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HRC - Eastern Europe Briefing 7/96 [1]

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**WOMEN IN EASTERN
EUROPE**

Divider Title: _____

The Status of Women in Eastern Europe



Prepared by:
International Programs Center
Population Division
U.S. Bureau of the Census
June 1996

STATUS OF WOMEN IN EASTERN EUROPE

International Programs Center
Population Division
U.S. Bureau of the Census

June 1996

The transition to a market economy in the countries of Eastern Europe has affected the status of women in a myriad of ways. The changes brought about by the social and economic reforms have had both negative and positive effects on the status of women in this area.

Benefits that women previously enjoyed under the old regimes, such as subsidized child care and paid maternity leave, are no longer guaranteed. On the other hand, because of the high levels of education that these women have, many new opportunities are opening up to them.

In the next few pages we present some general information on some standard indicators on the status of women: education; labor force; and reproductive health. Included in this report are some striking findings about the relationship between abortion and maternal mortality in Romania.

At the end of the report are data tables for the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. These tables provide more detailed information for each country.

EDUCATION

One of the positive legacies of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe is that women were given equal access to educational opportunities. As a result of this, women at younger ages have comparable educational attainment to men. In some countries young women even surpass men in terms of educational attainment (see Figure 1).

One way to illustrate how much education levels have changed over time is to examine educational attainment by age group. Figure 2 presents these data for Romania and shows just how dramatic the increase in education has been over time for both sexes but particularly for women. For instance, only 29 percent of women ages 65 and older had a secondary school education while for women ages 25 to 29, 88 percent had achieved this level of education. This pattern of increasing levels of education over time is found in all of the countries of Eastern Europe. These highly educated cohorts of women may be in a good position to take advantage of the changes brought about by economic restructuring.

LABOR FORCE

Women in Eastern Europe have some of the highest labor force participation rates in the world, with nearly 80 percent of all working age women active in the labor force. For comparison, 54 percent of working age women in the United States were active in the labor force. Since the transition to market economies the activity rates of women have decreased in some countries (e.g., Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia) (See Figure 3).

Even though women in Eastern Europe have high labor force activity rates they are still segregated into certain professions. The fields in which women dominate also tend to be the fields with lower than average wages. For instance, women tend to make up the majority of medical doctors in Eastern Europe but this profession has relatively low salaries unlike in the United States. Figure 4 presents the distribution of the employed female and male population by selected branches of the economy for the Czech Republic. This chart shows that women tend to dominate in fields such as education and health while men are more likely to work in construction, industry and agriculture. Although this graphic is for the Czech Republic similar patterns are found for all the countries of Eastern Europe.

One of the positive effects of economic restructuring is that women are now more likely to have and run their own businesses. The number of women starting their own businesses has doubled in Poland since the transition, so that by 1992, 9 percent of all working women owned their own business.

One of the negative effects of the transition to market economies, is that unemployment, which was virtually unknown prior to 1989, has become a problem in many of the countries of Eastern Europe. In all of the countries of Eastern Europe, with the exception of Hungary, women have higher unemployment rates than do men (see Figure 5). The fact that many of the layoffs that have taken place in the last few years are concentrated in industries where men tend to dominate and women still have higher unemployment rates, could be an indication that women are being discriminated against when it comes to layoffs. Women also tend to remain unemployed longer than men in these countries.

WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

Women's reproductive health is an area that warrants special attention in the countries of Eastern Europe. It was long neglected under the former Communist governments, and there have been consequences, still apparent today, in higher than average abortion and maternal mortality rates. The major problem was that modern contraceptives were not readily available. This fact has led, in the countries in which abortion was legal, to some of the highest abortion rates in the world, and in the countries in which abortion was not legal to extremely high maternal mortality rates.

Unfortunately, the data available on contraceptive prevalence and abortion rates are limited. Still, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control recently carried out reproductive health surveys in the Czech Republic and Romania which contain more detailed information on contraceptive prevalence than was previously available. Information from these surveys will be presented in the section on contraceptive prevalence.

Abortion

For most of the countries of Eastern Europe, abortion was legal during the Communist period and remains so today. There were two exceptions to this, Albania and Romania. Since the transition to market economies, both of these countries have changed their laws. In Albania, abortion was made legal in 1991. Romania's extremely restrictive laws on abortion and contraception were lifted in December of 1989. In contrast to the relaxation in Albania and Romania, Poland has gone in the opposite direction. In 1993, abortions were made illegal except in cases when the mother's life was in danger, the fetus had a serious malformation, or the pregnancy was a result of rape or incest.

There are two different ways to examine abortion data. One is to look at the number of abortions per 1000 women in the reproductive ages (15 to 44 or 15 to 49). Figure 6 presents these rates for the countries of Eastern Europe where the data are available. From this graph we can see that Romania has the highest number of abortions per 1000 women of all of the countries of Eastern Europe, 138. Bulgaria has the second highest rate, 52, and Poland has the lowest rate, just 4. By comparison, the rate in the United States in 1992 was 26.

A second way to examine abortion data is to look at the ratio of abortions to live births. Figure 7 presents these ratios for the countries of Eastern Europe where the data are available. Again Romania had the highest ratio. In 1992 in Romania, there were 266 abortions for every 100 live births. Thus, nearly three times as many pregnancies ended in abortions than ended in births. Bulgaria also had more pregnancies that ended in abortions than births, with a ratio of 126. The remaining countries had ratios that ranged from 47 to 68 per 100 births with the exception of Poland which had a ratio of 6. By comparison, the 1992 United States figure was 38.

Maternal Mortality

One of the consequences of illegal abortions is higher than average maternal mortality rates. Figure 8 shows 1988 and 1993 maternal mortality rates for selected countries in Eastern Europe. The most striking feature of this graph is the change in rates in Albania and Romania between the two years. These countries still have the highest maternal mortality rates in Eastern Europe in 1993 but these rates are much lower than they were in 1988

when abortion was illegal in both countries. Albania's rate has been cut in half and Romania's 1993 rate is approximately one third of what it was in 1988. These decreases in maternal mortality are directly linked to the decrease in deaths due to illegal abortions.

Figure 9 displays the maternal mortality rates for Romania for the years 1985 through 1993. This graph shows the dramatic effect of the restrictive abortion laws being repealed in December 1989 with the immediate drop in maternal mortality in 1990.

Contraceptive Use

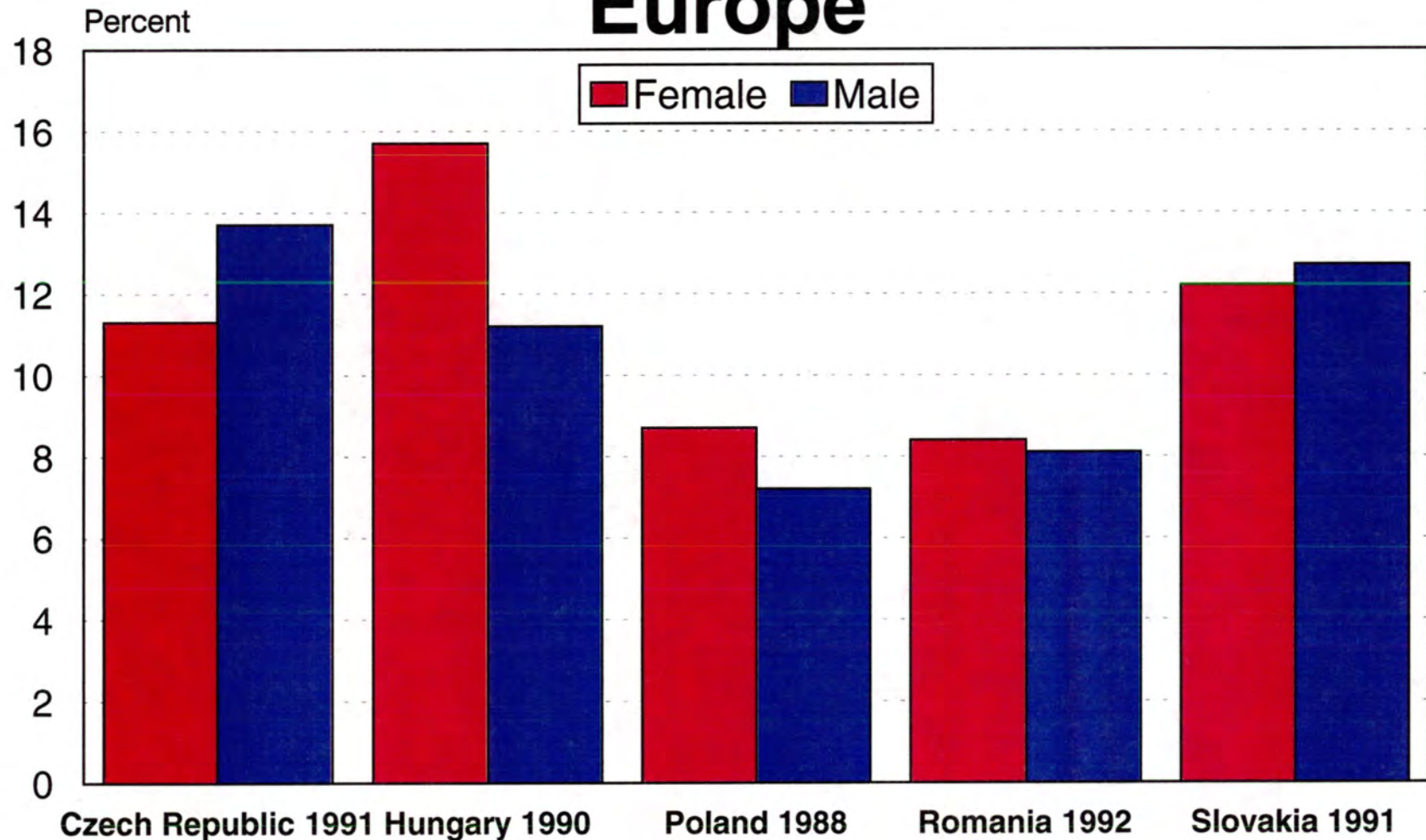
One of the reasons that abortion rates have been so high in Eastern Europe is the lack of or failure to use modern contraceptive methods. But there are very little hard data on contraceptive prevalence rates for these countries. A reproductive health survey done in Romania in 1993 shows that a very small proportion of the female population used modern methods of contraception. Figure 10 shows the percent of women aged 15 to 44 by contraceptive method. Only 14 percent used a modern method (IUD, condom, pill, injectables). Among the remaining, nearly 43 percent used no method, while another 43 percent used traditional techniques such as rhythm and withdrawal. Since, traditional methods have a much higher failure rate than modern methods, the high proportion of women who used the former is most likely a contributing factor to the high rates of abortion in Romania.

A survey similar to the one done in Romania, was carried out in the Czech Republic. This survey found a much larger proportion of women used modern contraceptive methods, nearly 40 percent. Approximately 20 percent of women used traditional methods, and around 40 percent used no methods. As with Romania, the notable proportion of women using traditional methods is most likely associated with the higher than average abortion rates in the Czech Republic.

One of the more surprising findings of both surveys was that women who reported knowledge of the different types of methods, tended to be misinformed. For instance, women were incorrect in their assessment of the efficacy of the different methods. Many who used traditional methods, such as withdrawal or rhythm, thought they were as efficient as the modern methods. Also, many women cited negative side effects as reasons for not using modern methods. This could explain why many of the women in both countries relied on these relatively inefficient methods.

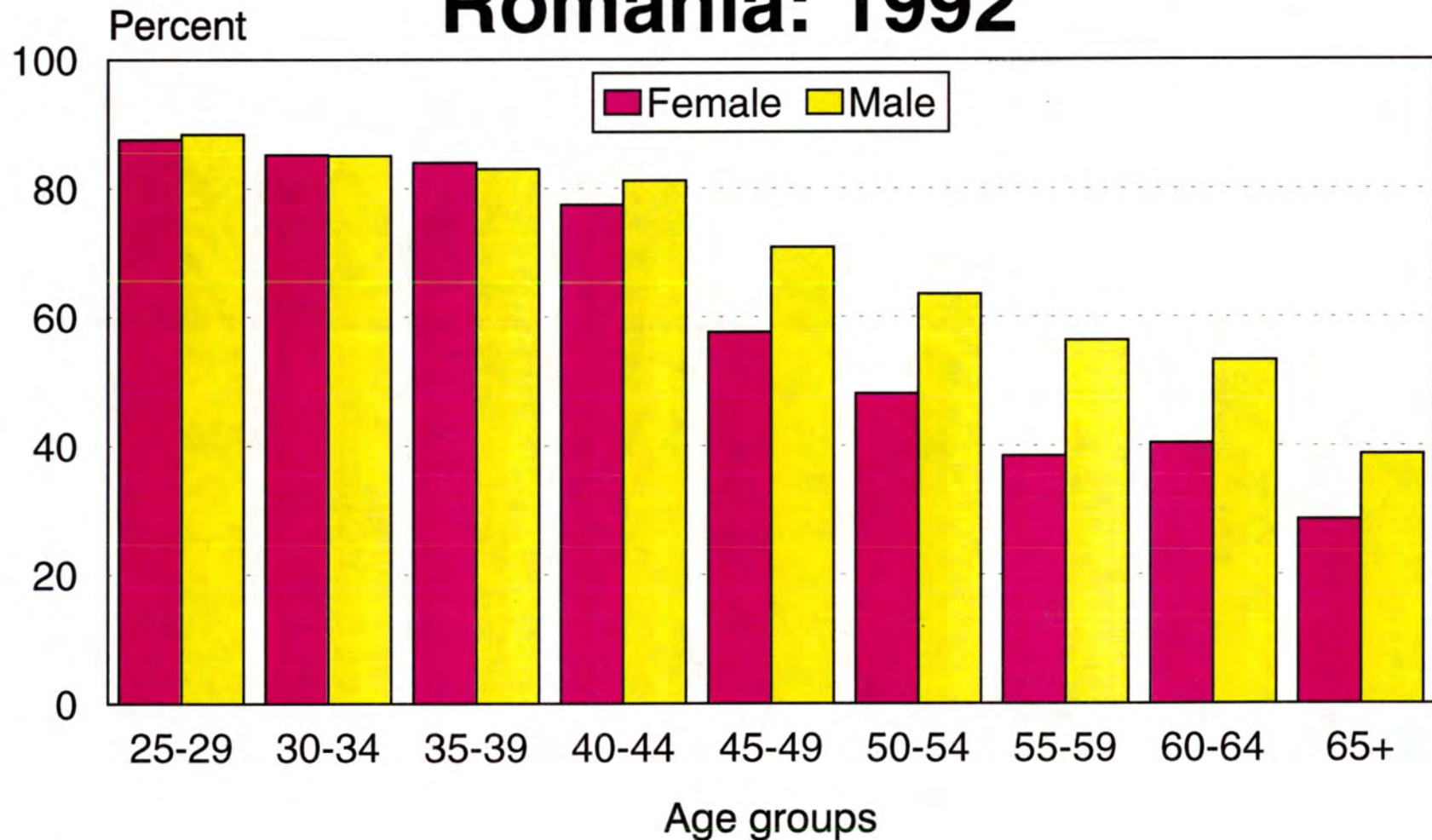
There is very little information on contraceptive prevalence rates in the other countries of Eastern Europe. It is likely that the use of modern contraceptive methods is low since abortion rates in many of these countries remain high. Women's reproductive health is still an area that deserves attention in Eastern Europe.

