's letter whether he has filed an immediate relative visa preference petition for his mother with the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). If not, he should do this. A District Office of the INS is located in Cincinnati, Ohio, in the US Post Office and Courthouse, 5th and Walnut Streets. Dr. Schilleru should also write our Embassy in Bucharest directly, describing his mother's situation and enclosing an affidavit of support for her. He should write:

Mr. Anthony C. Perkins
 Consul
 American Embassy Buchraest
 c/o Department of State
 Washington, D.C. 20521

Once Mrs. Schilleru's eligibility for entry into the United States has been established, the Embassy can make representations on her behalf.

Greceanu, Constantiu, who wishes to join his mother and sister in Switzerland. As with the Mihalla case above, we cannot intervene in emigration cases where no American citizen or resident is involved. Recourse to the Swiss authorities would offer the most appropriate channel of assistance in this case, and also the most likely to prove effective.

I will forward copies of this correspondence to Mr. Perkins in Bucharest. I am certain Mr. Perkins will continue to do all he can to assist in the reunification of the families of those persons living in the United States, and in cases where the eligibility for entry into the United States of the persons living in Romania can be established.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

For: SENATOR RUSSELL B. LONG.

The writer: Simion Mihăilă, 8000 Munchen 71, Josef Schwarzweg, 3, Federal Republic of Germany, asks the Senator's help in effecting the emigration of his wife, Lucreția Mihăilă, and seven-year-old son, Paul Mihăilă, from Romania to join him in Germany, Mihăilă's wife and son live at the following address: Com. Satulung, Nr. 172¹ Județul Maramureș, Romania.

Mr. Mihăilă says he obtained the Senator's address from the [American] Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees (ARCAR), 50 West 80th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024.

Mr. Mihăilă pleads with the Senator to help reunite his family, in particular so that his son can grow up to be an honest and honorable man.

BUNDESREPUBLIK, DEUTSCHLAND,
Munchen la 7.8.75.

STIMATE DOMNULE SENATORS: In primul rînd Vă cer scuze pentru îndrăzneala de a mă adresa D-voastră, dar în momentul de față trebuie să întreprind totul pentru a rezolva în mod pozitiv situația mea familială, și anume:

Eu am emigrat din Romania în R. F. Germania iar soția mea Mihăilă Lucreția și fiul meu Mihăilă Paul în vîrstă de 7 ani, se află în Romania cu domiciliul în comuna Satulung Nr. 172, Județul Maramureș.

Aflînd adresa D-voastră de la The Ruman Committee For Assistance to Refugees A.R.C.A.R. New York, 50 W. 80th Street, N.Y. 10025, îndrănesc de a Vă deranja rugîndu-vă din tot sufletul să ajutați o familie necăjită, care prin reunificarea ei să-și reprimească țelul nobil de a-și crește fiul ca să devină un cetățean cinstit și onorabil.

Cu deosebită stimă și respect. VA MULTUMESC ANTICIPAT,

SIMION MIHĂILĂ.

STATEMENT OF DEAN MILHOVAN, EDITOR OF THE ROMANIAN NEWSPAPER "THE JUSTICE"

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for inviting me before this Committee and to participate in the debate of the Romanian Trade Agreement.

It is a fact that the present communist government in Romania is dictatorial and oppressive. None can deny it.

As Romanian descendants, my newspaper "The Justice" and our organizations have spent much time and effort in search of ways and methods to install again the liberty and the civil rights in Romania.

Mr. Chairman, as a result of its geographical location and to the present political situation, Romania cannot develop its own policy, in the way the Romanian People would want to. And we know that for these political conditions, nobody should blame the Romanians, who never wanted or selected their communist regime.

The Romanian People fought communism and oppression. They paid with more than 400,000 victims during the second world war, to maintain their liberty and democracy. Unfortunately, and against their will and consent, a communist regime was imposed in Romania at the end of the war.

Mr. Chairman, it is simply impossible to have an abundance of food in agriculturally rich Romania, when in Moscow the restaurants reduce the meat

¹ Translator's note: Street name not given. Translated by D. H. Kraus, Slavic and Central European Division, Translation, Romanian.

portions and there is a shortage of bread. Such a condition would only increase the claims and the pressure of its big neighbor. We have information that even today Romania is being plundered of huge quantities of foods, in order to relieve the catastrophic economic deficiency of Russia.

I have talked with Romanian officials about the lack of liberty and the restricted emigration from Romania. All recognized and condemned this situation. They told me that they fear that an open view and an increasing liberty in Romania would irritate the Russians and would provoke a reaction similar to the ones in Hungary and Czechoslovakia—a situation that nobody wants.

I have asked why Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which also have communist regimes, enjoy better civil rights and conditions. They answered that all these governments share more confidence from Russians, and for this reason they are permitted these benefits.

I do not know how sincere these communist allegations were, but there are some facts which point out that the Romanian officials are not free even to use their own favorable data, due to the undesirable circumstances which they face. According to Jewish statistics, in 1903 there were in Romania at least 700,000 Jews—some sources figure even more. Today, there are only 70,000 Jews. The same proportion of Germans is missed. In 1903 there were about 300,000 Germans in Romania. Today, there are only 40,000.

Since some participants state that only 80,153 people have emigrated from Romania, starting in 1963, we have to ask ourselves: Where has all this difference gone? I also have some contradictory facts, which in the interest of Jewish People I can not discuss.

Mr. Chairman, we do not like the communist government of Romania—a government which does not permit real democracy. This is the truth. But it should be mentioned that this regime has shown an increasing movement toward accomplishing more freedom and liberty in the last few years. The religions are now free. There are no more political prisoners. The labor unions enjoy more independence. The standard of living has increased. Even the electoral system has been modified to admit more candidates on the election list, an innovation which cannot be found in another communist country. For these reasons, it is our opinion that these forward movements for democracy and liberty have to be stimulated, by granting Romania a "Most Favored Status".

Concerning the accusations of some of the Hungarian delegations, we feel that such statements do not serve the liberty and the interests of the Hungarian People. We entirely agree that there is a lack of civil rights in Romania. But this situation is the same for both Hungarians and Romanians. We invite these delegations to visit Transylvania. They will find that the oppression which they mention is actually supervised and carried out by the Hungarians themselves in this province, where almost everybody is enrolled in the Communist Regime or in the regime structure.

In closing, I would like to mention the great Hungarian poet, Sandor Petofi, who like the renowned Romanian historian Nicolae Balcescu, stated many years ago that both the Hungarians and Romanians have to join hands in the struggle for their liberty. In fact, today, neither do the Hungarians damage the freedom of Romanians, nor the Romanian People put in danger the liberty of the Hungarian People. Their oppression comes from elsewhere. For this reason, any democratic gain for one of them, will be a victory for both of them.

As Americans of Romanian background, we invite the powerful Hungarian organizations to join hands with us and to fight together against the real danger which threatens us—Imperialistic Communism—an ideology which is generated neither in Budapest, nor in Bucharest, a way of life that is the real oppressor of both the Hungarian and the Romanian People.

DEAN MILHOVAN, *Editor.*

KONRAD CELTIS STR. 42.

SEHR GEHETTER HERR LONG: Diesen Brief schreibe ich Ihnen auf Anregung von Herrn Direktor Noel Bernard, Radio Free Europe, Rumanian BD. Es geht um folgendes: Im November 1973 bin ich, mit offizieller Genehmigung, aus Rumänien ausgewandert und lebe nun in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ich bin in Rumänien geboren worden (am 0.06.1962) und habe bis zu meiner Ausreise in Sibiu/Rumänien gelebt. Zum Zeitpunkt meiner Ausreise war ich bereits mit Fräulein Renate Müller (Namenähnlichkeit ist Zufall!) verlobt.

Meine Braut ist am 1.09.1963 ebenfalls in Sibiu geboren und lebt auch jetzt noch dort, mit ihren Eltern zusammen.

Am 28.10.1974 waren wir beide in Bukarest und haben beim rumänischen Staatsrat das Gesuch für die Erteilung der Heiratsbewilligung eingereicht. Und dann haben wir gewartet.

Heute hat mich nun meine Braut telefonisch verständigt, dass sie ein Schreiben vom Staatsrat, juristische Abteilung, mit Datum vom 28.09.1975 erhalten hat, in dem ihr mitgeteilt wird, dass unserem Gesuch nicht stattgegeben worden ist. Natürlich ohne einen Grund zu nennen.

Dieses ist ein sehr schwerer Schlag für mich. Ich kenne und liebe meine Braut nun schon über sieben Jahre und die Trennung von ihr ist mir unmöglich. Daher möchte ich Sie von ganzem Herzen bitten mir, soweit es Ihnen möglich ist, zu helfen!

Unser Gesuch läuft unter der Nr: 2221/28.Okt.1974 beim Staatsrat der S.R.Rumänien.

Hochachtungsvoll

HANS W. MÜLLER,
Technische Monitor bei RFE München.

TESTIMONY OF REV. GEORGE MURESAN AND PAMFIL A. RIPOSANU ON BEHALF OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE ROMANIAN CATHOLICS OF AMERICA (ARCA) AND OTHERS

Mr. chairman and honorable members of the committee, Reverend Father George Muresan, Pastor of the St. Nicholas Romanian Catholic Church of East Chicago, and Pamfil A. Riposanu, a member of the Bar of the State of New York, are grateful to you for giving us the opportunity to appear and testify today before your Honorable Committee on behalf of the Association of the Romanian Catholics of America (ARCA).

ARCA is the national organization of American nationals of Romanian descent and Catholic faith, and both Father Muresan and I are members of this organization, which has its headquarters in East Chicago.

Last year, on June 8, 1975, I had the honor to testify before this Committee on behalf of the same organization in connection with the granting of the most-favored-nation trade treatment to Romania. On that occasion, we pointed out (and point out again today) that we were not testifying in opposition to the granting of the most-favored-nation treatment to Romania, but we respectfully prayed that the granting of such treatment be conditional upon compliance by the Romanian Government of the obligations undertaken by that Government under the existing treaties and conventions concluded between our respective governments, and respect by Romanian Government for human rights, such as freedom of emigration and religious freedom.

On human rights.—In my testimony last year before this Honorable Committee, I respectfully submitted for your consideration concrete facts, evidencing Romania's complete disregard for human rights, such as religious freedom. Back on December 1, 1948, the Romanian Government issued Decree No. 358, pursuant to which the Romanian Catholic Church was legally—*de Jure*—suppressed. As a result, over 1,700,000 Romanian Catholics were deprived of their faith, 2,000 Catholic churches were taken over by the Government and given to other denominations, and about 1,800 priests were barred to exercise their ministry. A good number of the Catholic priests were forced into exile or jails, and one Cardinal and five Bishops were imprisoned for the rest of their lives. It is true that similar decrees for the suppression of the Church had been issued back in 1948 by other governments in the Soviet dominated area, but subsequently most of the governments, as an example, the Czechoslovakian Government, have cancelled such decrees and restored the Church to its rights, but not the Romanian Government. Today, the Decree No. 358 of December 1, 1948 is still in full force and effect and the Romanian Catholic Church continues to be legally and in fact completely suppressed, and this in spite of the fact that the most-favored-nation has been granted conditionally to Romania last year.

Father George Muresan will respectfully submit to you for your consideration further facts showing Romania's continuous disrespect for religious freedom, although such religious freedom is allegedly guaranteed by the Romanian Constitution.

Denial of human rights by the Romanian Government is further evidenced by the denial to emigrate to the country of one's choice, which in most cases means separation of children from father and mother and then reunification of families.

I understand that hundreds of petitions have been submitted to the White House and to this Honorable Congress from fathers and mothers or other relatives living in the United States praying for the unification of their families, with the separated members of the families living in Romania. A good number of such fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, are continuing their hunger strikes before the United Nations and before this Congress, clearly evidencing their drama.

The Statistics on Romanian Emigration, dated May 5, 1970, submitted by the White House to this Honorable Congress on June 2, 1970, evidences a continuous decrease in the granting of emigration visas by the Romanian Government, after the most-favored-nation treatment was granted to Romania last year, as shown below:

| | Immigration visas issued by Embassy Bucharest | Dual nationals processed for departure to United States | 3d country, TCP's processed for departure to Rome ¹ | Immigration to Israel from Romania |
|----------------|---|--|---|--|
| 1975: | | | | |
| July..... | 110 | 6 | | 403 |
| August..... | 182 | 14 | | 238 |
| September..... | 181 | 9 | | 262 |
| October..... | 131 | 13 | | 350 |
| November..... | 62 | 9 | | 130 |
| December..... | 56 | 4 | 41 | 115 |
| 1976: | | | | |
| January..... | 70 | 1 | 4 | 329 |
| February..... | 72 | 9 | 15 | 232 |
| March..... | 103 | 13 | 27 | 99 |
| April..... | 88 | 6 | 9 | 51 |

¹ TCP—3d country processing: Persons not eligible to receive U.S. immigration visas from Embassy Bucharest, for whom arrangements are made for travel to Rome, Italy, for processing of their applications for admission to the United States as conditional entrants.

On violation of existing treaties and conventions.—On July 5, 1972, the Consular Convention and Protocol was signed in Bucharest between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Subsequently, the Convention and Protocol was duly ratified by the respective governments, and on July 6, 1973 entered into full force and effect.

Under the terms of said Consular Convention, *inter alia*, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania assures the Government of the United States that: "United States nationals may exercise their inheritance rights in the Socialist Republic of Romania . . . and may transfer, in dollars or other foreign currency, the sums obtained from such inheritances. * * *"

A similar assurance was given under the terms of the same Convention by the Government of the United States to the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, pursuant to which Romanian nationals may exercise their inheritance rights in the United States.

But while our Government executes scrupulously all its obligations undertaken pursuant to the Consular Convention, and as a result a stream of dollars is running from the United States estates to the Romanian nationals, the Romanian Government completely and flagrantly ignores and disregards the similar rights of inheritance of the United States nationals in the estates in Romania. Consequently, this stream is running only one way.

One of the most striking examples of a flagrant violation of the Consular Convention showing complete disregard of the inheritance rights of an American national by the Romanian Government, is the case of Ion Ungureanu-Tudor. Ion Ungureanu-Tudor, a national of the United States, a former Romanian emigrant, is the heir and owner of a famous art-old coins collection known all over the world as the "ORGHIDAN COLLECTION". Books have been published about this famous numismatic collection the value of which has been estimated to hundreds of millions of dollars, and which has been favorably compared with the Scythian Collection, which has been loaned recently by the Leningrad Museum to the Metropolitan Museum in New York and other American Museums.

Ion Ungureanu has been recognized as the heir of the Orghidan Collection by both the Romanian courts and the American courts. In February, 1975, Ion Ungureanu-Tudor, as heir to the Orghidan Collection, whose inheritance rights have been guaranteed by the aforesaid Consular Convention, filed his claim with

the United States Department of State against the Government of Romania. Thereafter, he has been informed that during the year of 1975, the U.S. Department of State, through the American Embassy in Bucharest, made repeated representations to the Romanian Government in regard to this matter by Diplomatic Notes dated May 23 and June 20, 1975, and " * * * subsequently on four occasions in conversations with Romanian officials."

On November 13, 1975, the Department of State has again requested our Embassy in Bucharest to pursue this case " * * * as a matter of urgency."

We understand that the U.S. Department, through the American Embassy in Bucharest, has continued to make similar representations to the Romanian Government during the year of 1976. However, by letter dated April 29, 1976, the U.S. Department of State advised this Honorable Congress and the claimant that, in spite of all the efforts and formal presentations made to the Romanian Government, " * * * Unfortunately, the results yielded to date have been unsatisfactory. The Romanians * * * have avoided responding directly and satisfactorily to our repeated demands. * * *"

In other words, the examination of the record clearly reveals the undisputed fact that the Romanian Government has simply ignored and continues to ignore all the representations made by our Government to the Romanian Government on behalf of a national of the United States whose inheritance rights are guaranteed by the recently-concluded Consular Convention.

As a result, not only this claimant, but the American public at large, is prevented even to see this world-famous and unique collection, and this in spite of the fact that the Orghidan Collection is owned by a national of the United States.

In view of all the above, I respectfully submit the following:

A. That the record of the Romanian Government clearly reveals its flagrant violation and complete disregard of human rights, as further evidenced, *inter alia*, (1) by the suppression of the Romanian Catholic Church, and the existence of the Decree No. 358 of December 1, 1948, pursuant to which this Church was *DE JURE* and *DE FACTO*, abolished, a decree which continues to be in full force and effect, and (2) by its denial of freedom of emigration, and thus preventing by its acts of omission or commission the reunification of the unfortunately separated families;

B. That the record of the Romanian Government further reveals its disregard for the existing treaties and conventions concluded between our Government and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as evidenced, *inter alia*, by its disregard and violation of the inheritance rights of nationals of the United States, whose rights are guaranteed by the Consular Convention recently concluded, and on which the ink has hardly dried, and as it is further evidenced by the total and continuous ignorance of repeated diplomatic notes and representations made by our Government to the Romanian Government;

C. Under and pursuant to the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618), the Congress may (1) terminate, (2) affirmatively vote to extend or extend conditionally, or (3) permit by inaction the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the requirement that countries allow freedom of emigration to be eligible for most-favored-nation treatment;

D. Last year, the Congress voted for the granting of the most-favored-nation treatment to Romania conditionally upon 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 approval. Thus, the Socialist Republic of Romania became the first and only non-market economy country which has been granted the most-favored-nation trade treatment. How was this gesture appreciated by the Socialist Republic of Romania? I respectfully submit that the above record speaks for itself. At the time when the Congress was considering the issue whether to grant or not to grant the most-favored-nation treatment to Romania, it was somehow expected and implied that by granting such a favorable treatment, the Romanian Government will be induced to become a law-abiding Government, and live in the future in accordance with the principles of international law, which are accepted and respected by all civilized countries.

Did the Romanian Government live up to such expectations? Again, last year's record of the Romanian Government speaks for itself;

E. In the light of the above facts, and assuming that this Honorable Congress will vote for a conditional extension of the most-favored-nation to Romania, it is respectfully submitted that such an extension be conditioned upon compliance and respect by the Romanian Government of human rights, freedom of

emigration, religious freedom, respect and compliance with the existing treaties and conventions concluded with Romania, such as the Consular Convention, and if it appears that the Romanian Government continues to disregard and violate the human rights and existing treaties and conventions, the President be authorized to withdraw the said most-favored-nation treatment conditionally granted to Romania.

Before concluding my testimony, I would like to thank you once again for giving me and Father George Muresan the opportunity to testify before this Honorable Committee.

CONSILIUL NATIONAL ROMAN,
ROMANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,
New York, N.Y., September 10, 1976.

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington,
D.C.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: On 6/8/76, a representative from The Romanian National Council was not given the honor and opportunity to appear before the Committee on Finance to give testimony regarding "The Bilateral Commercial Agreement between the United States and the Socialist Republic Romania". The Romanian National Council now wishes to express its profound dissatisfaction because it was once again not given the opportunity to have a representative appear at the rehearing which was held on 9/8/76, under your chairmanship.

The Council represents the interests of the Romanians from ever, here, those who are American citizens by birth or naturalization and those Romanians who reside abroad. They are Romanians who were forced to flee the country because of an oppressive dictatorship, one as intolerant and inhumane as was the Nazi dictatorship.

Therefore, we consider that presenting our point of view would have made known the whole truth about what was and is going on in the Socialist Republic Romania, which was granted the status of the "most favored nation". Romania does not deserve this status since, under her dictatorship she never assumed the responsibility and obligation to respect human rights and, moreover, she did not respect the rights of the American citizens in Romania.

First of all, the Council is dissatisfied as to the manner in which the said Commercial Agreement was implemented in Romania. From well informed sources and eye witness accounts of tourists, it appears that the vast majority of the Romanian people are deprived of the goods sent by the USA. Those goods or merchandise are accessible only to the few privileged members of the Communist party, including government officials and security police. Moreover, some of these goods are shipped to the Soviet Union, according to the latest reports.

Hence, the Romanian government is reluctant to carry into effect the agreement, and contravenes the stipulation provided in its preamble, para. 6, which reads "... that an agreement embodying undertakings and arrangements for conduct of trade between their countries will serve the interests of both peoples". Also, the broad masses of consumers do not benefit from these consumers' goods and services, which also contravenes the stipulation in art. 7, which provides that the distribution of goods must be guided by the same rules in one country as in the other one. In the USA, the Romanian goods or products are displayed in all market places, while American goods in Romania are exhibited in certain places and one cannot buy them except with hard currency.

Moreover, the Romanian government has disregarded the provisions of art. 12 which recommends the creation of conditions favorable for foreign tourists and visitors, on basis of reciprocity; the government has made such conditions impossible for the average worker, from the United States, and also for the aged and students who wish to visit the country, since each American tourist has to change \$10.00 daily, whereas Russian or a European tourist is not required to do so. Those who have no close relatives in Romania are obliged to sleep in expensive hotels, most of which are not well kept. These are restrictions which should be put to an end.

Furthermore, the Romanian government has initiated an action to confiscate all properties owned by American citizens in Romania. In the spring of 1974, there was a sustained program of propaganda in order to attract American citizens and their buying of houses there, which they did. In the same year,

however, in December, there was a new decree issued by which the American citizens were advised to liquidate their holdings. Those who did not manage to donate them before the said decree was issued were put in the situation of having to accept low prices, and even then they were obliged to spend the money in Romania and nowhere else. These are practices which cannot allow of continuation of good relations with such a government.

We would like to note again our testimony, given last year, regarding the oppressive measure taken by the Romanian government against religious freedom. In 1948, the Romanian Communist government suppressed the Greek Catholic Church in Romania, which had about 1,500,000 believers, 1,800 priests, 6 bishops and 2,000 churches. A great many priests and members of the Greek Catholic Church were arrested, and their bishops were killed in prisons. Today, there are still numerous members of this Church imprisoned, and its priests have been prohibited from performing ministerial duties. In addition, the clergyman of the majority Orthodox Church are subjected to all kinds of abusive interferences by the authorities which prohibit them from freely conducting their church services and canonical functions. They are assigned to perform party activities, transforming them to servants of a laical regime instead of preaching the traditional and true Christian teachings.

For the aforementioned reasons, we consider that the Romanian Communist government is not entitled to claim the status of "most favored nation".

Now a few words about Dr. John Carja, the Secretary General of the Romanian National Council, with its headquarters in New York City. Dr. John Carja was born on March 25, 1922, in Whitman, W. Va., a son of a poor coal miner from that state. His parents returned to Romania when he was 5 years old. Meanwhile, World War II broke out and because of the events which took place thereafter, it was impossible for Dr. Carja to return, as an American citizen, to the United States. He attended Romanian schools and was conferred a Doctor of Law Diploma. After the war was over, he managed to be repatriated through the US Embassy in Bucharest, in May 1945.

Prior to this, Dr. Carja was arrested and imprisoned for a total of ten years, as he was accused of being an American spy, an allegation which could not be proved by the respective Romanian Communist authorities. His case was made known at the hearing, on July 6/8/1975, and, therefore, we will not insist upon discussing his numerous approaches to the State Department, American politicians and senators, requesting their intervention and assistance as to his claim of \$300,000 against the Romanian government because of his ordeals in which he suffered biological degradation and loss of income during those years of illegal arrest. However, we would like to mention that on June 27, 1976, Dr. John Carja made a visit at the State Department where he had a conference with Mr. Christensen, Economic Counselor for Romanian Affairs.

Mr. Christensen was familiar with his case since he, Mr. Christensen, was with the US Embassy in Bucharest, in 1967. In discussing his case with him, Mr. Christensen cynically stated that the State Department does not act on the recommendation of the Congress, made last year (1975), because "we do not want to make the Romanians angry". We know that Dr. Henry Kissinger is acting according to his own policy regarding the Communist world, but this does not mean that we have to respect all abuses and injustice done by a Romanian dictatorial government.

Mr. Chairman, we respectfully ask you as to be so kind as to intervene with the State Department in order that it give a response to Dr. John Carja's claim, i.e. to investigate his case, because as an American citizen he was arrested and abused by a government which enacted a law in 1935 which stipulated that foreign citizens cannot be arrested for actions before 1935. Also, he was arrested for a second time in 1959 because of his articles which were published in the Romanian press in 1940-1943, when he was 20 years of age.

In conclusion, we would like to remind you that during Dr. Carja's discussion with Mr. Christensen in regard to his case, Mr. Christensen stated that Romania is satisfactorily assuming her responsibility as to the reunion of families, and, therefore, this is enough for Romania to enjoy the United States' friendship.

The Romanian National Council considers this to be a false theory formulated by an American diplomat regarding the relationship between the United States and Socialist Republic Romania. We, American citizens of Romanian extraction, as well as those living in different countries and even in Romania, are not that concerned with the reunion of families. We consider it as not essential that Romanian people immigrate to the United States or elsewhere; Romania is the fatherland of the Romanian people, and they should remain and prosper there.

There can be no comparison between the Jewish exodus from the Soviet Union and the Romanian migration. The Jewish people are in need of a country of their own and we support their just cause. The Romanians have their own country, they do not need another one; however, the Free World has the moral obligation to support the emancipation of that people from a tyrannical regime which they never wanted but which was imposed upon them by the Soviet bayonets. The Western World, including the United States, is guilty for this too.

Most of the Romanian refugees in the last ten years, about 80% of them, were members of the Romanian Communist Party. They have succeeded in one way or another in coming to the USA. They were the privileged ones in a Communist regime, and now they want to take advantage and bring their families too. They are the ones who made a lot of victims in Romania. The Council has a list available of those individuals, now here in this wonderful country of ours, who have terrorized the Romanian population.

In the name of the Romanian National Council we solemnly declare that if the price of granting the status of the most favored nation is the salvation of these dangerous individuals who created and strengthened the Romanian Communist society, and, if the Romanian people will continue to be deprived of the American goods and services, then it would be an impety to continue to send even a needle to a Communist Romania. Moreover, these goods would be continued to be shipped by the Romanian government to the Soviet Union.

The Romanian National Council requests the immediate abolishment of the most favored nation status for Romania.

ION MURGU, *President*,
NICOLAE CARJA, *Vice President*.
Dr. JOHN CARJA, *General Secretary*.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE MUSCANU

I am opposing the proposed extension of the Most Favored Nation Status based on the following grounds:

The Trade Act of 1974 provides that no country is eligible for Most Favored Nation Status Treaty if it denies its own citizens the right to immigrate (section 402). So far, the Romanian Government did not respect it.

I am an American citizen, born in the United States. I left the United States for Romania in 1923 where I lived until 1971. I was able to come back due to the fact that I was an American citizen, however, I could not take my daughter with me.

My daughter Gabriela Muscanu resides at Plata Teatrului, Bloc 7, Apt. 3, Brasov 2200, Romania. She is a scientist in biology and chemistry. For the past two years, she has been trying to get an application for an exit visa which so far the Romanian Authorities have denied.

I went to Romania this summer to intercede with the Romanian authorities on behalf of my daughter—they told me just to wait. We have waited two years now and to no avail. My daughter has persistently pleaded with the authorities for permission to fill out the necessary forms for an exit visa, but with no response from them.

I am in bad health and I need her here with me. My daughter desires very much to live in freedom here in the United States.

Please consider my plea, and do not grant such an unconditional privilege to the Romanian government until they lift their restrictions on immigration and allow this people the basic Human Rights, such as freedom of choice and travel.

I feel confident that you will help me, since I am sure you understand the need for families to be together.

Thanking you in advance for your help.

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y., August 30, 1976.

DEAR SIR: My name is Victor Nace. I am originally from Romania. Recently, I became a naturalized citizen of the United States and am no longer a citizen of Romania.

In 1970, I invited my sister Heena Constantinescu and her son, Bradut Constantinescu, who still live in Romania; Str. Pitir Mos #25 et 6 ap. 20 Sectorul 1, Bucuresti, to come and visit me in the United States but were refused many times.

Based on recent relationships between Romania and the United States Government, my sister again asked for a passport to come and visit me but was again refused on August 26, 1970.

On June 17, 1970, I joined the Romanian Protest in front of the United Nations Organization, in New York City and I will not leave the protest until my sister and my nephew are allowed to come and visit me.

A United States-Romanian trade agreement was adopted by the Senate on July 25, 1975 and by the House on July 28, 1975. This agreement made possible many things beneficial to Romania and the Romanian people. One of these is the progress on Romanian emigration so that Romanians seeking to be reunited with their families in the U.S.A. would now be possible.

It appears to me that the refusal of the Romanian Government on August 25, 1970, to allow my sister and her son, not to emigrate but only to visit me is a violation of this agreement.

I understand that this agreement will go before the Senate again for renewal and I hope that the promises made will be fulfilled.

I would appreciate anything you could do to help my sister and her son to get their passport so that they could come to visit me.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

VICTOR NACE.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1970.

Hon. SENATOR ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned *Virgil Necula (M. Dr.) and Lucia Necula* (Chemist) Roumanian refugees and residents of the U.S., we would ask you kindly to give attention to the following matter:

For the occasion of the upcoming renewal of the treaty with the Government of Roumania to be included in the category of the most favored nations, please be sure to insist that the Government of Roumania respects the clause of letting members of families emigrate, who want to join their families residing in the U.S.

We are a family separated for *more than four years* from our children:

Carmen Necula, daughter, 25 years, engineer; Emanuel Necula, son in law, 20 years, engineer; Horia Necula, son, 20 years, student engineer.

And our mothers:

Iordachita Alexandrina, mother, 74 years; Maria Necula, mother, 72 years, all in *Roumanta-Bucuresti, Cal. Grivita 35*, who applied to come here, paid scholar taxes and the Roumanian Government rejected their Exit Visa.

Please help us, our most fervent wish is to have our family (5 persons) join us in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

VIRGIL NECULA,
LUCIA NECULA.

AUGUST 25, 1970.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My name is Laura Negulescu and I live on Crescent Street, New York, New York 11102.

I am daring to ask for your help in the following problem: my mother, Ioana Barbillan, living in Bucharest, Drumul Taberei No. 36, Bl.T4, Ap. 9, Sector 7, applied for a passport to come to visit us nine times, but she was denied it.

My husband, my daughter, and I are political refugees and permanent residents of the USA. We left Rumania in 1970, the undersigned being ill of "Myasthenia gravis", in a condition when no Rumanian specialist hoped to rescue me.

For a whole year I was almost permanently hospitalized in different hospitals of Paris where I was operated (Thymectomy) in December 1970. We lived in Paris for three years. After the operation, my condition being very critical, my mother applied in May 1971, for the permission to come and take care of me in Paris. Although she presented the all necessary papers to get a passport (the hospital proof sent to her by us). She was denied it. The answer was that my husband was not sent to Paris to work, he was sent to care for my health;

although it was known that the whole treatment would cost 50,000 Fr., they provided me with only 100 Fr.

From that date on she has been continuously asking for a passport but each time she has been rejected although she is 74 years old and I am her only child.

Later, she was told that until I clarify my status towards the Rumanian government it was useless to try.

In April 1975 my whole family applied for the renunciation to the Rumanian citizenship for which we had to pay \$603.00.

By the decree of April 23, 1976, our request for the renunciation to the Rumanian citizenship was approved.

In September, 1975 my mother asked again to be allowed to travel and presented the Rumanian authorities a copy of the request of renunciation, but in November 1975, she was rejected for the eighth time.

The ninth, and last time she tried in May 1976, this time having the copy of the decree from April 23. In July 1976, she met another rejection.

The Rumanian Central Commission of Passport, in July 30, 1976, told her that I should come to see her because I have dollars. When my mother told them that I was sick and I can not endure such a trip they answered that my sickness was a lie.

I beg of you to help me in my desperate efforts to bring my mother who is now 74 years old, and later on will not be able, I am sure, to take such a long trip.

Up to the present time she only asked for a visitor's visa because the American laws will not permit her emigration until I am American citizen.

Again I beg you to help me reintegrate my family. She has absolutely no one else besides us to take care of her at her old age when she needs it most.

We will support her thoroughly, without burdening the American authorities. My husband is engineer and my daughter an architect.

On several occasions I telephoned the Rumanian Embassy in Washington, and spoke with the Consul General Mr. Ion Edu asking to clarify our situation. I have sent him numerous letters without any result. If necessary I am willing to testify shown medical proof to all stated above.

Now I am Doctor Papatestas' patient, from Mount Sinai Hospital, Clinic of Myasthenia gravis.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

I AURA NEGULESCU.

AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION, INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 12, 1976.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman of the Senate Committee of Finance,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. LONG: I am writing this letter to you to fully appraise you of my concern and draw your attention to the efforts of a group (claiming to have a Hungarian or German background) who are making a strong effort to gain America's formal acknowledgement of and condemnation of what they claim is the Rumanian government's inhumane treatment of Romanian citizens who have a minority background. They are conducting their campaign through the use of letters to Senators, Congressmen, government officials, and private citizens; newspaper ads, etc. I also am distributed when I am advised that they have been successful in securing signatures of approximately 70 Congressmen, a number of Senators, etc. This group is also advocating America's use of economic pressures on Romania, the major one being reversal of Most Favored Nation Status granted Romania by the American Congress in 1975. Please recognize that actions by this group will not result in benefits to the citizens of Romania, but will instead significantly hurt each and every one of them.

This group merely generalizes about what they claim to be inhumane actions taken by Romania, has not presented any factual data to support their claims and have not proven any of their claims to be something other than false. In fact, the American Congress directed the American Government to include this area of concern in their investigations of Romania when deliberating granting Most Favored Nation Status to Romania in 1975, and the report as submitted to the Congress did not include findings such as those this group infer to exist.

The real concern I share with most students of Eastern Europe is the potential undesirable effects if this group is even moderately successful in securing their

objectives, and can publicly identify to the world that large numbers of Senators, Congressmen, government officials and private citizens in America formally acknowledge that such inhumane conditions exist and should be stopped by Romania. This American condemnation naturally calls for corrective action to eliminate these inhumane conditions in Romania. The Helsinki and other agreements concerning human rights also condemn inhumane practices and also identifies corrective action as being required and justified.

Students of Eastern Europe readily recognize that such conditions could easily result in Russia taking the American and other condemnations and demands to stop inhumane practices as a justification for the invasion of Romania by Russian troops and the "freeing of the oppressed Romanian people." We must remember that Russia has in recent years taken several such humanitarian actions to free oppressed people and that once the invasion was over, a new government established by Moscow was functioning, the Russian troops always seemed to stay in the "freed" country and never leave. We must recognize that Romania is one of the very few countries that is free of Russian domination, and we could be unintentionally setting the world stage whereby Russia could take control of Romania without severe world wide criticism. It has happened before and history readily identifies these Russian actions.

We must recognize that any so-called justified invasion by Russia will most likely result in Eastern Europe War. Romania maintains a combat ready army, and has consistently maintained that it will fight any and all attempts to deprive it of its independence. There is absolutely no reason to believe that they will not fight if invaded. We have one explosive situation in the Middle East, and the world cannot afford another very sensitive situation in Eastern Europe.

Another very dangerous action being advocated by this group is to have Congress reverse the granting of Most Favored Nation Status to Romania and apply other economic devices as a means of applying pressure on Romania to stop such practices. This action would serve to essentially wreck Romania's economy and destroy all of Romania's gains over the years to remain independent of trade with Russia and its satellites. Everyone should recognize that these gains were made after Russia completely stripped Romania of its industries, livestock, young men, etc., and destroyed Romania's economy completely during Russia's occupation of the country during and after WW II. An example of how thorough the Russian stripping of the country was is readily seen when the reader imagines the scene where Russian soldiers are tearing up the railroad track and taking it with them on the last train to leave Romania for Russia.

In addition to being completely stripped and devastated, Romania was fined and required to pay \$300 million to Russia as reparations. This amount was paid in preference to having another Russian invasion and occupation of the country. This reparations amount added to the value of what Russia stripped the country of results in the colossal amount of \$22 billion dollars being taken out of a country damaged by a war and being of a size that is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the state of New Mexico. It is no small wonder that Romania was able to survive and recover while retaining its independence from Russian domination. This strong desire to remain independent justified the suffering endured by all Romanian citizens and their sacrifices, such as living for many years at some of the lowest standards of living in the world. It was only in recent years that Romania's persistence started to bring economic benefits to the Romanian people and deliver them from many, many years of unbelievable misery and a situation where education, intellectual achievement, etc. were nearly completely retarded and non-existent.

Romania's greatest step out of misery and strengthening of its independence from Russian domination was realized when America granted Romania Most Favored Nation Status. MFN also offset the undesirable effects of the depressed European economy in Romania and most likely prevented a complete economic collapse of the Romanian economy in late 1975 and in 1976.

To revoke MFN status as advocated by this group will serve to destroy the Romanian economy and make America responsible for delivering Romania to Russian domination, and imposing the most inhumane living conditions possible upon all of the Romanian people.

In summary, America cannot unintentionally destroy the independence of Romania's citizens after they worked so hard and suffered such misery for so many years. To place Romania into a position that essentially guarantees Russian domination either by military or economic action would be one of the greatest injustices that could be committed by America or any other nation upon another nation such as Romania.

Please recognize this particular movement in America in its proper and true light and especially the severe undesirable results if they are even moderately successful in gaining the public support of America's Senators, Congressmen, government officials and its private citizens in what appears on the surface the right thing to do by a free American. I also hope that you will do everything possible to point out these dangers to your colleagues and encourage them to act in a manner that will benefit all citizens of Romania. I am available to speak on this subject at any hearing that the government holds on this and any other subject concerning Romania and Eastern Europe.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the type of letter this group is recommending American-Hungarians and American-Germans to send to their Senators, Congressmen, etc. . . .

I also refer you to the newspaper ad being placed in major newspapers throughout the United States. One such ad appeared in the May 7th edition of the New York Times (Pg. 15A). These ads make the same points mentioned in the above referenced letter plus calling for revoking Most Favored Nation Status by Congress, etc. The ads also include an appeal for funds.

In the New York Times ad, it is mentioned among other false statements, that the Romanian government confiscates the cultural and artistic treasures only from the minority groups living in Romania when in truth this law applies also to all Native Romanians. The law requires only an inventory which has to be done by every citizen, including all kinds of art and culture of great value, which are prohibited to be taken out of the country. In other words, the Romanian minorities are not more or less treated than the Native Romanians are treated. Other forms of legislation exist also in the Western part of Europe, for the same reason, in order to help preserve the art and culture for their future generations. But, if the Romanian Government wants some of them to be in a museum, the owner is compensated in money by the State, and is not confiscated as the ad claims. To verify the unwarranted Hungarian claims is a simple matter to ask the U.S. Ambassador in Bucharest if it is true. The rest of the treasures continue to remain in the private homes.

The question of M.F.N. for Romania was discussed more extensively by me during the public hearings before the Subcommittee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives (H. Con. Res. 252, page 183, on May 7 and 8, 1975) and in the Senate (S. Con. Res. 35, page 163, 91st Congress) (Congressional Record) first session.

On May 4, 1970, David Floyd writes in the Daily Telegraph, "Romania's claims to Bessarabia, annexed by Russia in 1944, have been publicized in Bucharest for the first time since the 1930-45 War. In a book on Romanian politics between 1918 and 1921, two young scholars, Ion Ardeleanu and Mircea Musat, have reaffirmed the predominantly Romanian character of Bessarabia's population and Romania's historical claims to the area. Bessarabia, with a population of 3,500,000 and an area of 13,000 square miles between the rivers Prut and Dniester, today forms the "Moldavian Soviet Republic" of the Soviet Union. It was similarly occupied by Tsarist Russia between 1812 and 1859 and from 1878 to 1918. Under the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact Stalin obtained from Hitler recognition of Russia's "interest in Bessarabia" and an assurance of the Fuhrer's lack of interest in the area. In 1940 the Russians occupied Bessarabia, but were driven out again in 1941.

Sensitive issue.—In 1944 the Red Army re-entered Bessarabia and the Russians have been there since. The population of the "Moldavian Republic" is only 10 per cent Russian and 15 per cent Ukrainian. Romanian leaders have never surrendered their right to recover Bessarabia. But the question has long been avoided publicly as one of the most sensitive in Soviet-Romanian relations. The two Romanian scholars describe the restoration to Romania in 1918 of "territories taken from the mother country in flagrant disregard for laws and treaties which did not allow anybody to acquire what did not belong to them." The Communist leaders in Kishinev, capital of the Moldavian Republic, who are appointed by Moscow, frequently complain of outbursts of nationalism among the "Moldavians." Similar problems continue to worry the Soviet leaders in the Caucasian republics, where a series of bombings and fires have been reported. The Soviet leaders are also being pressed by the Chinese for the return of territory seized by the Tsars in the Far East."

Sidney Weiland writes from Vienna in the Evening Standard, May 5, 1970: "Yugoslavia and Romania, allies in a potentially explosive Communist power contest, are becoming increasingly jittery as they analyze Soviet aims in Eastern Europe. Their fears reflect uncertainty about the progress of East-West detente,

now strained by tensions of a U.S. presidential election campaign, and because of sharp new insistence by Moscow on communist ideological orthodoxy. Yugoslavia hopes for an early visit by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev for a frank discussion of the problems involved. It would be his first visit to Belgrade in five years, and his first meeting with President Tito since 1973. In Bucharest, President Nicolae Ceausescu has held several private talks with the Soviet ambassador. The Romanian leader visited Moscow in February, his first meeting with Mr. Brezhnev in two years. Both countries, out of step with Moscow on a variety of major issues, regard themselves as vulnerable to Soviet political pressures. Both consider there is still a risk, despite detente, that Russia may be tempted some time to move militarily to stamp out the independence jealously guarded by Belgrade and Bucharest. Nobody is sure what combination of circumstances could induce the Kremlin to attack, but the risk is acknowledged with deadly seriousness. The fears are shared by some knowledgeable officials at NATO headquarters in Brussels. Both Yugoslavia and Romania have contingency plans for mobilization of several million guerrilla fighters to counter a sudden military threat. Many Western leaders expect Yugoslavia's vulnerability to increase when President Tito dies, especially if this results in political turmoil. The Yugoslav chief-of-state, who will be 84 on May 25, rejects this, insisting that a viable post-Tito leadership structure already exists. Coupled with their anxiety over Soviet intentions, the Yugoslav and Romanian governments no longer count on Western military support in the event of Soviet attack."

Sincerely,

BARBU NICULESCU, *President.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN/SENATOR: As your constituent, and as an American citizen of Hungarian descent, I follow with concern and despair the news about the constant human rights violations of the national minorities in Romania, including those of the almost 2.5 million Hungarians.

During the past 11 years many of your colleagues undertook several actions to call the attention of the Administration to the same. Most recently 30 members of the House and several members of the Senate have written to President Ford on July 22, 1975 asking him to raise the issue with President Ceausescu under the terms of the 1973 American-Romanian agreement allowing both parties to raise humanitarian issues with the other. The complaints included the confiscation of cultural goods, archives and even baptismal records of the Catholic and Protestant churches; the gradual closing of Hungarian schools, especially on the secondary level; dispersal of college graduates to purely Romanian regions; job and housing discrimination, the lack of opportunity to use the mother tongue in mixed areas before the authorities, all of them in violation of the guarantees of the Romanian Constitution. Finally, they protested the 1974 decree forbidding priests and ministers to receive any subsidy from abroad for charitable purposes.

The problem has now become an overt issue in Romania as a result of the protest memorandum sent by the National Council of Hungarian and German Workers in Romania in October 1975 to the Romanian Government.

For Congressman: At this time, Henry Helstoski (D., N.J.) and Philip M. Crane (R., Ill.) are sponsoring a letter to President Ford on this issue. May we respectfully ask you to join this letter. It is our understanding that over 50 Members of the House have already signed the letter.

For Senators: May we respectfully ask you to bring these facts to the attention of the President? Several Senators have done so last summer, and we hope that you will be able to join them in their endeavor.

Thanking you for your assistance and cooperation, we are

Very sincerely yours,

BARBU NICULESCU.

AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION, INC.
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this Subcommittee, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to testify before this Subcommittee today on the very important subject of extending Most Favored Nation status granted to Romania in 1975.

My name is Barbu Niculescu, I reside at 6 East 80th Street, New York, N.Y. and I speak for myself and the American-Romanian Cultural Foundation, Inc.

of which I am Chairman of the Board of Trustees and President of the foundation.

The American-Romanian Cultural Foundation is an American organization founded for the express purpose and objective of improving, broadening and strengthening international relations between America and Romania and the improvement of the well being of mankind. We will accomplish this by sponsoring various charitable programs designed to establish a true and complete understanding of each other's traditions, values, standards and other important aspects of each other's culture and history. We are not an ethnic group. Our membership consists of very prominent and distinguished Americans (including a recent Nobel Prize recipient) from various universities, business and private sectors of America and is a cross section of the various religions and backgrounds found in America.

I appreciate your invitation to again enter my testimony into the Congressional Record regarding this subject of Most Favored Nation status granted to Romania. As you recall and your records will testify, I was honored to have this same opportunity to speak to this distinguished Subcommittee during your previous hearings on this subject held in 1973 and again in May 1975.

On the subject before this Subcommittee in today's hearings, I wish to clearly state that I strongly urge this Subcommittee to approve extension of Romania's trade status as Most Favored Nation as granted by our government in 1975. In addition to the many mutual benefits to be realized from such a trade relationship, Romania's performance during this trial period has clearly been to the letter and spirit of this trade agreement that is recognized as being one of the most rigorous trade agreements defined by America. Therefore, America's final approval of this trade agreement is clearly justified and needed by America, Romania and all of mankind itself.

It is vital that we consider the following major points and that all concerned recognize each and every fact in its proper perspective:

1. Romania is an East European country that has established its own independent foreign policy and has, per our own State Department, cooperated and worked closely with America in a number of international negotiations. This trade agreement will result in further improving this relationship with Romania and encourage expansion of peace in the world.

2. This trade agreement is the result of more than a decade of successful and mutually beneficial relations in many areas and having such an agreement will promote continuation of these relations between America and Romania. This trade agreement will also have the effect of bringing our economic and trade relations up to the favorable levels that many of our other relationships have consistently remained for many years. This action in the trade and economic areas is really a long needed and justified catch up action between America and Romania.

3. America's favorable relations with Romania over the years has successfully had the effect of loosening of restrictions on liberties in Romania. A significant improvement has been reported by our State Department as having occurred during the past year and is attributable to the fact that MFN status was granted to Romania in 1975 (Congressional Record-House, May 20, 1978, H4064). We must continue this encouragement through this trade agreement and continued exposure of all Romanians to our democratic ways of government, doing business and freedom as enjoyed by all Americans.

We must realistically recognize Romania as a closed society but one that does permit increasing amounts of liberties to its people and while it is a long way from what we enjoy here in America, it is not the strict and oppressive government that is reflective of that practiced by Russia, Hungary and others that are firmly enforcing severe restrictions on their citizens' liberties, even by the use of Soviet troops. We must not be guilty of stereotyping Romania as being another Russia, Hungary, etc. merely because it is in Eastern Europe. Romania has proven beyond any doubt that it is a sovereign nation that charts its own destiny both internally and in international affairs.

Romania confirmed to the world and especially to the other Eastern European countries that it is a sovereign nation that determines its own foreign policy when it courageously and formally recognized Israel as a nation, established formal diplomatic relations with Israel and helped over 80% of the Jewish Romanian population to emigrate to the new state of Israel. In addition, Romania has consistently over the years urged both Israel and Arab nations to negotiate a settlement of the Middle Eastern problems. This policy established shortly after Israel was established as a nation is obviously completely

contrary to that of the Moscow controlled nations and was a humanitarian action that was taken despite the fact that it caused Romania to face the very likely possibility of invasion and severe punishment by Russia and those other East European countries firmly controlled by Russia.

Romania has also recognized many other nations and has participated as a negotiator and peace maker in many of the problems and disputes experienced by all nations throughout the world. Romania is interested in preserving peace and freedom of nations and is not interested in any action to dominate anyone.

Please do not recognize Romania as being responsible for the many inhumane actions taken by Russia and its puppets. This would be a gross misunderstanding and injustice.

4. We must be selfish to some degree and give proper recognition to the significant benefits that will be realized here in America itself. Our economy needs exports of American goods in order to create jobs for Americans and keep our economy growing and strong. We also create American jobs and realize many other benefits here in America when we encourage American investment in various projects in Romania.

This is a significant factor that adds to the justification for approval of extension of MFN for Romania. Our current trade level is significant and has been conservatively estimated to reach \$1 billion by 1980. It has historically been and is expected to remain in America's favor as exports to Romania were 2 to 1 when compared to imports from Romania. This creates a lot of jobs for Americans and provides other benefits to be enjoyed by America. These benefits to America are further multiplied when it is recognized that imports by America were primarily in critical areas of petroleum fuels and petroleum products where availability is more important than dollar value. (We should also note that the import of petroleum fuels and other petroleum items continued through the recent embargo by the OPEC nations). We can further multiply these overall benefits when we recognize that the majority of our exports to Romania were primarily foods, capital equipment and transportation equipment—all severely depressed American industries having very high unemployment levels. This is obviously an exceptionally beneficial trade/product mix for America which should continue for many years in the future.

We must also recognize that the terms of this trade agreement provide for very solid safeguards for American jobs and industries that could be subject to competition from Romanian imports. This agreement has about the strictest and fastest responding safeguards that will be found in nearly all of America's other trade agreements of this type.

This trade agreement also provides very strict safeguards for American investors who now have an opportunity to invest in Romania. We may realistically view this as opening up of a friendly and relatively undeveloped country for American investment which will in turn create American jobs and many other benefits here in America.

There are many other significant economic benefits to America which I am confident will be properly identified in detail by many of the experts in these areas who will also have an opportunity to testify on this subject during these hearings. Our point in highlighting the above items is that we must properly recognize the many opportunities and economic benefits that America will enjoy if MFN status is continued to remain in effect for Romania. We are justified to take advantage of favorable situations such as this in order to pass on the benefits to the American worker who is unemployed and to stimulate our depressed industries. There is absolutely nothing wrong or unethical in taking care of Americans while at the same time helping others to improve their own economies, standards of living and levels of freedom enjoyed in their own society.

5. One of America's most important principles is freedom and export of this principle has been one of America's primary objectives during its 200 years of wonderful history. We primarily use examples and exposure to our way of life as the primary selling technique to encourage other people to gain greater degrees of freedom for themselves. We should take credit for helping Romania and many other nations to loosen restrictions on liberties within their own countries and also feel some degree of satisfaction when other countries declare their intentions and move to establish their own independence as a sovereign nation. I sincerely believe that our examples helped to develop the position of those countries who in the recent conference of communist nations, clearly and strongly declared their intentions to become responsible for charting their own internal and international policies. America must continue encouraging these gains in freedom in Romania by extending this MFN trade status for Romania.

for many years to come. We must by example and actions of this type show the world's nations that freedom, not domination is what benefits mankind.

6. Emigration and Romania's reaction to America's strict requirements defined in the terms of the trade agreement was a major consideration and concern by many during the Subcommittee's deliberations on MFN status for Romania in 1975 and resulted in a requirement that the performance of Romania be reviewed after approximately a year of MFN status for Romania. We monitored Romania's performance as best as we could and studied everything relating to this subject that became available to us and we have, as we are confident that the Subcommittee also has, concluded that Romania has performed to the letter and spirit of the emigration terms America included in the agreement. This is best illustrated and summarized by the following quotes from the Congressional Record-House, May 26, 1976, II 4905 provided by our State Department and were primarily based upon a very recent survey conducted by the American Embassy in Bucharest:

"While there has been considerable variation from month to month, the flow of emigration from Romania has increased substantially since the implementation of the Trade Agreement with Romania last summer."

"I believe the facts indicate that the implementation of the Trade Agreement has served substantially to promote the purposes of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 as they relate to emigration."

I offer the following emigration statistics reflecting levels of Romanian emigration to the United States and Israel that were provided by the American Embassy to the State Department and also recorded in the May 26, 1976 Congressional Record-House, II 4905. I am confident that all reviewing these statistics will find them to be very impressive testimony to the fact that Romania is completely in compliance with the terms of the Trade Agreement. When reviewing these statistics, it is very important that the reader recognize and keep in mind that Romania helped over 400,000 Jewish Romanians to emigrate to Israel shortly after Israel was established and that this emigration represented approximately 80% of the Jewish Romanian population. This emigration to Israel as well as America, etc. has continued throughout the years. The effect of having a working emigration policy for years and the fact that the current emigration level is very reasonable is supported by the fact that the current total Jewish Romanian population is at the 60,000 to 80,000 level.

The true impact of this emigration level in 1976 is realized when we recognize that the makeup of the total 60,000 to 80,000 Jewish Romanian population includes those who have voluntarily chosen not to emigrate but to remain as citizens of Romania. Among those who voluntarily chose to stay in Romania are Jewish Romanians who hold high and important positions in government, education, etc.; those who are retired and on pensions and retirement programs; those who want to live out their last years in the land of their parents and their birth; those many who are intermarried with partners who have another faith; those who are waiting for the crisis in the Middle East to be settled before emigrating; and those others who have other valid reasons leading to their decision to remain in Romania as Romanian citizens. One must be realistic and recognize the fact that just because a Romanian may follow the Jewish, Catholic, Protestant or some other faith does not automatically mean that they want to leave Romania for another country. One who is familiar with Romanian history and culture knows that Romanians of all religious faiths and minority backgrounds were a very important part of Romania and made many very wonderful and significant contributions to the history and culture of this country.

It is also necessary to mention that the results of the recent American Embassy's survey (Congressional Record-House, May 26, 1976, II 4905) also state that the emigration policy followed by Romania is not only liberal where Jewish Romanians are concerned but is equally liberal and applied to all others desiring to emigrate from Romania, including all those having minority backgrounds such as Hungarian, German, Greek, etc. It should be recognized that all Romanians, regardless of religious faith followed and/or minority background, are recognized as and have equal rights as Romanian citizens, including the right to emigrate if they so choose.

One final point concerning emigration, granting of MFN in 1975 did initiate a complete review and action program to be sure that all emigration policies and practices conformed to the letter and spirit of the trade agreement. One of the actions taken is the very unusual action whereby in June 1976, legislation was passed and signed by the President of Romania whereby all those

prisoners convicted of crimes other than attempts and plotting the overthrow of the government, and having filed requests to emigrate from Romania, were pardoned and permitted to leave upon release from prison. This was done to prevent those opposed to MFN for Romania from publicizing names of prisoners duly tried and sentenced as being Romanians that were being detained and prevented from leaving because of Romania's non-compliance with the terms of the trade agreement signed with America.

The following are the statistical tables provided by the American Embassy to the State Department and included in the May 20, 1976 Congressional Record-House, H 4005:

I. STATISTICS ON ROMANIAN EMIGRATION

| | Immigration visas issued by Embassy, Bucharest | Dual nationals processed for departure to United States | TCP's processed for departure to Rome ¹ | Emigration to Israel from Romania |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1975: | | | | |
| January..... | 27 | 0 | | 62 |
| February..... | 13 | 0 | | 41 |
| March..... | 14 | 0 | | 102 |
| April..... | 24 | 2 | | 60 |
| May..... | 20 | 2 | | 46 |
| June..... | 29 | 1 | | 199 |
| Total, 1st 6 mo..... | 127 | 5 | | 510 |
| July..... | 110 | 6 | | 403 |
| August..... | 182 | 14 | | 238 |
| September..... | 181 | 9 | | 262 |
| October..... | 131 | 13 | | 350 |
| November..... | 62 | 9 | | 130 |
| December..... | 56 | 4 | 41 | 115 |
| Total, 2d 6 mo..... | 722 | 55 | 41 | 1,498 |
| Total, 1975..... | 849 | 60 | 41 | 2,008 |
| Grand total, 1975..... | 950 | 60 | | 2,008 |
| 1976: | | | | |
| January..... | 70 | 1 | 4 | 328 |
| February..... | 72 | 9 | 15 | 232 |
| March..... | 103 | 13 | 27 | 99 |
| Total, 1st quarter, 1976..... | 245 | 23 | 46 | 659 |
| April..... | 88 | 6 | 9 | 51 |

¹ TCP 3d country processing: Persons not eligible to receive U.S. immigration visas from Embassy Bucharest, for whom arrangements are made for travel to Rome, Italy, for processing of their applications for admission to the United States as conditional entrants.

Note: TCP procedures initiated in December 1975.

II. STATISTICS ON ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1965

Immigration visas issued by Embassy, Bucharest, by fiscal year

IV's issued fiscal year:

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 1965..... | 274 |
| 1966..... | 104 |
| 1967..... | 19 |
| 1968..... | 23 |
| 1969..... | 154 |
| 1970..... | 372 |
| 1971..... | 620 |
| 1972..... | 281 |
| 1973..... | 357 |
| 1974..... | 511 |
| 1975..... | 328 |

IV's issued calendar year:

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 1975..... | 840 |
|-----------|-----|

As stated above, these statistics are very impressive and reflect beyond any doubt that Romania has favorably responded to its commitment made to the United States in 1975 when MFN was granted to Romania.

SUMMARY

We feel that there is no doubt that Romania's performance in all areas has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that they are ready, willing, able and are in full compliance with all terms of the strict trade agreement with America in 1975 and that there is no doubt that America should keep its commitment to extend the MFN status granted Romania in 1975. In addition, the improved relations with Romania, significant economic and other benefits for America and Romania, and the existence of the strict safeguards on both the export and import sides, all fully justify favorable approval action. I sincerely urge the Subcommittee to act in a favorable and positive manner on this subject of Most Favored Nation status granted to Romania.

The following discussion relates to Human Rights and the false and vicious attacks that are being made upon Romania by those who claim to be Romanians of Hungarian, German and other minority backgrounds. These attacks started when MFN status was being considered initially, faded out and again reappeared when these current government hearings were scheduled. The purpose of these attacks is obviously designed and intended to discredit Romania in the eyes of the American government and the American people. We believe that it is important that we briefly discuss some of the major areas of attack and present the true facts concerning these items.

1. Education.—Romanian law guarantees each child and young adult an education and does not discriminate because of religion and/or minority background. Schools are required to be established and adequately staffed with qualified teachers. Romania, as America, recognizes the importance of education. Romania however goes a little further than America in that the government establishes schools in the national language and when there are a concentration of citizens with a minority background, will also establish and staff a duplicate educational system that is taught in that minority group's ethnic language. Students have a choice of language when receiving an education and this choice is available from the starting grades and carried on through university levels. By law, no one is denied an education because of religious or ethnic background and all costs of an education at elementary or through university levels are paid for by the government. The government pays all costs associated with education regardless of the language in which it is taught. Even though the government is relatively poor and is still trying to bring up the standard of living to even a reasonably low level when compared to American standards, it gives priority to education, even when it duplicates educational systems in order to give its minority groups an opportunity to send their children to be educated in their own ethnic language. Those who claim that an education is denied to minority groups are making completely false claims that have no basis of true facts.

Use of minority language.—False allegations being circulated claim that minority groups are being denied the opportunity to retain and use their ethnic languages and preserve their ethnic backgrounds. The existence of government sponsored schools and universities taught in the various ethnic languages, the printing and importation of books, magazines, newspapers, etc. in ethnic languages, the existence of organizations for the performing arts (world's oldest active Jewish theater is in Bucharest) that use the various ethnic languages and countless hours of broadcasts by radio and television stations where the ethnic language is used and, many other daily activities all clearly testify to the fact that the government has not eliminated the use of a language of an ethnic minority group.

Practice of religion.—All the various faiths have places of worship, leaders such as Priests, Rabbis, Ministers, etc. and local congregations where anyone may go to pray, join in services, etc. This is a known fact that has received considerable international publicity and I am confident that every member of the Subcommittee is familiar with this situation. The claims that religion is being destroyed are obviously false.

Protection of cultural patrimony.—In response to a UNESCO recommendation made many years ago to all United Nations members, Romania passed legislation intended to restore and preserve works of art, old buildings of historical interest, ancient documents, manuscripts, books, records, etc. and any other items that represented the culture of the country and its people. This was done as an inventory action to identify all items, their condition, location and the ownership of each item warranting preservation for the benefit of all future generations. All items inventoried were left in the owner's possession with the

usual notification that the items were not to be destroyed, damaged, permitted to deteriorate or permitted to be removed out of the country. The Romanian legislation is very similar to the same type legislation passed by Canada and many other Western Nations. This legislation is intended to preserve for future generations every aspect of Romania's history and culture including that of minority groups and all religions. The false claims being made allege that Romania confiscated and is deliberately destroying all historical and cultural treasures related to minority groups, all religions, etc.

If this were true, Romania would have destroyed nearly all of its historical and cultural treasures because all minority and religious groups have made very important and many, many contributions to Romania's culture and history. In addition, there would be no museums, most of the old historic buildings would have been torn down (whole towns and cities would have vanished—including Bucharest itself) and the whole world would have raised its anger over such a senseless act. There have been some government confiscations, primarily from those who tried to smuggle the items out of the country for reasons of profit but every country has had this experience. The fact that preservation of cultural items, works of art, etc. are of interest to the entire world and one of the easiest ways to get attention and generate bad feelings against a country is to accuse that country of destroying these irreplaceable items. All visitors, scholars, artists, religious leaders, etc. can testify to the fact that these allegations against Romania are completely false.

Restrictions on visitors/tourists.—Many of the false allegations in this area center about travel restrictions preventing relatives from visiting members of their family in Romania. This is completely false as anyone with a valid passport from their own country can visit any relative or friend or even just travel in Romania merely by presenting the passport upon arrival at a border check-point or at the international airports. Prearranged visas are not required. Records testify to the fact that hundreds of thousands of citizens from Hungary, Israel, America and other countries visit Romania each year and the number continues to grow.

The one restriction on visitors to Romania was passed a few years ago and does not permit any Romanian family to provide housing to a foreign visitor unless the visitor is a close relative of the family being visited. When one realizes that housing in Romania is allocated on the basis of the size of the family that is to occupy the premises, it is easily understood that the law was passed for the benefit of both the family being visited and the tourists themselves. While many items were used as a basis in false allegations that friends and relatives could not be visited in Romania, this particular legislation restricting private housing only to those visitors that were close relatives is the restriction that is most often twisted out of context and used as a basis for false allegations that relatives and friends are prohibited from visiting their relatives and friends in Romania.

Summary.—There have been many other false allegations made against Romania on various human rights issues and after investigation to determine the true facts, the allegations are found to be false and not representative of true conditions in Romania.

We recognize that Romania is a closed society and that many of the laws in effect in this closed society when compared to American freedoms that we enjoy will appear to be very restrictive by American standards. However, we must remember that Rome was not built in a day and that loosening of restrictions of liberties in Romania will take time to accomplish and may never come up to American levels. But, there is little doubt by the American government, students of Eastern Europe and many of us American-Romanians that Romania has come a long way in easing restrictions on freedom since coming out from behind the Iron Curtain, freeing itself of the shackles of the Yalta Agreements and domination by Russia. As a sovereign nation that is doing its best to establish strong friendly relations with America and other Western Nations and is slowly but surely being successful, we can easily see and understand why these false allegations are being so vigorously publicized by those other Eastern European nations who are guilty of such acts of cultural genocide and inhumanity to mankind. These nations were denied MFN status because of their known acts of inhumanity to man and their refusal to recognize human rights. These nations are also stagnant in their economic development while they observe their neighbor Romania making significant advances in their economy, standards of living, etc. These very same nations are using tactics that are very

popular in and have been used countless times in the past by Russia and its satellites and reflect the political doctrine enforced by the Moscow group that controls and dominates Russia, Hungary and other Eastern European nations. The doctrine of "limited sovereignty" is very evident in these attacks and this doctrine is well recognized throughout the world as being very dear and close to the hearts of Mr. Brezhnev and his many close associates in the Moscow group that is so famous and well known to all of us as a major threat to America and all freedom loving nations throughout the world.

We sincerely and strongly urge the American government's approval to extend the MFN granted Romania in 1975 as this supports Romania's efforts as a sovereign nation, helps loosen restrictions on liberties in Romania and permits Romania to be the model in Eastern Europe of progress as a nation that is not dominated by Russia.

Everyone in our foundation strongly deplores any and all discrimination on ethnic or any other grounds, and/or persecution for religious beliefs here in America, in Romania or in any other place in the world. We will continue to monitor civil liberties in Romania and other parts of the world and will firmly support all humanity in the full realization and enjoyment of all fundamental human rights. We recognize that conditions for all Romanian citizens could be improved and we will not hesitate to speak out and work for such improvements. We will also continue to speak out whenever we note the use of incorrect, incomplete and/or deliberately misleading historical or cultural facts that are obviously designed to curtail or deprive any individual or individuals of their human rights.

BARBU NICULESCU,
Chairman and President.

AUGUST 24, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF.

I come before you to ask your support to accomplish my action of getting the approval for my parents and brother to come and visit me.

-It is well known that the pact from Helsinki supports the declaration of individual freedom of speech and emigration.

The pact unfortunately is only on the paper and not in reality, my country makes a lot of difficulties for the people which wants to leave the country even in vacation.

Therefore for my parents and brother will be impossible to come to visit without support from you.

My parents are old and I haven't seen them for over 4 years.

So I come and I ask your support to make my wish real.

I already send form to my family and to the embassy of U.S.A. to Bucarest.

My parents are in Rumania in Bucarest:

Nituleasa, Elena, mother; Nituleasa, Vasile, father; Puzdrea, Dumitru, brother.

Address: Str. Arlesul Mare, Nr. 2 Bld. J 11, Sc. D. Ap. 47, sect. 7, Bucarest, R.S., Romania.

Thank you for your attention and support.

Respectfully,

GEORGE NITULEASA.

NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL, INC.,
New York, N.Y., August 25, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,

Subcommittee on International Trade, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The National Foreign Trade Council whose membership, as you know, comprises a broad cross section of diversified international business interests supports the continuation of most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania and extending 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). From information which we have received U.S. Immigration visas issued to Romanians for the first seven months of 1976 have more than doubled such visas issued in same period of 1975 and Israeli visas issued to Romanians for the first seven months of 1976 are running 43 percent over a like period for 1975.

In our view this meets the condition requiring compliance with The Freedom of Emigration Provision of the law and provides a basis for extending the President's authority to waive the aforementioned subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

This statement is being submitted in lieu of personal appearance before your Subcommittee and it is respectfully requested that it be incorporated in the record of your hearings and made a part thereof.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. NORRIS, *President.*

KURT ORBAN Co., INC.,
Wayne, N.J., August 30, 1976.

Re Most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: We favor extension of the MFN status for Romania.

While our own export company does little business with Romania at the present time, we have been successful in importing steel mill products from Romania since MFN was granted and feel that this business can become steady and regular only if MFN is continued.

Otherwise the duties on most steel products become so prohibitive that the Romanians will most certainly sell into other markets whatever export surpluses they have of those steel products which are in worldwide short supply. In fact, they probably would not even be able to compete against other world sources in the United States without dumping, if they had to absorb the difference between MFN and non-MFN duty.

We are now also engaged in widening our supply base for tires to include Romania and have some initial favorable results from our discussions.

Generally, we believe strongly in the idea of reciprocal trade, which should mean imports paid for in cash vs. exports paid for in cash rather than exports created more or less artificially by the granting of long-term credit.

These exports are all very fine, and we are very much for them since they do create jobs and improve our balance of payments, but creating them solely on the basis of long-term credits rather than on the basis of reciprocal trade can only have the ultimate result that "the birds will finally come home to roost" and, unless the country to which we wish to export is also exporting to us, it just won't work in the long run.

Regarding the situation of the minorities in Romania, members of our company who have traveled there have noticed that there seems to be a good working relationship between the Romanian Government and the Jewish citizens of Romania, as well as a friendly relationship between Romania and the State of Israel.

We have no information about the situation of other minorities, particularly Hungarians within Romania, so that we are not in a position to comment on the complaints that have appeared in the press.

From a business viewpoint, we endorse whole heartedly an extension of MFN for the longest period allowed by the law.

Very truly yours,

K. ORBAN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Art. 18

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

We are Viorica Pantea and Ion Pantea, Romanians born and permanent residents of the U.S.A. since January 24, 1975.

We left Romania in September 8, 1972 with tourist passports for Italy.

From Italy we reached Austria where we defected and asked Political Asylum. We were then granted Political Asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations Organization in Geneva. We settled in the United States of America with the strong determination of starting a new life in freedom.

We reached the U.S.A in January 24, 1973 and we have made application to reject our Romanian citizenship.

In Communist Romanian there are hostages: our children: (1) Monica Pantea, daughter, born on September 11, 1952. She is an english teacher;

(2) Dan Pantea, son, born on February 13, 1950, both of Pareullenin 10, Apt. 24, Oradea.

They have made many applications for exit visas in order to join us in the U.S.A., but all their applications were rejected by the Romanian Communist Security.

The Romanian Communist Government does not respect the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 10, 1948), The Helsinki Documents (1975) nor the condition of easing the emigration from Romania, as recently agreed (1975) upon in the Trade Agreement and M.F.N. closed with the U.S.A.

In January 2, 1970, we joined the Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion in front of the United Nations Organization in New York. Against the Romanian Communist Government who kept our children hostage. We will not leave this place of hunger strike until our hostage children come here, in front of the UNO in New York, where we are fasting.

In May 24, 1970 we joined The Third Romanian Hunger Strike for Family Reunion.

We respectfully appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to use your influence in helping us to bring our hostage children from communist Romania.

Thank you, Honorable Sir, for your humanitarian support.

Sincerely yours,

VIORICA PANTEA AND ION PANTEA.

NEW YORK, August 30, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: I, the undersigned George Panici, of 140 Green St., Brooklyn, New York, N.Y. 11222 respectfully submit for your consideration the following:

I am born on March 25, 1948, in Bebboresca village, Caras-Severin County, Romania. My father's name is Radosav Panici and my mother's name is Maria. I was legally married to Iconie Panici (nee Fanu), born on March 17, 1950, in Racovita-Sirbova village, Timis County, Romania. The fruit of this marriage is a daughter, Zehra-Emina Panici, born on December 9, 1973. Both my wife and daughter live in Racovita-Sirbova village, Timis, Romania.

What I would kindly ask you, Mr. Stern is to understand my grief and to help me in my efforts regarding the reunion of my family. The Socialist Republic Romania has assumed an obligation and responsibility as to the reunion of the families when it was granted the commercial status as "the most favorite nation," in 1975.

I came here with an ardor to identify myself with the great American nation and to work hard for the aspirations of this wonderful country which from now on I consider it as mine too. I was not and I could not be a member of the Communist party because my father was considered as a "Kulak" and anti-Communist by the present regime in Romania.

For his firm belief in the principles of democracy he was imprisoned from 1950-1953, and forced to work in lead mines of Bala-Spric and Cavhic, Romania.

I would like to mention that on May 4, 1970, I have submitted to the Romanian Embassy in Washington a written request indicating my intention to renounce my Romanian citizenship, and on May 12, 1970, I have applied to the said Embassy as to the reunion of my family. Also I have sent an application for a visa to the United States Embassy in Bucharest, Romania and subsequently, my wife was called to provide the Embassy with the necessary information which she did.

Three months have elapsed and I didn't hear a word from the Romanian government.