Figure 1. Percent with College Education for Persons Ages 25 to 29 in Eastern Europe



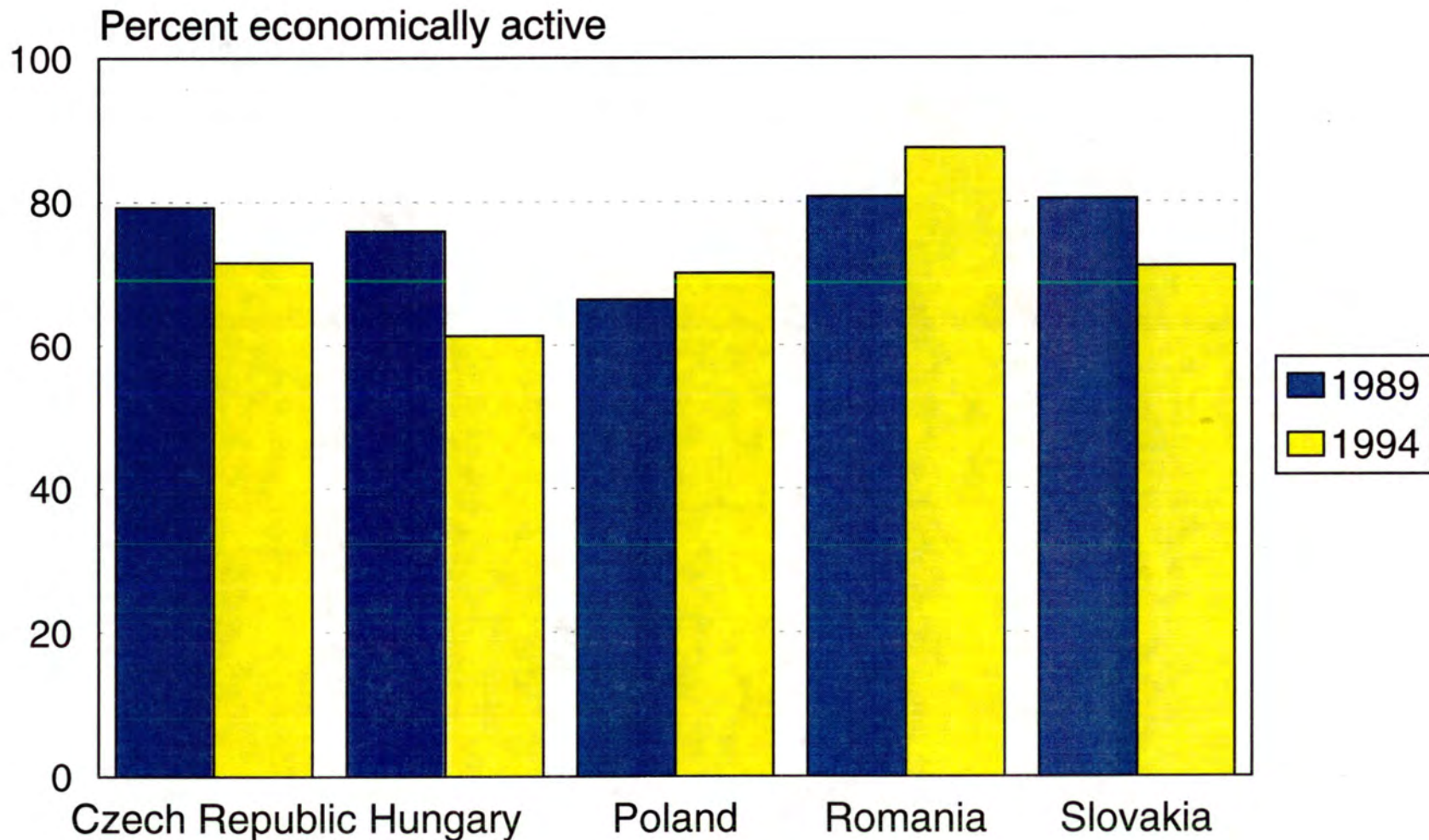
International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 2. Percent with Completed Secondary Education or Higher in Romania: 1992



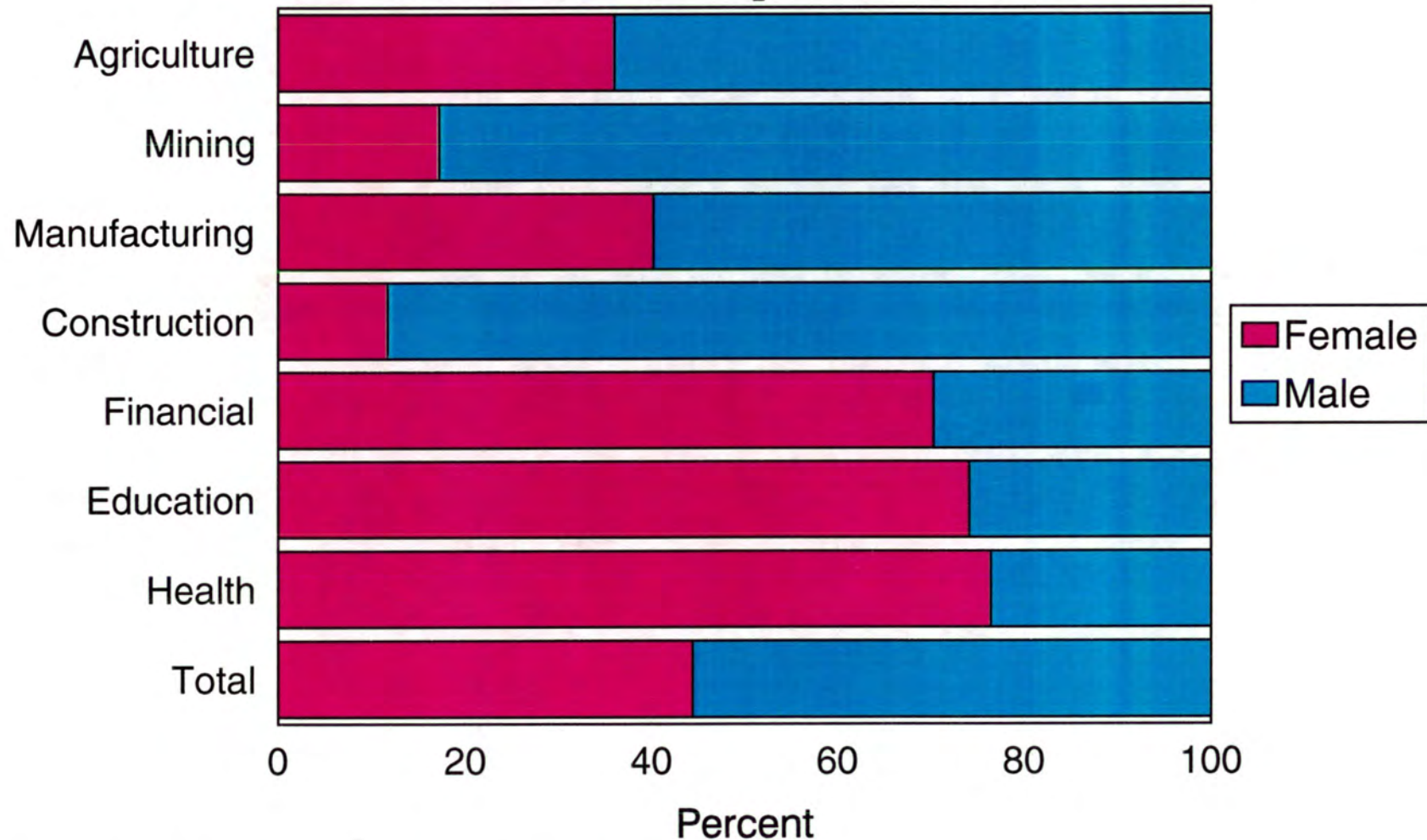
International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 3. Female Labor Force Participation Rates: 1989 and 1994



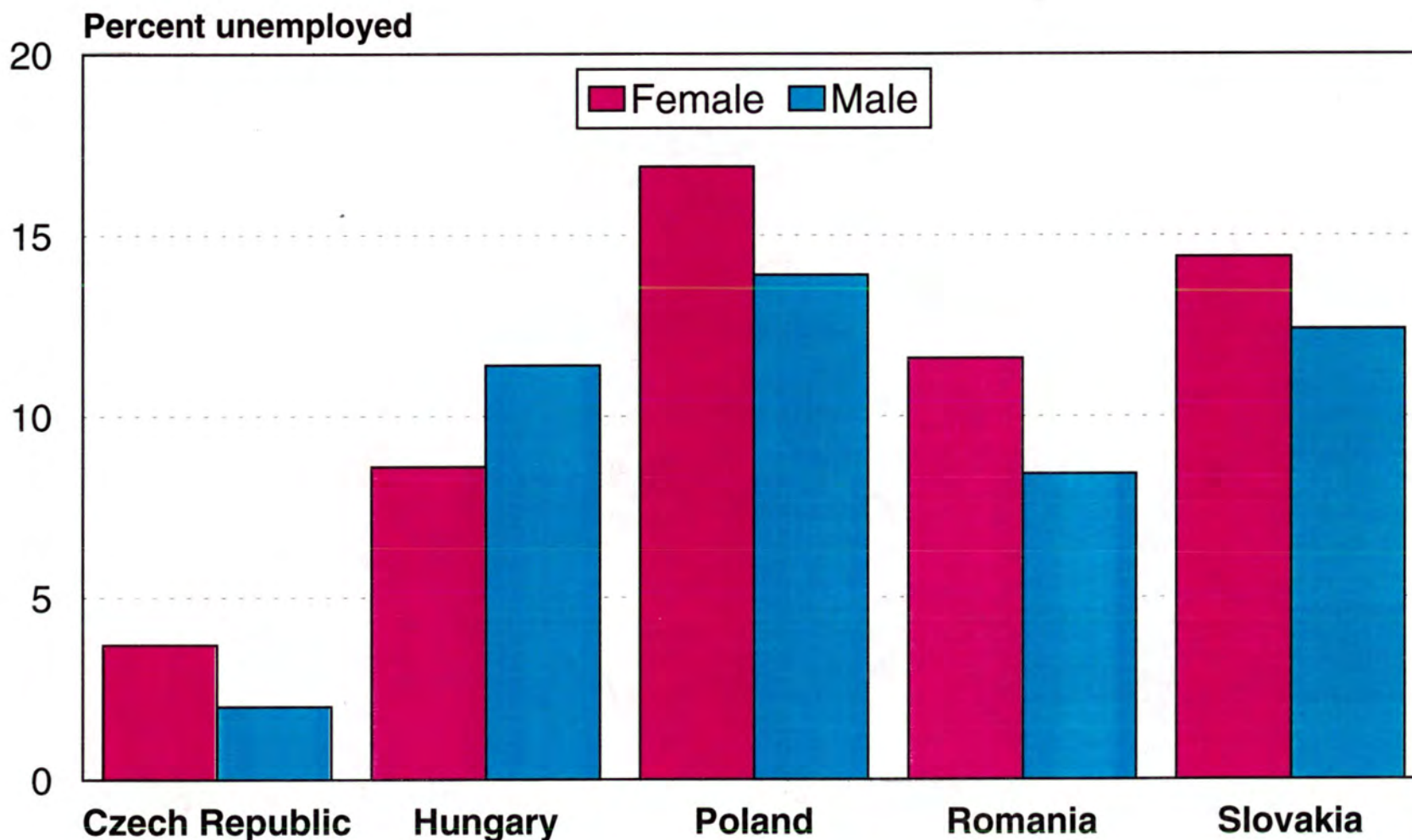
International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 4. Gender Distribution by Selected Branches of the Economy in the Czech Republic: 1994



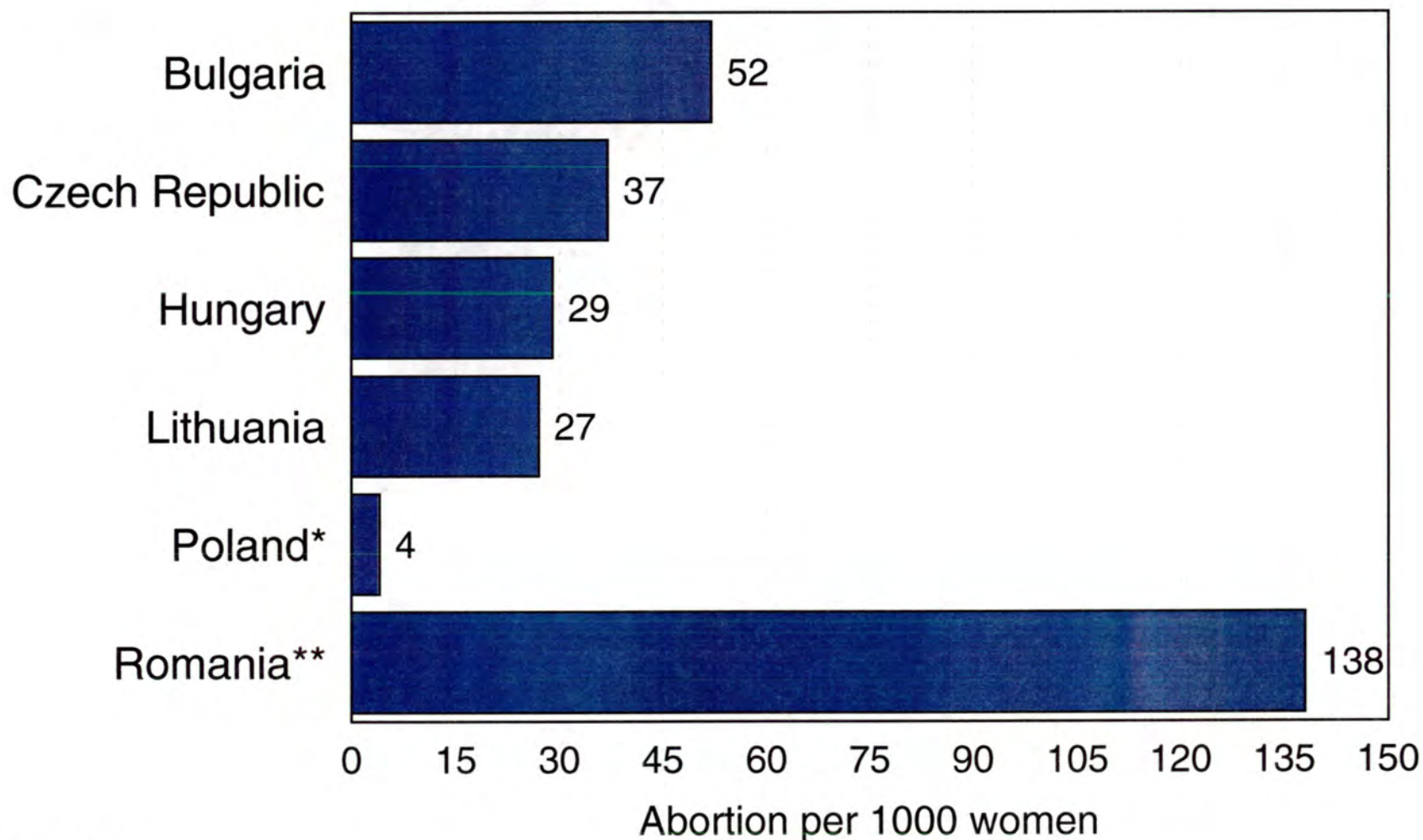
International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 5. Unemployment Rates in Eastern Europe: 1995 Second Quarter



International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 6. Abortions per 1000 Women Ages 15 to 44 in Eastern Europe: 1993

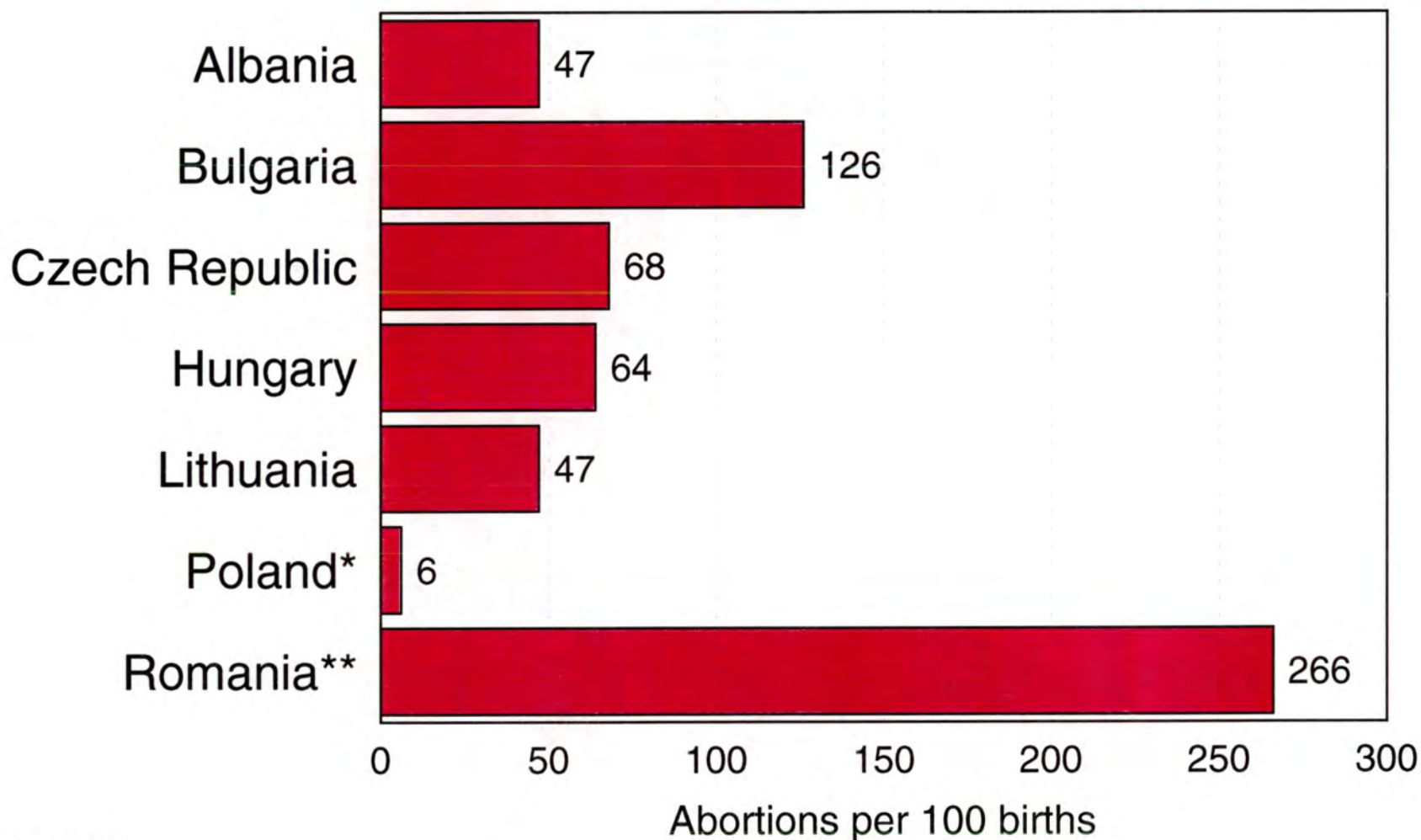


* data for 1991

** data for 1992

International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 7. Abortions per 100 Births in Eastern Europe: 1993

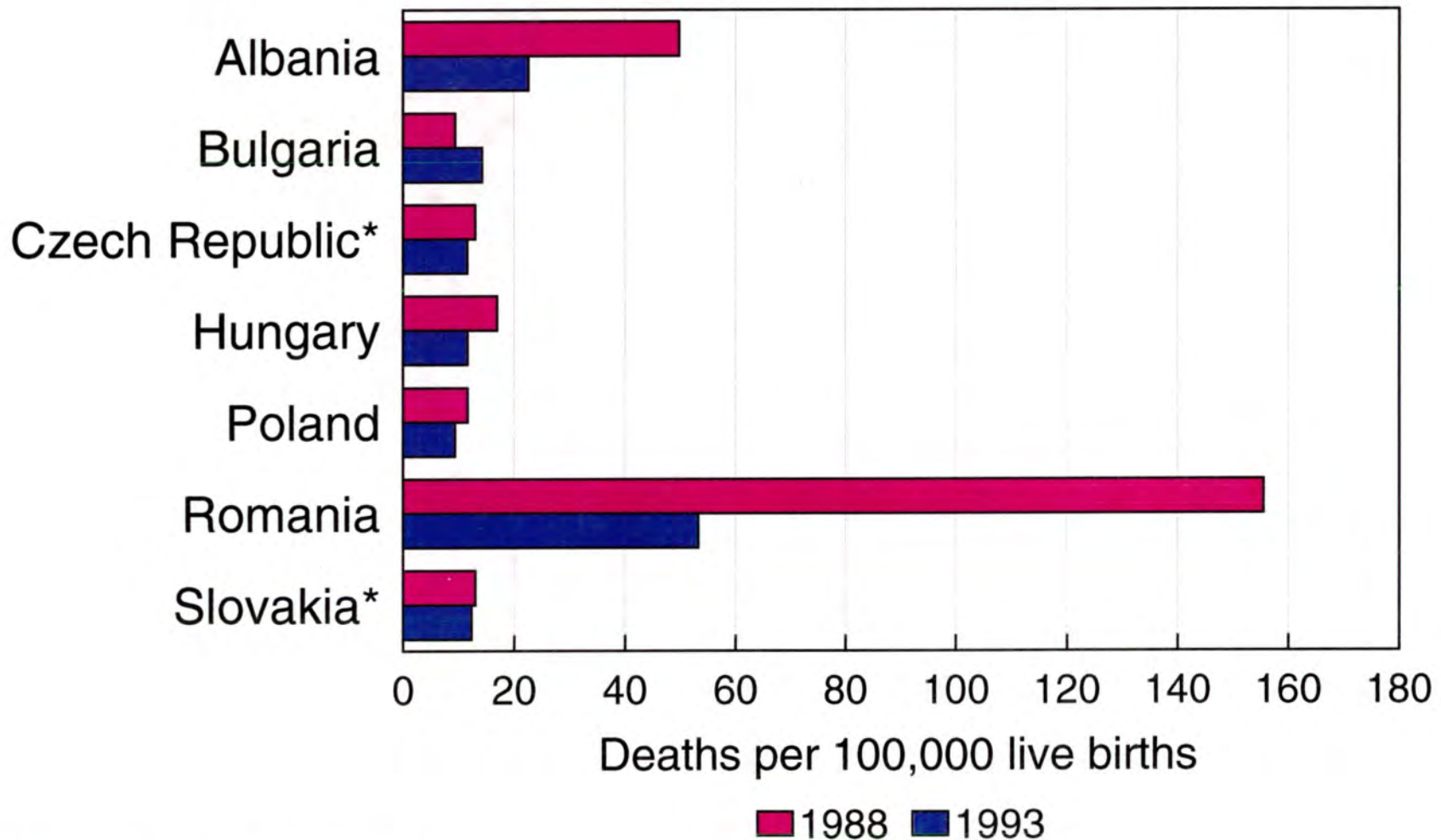


* data for 1991

**data for 1992

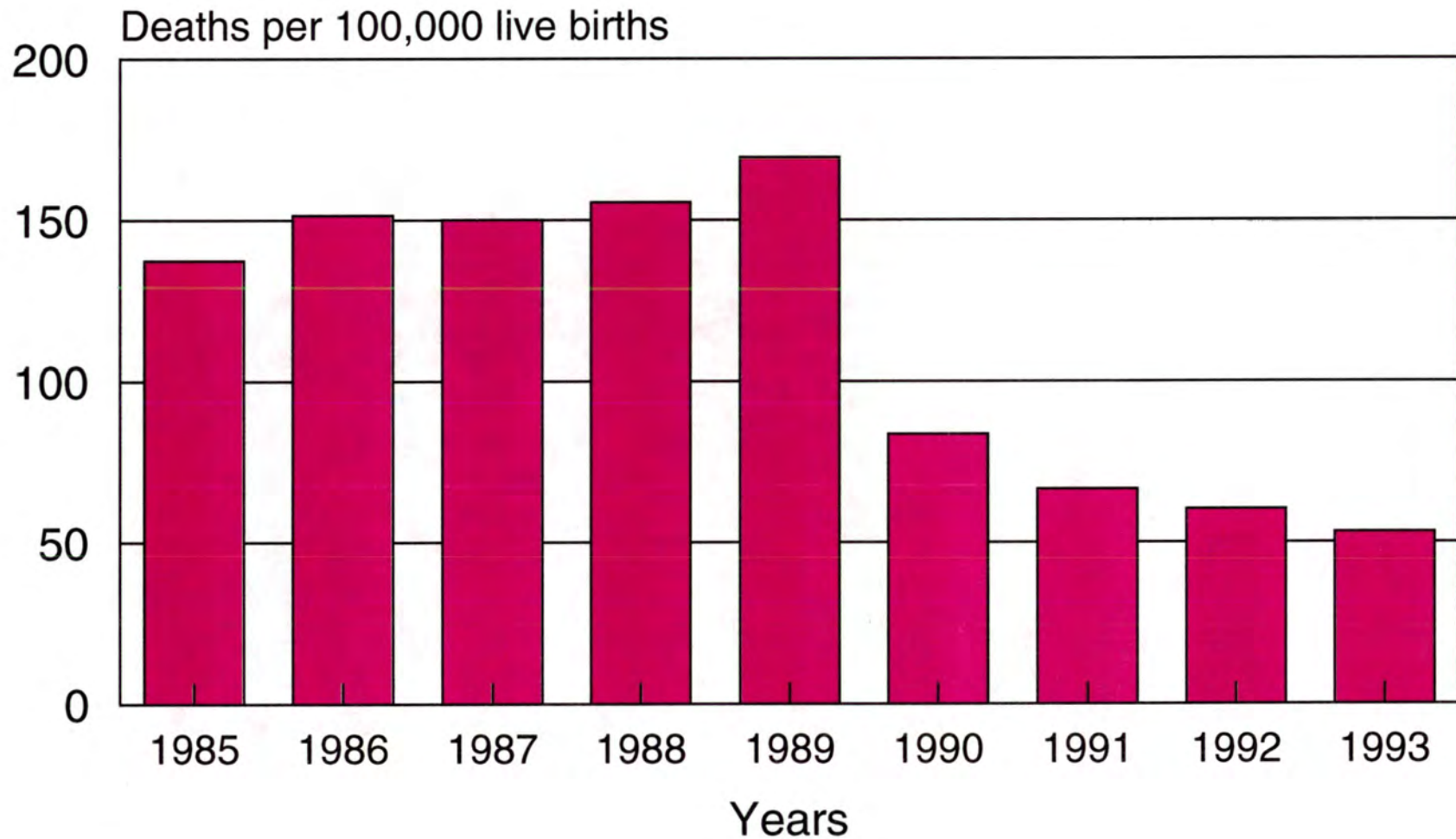
International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 8. Maternal Mortality Rates in Eastern Europe: 1988 and 1993