Mr. Stern, you are a man of great political prestige at home as well as abroad and therefore, you can have an influence on the respective, Romanian authorities with respect to an exit visa for my wife and child.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

GEORGE PANICL

NEW YORK, October 18, 1975.

DEAR SIR: I and my wife left our native country, Rumania, in 1972. In 1973 we arrived in the United States as political refugees. At present we are permanent residents intending to become American citizens.

Since we left Rumania our mothers tried several times to come to visit us, but they were obstinately refused. As a reason for their last 2 refusals (January and October 1975), the Rumanian authorities claimed the fact we didn't regulate our position versus Rumanian government (in our case, that means, to renounce at Rumar'an citizenship).

I would like to point out the fact we did everything which was up to us to regulate this situation: we filled out the necessary forms and we paid the required 200 dollars per person to renounce at Rumanian citizenship. It is only at their latitude if we will get this renouncement and when it will happen.

In our case the arrival of our mothers here does not represent only an elementary human right, but also, the possibility to solve a very important problem for us: my wife has to have a surgical intervention (open cardiac surgery) for mitral stenosis. After that, she has to be cared and watched closely. I am engaged in American medical training making 10-11 calls per month. So, we need somebody who could help and be with my wife any time she needs help, and only our mothers could do such a thing in our case.

Recently, Rumania signed a trade agreement with the United States and received the most favored nation treatment, making assurances that restrictions on emigration will be eased.

How does Rumanian government respect this agreement?

Why the United States grant such governments that do not respect even the most elementary human rights?

Sincerely yours,

OVIDIU PLATICA, M.D.

REGO PARK, N.Y., October 7, 1975.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG.

DEAR SIR: My name is Dr. Ana C. Plesea and I am a dentist graduated from the Medical Institute of Bucharest, Rumania, in 1968. I came in the United States in May 23, 1974, as a visitor, and I decided to remain here by professional reasons. I was adjusted at N.Y.C. under the 3rd preference and I was registered according to law as a permanent resident in the United States on September 4, 1975, under the number A21 786 005.

I am married since February 19, 1966 with Gabriel Plesea who resides at the present time at 4 Silfdelor St., Bucharest, Rumania. At the beginning of this year, my husband asked the Rumanian Officials the permission to emigrate in the United States for joining me, but they did not want to take his request under consideration. On the top of that, he was released from his job as a documentarist at the UNESCO Center in Bucharest.

On July 21, 1975, after I sent a request to the Rumanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., my husband was asked by the Rumanian Officials to enter his papers for leaving Rumania, as an immigrant. Unexpectedly, his passport was rejected without any explanation, in spite of the fact that the Rumanian Government granted the emigration of Rumanians to the United States to join their families living here, receiving so the most-favored-nation status under the new Trade Act voted by the Senate on July 25, 1975.

Regarding all the above, I should appreciate any help that you could give us.
Sincerely,

DR. ANA C. PLESEA.

LEMON GROVE, CALIF., August 27, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have been informed through the press release of Aug. 6, 1976, that hearings on continuing most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania and on extending the President's authority to waive the application of the freedom of emigration provision of the Trade Act of 1974 will be held starting Sept. 8, 1976, before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance.

Please find enclosed my written statement in connection with this matter, as I want it to be filed for the record of the hearings. I would be very honored to testify before the Subcommittee, but unfortunately the travel expenses from San Diego to Washington are high for a person in difficult financial position, as a refugee I still am. However, if you would consider that my appearance in person before the Subcommittee would be desirable either to help clarify the matter or to get a better chance for my family to obtain permission for leaving Romania, I would make without hesitation the required financial effort and appear before the Subcommittee on a date at its convenience.

Therefore, I leave the decision about my appearance before the Subcommittee entirely in your hands.

Faithfully yours,

ALEXANDER C. POP.

LEMON, GROVE, CALIF., August 27, 1976.

In connection with eventual continuation of the most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania and extension of the U.S. 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).

I am born on August 9, 1935, in Cluj, Romania. For many years my parents and myself have been suffering frustrations and persecutions due to our non-compliance with the communist regime that was established in Romania after World War II.

My father, Valeriu Pop, a notable political personality of the pre-war years, has been imprisoned for 5 years, without trial and without any guilt except his democratic beliefs and died shortly after being set free, due to the extermination conditions he has been subjected to in prison. Our home and all our goods were confiscated abusively, we have been subjected to all kinds of discrimination, I have been temporarily prevented from attending university (I have got a Master's Degree in Electrical Engineering) and repeatedly refused professional promotion I deserved.

Despite this, I have been hoping that sooner or later things should change and the country should return to a democratic regime. As years have gone by, I painfully realized that although some improvements were perceptible, arbitrary and abuse were perpetuated by the communist party maintaining actually a dictatorship.

Finally, seeing that no opposition was possible and no substantial change was to be reasonably expected, I decided to leave my homeland and resettle in a free and democratic country. Because Romania's regulations prevent from filing emigration applications (nothing to say of approvals!) any persons excepting those having close relative residing abroad or being of other nationalities than Romanian, the only legal way for me and my family to leave Romania was to get tourist passports. It is common practice in Romania to issue such passports only to one member of the family, keeping the others as hostages. However, it took me 6 years of attempts to obtain my tourist passport and finally reach West Germany in 1974. As price for my liberty I had to leave back in Romania my family that were not permitted to travel abroad with me:

Elisabeta Maria Tenescu, wife, born on May 28, 1934, in Buzau, Romania (we married legally on Feb. 28, 1968, in Bucharest, Sector 4, registration number 2826 and as permitted by Romania's laws, my wife chose to keep after marriage her last name at birth) and

Cristiana Motet-Grigoras, stepdaughter, born on June 30, 1958, in Bucharest, Romania (my wife's daughter from her previous marriage with Dan Motet-Grigoras, legally terminated by divorce on May 18, 1961).

Both residing in Str. Midia Nr. 11, Bucharest, Sector 8.

On Dec. 11, 1975, I was admitted as a refugee to the United States (alien registration number A20 443 222) and presently I am employed with National Steel and Shipbuilding Co., in San Diego, Calif.

Shortly after coming to the United States I started taking the necessary steps to establish my family's eligibility for a U.S. entrance visa. Meanwhile all formalities have been performed and they are now registered with the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest as qualified immigrants.

But so far, all efforts to obtain from Romanian authorities permission for my family to leave Romania and join me in the United States have been unsuccessful. During the two years since I left Romania, I have repeatedly asked the Romanian Embassies in Köln, West Germany and Washington, D.C., the Govern-

mental Commission for Passports and Visas in Bucharest, Romania's Council of State and even President Nicolae Ceausescu, to permit my family to leave Romania, but for the time being none of these letters (some of them written more than one year ago) has been answered. The Romanian officials I could get in touch with in Koln and Washington refused me any concrete assistance.

After many bureaucratic harassments, my wife and stepdaughter managed to file in Nov. 1975 a passport application on local level, but half a year later yet no answer had been given them, so I decided to apply for support to several U.S. Congressmen. Following my request, Representatives Lionel Van Deerlin and Morris K. Udall and Senators Alan Cranston and Henry M. Jackson have made inquiries on my and my family's behalf with Romania's Ambassador in Washington, but so far no significant answer has been received.

The Department of State, aware of the situation following inquiries of Congressmen and my letters to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller and President Gerald R. Ford, has made also three interventions with Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest.

Despite all this, my wife was called on June 17, 1976, to the Passport Office in Bucharest and told her and my stepdaughter's application to leave Romania had been turned down. The appeal they filed with the Governmental Commission for Passports and Visas was rejected earlier in July. No comprehensive reason for refusal was given them. They appealed next with the Council of State, the petition is still pendent.

I consider that Romanian authorities, by systematically ignoring my requests and the inquiries made by U.S. Congressmen and Department of State and refusing my family permission to leave Romania and join me in the United States, thus violating the most elementary humanitarian principles on family reunification, prove that they have failed to fulfill the expectations on more liberal emigration practices that made possible the approval in July 1975 of the Trade Agreement between United States and Romania.

Last year's records show that after a very short period of improvement, during which a relatively large number of emigration approvals were issued, Romania restricted again its emigration performance to an almost unprecedented down level. The short relaxation period during the summer of 1975 was obviously only a tactical maneuver to induce in error the Congress and the Administration of the United States about the real intentions of the Romanian Government and obtain approval of the Trade Agreement by the Congress. Once this goal reached, the Romanian Government proceeded quickly to cut down new approvals, in order to keep average annual emigration rates at the small level considered acceptable by Romania's official standards.

This tactic isn't a new one, but unfortunately it works well all too frequently, because many political leaders of the free world cannot believe yet that their counterparts in communist dominated countries have since long abandoned their "bourgeois prejudices" (as the official communist ideology calls notions like freedom, democracy, human rights, honesty, fairplay) and try to obtain by cheat what they cannot obtain by other means.

To put it openly, communist ruling parties in Romania and other Eastern European countries do not care about human rights and people's welfare. People are considered property of a communist party managed state that never accepts to let them go away, unless it obtain some political or economic advantage in exchange, or is forced to do so by direct or indirect pressure from outside.

It is a significant fact that since the end of 1975, Romanian people seeking reunification of their families had to resort on a scale never seen before to most desperate protest actions like hunger strikes in Munich, Koln and New York.

Romania has signed and ratified several international treaties and agreements like The Universal Declaration on Human Rights and The Declaration of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, but in fact it simply ignores them, because they fail to provide efficient penalties against countries that do not respect their signatures.

My opinion is that the Trade Agreement between United States and Romania is going to have the same fate, unless U.S. Administration and Congress would take appropriate action to force Romania's Government to grant emigration freedom under immediate penalty of losing commercial benefits. An extension of the President's waiver authority, that would encourage Romanian authorities to continue their restricting emigration policy, instead of promoting the objective of freedom of emigration in general and in particular in the case of Romania, would have exactly the opposite effect and would create a very dangerous

precedent by perpetuating an exception situation in which a dictatorial regime benefits of trade provisions reserved only for democratic countries.

I urge therefore the Congress of the United States to adopt appropriate legislation making the Trade Agreement with Romania subject to immediate termination, if Romanian Government continues its actual policy of emigration restriction and does not grant immediately permissions for leaving Romania in stringent cases of family reunification.

ALEXANDRU C. POP.

LEMON GROVE, CALIF., June 21, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I take again the liberty to write you in connection with the case of my wife, Elisabeta Maria Tenescu and my stepdaughter Cristiana Motet-Grigoras, that are refused permission by Romanian authorities to leave the country and join me in the United States.

Since I wrote you previously I have taken the necessary steps to establish the eligibility of my family for a United States entrance visa. The formalities with the United States Embassy in Bucharest are nearly to be accomplished. My wife has contacted Mr. Anthony C. Perkins, Consul of the United States in Bucharest, informing him about the impediments she and my stepdaughter have in obtaining the passport from the Romanian authorities. I have asked the United States Embassy directly to help my family and Mr. Perkins answered me that the Embassy will intervene on their behalf with the Romanian authorities and will continue to support my family's case until they are able to obtain permission to leave Romania.

However the news I recently received from my wife was bad. She informed me that she had been called to the Passport Office and told her and my stepdaughters application for leaving Romania had been turned down. She was given following reasons: since I left Romania willingly they do not consider this case as a family reunion and therefore if I want to see again my family I have to return back to Romania.

During the conversation with my wife I noticed that she has been terribly shocked and discouraged by that refusal and I fear the blow could negatively affect her health and mental condition.

The reasons given for refusal are a mixture of cynicism and nonsense and by refusing my family the permission to leave the country Romanian authorities are showing again that they do not care about human rights and that they rudely violate both the spirit and the letter of various international agreements and declarations signed by Romania, including the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement.

I want to confirm solemnly by this letter that I will not and I cannot return to a country where I and my family have been persecuted and subjected to all kinds of discriminations for 25 years, where my father has been imprisoned for 5 years without trial and without any guilt and died shortly after being set free, due to the extermination conditions he has been subjected to in prison where our house and all our goods have been illegally confiscated, where we have been abusively chased from our home, where I have been for a long time prevented from completing my studies and repeatedly refused professional promotion, where there is no liberty of speech, opinion, religion and movement, where people are treated like slaves.

I told my wife to try to appeal that decision with the Governmental Commission for Passports and Visas and I wrote the Commission a letter of protest, but I have little hope for success without efficient help from outside Romania and particularly from the Congress and the Government of the United States.

Your help in any form would be more valuable than ever, especially now as Romania is seeking renewal of its Trade Agreement with the United States.

The Congress and the Government of the United States, by adopting appropriate legislation and through direct contacts with Romanian authorities could force Romania to grant effective freedom of emigration and a real humanitarian approach of family reunion cases as condition for renewal of the Trade Agreement.

Therefore I insistently ask you again to help my family and other people in similar situation by supporting this cause by any suitable means at your hand. Thanking you for your anticipated assistance, I assure you of my outstanding gratitude and remain,

Faithfully yours,

ALEXANDRU C. POP.

THE UNION & LEAGUE R.S.A., INC.,
Cleveland, Ohio, May 26, 1976.

THE FINANCE COMMITTEE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: In 1975 when Romania was being considered for "Most Favored Nation" status by our Government, the Union and League of Romanian Societies of America Inc., the largest representative organization of the Romanian people in this country, expressed their approval to the proper authorities of this consideration. This approval was based on a list of conditions as follows:

1. That the Romanian government and its agencies and representatives cease interfering in the affairs of our Romanian-American institutions.

2. That it short circuit or streamline its procedure to ensure the early emigration of families who are separated.

3. That assurances be given that it will allow any Romanian citizen to visit or to emigrate.

4. That confiscatory taxes on gifts received by Romanian citizens from friends and relatives in the United States be eliminated.

5. That it will cease the needless lawsuits filed in our courts in behalf of Romanian nationals in testamentary and inheritance matters.

6. That the Government speed up the delivery of documents requested.

7. That the ban on the circulation of American-Romanian publications be lifted by the Government.

It is our observation that the Romanian Government either did not fulfill these conditions or that they are slow in fulfilling them.

The Union and League therefore must go on record at this time as no longer being in favor of renewal of the "Most Favored Nation" status for Romania.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN W. POPESCU, *President.*
SYLVIA V. FILIP, *Secretary.*

MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Dirksen Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: Following, in accordance with your recent notice to those wishing to present their views, relative to the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974.

I. PERSONAL STATISTICS

(a) My name is PETRE POPESCU residing at 9370 Charest, Hamtramck, Michigan 48212 refugee from Romania resident permanent in the United States since 1973.

II. MY EFFORTS IN THE U.S. IN BEHALF

(a) My name is PETRE POPESCU residing at 9370 Charest, Hamtramck, authorities demand to give up the Romanian citizenship or to take a Romanian passport. I choose to give up the Romanian citizenship which was approved by the Romanian government, in 1975. After I complete the Romanian demands, the Romanian Authority still refuse to give my mother visa to visit me.

(b) I send to her the required forms necessary to obtain visa to visit me in the United States. My mother received a letter from the Romanian Passport office on September 6, 1976 which tell her that her application she made to obtain Romanian passport to visit me in the United States was rejected without any explanation. I attach to this letter 2 photo copies of my renunciation to the Romanian citizenship which I received from the Romanian Embassy in 1975 in Washington, D.C. One is in Romanian and the other is in English translation. Based upon the above-mentioned frustrating account of my fruitless endeavors to convince the Romanian authorities to allow my mother to visit me in the U.S.

Sincerely yours,

PETRE POPESCU.

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1975.

Translation from the Romanian Language

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
Consular Section
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PETRE POPESCU: This is to inform you that your petition in our file of the Embassy for the judicial reclamation toward the Romanian State was

approved by the State Council of R. S. Romania for your permanent residence abroad and that by Presidential Decree Nr. 154 of July 15, 1975 your petition of renunciation at Romanian Citizenship also was approved.

With regards,
[SEAL].

ION EDC,
Head of Consular Section.

I Eugen Raica do hereby state that I am familiar with both Romanian and English languages, that I compared the translation with the original and found out it to be a true and correct translation thereof.

*State of Michigan,
County of Wayne:*

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence this 22nd Day of November 1975 in Detroit, Michigan.

STELIAN STANICEL,
Notary Public.

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1975.

AMBASADA REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA
*Secția Consulară,
Washington, D.C.*

STIMATE D-NULE POPESCU PETRE: Urmare cererii dvs. depuse la ambasada pentru reglementarea situatiei juridice fata de statul roman, va facem cunoscut ca Consiliul de Stat al R. S. Romania v-a aprobat stabilirea definitiva in strainatate, ira prin Decretul Prezidential Nr. 154 din 15 Iulie 1975 vi s-a aprobat cererea de renuntare la cetatenia romana.

Cu stima,

Seful Secției Consulare.

STATEMENT OF IOANA PUSCOV

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Ioana Puscov, I am Romanian born (maiden name: Ioana Manea) on April 23, 1950 and since May 8th, 1974 a resident in United States of America.

Due to the hard conditions I lived in during the schooling years in communist Romania, I have been able to attend one year only the courses at a Philology College in my old country, after that being forced to accept for living a modest employment as office worker. Opposing the realities of communist Romania, my husband tried to escape underground from over there, and caught during this attempt, he has been sentenced to political imprisonment.

Missing any real chance to lead a honest and decent life, both I and my husband decided to leave for good Romania at any price. On August 24th 1973 we succeeded to do this, our European aim being Austria where we two arrived on Sept. 16th, 1973. With no delay, we asked for political asylum and the permission to emigrate in United States. Our admission in U.S. took place, as shown above, on May 8th, 1974.

Unfortunately, escaping from communist Romania, we left behind there the sister of my husband Puscov Maria, veterinarian doctor, born on September 23, 1932 in the village of Vinga, District of Arad, Romania. Her present address in this country of dictatorship and oppression is: Str. Gloriei no. 14, Timisoara, Romania.

In March, 1976 I and my husband mailed the due Affidavit of Support in behalf of this relative of ours to the American Embassy in Bucharest-Romania and also to the named Puscov Maria in order to have her visit us in United States of America, but the Romanian communist authorities categorically rejected our and her request.

This is the usual way these authorities handle important problems concerning the people's life. The Romanian communist regime headed by President Nicolae

Ceausescu systematically violate, in this respect, the provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the border regime and the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 in the Trade Agreement with United States, and despite all their promises and obligations assumed therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

Openly protesting the hard line followed by the Romanian Government, on May 20, 1976 I started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave this place until my relative Puscov Maria will get the permission to leave Romania.

I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to my sister-in-law the necessary visa for her travel to United States and her definitive settlement in this country of freedom.

I warmly thank you for your humanitarian help!

ASTORIA, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Iosif Puscov, (together with my ex-flance, my actual wife, Ioana Puscov, I crossed underground the Romanian-Yugoslavian border and reached Austria in 1973. For this reason we were sentenced in contumacy for two years.

On May 8th, 1974 we came to the United States of America.

After being separated by our families three years, we decided to invite my sister Dr. Maria Puscov who is living now on Gloriel Street-14, Timisoara, Romania, to visit us in the United States. On this purpose we have done all the necessary application-forms, and on March 17th, 1976 we had paid a travel ticket to the Tarom (Romanian Airline Travel Agency).

Even though in Romania there is a law which stipulates that: Every resident may get the exit-visa from Romania every two years, the romanian authorities refused without any explications to issue a passport to my sister.

The Romanian authorities not only that they do not respect the Romania's Constitution, but several international agreements like The Universal Declaration of Human Rights; The Helsinki Document where it is precesed that: every resident of the country which had signed the agreement may travel whenever he likes.

The lack of humanity which persists in Romania determined us to declare a hunger strike on May 28th, 1976, in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City. Since then we are still protesting.

Now, with the occasion of granting the most-favored-nation to Romania, we appeal to you to make use of the Jackson-Vanick amendment (which refuses to grant the most-favored-nation to the country which unreasonable forbid or restrict the right to travel or the right of emigration to it's people), and to choose a compromise formula to compel Romania's Government to issue the passports to everyone who ask for.

Sincerely yours,

IOSIF PUSCOV.

NEW YORK, February 8, 1976.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: I am an attorney associated with a New York law firm, born in Romania and naturalized in the United States.

I desire to marry Doctor Mariana Munteanu, a Romanian citizen, residing at 5 A Dr. Lister Street, Bucuresti, Romania. She applied the Romanian government to get permission to marry an United States citizen, but her petition was turned down.

Romania receives the benefits of the Most Favored Nation Statute on the condition that she permits free emigration as provided in the U.S. Trade Act. Romania also signed the Helsinki Declaration which contains a special chapter on marriages.

It is my understanding that by obtaining the benefits provided for in the Trade Act, Romania committed herself to a freer emigration policy. All the Romanian officials which I had contacted either here in the United States or in Romania asserted that there is no treaty obligation on the Romania side to a freer emigration policy, because Romania signed no binding international instrument in this respect.

When you voted the Trade Act did you or did you not understand that by getting those benefits, Romania, as a matter of international obligation, should have embarked on a freer emigration policy?

If you will find for a treaty obligation of Romania, I can provide you with thousands of cases where Romanian government disregarded its contractual obligations and refused to let out the country Romanian citizens who petitioned to emigrate.

I respectfully request you to bring up this matter on the floor and have Romania define her position whether or not she is obligated as a matter of international law to free her emigration policy.

I would appreciate if you will write me what is your personal opinion concerning the Trade Act. Since Romania obtained a lot of economic benefits from the United States can a Romanian citizen be entitled to emigrate as a matter of right or he must be at the Romanian government mercy as the case was before Romania got the Most Favored Nation Statute?

Very Truly yours,

VICTOR RADULESCU.

NEW YORK, March 1, 1976.

HON. ARTHUR A. HARTMAN,
Assistant Secretary,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARTMAN: Enclosed herewith you will find a complaint against the Romanian government for monies damages in the sum of \$450,000. I kindly request that the said action be brought in my behalf.

If the case can not be settled by negotiations on diplomatic channels and you or a member of your staff will feel that an action will be barred in an international forum, please feel free to call me and I would be glad to discuss the technicalities on this matter.

I respectfully request, as various senators stated in the United States Congress debates, that President Ford should be advised that it is necessary to withdraw his waiver on which was granted Romania the Most Favored Nation benefits.

I kindly draw your attention to the fact that so far I wrote six letters to your Department but they were referred with covering letters to the United States Embassy in Romania or submitted to various desks within your Department without any good outcome.

I am a human being and not just an inert piece of paper and I am sure you will regard my case with due care. The matter on issue is what I have more valuable in my life—my mother and my wife.

I hope that you would not stand that your fellow citizen be deprived of his legal rights by a Communist state which is improving its ruined economy with the United States monies, ultimately paid by all United States taxpayers including your deponent. I also believe that you would not permit that a Communist state to disregard and defy a treaty whereby it obtains a lot of economic advantages.

If you believe in freedom and human rights please do act accordingly.

Very truly yours,

VICTOR RADULESCU.

VERIFIED COMPLAINT

VICTOR RADULESCU, PLAINTIFF

v.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA, DEFENDANT

Plaintiff, pro se, for his complaint, respectfully shows and alleges as follows:

AS TO THE JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE AN ACTION IN BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFF

1. That at all times hereinafter mentioned the plaintiff Victor Radulescu was and still is an United States citizen residing at 43-33, 46th. Street, Long Island City, New York.

2. That at all times hereinafter mentioned, the defendant is a state entity and a contracting party of the United States Romania Bilateral Commercial Agreement.

3. That the jurisdiction of an international forum is accrued as the plaintiff is submitting himself to protection of his state of nationality, namely the United States.

4. That the International Court of Justice has jurisdiction over the case as provided for articles 30 (2) (a) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice and articles 65 and 66 of the Vienna Convention on Law of Treaties, the United States and Romania being a signatory party thereof.

AS TO THE FIRST CAUSE OF ACTION

5. That on or about September 18, 1975 the plaintiff's common wife Doctor Mariana Munteanu a Romanian citizen residing at 5A Dr. Lister Street, Bucuresti, Romania filed with the defendant the petition No. 1975 requesting a traveling document to emigrate in the United States and reunite plaintiff thereupon.

6. That on or about November 27, 1975 the said defendant refused to issue a traveling document without giving any reasoning.

7. That the plaintiff had contacted and petitioned the defendant's representatives and agents and requested same to have his common law wife released but the defendant refused asserting that Romania has signed with the United States no treaty which imposes upon defendant any obligation whereby Doctor Mariana Munteanu can be freed. Further the defendant maintained that Romania was and still is a sovereign state, and its laws prohibit emigration.

8. That it is not contested by the parties that the defendant has concluded with the United States a Bilateral Commercial Agreement based on the United States Trade Act.

9. That according to the aforesaid Trade Act the United States granted Romania the Most Favored Nation benefits and Romania accepted same.

10. That the said Trade Act was amended by what it is known as Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Section 402 of the Trade Act reads:

"No country shall be eligible to receive non-discriminatory treatment or United States Government credits or credit guarantees if denies its citizens the freedom to emigrate."

11. That the United States view point upon the said Jackson-Vanik Amendment was defined as it had been set forth in Senate Cal. No. 275 Rep. 04-281 page 4 which reads:

"It was clearly the intent of Congress, expressed by the principal authors of the amendment, to encourage freer emigration of all people, regardless of race, color, or religion who wished to emigrate."

Further Senator Ribicoff made more clear the meaning of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment as he stated:

"I also point out that when we talk about emigration we are not just talking of the problem of the Jews. We are talking of the problems of all people. In Romania especially, a number of emigrants are Roman Catholics or Roman Orthodox." (Congressional Record of July 25, 1975, page S13732).

Thereafter Senator Helms affirmed:

"The Jackson Amendment applies to all those who wish to emigrate from non-market countries. That means it applies to all, no matter what their destination" and "In other words the President would reassure us that he would terminate M.F.N. the moment that the Romania begins any harassment against close relatives and not wait until the time comes for the agreement to be extended. We want the President to hold Romania's feet to the fire. We want assurances that he will exercise his authority, and not let Romania get away with the practices enumerated". (Congressional Record of July 25, 1975 page 13737 and 13738).

12. That the Romanian government made no objection or reservation when signed or ratified the said Bilateral Commercial Agreement as it provided for Section 2 Article 19 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

13. That according to Article 26 of the aforementioned Convention, the Bilateral Commercial Agreement being a treaty in force it is binding upon the parties and shall be performed by them in good faith (pacta sunt servanda).

14. That it is irrelevant whether the defendant has enacted or in force domestic laws and regulations which prohibit the exit of the plaintiff's common law wife and such laws and regulations have no effect where in conflict with the Trade Act on which is based the Bilateral Commercial Agreement, as more fully appears from Article 27 of the Vienna Convention.

15. That the defense of the defendant that it is a sovereign state it is immaterial and inconsistent because as a matter of principle of international law the sovereignty of a state it is subdue where there is treaty obligation.

16. That the defendant is bound by a treaty obligation to free Doctor Matiana Munteanu as a matter of international law obligation as more fully appears from article 11 of the Vienna Convention on Law of Treaties.

17. That the defendant by breaching its contractual obligation had and still has deprived the plaintiff of his rights to marry Mariana Munteanu and of the services, society, companionship and consortium of his said common law wife and upon information and belief such deprivation may continue in the future.

18. That by reason of the foregoing, plaintiff sustained damages in the sum of \$100,000.

AS AND FOR THE SECOND CAUSE OF ACTION

19. Plaintiff repeats and realleges each and any allegation of the complaint numbered 1 through 18 as it is set forth herein at length.

20. That since the plaintiff's common law wife filed the petition to leave Romania was in numerous occasions deprived of liberty with no due process of law and harassed by the Romanian political police commonly known as Securitate.

21. That by using barbarous and torturous methods the Romanian securitate in several occasions arrested on the street the plaintiff's common wife and she was intimidated and molested by same to give up her desire to marry plaintiff an United States subject.

22. That the said securitate in its tortious and malicious proceedings forced the plaintiff's common wife to renounce to marry plaintiff and uttered and communicated same defamatory and slanderous words of plaintiff as follows: "Why you want to marry a traitor who is now working and serving the imperialists the ever enemy of the Romanian people. Your would be husband is a crook, a jerk, a convict and he has no good moral character."

23. That the words so spoken were false and defamatory, were known to the defendant's agents and employees to be false and defamatory and were spoken willfully and maliciously with the intent to damage the plaintiff's good name and reputation as the plaintiff is an United States citizen of undoubt probity and a reputable attorney specialized in International Law in the United States.

24. That the defendant has a vicarious liability as the tortious acts were performed by its servants where on duty.

25. That by reason of the words so spoken by the defendant, plaintiff has been injured in his good name and reputation as an attorney at law and has suffered great pain and mental anguish and has been held up to ridicule and contempt by his friends, acquaintances and the public, all to his damage in the sum of \$300,000.

AS TO THE THIRD CAUSE OF ACTION

26. That on or about December 6, 1975 the plaintiff's mother Ioana Radulescu residing at 23 Drumul Taberei, Bloc E 22, Aptm. 16, Bucuresti, Romania applied the defendant for a passport to emigrate in the United States and reunite plaintiff thereupon.

27. That on February 9, 1976 the defaulting state turned down the plaintiff's mother petition without giving any reasoning.

28. That the plaintiff's mother was living with him for a year in the United States and on or about September 23, 1975 went back in Romania to take care of some personal business. At the plaintiff's mother arrival in Romania the defendant confiscated her passport and refused to hand it back.

29. That while in the United States the plaintiff's mother underwent a special medical treatment as she has an acute heart disease.

30. That the said disease requires a special medical treatment which can only be provided here in the United States in specialized hospitals.

31. That the defendant by not permitting the plaintiff's mother to continue her medical treatment in the United States is endangering and aggravating her health.

32. That by reason of the foregoing the plaintiff has deprived of services, society, companionship and consortium of his mother and upon information and belief such deprivation may continue in the future.

33. That by reason of the foregoing plaintiff sustained damage in the amount of \$50,000.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands that an action be promoted in his behalf on the first cause of action in the sum of \$100,000; on the second cause of action in the sum of \$300,000; and on the third cause of action in the sum of \$50,000, together with the costs and disbursements of this action.

Dated: New York, February 24, 1976.

VICTOR RADULESCU.

LEGAL MEMORANDUM

From: Victor Radulescu former Romanian attorney, now associated with a law firm in New York City, Master of Laws in International Legal Studies.

To: Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, United States Senate.

I am fully aware of the Romanian, United States and International law in regard to the legal issue which will be discussed before the Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade of the United States Senate.

Since the last hearing before the said Committee, broadly it can be distinguished three categories of opinions, as follows:

1. The first represents the opinion of the aggrieved people who were impeded by the Romanian government to join their families.

This people beg you to vote for no extension of the most favored nation benefits given Romanian government last year.

2. The second represents the opinion of a handful of United States inhabitants who know nothing about the real situation existing now in Romania and have nothing to do with the Romanian people whatsoever.

Although they are not aggrieved parties they urge you to extend Romania the MFN benefits. In doing so they were pushed either by the Romanian government or by their desire to please the same and making monies by doing business with the Romanian government.

In this category can also be included a small group of former Romanian citizens residing now in this country which is manipulated by the Romanian Embassy from Washington. This group is repudiated by all honest Romanians settled on the United States territory. Although they were not elected nor otherwise empowered to represent the Romanians domiciled in the United States, the members of this group dare in the name of the Romanian people to request you to extend Romanian government the MFN benefits.

3. The third opinion is expressed by the ambiguous and bureaucratic attitude of a group of officers of the Department of State. They know less than the first category about Romania. Strangely enough this group recognized that the Romanian government breached the International Commercial Agreement concluded with the United States but still maintains that the MFN benefits to be given Romanian government.

It is a fact that you were elected by the people and you are solely representing their interests. You were neither elected by a handful of businessmen nor by the group manipulated by the Romanian Embassy.

I am pretty sure that you will stand for a strong action and will not embarrass the ambiguous attitude of the bureaucracy. It is also my strong belief that you will vote according to your constituents' interests and for the well being of this country. You also shall act to keep up the country's international prestige.

FINDING OF FACTS AND CONCLUSION OF LAWS

As to the International Law

In terms of the International Law we are facing an international agreement concluded between the United States and the Romanian government based upon the Trade Act provisions. According to articles 402 and 403 of the said Act it is imposed upon the Romanian government an obligation to free emigration from Romania. This treaty was concluded by being observed all the 1960 Vienna Convention on Law of Treaties requirements. Both the United States and Romania are signatory parties thereof.

The Romanian government signed the Commercial Agreement and made no reservation thereon as provided by article 19 of the Vienna Convention.

By signing the Agreement the Romanian government is bound to the terms of the Trade Act as provided by article 11 of the Vienna Convention which reads:

"The consent of a State to be bound by a treaty may be expressed by signature, exchange of instruments constituting a treaty, ratification or approval or accession or by any other means if so agreed".

The Romanian government infringed the provision of article 20 of the Vienna Convention which reads:

"Every treaty in force is binding upon the parties to it and must be performed by them in good faith".

As it can be seen "Pacta sunt servanda", the old international law principle shall always prevail where there is a treaty obligation.

It has been overwhelmingly proven that the Romanian government breached the International Commercial Agreement based on the Trade Act as same refused to free emigration.

In Romania there are over 300,000 people awaiting ready and willing to leave the country. Since last year only a little over one thousand people were permitted to leave Romania.

The defaulting government after obtained from the United States the most favored nation status, a custom duties free benefit for 186 products and long term credits, now maintains that it signed no international binding instrument in respect to emigration, and as it is a sovereign state, the United States can not impose the Trade Act provisions on its domestic policy. The Romanian government also asserted that the International Commercial Agreement concluded with the United States is not based on the Trade Act and therefore it shall not be considered by the Romanian government.

The question arisen is whether or not the Romanian government concluded an international binding obligation to free its emigration policy.

The answer is yes. The Agreement at bar is based on Trade Act which undoubtedly imposes upon the beneficiary party an obligation to free emigration.

In supporting my assertion I am relying on article 31 of the Law of Treaties which reads as follows:

"A treaty interpreted in good faith in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of the treaty in their context in the light of its object and purpose".

It is as clear as daylight that the Romanian government by signing the International Commercial Agreement based on Trade Act has implicitly agreed to free emigration from Romania. Any contrary argumentation is ill-founded and has no legal international text to rely thereon.

As to Romanian domestic legislation and its so called sovereignty opposed by the Romanian government afterwards in justifying the breach of the international law, any further discussion will be superfluous vis-a-vis of the article 27 of the Vienna Law of Treaties which reads:

"A party may not invoke the provisions of its internal law as justification for its failure to perform a treaty".

Furthermore it is elementary in modern international law and even the Romanian government should have known by now, that in order to perform an international agreement the parties shall subdue their sovereignty to fulfill the treaty provisions.

I do not believe that you will encourage this hocus-pocus foreign policy of the Romanian government which after took all the benefits from the United States now turned its back and is defying a treaty obligation.

Would you by your vote encourage this type of foreign policy?

In sum in terms of the international law the Romanian government signed an Agreement based on the Trade Act and therefore has concluded an express international obligation to free emigration from Romania.

As to the United States Legislation

It is understood that not all the people freed from Romania will be admitted in the United States but only those who are complying with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Law.

There is another aspect which I should like you to consider. It was said that the actual management of the Department of State which very fond of secret understandings with the foreign governments has concluded a secret agreement with the Romanian government whereby the last to give permission to leave Romania only to those who have close relatives in the United States.

I can understand this Department of State position as it is within the province of the United States law. But the Romanian government which hates to free the people caught this opinion of the Department of State and turned it into law. In very few situations and only after United States Senators or Representatives made insistent intervention the Romanian government gave permission to leave the country only to those who had close relatives in the United States. I am not

talking about the minorities situation as Jews or Germans, but only Romanian subjects.