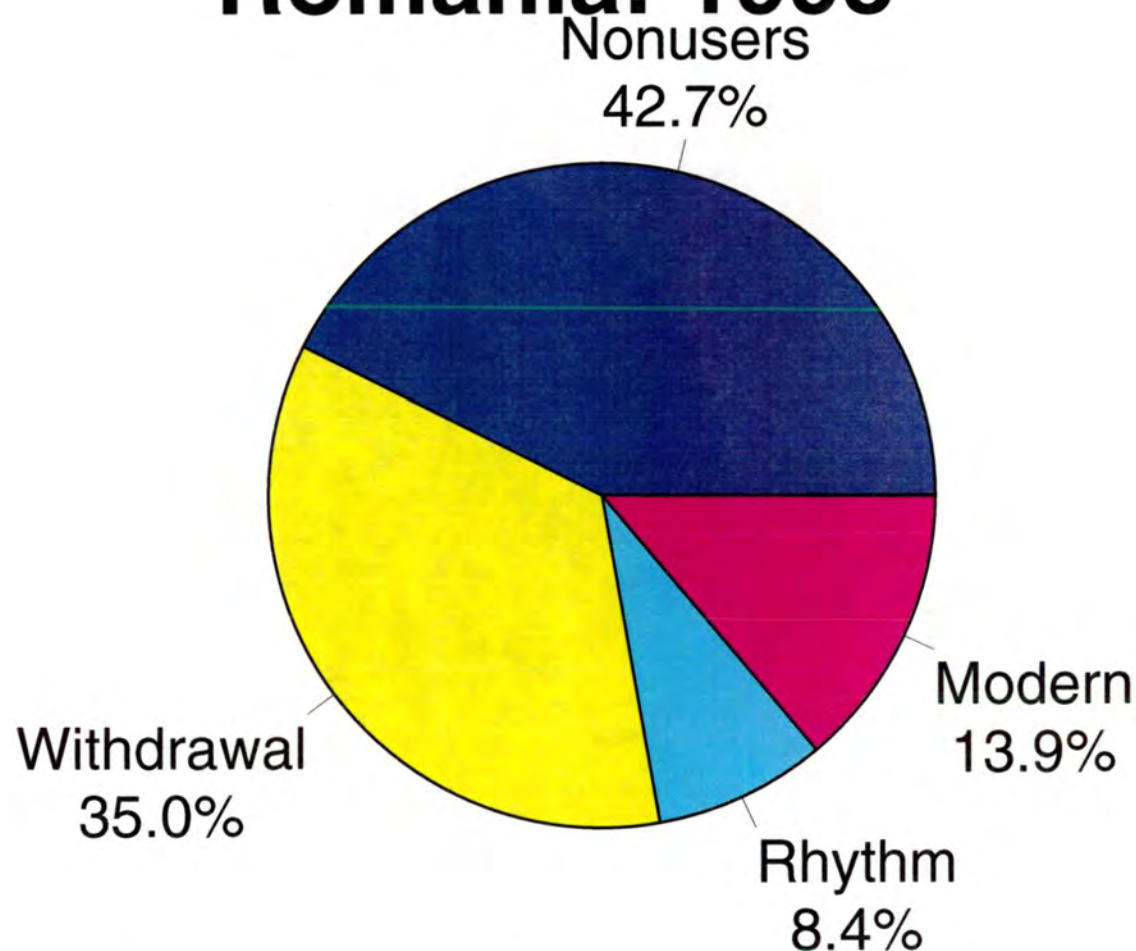
* 1988 data are for Czechoslovakia
International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 9. Maternal Mortality Rate in Romania: 1985-1993



International Programs Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census

**Figure 10. Use of Contraceptive Methods
by Women in Union Ages 15 to 44, in
Romania: 1993**



CZECH REPUBLIC

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	10,321,120	5,012,455	5,308,665
0- 4	567,494	291,675	275,819
5- 9	641,262	328,371	312,891
10-14	675,850	345,815	330,035
15-19	830,186	424,691	405,495
20-24	876,909	447,701	429,208
25-29	691,971	353,484	338,487
30-34	690,597	351,878	338,719
35-39	667,566	337,945	329,621
40-44	793,383	397,721	395,662
45-49	826,349	411,187	415,162
50-54	681,725	333,608	348,117
55-59	510,522	243,741	266,781
60-64	475,458	217,797	257,661
65-69	474,755	203,678	271,077
70-74	422,531	164,438	258,093
75-79	215,247	77,086	138,161
80+	279,315	81,639	197,676

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1991	1.8	68.2	75.7
1992	1.7	68.5	76.1
1993	1.6	69.3	76.4
1994	1.5	69.5	76.6
1995	1.4	70.0	77.5
1996	1.4	70.1	77.7

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1991	10.4	11.6	9.1
1992	9.5	10.7	8.3
1993	9.2	10.3	8.0
1994	8.8	9.9	7.7
1995	8.5	9.5	7.4
1996	8.4	9.4	7.3

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	2.3	3.0
1992	2.6	3.6
1993	2.4	3.5
1994	2.6	4.1
1994.1	3.0	4.0
1994.2	2.4	3.9
1994.3	2.4	4.1
1994.4	2.5	4.0
1995.1	2.5	3.8
1995.2	2.0	3.7

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1991 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	89.4	86.8
30-34	88.5	80.3
35-39	84.9	72.4
40-49	84.1	69.5
50-59	74.9	50.4
60+	58.0	31.6

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	13.7	11.3
30-34	14.3	11.0
35-39	13.0	8.5
40-49	11.4	7.5
50-59	10.7	4.3
60+	8.7	1.7

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

ESTONIA

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	1,459,428	680,418	779,010
0-4	75,545	38,563	36,982
5-9	107,724	54,921	52,803
10-14	108,977	55,199	53,778
15-19	104,098	52,951	51,147
20-24	104,580	53,148	51,432
25-29	100,748	52,830	47,918
30-34	100,634	50,301	50,333
35-39	107,259	52,292	54,967
40-44	104,331	50,089	54,242
45-49	98,435	46,224	52,211
50-54	76,668	35,058	41,610
55-59	93,322	41,411	51,911
60-64	79,203	33,455	45,748
65-69	75,682	29,580	46,102
70-74	54,841	16,686	38,155
75-79	29,204	8,416	20,788
80+	38,177	9,294	28,883

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1990	2.0	64.7	74.9
1991	1.8	64.4	74.9
1992	1.7	64.0	74.9
1993	1.4	63.9	74.9
1994	1.4	63.1	74.5
1995	1.4	62.2	74.0
1996	1.6	62.5	74.1

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality	
		Male	Female
1990	12.1	14.0	10.1
1991	12.8	14.4	11.0
1992	13.4	14.7	12.0
1993	13.4	14.9	12.0
1994	15.4	18.0	12.8
1995	17.4	21.1	13.6
1996	17.4	20.3	14.3

Table 3. Unemployment Rates

Note: No data available.

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1989 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-44	77.3	86.9
45-54	51.0	61.3
55-64	37.3	37.9
65+	28.8	21.5

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-44	16.6	19.9
45-54	15.1	15.1
55-64	11.7	9.1
65+	7.1	2.8

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

HUNGARY

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	10,002,541	4,771,598	5,230,943
0- 4	554,664	283,695	270,969
5- 9	600,614	307,267	293,347
10-14	620,221	317,001	303,220
15-19	778,594	398,526	380,068
20-24	809,668	415,317	394,351
25-29	678,315	345,514	332,801
30-34	583,871	294,202	289,669
35-39	676,350	336,458	339,892
40-44	832,618	410,343	422,275
45-49	724,505	352,434	372,071
50-54	624,088	295,419	328,669
55-59	558,252	250,433	307,819
60-64	523,856	226,883	296,973
65-69	494,827	204,955	289,872
70-74	429,240	165,045	264,195
75-79	238,504	84,799	153,705
80+	274,354	83,307	191,047

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1990	1.8	65.1	73.7
1991	1.9	65.0	73.8
1992	1.8	64.6	73.7
1993	1.7	64.5	73.8
1994	1.6	64.8	74.2
1995	1.5	64.1	73.9
1996	1.5	64.2	74.0

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1990	14.6	16.2	13.0
1991	15.7	17.4	13.9
1992	13.9	15.3	12.5
1993	12.3	13.5	11.0
1994	12.4	13.7	11.0
1995	12.5	13.9	10.9
1996	12.3	13.8	10.8

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	4.8	3.5
1992	11.7	8.8
1993	14.9	10.9
1994	12.9	9.7
1994.1	14.2	10.0
1994.2	12.4	9.4
1994.3	12.0	9.7
1994.4	11.7	8.9
1995.1	12.9	9.7
1995.2	11.4	8.6

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1990 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-44	72.8	62.1
45-54	36.0	30.4
55-64	23.6	13.5
65+	16.7	6.8

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-44	12.6	14.2
45-54	12.9	8.8
55-64	11.6	4.3
65+	8.2	2.3

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

POLAND

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	38,642,565	18,808,447	19,834,118
0- 4	2,401,970	1,233,950	1,168,020
5- 9	2,830,595	1,452,160	1,378,435
10-14	3,355,908	1,713,539	1,642,369
15-19	3,241,126	1,654,672	1,586,454
20-24	2,928,291	1,493,053	1,435,238
25-29	2,480,641	1,267,806	1,212,835
30-34	2,565,693	1,299,236	1,266,457
35-39	3,122,611	1,571,426	1,551,185
40-44	3,223,310	1,606,516	1,616,794
45-49	2,790,055	1,374,842	1,415,213
50-54	1,741,982	837,125	904,857
55-59	1,807,150	843,743	963,407
60-64	1,783,688	805,853	977,835
65-69	1,639,100	697,061	942,039
70-74	1,269,492	481,640	787,852
75-79	663,892	237,766	426,126
80+	797,061	238,059	559,002

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1990	2.0	66.5	75.5
1991	2.0	66.1	75.3
1992	1.9	66.7	75.7
1993	1.8	67.4	76.0
1994	1.8	67.5	76.1
1995	1.7	67.9	76.3
1996	1.7	68.0	76.4

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1990	15.7	17.5	13.8
1991	14.8	16.6	12.8
1992	14.1	15.7	12.5
1993	13.2	14.6	11.6
1994	12.9	14.3	11.4
1995	12.6	13.9	11.2
1996	12.4	13.8	11.0

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	7.8	11.9
1992	11.8	15.7
1993	13.5	16.6
1994	15.0	18.3
1994.1	15.8	17.8
1994.2	15.2	18.4
1994.3	14.6	18.8
1994.4	14.2	18.1
1995.1	14.3	16.9
1995.2	13.9	16.9

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1988 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	35.4	56.0
30-39	35.5	51.8
40-49	33.7	40.7
50-59	28.5	27.2
60-64	23.7	15.9
65+	16.9	11.6

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	7.2	8.7
30-39	9.8	10.3
40-49	11.2	9.9
50-59	9.4	5.7
60-64	7.6	2.8
65+	4.9	1.5

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

ROMANIA

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	21,657,162	10,579,766	11,077,396
0- 4	1,099,425	564,006	535,419
5- 9	1,580,196	805,492	774,704
10-14	1,588,898	810,525	778,373
15-19	1,864,128	954,874	909,254
20-24	1,753,383	898,300	855,083
25-29	1,833,703	922,629	911,074
30-34	1,147,029	575,885	571,144
35-39	1,475,465	735,875	739,590
40-44	1,596,183	790,972	805,211
45-49	1,409,444	693,848	715,596
50-54	1,083,992	523,841	560,151
55-59	1,272,056	599,937	672,119
60-64	1,219,308	564,999	654,309
65-69	1,065,636	479,793	585,843
70-74	829,417	348,157	481,260
75-79	384,658	144,182	240,476
80+	454,241	166,451	287,790

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1992	1.5	66.1	73.2
1993	1.4	66.6	73.2
1994	1.3	65.6	73.3
1995	1.3	65.4	73.4
1996	1.3	65.5	73.6

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1992	23.2	25.6	20.5
1993	23.1	25.8	20.3
1994	23.4	26.4	20.2
1995	23.6	27.0	20.0
1996	23.2	26.7	19.6

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	2.2	4.0
1992	6.2	10.7
1993	8.1	12.9
1994	9.0	13.0
1994.1	9.6	13.6
1994.2	8.9	13.0
1994.3	8.6	12.9
1994.4	9.0	13.0
1995.1	9.4	12.6
1995.2	8.4	11.6

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1992 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	88.4	87.6
30-34	85.1	85.2
35-39	83.0	84.0
40-44	81.2	77.4
45-49	70.8	57.6
50-54	63.5	48.1
55-59	56.3	38.4
60-64	53.2	40.4
65+	38.7	28.5

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	8.1	8.4
30-34	10.3	9.1
35-39	11.5	8.1
40-44	11.2	8.3
45-49	9.4	6.7
50-54	7.3	3.9
55-59	6.2	2.9
60-64	6.9	2.6
65+	5.6	1.9

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

SLOVAKIA

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	5,374,362	2,616,856	2,757,506
0- 4	348,229	178,076	170,153
5- 9	396,510	202,564	193,946
10-14	439,872	224,739	215,133
15-19	470,539	239,941	230,598
20-24	444,564	226,094	218,470
25-29	368,250	187,015	181,235
30-34	386,676	195,182	191,494
35-39	406,760	205,596	201,164
40-44	423,026	211,467	211,559
45-49	359,294	177,026	182,268
50-54	268,931	126,899	142,032
55-59	237,766	108,795	128,971
60-64	223,849	99,085	124,764
65-69	210,529	88,656	121,873
70-74	182,255	72,219	110,036
75-79	94,031	35,588	58,443
80+	113,281	37,914	75,367

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1991	2.0	66.8	75.2
1992	1.9	67.6	76.2
1993	1.8	68.4	76.7
1994	1.7	68.4	76.5
1995	1.7	68.9	77.1
1996	1.7	69.0	77.2

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1991	13.2	14.1	12.3
1992	12.1	14.0	10.1
1993	11.6	13.4	9.8
1994	11.2	12.9	9.5
1995	10.8	12.4	9.1
1996	10.7	12.3	9.0

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	6.3	6.9
1992	11.1	11.7
1993	12.5	12.9
1994	13.8	15.0
1994.1	14.4	14.8
1994.2	13.6	14.8
1994.3	13.4	15.3
1994.4	13.9	15.4
1995.1	14.1	15.2
1995.2	12.4	14.4

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1991 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	88.1	85.9
30-34	86.3	79.6
35-39	82.0	72.0
40-49	79.4	64.4
50-59	62.1	36.0
60+	36.4	14.8

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	12.7	12.2
30-34	13.9	12.8
35-39	14.2	12.1
40-49	13.4	9.7
50-59	10.5	3.7
60+	6.7	1.1

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

Women's Role in Democracy

The Vienna Women's Initiative is a regional program operated out of the U.S. Embassy in Austria to empower women in central and eastern Europe as they realize and perform their role in strengthening the emerging democratic societies. Through a series of regional activities, U.S. Ambassador Swanee Hunt provides a forum for women to come together to discuss their participation in their changing societies, and to form personal and professional networks across economic, academic, social and political fields.

The Stage

The basic institutions of central and eastern Europe are undergoing dramatic changes today. This restructuring is altering the shape of lives at all levels — personal, familial, societal, and cultural. The fresh opportunities of a market economy are dazzling. Relief from political oppression is almost palatable. Some of these changes are negative, particularly those affecting women. The pace and the degree of the changes are uneven, shaped by local realities. But one common theme is clear: life is filled with new problems for women in the emerging democracies of central and eastern Europe.

Throughout this region, political power, employment patterns, working conditions, income distribution, and social expectations are shifting in profound ways. According to a recent report on women in countries in transition from the UNICEF Regional Office for Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent and Baltic States:

What These Women are Saying

Women in the region agree there is a need to identify and involve new women leaders. Many express the desire to sustain initiatives already underway in their countries, but the need for new skills, experiences and ideas is evident. They hope to find new ways to organize, new styles of leadership, and new models for various aspects of civil society.

For example, a repeated theme is the need for women in the Balkan region to share among themselves information and experiences, not only to exorcise the ghosts of war, but to create support structures to rebuild their societies. They say they need a neutral ground, or a catalyst, to bring them together away from the highly-charged, hate-fueled environment of the war zone, to think through how to handle immediate problems as well as long-term demands.

These women do not describe themselves as concerned simply about "women's issues." They are playing a role in business, politics, culture, education, science, technology, legal structures, and social structures. As U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith recently said, "Women are the ones building bridges between cultures and filling gaps created by conflict."

These women are seeking opportunities to work together both informally, and at the official governmental level, on a range of strategies to improve their lives and society as a whole. They want to share insights and expertise among emerging woman leaders in civic dialogue and nonviolence in politically and socially fragile regions. And they appreciate the concern of outsiders who are willing to listen to their stories and help link them to the larger world.

Conflict in central and eastern Europe has energized many women to move beyond their traditional roles and work for change in their societies, developing a more active role for themselves in determining the direction of these changes. Although some women are creating extensive networks with individuals and organizations in the region and beyond, they lack basic materials, media training, political know-how, and background in raising funds and mobilizing volunteer support for the newly developing non-profit sector.

Activities

The difficult circumstance under which these women live is at times exacerbated by unmet hopes raised by well-meaning but sometimes inadequate programs from the Western world. These women are undertaking ambitious efforts to alter age-old patterns of behavior in their societies. They have emphasized how important it is to have a high-ranking U.S. official with experience in the women's movement to assist them in their efforts, who listens, passes on their messages, and gives them the external recognition that can be critical to their physical safety.

Through a series of activities in the past year, Ambassador Hunt has reached hundreds of women in the emerging democracies personally, and hundreds of thousands through speeches, television interviews, and newspaper and magazine stories. Additionally, she is engaged in an extensive public diplomacy effort in Austria and the United States that reaches more than 2 million people weekly, helping women find their voice.

Activities of the Vienna Women's Initiative include:

- *Public appearances: At international, regional and national conferences throughout central and eastern Europe the Ambassador discusses the role of women in a democratic society, including outside of "women's issues" venues. Large numbers of people are reached through television, newspapers, and magazines.*

Looking Forward

Hillary Clinton recently said in her article "Investing In Sisterhood: An Agenda For The World's Women," that "investing in people especially women and girls is as essential to the prosperity of the entire global family as investing in the development of open markets and trade.... Women represent the soundest investment any nation can make in the effort to jump-start development.... Investing in their education and health, and assuring their full political, economic, and social participation in society ought to be the bottom line in any development equation."

The participation of women in the emerging democracies is crucial to the success of the development of these countries. Women must take their place and be part of the force that drives each nation, ultimately playing leading roles on a much larger regional and global stage. As Hillary Clinton reminds us, "investing in women brings us closer to a world in which distinctions between men and women are viewed, ultimately, as complementary parts to a greater whole."

For more information contact:

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Vienna Women's Initiative

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A1090 Vienna, Austria

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Women in Poland

Issued July 1995

U.S. Department of Commerce
Economics and Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Population Division
International Programs Center

WID/95-1

This is the first in the series, Profiles of the World's Women. These profiles present issues related to the status of women in different countries of the world. Funding for this series is provided by the Office of Women in Development, USAID.

As with most countries in Eastern Europe, women in Poland have played an exceptional role in the economy, as well as maintaining their traditional responsibility for the home and family. Women in Poland... have low levels of fertility...are responsible for the home... have high levels of education relative to men...make a large contribution to the labor force...are suffering more than men from unemployment... earn less than men.

With the transition to a market economy, Poland is changing rapidly. These changes have both positive and negative effects on the status of women. With the privatization of the economy, women are beginning to

own and run businesses. On the other hand, the transition to a market economy has brought about unemployment from which women are suffering disproportionately.

Although Polish women have high rates of labor force participation, there is a high degree of sex segregation in the labor force with women dominating fields with lower prestige and lower pay. Another negative result of the transition is that benefits which women previously enjoyed under communism, such as subsidized child care and paid maternity leave, are no longer guaranteed. Under the communist regime, Polish women had equal

access to education and today young Polish women have higher levels of educational attainment than young Polish men.

Population Trends....

Poland has approximately 39 million people, 51 percent of whom are women. Poland's population grew at around 1 percent per year from 1970 to 1984. In the mid 1980s, the rate of growth began to decline, and it is now at a level of 0.2 percent per year. One reason for the decrease in the growth rate is the steady decline in fertility, especially since the late 1980s.

The Velvet Revolution

As in all of the countries in the former Soviet Bloc, Poland has been undergoing dramatic political and economic changes since the late 1980s. In 1989, the Communist government in Poland was voted out of office and Solidarity came into power. With the change in government came the beginning of the transition from a centrally planned economy to a free market economy. Since 1989, the Polish economy has undergone major changes: prices were decontrolled; firms were privatized; and unemployment has become a serious problem.

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DOLE SPEECH

Divider Title: _____

NATO Enlargement

- U.S. seeks to erase Cold War line; let Europe's new democracies join the West and its institutions. No new lines.
- NATO enlargement will bring stability, support democracy; an expression of common values and willingness to defend them.
- Support strong NATO ties with Russia. Not zero-sum game.
- Look for steady, determined, transparent progress.

Charge: The Administration vacillates on NATO enlargement.

Answer:

- President Clinton took the initiative on enlargement at the January 1994 Summit. Has led the way ever since.
- Enlargement will help democracy and stability in Central Europe -- as NATO did in Western Europe after WWII.
- NATO working closely with Russia. We seek strong NATO-Russia relationship, even as NATO brings in new members.
- Through U.S. leadership, enlargement moved from zero (before 1993) to point of inevitability.

Charge: The Administration is too slow on enlargement.

Answer:

- Some say enlargement too slow; others say too fast.
- Administration has followed a steady, determined pace.
- NATO needed to prepare for enlargement; prospective members needed to prepare for new responsibilities. Thanks to Partnership for Peace, militaries cooperating, including in IFOR, where some CEEs have combat troops.

Charge: The U.S. refuses to name names of future NATO members.

Answer:

- Pleased that Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and others are making progress toward NATO membership.

- NATO enlargement is open. As President said last week (to Baltic Presidents), enlargement open to all Europe's new democracies; first new members shall not be the last.

Charge: NATO enlargement will cost too much.

Answer:

- Getting peace and security right costs much less than insecurity and chaos.
- Because there is no immediate military threat, adding new members will not require massive, expensive military buildup. The security NATO brings will help prevent expensive military competition in Central Europe.

Charge: The Administration is selling out Central Europe to the Russians ("Yalta II")! (Or: Why enlarge/irritate the Russians?)

Answer:

- President believes all of Europe's new democracies -- including even Russia, over the longer term -- should have chance to join institutions of the democratic West, including NATO.
- NATO enlargement is not and never was directed against Russia. NATO brought unprecedented stability to Western Europe. This helped Russia; NATO enlargement to Europe's new democracies will not threaten Russia but enhance stability in Europe, which is in Moscow's interest.
- Must work with Russians to increase their confidence that NATO is partner, not adversary. Hope to develop formal NATO-Russia partnership, given common challenges we face.
- But won't sacrifice CEE security to address mistaken fears in Moscow. There is and will be no outside veto.

Charge: Dole speech hitting Administration on NATO enlargement.

Answer:

- Subtracting obvious campaign rhetoric, Dole supports Administration position: NATO enlargement to support democracy, integration; strong NATO-Russia relationship.
- NATO enlargement must be bipartisan; welcome support.

Philadelphia Inquirer 6/26/96 A1-2 1/2

X In Phila., Dole attacks Clinton foreign policy

In echoes of previous presidential campaigns, he accused the Democrat of global weakness.

By Dick Polman
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

In the tradition of past Republican presidential candidates, Bob Dole charged yesterday that his Democratic opponent is a weak, passive, indecisive, vacillating, misguided dreamer who doesn't understand how dangerous the world is.

The Cold War may be over, and the Soviet Union may be dead and gone, but Dole insisted that the old

GOP message is alive and well: Republicans are tough-minded realists who would flex American muscle and make the world a safer place.

"In an era of tectonic shifts in world affairs," he warned in a Philadelphia speech, "we must not continue to entrust American leadership to would-be statesmen who are still suffering from a post-Vietnam syndrome... an administration that doubts American power, questions American purpose, and cannot fulfill American promise."

Delivering what was billed by his aides as a major address, Dole
See **DOLE** on A14

Clinton backs a constitutional amendment on victims' rights. A2.



The Philadelphia Inquirer / JOHN COSTELLO

Bob Dole leaves the World Affairs Council meeting at the Philadelphia Marriott in Center City. Gov. Ridge is beside him.

Dole hits Clinton's world view

DOLE from A1
sought once again to convince voters that international affairs are worthy of their attention, even in the absence of an overarching Soviet threat. The polls all indicate that foreign policy is barely a blip on the radar screen, but Dole seems determined to soldier on.

After all, equating the Democrats with softness seemed to work for Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

Dole told a luncheon sponsored by the World Affairs Council that the Clinton team has been soft on the Bosnian Serbs (by tolerating their aggression until the eleventh hour) and soft on the Russians (by tolerating President Boris Yeltsin's bombing of Chechnya). This is the same team, he suggested, that didn't want to get tough on the Soviets during the Cold War era.

"The victory for freedom in the Cold War was achieved through leadership," he said. "Bill Clinton and his advisers didn't understand that then, and they don't understand it now."

America must lead, he said. This historic moment must not wait upon administration officials who believe that our Cold War mission was mistaken, not principled and noble, and who are still suffering from the illusion that communism merely fell instead of being pushed.

The speech appeared to have several purposes. It was an attempt to carve out major foreign-policy distinctions between Dole and Clinton. It also sent a message to the neo-isolationist wing of the GOP, led by Patrick J. Buchanan, that the future nominee will not tolerate a party retreat on international issues.

No GOP consensus

But his bid to inject foreign affairs into this campaign won't be easy. One bipartisan survey this year asked voters to rate the issues that mattered most in '96. Forty-nine issues were listed. Foreign affairs tied for last, along with "tax breaks for the wealthy."

And there is no GOP consensus that Clinton is vulnerable on foreign policy — despite early setbacks in Somalia and other areas, and despite the precariousness of forays in Northern Ireland and the Mideast.

William Kristol, a top party thinker and former aide to Vice President Dan Quayle, said last week that "Clinton has not vacillated that much recently" and that, while lacking a grand vision, Clinton "has been a better manager of foreign policy than many expected."

Robert Kagan, a State Department official in the Reagan administration, warms: "If the Republicans are still thinking about attacking Clinton as untrained and dangerous in foreign affairs, well, it won't wash."

Yesterday, a Dole foreign-policy aide said: "There are serious dramatic differences in how [Dole and Clinton] approach the world."

But Chuck Jones, a political analyst at the University of Wisconsin, disagrees: "There are no great distinctions between these guys. They both generally support Yeltsin. They support expanding free trade with China. They both support our [20,000] troops in Bosnia. The rest are nuances that don't stick in the minds of voters."

McCain's influence

The Dole message appears to have been strongly influenced by Sen. John McCain of Arizona, a close ally. Writing in the latest Foreign Policy magazine, McCain says that Clinton's conduct arises from "the mindset of a culture formed in opposition to the Vietnam War."