This Romanian practice is totally and intolerably illegal. The Romanian government behavior is not in the spirit of the Trade Act. In the last year hearing this bad policy of the Romanian government was strongly criticized by all members of Senate and House of Representatives.

According to the Trade Act every human being who wants to leave Romania is entitled to do so as a matter of law regardless of whether or not one has relatives abroad. In this respect the Romanian government obstructive practice is abusive and prejudicialous.

As to the Romanian Legislation.

1. It has been proven that in the last year the Romanian government for more than six months refused to hand out printed forms for emigration under the pretext that they run out of printed forms. It was a childish motivation. They sent million of dollars for helping the Communist regime of Viet-Cong against the United States and are now spending substantial sums of monies for helping the African countries with a Communist regime orientation but had not a modest amount for printing the forms for emigration.

2. Even worse this policy is continuing right now in Romania. When one applies to emigrate is always refused his petition and after outside strong intervention the Romanian authorities are considering his case. That is the explanation why so far there were in the whole world over 20 hunger strikes in which Romanian people who wanted to join their families ruined their health.

Do you not think that now it is your duty to take a strong action and put an end to such inhumanitarian acts?

3. The Romanian government published no statistics on emigration. All data in this matter are concealed by same and only upon insistent request are almost always falsely presented to the Department of State.

4. The resolving of the petitions for emigration are indefinitely postponed. Surprisingly the Romanian government disregards its own laws.

In respect to the issuance of a passport the Romanian government enacted Decree 156/1970 and the Council of Ministers Decision 424/1970. Article 18 of the first law imposes a 60-day term within a passport shall be issued. But article 10 of the aforementioned decision restrains the free movement of the Romanian citizens as they are permitted to travel in Western countries only once at two years.

As a practitioner always in close contact with the Romanian people I have no personal knowledge or heard of that the 60 day term for issuing a passport ever has been observed by the Romanian authorities.

5. According to Decree 234/1974 as a retaliation, the properties of those who left Romania were confiscated without any compensation and the properties of those who applies to leave the country are taken over by the government on derizourious prices as the appraisal is made by the state local agencies and the complaining parties have no recourse to a court of justice.

6. The Romanian Embassy staff here in the United States is exercising its prerogatives over the jurisdiction conferred by 1908 Consular Vienna Convention.

Whoever wants to bring his family in the United States is compelled by the said staff to go personally and discuss with it the issue. Many of the petitioners live far away from Washington D.C. and it is costly and inconvenient for them to travel. The persons who want to bring their families in the United States are forced by same staff to apply for a Romanian citizens residing abroad passport.

I hope that you will draw the attention to the appropriate United States authorities of this abuse and the applicants will not be any longer harassed by the Romanian Embassy under the shield of diplomatic immunity or consular protection given to its subjects.

PROPOSED REMEDIES

1. The Department of State shall be requested to submit to you the secret understanding concluded with the Romanian government if any.

Whether such understanding was concluded to be repealed as it is contrary to the Trade Act provisions.

2. In the case at bar the remedy is denouintiation and rescission of the treaty concluded with the Romanian government. In the International Law this is the only legal solution for this type of breach.

In urging you to find for the breach and vote for the termination of the International Commercial Agreement as the Romanian government is on default I am relying on article 60 of the Vienna Convention on Law of Treaties which reads:

"A material breach of a bilateral treaty by one of the parties entitles the other to invoke the breach as a ground for terminating the treaty or suspending its operation in whole or in part".

IN THE ALTERNATIVE

However, if you will decide that for reasons undisclosed to the public and in the best interest of the United States the Romanian government shall still benefit of the most favored nation status I propose that the following measures should be taken:

1. For avoiding further ambiguities and misinterpretations the Romanian government shall sign an international instrument with the Department of State whereby to be recognized by both parties that the most favored nation status is given Romanian government solely pursuant to the Trade Act provisions and the Romanian government shall recognize in writing that by obtaining these benefits is committed itself to free all the people from Romania who want to emigrate at their will regardless of having any relatives abroad.

2. The said written agreement shall be published either in Romanian Official Bulletin and United States Federal Register.

3. The proposed agreement shall contain a clause fixing a maximum 60 day term within all petitions shall be resolved by the Romanian government and the result shall be communicated in writing to petitioners as well to the Department of State within the same term.

4. The Department of State shall be quarterly informed by the Romanian government about the number of petitions registered for emigration and what was the outcome in each case whether admitted or denied. In the late situation shall be explained in detail what were the motives leading to a denial.

5. In case of breach the said agreement shall provide for either consequential or punitive damages on the defaulting party. The extent of damages shall be established by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States upon the procedure thereof.

If you will not insist for such a clause all your actual efforts to do justice would be futile.

6. The Romanian government shall acquiesce the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the dispute arisen from the said agreement.

7. The Romanian government, before signing the agreement, shall repeal Decree 234/1974 whereby are confiscated the properties of those who left Romania or are taken over by same.

8. The Romanian government, before signing the proposed agreement shall enact a law whereby it would be returned all the properties confiscated from those who emigrated. If this proposal could not be achieved then to be provided for a reasonable money compensation in free transferable foreign currency at fair market value thereof.

The aggrieved parties shall have recourse for complaints as to evaluation of the properties to an United States-Romanian commission.

The lucrative procedure of this commission shall be approved by both United States legislative bodies.

9. The Department of State shall request the Romanian government that its Embassy staff to refrain itself from harassing the United States inhabitants and not abusively inviting them to its siege and requesting same to apply for a Romanian passport as a Romanian citizen residing abroad unless such persons freely applied for it.

As an American citizen, taxpayer and one of your constituents in the name of the freedom and Justice I respectfully request you to protect the honest American-Romanian people civil rights and help us to reunite our dispersed families.

Now our fate is in your hands and you rightfully can say to Romanian government take the most favored nation benefits or leave them.

In view of the foregoing hoping that you will apply the law and do Justice and being convinced that my proposals will be considered with due attention, I am

Very respectfully yours,

VICTOR RADULESCU, U. S. M.,
Long Island City, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: My name is Constantin Rauta. I am an Electronic Engineer, a Rumanian and a U.S. resident. I request that this letter be included in the printed record of the Subcommittee's hearings concerning the most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment of imports from Rumania.

On July 8, 1975, Mr. Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, testified before the Committee on Finance and agreed that a small increase in the number of persons released from Rumania did not provide a clear evidence of change in the emigration policy of the Rumanian communist regime. Mr. Hartman said that at the end of the first MFN period, the administration would have the opportunity to review whether or not MFN should be renewed, based upon an important indicator: the reunification of families. (See appendix)

In the President's waiver determination of June 2, 1976, there is no reference to this important indicator, and the problem of the reunification of families is left on the same 1973 Nixon-Ceausescu declaration that served as the basis for the President's 1975 waiver.

For more than two years, my wife Ecaterina Gabriela Rauta and my son, Mihai Catalin Rauta, have been refused exit visas by the Rumanian authorities without any explanation. As a result of my wife's request to emigrate to the United States, our apartment and belongings in Bucharest have been confiscated, and my wife has been continuously persecuted and harassed by secret police.

My family is not the only example of families that are not being reunited. Many New Yorkers, as well as diplomats from all over the world, have witnessed, soon after MFN treatment was granted, many Rumanians in this country protesting, some of them through a hunger strike, in order to try to obtain freedom for their families. The reason why Party Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu ordered our families to be persecuted is very well known by the Rumanian people. It is to frighten those persons who desire to exercise their basic right to emigrate.

At the present time, with the exception of the "new class", that is, the ruling class, no Rumanian can go out of Rumania without leaving behind a close family member, usually the spouse or children. These serve as hostages to guarantee that he (she) returns or that he (she) does not expose the injustices practiced by Mr. Ceausescu's regime.

Children, spouses, elderly parents, and the like are punished now because one of their relatives exercised his right to emigrate when he (she) was allowed to travel abroad under such "guarantees."

Mr. Chairman, as long as families are not allowed to be reunited, no one can talk about the changes on emigration policy nor changes in the hostages practice of Rumanian communist regime.

This practice of "guarantees" has terrible painful effects on thousands of Rumanian families all over the world, including several hundred families in the United States at the present time. It is, in fact, destroying families and their members, either morally or physically.

Mr. Chairman, you heard last year witnesses who testified that they had been struggling for 10 years to be reunited with their family members, and from some who were requested, and who paid, to the Socialist Republic of Rumania Embassy in Washington, up to \$10,000 for their children, spouses or parents in order to be released from Rumania (Hearings before the Committee on Finance, S. Concurrent Res. 35, pages 38, 40, 41, 157, 159, 178, etc.).

For the people who are looking for their families' reunification, for so many Rumanians who did not succeed and whose children are threatened to be persecuted all their lives in order to make "effective" this policy of hostages, for the people who are sold like animals by Mr. Ceausescu's regime, for all the Rumanians who are seeking human rights, for all of these people, Mr. Chairman, U.S. financial help granted to the Rumanian communist regime represents not only a direct acceptance of this practice of hostages, but also an indirect participation to such terrible injustice.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, the very indicator cited by Mr. Hartman—the reunification of families—does not justify the continuation of MFN. The Rumanian communist regime has not changed its emigration policy to allow the hundreds of divided families in this country and the thousands of divided families throughout the world to be reunited with their loved ones still in Rumania.

Indeed if MFN is allowed to continue, then it can only encourage Mr. Ceausescu to maintain his cruel policy and to persist in denying to the Rumanian people one of the most fundamental human rights, the right to emigrate.

Sincerely yours,

CONSTANTIN RAUTA.

APPENDIX

"Hearings before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate", Ninety-Fourth Congress, First Session, on S. Con. Res. 35;

A resolution to approve a bilateral commercial agreement between the United States and the Socialist Republic of Rumania, June 6 and July 8, 1975; pages 123 and 124;

"Mr. HARTMAN. First, Senator, let me point out that much of the 18 months have run already. If the Congress acts on this trade agreement, we will only have the balance of the period between now and June of 1976 during which MFN may be extended. I would say that we do not foresee any significant change, and we will have at the end of that period an opportunity to review whether or not MFN should be renewed during the course of the period. We would undoubtedly take up such a matter if there was clear evidence that some change in policy had taken place. We would take that matter up with the Government.

Senator Brock. I will be honest with you. I am sympathetic to Senator Helms' feelings that we ought to operate on principle rather than numbers. In a very practical sense, I find that difficult to do. I think we have achieved a great deal so far. I am reluctant to jeopardize what we have accomplished or what we may accomplish in the coming months by any further statutory language which would have a counterproductive effect.

Mr. HARTMAN. I would like to join you in that, Senator, because I think, from a purely humanitarian point of view, the important thing is: are families being reunited?"

MOUNT PROSPECT, ILL., August 30, 1976.

Re Vianor Rahmistruc, Ion Andreescu, 17., Cluj, Romania.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: Since September 1975 immigration documents for my brother, Vianor Rahmistruc of Cluj, Romania, and his family were approved by the Immigration and Naturalization office in Chicago. The American Embassy in Bucharest verified his status as a qualified person for immigration to the United States.

As of this date, however, no affirmative results have been obtained. On the contrary, since November 1975, requests for an exit visa have been denied and a campaign of threats and harassment toward my brother, Vianor, and his family have been instituted by the local agencies in Cluj.

Since March 1976, letters, telegrams and telephone calls have been made to the White House, members of the Senate, Congress, the State Department and to the President of Romania, Mr. Ceausescu.

According to the written and verbal agreements made by the Romanian government, immigration of qualified persons would be permitted. Once the status of "Most Favored Nation" was obtained, a reversal of this agreement was seen—as evidenced in the case of my brother. Proof of this reversal is also seen in an article published in the official communist newspaper, "Scantela." In his speech of June 3, 1976, Mr. Ceausescu clarifies his negative position on the previously agreed change of policies.

I understand the efforts of our government in its relations to totalitarian governments, and the hopes of ameliorating the fate of so many people, but the extension of the "Most Favored Nation" status to a government as that of Mr. Ceausescu infringes on the most basic moral issue. Agreements that are not respected, bilaterally, have no moral value.

Until the Romanian government fulfills its obligations under the previous agreements, suspension of the "Most Favored Nation" status remains the only avenue to redress current policies, and specifically, the immigration policy.

Very truly yours,

ALEXANDER E. RONNETT, M.D.

ROMANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT,
Philadelphia, Pa., September 8, 1976.

To: Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Chairman Abraham Ribicoff and Members of the Committee on Finance and the Subcommittee on International Trade, Honorable Senators, and Ladies and Gentlemen, the Roumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc. was established with the purpose of helping Roumanian immigrants of Jewish ethnic background to integrate themselves into their new home in the United States—their country of choice—in a spirit of civic responsibility, patriotism and Americanism.

The organizations of the past, out of which the present Federation has emerged, were instrumental—with the help of President Woodrow Wilson—in the establishment of "The Rights of Man" Annex to the Treaty of Versailles, at the end of World I. That document guarantees the minorities of Romania international legal protection.

In this respect, subsections (a) and (b) of sections 402, the freedom of emigration provision of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618 Jan. 3, 1975 88 Stat. 1978) is in the province of our organization and we would like to thank the Honorable Senators for allowing us to make a deposition on behalf of the Roumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc.

Presently, it is estimated, there are 100,000 Jews of Mosale Faith still living in Romania, and about 225,000 Romanians of Jewish descent who are agnostic, mixed married, the children of mixed marriages, or converts.

Since the Trade Act was ratified in June of 1975, fewer Romanians of Jewish ethnic background have been granted exit visas to leave Romania than in each of the two years previous to the ratification of the Trade Act.

Because the younger members of the family are sent abroad first, a great deal of hardship is imposed on the senior members of the family who are left behind. Without the help and support of children and grandchildren, the old and infirm, left behind, become dependent on the state and a burden of the Roumanian Government until their demise.

The question we must elucidate is for what reason does Romania insist on keeping an aged minority group of little economic value to the country when it could easily solve the problem by relaxing its emigration policy to the level of granting 30,000 to 45,000 exit visas a year, as it has done during certain years of the 1950's and the 1960's.

The present Roumanian Government is not anti-Semitic. On the contrary, it tries to make the lives of these middle-aged and senior citizens as comfortable as the modest means of the country allow.

It is our considered opinion that the Eastern European Nations, including Romania, are convinced that despite the fact that they enjoy the freedom of building their own ideologies to fit the aspirations of their individual countries within the framework of Socialism, the ultimate arbiter remains the Soviet Army.

Today, when 460,000 Soviet soldiers are stationed in Eastern Europe, maintaining headquarters in Poland, Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia; the Eastern European Nations, including Romania, will do nothing which would embarrass the Russians.

For example, the U.S.S.R. has reduced, in 1975, the number of exit visas granted to Jews who wished to leave for Israel by 50%. Romania, following suit, has reduced, in 1975, its number of exit visas granted to Jews who wished to leave for Israel by 45%. The correlation is obvious.

On the other hand, since the U.S.S.R. does not trade at all with Israel, Romania, in that instance, has had the courage to follow its own devices in the economic field, sometimes taking great chances.

We may read in World Oil, Sept., 1976, that Romania, for the last ten years, has been re-routing Iranian oil to Israel. Probably, if Russia had been trading with Israel, Romania would not have had the courage to follow such an adventurous path, but would have limited itself to follow the U.S.S.R. in the field of trade.

In other words, the problem of freedom of emigration, which is an elementary human right, is not a problem which can be solved by granting or withholding most-favored-nation status from Romania. Nor can we penalize Romania for

not being able to follow the dictates of its conscience. Ultimately, in the period from 1945 to date, Romania has allowed 420,000 Jews to emigrate to Israel and an undisclosed number to other countries.

The problem is much more complex. What must be found is a more imaginative solution.

One idea would be for the United States to resume negotiations for the internationalization of the Danube.

By the terms of the peace treaties (1947) between the Allied Powers and the Eastern Bloc, following World War II, the Danube was declared open to the trade and vessels of all Nations. However, the expressed intention of the signatories, to establish an International Navigation Authority to control the Danube, was frustrated by the inability of the Allies to write peace treaties for Austria and Germany. The inability, at that time, stemmed from the "East-West" split among the former Allies.

In August, 1948, an international conference on the control of the Danube River, met at Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The participating Nations were Britain, France, and the United States, forming the Western Bloc, and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the Ukrainian S.S.R., the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia of the Eastern Bloc. By a vote of 7 to 3, the Eastern Bloc voted itself exclusive control of about four fifths of the Danube. Britain, France and the United States announced their refusal to be bound by the decision, but deferred further action.

However, times have changed since 1948. Austria and Germany have become members of the United Nations, as has China. Also the Socialist States of Eastern Europe have gained a certain freedom in the international field.

For example, we may read in the Washington Post of August 18, 1970:

"He (Panamanian Premier Gen. Omar Torrijos) credited Yugoslav President Tito with persuading him to negotiate for the Panama Canal and seek Third World support rather than 'take the path of Ho Chi Minh'."

From our many years experience as an N.G.O. Delegate to the United Nations, President Tito's idea of negotiation of waterways could be used as a stepping stone to a negotiation between the former Allies of World War II, (including China) Romania, Yugoslavia and the other Danubian Socialist States, as well as Austria and West Germany, for a conference on the internationalization of the Danube, which was foreseen by the Treaty of 1947.

Certainly all the former Allies—with the exception of the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R.—will vote with the United States.

It is reasonable to expect that in the light of the new changes concerning the political freedom of the Socialist States, a number of them will vote in favor of the internationalization of the Danube. This may change the "Iron Curtain" into a "Cordon Sanitaire".

The internationalization of the Danube will bring by itself freedom of movement, for the simple reason that the presence of the Allies on the international waters of the Danube will neutralize the influence of the Soviet Troops on the Eastern Bloc.

In Conclusion: the opinion of the Romanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc. is that Romania should retain its most-favored-nation status, and that the President's waiver authority should be extended.

Changes may occur during the next two years in the Socialist States which may allow Romania sufficient independence to fulfill its moral obligations to grant the fundamental human right to emigrate to all its 'citizens, without regard to race, religion, or ethnic background, and, also, the right of return—not limited in time—to its expatriates and their children.

Thanking you again for the kind courtesy you have shown us in inviting us to testify before your Committee.

yours respectfully,

DR. EUGENE S. REICHBACH, *Vice President.*

STATEMENT OF HOWARD D. SAMUEL, VICE PRESIDENT, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

My name is Howard Samuel. I am Vice President of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, 15 Union Square, New York City. Our membership totals approximately 510,000 workers who produce, among other things, men's and boys' clothing such as suits, sport coats, trousers, raincoats, overcoats, shirts, gloves, neckwear, and various textile products. On behalf of our

workers, I welcome this opportunity to bring to the attention of this subcommittee the serious concerns we have with regard to the extension of Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment on imports from Romania, particularly imports of men's and boys' suits and sport coats.

The concerns we have with regard to MFN treatment for Romania must be considered within the context of what has happened to imports of men's and boys' tailored clothing from Romania since MFN was granted, and also the general conditions within our industry today.

Conditions in the domestic market

The status of the men's and boys' clothing industry can be summarized as follows: since the end of the Kennedy Round trade negotiations in 1967, domestic production of men's and boys' tailored clothing has been on a steady decline, causing many plants to close down and thousands of hard-working people to lose their jobs.

The cause for this production decline over the years has been the rising level of disruptive import competition, particularly from low-wage countries. I want to emphasize the description "low-wage" countries because, being such a labor intensive industry, apparel manufacturers in the U.S. are especially susceptible to price competition from producers abroad who can hold down production costs simply by paying ridiculously low wages compared to our pay scales. This lower production cost translates into a lower price being paid by the retailer who then enjoys a larger mark-up on his merchandise. As our investigations have uncovered, the lower price paid by the retailer is not being passed on to the consumer who is paying virtually the same price for the imported article as for a comparable domestically-produced product.

Attached to my testimony is Table 1 which shows rather dramatically the steady erosion of the production base for men's and boys' tailored clothing in this country between 1968 and 1975. During this period, production of suits was down by over 31 percent; and production of sport coats was down by over 25 percent. These declines, of course, have occurred despite a steady increase in the male population of the United States.

Early and preliminary data for 1976 so far indicate that there has been a modest pick-up of sorts in domestic production. But we must keep in mind that any gains registered in 1976 come on top of the worst year this industry has experienced since the Depression, and, therefore, may only bring us back to a level still far below what we might hope for. Naturally, any reversal of the dismal situation of this industry—for however long—is certainly welcomed by all of us, but I strongly caution that we guard against jumping to the conclusion that our problems are not as severe as they might have been a year or so ago.

The history of production declines we have experienced has translated into deep and distressing losses of jobs for our workers. According to government data, between 1967 and 1975 we lost 45,000 jobs in the tailored clothing industry alone. This is approximately 60 percent of the remaining work force in that segment of our industry. Despite the slight upsurge in production in 1976 so far, few additional jobs have been created in the tailored clothing industry.

Rise in imports

The roots of this industry's problems stem from the relentless flow of imports, despite the network of bilateral trade agreements negotiated by the U.S. pursuant to the Multilateral Fiber Arrangement (MFA) under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Table 1 referred to earlier, also shows the steady rise in imports over the years. This upward movement in apparel shipments to the U.S. was uninterrupted by the recent recession in this country. While the domestic industry suffered even greater hardships than might normally be the case, imports were immune from the economic realities of the times. Let's look at the performance of imports in 1975 to prove the point.

In 1975, imports of men's and boys' suits totaled over 3.1 million units—an all-time record. Imports of men's and boys' sport coats totaled 5.5 million units—an all-time record. With regard to other items our workers produce, imports of trousers totaled over 53 million pairs—an all-time record. Shirt imports totaled almost 14 million dozen, or over 7 percent higher than in 1974. Certainly, there was no recession for importers of these items. Furthermore, early indications at the beginning of this year pointed to the possibility of sustained shipments at these levels in 1976. Unfortunately, for the workers in this industry, these early indicators were correct, and even a bit conservative. Imports for

the first six months of 1976 (through June) are outpacing the trade of one year earlier—an all-time record year as I have just pointed out (see Table 2). Suit imports are up by 2 percent; sport coats, by 43 percent; trousers, by 45 percent; overcoats and raincoats, by 17 percent; and shirts, by 36 percent. At this rate, total of such imports in 1976 will certainly surpass the records set last year and, thus, establish new performance marks for imports.

Naturally, as imports have increased so has their penetration into this market. Imports of suits have gone from a level equal to under 2 percent to over 18 percent of domestic production since 1968; sport coats from 9.5 to just under 40 percent.

No industry can withstand the effects of persistent import competition of this nature and the apparel industry is no exception.

The emerging Romanian problem

It is against this background of reduced domestic production and strong import penetration that our industry must consider the issue before us today—namely, the continuation of MFN treatment to Romania.

I am attaching a table (Table 3) to my testimony which shows what has happened to imports of suits and sport coats from Romania since MFN became effective in July of 1975. You will note from the table that in the first six months of 1975 there were no imports of suits or sport coats into this market from Romania. But contrast that situation with what has occurred during the first six months of 1976 and we see the story is quite different. For the first six months of this year suit imports from Romania reached 77,522 units compared to zero during the same period of 1975; sport coat imports totaled 123,922 units compared to zero in these comparable periods also.

It is no wonder that we are experiencing such an explosion in clothing imports for Romania. Considering the low-wage rates paid to Romanian clothing workers and, then preferential tariff treatment, it should surprise no one that Romania now aggressively eyes the U.S. market at the expense of U.S. jobs.

Ours is a very labor-intensive industry as I stated earlier. Labor constitutes over 40 percent of total production costs in manufacturing a garment. The current hourly wage for a U.S. worker in a domestic tailored clothing factory is roughly \$4.18 per hour including fringe benefits. The best data available to us with regard to Romania tell us that the equivalent wage for a Romanian clothing worker is somewhere around \$1.10 per hour. What the difference means to this industry coupled with MFN is obvious by what the import numbers reveal.

MFN treatment for Romania has reduced tariffs substantially these past 14 months. In a sensitive area such as wool suits, for example, the duty on imports from Romania has been reduced from 90 percent ad valorem to 42.5 ad valorem, more than half. In the case of suits made of man-made fiber, the duty has been similarly reduced—from \$45 per pound plus 65 percent ad valorem to \$25 per pound plus 27.5 percent ad valorem. With regard to cotton sport coats, another item in which imports have increased enormously the past year, the duty has been reduced from 37.5 percent to only 8 percent ad valorem. Similar tariff reductions have taken place in other sensitive areas as well.

When President Ford submitted his message to Congress in which he proposed MFN treatment for Romania on April 24, 1975 he stated that there would be safeguards in the agreement to " * * * provide the strongest possible assurance that our trade with Romania will continue to grow without injury to domestic firms or loss of jobs for American workers." It is quite obvious that such assurances have never materialized with regard to clothing imports from Romania. These imports are growing rapidly and they are unquestionably injuring U.S. firms and workers, in direct contrast to the spirit if not the letter of the President's statement to the Congress.

The Multilateral Fiber Arrangement negotiated under the auspices of GATT, provides the U.S. with the negotiating authority to reach understandings with other countries to control trade in textiles and apparel. A series of many such agreements has been concluded with other countries. These agreements have been of some help in controlling trade. But in the case of Romania, not one suit import is under any type of control at all; and only in the case of cotton sport coats are there any controls to speak of.

However, controls on cotton sport coat imports from Romania have been virtually ineffective. As Table 3 indicates these imports during the first six months of 1976 are already more than double what they were during all of 1975. Yet, the relevant ceilings in the Romanian cotton agreements are only about 20.25 percent filled in the aggregate. Despite the increases already registered, the

trade in cotton sport coats from Romania could double, and then double again, and probably still not bump up against the ceilings. These ceilings are much too high and are no better than having no ceilings at all since they are not fulfilling their purpose which is to control the trade in cotton sport coat imports from Romania.

The Romanians have been invited by the U.S. Government to negotiate limitations on wool and man-made fiber suit and sport coat exports to the U.S., but the Romanian Government has been intransigent on this matter. Thus, while similar imports for other countries are under restraints pursuant to bilateral agreements, the same items from Romania remain uncontrolled, allowing Romania to disrupt the domestic market for suits and sport coats.

Conclusion

We respectfully urge this subcommittee, and the Congress as a whole, not compound the serious problems this industry faces already. The granting of Most-Favored-Nation treatment to Romania has been most unfortunate for the U.S. workers in the domestic tailored clothing industry. The import data contained in my statement substantiate this conclusion beyond any doubt. With the evidence so abundantly clear that MFN has had such a harmful effect upon our industry in particular, we would respectfully ask that all textile and apparel product imports from Romania be waived from MFN treatment in the future. We believe we are very justified in making this request. When the Senate Finance Committee was considering the President's original proposal to extend MFN treatment to Romania, a background document prepared for the Committee by its staff dated June 5, 1975 listed certain items which might be imported from Romania as a result of the granting of MFN. One of the items mentioned was cotton fabrics and apparel. Unfortunately, there was no mention as to the possibility of increased imports of both wool and man-made fiber suits. We can only conclude therefore that it was not anticipated at the time MFN was first considered for Romania that these items would indeed be imported in any substantial amounts. Certainly, the reverse has been the case. Imports of suits as well as cotton sport coats from Romania as we have described, have been substantial, and are growing, particularly the past six months.

Our workers can only endure so much. We compete every day with imports produced in low-wage countries. It seems the height of irony that our government would erode our position further by reducing tariffs which are designed to help compensate for the exact type of problem our industry is faced with—unfair wage competition from abroad. In the case of other suppliers, there are restraints on their exports of the products of concern to us. This is not true in the case of Romania and, as we have seen since MFN was granted to Romania, a lowering of the tariffs has only exacerbated our workers' problems further.

TABLE I.—DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AND IMPORTS OF MEN'S AND BOYS' TAILORED CLOTHING, 1968-75

| | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Suits: | | | | | | | | |
| Domestic..... | 25,317,000 | 25,572,000 | 22,356,000 | 20,261,000 | 22,221,000 | 19,645,000 | 19,684,000 | 17,466,000 |
| Imports..... | 477,970 | 939,949 | 1,494,944 | 1,272,941 | 1,954,607 | 2,042,331 | 1,933,914 | 3,164,073 |
| Imports as a percent of domestic..... | 1.9 | 3.7 | 6.7 | 6.3 | 8.8 | 10.4 | 9.8 | 18.1 |
| Sport coats: | | | | | | | | |
| Domestic..... | 18,894,000 | 18,748,000 | 16,081,000 | 18,476,000 | 24,336,000 | 25,300,000 | 21,764,000 | 14,099,000 |
| Imports..... | 1,786,684 | 2,123,689 | 3,126,896 | 2,918,726 | 4,283,439 | 5,370,303 | 4,980,370 | 5,509,834 |
| Imports as a percent of domestic..... | 9.5 | 11.3 | 19.4 | 15.8 | 17.6 | 21.2 | 22.9 | 39.1 |

¹ Estimate.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 2.—IMPORTS OF MEN'S AND BOYS' APPAREL, SUMMARY—1976

(In units)

| | January | February | March | April | May | June | 1976, current year | 1975, previous year | Percent |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------|
| Total, all suits..... | 391,314 | 233,283 | 374,628 | 327,317 | 241,826 | 229,983 | 1,796,351 | 1,763,044 | 102.0 |
| Japan..... | 9,468 | 9,006 | 8,510 | 12,350 | 561 | 808 | 40,703 | 56,962 | 71.5 |
| Hong Kong..... | 37,840 | 25,730 | 27,075 | 28,835 | 28,095 | 19,285 | 166,864 | 164,521 | 101.4 |
| Taiwan..... | 45,930 | 46,871 | 53,750 | 70,592 | 40,192 | 41,821 | 299,156 | 401,991 | 74.4 |
| Korea..... | 194,354 | 72,723 | 172,455 | 79,793 | 59,444 | 70,930 | 649,659 | 723,034 | 89.9 |
| Colombia..... | 9,059 | 9,370 | 26,492 | 13,232 | 2,424 | 12,329 | 72,906 | 104,786 | 69.6 |
| Others (with Colombia)..... | 103,722 | 78,953 | 112,838 | 135,747 | 113,534 | 97,139 | 641,969 | 416,536 | 154.1 |
| Total, all sport coats..... | 522,931 | 504,892 | 728,307 | 553,547 | 461,750 | 471,024 | 3,242,451 | 2,268,717 | 142.9 |
| Japan..... | 59,136 | 2,784 | 38,228 | 27,696 | 47,892 | 46,128 | 213,864 | 360,635 | 59.3 |
| Hong Kong..... | 102,343 | 119,313 | 101,263 | 123,574 | 95,798 | 106,156 | 648,447 | 181,532 | 357.2 |
| Taiwan..... | 46,272 | 86,748 | 71,724 | 67,368 | 29,124 | 26,844 | 328,080 | 316,668 | 103.6 |
| Korea..... | 144,647 | 126,770 | 304,083 | 185,596 | 161,766 | 123,813 | 1,046,677 | 498,823 | 217.7 |
| Colombia..... | 13,447 | 9,863 | 17,333 | 20,187 | 21,350 | 22,799 | 104,579 | 113,260 | 92.7 |
| Others (with Colombia)..... | 170,533 | 169,277 | 221,009 | 149,311 | 127,170 | 168,083 | 1,005,383 | 929,059 | 108.2 |
| Total, all trousers..... | 6,182,822 | 5,711,822 | 6,054,267 | 5,816,556 | 5,669,060 | 6,344,696 | 35,779,223 | 24,625,338 | 145.3 |
| Japan..... | 61,428 | 58,848 | 155,846 | 78,610 | 98,164 | 137,291 | 590,187 | 406,657 | 145.1 |
| Hong Kong..... | 2,340,088 | 2,160,630 | 2,277,896 | 2,207,693 | 2,082,854 | 2,076,968 | 13,156,129 | 10,174,784 | 129.3 |
| Taiwan..... | 2,034,216 | 1,742,532 | 1,584,864 | 1,508,916 | 1,742,472 | 1,880,580 | 10,493,580 | 7,371,720 | 142.3 |
| Korea..... | 678,535 | 480,697 | 816,972 | 688,170 | 537,175 | 703,739 | 3,905,288 | 2,272,756 | 171.8 |
| Colombia..... | 7,809 | 25,701 | 44,681 | 8,839 | 14,290 | 6,909 | 108,229 | 139,983 | 77.3 |
| Others (with Colombia)..... | 1,068,555 | 1,269,115 | 1,218,689 | 1,333,167 | 1,196,395 | 1,546,118 | 7,634,039 | 4,399,421 | 173.5 |
| Total, all outer raincoats..... | 1,637,781 | 1,664,278 | 1,921,646 | 1,646,152 | 1,735,577 | 1,861,325 | 10,466,759 | 8,948,215 | 117.0 |
| Japan..... | 44,852 | 43,644 | 77,625 | 84,528 | 121,848 | 124,500 | 497,117 | 435,877 | 114.0 |
| Hong Kong..... | 237,997 | 151,117 | 261,276 | 257,346 | 204,312 | 260,118 | 1,372,166 | 1,025,187 | 133.8 |
| Taiwan..... | 406,908 | 398,364 | 429,168 | 273,072 | 361,644 | 386,388 | 2,251,980 | 1,445,712 | 155.8 |
| Korea..... | 446,022 | 478,586 | 563,720 | 347,890 | 635,578 | 696,072 | 3,167,868 | 2,375,641 | 133.3 |
| Colombia..... | 31,180 | 47,220 | 96,060 | 21,636 | 35,784 | 22,884 | 121,088 | 342,924 | 73.2 |
| Others (with Colombia)..... | 502,002 | 592,567 | 589,857 | 683,316 | 412,195 | 394,247 | 3,177,628 | 3,665,798 | 86.7 |
| Total, all shirts (dozens)..... | 1,465,698 | 1,154,117 | 1,541,795 | 1,503,687 | 1,422,169 | 1,588,047 | 8,675,510 | 6,372,692 | 136.1 |
| Japan..... | 6,580 | 4,919 | 9,143 | 11,145 | 1,052 | 3,338 | 36,177 | 33,021 | 109.6 |
| Hong Kong..... | 300,273 | 234,538 | 287,519 | 310,023 | 275,689 | 285,407 | 1,693,410 | 1,400,366 | 120.9 |
| Taiwan..... | 302,981 | 223,695 | 272,094 | 273,594 | 263,999 | 338,790 | 1,682,093 | 1,200,223 | 140.1 |
| Korea..... | 497,560 | 341,275 | 584,298 | 567,407 | 570,738 | 675,918 | 3,237,155 | 2,026,857 | 159.7 |
| Colombia..... | 3,417 | 3,379 | 4,446 | 3,746 | 3,746 | 5,021 | 26,220 | 10,086 | 260.0 |
| Others (with Colombia)..... | 358,304 | 349,690 | 388,741 | 341,518 | 310,691 | 284,594 | 2,026,675 | 1,712,225 | 118.4 |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce data.

TABLE 3.—IMPORTS OF MEN'S AND BOYS TAILORED CLOTHING FROM ROMANIA, 1971-76

[In units]

| | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 (6 mo) | 1975 (6 mo) |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Suits: | | | | | | | |
| Wool..... | 1,306 | | 7,110 | 14,611 | 744 | 52,486 | |
| Manmade fiber..... | 6,548 | 7,690 | 1,761 | 186 | | 25,036 | |
| Total..... | 7,854 | 7,690 | 8,871 | 14,797 | 744 | 77,522 | |
| Sport coats: | | | | | | | |
| Cotton..... | | 10,764 | 106,248 | 26,704 | 54,336 | 121,428 | |
| Wool..... | 7,205 | 6,840 | 25,814 | 7,601 | 2,476 | 2,534 | |
| Manmade fiber..... | 4,116 | 8,436 | 6,005 | 18,186 | 596 | | |
| Total..... | 11,321 | 26,040 | 138,067 | 52,491 | 57,408 | 123,962 | |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce data.