McCain indicated he was appalled that Clinton, in 1994, appeared to condone Yeltsin's behavior in Chechnya by equating it with U.S. interventions in Grenada and Panama. Dole said the same thing yesterday, adding: "President Clinton may not know the difference between the liberation of Grenada from communist thugs, and Russian intimidation ... but I do."

Dole also echoed the McCain attack on Clinton's Bosnia policy. In particular, the President's willingness to let the Iranians ship weapons illegally to the Bosnian Muslims — a move that "gave a green light for the terrorists in Tehran to establish a beachhead in Europe." He accused Clinton of breaking his word to arm the Bosnians.

And he charged that Clinton was pushing for elections in Bosnia on Sept. 14, in order to impress American voters, even though Bosnia isn't ready. This argument is backed by Western observers in Bosnia, who argue that free and fair elections can't be staged as long as NATO forces refuse to arrest Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, an indicted war criminal.

But analysts say that most voters are moved by foreign policy only when there are American casualties. Besides, despite his 17 speech references to "leadership," Bob Dole risks being trumped again tomorrow.

Bill Clinton will be in France, at a summit meeting of world leaders.

2 of 2

Dole: I will get tough with Russia

Zings Clinton's handling in speech at the World Affairs Council here

by Car Joseph

Daily News Staff Writer

When it comes to foreign policy, Bob Dole has a hard time sketching differences with President Clinton.

Both want an expanded NATO that includes a role for Russia.

Both want a just and lasting peace in Bosnia that does not put American troops at risk or make them a permanent presence.

Both believe America must be the dominant force in world affairs, to insure stability and protect our national interests.

So what are we left with? Character. Where Clinton vacillates, Dole is decisive. Where Clinton is weak, Dole is strong.

That was the message the Republican candidate for president brought to the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia yesterday.

In 1993, Dole said, Boris Yeltsin and Polish leader Lech Walesa jointly affirmed that Polish membership in NATO was not a threat to Russia. But Clinton did not act and his delay gave extremists a chance to set the agenda in Russia.

"President Clinton's misguided romanticism towards Russia has led him and his advisers to try to fine-tune the intrigues of Russian domestic politics instead of guarding against the nationalist turn in Russian foreign policy that has already occurred," Dole said.

"I will deal with the Russia that exists today — not the Russia we

all hope to see," Dole said.

His get-tough policy:

■ A U.S. commitment to maintain the independence of the former Soviet states.

■ Make it clear that any military meddling or economic blackmail against those states would carry costs in Russia's relations with the U.S.

■ No Russian veto over the enlargement of NATO.

Such measures are necessary to consolidate the American victory in the Cold War, he said.

Dole also said he would talk to the Russians about the expansion of anti-ballistic missile systems to guard against an accidental or terrorist launch of a missile.

"When I am president, we will deploy an effective national missile defense system," he said. "We can afford it. We can do it. We should begin now. It can be ready by 2003."

In Washington, Vice President Al Gore responded to Dole by accusing him of being nostalgic for the Cold War.

"When you wade through the Cold War rhetoric and filter out the obvious nostalgia for the era of direct confrontation between the United States and the former Soviet Union, Senator Dole ... endorses the policies of President Clinton on NATO expansion and Russian-NATO relations, and we appreciate that," Gore said.

Dole was again shadowed by anti-smoking protesters. City Councilwoman Happy Fernandez and about 20 activists — including one dressed as a giant cigarette



STEVEN M. FALK/DAILY NEWS

Bob Dole and Gov. Ridge await arrival of 2½-year-old Robby Carolla's mother for a photo; as for Robby, politics is a snore

rette wearing a sign, "Butts for Bob" — marched outside the Marriott Hotel.

"We want to make clear to Bob Dole and the public that smoking and tobacco addiction is a serious problem. It's a killer," said Fernandez, one of Council's advocates for greater control of tobacco.

She's pushing more state and federal regulation of tobacco to keep it away from children.

"Almost every family has someone who has gotten hooked, gotten addicted and in many cases it leads to ill health and death," she said.

Dole was asked again yesterday about his earlier suggestion that cigarettes are not necessarily addictive. "Is it addictive? It's certainly a hard habit to break," the former smoker told reporters.

Staff writer Mark McDonald contributed to this report.

Dole pledges to back Europe

• Republican candidate
stresses foreign policy
in brief visit to Cleveland

BY STEVE HOFFMAN
Beacon Journal politics writer

CLEVELAND: Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole made a 17-minute campaign stop yesterday evening, pledging continued support for the emerging democracies of eastern and central Europe.

His appearance at a Slovenian Independence Day celebration capped off a daylong focus on foreign policy. Speaking earlier to several hundred business and community leaders in Philadelphia, Dole charged that President Clinton was jeopardizing world stability by basing his foreign policy on a "misguided romanticism" toward Russia and its true intentions.

Clinton, he said, "is making the world, in my view, a more dangerous place."

In Cleveland, Dole told about 600 gathered at the Slovenian National Home on St. Clair Avenue that the new democracies in Europe need friendship, technical support and help in westernizing their institutions.

"We want America to remain strong," said Dole, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee. "I will keep America strong for the sake of peace." He also praised the Slovenian community for its patriotism and contributions to American society.

While such issues are deep concern to ethnic voters, who credit the tough stands of Republican presidents Reagan and Bush for the collapse of Soviet empire, Dole's remarks yesterday did nothing to address the domestic issues that dominated the agenda at the U.S. Conference of Mayors, which had been meeting in Cleveland. The conference adjourned yesterday hours before Dole arrived.

Dole was invited to speak to the mayors on Monday, but declined. The campaign said there were schedule conflicts. President Clinton spoke to the mayors Saturday.

The event for Dole in Cleveland was held to commemorate the fifth

See DOL, Page D4



Akron (OH) Beacon Journal

6/26/96

DOLE

• He says Clinton must be realistic with Russia

Continued from Page D1

anniversary of Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia, organizers said.

Ohio Gov. George Voinovich joined the celebration after Dole finished speaking. Voinovich, of Serbian and Slovenian descent, is Dole's campaign manager in Ohio and often mentioned as vice-presidential candidate.

"He was the first senator to speak out and recognize Slovenian independence," said Voinovich, in shouts of "Bob Dole for President."

"That's because Bob Dole literally put his life on the line during World War II," Voinovich said.

He praised Dole's sense of history, his commitment and his honesty.

Earlier this year, Voinovich took

Dole to a similar event on Cleveland's East Side to underscore the importance of the ethnic voting bloc in Ohio and the industrial Midwest.

Both Dole and Clinton were in New York on Monday, at fund-raisers just a few blocks apart. Dole also attended a private dinner at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and meetings in Cleveland before going to the Slovenian Independence Day event.

In Philadelphia, Dole said Clinton had subordinated American interests in Europe to the whims of nationalists in Russia and turned his back on embattled Bosnians.

In a hazy speech that focused on the need for strong leadership, Dole proposed changes that would represent sharp breaks from the less assertive policies under which both Clinton and former President Bush dealt with Russia.

Clinton, he said, is dealing with Russia as he wishes it to be, not as it is.

"It is time to take our foreign policy out of the hands of an administration engaged in the dreamy pursuit of an international order, that cherishes romantic illusions

about the soul of a former adversary — an administration that doubts American power, questions American purpose and cannot fill American promise," Dole told members of the World Affairs Council, a nonpartisan public-policy group.

Closer to home, Ohio Democratic Chairman David Leland again charged that Dole is violating federal campaign finance laws by campaigning in Ohio, or anywhere else, because he has exceeded pre-convention spending limits. Republicans say Dole's finances are OK.

"If he can't balance his own campaign budget, how can he balance the federal budget?" Leland asked.

Democratic Cuyahoga County Commissioner Mary Boyle, who also attended the Slovenian rally, released a statement praising President Clinton's foreign policy record in providing diplomatic and financial support to Slovenia. She said Cleveland has the largest number of Slovenian-Americans in the country, over 80,000.

Knight-Ridder newspapers contributed to this report.



Bob Dole was the first U.S. senator to recognize Slovenia for independence after it broke from Yugoslavia five years ago.

Dole tells Cleveland group he wants Slovenia in NATO

BY JOHN MICHAEL KELLY
BLADE STAFF WRITER

CLEVELAND — Bob Dole told a local group last night that NATO should be expanded to include Slovenia, which yesterday celebrated its fifth anniversary of its independence from the former Yugoslavia.

"I look forward to the day when Slovenia will be a full member of NATO and the European Union," Mr. Dole told the standing room only crowd at the Slovenian National Hall on St. Clair Avenue.

Cleveland is home to about 20,000 people of Slovenian descent. It is the largest Slovenian community in the United States.

The mostly middle-aged, blue-collar crowd began applauding when the man introducing him mentioned Mr. Dole was a war veteran, and rarely stopped as long as he was in the hall.

Mr. Dole is a favorite here because he was the first U.S. Senator to recognize Slovenian independence.

Before mounting the podium, the GOP presidential candidate danced the "Bob Dole Polka" with Cecelia Dolgan, who teaches folk dancing to children in the community.

Mr. Dole wasn't bad for a beginner, but should take lessons from Governor Voinovich, Ms. Dolgan said.

About half the people in the hall were Democrats, she said, but "we're all Republicans tonight."

Before speaking at the Slovenian banquet, Mr. Dole took a quick tour of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum. Mr. Dole arrived in Cleveland hours after the U.S. Conference of Mayors ended its 64th annual meeting here.

Mr. Dole had been invited to address the five-day meeting, but declined, citing schedule problems.

President Clinton spoke to the group on Saturday.

The new president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, Richard Daley of Chicago, said he was disappointed that Mr. Dole did not address the group, but was quick to say he did not think the GOP presidential candidate was snubbing the nation's mayors.

"He's been here two or three times before. He was at our winter conference. I'm sure it was just a scheduling problem," Mayor Daley said.

Mayor Paul Helmke of Fort Wayne, Ind., a Republican, said he thought Mr. Dole had missed an opportunity.

"Bob Dole has a good message for this group," said Mr. Helmke, vice president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. "He's the one who got the unfunded mandates bill passed. He's the one chiefly responsible for the compromise on the Clean Water Act. I wish he'd been here to tell his story."

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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BACKGROUND ON ROMANIA

Divider Title: _____

June 15 1969

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Our #4 daughter is a Consul officer at
the American Embassy in Bucharest, Romania.
If you meet her, please give her a big hug
for us. Debra Joung is her name.

H.N. and Greg Joung
1509 E. Lakeshore Drive
Natchitoches, LA 71457
318-352-6110

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: US Government (1 page)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 12082

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - Eastern Europe Briefing 7/96 [1]

2017-1164-S
rc2765

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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002. report	re: US Government (1 page)	04/29/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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Speechwriting
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 12082

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - Eastern Europe Briefing 7/96 [1]

2017-1164-S
rc2765

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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003. report	re: US Government (1 page)	06/20/1996	P1/b(1)

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: FRIED, SCHMIDT, NSC, SOLIS-DOYLE, VERVEER

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED DTG:201233Z JUN 96

FM: AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO:
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4060

////

UNCLAS BUCHAREST 004591

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA (1)

FOR INR/B, ER/NCE

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PINR, RO
SUBJECT: BIOS FOR THE FIRST LADY'S VISIT
REF: SECSTATE 121808

1. IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL, THE GOR HAS ADVISED US THAT NEITHER PRESIDENT ILIESCU'S WIFE NOR PRIME MINISTER VACAROIU'S WIFE WILL PARTICIPATE IN EVENTS SURROUNDING THE FIRST LADY'S UPCOMING VISIT. THIS IS NOT UNEXPECTED AS NEITHER OF THEM TAKES A PUBLIC ROLE. INSTEAD, FELICIA MELESCANU, THE WIFE OF FOREIGN MINISTER TEODOR MELESCANU, AND DANIELA NASTASE, THE WIFE OF PARTY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (PDSR) EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN AND SPEAKER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ADRIAN NASTASE, WILL GREET THE FIRST LADY UPON ARRIVAL AND MAY PARTICIPATE IN OTHER EVENTS. BIOS FOR THE TWO LADIES FOLLOW.

FELICIA MELESCANU

2. MRS. MELESCANU WAS BORN ON MAY 27, 1941 IN BUCHAREST. SHE GRADUATED IN 1964 FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF BUCHAREST'S FACULTY OF LAW AND PURSUED GRADUATE COURSES IN JOURNALISM FROM 1986 TO 1988. MELESCANU IS CURRENTLY GENERAL MANAGER OF THE STATE TELEVISION'S INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT, PRODUCER OF THE STATE TV NEWS PROGRAM, AND PROFESSOR OF GEOPOLITICS AT THE NICOLAE TITULESCU INSTITUTE OF LAW AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SHE WAS A RADIO CORRESPONDENT AT THE UN OFFICE IN GENEVA FROM 1977

UNCLASSIFIED

TO 1984, PRODUCER OF THE PRIMARY STATE TV NEWS
BROADCAST FROM 1984 TO 1989, AND ANCHORWOMAN OF THE

STATE TV NEWS PROGRAM FROM 1990 TO 1995. SHE LISTS
HER HOBBIES AS "INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, MEDIA,
LITERATURE, NATURE, AND ANIMALS." SHE SPEAKS FLUENT
ENGLISH AND FRENCH. SHE HAS A 26 YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER
WHO IS NOW IN HER FOURTH YEAR OF STUDIES AT A
MEDICAL INSTITUTE IN BUCHAREST.