STATEMENT OF SIMION SARATEAN

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Simion Saratean, I am Romanian born (July 23rd, 1926) and since July 17th, 1973 a refugee in the United States of America where I became permanent resident (1975).

After numerous political troubles with the Romanian communist regime, more than ten years ago I started making applications for exit visas in order to leave that country, all of them rejected by the Romanian security bodies. In 1971, following an escape attempt without passport, I have been sentenced to political imprisonment and jailed in the town of Timisoara-Romania. One year later, I tried again to cross underground the Romanian-Yugoslavian border, this time successfully. Becoming a permanent resident in U.S.A., I formally noticed the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. about my firm determination to give up my former Romanian citizenship (March 1st, 1976), but no answer reached me since then. At the same time, I filed in the Declaration of Intention, sincerely hoping to be eligible for the future American citizenship.

Unfortunately, leaving Romania, I left behind in that country my wife, Elena Saratean, born on May 20th, 1935 and now residing in the city of Cluj, str. Republici No. 7. During this period of separation, my wife applied many times for exit visas in order to join me in U.S.A. and resume our family life, but her applications have been rejected by the Romanian authorities without explanation. As for me, I completed all legal formalities required for the issuance of the preference immigrant visa which is to benefit my wife.

Our situation is not unique at all. Many Romanian refugees are waiting for their still captive families in Romania to join them in this country of freedom. The Romanian authorities headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the Paris Treaty of Peace (1947), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Helsinki Agreement (1975) or the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with the U.S.A., and despite all their promises and assumed responsibilities therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

In these circumstances, openly protesting the barbarian conduct of the Romanian regime, since May 24th, 1976 I started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave this place until my wife will join me in this country.

Calling your attention to the above shown situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to my hostage wife Elena Saratean the necessary visa for her travel to the United States and the reunification of our family.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

INTERTEX INTERNATIONAL INC.,
New York, N.Y., July 26, 1976.

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG,
U.S. Senate, Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: Our company has been active in commerce with the countries of East Europe and the Soviet Union for many years and, insofar as possible, have kept abreast of the political aspects affecting such trade.

We believe that the Rumanians have been trying to accommodate to the Trade Act of 1974 and are in a most difficult position vis a vis the Soviet Union. We believe that the commercial relations that have been established since 1972 between Rumania and the United States have been mutually beneficial both commercially and politically.

We believe that the waiver of Section 402(a) and (b), insofar as it pertains to Rumania, should be continued to enable them to maintain MFN privileges and eligibility for Export-Import Bank credit.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT SCHEUER,
Executive Vice President.

HARRIS AND WALKER, P.S.C.,
THE HIGHLANDS CLINIC,
Williamson, W. Va., October 1, 1975.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to you with the hope of obtaining assistance with a matter of sincere importance to me and my family.

This past summer I received notification of disapproval of an application for admittance to this country, for my mother, who is presently living in Romania.

This was not the first disapproval, but, the fourth. I am now at a loss as to what to do to gain approval so as to have my mother here in this great country with her family.

It is with the understanding that you could possibly assist me in this matter that I write to you.

My mother's name and address are: Iuliana Schileru, Str 30 Decembrie; No. 33; Ramnicu-Valea; Romania.

Any help you could give my family in this matter will be deeply appreciated. If you will require more information, or any assistance I might give my address: Grigore Schileru, M.D.; P.O. Box 681, Williamson, West Virginia 25601.

Sincerely yours,

GRIGORE SCHILERU, M.D., *Urologist.*

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR
FAMILY REUNION

HON. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
Subcommittee on International Trade,
Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate.

The following statement represents the consolidated testimony of the 74 people named in the attached list.

We oppose the extension of the MFN status to Romania on the following grounds:

I. Romania's emigration policy has in effect been made more difficult for the prospective emigres, because, in addition to the existing red tape, new committees were created within the past twelve months for the purpose of harassing and intimidating those wishing to leave the country.

II. According to our analysis of the emigration statistics of the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest, the number of emigrants leaving Romania was increased only during the short period of time when MFN status was being debated last year. As soon as MFN status was granted to Romania, the number of emigres dropped threefold.

III. President Ceausescu himself made a speech published on June 3, 1978 in Romania in which he clearly exhibited his scorn for family reunion in the West and for emigration from Romania.

IV. Romanian law, from which we quote excerpts, provides harsh and brutal punishment for the people leaving Romania by crossing the border illegally, and also for anyone who helps them, even by remaining silent.

V. We illustrate our points by describing specific instances of inhumane treatment of prospective emigrants and relatives of Americans.

VI. MFN status granted to Romania creates no advantages, but rather disadvantages to the United States workers. It is of advantage only to Romania as a member of the communist bloc.

VALERIE SECU, *Chairman.*

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade, Committee on Finance,
U.S. Senate*

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR FAMILY REUNION

In the opinion of the seventy-four people represented by the American-Romanian Committee for Family Reunion, there are no grounds to extend for another year the Most Favored Nation tariff treatment to Romania, granted through the Trade Act of 1974. Therefore we oppose the extension of MFN status to Romania through July 1977, for reasons explained below:

1. In the past twelve months Romania's emigration policy has in fact been made more difficult for the prospective emigres.

In the first place it is impossible for Romanian citizens to apply for an exit visa when they choose. Exit visa forms cannot be obtained without the approval of two offices:

1. The approval of one office has been required for some time, and this includes the approval of the syndicate, the party organization and the management at one's job.

2. In the past twelve months a new committee has been appointed under the auspices of the Popular Councils of each district, or sector. Therefore, the Romanian Government has not only failed to ease the processing of an exit visa application in the past twelve months, but has made it considerably more difficult by appointing such Popular Council Committees to increase the harassment and intimidation of any prospective emigre.

If one eventually gets permission to apply, he immediately loses his job or is forced to take menial work for very low pay. However, during the last twelve months nobody was allowed to apply for an exit visa (visit or emigration to U.S.A.) unless great pressure was brought to bear on the Romanian Government by U.S. Senators, Representatives, or U.S. State Department officers.

While the authorities are processing the application in Romania, a prospective emigre must do the following: (a) If he lives in a State-owned apartment, he must clean, paint, repair and renovate the apartment; (b) if he owns an apartment (house), he must immediately pay to the State the remaining installments in a lump sum, then must proceed to donate the apartment or house to the Romanian Government.

If the cliché, "adding insult to injury", accurately describes anything, it certainly describes the outrageous and humiliating procedure whereby a Romanian citizen who applies for emigration not only must pay for his house and donate it to the State, but must also pay high taxes to the State for being so kind and accommodating as to take his property away from him.

If this Romanian citizen has had the emotional strength and financial resources to overcome all the obstacles mentioned above and he is actually leaving the country, he must leave behind all possessions the Government considers "valuable". Such "valuable" items may include children's earnings and family pictures. When he leaves the country, the emigre loses everything he has accumulated by hard work during his lifetime, however small.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE EMIGRATION STATISTICS OF THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST

After having described in some detail how difficult it is for a Romanian to emigrate, we would like to demonstrate how little effect President Ford's waiver of Section 402 has had during the past twelve months.

President Ford states in his "Recommendation for Extension of Waiver Authority" of June 2, 1976, that: "Nearly twice as many persons left Romania with Romanian approval for the United States in the ten-month period between July 1, 1975 and April 30, 1976 than left in any preceding twelve-month period in the past two decades."

The above statement is an example of how misleading statistics can be.

Table 1.—Immigration visas issued by Embassy, Bucharest

| 1975: | | 1976: | |
|----------|----|-----------|-----|
| January | 27 | July | 110 |
| February | 18 | August | 182 |
| March | 14 | September | 181 |
| April | 24 | October | 131 |
| May | 20 | November | 62 |
| June | 20 | December | 56 |

In fact, according to the statistics compiled on May 5, 1976 by the U.S. Embassy in Romania, (Table 1), the total number of emigrants from July to October are almost three times as large as the total number of emigrants from the other eight months combined. The period from July through October 1975 was precisely the period of time when hearings were held at both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, followed by the vote of both Houses on the question of granting MFN status to Romania by waiving the Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act.

As soon as Romania was granted the MFN status, the same Table 1 quoted by President Ford shows that the number of emigrant visas dropped markedly from 181 in September 1975 to 56 in December 1975.

Therefore liberalization of Romanian policy from July to October 1975 did not reflect any basic change in Romania's attitude toward emigration, but was merely a ruse used by the Romanian Government to influence the U.S. Congress and President to waive Section 402 in order to grant Romania the MFN status. Table 1 clearly shows that granting MFN has had no effect whatsoever in promoting the objectives of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

III. PRESIDENT CEAUȘESCU'S STATEMENT REGARDING FAMILY REUNION AND EMIGRATION POLICY MADE ON JUNE 3, 1976

President Ceaușescu demonstrates the scorn he has for the Western World in his speech published by the Romanian newspaper *Scantela* on June 3, 1976, exactly one day after President Ford waived Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act: "regarding the family reunion and emigration problems, we consider that propaganda created abroad with the purpose of attracting citizens from Romania, especially minorities such as Germans, has nothing to do with humanitarian principles, but it represents a means to exploit national sentiments for the purpose of satisfying the narrow and egotistic interests of capitalistic monopolies, which only want cheap qualified labor."

IV. PROVISIONS OF THE ROMANIAN LAW REGARDING THE CROSSING OF THE ROMANIAN BORDERS

At this point we would like to quote from the Penal Code of the Socialist Republic of Romania, concerning people desiring to remain or to travel abroad:

Art. 194.5: The fact that a Romanian citizen on a government or a general interest assignment abroad, refuses to return to the country, constitutes a crime of treason and is punishable with heavy imprisonment from five to fifteen years, loss of civil rights from four to eight years, and the confiscation of his entire estate.

Anyone who omits to denounce any preparatory acts regarding the above crime, before the infractor crosses the border, and before he is discovered by the State officials, is punishable with correctional imprisonment from one to five years and correctional interdictions from one to five years.

Art. 267: Anyone who enters or leaves the country in other places than those designated, or passes secretly through those designated places, commits the crime of fraudulent passage of borders and is subject to correctional imprisonment from three to ten years. The same punishment is applicable to anyone who has helped the above act.

V. SPECIFIC INSTANCES OF THE REACTION OF THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES TO PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS

To illustrate the brutal and inhumane treatment of citizens by their government when they are merely suspected of wanting to leave, we would like to describe some personal stories which took place during the past twelve months after MFN status had just been granted.

Mr. Florin Carmocean of Queens, New York had two brothers in Romania. One of them, Paul, 23, was granted permission to go on a Romanian tour in Bulgaria. Paul and three other young men from the same bus took a walk out of sight of the bus and fell asleep in the woods. Since there was only nine kilometers to the Turkish border, the Romanian security men accompanying the bus, together with Bulgarian security men, hunted these four unarmed men and shot them in their sleep, killing Paul Carmocean and one of the other men. This happened on October 1, 1975 at 6 p.m. The remaining two young men lost their legs and today they are in prison in Romania for the suspected but unproved "crime" of attempting to leave Romania illegally.

Another case involves Mr. Emil T. Cocioaba whose brother Dr. Ion Cocioaba was an American citizen, a physician by occupation. According to the provisions of Dr. Cocioaba's will, his brother Emil, the beneficiary, would inherit Dr. Cocioaba's estate only if he came to the United States. Emil was never allowed to visit his brother during the latter's lifetime. After his brother's death, Emil finally received permission to come to the U.S.A. to liquidate his brother's estate, but his wife and daughter were kept in Romania as hostages to ensure his return to Romania. When it became clear that Emil was seeking asylum in the United States, representatives of the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., attempted to frighten and harass him by breaking into his house, at Huntington, N.Y., at night. For the past 18 months his wife and daughter, also a physician, were not even allowed to apply to join Mr. Cocioaba here in the United States.

Finally we would like to mention a group of people in New York City who, on May 24, 1976, started a hunger strike followed by a permanent vigil in front of the United Nations building to protest against the Romanian Government's refusal to release their first degree relatives from Romania. The five sons of Mrs. Maria Manta, who has not left her vigil at the U.N. since May 24, 1976, have not even been allowed to submit their applications to join her here. Mr. Eugea Turdeanu, Mrs. Ana Gavrilescu, Mr. Basfil Hulubay, Mr. Avram Botan, and many others are in similar predicaments.

These stories are further examples of how Romania has not even made the slightest attempt to improve her emigration policy since it has been granted the MFN treatment last year.

VI. ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCE TO THE UNITED STATES

One of the presumed economic advantages to the United States for granting Most Favored Nation status to Romania through the 1974 Trade Act would be the increased availability of jobs for United States citizens.

In fact the number of new jobs created in the United States has been miniscule. Furthermore, the availability of cheap labor in Romania has actually deprived Americans of jobs, as already determined by AFI-CIO in their report handed to the US House of Representatives at the hearings held last year concerning MFN.

In Romania an average salary for a qualified worker is in Romanian currency 1200 lei, according to the official statistics published in Romania concerning average monthly incomes. According to the current exchange rate in New York City the monthly salary of 1200 lei is equivalent to a sum of 50 dollars a month; and according to the official exchange rate in Romania, the same amount of 1200 lei per month will be equivalent to 100 dollars a month.

To give an illustration of the purchasing power of this average worker, the price of a man's suit is more than two month's salary; the price of a pair of shoes is about one-third of a month's salary; one kilogram of meat costs more than one day's salary.

If granting MFN status to Romania would help to raise the standard of living of the average Romanian, we, as native Romanians, might see some good in it. But pouring American currency into Romania merely results in Romania's use of American dollars to strengthen the Communist bloc, to train foreign communist guerrillas, and to spread communist and anti-American propaganda abroad.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

We feel the above report gives overwhelming evidence that Socialist Republic of Romania shows not the slightest inclination to ease the internal pressure on her citizens, to grant them more freedom and human rights.

Nothing has been changed significantly in the past few years in the Romanian internal policy toward her people, including the emigration policy. The government promotes the same hate against the people who intend to leave Romania and especially against those who already left, by calling them "traitors", by confiscating their property, and by harassing their relatives left in Romania.

We feel that the waiver of the Section 402 of the Trades Act of 1974 should be approved only if Socialist Republic of Romania shows a serious and permanent improvement in her attitude and policies toward her own citizens. So far she has not shown any improvement whatsoever. Therefore, we think it will be a mistake to extend the waiver of Section 402 for one more year.

The above statement represents the consolidated testimony of the people named in the attached list.

New York City, September 1, 1976.

VALERIE SECU, *Chairman.*

LIST OF PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR RELATIVES IN ROMANIA DESIRING TO EMIGRATE OR TO VISIT IN THE UNITED STATES

People in the United States and their relatives in Romania

1. Antonovici, John Arno, 3 Lawson Lane, Great Neck, N.Y. 11020. Elena Pereteanu, of: Bd. 1 May 339, Bl. 15, apt 102, sector 8, Bucuresti.
2. Botoman, Rodica, 23-47 Nell Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43202. Radu Ciocanelca, brother, of: Bd. Bucurestii Noi, Bl. C14, Bucuresti.
3. Botan, Avram, 18-17 Palmeta Str., B-klyn, N.Y. 11227. Eugenia Botan, wife, Bergsaul Mare 284, Timis Ana Botan, mother, Elisel Botan, brother, Calta Mandrea Serahim and his family, all of Str. Traian Vuia 12, Petrila, Jud. Hunedoara.
4. Bebelea, Irina, 155 Logan Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11208. Florian Bebelea, son and Marcela Bebelea, daughter, both of: Str. Oltet 6, Brasov.
5. Capata, Dumitru and Elisabeta, Seabury House Box 372, Rondhill Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Dorina Corina Capata, daughter, 6, of: Jelna 92, Jud. Bistrita Nasaud.
7. Carmocan, Florin, 45-26 44 Street, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Ioan Carmocan, brother, w. wife and daughter of: Str. Pregresului 2, Constanta.
- 8-9. Crisu, Eleana and Constantin, 67-14 41 Avenue, Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Matilda Scutaru, mother, of: Str. Pictor Neguljel 13, Sector 1, Bucuresti.
10. Cosambescu, Mircea, S E. 48 Str. Apt. 4B, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tiberiu and Maria Cosambescu, father and mother of: Sos. Giurgului 109-111, Bl. N, Sector 5, Bucuresti.
- 11-12. Constantinescu Victoria (M.D.), and Serban: 50-06 46 Str., Woodside, N.Y. 11377, Teodor Corneliu Nicolau, brother, of: Str. Barbu Vacarescu 145, Sector 1, Bucuresti.
13. P.F.C. Dan, Vlad, Co. Meddac, Fort Dix, N.J. 08040. Ana Dan, mother of: Str. Vanatorilor 10, Zarnesti, Jud. Brasov.
14. David, Constantin, c/o Crisu, 67-14 41 Ave., Woodside, N.Y. 10017. Justina Lupisor, sister, of: Str. Pictor Neguljel 13, Sector 1, Bucuresti.
15. Davidovici, Olimpia, 100 West End Ave., No. 226, New York, N.Y. 10023. Emilia Mironescu, sister, of: Str. Bujoreni 10, Sector 7, Bucuresti.
16. Dima, Nicholas, c/o Rev. Userlu, 215 C. Street SE., Apt. 107, Washington, D.C. 20003. Cornelia Necula, sister, with husband and child, of: Str. Eufrosin Poteca 4, Sector 3, Bucuresti. Ion Dima, brother, with wife and child, of: Calea Floresca 126, Sector 1, Bucuresti. Constantin Dima, brother, with wife and child, of: Str. Suren Spandarian 6, Bl. DC18, Sector 2, Bucuresti.
17. Domisa, Sorin, 780 Riverside Dr. No. 10 D, New York, N.Y. 10032. Doina Iovanut, mother, of: Str. 16 Februarie 14, Timisoara.
18. Fara, George, 20 Harwey Str., New Brunswick, N.J. 08901. Ilie Tutulanu and Mircea Melensa, cousins, of: Bd. Gh. Dimitrovi 124, Blg. 5, Sector 3, Bucuresti.
19. Gavrilescu, Ana, 123 Post Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10034. Dumitru Gavrilescu, husband, and Alexandra, daughter of: Plata Natlunille Unite 3, Bl. B2, Sector 5, Bucuresti.
20. Graur, Walter, 140 W. 69 Str., Hotel Spencer, New York, N.Y. Mioara Graur, wife, and Melania Graur, daughter of: Str. Caporal Dumitru 68, Ploiesti, Jud. Prahova.

21. Gatalantu, Stefania, 233 E. Erie Str. #1606, Chicago, Ill. 60611. Maria Gatalantu, mother, of: Str. Popa Sapea no. 32, B1, A12, apt. 2, Timisoara.
22. Basil David Hulubay, 515 W. 59 Str., New York, N.Y. 10019. Ana Hulubel, mother, Victoria Hulubel, sister, Razvan Anastasiu, nephew; all of: P-ta Comonaulilor 1 A, Sector 1, Bucuresti.
- 23-24. Lefter, Jean and Yvone, 17-32 202 Street, Bayside, N.Y. 11360. Dumitru Lefter, Father, Elvira Lefter, Mother, of: Str. Viltorului 8, Barlad, Jud. Vaslui.
25. Leuca, Vasile, 178 Touhy Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60626, Maria Leuca, wife, of: Str. Apostollilor 59, Sector 5, Bucuresti.
- 26-27. Manta, Maria and son, Manta, Constantin, 414 Onderdonk Ave., Ridgewood, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11237. Mircea Manta, son, Florentina Manta, daughter, Stefan Manta, son, with wife and child, Mihal Manta, son, with wife and child, Dumitru Manta, son, with wife and child, all of: Sos. Stefan Cel Mare, Sector 2, Bucuresti.
28. Marcu, Mona, 609 Kappock Str., Bronx, N.Y. 10463. Ioselina Britchi, mother, of: Str. Gh. Cosbuc no. 3, Brasov; Mirela Britchi, sister, of: Bd. Dumitru Petrescu 65, Sector 5, Bucuresti.
- 29-30. Marin, Constanta and Dumitru (Md), Elena Dumitrov, mother, of: Str. 30 Decembrie 7, comuna Ocnita, Ocnite Mari, Jud. Valcea.
31. May, Lucy, 165 West 60 St., New York, N.Y. 10023. Cornelia Elena Malorescu, daughter, and child, of: Cales Floreasca 9-11 apt. 25, Sector 1, Bucuresti.
- 32-33. Mateescu, Ioana and husband Strambu, Ion, 45-14 42 St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Cornelia Mateescu, mother, of: Bd. Muncii 8, Sector 4, Bucuresti; Daniela Stancu, sister, with husband & children of: Str. Emil Racovita 29-31 B1, Em. Sect 5, Buc.
- 34-35. Moisidis, Nicolae and wife, 964 E. Brodaway, South Boston, Mass. 02127. Maria Moisidis, mother, of: St. Cealcovski 8, ap. 25, Sector 1, Bucuresti Constantin Moisidis, brother, with wife & children, of the same address.
36. Munteanu, Ion, 32-27 41 St., Astoria, N.Y. 11103. Florea Berbecaru, brother, with wife & children of Sat Serboiaul, Com. Buzolesti, Jud. Arges.
- 37-38. Puscov, Ioana and husband, 25-21 31 Ave., Astoria, N.Y. 11100. Maria Puscov, sister, of: Str. Gloriei 14, Timisoara.
- 39-40. Pantea, Ion and Florica, 645 E. Penn St., Long Beach, N.Y. 11561. Monica Pantea, daughter, Dan Pantea of: Parcul Lenin 19, Oradea.
41. Secu, Valerie, 319 Avenue C, New York, 10009. Gabriela Teodorescu, sister, with husband, son, Maria Bocancea, mother, of: Str. Virgilii 15, Sect. 7, Bucuresti.
- 42-43. Stolca, Ion Victor and wife: 32-27 41 St., Astoria, N.Y. 11103. Alda Stolca, father, of: St. Postel 8, Ploiesti, Henica Zaharia, mother, of: St. M. Emliescu 22, B1, 7, Ap. 22, Ploiesti.
44. Stolca, Adriana, 45-19 42 St., No. 2C, Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Angela Gall, mother, Mihal Gall, father, of: Str. Ciucea 1 B1, P16, Ap. 33, Sec. 4, Bucuresti.
45. Saratean, Simion, 345 W. 88 St., New York; N.Y. 10024. Elena Saratean, wife, of: Str. Republicii 6, Cluj.
46. Surmenian Teodorescu, Alice, 43-05 44 St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Aztaber Surmenian, father, Hriblime, mother, Edward Gabriel Surmenian, brother, of: Bd. Lupusneanu 173, B1, T1, Ap. 24, Constanta.
- 47-48. Tabuc, Ion and Constanta, 26-45 9 St., Queens, N.Y. 11102. Constantin Campean, father, Elisabeta mother Mircea Campean, brother, of: Str. Barbu Vacarescu 145, Sec. 1, Bucuresti.
49. Teodorescu, Dinu, 43-05 44 St., Sunnyside, N.Y. 11104. Mihal Teodorescu, brother, with wife and child, of: Str. Sapunari No. 4, Ploiesti.
50. Tanasoiu, Anca, 39-76 57 St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Vladimir Tanasoiu, father, Victoria, mother, of: G-ral Alex. Radovici 16, Bucuresti.
- 51-52. Vladescu, Narcisa, and Stellan, 111 Van Nostrand St., Engewood, N.J. 07631. Anton Maza, brother, of: Str. Baba Novac 2, Bucuresti.
- 53-64. Williams, Maria and Donald, 1220 11 St., Apt. 1, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Ecaterina Chelariu, mother, Serban Chelariu, brother, both of: Str. Lebedel 8, Sec. 8, Bucuresti.
55. Cocloba, Emil Trandafir, 1 Laurel Drive, Huntington, N.Y. 111743. Luisa Cocloba, wife, Smaranda Cocloba, M.D. daughter, of both: Comuna Costelul, Jud. Timis.
56. Dumitrescu, Constantin, 41-47 55 St., Woodside, N.Y. 11477. Maria Cerchez, mother, of: Str. Gh. Cosbuc 63, Balcol, Jud. Ploiesti; Stefania Petrificanu, grandmother, of: Str. Oborul Nou 13, B1, P10, Ap. 414, Bucuresti.

57. Ionescu, Cornelia S., 74 Amity St., Apt. 11, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Sorania Marandici, nee Ionescu, sister, with family, all of: Str. C.A. Rossseti 19, Sec. 1, Bucuresti.

58. Lichardopol, Nicolae, 220 Miriam St., Bronx, N.Y. 10458. Tudor Lichardopol, brother, St. Cosmonautilor 7, Sector 1, Bucuresti.

59-60. Serdici, Sergiu A. and Ana Maria: 41-25 77 St., Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373. Silvia Serbanescu, mother, Str. Stejarului 38, B1.65 Sect. 4, Bucuresti.

61. George Muscanu, 26-16 W. Foster, Chicago, Ill. 60625. Gabriela Muscanu Plata Teatrului B1. 71, Brasov 2000.

62. Ardeleanu, Gheorghe, 4624½ N. Wolcott St., Chicago, Ill. 60640. Ecaterina Ardeleanu, wife, with two children, Carmen and Corina, of: Str. Cloșca 19, SlnNicolaul Mare, Timis.

63. Bucur, Vasile, The Inn Rancho, Santa Fe, Calif. 92067. Maria Bucur, wife, with two children Georgeta and Camela, of: Com. Valul Traian, Jud. Constanta.

64. Crisan, Ana, 1922 N. Foster, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Gheorghe Crisan, husband, of: Str. Anul 1848, no. 24, Timisoara.

65. Dogaru, Elena, 511 W. Belmont Apt. 8, Chicago, Ill. 60659. Iulian Dogarlu, son, and Ana Dogarlu, daughter, both of: Str. Leningrad 7, apt. 5, Timisoara.

66. Franck, Richard, 4529 N. Kenneth, Chicago, Ill. 60638. Eva Peters, daughter, with husband and children, of: Str. Aurel, Vialcu 28, Deta.

67. Flueraș, Maria, 4624½ N. Wolcott, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Ion Flueraș, husband and children, of: Str. N. Opreanu 58, Com. SlnNicolaul Mare, Jud. Timis.

68. Hasnas, Dimitrie, 1951 W. Farragut Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60640. Vasile Hasnas, son, with wife and children, of: Bd. Marasesti 63, Sector 5, Bucurest.

69. Ionescu Lungu, Alexandru, 1637 W. Fargo Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60608. Maria Ionescu-Lungu, wife Dan Ionescu-Lungu, son, both of: Str. Australului 48, Sect. 3, Bucuresti.

70. Iusco, Gheorghe, 2876 N. Clark, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Maria Iusco, wife, of: Str. Victoriei 36, Com. Negresti, Jud. Satul Mare.

71. Kokkino, Elena, 26-36 W. Winnemac, Chicago, Ill. 60628. George Bosceanu, brother, with wife and daughter, all of: Str. Mangaliei 96, B1.D1, Constanta.

72. Mocuta, Maria, 7861 S. South Shore Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60649. Ioan Mocuta, 1-st cousin, Com. Curtici, Str. 23 Aug. 132, Jud. Arad.

73. Manea, Daniel, 908 E. Elm Ave., Monroe, Mich. 48161. George Manea, father, and sisters: Silvia, Mariana, Magdalene, Olimpia- Str. Muntele Galna 30, Oradea, Jud. Bihor.

74. Pop, Mircea, 4929 N. Drake, Chicago, Ill. 60625. Lidia Pop, wife, of: Zona Circumvolutiunii 4, B1.23, Apt. 28, Timisoara.

75. Schirel, Joseph, 6016 Dakin, Chicago, Ill. 60634. Liselotte Fodor, daughter with husband and child; of: Com. Tomnatec 66, Jud. Timis. Erna Tyebo, daughter with husband, of: Com. Tomnatec 863, Jud. Timisoara.

76. Stangaciu, Edelen, 4832 Wolcott Str., Chicago, Ill. 60640. Ion Stangaciu, husband and Eugen, 6, son. Bd. 6 Martie 14, apt. 18, Timisoara.

77. Vaslu, George, 8 E. 48 St., apt. 48, New York, N.Y. 10017. Georgeta Vaslu, wife, of: Bucuresti, Romania.

KANATA, ONTARIO, K2K 1L5, September 1, 1976.

HON. A. RIBICOFF,

Chairman, Subcommittee of International Trade, U.S. Senate, 227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

HONOURABLE SIR: I am writing this letter in the hope of enlisting your aid in my efforts to reunify my family. Although I am a Canadian, I am addressing this letter to you, because I have heard about the Hearing regarding Romania's fulfillment of her obligation to reunify dispersed families which will be held in September 1976. Knowing your steady activity in order to secure the fundamental rights of man, I take the liberty to kindly ask you to help me with my efforts to bring my parents from Romania to Canada.

Since January 1971, my parents, Dumitru and Eugenia Sfetcu of Bucharest, Constantin Brincoveanu Street, Bloc 29, Sc.B. Et. 7, Ap.68, have tried to join us here in Canada. They have been systematically refused throughout these years, and, a few months ago, they have been denied *even the right to fill in application forms*. (No application forms being filled in, the Romanian government probably claims that no requests to leave the country exist! The Romanian authorities have also told them that they agree to the reunification of our family,

but in Romania, not in Canada. May I point out that I am married in Canada, and I am the mother of a Canadian born child.

I consider that my parents' desire to join us in Canada is in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and I appeal to you, Honourable Sir, to use your influence in persuading the Romanian Government to grant exit visas for my parents. My family and I will be eternally grateful for your kind assistance.

Very sincerely yours,

OFELIA COHN-STETCU.

CALGARY, ALBERTA, CANADA, September 16, 1976.

Hon. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,

Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, 2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I first wish to introduce myself. My name is Victor Silaghi, and I am a landed immigrant from Romania, residing in Calgary, Alberta, Canada, having received my landed immigrant status, on Feb. 5, 1975. I am 38 years old, married for nine years, with Cornelia Silaghi (at this time in Romania). We have two children Monica and Ada Silaghi, ages, 9 and 5 years old. I am a Mechanical Engineer, by training. I left Romania by myself, in May 1974, because I could no longer accept the Communist ideology and administration. I had the occasion to flee Romania while on excursion in Austria. From Austria, in Dec. 1974, I obtained my visa to enter Canada, as a Landed Immigrant, and since Feb. 5, 1975, I have resided in Calgary, Alberta. From March 1975, I working as a Drafting and mechanical engineer at C. K. Steel & Machinery, Calgary.

I am writing this letter, with the sincere hope, that you can help me, resolve a very important problem, that being reuniting my family, which at this time are still in Romania, and myself. I would like to inform you, that since establishing residence in Canada, both, my wife and myself, have done everything possible for the reunion of our family, but despite all our efforts, letters, and calls, to Romanian authorities in Romania, and with the Romanian Embassy in Ottawa, all has been in vain, the Communist Romanian Regime, continue to hold them as hostages. For almost two and a half years now, we have carried out our marriage through correspondence, without knowing exactly when we shall be reunited.

In March 1975, I made application, to the Romanian Embassy in Ottawa, to renounce my Romanian citizenship, in order to "regularize" my status under Romanian laws, and to facilitate my family obtaining their passports to leave Romania.

In June 1975, my wife made application to the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, to emigrate, from Romania, to Canada.

In March the Romanian Embassy in Ottawa, informed the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa, that the Romanian authorities approve my residence abroad, and my application to renounce my Romanian citizenship has been approved, by the State Council of Romania (decree No. 78, March 23, 1976). The Embassy of Romania, further informed the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, in May 1976, that the Romanian authorities have given approval, for my family to leave Romania, and to come to Canada. On June 7, 1976, by wife applied, again, for exit visa and passports for herself and our two children, but as yet, after three months from her new application, and one year from her first application, the situation is unchanged: my wife has not received approval to leave Romania, even though, according to Romanian laws, if someone applies for a passport, the Ministry of Internal Affairs must answer in 60 days.

The truth is that the Romanian authorities ignore me, my family, and our rights, and the only chance I have, is intervention on my behalf, from other people, because the Romanian Government wishes to appear "just" and does not wish to lose face, on the international scene. The Romanian authorities can be forced by public opinion to respect the universal human rights, but someone must ask periodically about my situation. They must know that someone has this matter, in continuous view.

For our two children, I am asking you, to intervene on my behalf, and contact the Romanian authorities, personally the Romanian President, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu in order to resolve, this matter.

Thank you, very much, for your attention, to my situation.

Yours truly,

VICTOR SILAGHI.

HOLY TRINITY ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL,
Detroit, Mich., September 3, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL LONG,
 Washington, D.C.

I am an American citizen of Romanian ancestry, a priest and spiritual leader of a large Romanian congregation in Detroit. This summer I had the opportunity to spend my vacation in my old-country.

Coming back to the United States I was shocked by a shameless and blatant campaign initiated by an American-Hungarian group against Romania and its government.

Using various means of agitation, like flaming articles in newspapers and magazines, using speeches in mass media, conducting street demonstrations, and addressing complaints to the U.S. authorities, these people charge that in Romania take place "cultural genocides": national minorities are persecuted, deprived of their elementary rights, prevented from offering their children an education in their own ethnic language.

As a "punishment" for these alleged crimes against the Hungarian minority, the accusers claim that Transylvania shall be returned to Hungary and that the U.S. government shall refuse to grant Romania the status of "most favored nation".

As an American citizen of Romanian descent I am deeply indignant about such manoeuvres and in my capacity of a priest I abhor the enormity of such allegations.

I know that the American Congress will not be misled by lies and slander the Hungarian agitators are spreading.

But to restore the truth when trampled down I consider to be a sacred duty of mine.

With regard to Transylvania it is well known that this province has been from its inception a territory inhabited by Romanians. Only because of some political and historical junctures the region was forced to live under the Austro-Hungarian yoke. However, in 1918, according to the universally accepted principle of self-determination, the Romanians of Transylvania have chosen to be united with their mother-country Romania. So the "Transylvania Problem" has been settled once and for all.

Now it is a very dangerous play to revert to a matter resolved through peace treaties, a settlement reinforced by the Conference for the European Security held in 1975 in Helsinki.

I hope that the American Congress is informed that the eagerness to stir up Hungarians against Romanians is a treacherous plot of the Russian government in order to pave its way for economic and political control, for territorial annexations. It would be a disgrace that America would be caught in this trap.

As far as so called "cultural genocide in Romania" is concerned, this is a cunning demagoguery.

From my own experience I declare that in my old country no minority group is persecuted or discriminated against.

All Romanian citizens are free to preserve and develop their own culture, to use their mother language, all have a complete opportunity to assert themselves.

In Romania the Hungarian minority has its national schools, colleges, and universities, with teaching in Hungarian. It has at its disposal print-houses, drama theatres and opera houses. The State has invested considerable amounts of money in the restoration of Hungarian monuments and churches.

In economics, in arts, in politics the Hungarians from Romania hold the highest and the most responsible positions. They are equal in all fields with the representatives of the Romanian majority. Nobody and nothing is restricting them to enjoy the full realization of their own culture, history and traditions.

Senator, I am convinced that justice is on the side of my brethren from Romania and I trust that You and Your colleagues of the American Congress will pay no attention to the blatant lies of the Hungarian agitators, well paid by their Russian masters. On the contrary, I do hope that You will help the right cause of the Romanian people by granting him the "most favored nation" Status and the opportunity to strive for independence and peace.