DANIELA NASTASE

3. MRS. NASTASE WAS BORN ON MAY 24, 1955. SHE
CURRENTLY OWNS AN IMPORT/EXPORT COMPANY LOCATED IN
BUCHAREST. SHE STUDIED SOCIOLOGY FROM 1974 TO 1978.
NASTASE SPEAKS FLUENT ENGLISH, IS IN GOOD HEALTH,
AND HAS TWO BOYS AGED 10 AND THREE. SHE IS
INTERESTED IN CULTURE AND LITERATURE. MOSES
BT
#4591

NNNN

<^SECT> SECTION: 01 OF 01

<^SSN> 4591

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FROM:
SITREPT

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Background Notes Romania, May 1996

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 237,499 sq. km. (91,699 sq. mi.); somewhat smaller than New York and Pennsylvania combined. Cities: Capital -- Bucharest (pop. 2.06 million). Other cities -- Constanta (350,476), Iasi (342,994), Timisoara (334,278), Cluj-Napoca (328,008), Galati (325,788), Brasov (323,835). Terrain: Consists mainly of rolling, fertile plains; hilly in the eastern regions of the middle Danube basin. Climate: Moderate.

People

Nationality: Noun and adjective -- Romanian(s). Population 22.7 million (est.). Annual growth rate: 0.05% Ethnic groups: Romanians 89%, Hungarians 7.1%, Germans 0.5%, Ukrainians, Serbs, Croats, Russians, Turks, and Gypsies 2.5%. Religions: Orthodox 86.8%, Roman Catholic 5%, Reformed Protestant, Baptist, and Pentecostal 5%, Greek Catholic (Uniate) 1%, Jewish less than 0.1%. Languages: Romanian, Hungarian, German. Education: Years compulsory -- 10. Attendance -- 98%. Literacy -- 98%. Health: Infant mortality rate (1994 est.) -- 19.9/1,000. Life expectancy -- men 68.1 yrs., women 74.8 yrs. Work force (11.2 million): Agriculture -- 28%. Industry and commerce -- 38%. Other -- 34%.

Government

Type: Republic. Constitution: November 21, 1991.

Branches: Executive -- president (chief of state), prime minister (head of government), Council of Ministers.

Legislative -- bicameral parliament. Judicial --

Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, and lower courts.

Subdivisions: 40 counties plus the city of Bucharest.

Political parties: Party of Social Democracy of Romania (PDSR--known as the National Salvation Front--NSF, until July 1993); Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR), a coalition of the National Peasant Party - Christian Democratic (PNTCD), Party of the Civic Alliance (PAC), and others; Democratic Party - National Salvation Front (PD-FSN); Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR); Party of Romanian National Unity (PUNR); Great Romania Party (PRM); Socialist Labor Party (PSM); Democratic Agrarian Party (PDAR), National Liberal Party, plus many others not in Parliament. Suffrage: Universal from age 18.

Defense (1995 figure.): 2.5% of GDP.

Flag: Three vertical bands from left to right -- blue, yellow, and red.

Economy

GDP (1996 current prices): \$35.5 billion - 1995, \$37 billion 1996 (estimate). Annual

GDP growth rate (1995): 4-4.5% (estimate). Per Capita GDP: (1995): \$1,565.

Natural Resources: oil, timber, natural gas, coal, salt, iron ore.

Agriculture (23% of GDP--1995): Products -- corn, wheat, potatoes, oilseeds, vegetables, livestock.

Industry (33% of GDP--1995): Types -- machine building, mining, construction materials, metal production and processing, chemicals, food processing, textiles, clothing.

Trade (1996 estimate): Exports -- \$9 billion exports: textiles, chemicals, light manufactures, wood products, fuels, processed metals. Major markets -- Germany, Italy, France, Turkey. Imports -- (1996 estimate): \$10 billion: fuel, cooking coal, iron ore, machinery, wheat, cotton, potatoes. Major suppliers -- Italy, Germany, Russia, France, UK.

Exchange Rate (1996 est.): 2950 lei = US\$1.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and most of its specialized and related agencies; OSCE, North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), Danube Commission, Interpol. In 1992, signed an Association Agreement with the European Union (EU); went into effect on February 1, 1995. In 1993 was admitted to the Council of Europe (COE).

GEOGRAPHY

Extending inland halfway across the Balkan Peninsula and covering a large elliptical area of 237,499 square kilometers (91,699 sq. mi.), Romania occupies the greater part of the lower basin of the Danube River system and the hilly eastern regions of the middle Danube basin. It lies on either side of the mountain systems -- the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps -- that form, with the Balkan Mountains, the natural barrier between the two Danube basins.

Romania's location gives it a continental climate, particularly in the Old Kingdom (east of the Carpathians and south of the Transylvanian Alps) and to a lesser extent in Transylvania, where the climate is more moderate. A long and at times severe winter (December - March), a hot summer (April - July), and a prolonged autumn (August - November) are the principal seasons, with a rapid transition from spring to summer. In Bucharest, the daily minimum temperature in January averages -7 C (20 F), and the daily maximum temperature in July averages 29 C (85 F).

PEOPLE

About 89% of the people are ethnic Romanians, a group that -- in contrast to its Slav or Hungarian neighbors -- traces itself to Latin-speaking Romans who in the second and third centuries A.D. conquered and settled among the ancient Dacians, a Thracian people. As a result, the Romanian language, although containing elements of Slavic, Turkish, and other languages, is

a Romance language related to French and Italian.

Primarily a rural, agricultural population, the medieval Wallachians and Moldavians maintained their language and culture despite centuries of rule by foreign princes. Once independent, the population of the unified Romanian state took their modern name to emphasize their connection with the ancient Romans.

Hungarians and Gypsies are the principal minorities, with a declining German population and smaller numbers of Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Great Russians, and others. Minority populations are greatest in Transylvania and the Banat, areas in the north and west which belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire until World War I. Ethnic Romanians comprised the overall majority in Transylvania, even before union with Romania, but ethnic Hungarians and Germans were the dominant urban population there until relatively recently, and still are the majority in a few districts.

Before World War II, minorities represented more than 28% of the total population, but during the war that percentage was halved, largely by the loss of the border areas of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina (to the former Soviet Union - now Moldova and Ukraine) and southern Dobrudja (to Bulgaria), as well as by the postwar flight or deportation of ethnic Germans.

Though Romanian troops participated in the destruction of the Jewish communities of Bessarabia and Bukovina, most Jews from Romania proper survived the Holocaust. Mass emigration, mostly to Israel, has reduced the surviving Jewish community from over 300,000 to less than 15,000. In recent years, more than two-thirds of the ethnic Germans in Romania have emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Religious affiliation tends to follow ethnic lines, with most ethnic Romanians identifying with the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Greek Catholic or Uniate church, reunified with the Orthodox Church by fiat in 1948, was restored after the 1989 revolution. The 1992 census indicates that 1% of the population is Greek Catholic, as opposed to about 10% prior to 1948. Roman Catholics, largely ethnic Hungarians and Germans, constitute about 5% of the population; Calvinists, Baptists, Pentecostals, and Lutherans make up another 5%. There are smaller numbers of Unitarians, Muslims and other religions.

Romania's rich cultural traditions have been nourished by many sources, some of which predate the Roman occupation. The traditional folk arts, including dance, wood carving, ceramics, weaving and embroidery of costumes and household decorations, and fascinating folk music, still flourish in many parts of the country. Despite strong Austrian, German, and especially French influence, many of Romania's great artists, such as the painter Nicolai Grigorescu, the poet Mihai Eminescu, the composer George Enescu, and the sculptor Constantin Brancusi, drew their inspiration from Romanian folk traditions.

The country's many Orthodox monasteries, as well as the

Transylvanian Catholic and Evangelical Churches, some of which date back to the 13th century, are repositories of artistic treasures. The famous painted monasteries of Bukovina make an important contribution to European architecture.

Poetry and the theater play an important role in contemporary Romanian life. Classic Romanian plays, such as those of Ion Luca Caragiale, as well as works by modern or avant-garde Romanian and international playwrights, find sophisticated and enthusiastic audiences in the many theaters of the capital and of the smaller cities.

HISTORY

From about 200 B.C., when it was settled by the Dacians, a Thracian tribe, Romania has been on the path of a series of migrations and conquests. Under the emperor Trajan early in the second century A.C., Dacia was incorporated into the Roman empire, but was abandoned by a declining Rome less than two centuries later. Romania disappeared from recorded history for hundreds of years, to reemerge in the medieval period as the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Heavily taxed and badly administered under the Ottoman empire, the two Principalities were unified under a single native prince in 1859, and had their full independence ratified in the 1878 Treaty of Berlin. A German prince, Carol of Hohenzollern, was crowned first King of Romania in 1881.

The new state, squeezed between the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires, with Slav neighbors on three sides, looked to the West, particularly France, for its cultural, educational, and administrative models. Romania was an ally of the Entente and the US in World War I, and was granted substantial territories with Romanian populations, notably Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, after the war.

Most of Romania's pre-World War II governments maintained the forms but not the substance of a liberal constitutional monarchy. The quasi-mystical, fascist Iron Guard movement, exploiting nationalism, fear of Communism, and resentment of alleged foreign and Jewish domination of the economy, was a key factor in the creation of a dictatorship in 1938. In 1940-41, the authoritarian General Antonescu took control. Romania entered World War II on the side of the Axis Powers in June 1941, invading the Soviet Union to recover Bessarabia and Bukovina, which had been annexed in 1940.

In August 1944, a coup led by King Michael, with support from opposition politicians and the army, deposed the Antonescu dictatorship and put Romania's battered armies on the side of the Allies. Romania incurred additional heavy casualties fighting the Germans in Transylvania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

The peace treaty, signed at Paris on February 10, 1947, confirmed the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, but restored the part of northern Transylvania granted to Hungary in 1940 by Hitler. The treaty required massive war reparations by Romania to the Soviet Union, whose occupying forces left in 1958.

The Soviets pressed for inclusion of Romania's heretofore negligible Communist Party in the post-War government, while non-communist political leaders were steadily eliminated from political life. King Michael abdicated under pressure in December 1947, when the Romanian People's Republic was declared, and went into exile.

In the early 1960s, Romania's communist government began to assert some independence from the Soviet Union. Nicolae Ceausescu became head of the Communist Party in 1965 and head of state in 1967. Ceausescu's denunciation of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and a brief relaxation in internal repression, helped give him a positive image both at home and in the West. Seduced by Ceausescu's "independent" foreign policy, Western leaders were slow to turn against a regime that by the late 1970s had become increasingly harsh, arbitrary, and capricious. Rapid economic growth fueled by foreign credits gradually gave way to wrenching austerity and severe political repression.

After the collapse of Communism in the rest of Eastern Europe in the late summer and fall of 1989, a mid-December protest in Timisoara against the forced relocation of a Hungarian minister grew into a country-wide protest against the Ceausescu regime, sweeping the dictator from power. Ceausescu and his wife were executed on December 25, 1989, after a cursory military trial. Approximately 1500 people were killed in confused street fighting. An impromptu governing coalition, the National Salvation Front (NSF), installed itself and proclaimed the restoration of democracy and freedom. The Communist Party was outlawed, and Ceausescu's most unpopular measures, such as bans on abortion and contraception, were repealed.

Ion Iliescu, a former Communist Party official demoted by Ceausescu in the 1970s, emerged as the leader of the NSF. Presidential and parliamentary elections were held on May 20, 1990. Running against representatives of the pre-war National Peasants' Party and National Liberal Party, Iliescu won 85% of the vote. The NSF captured two-thirds of the seats in Parliament, named a university professor, Petre Roman, as Prime Minister, and began cautious free market reforms.

The new government made a crucial early misstep. Unhappy at the continued political and economic influence of members of the Ceausescu-era elite, anti-communist protesters had camped in University Square in April 1990. When miners from the Jiu Valley descended on Bucharest two months later and brutally dispersed the remaining "hooligans," President Iliescu, by expressing public thanks, convinced many that the government had sponsored the miners. The miners also attacked the headquarters and houses of opposition leaders. The Roman Government fell in late September 1991, when the miners returned to Bucharest to demand higher salaries and better living conditions. A technocrat, Theodor Stolojan, was appointed to head an interim government until new elections could be held.

Parliament drafted a new democratic constitution, approved by popular referendum in December 1991. National

elections in September 1992 returned President Iliescu by a clear majority, and gave his party, the NSF, a plurality. With parliamentary support from the nationalist PUNR and PRM parties, and the ex-communist PSM party, an NSF/technocratic government was formed in November 1992 under Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, an economist. The NSF became the Party of Social Democracy of Romania (PDSR) in July 1993. In August 1994, two members of the nationalist PUNR received cabinet portfolios in the Vacaroiu government. Subsequent to that, two more PUNR members received cabinet portfolios.

Since then, the governing coalition has largely come unstuck. In October 1995, the PDSR severed its ties to the PRM; in December, the PSM withdrew its support from the government. With Romania's fall 1996 national elections approaching, PDSR and PUNR coexist in an increasingly difficult relationship. It now appears unlikely that the PDSR-PUNR alliance will survive the fall elections.

GOVERNMENT

Romania's 1991 constitution proclaims Romania a democracy and market economy, in which human dignity, civic rights and freedoms, the unhindered development of human personality, justice and political pluralism are supreme and guaranteed values. The constitution directs the state to implement free trade, protect the principle of competition, and provide a favorable framework for production. The constitution provides for a president, a Parliament, a Constitutional Court and a separate system of lower courts that includes a Supreme Court.

The two-chamber Parliament, consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, is the law-making authority. Deputies and senators are elected for four-year terms by universal suffrage.

The president is elected by popular vote for a maximum of two four-year terms. He is the Chief of State, charged with safeguarding the constitution and the proper functioning of public authorities. He is supreme commander of the armed forces and chairman of the Supreme Defense Council. According to the constitution, he acts as mediator among the power centers within the state, as well as between the state and society. The president nominates the prime minister, who in turn appoints the government, which must be confirmed by a vote of confidence from Parliament.

The Constitutional Court adjudicates the constitutionality of challenged laws, and decides on appeals from the regular court system concerning the unconstitutionality of laws and decrees. The court consists of nine judges, appointed for a term of nine years. Three judges are appointed by the Chamber of Deputies, three by the Senate, and three by the president of Romania.