Imploring God that He may bless You and assist You in pursuing the cause of justice, I remain gratefully

Your sluere

Reverend Father Dr. ST. SLEVOACA.

LIFE-ROLLWAY CORP.,
Syracuse, N.Y., August 31, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: Lipe-Rollway Corporation, Syracuse, New York, wishes to make a written statement to the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Senate Committee on Finance in support of an affirmative vote to extend most-favored-nation treatment of imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania. If requested by the committee, we will be glad to give an oral presentation on behalf of an affirmative vote.

Sincerely,

F. V. SMITH, JR.,
Vice President.

AUGUST 29, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: I just find out that you are collecting statements about how the Romanian Government does not respect human rights and his obligation derived from granting the most favored nation clause.

It is not enough time but we could collect thousands of signature, because each refugee from Romania has similar problems.

There is not freedom to obtain a passport and to travel to visit relatives or to reunify families.

They grant visa for money, they sell people. Mr. Jackober from London is one of their representant.

They give visa for subversive actions. There are many priests who came with passport or as refugee and U.S.A. give them refugee status however they are here to submine the Romanian Church organization. They took over many dioceses and presently they are mounting a court action against our bishop Rev. Trifu.

Sportsmen are used for spying, like Nastase the Tennis player who is an officer in the secret Army (Securitate).

Who is going to visit relatives in Romania is obliged to change \$10. each day, and if it is not first grade relative, he should go to the hotel, is not permitted to stay with his relatives.

Visiting Romania, your relatives or people whom you meet, are obliged to send a written statement to the police, about what you was speaking?

Till January 1976 we could send gift lagages to our relatives paying the duty in dollar. Now is not more permitted and if somebody receives a gift they charge in Romania more than 60 percent taxes.

The letters are opened and read. People with frequent correspondence with relatives in USA have difficulty on their job place. Such people are not put in high paid jobs.

Romanian Government refuse to send copies of diplomas or other personal documents.

These are only some of the unlawfulness made by the Romanian Government and in consequence they are not entitled to receive the "Most Favored Nation Clause".

Sincerely yours,

MONSIEUR HENRI WINES, LTD.,
DIVISION OF PEPSICO, INC.
Purchase, N.Y., September 3, 1976.

Mr. MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: This letter is submitted as a statement in support of continued "Most-Favored-Nation" status for imports from Romania.

Monsieur Henry Wines, Ltd., a subsidiary of PepsiCo, Inc. imports Romanian wines for distribution to consumers in the United States. Specifically, Monsieur

Henri entered an importing agency agreement on March 31, 1976 with Foreign Trade Enterprise Vinexport of Romania for the purchase and sale of Romanian wines in the United States over a three-year period.

Romania is the leading wine producer of the Balkan countries, one of the more important wine-producing countries of Europe. In recent years wine has become an important export for Romania, chiefly to Eastern and Western European national markets. Recently Romanian wines were well received at an international competition in Montpellier, France. By its contract with Monsieur Henri, Romania is offering its good wines to the American public.

Under our Romanian contract, three different wines—Pinot Noir, Cabernet Sauvignon and Tarnave Castle—have been selected for marketing under the "Premiat" brand name. The marketing objective provides the U.S. consumer with an imported wine of outstanding quality for a most reasonable price (under \$2.00 per 23 oz. bottle). Monsieur Henri is investing substantial amounts in marketing and sales support behind the Premiat line in this first year of the contract. Vinexport is also assisting our efforts by significant investment.

Our overall negotiations and business connections with the Romanians have been most positive and constructive. Our experience is part of creating a healthy and productive relationship through international trade between this Latin cultured Eastern country and our nation.

It is our considered 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 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 importantly inhibit and curtail such a beneficial economic trade and potential understanding. Certainly it will limit and be detrimental to our sales of Romanian wines in the United States.

The direct impact of "Most-Favored-Nation" status versus non "Most-Favored-Nation" status on our pricing of our Premiat line is as follows:

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Current duty and tax—56.5 cents per gallon..... | Per case \$1.23 |
| Without most favored nation—\$1.62 per gallon..... | 3.20 |
| Difference | 1.97 |

The increased tax and duty of \$1.97 per case will cause at least a twenty-five cents (25¢) or twelve and one-half percent (12½) percent increase in the consumer price per bottle to the U.S. consumer. Such a substantial increase will remove the product from the \$1.00 category, place it at a less competitive higher price, and reduce the volume of sales likely to be achieved. The loss of the present good pricing is expected to be a serious disadvantage in the marketplace for our Romanian wines.

For the above reasons we respectfully submit our support for the continuation of "Most-Favored-Nation" status for imports from the Socialist Republic of Romania under the Trade Act of 1974. Specifically, we favor the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the requirement that countries allow freedom of emigration to be eligible for "Most-Favored-Nation" treatment.

Respectfully,

G. LAWRENCE SOUL,
Vice President.

HIGHLAND PARK, MICH., September 13, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: Following, in accordance with your recent notice to those wishing to present their views, relative to the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974, is a resume of my personal case to date.

I. PERSONAL STATISTICS

- (a) Stephan Stanescu permanent resident since 1969.
- (b) I have a brother and sister in Romania that wish to emigrate to the U.S.

II. MY EFFORTS IN THE U.S. IN THEIR BEHALF

(a) Three times I send to my sister, (Mihaela Stanescu, an orphan) necessary papers to come to the United States. Each time she was rejected by the Romanian passport office. She is a student 18 years of age, orphan of both parents.

(b) My brother, MIHAI STANESCU is a mechanical engineer, married no children. He also wish to come to the United States. The reason he don't apply for emigration visa is fear of losing his job. This time he decided to take the step to apply to Romanian passport office for permission to emigrate with his wife to the United States. According to Subsection 402 (a) and (b) of the Trade Act Romanian government should allow its citizens to emigrate the countries they wish.

Based upon the above mentioned frustrating account of my fruitless endeavors to convince the Romanian authorities to allow my brother and my sister to join me in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

STEPHAN STANESCU.

TORRINGTON, CONN., September 3, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STERN: With the forthcoming Finance Subcommittee Hearings on continuing most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania, I wish to present my views relative to the freedom of emigration provision of the Trade Act of 1974.

I. PERSONAL STATISTICS

LUCIAN STECLA CI: born Romania, 1909, American citizen, 1974; renouncement of Romanian citizenship, 1973.

II. STATISTICS AND PRESENT STATUS OF MY FAMILY IN ROMANIA

ELSA STECLA CI, mother: has passport, having visited me in 1972; applied for another visa in April, 1975; application rejected 3 times, last July, Oct. and May; no reason given.

ADRIAN STECLA CI, brother and LIVIA STECLA CI, sister-in-law: sent them invitation and affidavit of support for a visit to the U.S.; impossible for them to even obtain passport application forms, since an approval must first be granted by their respective employers, and in their particular case with their relative, myself, having fled, it is unheard of to obtain it.

III. MY EFFORTS IN THE U.S. IN THEIR BEHALF

In June, 1975, I placed their names on a list prepared by Father Galdan of New York for the State Dept.; in May of this year, having heard of a possible visit of Romanian Pres. N. Ceausescu to the U.S. for talks concerning the 1974 Trade Act, I wrote letters of appeal to Senators Jackson, Buckley and Ribicoff. Copies of these were sent to the American Embassy in Romania. I received responses from each of the Senators to the effect that every effort would be made to deal with my case effectively.

In conclusion, I wish to note the following: The most recent responses of the above-mentioned came from Senator Buckley suggesting that my family immediately go to the American Embassy and discuss their case with a Consul there. It so happened that recently my wife made a short visit to Romania and was able to openly speak with my family. My brother and sister-in-law immediately rejected the idea of going to the American Embassy for fear it would prove too risky for them concerning their jobs, living quarters, etc. My mother, however, having little to risk, went with my wife to the Embassy and is hopeful that with American intervention the Romanians will eventually relent. From my wife's first hand observations the situation concerning freedom of emigration in Romania hasn't changed in the least since the Trade Act of 1974. People still live in fear of harassment for every move and expression they make.

It is therefore my conclusion that it is all too evident how shamelessly the Romanians have failed to live up to the commitments set up in the 1974 Trade Act in ignoring the wishes of its people to travel freely. I, therefore, can only urge the Subcommittee investigating the freedom of emigration clause of the

Trade Act to absolutely discontinue the granting of the most-favored-nation tariff treatment of imports from Romania until they solemnly comply with their commitment and immediately release my family as well as the families of other refugees . . . and to continue thus in the future in return for the granting of this favor.

Sincerely,

LUCIAN C. STEELACI.

STATEMENT OF ADRIANA STOICA

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right of freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Adriana Stoica, I am Romanian born (maiden name: Adriana Gall) on June 18th, 1948 in Bucharest-Romania and since June 11th, 1974 a resident in United States of America together with my husband Laurentiu Stoica (born on May 16, 1949 in Bucharest-Romania) and our son Laurence Michael Richard Stoica born on July 16th, 1974 in New York City, N.Y.

Years ago my father, a construction designer and interior designer, refused to become a member of the Romanian Communist Party and lost his job, after that being obliged to accept all kind of employment well below his qualifications. As for me, because of the preferential system practiced in Romanian universities which benefit the descendants of communist leaders, I haven't been admitted to the Medicine College despite my strong desire to be a doctor. Due to the shown conditions, I found only the way of becoming a library worker with low earnings and hard life.

After waiting for long, I left Romania on August 14th, 1973 as tourist and reached Italy two days later. Once in liberty, I asked for political asylum and the permission to emigrate in United States. In Italy I celebrated my marriage to my husband Laurentiu Stoica. The official permission to come to U.S. reached me while I and my husband were in France.

Choosing the freedom, I left in communist Romania both my mother and my father now old enough to need our assistance. They are:

Mihail Gall, father, born on September 27th, 1916 and a construction and interior designer as mentioned before.

Angela Gall, mother (maiden name: Angela Iacobovici), born on March 4th, 1923 and in the past practicing accountancy.

These missing members of my family are living at present time at the following address: Str. Clucea no. 1, Apt. 33, Et. 1, Bloc P 16, Scara 3, Bucuresti, Cartier Titan, Romania.

All our efforts to bring them both in this country of freedom and opportunities failed because of the categorical opposition of the Romanian communist authorities which not only in this case ignore and violate the provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with United States. In this respect, they keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

Openly protesting the hard line followed by the Romanian communist regime led by President Nicolae Ceausescu, on May 20th, 1970 I started a Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and won't leave that place until my missing parents will join us in this blessed country. Along with me will stay my son Laurence Michael Richard, aged 2.

Calling your attention to the above shown situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade Romanian rulers respect wholly their assumed obligations and grant, among others, my before named parents the necessary visas for their travel to United States and the reunification of our split family.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

STATEMENT OF IOAN VICTOR STOICA

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Ioan Victor Stoica, I am Romanian born (February 7th, 1939) in the town of Ploesti-Romania and admitted as refugee in United States of America since April 28th, 1976 together with my wife Olimpia Stoica, born on November 9th, 1944 in the town of Baleol-Romania.

After numerous political troubles with the Romanian authorities, including the expropriation of the entire estate of my family and the refuse of the communist regime to admit my admission to the universities where I wanted to complete my education, for a period of 10 years, I left Romania with a passport obtained in connection with a work contract in West Germany, where I requested political asylum and the admission in the United States.

Unfortunately, leaving Romania, I left in that country my father Aldea Stoica, aged 69, and my mother-in-law Jenica Zaharia (maiden name: Jenica Gherghescu), aged 57. During my 2-years staying in West Germany, I and my wife made several interventions in order to obtain from the Romanian authorities the necessary visas which could assure the emigration of the above shown relatives from Romania, but the Romanian regime rejected all of them. At the same time, these relatives asked Romanian authorities to issue the respective visas, with the same negative result.

My father lives now in the town of Ploesti-Romania, str. Postel nr. 8. My mother-in-law is now residing in the town of Ploesti-Romania, str. Eminescu no. 22, Bloc 7, Apt. 22.

Our split family is not an isolated case at all. Many Romanian refugees in this country of freedom are waiting their still captive families in Romania to join them here. The Romanian regime led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement or the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with the U.S.A. and despite their own Constitution, their promises and assumed responsibilities therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

In these circumstances, openly protesting the abusive conduct of the Romanian communist regime, since May 24th, 1976 I started a Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and will not leave this place until the above mentioned relatives will join us in this country.

Calling your attention to this grave situation, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as representative of the American people in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to my hostage relatives the necessary visas allowing them to travel to the United States and this way to reunite our forcibly split family. At the same time, I appeal to you to oppose the renewal of the most favored nation treatment granted to communist Romania in 1975, which stays now under discussion in the U.S. Congress.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

New York, N.Y., September 1, 1976.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
Subcommittee on International Trade, U.S. Senate,
Dirksen Senate Office Building

DEAR SIR: My name is Ion Strimbu and I am of Romanian origin, political refugee in July 1975. I was a member of the Romanian Communist Party from the age of 17 and I lived and activated under and for the Regime in Bucharest for more than 30 years. The last 5 years I worked as a State Counselor at COMECON in Moskow. Knowing the realities in Romania and other communist countries from my personal experience of 30 years, in which time I had different positions in the Party and in the State, determined me to leave Romania in the only way possible, and that is illegally. I am in the position to affirm with whole responsibility that the right to emigrate and the other rights formulated in the Declaration of human rights were never respected or never in the sincere intention of the Regime in Bucharest to be respected.

The Romanian Government has the clear picture of the fact that the allowance of free emigration would produce a population exodus of such an immense proportion that would unvell in front of the international public opinion the true

dictatorial and inhuman nature of a Government which presents itself as acting in virtue of the most human principle and those of socialism and communism, trying in fact to maintain and if possible to further consolidate the power by any possible means.

The truth of the above mentioned statement I hope is well known by the American Authorities. However, if the most favored status was granted to Romania I consider that it may have been because of serious political considerations.

I want to ask the question whether the granting of the most favored nation status to Romania serves the interests of the people and to what extent it serves only the interests of the political elite to consolidate their dictatorial regime?

My knowledge and my prolonged experience make me answer that the political elite is the only one to benefit from this agreement. Answering the question whether this agreement is useful to the American people although we cannot at this point claim to have a definite answer we must express the most serious doubts.

Certain facts which I am about to mention, although they may not necessarily have taken place within the past 18 months, are in my opinion conclusive to the subject matter as they refer to applications for emigration made a long time ago, applications which have not been solved up to this moment.

Under the pretence of saving the foreign currency, the Romanian Government elaborated precise instructions to reduce as much as possible even the tourism to western countries and also the participation of Romanian scientists and of other categories of intellectuals to international conferences, trying in fact to reduce to minimum the direct contact with people of other nationalities.

With the special request to proceed with the most prudence not to provoke any serious repercussions on some very dear friends, I should present some known cases.

1. Georgescu Mircea, economist, lives in Bucharest, 24 Drumul Taberei Str., B101D2, Sc. 5 Apt. 167, telephone no. 32-68-70. He has a special tragic experience.

Years ago, wanting to emigrate, he and his wife and their little daughter asked for permission to leave Romania. Their request has been repeatedly refused. As a desperate gesture they decided to get a formal divorce so that his wife and daughter, who were Jewish, would be able to leave for Israel. For years Georgescu Mircea tried to get out of Romania to be together with his beloved wife and daughter, but he was constantly refused. Even now, after ten years of continuous struggling Mircea Georgescu is still in Romania without having the "privilege" of seeing his daughter since.

2. Adrian and Tamara Serban who live in Bucharest, 63 C. Nottara Str. are both engineers. Adrian Serban is a highly specialized metallurgical engineer, chief of several national and international projects of automatization in the metallurgical field. Their only child, Mariana Blym, married in 1974 a American citizen and lives now at 102-30 66 Rd. Apt. 20 K, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375.

They requested in June 1975 permission to emigrate to the United States, request which has been refused in May 1976, without any explanation from the Authorities and without permission to reapply. Not to mention the continuous harassments which they are subject to (demoted from their position at work, salary reduced, meetings in which they try to convince them not to leave, etc.), the result of which is that Adrian Serban developed a heart disease.

I should like to mention that his only brother is also living in the United States as a Permanent Resident and that his wife has no relatives in Romania.

3. Valentin Berbecaru, writer, member of the highest forum: Writers Association. He was accorded the national prize for literature in 1968. He is from a German family from Transylvania and he was even refused his repeated requests for a visit in West Germany, where his relatives live. His address is: 30-48 Calea Dorobanti, Sector 1, Sc. B, Apt. 83, Bucharest.

4. Dumitru Tanasescu (his brother presents the sport news at the Romanian Television), he comes from a wealthy family whom assets were nationalized. His family was ruined by the new regime and as a result his father committed suicide.

The young Tanasescu did not want or could not become a docile conformist, as his brother so he was continuously harassed and constantly refused a job. He was not even permitted to finish his college education. For years he is trying to get permission to leave Romania together with his mother and to go to Brazil where his sister is living with her husband, a citizen of Brazil. He is also systematically refused.

5. I should like to mention also the situation of my family (From my wife's side). My mother in law, Coralia Mateescu, from Bucharest 8 Blvd. Muncii, and

my sister in law, Daniela Stancu, and her husband Constantin and their two children are postponed the permission to leave Romania. This should be understood as a punishment that me and my wife asked for political asylum. The Romanian Authorities' excuse now is that we must make a renunciation to the Romanian Citizenship, in which case they say that they will give them permission to leave. I should like to mention that there is also a tax of \$200.00 per person for this procedure. But the Romanian Authorities are forgetting that by asking for political asylum, we are automatically withdrawn the Romanian Citizenship, and besides, they are asking for these money again forgetting the personal properties we left behind in Bucharest and Moscow and which they confiscated. Please note also the address of Daniela and Constantin Stancu: 29-31 Emil Racovita Str., Bl. EM2, Sc.E Et. 4, Apt. 100, Bucharest, Sector 5.

Even from these cases you can see that we cannot talk about Romanians respecting the people's right to emigrate not even in the way the Poles and Yugoslavians do. I take the responsibility to affirm that nothing has been done to let the Romanian people know about the possibility of exercising this right of theirs, right which is recognized by the representatives of other states.

Being one of those who dedicated more than have their lives to organize and economically built a modern and developed Romanian society on the basis of recognition of the human rights and liberties, I cannot see any accomplishments by the Ceausescu's regime to make them worthy of your credit. The facts prove that the Romanian people not only that do not benefit from their rights but also are subject to severe and real reprisals from the part of Romanian Authorities if they dare to ask for their rights.

I want to repeat that I am not an enemy because of some lost privileges, but the experience of a life lost in this regime gives me the authority not to trust them any more. I am ready to a confrontation with any forum to be able to understand the eventual political considerations which would justify and even would impose the prolongation of the most favored nation to Romania, an agreement from which the people of Romania do not benefit but has a contrary effect of deprivations and humiliations for its people.

Yours Sincerely,

DR. ING. IOAN STRIMBU.

BOSTON, MASS., September 7, 1976.

MICHAEL STERN,
Staff Director, Committee on Finance,
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington D.C.

This is a statement which we, the people of the Romanian community of Boston wish to make in relation to the hearings of the Congressional Subcommittee on International Trade on granting the most-favored-nation trading status to Romania. We will try to remain brief, even though the facts we are talking about here are worthy of a pen like Solzhenitsyn's and by no means less sad than the ones he described in his Gulag Archipelago. We shall begin by expressing our satisfaction at having our testimony included in the Congressional Record. We are all people who ran away from the communist paradise being built in Romania; only after we have spent a few years in the United States and after periodic common nightmare of dreaming about finding ourselves back there has subsided somehow; and only after realizing that we are all normal human beings and not Party and Government agents have we begun to trust each other and talk about being free and about what we left back in Romania without fearing that someone will turn us in. The Romanian people and all the minorities living there are going through an unmitigated tragedy which needs more explanation. But first, we would like to describe some of the expressions we are going to use from now on. The phrase "Party and Government" is the only way referred by the Romanian Government and press to the leading clique of our country. Everything appearing in quotation marks are direct quotations from the Romanian press and they do not belong to us. We prefer, however to use some of their phraseology.

For reasons which the Romanian Party and Government never cared to explain, a sizable proportion of the population has been recruited by the Secret Police to inform about the well being of the rest of the population. The Secret Police would like to know what the population thinks, if people tell political jokes, if "the most beloved son of the people, comrade Ceausescu" is talked about and quoted with enough respect, whether or not the people complain about the

happiness into which they are dipped like a kitten into a bowl of milk. Exact figures about the proportion of informers in the population we do not know; we do know, however that out of the four students sent by the Romanian Party and Government to study on the East Coast of the U.S., all have been instructed to inform on each other and every single one has been told that he and only he has been entrusted with this tremendously important task. It is by now widely known in the Western World that a Romanian cannot have a private conversation with a foreigner; the Party and Government (through the Secret Police) has to know about it.

The Middle Ages concept of having people live in specified places and only there has conveniently been unearthed by the Party and Government: A Romanian cannot change his place of residence from one town to another inside the country (not to speak of emigrating) unless the Party and Government wants him to do so. The system of internal passports is humiliating. The fact that a Romanian cannot get a passport for outside travel (except in extremely few circumstances) is even more humiliating. Being treated like second class citizens in their own country (special stores and restaurants for foreigners special stores for top Party and Secret Police members) is still more humiliating.

After and during the regular work week of 48 hours, the average Romanian is dragged to meetings and "voluntary" labor where he has to express his happiness and satisfaction with the system and "beloved leaders" by sending "personal telegrams" to comrade Ceausescu at the end of every meeting. As soon as one bootlicker proposes the sending of such a telegram everybody must slap to attention and applaud, one faster than the other. Of a few hundred (or maybe thousands) of meetings taking place every day, a reasoning Western mind might like to know whether comrade Ceausescu has enough time to read all the "personal" telegrams he receives. A Romanian mind even if a reasoning one, knows that such a telegram must be sent and that comrade Ceausescu "knows" everything. One might ask himself why do Romanians shove so much dirt on top of their heads. But before we attempt to answer this, we must mention another dirt shoving event of great importance. After the Helsinki Conference at which the Western world has given its stamp of approval for the violation of every human right in the book in the communist countries, the Romanian people supposedly wrote again "personal" telegrams to comrade Ceausescu expressing their satisfaction with the results of the conference and acknowledging the major contributions brought by the "beloved leader." Depending on who wrote, the telegram began as: "Much beloved and esteemed comrade Ceausescu" or "Much esteemed and beloved comrade Ceausescu." Still more dirt on our heads.

Now, to answer the rhetorical question put a few sentences ago we must specify that these are not the people who write these shameless telegrams to the "beloved leader." It is the bootlickers, the dirty government tools who oppress the whole people who are doing it. Through the vast army of parasite Secret Police and their extensive informer network, the Party and Government finds out immediately about any dissension in the population. The penalties for words and not deeds are severe. They have been mentioned elsewhere and are not repeated here. The swill which the Romanian press dishes out for decades gets worse every day. The pit has no bottom.

No Romanian can write anything (except graffiti) without quoting comrade Ceausescu on any issue. Since we are Romanians we would also like to quote a speech of "beloved comrade Ceausescu" from *Scinteia*,¹ dated Thursday, June 3, 1970. In this speech comrade Ceausescu talks about the famous internal and external policy of our free country after Helsinki as follows: "We consider that it is necessary to intensify the cultural exchange on the basis of proper agreements, to assure a wide circulation of spiritual goods of literary and artistic creations. Of course, we must all be vigilant and exclude from these exchanges the noxious works which are detrimental to the healthy moral development of man and especially of the young generation."

Nothing is specified beyond this as to how "noxious" must a literary work be in order to be excluded. Does comrade Ceausescu believe that works by Solzhenitsyn should be published in Romania? Also, comrade Ceausescu forgets to mention in this speech that during American-Romanian cultural exchanges he has sent a team of spies to Detroit which has been caught by the FBI with documentation of technological processes stolen from Ford Motor Company.

¹ Central Organ of the Romanian Communist Government.

Let's see now the position of comrade Ceausescu on "humanitarian" issues: "We are for the development of touristic exchanges and the finding of solutions of other humanitarian problems on the basis of reciprocal agreements. It is difficult, however, to consider as humanitarian policy the granting by some countries of political asylum to criminals, spies and traitors, to the ones who are reneging their country" (strong applause) . . . "We do not need the ones who betray their people, parents, the ones who have the courage to declare that they cannot write in Romanian any more, that they like another language. Such people we do not need!" (strong applause) "The spirit of the true humanism imposes that such people be given no support by any country because the one who has betrayed once, will always betray, will remain a traitor!" (prolonged applause)

Now, we are not sure if Ceausescu is talking about the Romanian spies caught by the FBI in Detroit or by people spying for the USA. He also does not mention what he's going to do to those people if "some countries" return them into his "humanitarian" hands.

Further, Ceausescu refers to "the so-called problem of reuniting of families and of emigration. We have solved in the past and will also solve in the future, adequately, the problems related to reuniting the families in the spirit of the true humanism which characterizes the policy of our Party and Government. About this, we consider that the propaganda made abroad with the purpose of attracting some citizens from nationalities living in Romania—especially Germans—not only that it has nothing to do with humanitarian principles, but it is an effort to exploit some national sentiments, with the purpose of satisfying the narrow egotistical interests of the large capitalist monopolies which desire to have a cheaper qualified work force. (Lively applause.) The place of the citizens of our motherland, regardless of their nationality—Romanian, Hungarian, German, Jewish—is here in Romania, in the common effort of the whole people for the creation of a truly free and happy life in which everybody should enjoy the conquests of the socialist civilization." (lively and strong applause) (Traitor or spy, but we want them here, to treat them humanely!)

We wonder now why Ceausescu does not elaborate as to how some people have succeeded in getting away from the socialist civilization and why they want to take their families with them. We will try to fill this gap here. The Romanian people are not aware that a basic human right is the right to emigrate wherever the human being desires, provided, of course that the desired place accepts the above mentioned human being. If they are fed up and not able to do anything about it, the Romanians who want to get out have to swim the Danube or cross the Yugoslav frontier illegally and cross Yugoslavia on foot to freedom in Italy. They have to face machine guns, barbed wire and the prospect of being caught and returned to Romania, something which frequently happens. How can comrade Ceausescu call his policies "humanitarian" when Romanians in the U.S. have to go on hunger strikes to gather enough support to convince U.S. Senators to help them pressure the Romanian Party and Government to let their families come to the U.S. to join them? Ceausescu also does not mention the policy of disinformation his Party and Government practices of sowing hatred among the various nationalities living in Romania—notably among Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania—with the purpose of keeping them busy with dirty little hatreds and preventing any kind of organized resistance to his policies by a united people.

But the pearl of the speech follows now: "Another problem with a humanitarian character which is the object of some discussions in certain international circles is the one of the marriages among citizens of different countries. We consider that this is quite a delicate social problem which should be treated with all seriousness and responsibility and, eventually, on the basis of agreements between states. People must not be treated as freight, they must not be considered as exchangeable objects the way they are in capitalist societies and changed and dislocated because of the desire of one or another, driven by a thirst for profit."

Now, this is the place to talk about people treated as freight. Why only slightly before Romania was granted temporary favored trading status could families of escaped Romanians come to the U.S.? It was only because the U.S., acting in a truly humanitarian way, promised loans and material advantages to the Communist Government to let these families go. We do not think that the Romanian Government acted in a humanitarian way at all. They are the ones who are treating people like freight and are trying to stamp humanity out of them and have done so for three decades.

We know that the effect the American loans and goods which the Romanian Government will receive in exchange for letting a few people emigrate will not be felt by the people. Even though it is considered to be an underdeveloped country at the U.N., Romania has an ambitious foreign aid program. The Romanian Government is giving away hundreds of millions of dollars to African and other countries. They also provide money, weaponry and training for guerrillas from Africa, Portugal, Spain and Chile. Is it a surprise that most of the communists from Chile including Party boss Luis Corvalan found asylum in Romania?

Let us give another example of the "humanitarian" way in which the Romanian Party and Government treats its people. During the catastrophic inundations of the spring of 1970 in Romania, many Western countries have immediately sent large amounts of food, medication, clothing, tents and blankets, as well as large sums of Western currency (always in high esteem with the Romanian Party and Government). All this aid was supposed to be distributed free of charge to the afflicted people. But this was not to happen. Canned goods and Western camping equipment were selling at inflated prices in stores. The Party and Government people in charge of distributing the aid stole most of it. The Romanian Government kept the money. How were the people whose properties were destroyed by the waters helped? We'll tell you how. The entire working population was forced to voluntarily relinquish 10% of their monthly pay for more than a year and we believe that very few of the people in need saw any of this money. We believe that most of it was used for further "socialist construction."

We would like to say now a few words about the "independent" foreign policy of the Romanian Party and Government. In actuality, the Romanian foreign policy is not independent at all. The Party and Government are doing everything that Moscow says, but for the boycotting of a few international communist meetings, comrade Ceausescu declares himself independent, patriotic and receives the acclaim of the Western world, as well as large grants and loans. Very few of the Western countries and their presses know that back at home, comrade Ceausescu vows to fight to the "final victory" of the communist doctrine. He also forbids the Romanian people from getting in contact with any Western ideas. He conveniently strays away from the orthodox Marxist-Leninist ideology and tries to lure Western companies into partnership with the Romanian Party and Government because he can offer slave labor and extremely attractive conditions. We have already mentioned that a large portion of the foreign currency that communist Romania tries so desperately to get is used for "economic aid," guerrilla training and tampering with other countries' internal policy in flagrant contradiction with the principle the Romanian Party and Government claim to have discovered (non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries). We also recall that in 1956 during the Hungarian revolt, Romanian jails were filled with Hungarians sent across the border by the sister country who ran out of space.

We have tried in a few words to talk about the tragedy that the Romanian people and all the minorities living in Romania have to endure. We must stress again that the majority of the population is opposed to communism. They are forced, however, to accept the misery and humiliation brought upon them through the parasite army of Secret Police. Romania has one of the largest such forces in the world. Any opposition can bring annihilation. This state of things is guaranteed in the Romanian Constitution.

The U.S. Congress has temporarily approved the most-favorite-nation trading status to Romania last year with the stipulation that the Romanian Government must liberalize emigration. We know, however, that very few families of escaped Romanians were let go and some Romanians still had to go on hunger strikes in AD 1970 in front of the U.N. in order to dramatize the plight of their families. Something more widely known is the fact that only Romanian sailors defected to the United States during the Tall Ships venture. More recently, four Romanian athletes and one Russian defected at the Olympics in Montreal, Canada. (We find the proportion rather overwhelming.) Did the Romanians defect because they are free and allowed to leave their motherland whenever they want to? We again can give a qualified answer. They preferred to seek asylum and brave the chance of being returned into the "humanitarian" hands of Ceausescu and company rather than face the daily abuse and debasement to which they are subjected in Romania.

We, the people of the Romanian community of Boston truly believe that the Romanian Communist Government does not deserve the most-favored-nation

trading status in exchange for letting a few people emigrate (a clear example of treating people like freight on their part). The most-favored-nation trading status should only be given when every Romanian, regardless of race, national origin, religion or political belief is granted a passport when he wants one and when the Romanian people will be informed that they also have rights in this world and not be punished when they wish to exercise them.

This testimony can only partially expose the tragedy of the Romanian people which is opposed to communism and to the reign of terror and starvation of Ceausescu and his clique in proportion of more than 90%. Regardless of the decision taken by the U.S. Senate, we, true representatives of the Romanian people and its aspirations, have the duty to bring to the attention of the U.S. Senate, Congress and to the whole American people that granting economical advantages to the Communist Government will mean nothing for the Romanian people, whose standard of living will remain unchanged. The Romanian people will continue to be terrorized and deprived of the most elementary human rights. The approval of the most-favored-nation trading status by the U.S. Senate will only have the following effects:

The strengthening of the Romanian Communist regime and a continuation of the terror and oppression of the people;

Indirect financing of Communist Parties in the Western World;

Financing and strengthening of the international communist espionage, including espionage against the United States;

Indirect financing of the leader of the world communism--Soviet Russia;

Expansion of the clandestine production of armaments in the communist world while the Western countries abide by the disarmament treaties with the communists.

We stand behind everything written here.

Emil O. Sucu, Ph.D. candidate, Boston U., Mathematics; Nicolae T. Moisidis, P.E. Mechanical Engineering; Theodor Sauca, M.B.A. candidate, Northeastern U.; Mariana M. Moisidis, Victor Andronescu, Ph.D.; Aurelian Mavrodin, Naval Architect; Margareta Nemeth, Ph.D.; Paul Gheorghiu; Elena Gheorghiu.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 16, 1976.

Re reunion of my family from Romania to the USA; Mr. Ioan Subtel, husband; Dan Emil Subtel, age 22, son and Vasile Subtel, age 21; all residing at Sunicolaul Mare, Str. N. Oprean No. 15, R.S. Jud. Timis, Romania.

THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE,

U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am refugee from Romania, having been admitted under the Refugee law, on March 6, 1975. I came to America to get the possibility of a better life for my family. I came ahead, and now I am most anxious to have them come all to me.

I am desperate, because so far we did not succeed. My husband submitted the necessary forms to the Militia of the County of Timis on Dec. 4, 1975, requesting that he and the boys be given the applications for emigration passports. He received not even a reply.

I do not know where to turn any more. Therefore I am turning to you requesting your assistance and I beg you from all my heart to kindly contact the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. on our behalf or if possible, even the President of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, who will be in Washington, on June 20, 1976.

I beg you to bring our predicament to their attention and to ask them to inform the home authorities in Romania to let my loved ones file applications for emigration passports and to approve them.

May God bless you for every assistance that you will be able to give and I am
Very truly yours,

MARIOARA EMILIA SUBTEL

STATEMENT OF ALICE TRODORESCU SURMENIAN

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.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Alice Teodorescu Surmenian, Romanian born and a permanent resident in United States of America since 1975 following the hunger strike of my husband Dinu Teodorescu Surmenian who came first in this country of freedom. Together with me also come our son Robert Teodorescu Surmenian, aged 6. We two reached United States after a hard fight with the Romanian communist authorities which repeatedly barred us from leaving Romania and join my husband and father of our son here.

Leaving our old country, I left over there as hostages the following members of our family: (1) Azataber Surmenian, my father; (2) Hripsime Surmenian, my mother; (3) Eduard Gabriel Surmenian, 27, my brother; all of them now living at this address: Bulevardul Alexandru Lapusneanu no. 173, Bloc T 1, etaj 3, Apt. 24; (4) Mihai Teodorescu, my husband's brother; (5) Elena Teodorescu, my husband's sister-in-law; (6) Dolina Teodorescu, 18, my husband's niece, all of them now residing in Ploesti-Romania, str. Sapunari no. 4.

These missing relatives made also applications in order to get exit visas, but their applications have been rejected by the Romanian communist Security bodies. Even more, they have been put out of jobs and thrown out of their own house. They by now have no means and resources to live on. Our mail and telephone ties are severed. In an ironic way, the authorities from the town of Constanta-Romania "advised" all of them to fill in petitions for their emigration in Soviet Armenia, due to our common Armenian ancestry. This is just one example of how the Romanian communist regime oppresses the minorities living in that country. We all suffered for a long time from this political persecution continued by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

In December 1975 the Romanian Ambassador in U.S., Corneliu Bogdan, lied without shame to the Honorable U.S. Senator Henry Jackson that my missing relatives obtained the necessary exit visas making them all able to leave Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and the Romanian communist regime do not respect the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement nor the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in the Trade Agreement with the United States (1975). Exactly like in the past, today President Ceausescu keeps on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States about the truth related to the freedom of emigration from the communist Romania.

Firmly determined to have my relatives in United States, on May 24, 1976 I entered for the second time the hunger strike which now takes place in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City, and will not leave this place until my dear relatives will join us here.

I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as representative of the American people in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to my hostage relatives the necessary visas for their travel to United States and the real reunification of our whole family.

I thank you for your humanitarian help.

MONTREAL, CANADA, August 26, 1976.

DEAR SENATOR: I dare to disturb you by asking for your help in a vital problem for me, because I know you are a man who fights continuously for the freedom of human beings.

I am a Romanian Jew, engineer, landed immigrant in Canada. I left Romania in 1975 for a trip in a Western country and I did not return. I took that decision because it was my only way to leave Romania. I had no hope to leave the country with passports as emigrants together with my wife.

Presently my wife is still in Romania and she wants to join me.

I have the agreement of the Canadian Authorities to grant her an immigration visa.

She applied in Romania for the exit visa, but the authorities hinder her so that she has not managed yet to obtain the application forms.

Dear Senator, I beseech you to act on her behalf because your influence and authority could help my wife to leave Romania so that we will be able to start together our new life in a free country.

Forgive me for disturbing you, but your help is the only hope to see my wife again.

Her personal data are:

Name; Ioana SZABO. Born: 13 February 1939. Address: Romania, Bucuresti, sector 4, Bd. Leontin Salajan 43, Bloc D1, etaj 1, apt. 6. Profession: Chemical technician.

Yours sincerely,

PAUL SZABO.

STATEMENT OF CONSTANTA TABUC

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 own.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Constanta Tabuc, Romanian born, and a political refugee in the United States. All my life I struggled through frustration and sufferings in Romania, keeping alive the desire to be able to offer my family a decent life in a free country. After several unsuccessful attempts to leave Romania, I finally succeeded in getting a passport for Jugoslavia, where I defected in the Western world, by crossing the borders to Italy at the risk of my life. I was then granted political asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations in Geneva, and then I settled myself in the United States with the strong determination of starting a new life here, in freedom. But painfully, I had to leave behind in Romania, as hostages, all my family: They are: Constantin Campan, father; Elisabeta Campan, mother; Mircea Campan, brother, 19; address: Str. Cezar Bollic Nr. 34, Sectorul 4, Bucuresti, Romania.

Last year Romania was granted the Most Favored Nation Status and the President Ford has waived the Jackson-Vanik Amendment because Romania would have shown some how a free emigration policy.

This is to testify that as former Romanian citizens, me and my husband, we know for fact that such an emigration policy in Romania DOES NOT EXIST.

Since March 1975, I have accomplished all formalities required by the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. to bring my family over. I try to do everything legal and in the most peaceful way. In March 1975 I accomplished all the formalities to give up my Romanian citizenship. In terms of Romanian law, we should not be Romanian citizen anymore, then the family can apply for exit documents. I wait for the renunciation of my citizenship more than one year, and the renunciation did not come. Back in Romania, since March 1975, my family is heavily PERSECUTED: their entire earning of so many years was confiscated in Romania, my family are starving because my father is unemployed. They are repeatedly taken by the Romanian Security Police and interrogated which brought them to despair. In this condition in Nov. '75 I started a Hunger Strike in front of United Nations here in New York. I was pregnant by that time, and with the risk of my life, I went in Hunger Strike as a protest against the Romanian Government's refusal to grant exit visas to my relatives in Romania. Because of the bad conditions I endured, I lost the baby, which for me is a great loss, I am an inconsolable mother, and I take responsible for that the members of Romanian Embassy from Washington and the Romanian Government too, because they don't try to solve the Romanian problems about family reunion. I made well known to everybody in Washington my situation. Honorable Senator Henry M. Jackson to whom I most appeal for help tried for so many months to bring my family over, and he had been told by the Romanian Embassy that my family will join us here soon. I wait for months in vain. In May 24, 1976 I started a new Hunger Strike for the same reason. From the Romanian Embassy didn't come any answer, nor renunciation of Romanian citizenship. Instead they made phone calls in the middle of the night threatening us by death, and call the F.B.I. against us too. They need protection against us, but who is going to give us protection and solve our problems.

Because it is impossible for me to come and testify because of my health I designated as a spokesman for my case, Mr. D. Apostoliu. I hope that with your help I be able to see my family at least, and they will join me here as soon as is possible.

STATEMENT OF MRS. CONSTANTA TABUC

HONORABLE SIR: I am a permanent resident in the United States with the intention of becoming together with my husband, Ion Tabuc, American citizens.

We left Romania about three years ago, to start a new life in a free country, because we could not stand any longer the lack of personal freedom in our country. After several attempts to get a passport, we finally have been accepted for a tour in Yugoslavia, from where we defected into the free Western world.

We have chosen to live in the United States where we both, me and my husband are employed, and I would badly like to have my parents and my younger brother here. They are: Constantin Campan, father; Elizabeta Campan, mother; Mircea Campan, 19, brother; Address: Str. Cezar Bolliac nr. 34, sector 4, Bucuresti, Romania.

This year Romania was granted the Most Favored Nation status and the president Ford has waived the Jackson-Vanik Amendment because Romania would have shown some how a free emigration policy. This is to testify that as former Romanian citizens we know for fact that such a migration policy in Romania does not exist.

However Romania had promised that it will ease the emigration and we would like to see this. But so far the applications for the exit visas for my parents was not even received by the Romanian authorities. The Romanian authorities keep deceiving our hope in having my parents and younger brother to join me here.

As the last resource, I together with my husband have decided to start a HUNGER STRIKE in front of the United Nations, as a protest against the Romanian government's refusal to grant exit visas to our relatives in Romania. It is also the time for the American public to realize that the MFN status was granted to Romania based on false facts.

We respectfully appeal to you to give any help you can, eventually to use your influence with the State Department and Romanian government to solve our request.

Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF MRS. CONSTANTA TABUC

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.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Constanta Tabuc, Romanian born, and a political refugee in the United States. I am a permanent resident in the United States with the intention of becoming together with my husband Ion Tabuc, American citizens.

We left Romania about three years ago, to start a new life in a free country, because we could not stand any longer the lack of personal freedom in our country. After several attempts to get a passport, we finally have been accepted for a tour in Yugoslavia, from where we defected into the free Western world.

We have chosen to live in the United States where we both, me and my husband are employed. But painfully, I had to leave behind in Romania, as hostages, all my family. They are: Constantin Campan, father; Elisabeta Campan, mother; Mircea Campan, 19, brother. Address: Str. Cezar Bolliac nr. 34, sector 4, Bucuresti, Romania.

I badly want my family here, and I believe that every human being has the right of living together with his family in a free country of his choice; and this is in perfect agreement with Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recognized by Romania as all bilateral agreement concluded between Romania and the United States.

This year Romania was granted the Most Favored Nations status and the president Ford has waived the Jackson-Vanik Amendment because Romania would have shown some how a free emigration policy, but our case is a negative example. The Romanian communist government will never respect any international agreement. They have signed and agree with the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, but they still do not allow our entire family to leave Romania. But so far the applications for the exist visas for my parents and my young brother was not even received by the Romanian authorities. The Romanian authorities keep deceiving our hope in having my family to join me here.

As the last resource, I together with my husband have decided to start a HUNGER STRIKE and we started on Nov. 11, '75" in front of the United Nations, as a protest against the Romanian government's refusal to grant exit visas to our relatives in Romania. It is also the time for American public to realize that the MFN status was granted to Romania on false facts.

We respectfully appeal to you to give any help you can, eventually to use your influence with the State Department and Romanian government to solve our request.

Thank you very much.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Dinu Teodorescu residing at 43-05 44 Street, Apt. 411; L.I.C. N.Y. 11104 and I am a permanent resident of United States of America. When the Russian troops imposed the communism by force in Romania, my family had to pay a very heavy tribute.

My older brother Ion Alex. Teodorescu, infantry captain, "disappeared after the War II, because he fought in Russia during the War II. My second brother Paul Teodorescu who was a career officer too (captain), was imprisoned three times in the communist jails, as a political prisoner. The last time he got out paralysed and after a few years he died at 42 years old.

My self, I was imprisoned by the communists as a political prisoner for 5 years, Dec. 1948-Jan. 1954 into the roughest jails: Aiud, Jilava etc. I do not like communism, I do not like nazism, any kind of dictatorship, neither right nor left. I want to be free.

After a waiting of 25 years, I got my first passport in April 1973, to visit Wiena (Austria) for 2 weeks where I had to make an audition for an engagement for 24 performances. My profession was actor of opera 21 years. I defected in Italy in 1973 and I asked for political asylum which I received from a U.N. commission in Italy. I emigrated in U.S.A. this wonderful country, which helped me to pull out from the "hell of communism", my wife and our 7-year old son in 1975.

We consider United States of America our Country for the rest of our lives.

In Romania I still have my brother and his family: Mihal Teodorescu, brother; Elena Teodorescu, My brother's wife; Doina Teodorescu, My brother's daughter. They are living at: Sapunari 4, Ploiesti, Romania.

We remained orphans from our childhood (1937), and we lived all our life together. Because he has a brother in U.S.A. and for his anti-communist ideas, Romanian authorities forbade him from his profession which he did for 25 years; they fired him many times.

To his wife too; they forbade her to work in her field—hotel, which she worked for 15 years.

To their daughter (18 years) they forbade her to enter and to follow the courses of a College-Mathematics, in spite of the fact she won 1 prize of Mathematics-Olympiad on her own country. They said she is beneath dignity of a future communist intellectual.

My brother is waiting for a long time to get out from the tyranny of communism. He in vain tried many times to get at least the forms for the application to leave Romania. He wants to write his desire to emigrate in U.S.A. and to reunify with his brother. But the Romania authorities refused to give to him the forms for applications.

In a commission through my brother passed, a member of the communist commission, a general-rank Ionescu, told him that "they do not worry about the people, they care about the interests of the Communist Party.

This declaration in the 20 century.

At the beginning of July-1976, Consul Edu from the Romanian Embassy Washington, called me and threatened me, if I will not wipe my name from the list which the Romanians hunger-strikers sent to the U.S.A. Senate, my brother's family will never get visa to get out from Romania.

My answer was straight: NO! I announced in right time the American authorities about this call. Even now, where the Romanian Government requested to renew the trade with U.S.A.—most favored nation—they do not respect the promises which they made to the leaders of U.S.A. in the summer of 1975, regarding the reunification of the families and free emigration from Romania.

HONORABLE SIR: The letters which they are writing to me are desperate, they lost their hopes of joining me here and they are very upset, morally destroyed.

I implore you, Honorable Sir, as you helped many other families to get out from the "hell of communism" and to reunify their families here in U.S.A., to help my brother's family too.

May God bless you and grant you good health for your noble soul and for understanding the other's sufferings.

Very truly yours,

DINU TEODORESCU.

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.

STATEMENT OF GRIGORE TEODORESCU

HONORABLE SIR: I am Grigore Teodorescu, permanent resident in United States, where I live with my parents.

I left Romania, my country of origin in 1973. It is already known that no entire family is allowed to leave Romania. My family was forcibly split: my wife and my daughter could not leave with me, because the communist regime of Romania did not allow them to leave the country. They had to stay as hostages in Romania. They are: Vasilica Teodorescu, wife; Beatrice Teodorescu, 5, daughter; Address: Str. Recrutului nr. 9, Sector 6, Bucuresti, Romania.

I badly want my family here, and I believe that every human being has the right of living together with his family in a free country of his choice; and this is in a perfect agreement with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recognized by Romania, but never observed.

Romania was just granted the Most Favored Nation status this summer of 1975, promising free emigration for the Romanian people, especially for those with relatives in the United States. Nevertheless, as soon as Romania received the MFN status, its communist government sharply cut out all emigration approval. In Romania today (and same thing was before) a citizen can not even apply for exit visa, and this is the case of my wife; she is not even allowed to apply for exit visa to come and join me here.

As my last resource, in my effort to call the attention of American public and American Congress to help me to bring my wife and child here, I have started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations, since December 1. I will not leave the place of strike until my wife and child comes to join me here.

I appeal to you, sir, to give me any support you can to help my family to leave Romania and join me here. Thank you very much. Sincerely yours,

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Alice Mioara Teodorescu-Surmenian, residing at 43-05 44 Street Apt. 4H, L.I.C., N.Y. 11104 and I am a permanent resident of the U.S.A. I arrived in U.S.A. as a result of the desperate efforts of my husband Dinu Teodorescu who succeeded to bring me and my 7 years son after an 18 days of hunger strike during the summer of 1975.

I was forcefully separated from my husband for two and half years, during which period I was permanently tortured by the Romanian security service. They demanded me to divorce my husband, to write him that I refuse to leave Romania and to sign a request so that Romanian authorities may bring him back by force.

The American Embassy in Bucharest through Mr. Consul Perkins helped me to get out from Romania and to enter in this wonderful country United States of America and my family to be again reunited.

We consider U.S.A. our country until the end of our lives. I left behind in Romania my family consisting of: Azataber Surmenian, father; Hripsime Surmenian, mother; Eduard Gabriel Surmenian, brother. They are living at: Bulevard Alex. Lapusneanu 173, Bloc T.I., Apt. 24, Constanta—Romania.

My parents and my unmarried brother 27 years old, asked the forms for the applications to obtain a passport to leave Romania, but the Romanian authorities refused many times to give them the applications. In May 1976 I joined a group of Romanians which started here in New York, a hunger strike protest against Romanian Government which are illegally detaining our families as hostages in Romania.

The Romanian Government did not respect the promises which they made in front of U.S.A. leaders in the summer of 1975, when Romania received the status of "most favor nation" for trade with U.S.A. In June 1976, my family received the forms for their applications in order to obtain visa and a Romanian passport.

Meantime at the beginning of July 1976, Consul Pdu from the Romanian Embassy—Washington, called me late in the evening and threatened me if I will not wipe my name from the list which we the hunger strikers sent to the U.S.A. Senate, my family will never get a visa to get out from Romania. My answer was straight: No! I announced in right time the American authorities about this call.

In July 1976, Romanian authorities announced my family by a letter number 49,308, their applications were rejected. At their question "what is the reason"

the answer was "you will never get the permission to leave the country" and "tell to your family to come back in Romania".

The letters they are writing to us are desperate. They are very upset, morally destroyed, they lost their hopes of joining us here. Honorable Sir, my father is an Armenian and we all believe in God. We are waiting for a long time to escape from under the tyranny of communism. We hate the communism and my father gave to myself and to my brother an anti-communist education.

We tried many times to emigrate like Armenians but the Romanian authorities did never allow to our dreams to become reality.

Please: Honorable Sir, to understand the fact when my husband defected in 1973 in Italy, it meant for my family "a beam of hopes" and my father hoped he could finally save his family from the "hell of communism." The Romanian authorities took a lot of reprisals against my father because he is continuing to criticize the communists and their facts. They fired him, they forced him to move from his apartment and they rejected my family's applications without explanations. These measures of reprisals which the Romanian authorities took against my father, there are standardized reprisals which they take against a Romanian citizen who openly criticize the communist regime and the next step is to put the person into the jail. Now, and only now I can do save my father.

Honorable Sir, I implore you, to understand the "more than tragic situation" of my father and as you helped my self and many other Romanian families to get out from the "hell of communism", to help my father's family too.

May God bless you and grant your good health for your noble soul and for the understanding of other's sufferings.

Very truly yours,

Alice Teodorescu.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA,
THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX EPISCOPATE OF AMERICA,
Jackson, Mich., July 8, 1976.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The National Congress of The Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America, which is the largest religious organization established in the United States of America by Americans of Romanian descent professing the Orthodox Faith, held its annual Congress between July 2-5 in Grass Lake, Michigan.

Meeting at a time as we celebrate our Bicentennial, clergy and laity representing our parishes have again considered the pressing plight for the human rights of our blood-brethren living in today's Socialistic Republic of Romania.

Reliable information received from our relatives and friends in Romania and recent press reports from Bucharest clearly indicate that the Communist regime in Romania, in spite of some special links with the West, is strengthening its oppressive ideological grip on the population.

The Christian Science Monitor reports that, "Instead of fostering the freer contacts foreseen by the Helsinki declarations, Romania in recent months has tightened up regulations governing contacts between foreigners and ordinary Romanians."

"For instance, Romanian households are banned from having foreigners as overnight guests or paying lodgers, with penalties for infringement. The ban applies even to tourism, where state-licensed private rentals were a lucrative sideline relieving limited hotel capacity."

"A regulation requiring Romanians to have official approval for eating out with foreigners has been revived."

The New York Times adds that, "Travel by Romanians both for emigration and for short trips outside the country has been further restricted."

Last year our government granted MFN (Most Favored Nation) status to Romania on condition that, by gentlemen's agreement Romania will alleviate restrictions regarding the freedom of travel for Romanian citizens.

Although the Romanian government has made some minor concessions for few of its citizens, permitting them to join their families outside Romania, no substantial change has been made in the overall policies of emigration from that country.

It is evident to all those familiar with the events and the people of Romania that if a change has occurred it has been to the worse.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The increasingly oppressive atmosphere dominating the internal policies of the Communistic government is especially deplorable since the general view in the Western world is that the Communistic regime in Romania is "enlightened and constructive."

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, We are addressing you on this matter because as you stated in this year's Proclamation of Captive Nations Week, "For two centuries, the fundamental basis of American policy toward other nations has remained unchanged: The United States supports the aspirations for freedom, independence and national self-determination of all peoples. We do not accept foreign domination over any nation. We reaffirm today this principle and policy."

We plead with you and we hope that this policy will be implemented in the relations of our government with the government of Romania, and that our government will use its leverage of economic, cultural and diplomatic negotiations to improve the fate of the Romanian citizens.

Praying that God grant you health and success, we remain.

Yours truly,

THE RIGHT REV. VALERIAN D. TRIFA.
THE REV. FR. LAURENCE C. LAZAR.

THE THIRD ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE U.S.A.

HONORABLE SIR: As of May 24th, 1976 we American citizens and residents of Romanian descent started this hunger strike against the Romanian Communist Government's refusal to let our wives, children, husbands and close relatives to come to the U.S.A. We are doing this because all efforts of ours and those of yours, of the U.S. Government, U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives to obtain the exit visas for our hostage families have failed.

For many months and even years, our families are kept in communist Romania as hostages. The Romanian communist Government does this in the hope of forcing us to act as its agents in the United States of America. This is a flagrant breach of human rights.

Instead of focusing their attention toward a positive solution of our cases, the Romanian officials in U.S. try to intimidate us and resort abusively to all kind of means in order to stop our fight for family reunion. This example, these officials are asking us to solve the problem of our old Romanian citizenship as a foregoing condition for the releasing of our families from Romania, but at the same time they postpone the needed proceedings for months and even years.

The reunification of our families must take place in accordance with the basic human rights and has no direct connection with the problem of our previous citizenship. We remind you that none of the 25 participants in the first Romanian hunger strike for family reunion (May 17-July 17, 1975) did not give up his old Romanian citizenship. Even these days, the Romanian Embassy in U.S., through its Secretary Mr. Gaspar, recognizes that it has at its disposal the official papers proving the termination of the previous Romanian citizenship of Mr. and Mrs. Ion Tabuc, two of the present hunger strikers, but at the same time Mr. Gaspar refuses with no reasons to give these persons the respective documents and so they are forced to stay on hunger strike continuously.

During this third Romanian hunger strike, none of the Romanian officials in U.S. contacted us, which means that they do not intend to find a proper solution to our legitimate claims. In this respect, we inform you that Mr. Rosu, the First Secretary and Press Attaché of the Romanian Mission to the United Nations Organization, asked from Mr. Endels, the "Free Europe" Broadcasting correspondent to the U.N.O., the list of the present Romanian hunger strikers and the addresses of their hostage relatives in Romania. Mr. Endels refused to satisfy this request and advised Mr. Rosu to contact himself the group striking in front of the U.N.O. in New York, because it is the duty of the Romanian mission to the U.N.O. to contact the strikers and give a favorable solution to this flagrant break of the human rights by the Romanian Government, in conformity with the U.N.O. Chart. Mr. Rosu informed Mr. Endels that Mr. Dateu, the head of the Romanian Mission to the U.N.O. barred the members of his staff to contact directly the hunger strikers and ordered them to procure by any other ways the list of these hunger strikers in New York and the addresses of their relatives living in Romania. It is clear that such a procedure of Mr. Ambassador Dateu will facilitate the persecution of our hostage relatives in that

country. This is an evident proof that the Romanian Mission to the U.N.O. is defying the United Nations Organization and permanently ignores the basic human rights.

One of our hunger strikers, Mr. Emil Trandafir Cocioba, aged 68, has been some time ago attacked at his isolated house, at midnight, on Ocean shore area of Huntington, by Mr. Gaspar from the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., Mr. Matel (from the Romanian Library in New York City) and their driver. They menaced him first and after tried to kidnap this old and defenseless person. Showing a total disdain for the human life, the Romanian official in U.S. did not agree to solve in time the justified claim of Mrs. Constanta Tabuc, one of the second Romanian hunger strike for family reunion, and this woman became sick because of the cold weather during that hunger strike and delivered a dead born child.

The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu does not respect: The Paris Treaty of Peace (1947), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), nor any of U.N.O. resolutions about the family reunion, the Helsinki Agreement (1975) and also the condition of easing the emigration from communist Romania as agreed close with the United States of America upon the Trade Agreement and The Most Favored Nation's clause, in 1975 too.

Nicolae Ceausescu lied without shame the President of the U.S.A. and the political leaders of the U.S.A., in June 1975 in Washington, D.C., that he releases from Romania all relatives of American citizens and residents of Romanian descent and also those of different ethnic groups living in Romania, like: Jews, Germans, Hungarians, Armenians, Bulgarians. . . .

The third Romanian hunger strike for family reunion is the proof of his lies. Our last desperate effort is to fast by risking our health and our very lives. We hope to bring our plight to the attention of the United Nations Organisation and gain the support of all Missions to the United Nations Organisation. They can persuade the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and release our hostage families.

We are fasting also:

To ask Congress not to grant again the Most Favored Nation's clause to the Romanian Communist Government, nor grant again any long-term credit. They do not deserve this in the face of their consistent denial of our Human Rights such as the right to leave Romania, and their utter disregard of the Romanian People's Welfare.

To give the lie to the communist Government of Romania and its agents among Americans of Romanian descent, of their claims of "liberal emigration" police the proof of the truth of this is the communist Government's refusal to give our families the exit visas.

To protest the Marxists and atheistic brainwashing our children are subjected to from infancy; the prohibition of all religious education and the conversion of our churches in to tourist attractions.

Honorable sir, we are respectfully asking for your humanitarian support. Please, use your influence in persuading the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu grant exit visas to our hostage families. We thank you warmly for your humanitarian support. The Hunger Strikers.

STATEMENT OF COCIOBA EMIL TRANDAFIR

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Cocioba Emil Trandafir, Romanian born and a political refugee in the United States of America since March 1974.

In Romania I graduated a High School, a Commercial School and a School of Agriculture specializing in the growing of fruit and ornamental trees, gardening and beekeeping. From September 1934 until August 1938 I worked as bookkeeper at the Construction Company UNIREA, which was building a railroad in the Western part of Romania.

My father was a middle class farmer owning 130 acres of arable land, and thrashing machine. He was also a cattle breeder. When my father became sick,

I established myself on the farm and continued his work. In addition I set up a fruit seed and a beekeeping with a beegarden of 100 colonies.

When the Communist regime took the power in Romania the whole farm has been confiscated and I got the allowance to keep only the bees and I extended the beegarden up to the limit permitted by the Communist Party for the amateur bee masters. The producer was obliged to sell all his production to the State which was paying only half the price of re-selling it. Anyway, the beekeeping produced enough to assure a modest and quiet living for me and my family.

In 1960, my brother, Dr. Ion Cocioba, who was a scientist and member of many Academies all over the world, succeeded to come to United States as a political refugee. Since 1960 until March 18, 1974 (when he died), my brother worked at the Beth Israel Medical Center as Director of the Laboratories and Research, within the speciality of bacterial genetics. He made a lot of important discoveries and scientific studies in the field.

In 1971 my brother visited Romania and then he told my daughter, who is a doctor too, many things about these important scientific discoveries and gave her the secret key of his works in the hope that my daughter will come to United States and continue this scientific acquisitions.

The death of my brother brought me in United States for taking care of the left state, I myself being the beneficiary of the will. He left a house in Huntington, N.Y. where I am living now, stocks and others assets, over 100,000 U.S. dollars. I collected \$28,000 in the capacity of beneficiary of the Life Insurance contracted by my brother. I found in his house numerous scientific discoveries and studies in manuscript, tape records (in Romanian, French and German languages) and other materials resulted from his works with electronic microscope. I was willing to donate these precious scientific acquisitions to the U.S. Health Department, but only my daughter knows the inner secrets of them all surely highly useful in the medical area. And now she is kept hostage in communist Romania.

The Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. is asking me to liquidate all assets I have here and bring the money in Romania. The Romanian officials put pressure against me here using their lawyers in order to return in Romania, but I resisted all the pressures and menaces they resorted to and I avoided to tell them anything about the scientific treasury I found after the death of my brother. One night around 10:00 p.m. the Romanian officials Mr. Gaspar (from Romania) and Mr. Matel from Romanian communist library in New York City entered my house (without telephone set) when I was alone. It was my security dog who defended me on this occasion and who attacked Mr. Gaspar. After I took in hands my hunt gun and told the intruders that I am under the protection of the United States authorities. The unwanted visitors left. I did not take any strong stand against them at that time because I was afraid of the safety and life of my hostage family still in Romania.

I rejected the Romanian citizenship and sent affidavits of support to the members of my family living in that communist country form helping them get the exit visas and come in United States of America.

The Romanian communist security bodies systematically persecute the following members of my family and refuse to grant them exit visas:

Eliza Cocioba, wife, born on Sept. 18th, 1926 and

Dr. Smaranda Cocioba, daughter, born on April 28, 1949 both of Comuna Costelul, Judetul Timis, Romania.

Their situation in Romania is now unbearable. They are continuously terrorized politically and investigated by the communist security agents from the town of Timisoara. Doing so, the Romanian authorities violate the basic liberties of two people guilty of nothing. This case is not unique at all. The Romanian rulers led by President Nicolae Ceausescu do not respect the provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon in 1975 with the United States. In June 1975 the Romanian communist President Nicolae Ceausescu lied without shame to Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities in this country about the true situation in Romania. Until today Romanian authorities keep as hostages numerous relatives of American citizens of Romanian descent, permanent residents in this country of freedom and recently arrived refugees from under the terror instituted by the communist regime in Romania.

I respectfully appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to use your influence and persuade the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant exist visas to my missing members of my family Eliza Cocioba and Dr. Smaranda Cocioba. Considering the above shown special situation, I also appeal to you to use your authority through State Department, the Honorable U.S. Ambassador in Bucharest, the Health Department of United States and any other way you will choose as useful in order to put an end to a long and painful situation.

Please take notice that beginning with the date of May 24, 1976 I joined the Romanian hunger strike which takes place in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City and that I am determined not to leave that spot, as a sign of open protest against the abuses of Romanian communist regime, until my hostage family will be along with me in this blessed country America.

I warmly thank you, Honorable Sir, for your humanitarian help.

AUGUST 23, 1976.

DEAR HONORABLE ABRAHAM RIBICOFF: I cannot come to the hearing because I just had an operation.

I would like you to consider my brother coming to America, with his family.

I need him with me. I have not seen him for 26 years. He is my only relative left. My mother and father are dead. I would appreciate it very much if you could help me. If he could come I would take responsibility and support him and the family. They would not go on welfare. They all have a trade.

He wants to be free. He doesn't have his choice of religion.

My house is paid for I can support them.

I have sent money 2 times for the tickets, they said if I sent the money, they would let him come, but they didn't.

Enclosed is an affidavit if you don't need it send it back please.

Sincerely yours,

NICOLAE TREOPAN.

P.S. I cannot come because my doctor won't permit it.

NOVEMBER 14, 1975.

THE HONORABLE MR. RUSSELL B. LONG: I have only one brother out of my family. I would very much desire to bring him and his wife and 2 sons. I have been trying for the last twenty five years to bring him to America. The immigration turned me down. I pray to the lord that you might have the power to bring him here. I thought maybe you can assist me and bring him here. I left Romania in 1959 from the Romanian Army. They threw him in jail. They have persecuted him ever since. I went through Canada after that I came to the United States.

I am an American Citizen and have my own home, and family. I don't have a criminal record, I have never asked for anything from the government until now. I work for a living. I am able to support him too. If he cannot stay here that is fine as long as I get to see him again.

This is a picture of them. He doesn't have enough food or clothing. He doesn't make a sufficient amount of money to survive on.

When I send money or clothing, they take it from him. He should have at least have the right to see his own brother, I feel.

I am willing to take full responsibility for him and his family. I am willing to pay his trip. I sent money two or three times. He hasn't come yet.

I can support him till he can support him and his family. Here is a picture of them. They are nothing but skin and bones.

Sincerely,

MR. NICK TREOPAN.

P.S. Please answer as fast as you can. Thank you. Here is the immigration papers they refused it.

ASTORIA, N.Y.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Eugen Turdean, I was born in Cluj - Romania, on March 1st, 1932, and since February 5th, 1976 a refugee in the United States of America together with my wife, Eva Turdean, born on November 17th, 1928.

On May 28th, 1976 I started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City. Now, after almost three months I am still there protesting against the romanian authorities who do not let my unique son come to join us here.

My son's name is Eugen Turdean, born on December 5th, 1958. He is now attending the courses of the Calculating Machines and Informatics in Cluj-Romania, where he also lives (Str. Avram Iancu-18, Ap. 4).

We have made all the required applications in order to get the exit visa for our son, but the Romanian authorities had rejected everything in spite of the fact that our son is minor.

We are here in the United States and our son is in Romania, this means that there is lack of understanding, lack of humanity, this means that the Romanian authorities violate the universal declaration of human rights, as well as the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania, as agreed upon in 1976, within the trade agreement with the United States.

Even though, the Romania's President, Nicolae Ceausescu had signed all the agreements concerning the human rights, he does not respect any of them. Much more, the Romania's government keeps on deceiving the political personalities of the United States.

The United States have been granted The Most-Favored-Nation to the Romania, this was conditional. The only condition that America had asked was . . . freedom of emigration. Unfortunately, Romania knew only to promise, to lie and that was it.

I should like America to ask Romania why denied, and why keeps on refusing one of the fundamental rights of man.

Being separated by my son is a proof that Romania keep closed the way to freedom, for it's people. America has the right to ask Romania, to compel Romania to respect it's promises, it's signature.

I would like the Committee on Finance to be carefully and not to prolong the most-favored-nation to Romania until our concrete cases are solved.

I beg you, to help me solve my request of my son being given a passport.

Very truly yours,

EUGEN AND EVA TURDEAN.

STATEMENT OF EUGEN TURDEAN

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: My name is Eugen Turdean, Romanian born (March 1st, 1932) and since February 5th, 1976 a refugee in the United States of America, together with my wife Eva Turdean (maiden name: Eva Feher), born on November 17th, 1928.

Numerous and grave troubles I had with the Romanian communist regime began early mainly because my father operated his own business, soon confiscated by the dictatorial authorities in power. As for me, firmly opposing the hard line followed by the Romanian Communist Party and Government, I suffered in 1961 the demolition of my own house without proper and fair compensation, I had repeatedly difficulties in being normally paid for my work (I am a specialist in electronics). Even a passport which could help me to escape from under these persecutions has been denied for many years. Finally, on June 2nd, 1975 I have been able to get a tourist passport together with my wife. In the same day we both left Romania, and passing through Hungary-Yugoslavia, we crossed Italy to our final stay in Europe: Austria, where we arrived on June 11th, 1975 asking the permission to emigrate in United States. As shown above, I and my wife reached this country of freedom on February 5th, 1976.

Unfortunately, leaving Romania, we left behind in that country our son Eugen Turdean, born on December 5th, 1958. He is now attending the courses of the Calculating Machines and Informatics in the town of Cluj-Romania, where our family was living before our departure. This son of ours has no means of subsistence and has at present time a very hard life, which is our main preoccupation since we his parents left Romania. Now he is living in the town of Cluj-Romania, Str. Avram Iancu no. 18, Apt. 4.

I and my wife made numerous interventions in order to have our son join us in the free world, all of them at once rejected by the Romanian authorities as punishment against us. This is not an exception at all. Romanian communist authorities led by President Nicolae Ceausescu ostensibly violate the provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from

Romania as agreed upon in 1975 within the Trade Agreement with the United States, and despite all their promises and assumed responsibilities therein, keep on deceiving Mr. President Gerald Ford and the political personalities of the United States.

Knowing the obstinate refuse of the Romanian authorities concerning the right solution in my son's case, beginning with the date of May 29th, 1976 I and my wife started a hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City, in open protest against the barbarian and unhuman conduct of the Romanian rulers. We both will not leave this place until our son will join us in United States of America.

Calling your attention to the above shown grave situation, we respectfully appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the American people in order to persuade the Romanian rulers respect entirely their obligations and grant, among others, to my son Eugen Turdean the necessary visa for his travel to United States and the reunification of our split family. At the same time, we will be deeply obliged to you if you will choose to oppose the renewal of the most favored nation treatment to Romanian communist Government, which is now under examination in the U.S. Congress.

Thank you for your humanitarian help.

STATEMENT OF EVA TURDEAN

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Eva Turdean, Romanian born (November 17th, 1928) and since February 5th, 1976 a refugee in this country of freedom together with my husband Eugen Turdean, born on March 1st, 1932 in Cluj-Romania.

In an added memoranda, my husband described shortly all the political troubles we both had in the past with the Romanian communist regime, so I will not repeat them in this petition sent to you. Instead of them, allow me to underline here my sorrows and sufferences I feel being for such a long time forcibly separated from my son Eugen Turdean, born on December 5th, 1958. He is now attending the courses of the Calculating Machines and Informatics in the town of Cluj-Romania, where we all lived together before our escaping from communist Romania. My son has none to help him in our absence, nobody takes care about his living, nobody directs and advises him in his young life. Leaving him alone, we his parents had just one goal: to prepare over here in United States the best conditions for his future. We both see that this is possible and we are grateful to this blessed country for the offered opportunities.

My son is now living in the same town of Cluj-Romania, str. Avram Iancu no. 18, Apt. 4.

All our insistences to have our son join us in the free world failed because the Romanian communist regime led by President Nicolae Ceausescu do not respect the humanitarian provisions of the Paris Treaty of Peace, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Agreement and even the conditions of easing the emigration from Romania as agreed upon 1975 in the Trade Agreement with the United States.

Lacking any realistic chance to bring here my son by the permission of the said authorities of Romania, along with my husband already on hunger strike in front of the United Nations Organization in New York City, I entered a permanent protest strike on the same spot (May 29th, 1976) and I am determined not to finish this open protest against the hard line followed by Romanian communist authorities until my missing son will join us in United States of America.

As a desperate mother, I appeal to you, Honorable Sir, to make use of your high authority as a representative of the America people in order to persuade the Romanian authorities respect their obligations and grant, among others, my above named son the necessary exit visa which will enable him to travel to United States and and meet us his parents waiting for his arrival in liberty. At the same time I also respectfully ask you to oppose the renewal of the most favored nation clause to the Romanian communist Government, which is now under examination in the U.S. Congress.

I warmly thank you for your humanitarian help.

Sincerely yours,

EVA TURDEAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., September 17, 1975.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: I implore you, again, to save my only son Alin Constantinescu, living in Bucharest, Romania, Str. Mozart 6A.

The Romanian authorities continue to reject the approval to emigrate in U.S.A., even now that the Trade Bill and the Helsinki documents are facts.

The American Embassy interventions are without effect. Only your, straight intervention to the Romanian Government, will save him.

Please, take pity on a desperate mother, without any hope and help me.
God Bless you.

Forever gratefully,

LOANA UNGUREANU.

STATEMENT OF VASILE UNGUREANU

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.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Vasile Ungureanu, Romanian born, and a political refugee in the United States. All my life I struggled through frustrations and sufferings in Romania, keeping alive the desire to be able to offer my family a decent life in a free country.

After several unsuccessful attempts to leave Romania, I finally succeeded in getting a passport for Yugoslavia, where I defected to the Western world, by crossing the border to Italy at the risk of my life. I was then granted political asylum by The High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations in Geneva, and then I settled myself in the United States with the strong determination of starting a new life here, in freedom.

But painfully, I had to leave behind in Romania, as hostages, all my family: Maria Ungureanu, wife; Vasile Napoleon, 16, son; Cecil Marian, 2, son. Address Cartierul Kisseleff, Bloc A-8, Apt. 17, Turnu Severin, Romania.

I badly want my family here, and I believe that every human being has the right of living together with his family in a free country of his choice; and this is in perfect agreement with Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recognized by Romania, as well as all bilateral agreement concluded between Romania and the United States.

I have accomplished all formalities required by the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., to bring my family over. But my family in Romania is heavily persecuted; my entire earnings of 30 years of hard work was confiscated in Romania, my children are starving and barefooted, my wife unemployed. Even more, my wife is repeatedly taken by the Romanian Security Police and interrogated which brought her to such despair that she wrote to me: "I can't endure any longer, I am going to kill myself." And I am sitting here, a strong powerful working man, unable to do anything for my family.

Romania was just granted the Most Favored Nation status this year, promising free emigration. As usually, the Romanian government like any other communist government does not respect his promises. There is no emigration policy in Romania at all and my case is an alive example.

Since Tuesday, November 11, I have declared a Hunger Strike in front of the United Nations in New York, as a protest against the Romanian government's refusal of letting my family to join me here. At the risk of my life I will not cease this hunger strike until my family is allowed to leave Romania and join me here. I appeal to you to give me any support you can.

MÜNCHEN, WEST GERMANY, November 5, 1975.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing this letter on the matter of emigration practices and human rights in Romanian communist regime. At the same time I wish to request, very respectfully, your help to reunite our family.

My name is Traian Visolanu and together with my wife Maria, we have political asylum in West-Germany at the present time.

Our story is this: I was an army officer and I was dismissed from the army after the communist takeover in Romania. My father was kept in prison 5 years (1949-1954) without trial and after five years it was told him: "sorry, it was a mistake!"

As a mechanical engineer, I have been obliged to the forced residence and I was kept out from a good job because I was not trusted by the communist authority.

In July 1974, my wife and I were allowed to travel to France for medical attendance; our 17-year-old daughter, Didona Roxana Visolanu, was not allowed to accompany us.

It is a practice of Ceausescu's regime to use wives and children as an "official method" and an instrument to blackmail and reject desires or intentions to emigrate, holding them as hostages.

Once arrived in West-Germany (on route to France) we had requested political asylum and we filled out the forms and we paid the fee to renounce to Romanian socialist state citizenship before the end of 1974.

Our daughter is a high-school student. After we left Romania she was thrown out of our apartment with a difficult financial situation. She is suffering from kidney stones since 4 years old.

We tried, since we arrived in West-Germany, all means within our power to obtain our child, without success.

My daughter has also done everything possible to obtain a passport.

We are now on hunger-strike in Munich to protest for the refusal of Bucharest authorities to issue the exit visa for our daughter.

I should like to ask you to be good enough to ask the Bucharest authorities to issue the exit visa for my daughter. Her address is: Didona Roxana Visolanu, 37 Saturn St. Ap. 108, Brasov, Romania.

She was born on April 27, 1958. I therefore earnestly hope that you will do all within your power to help that the humanity prevails.

Sincerely yours,

TRAIAN VISOLANU.

Presented to your office by Rev. Anchidim Useriu, the parish priest of "The Holy Cross" Romanian Orthodox Church, Washington, D.C., being son-in-law with the petitioner, Traian Visolanu.

Respectfully,

REV. ANCHIDIM USERIU.

PERSONS PARTICIPATING IN A HUNGER STRIKE IN MUNICH (MARIENPLATZ), WEST GERMANY, PROTESTING THEIR SEPARATION FROM THEIR FAMILIES, AND BEING DETAINED IN ROMANIA

| Name of striker | Age | Date of starting the hunger strike | Persons involved |
|---|--------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mrs. Leontina Misares..... | 42 | Oct. 21, 1975 | John, Liviu, Teofil, sons, Valeria, daughter, from Bukarest (Bucuresti). |
| 2. Mrs. Sofica Popa..... | 41 |do..... | Cristian-John and Gheorghe Ursulescu, sons, and Traian Gheorghe Popa, husband, from Bukarest, Romania. |
| 3. Mr. Nicholas Stasek..... | 28 | Oct. 22, 1975 | Tatiana Stasek, wife, from Bukarest, Romania. |
| 4. Mrs. Theresia Lotspeich..... | 56 | Oct. 23, 1975 | Jakob Lotspeich, son, from Birta, Timis, Romania. |
| 5. Mrs. Dumitra Iliescu..... | 39 | Oct. 24, 1975 | Cristian-Florin and Dragoș-Catalin Iliescu, sons, from Bukarest, Romania. |
| 6. Mr. Nicolae Gavrilă..... | 38 |do..... | Aurelia, wife, and Marius Gavrilă, son, from Bukarest, Romania. |
| 7. Mrs. Doina Cilibiu..... | 40 |do..... | Mugur-Ioan, son (8 yr old) and Dana, daughter (7 years old), and Maria Iliescu mother, from Bukarest, Romania. |
| 8. Mr. and Mrs. Emil and Lidia Georgescu..... |do..... |do..... | Elena Matei, mother, and Radu and Vranay, brothers, Bukarest, Romania. |
| 9. Dr. Florin Chislesag..... | 34 |do..... | Radu Chislesag, son, (3 yr old) Ploesti, Romania. |
| 10. Mr. Hristu Mitrenka..... | 48 |do..... | Virginia, wife, Sorin and Florin, sons, Constanta, Romania. |
| 11. Mrs. Maria Visolanu..... | 47 |do..... | Didona-Roxana Visolanu, daughter (17 yr old), Brasov, Romania. |
| 12. Mrs. Ana Popazeices..... | 62 | Oct. 27, 1975 | Johan and Franz, sons, Marilache, husband, and Rosa, mother, from Codlea, Brasov, Romania. |
| 13. Mrs. Wilhelmina Ciobanu..... | 38 |do..... | Christian, son, and Nicolae Ciobanu, husband, from Bukarest, and also Frederik Lange brothers. |

PERSONS PARTICIPATING IN A HUNGER STRIKE IN MUNICH (MARIENPLATZ), WEST GERMANY, PROTESTING THEIR SEPARATION FROM THEIR FAMILIES, AND BEING DETAINED IN ROMANIA—Continued

| Name of striker | Age | Date of starting the hunger strike | Persons involved |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|--|
| 14. Mr. Nicolae Ovidiu | 37 | Oct. 28, 1975 | Adrian, son, Claudia, Monica, daughters, Horatiu, son, and Eleonora Ovidiu, wife, from Brasov, Romania. |
| 15. Mr. Herman Dimitriu | 27 | Oct. 29, 1975 | Ramona-Hildegard, daughter, and Margareta Dimitriu, wife, from Sat-Chinez, Timis, Romania. |
| 16. Mrs. Traute Gross | 50 | do..... | Romul Veghes, affianced, from Brasov, Romania. |
| 17. Mr. Crata Blaj | 28 | Oct. 31, 1975 | Maria Blaj, wife, from Slatina-Timis, Caras-Severin, Romania. |
| 18. Mr. Vasile Gheorghe | 27 | do..... | Robertino-Christian, son, and Marita Gheorghe, wife, from Bukarest, Romania. |
| 19. Mr. Dumitru Ciabotaru | do..... | do..... | Florian and Claudia Ciabotaru, sons, from Brasov, Romania. |
| 20. Klaus Larsen, Dipl. Eng. | do..... | do..... | Ion Dumitrescu-Popovici, father, Pompilia Eugenia Gamanescu, mother, Iolanda Stanescu-Colan, sister, from Bukarest, Romania. |

Manescu, Vlad, Bul. 1 Mai Nr. 126, Bl. 2, Sc. B, Et. 1, Ap. 7, Sector 8, Bucuresti, Romania.

Imberg, Suzana, Reh. Ben-Haim 4/7 Ramat-Hasharon, Israel.

Marriage: Application submitted to the State Council on December 21, 1973.

Four negative answers to memorials and audiences.

Emigration: Three applications: December 21, 1973; September 18, 1975; April 6, 1976.

The first two: negative answer.

The third still underway.

The religious marriage was performed on January 16, 1976. This marriage is recognized in Israel, but it is not valid in Romania, where approval of the State Council is needed. Thus, my wife is legally married to me, but I am not legally married to her.

BRUSSELS, February 13, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Concerning the information that I received about the fact that the US Senate has formed a Committee to study the requests of the Roumanian people who wish the family remined in Roumania to come over, I permit myself to write this letter.

My name is Lavinia VUCU, born in Roumania (Resita) in 01.01.1929.

(Father: Gheorghe VUCU)

My profession is: docteur G.P.

Divorced.

I came in Belgium with a tourist passport. I am a UNO Refugee since 30.12.1974. (No 76931) and I asked the renunciation of the Roumanian citizenship in 01.09.1975.

My son, SORA Marius, born in Roumania (Timisoara) in 04.01.1956, is still in Roumania and lives in Timisoara (to my sister) Strada Ion Ghica 4.

I thank you very much for your attention and I think that your intervention will permit my son to join me in Belgium.

Yours faithfully,

CHICAGO, ILL., July 26, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: In a phone call to your office today, we were informed by your representative Mr. Rivers that you may not have received a letter which we sent to you in May. I am enclosing a copy of that letter which will serve the purpose of providing some basic background information on the situation.

Another representation on the Ionescus' behalf will be made by the American Embassy to the Romanian government on Aug. 12th. Senator Long, we are ask-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ing you to kindly write a letter in support of Mioara and Pompiliu Ionescu and to utilize any other form of representation which you believe would be effective. We have been informed that a reference to a reevaluation of "most favored nation" status would be particularly effective at this time. Would you kindly send a copy of your written support to each of the following :

His Excellency The Ambassador
of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Mr. Nicolae Nicolae
1607 23rd Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20008

American Embassy—Bucharest Romania
c/o Diplomatic Pouch
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20521

Mr. Dulap
Eur/EE
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Of course, we hope that the representation on August 12th will be successful. Our whole family is feeling intense frustration and fear for Mioara and Pompiliu, and the knowledge of the harassment to which they have been subjected haunts us daily. If this representation fails, my wife and I will go to Washington and seek to attain, on a person to person basis, all the congressional support we can. We would particularly like to see you and any other member or Congressional committee you might suggest. We expect to be in Washington between Sept 7th and 15th. We would appreciate notification from your office as to the possibility of an appointment with you during that period.

Senator Long, thank you very much for your kind consideration.

Very truly yours,

JOHN WEINMAN.

CHICAGO, ILL., May 12, 1976.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: I am writing to you about a very serious problem facing my family. It concerns our effort to bring my brother and sister-in-law to the United States from Romania, in order to be re-united with their son, Catalin, who has been living for the past six months with my wife (Mioara Ionescu's sister; Catalin's aunt) and myself.

Upon receiving a waiver from the State Department, Mioara and Pompiliu Ionescu applied to the Romanian Government for permission to emigrate. I have just learned that they were denied this permission. In addition, Mioara, who is a high-school teacher, has lost her job specifically because of her efforts to emigrate. There is also a strong possibility that her husband, a doctor, will lose his job.

We are desperately trying to gain the support of as many Congressmen and Senators as possible. As of this time, three Senators and one Congressman have written letters to the Romanian Embassy (Washington) and to the American Embassy (Bucharest). The Romanian Embassy has not yet replied to any these. Apparently, more pressure needs to be exerted.

As I am sure you are aware, Romania enjoys a "Most favored nation" status which is partly contingent upon that government's attitude toward emigration. Consequently, Senator Long, as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and a man of great reputation, your support would be particularly influential.

We have been informed that any letter of support should identify the Ionescus in the following manner: Mioara Ionescu, Blvd. Muncii No. 68, Bloc 35 Apt. 88, Sector 3, Bucharest. Pompiliu Ionescu, Spitalul C.F.R., Craiova, Romania (this is Dr. Ionescu's work address. His case is being handled there).

For your information, "The Notice of Approval of Immigrant Visa Petition" contains the following information:

Name and Address of Petitioner:
Rodica Weinman
5443 Eastview Pk.
Chicago, Ill. 60615

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Name of Beneficiary : | Ionescu, Mioara |
| Classification : | 203(a) (5) |
| File No. | CHI VP "I" |
| Date Petition Filed : | 11-9-75 |
| Date of Approval of Petition : | 11-17-75 |

Senator Long, I am sure you can imagine how fearful we are about Catalin's parents, and how despondent both my wife and Catalin have become. Your assistance in bringing the Ionescus to the United States would be immeasurably appreciated. If I can be of any help in providing additional information please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very truly yours,

JOHN WEINMAN.

BOULDER, COLO., June 2, 1976.

DEAR SIR: I am a native Rumanian, wife of an American citizen, and I am writing this letter in the hope of enlisting your aid in our effort to obtain Rumanian emigration visas for my mother and my brother. The following is a list of some of the pertinent information concerning my family.

Mother.—Widow, pensioned, 71 years old. Name: Ecaterina Chelariu (formerly "Radulescu"). Birthday: June 4, 1905. Birthplace: Cernica, Rumania. Address: Strada Lebedei, 8; Sector 8; Bucarest, Rumania. Visa Application Date: September, 1974.

Brother.—Single, construction engineer, 32 years old. Name: Serban Chelariu. Birthday: September 30, 1943. Birthplace: Bucharest, Rumania. Address: Strada Lebedei, 8; Sector 8; Bucarest, Rumania. Visa Application Date: October 1974.

Both initiated their passport application in Bucarest. All efforts thus far to finally obtain their emigration visas have been in vain. We had hope that the recent Helsinki Accord and the Trade Act between the United States and Rumania would greatly facilitate the attempt of my mother and brother to join us here in the United States. As we have been led to understand, their passport applications are still pending.

We would very much like to see continued and improved relations between America and Rumania; however, we still expect that Rumania should respect the human rights of its citizens and fulfill its obligations in terms of allowing unhindered emigration as specified in the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the United States-Rumanian Trade Act. We are sure that your insistence on this issue and your influence in an official capacity will be of great benefit to us and to others like us who seek to be reunited with their families. We shall all be deeply grateful for the help you are able to extend to us in this moment.

With sincere thanks,

MARIA AND DONALD WILLIAMS.

BOULDER, COLO., June 3, 1976.

HON. RUSSELL LONG,
Russell Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LONG: I am a native Rumanian, wife of an American citizen, and I am writing this letter in the hope of enlisting your aid in our effort to obtain Rumanian emigration visas for my mother and brother. The following is a list of some of the pertinent information concerning my family.

Mother.—Widow, pensioned, 71 years old. Name: Ecaterina Chelariu (formerly "Radulescu"). Birthday: June 4, 1905. Birthplace: Cernica, Rumania. Address: Strada Lebedei, 8; Sector 8; Bucarest, Rumania. Visa Application Date: September, 1974.

Brother.—Single, construction engineer, 32 years old. Name: Serban Chelariu. Birthday: September 30, 1943. Birthplace: Bucarest, Rumania. Address: Strada Lebedei, 8; Sector 8; Bucarest, Rumania. Visa Application Date: October 1974.

Although 1½ years have passed since my mother and brother requested emigration visas, all efforts to finally obtain their passports have been in vain. We had hope that the recent Helsinki Accord and the Trade Act between the United States and Rumania would greatly facilitate their attempt to join us here in the United States. As we have been led to understand, their passport applications are still pending. No explanations have been forthcoming concerning the long delay.

We would very much like to see continued and improved relations between America and Rumania; however, we still expect that Rumania should respect

the human rights of its citizens and fulfill its obligations in terms of allowing unhindered emigration as specified in the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the United States-Rumanian Trade Act. We are sure that your insistence on this issue and your influence will be of great benefit to us and to others like us who seek to be reunited with their families. We shall all be deeply grateful for the help you are able to extend to us in this moment.

With sincere thanks,

MARIA CHELARIU WILLIAMS.
DONALD WILLIAMS.

BORDER GUARDS AND RECURRING DREAMS

(By Donald Williams)

For years now Ecaterina and Serban Chelariu, my wife's mother and brother, have tried to leave Romania and we have tried various means to help them. When we moved from Switzerland to America, my homeland, we looked to the free emigration provision of the 1974 Trade Act as a source of leverage to influence Romanian authorities. In accordance with the Trade Act, the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement of 1975 committed Romania to freer emigration practices and to the principle of family re-unification and committed the United States Congress either to assure compliance with the emigration provision or to cancel Romania's "Most Favored Nation" trade status. Senator Henry Jackson interceded with the Romanian authorities on our behalf, and when no results followed, we contacted others and his efforts were joined notably by those of Senators Abraham Ribicoff, James Buckley, Floyd Haskell, Gary Hart, Herman Talmadge and Representative William Green. When illness threatened my wife in May of this year, a sense of desperation provoked me to undertake more energetic measures. I flew from Colorado to New York where I met with Romanian hunger strikers across from the United Nations building and subsequently joined them on a trip to Washington.

COMPASS FINDINGS

On the afternoon of June 7, 1976, with a 4 hour drive, less sleep and more hours of aggravation behind me, I stood on the steps of the U.S. Capitol alongside 25 or so Romanians to protest Romania's emigration policies and hopefully, through this action and through the hunger strike in New York, to obtain passports for family members still in Romania. Their banners and signs spread over the front steps were seen by car and busloads of tourists, school classes and scouts and were registered by perhaps a hundred Instamatics. In my experience the demonstration attracted the attention of a small French group and of a visiting English soccer team but of few others (Romania has close cultural ties with France; the soccer team had a match that evening and, like us, expected a meager reception). The dimes spent calling newspapers and TV stations to get press coverage were wasted.

As a middle-aged man stopped halfway down the Capitol steps to read the signs, his wife, a step ahead, looked back and said, "C'mon, there's always somebody protesting about something." I know that her opinion, despite its widespread acceptance, does not come near the mark; on the other hand, I also know that people can only be reached through their interests, and I was quite sure that Congress would not be moved by what one man called, "more personal horror stories" of Romanian oppression.

Although I was inordinately exhausted on that afternoon and would have preferred a shady place in which to sleep, an unsuspected source of energy prevailed and would not let me rest. The heat of inward emotion was as constant as that of this Washington summer day. I decided then to write an article about the problems of Romanian emigration. Though the initial objective remains, I know that I am also driven by a far less obvious design and must admit that the psyche may have other interests unknown to me.

After some research I found that the Trade Act of 1974 and the subsequent Trade Agreement with Romania call to mind many complex considerations: détente, expanding markets, Japanese and West European competition in trade with Communist bloc nations, multinational companies, Soviet Jewry, U.S. relations with Israel, Romania's valuable independent foreign policy (They maintain diplomatic relations with the U.S., Israel, Arab nations, China, etc.), American unemployment, organized labor, oil shortages, matters of conscience and, finally, election year politics. Being a stranger to these deep waters, I am compelled to

look elsewhere for my subject. By nature I turn to images and in a relaxed state the images select themselves, first more personal and private images, later, images of America and the democratic process.

BORDER STORIES

Recurring dreams are images of central conflicts; they are mysteries our best understanding and action have failed to penetrate. These border stories of past events come to me as images; they have the quality of recurring dreams.

Nearly 40 years ago, my wife's father, Traian Chelariu, a newspaper editor, poet and linguist, was offered a teaching position at an American university. He and his wife, Ecaterina, chose to stay in Romania. Perhaps it was the earth, loved ones, a home, a mother tongue, a young child that held them back. War broke out not long afterward, and when the Communists came to power, they were forced to flee their home in northern Romania. The land became Soviet territory and Traian was black listed by the Romanian Communist regime.

Many years later his daughter Maria, my wife, was arrested at the Romanian-Yugoslavian border while trying to escape with the man she then loved, a foreigner. Chance, or more likely, the meaningful design of fate, led to their apprehension. Eight months of prison and 2 years later, she married this man and was legally allowed to emigrate to Switzerland, his home. Their relationship, however, was not transportable, did not survive the border crossing. In the years that followed our meeting in 1970, I watched her explore this side of the border and gradually accept it as home. Though it may take only minutes to pass through the border formalities, it usually takes years to arrive in the West. Were it not for ties of the heart and soul and the longing of this family to be together, Maria would now be inaccessible to the habits of fear and despair she once learned. On many late evenings spent with Romanian friends, we have rehearsed past failures and present strategies for the family's passage; always at the end of the road are those wild fantasies of a planned escape, but we recognize this as indulgence. As I write this, my closest friend, Allen, may be with Ecaterina and Serban in Bucharest, enroute from a sojourn in Greece. His spirit is resourceful, articulate and daring; I know his visit will hearten them.

There are other border stories to be told. In 1971, Maria's brother, Serban, was to have an exhibit of his paintings in Paris, but the exhibit was cancelled and the paintings returned when the Romanian government refused to grant him a passport for the opening. In 1972, Ecaterina received a tourist passport and visa for Switzerland, but it was revoked without explanation 3 days later just as she prepared to leave. And then there was an event which only fate or chance, but not official ill will, could have ruled. Serban was in western Romania on business (He is a construction engineer by training, an artist by creative daemon) and was to return by plane to Bucharest. To have more time he rescheduled his flight for later in the afternoon; the scheduled flight, meanwhile, was pirated to Vienna where many of the passengers chose to remain as refugees.

Other efforts were made. Twice we tried through a third party and legal channels to purchase passports for the family but with no success. We waited over 2 years before being forced to abandon this path. A year and a half ago the family made official application for emigration, and when we moved to America last year, we hoped that the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement with its provision for free emigration would secure their success. Memory looks back to these recurring images and causes us to doubt the future. We fumble in the dark still and the questions remain; who is it that guards so relentlessly the gate and with what will he or she be appeased?

I am not opposed to borders; they define us, telling us who we are and where we are. I recall the many border crossings I have made in Europe and know that borders mark genuine differences among people. My thoughts turn as well to the value I place on the borders of my own personal territory and to the awareness of those interior borders between conscious and unconscious worlds or between the modes of being with which I am familiar. I object only to the unnecessary prohibitions placed on the freedom to cross these borders.

NIGHT DREAMS

On May 31, 1976 (retracing my steps for a moment, we received a call from Maria's cousin New York telling us that a group of Romanians had started a hunger strike opposite the United Nations. A similar strike had taken place a year ago while Congress debated the emigration question, and we knew that most of the participants at that time finally were joined by their relatives. Maria

was ill when we received news of the current strike but she was determined to go to New York; I preferred to go in her place and we argued. That night she dreamed that we were outside when hurricane force winds began to blow. For safety she held onto an enormous boulder (the name of the town in which we live, while I ran across a clearing into the wind, running but getting nowhere. News of the strike set off this storm and the impulse to act was projected onto me. After this dream I was not surprised when, 2 days later, she decided to remain at home while I flew to New York. In terms of her psyche, it appeared fruitless to exert herself, the correct thing being to hold fast to her reality—her health, a home, the fresh roots in a new land. I asked myself if she had not crossed a border with this decision and broken some pattern.

On the same night I dreamed that I was attending a meeting of about 100 people in Bucarest where the question of emigration was being discussed. There was a long table at which we were seated for a meal, and near me at one end of the table a Communist official was standing, speaking in a dogmatic tone. He passed out pamphlets written on Romanian to the guests. After I challenged him, he adopted a personal, more friendly approach and handed me a copy of the pamphlet translated in English. Surprisingly enough I was obliged to cross the border into Romania.

My own dreams are prone to elude me as this one did at the time. The dream suggests to me now that a direct confrontation has positive effects (the change in tone) and that the problem of emigration is to be dealt with in the open with a sense of cooperation and common purpose. I am struck by the contrast between this communion-like meal of the dream image and the fasting of those demonstrating then in New York. Had I seen this at the time, I would have avoided my brief association with the hunger strike, and despite exclusively negative experiences with Romanian officials in the past, would have sought a meeting with the Romanian Ambassador while I was in Washington.

I have also walked around this dream looking for a more subjective meaning. Now I can see, for instance, that there are aspects of myself which have been accustomed to live behind closed borders, suppressed by pettiness of spirit and by a mis-used rationale of the common good. It appears from the dream that a way was being prepared for these barriers to be lifted. In retrospect, I recognize that the trip to New York and Washington freed some personal energies long neglected.

CAPITOL HILL

On Friday, June 11, 1976, I made a second trip from New York to Washington, this time with the intention to learn what I could about Congressional attitudes, past and present, toward Romanian trade and emigration. Three images, more than the facts I sought, remain with me from the day.

Once in Washington I quickly separated myself from the 2-man Romanian delegation which had come along to distribute copies of a memorandum to the members of Congress. I had made an appointment over the phone the previous day with Holmes Brown, a member of Senator Haskell's staff, the Democratic Senator from Colorado. Mr. Brown is a personable, introverted man probably in his mid-twenties, and papers in hand, we found ourselves an unoccupied but crowded corner of the office in which to sit. In response to our phone conversation he had researched the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement and the Helsinki Conference and had obtained information for me concerning the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe soon to be established to monitor the degree of compliance with the Helsinki Accord. He also directed me to Michael Rowney and Dick Rivers, professional staff members of the Finance Committee who had been involved in drafting the Trade Agreement. This initial image of the day of Mr. Brown's interest and cooperation was representative of almost all the personal contacts that followed. These meetings restored some faith in government at the personal level, and after having lived abroad for 5 years, provided me with fresh knowledge of life within U.S. borders.

The most striking image of the day, however, ran counter to the first and was derived from the place itself, Capitol Hill, and not from personal encounters. This image was found in between appointments in the labyrinthine maze of underground corridors beneath the Capitol and the Senate and House office buildings and in the contrast between this maze and the impressive clarity of the buildings at a distance. Several times in going from one office to another I was lost; most other times I could at best give a decent approximation of where I was, but never knowing quite for sure where I might surface.

This same sense of disorientation followed me throughout the day's appointments. For instance, from one man I heard that Congress would be very cautious about overextending itself and intruding too far in Romania's internal affairs by demanding free emigration as a matter of principle (the grim example involving the emigration of Soviet Union Jews being fresh in memory). I, therefore, suggested that it might be wiser to make the same demands but by emphasizing our national interest to safeguard the rights of Romanian-Americans and of Romanian Jewish families in Israel, and not by calling attention primarily to the moral shortcomings of Communist Romania. I then learned that this approach was not practical politically, that this high principle was valued at the polls. It seems that I made a wrong turn and I am more confused than before about these marriage partners, principle and politics, and their stormy relations.

The image of the labyrinth appeared elsewhere as well, although this example calls for some background. Ecaterina and Serban originally applied for emigration to Switzerland; when Maria and I moved to the States, it seemed that the Chelarius could avoid further delays by maintaining Switzerland as their destination. We arranged with Justice Stevens, the American Consul at the Embassy at Bern, that the Chelarius would be allowed to emigrate to America shortly after their arrival at Zürich.

That afternoon in June I learned that our efforts and those of Congress would most likely be fruitless since they were not seconded by the State Department and the American Embassy at Bucharest. The Embassy would not intercede on the Chelarius' behalf because they had applied, technically, for emigration to Switzerland. It made no difference that U.S. immigration papers had already been prepared for them at the Embassy in Switzerland. Despite frequent phone contact with Senator Jackson's staff, 6 months elapsed before the significance of this fact came to light. I am convinced by these and other experiences of the day that the underground maze of corridors depicts the workings of Congress, the confusing interconnections and the uncertain outcome of all action.

The last image I shall mention caught me unexpectedly. At the end of the day, with nothing left to do, I stood beneath the Capitol dome and my eyes wandered to the 4 emblems carved in stone above the archways, emblems of our relations with the Indians. One in particular struck me: a settler holds a scroll which reads, "Treaty", while an Indian extends a pipe. The pipe and the printed word are equivalent, they are sacred objects. The pipe is the symbol of the Indian's relationship to the spirit while for us that relationship is carried by the printed word. I was reminded of Allen's comment several months ago as we were driving across the skyway from Manhattan to New Jersey discussing the "lost colony", our first memory and awakening as a nation. He remarked that America is the first country to be founded on words—The Declaration of Independence, The Constitution, The Bill of Rights—that we celebrate 200 years as a nation and yet we remain unaware of how we are sustained, led on, liberated, bound and deceived by words in themselves.

With the Trade Act in 1974, Congress went out of its way to use its economic leverage to deny "Most Favored Nation" status to nations which harass citizens wishing to emigrate. These are words to which Congress has committed us, words which define us, marking our borders. Senate hearings on continuing preferential tariff treatment of Romanian imports will be held by the Subcommittee on International Trade on September 8, 1976, and the Subcommittee will be advised of the figures on Romanian emigration and of those persons known to have been denied the liberty to join close relatives in America and Israel. The measure of our commitment to the spirit of our words will be revealed in the willingness of Congress to withhold preferential treatment from Romania until these families are re-united.

POSTSCRIPT

July 4: I learned by chance on July 3rd that a conference of Romanian and American historians was taking place a few blocks away at the University of Colorado. One of the speakers was Col. Ilie Ceausescu, the brother of the Romanian President, Nicolae Ceausescu. Maria contacted the Colonel that evening and invited him to breakfast the next morning, just hours before he was to fly back to Washington with the rest of the delegation. She hoped she might be able to bring her family's plight directly to the attention of President Ceausescu and thereby obtain the long sought after passports. On the morning of July 4, 1976, she met Col. Ceausescu over breakfast at the Holiday Inn, but he

was joined by Mr. Ploscaru, the First Secretary of the Romanian Embassy at Washington, serving a repressive (rather than protective) role as security agent. Maria told me afterward that Col. Ceausescu impressed her as a gentle and sympathetic man, but that Mr. Ploscaru would not permit a private conversation with Col. Ceausescu. Mr. Ploscaru rudely controlled what conversation there was and finally informed Maria that her mother and certainly her brother would not be allowed to leave Romania.

July 13: We received a telephone call from Serban and he told us that on July 6 their applications for emigration had been refused. We have again taken a long journey to the border only to find the gates closed and guarded. We must again look for other paths.

August 12: With the help of Mr. Stevens, the U.S. immigration files for the Chelariu have been transferred from Bern to the Embassy at Bucharest where they will receive first priority. Their direct immigration to America is now possible insofar as the State Department is concerned. They were invited to the Embassy for an interview and Serban was impressed with the warmth of their reception and with Vice Consul John Spiegel's statement that he would do his best to help them and to protect Maria's rights as a permanent resident in America and mine as a citizen. Who, if anyone, in Romania has cared to protect Serban's rights? Ecaterina and Serban next approached the Romanian passport authorities to reapply for emigration, but there were no application forms available at the time. Tourist forms were available, though, and they were allowed to apply for tourist visas until the other forms are once more on hand.

The dream is once more in full motion and we look for some sign that this border may now be crossed.

STATEMENT OF ION ZAGONEANU

HONORABLE SIR: I warmly thank the United States Senate for its help and human interest for the so difficult problems of emigration from Rumania.

I am Ion Zagoneanu, Rumanian born and a refugee to the United States. Since November 5, 1974 in Rumania I worked as a shoemaker and I was an artist in this field, but I had to work two days to have enough money to buy two pounds of meat. All workers live with the fear that overnight the terrible communist secret police, so called "Security", will come and take them to the political jail or send them to the forced labor camps.

Because of this terror, I tried and managed to obtain an exit visa for an organized tour of Vienna, where I defected and asked for asylum on July 17, 1974. But painfully I had to leave behind me as hostages in communist Rumania: Ana Zagoneanu, wife; Christina Zagoneanu, daughter, both of them living in Bucharest, Rumania.

In the United States I made all the formalities I was asked by the Rumanian Embassy, for my family to be released. Mr. Gaspar, the first secretary, told me that in six months my family will be here, but he lied to me. After 16 months, my family is still in Rumania. All applications for an exit visa were rejected by the Rumanian Government.

On July 23, 1976, I joined the 3rd Rumanian protest for family reunion and from then on my wife is constantly interviewed by the Rumanian Security. Our mail has been cut and the telephone as well. My family has no income to live on. President Nicolae Ceausescu does not respect any commitments regarding family reunion. He defies the commitments made to the President of the United States and to the leaders of this country in Washington, D.C. During the last 16 months he did not do any further steps in order to release our families.

After more than one month of permanent protest in front of the United Nations Organization in New York, I will join the fourth Rumanian hunger strike for family reunion which will start in Washington, D.C. on September 5th, 1976.

Desperately I appeal to you not to grant again the most favored nation clause to the Rumanian Government until my hostage family as well as others' families in this strike, will join us in the free United States of America.

I thank you for your humanitarian support.

STATEMENT OF MR. ION ZAGONEANU

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 own country.

HONORABLE SIR: I am Ion Zagoneanu, Romanian born and a refugee in the United States of America since November 5, 1974.

In my native country communist Romania I was a shoemaker and I worked as an artist in women's shoemaker creative art at the Shoemaker Art Cooperative in Bucharest.

Despite the fact that the Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu was a shoemaker apprentice, there is impossible to leave as shoemaker. I worked as a master shoemaker and I was forced to work two days of twelve hours of work of day for a pair of woman's shoes. With the payment because I cannot buy more than two pounds of meat from the restaurant because there is no meat in the butcher shops.

In the same time in communist Romania there is a Stalinist reign led by the Romania Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu who lie that there is a "workers power". In the political area. In fact there is a Stalinist terror. All workers live with the fear that during the night the terrible communist secret police so called "Security" will come and bring them into the political jail or send them to the forced labor camps.

Because of communist terror I tried to obtain an exit visa and run to a free country.

I finally obtained a tourists passport for a collective excursion in Vienna (Austria) where I defected and asked for asylum on July 17, 1974. There I was granted asylum by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations Organization Geneve. And then I came to the U.S.A. the country of really democracy and freedom. But painful I had to leave behind in communist Romania as hostages, 1, Ann Zagoneanu, my wife, born on June 21, 1937, 2, Christina Zagoneanu, my daughter, 13, born on August 2, 1963 both of: Aleea Nisel Nr 5, Bloc r 10, Sc2, Et6, Apt68, Sector 5, Bucuresti. Here in the U.S.A. I made all the formalities about the communist Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. in order to bring my hostage family here, but the Romanian officials lied to me without shame! All applications for my wife and daughter were rejected by the communist Security and they are still hostages in communist Romania! On July 23, 1976 I joined the Third Romanian Protest for Family Reunion in the U.S.A. in front of the United Nations Organization in N.Y.C. and I do not leave the protests place until my hostage wife and daughter come here to freedom! The Romanian Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu as a former shoemaker apprentice kept without shame as hostages the wife and daughter of a shoemaker master forced to leave his native country because with his hard work he cannot support his family and the Security terror again on the Romanian people and especially against the workers! Nicolae Ceausescu does not respect any of his international commitments about the family reunion. He defies his commitments made in front of the President of the U.S.A. and of the political leaders of this country on June 1975 in Washington, D.C. when he lied then without shame! I appeal desperately to you honorable sir to use your influence in persuading the Communist President Nicolae Ceausescu to grant the exit visas to my hostage wife and daughter, 13.