The Romanian legal system is based on the Napoleonic Code. The judiciary is to be independent, and judges appointed by the president are not removable. The president and other judges of the Supreme Court are appointed for a term of six years and may serve consecutive terms. Proceedings are public, except in special circumstances provided for by law.

The Ministry of Justice represents "the general interests of society" and defends the legal order as well as citizens' rights and freedoms. The ministry is to discharge its powers through independent, impartial public prosecutors.

For territorial and administrative purposes, Romania is

divided into 40 counties and the city of Bucharest. Each county is governed by an elected county council. Local councils and elected mayors are the public administration authorities in villages and towns. The county council is the public administration authority that coordinates the activities of all village and town councils in a county.

The central government appoints a prefect for each county and Bucharest municipality. The prefect is the representative of the government at the local level and directs any public services of the ministries and other central agencies at the county level. A prefect may block the action of a local authority if he deems it unlawful or unconstitutional. The matter is then decided by an administrative court.

The prefecture is responsible for the distribution of revenue from the central government to local units. Local budgets are still largely limited to the amount of revenue provided by the state through the prefect to municipalities. Beginning in 1993, taxes could be levied by local councils under a law decree issued by the Prime Minister in August 1992.

Principal Government Officials

President -- Ion Iliescu

Prime Minister -- Nicolae Vacaroiu

Minister of Foreign Affairs -- Teodor Viorel Melescanu

President of the Council of State for Economic Cooperation, Strategy, and Reform -- Mircea Cosea

Ambassador to the United States -- Mircea Dan Geoana

Permanent Representative to the United Nations -- Ion Gorita

Romania maintains an embassy in the United States at 1607 23rd St., N.W., Washington, DC 20008 (tel. 202-332-4846).

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Romania has made great progress in institutionalizing democratic principles, civil liberties, and respect for human rights since the revolution, but the legacy of 44 years of communist rule cannot quickly be eliminated. Membership in the Romanian Communist Party was usually the prerequisite for higher education, foreign travel, or a good job, while the extensive internal security apparatus subverted normal social and political relations. To the few active dissidents, who suffered gravely under Ceausescu, most of those who came forward as politicians after the revolution seemed tainted by cooperation with the previous regime.

Dozens of new political parties sprang up after 1989, gravitating around personalities rather than programs. All major parties espoused democracy and market reforms, but the governing National Salvation Front (NSF--since July 1993 called the Party of Social Democracy of Romania--PDSR) proposed slower, more cautious economic reforms and a social safety net, while the opposition Democratic Convention (CDR) favored quick, sweeping reforms, immediate privatization, and reducing the

role of the ex-communist elite. The constitution bars communist and fascist parties, but three small nationalist parties, PUNR, PSM, and PRM, inherited members and tactics from both extremes.

The 1992 local and national elections revealed a political cleavage between major urban centers and the countryside. Rural voters, grateful for the restoration of most agricultural land to farmers but fearful of change, strongly favored President Ion Iliescu and the NSF, while the urban electorate favored the CDR and quicker reform. Iliescu easily won reelection over a field of five other candidates. The NSF won a plurality in both chambers of Parliament. With the CDR, the second largest parliamentary group, reluctant to take part in a national unity coalition, the NSF (now PDSR) formed a government under Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, an economist, with parliamentary support from the PUNR, PRM, and PSM. In January, 1994, the stability of the governing coalition became problematic when the PUNR threatened to withdraw its support unless given cabinet portfolios. In August 1994, two members of the nationalist PUNR received cabinet portfolios in the Vacaroiu government. In September, the incumbent justice minister announced that he had become a PUNR member. PRM and PSM left the government in October and December 1995, respectively.

Romania's ethnic Hungarian minority, seven to eight percent of the population, votes almost exclusively for the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR), which has tended to cooperate with the Democratic Convention. Thirteen other minorities are represented by one seat apiece in Parliament.

Romania continues to consolidate its democratic institutions, but all parties concede that these institutions remain fragile. The press is free and outspoken, but has experienced from newsprint shortages; a nationwide independent television channel has yet to be established. The reorganized and truncated security services apparently no longer intervene in the political process, but residual suspicions remain. Parliament established a formal intelligence oversight body in June 1993.

ECONOMY

Romania is a country of considerable potential: rich agricultural lands; diverse energy sources (coal, oil, natural gas, hydro, and soon nuclear); a substantial, if aging, industrial base encompassing almost the full range of manufacturing activities; an intelligent, well-trained work force; and opportunities for expanded development in tourism on the Black Sea and in the mountains.

In 1993 the economy reached the end of a decline in output that had begun well before the 1989 revolution. The Romanian government had borrowed heavily from the West in the 1970s to build a massive state-owned industrial base. Following the 1979 oil price shock and a debt rescheduling in 1981, Ceausescu decreed that Romania would no longer be subject to foreign creditors. By the end of 1989, Romania had paid off a foreign debt of about \$10.5 billion through an unprecedented

effort that wreaked havoc on the economy. Vital imports were slashed, and food and fuel strictly rationed, while the government exported everything it could to earn hard currency. With investment slashed, Romania's technological infrastructure rapidly fell behind that of even its Balkan neighbors.

Since the fall of the Ceausescu regime in 1989, successive governments have sought to build a Western-style market economy. The pace of restructuring has been slow, but by 1994 the legal basis for a market economy was largely in place. Foreign and domestic trade policies, as well as the foreign exchange regime, have been liberalized, and there has been a small but encouraging inflow of foreign investment capital.

Privatization of industry was pursued with the transfer in 1992 of 30% of the shares of some 6,000 state-owned enterprises to five private ownership funds, in which each adult citizen received certificates of ownership. The remaining 70% ownership of the enterprises was transferred to a state ownership fund, with a mandate to sell off its shares at the rate of at least 10% per year. The privatization law also called for direct sale of some 30 specially selected enterprises and the sale of "assets" (i.e., commercially viable component units) of larger enterprises.

Privatization of larger state-owned enterprises has nonetheless lagged badly. A second "mass privatization" law, passed by parliament in March 1995 after contentious political debate, is intended to address the problem of privatizing the larger enterprises. Meanwhile, the growth of new small private enterprises has played a major role in reviving Romania's economy. Altogether, the private sector now accounts for about 45 percent of GDP and employs approximately 52 percent of the workforce.

The return of collectivized farmland to its cultivators, one of the first initiatives of the post-December 1989-revolution government, resulted in a short-term decrease in agricultural production. Some four million small parcels representing 80% of the arable surface were returned to original owners or their heirs. Many of the recipients were elderly or city dwellers, and the slow progress of granting formal land titles was an obstacle to leasing or selling land to active farmers.

An acute shortage of foreign exchange and a poorly developed financial sector have also been obstacles to rapid economic transition. Outside factors such as the collapse of trade with Soviet bloc trading partners, economic slowdown in the industrialized West, increases in imported energy costs, and large losses from UN sanctions against Iraq and Serbia/Montenegro, contributed to a precipitous drop in industrial output after 1989.

In 1993 Romania embarked upon an adjustment program that has shown almost immediate results. GDP, which had fallen for three consecutive years, stabilized in 1993 and registered 3.4 percent growth in 1994. GDP growth in 1995 was 6.9 percent, according to the Romanian government. Monthly retail price inflation, which averaged 12.1 percent in 1993 (the equivalent of 256 percent annually), declined to 1.6 percent in

1994. By 1995, inflation had dropped to 28 percent. In 1995, Romania's current account deficit was 5.3 percent of GDP.

Subsidies on most basic consumer goods were lifted in May 1993, but support for underproductive state-owned industries remain a drain on the budget. The government nonetheless managed to cut the deficit, which totalled almost 4 percent of GDP in 1992, to only 1.7 percent in 1993. By 1995, however, the budget deficit had again risen to about 4 percent of GDP.

Financial and technical assistance have begun to flow in from the US, European Community, and other industrial nations, facilitating Romania's reintegration into the world economy. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (IBRD), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and the US Agency for International Development all have programs and resident representatives in Romania. Romania has also attracted foreign direct investment that, as of the close of 1995, totalled \$1.6 billion for the six years from 1990 forward.

Romania was the largest US trading partner in Eastern Europe until Ceausescu's 1988 renunciation of Most Favored Nation (non-discriminatory) trading status resulted in high US tariffs on Romanian products. Congress approved restoration of MFN status effective November 8, 1993, as part of a new bilateral trade agreement. Tariffs on most Romanian products dropped to zero in February 1994 with the inclusion of Romania in the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Major Romanian exports to the US include shoes and clothing, steel and chemicals. Romania signed an Association Agreement with the EU in 1992 and a free trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1993, codifying Romania's access to European markets and creating the basic framework for further economic integration.

TRAVEL NOTES

Visa and currency requirements: As of March 15, 1995, Romania abolished its visa requirement for U.S. citizens planning to visit Romania for 30 days or less. For those planning to remain longer than 30 days, visas are available from Romanian consulates or on arrival when traveling by bus, plane or car. Romania requires that tourists be able to produce exchange receipts for lei amounts sufficient to have paid lodging costs upon departure.

Health: Although no inoculations are required of travelers coming from the US or Europe, it is advisable to be immunized against polio and hepatitis for travel outside urban areas. Health requirements change; check latest information. Further information on health matters can be obtained from the Centers for Disease Control's international travelers' hotline at (404) 332-4559.

Telecommunications: Telephone service is not dependable

outside Bucharest. International telephone and telegraph connections are generally adequate, but delays may occur in placing calls. Romania is seven hours ahead of Eastern Standard Time.

Transportation: Bucharest's many buses and streetcars are inexpensive but crowded. Taxis are fairly inexpensive. A limited subway system was inaugurated in 1979. Driving to Bucharest December through February is not advised because mountain passes can be hazardous. Driving after dark at any time of year also is not recommended because of pedestrians, animals or slow-moving vehicles often encountered on the poorly-lit roadway; otherwise, the main roads are reasonably good. Rail and air facilities are available for domestic and international travel. The daily Wiener-Walzer express train from Vienna takes roughly 20 hours to reach Bucharest.

Tourist attractions: The monasteries of Bukovina, the Transylvanian Alps, and the beach resorts of the Black Sea are attractive places to visit. The cities of Cluj-Napoca, Iasi, Sighisoara, Sibiu and Brasov retain old sections with many civic and religious monuments. Many foreign tourist agencies arrange travel and hotel reservations for groups or individuals.

National holidays: Businesses and the US Embassy may be closed on the following Romanian holidays:

Romanian Labor Day	May 5
National Day	December 1
the day after Christmas	December 26
the Monday after Orthodox Easter	

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since December 1989, Romania has actively pursued a policy of strengthening relations with the West in general and with the United States in particular. Romania was a helpful partner to the allied forces during the Gulf War, particularly during its service as president of the UN Security Council.

Romania has diligently enforced United Nations' sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro. While Romania does not belong to any military alliance, it is a member of the the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), and was the first country to enroll in the NATO Partnership for Peace program. Agreements conferring associate status were signed with the European Community and EFTA in 1992 and 1993, respectively.

Romania maintains good diplomatic relations with Israel and was supportive of the Middle East peace negotiations initiated after the gulf conflict in 1991. Romania also is a founding member of the Black Sea Consortium for Economic Development. It joined the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in 1972 and is a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Romanian Missions in the United States

Embassy of Romania
1607 23rd Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
Tel. 202-332-4846

Romanian Mission to the UN
573 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10016
Tel. 212-682-3273

Romanian National Tourist Office
573 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10016
Tel. 212-697-6971

Romanian Cultural Center
200 E. 38th Street
New York, NY 10016
Tel. 212-687-0180

DEFENSE

In accordance with the December 1991 Romanian constitution, the Romanian armed forces have the defensive mission of ensuring the territorial integrity of the country. The military enjoys popular support, largely because of its role in supporting the December 1989 revolution. The army is the largest service. Total armed forces strength is approximately 200,000, maintained through conscription. In 1993 the U.S. military began limited training of Romanian military and civilian officials through IMET and other exchange programs, emphasizing civilian democratic control over the military.

FURTHER INFORMATION

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US - ROMANIAN RELATIONS

Cold during the early post-war period, US bilateral relations with Romania began to improve in the early 1960s with the signing of an agreement providing for partial settlement of American property claims. Cultural, scientific, and educational exchanges were initiated, and in 1964 the legations of both nations were promoted to full embassies.

Responding to Ceausescu's cautious distancing of Romania from Soviet foreign policy, particularly continued diplomatic relations with Israel and denunciation of the 1968 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, President Nixon paid an official visit to Romania in August 1969. Despite political differences, high-level contacts continued between US and Romanian leaders throughout the decade of the 1970s, culminating in the 1978 state visit to Washington by President and Mrs. Ceausescu.

In 1972, a consular convention to facilitate protection of citizens and their property in both countries was signed.

Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) facilities were granted, and Romania became eligible for US Export-Import Bank credits.

A trade agreement signed in April 1975 accorded Most Favored Nation (MFN) status to Romania under section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1974 (the Jackson-Vanik amendment that links MFN to a country's performance on emigration.) This status was renewed yearly after Congressional review of a presidential determination that Romania was making progress toward freedom of emigration. Subsequently, the two countries signed a long-term agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation.

In the mid-1980s, criticism of Romania's deteriorating human rights record, particularly allegations of mistreatment of religious and ethnic minorities, spurred attempts by Congress to withdraw MFN status. In 1988, to preempt Congressional action, Ceausescu renounced MFN treatment, calling Jackson-Vanik and other human rights requirements unacceptable interference in Romanian sovereignty.

After welcoming the revolution of December 1989 with a brief visit by Secretary of State Baker in February 1990, the US Government expressed concern that opposition parties had faced discriminatory treatment in the May 1990 elections, when the National Salvation Front won a sweeping victory. The slow progress of subsequent political and economic reform increased that concern, and relations with Romania cooled sharply after the June 1990 intervention of the miners in University Square. Anxious to cultivate better relations with the US and Europe, and disappointed at the poor results from its gradualist economic reform strategy, the Stolojan government undertook some economic reforms and conducted free and fair parliamentary and presidential elections in September 1992. Encouraged by the conduct of local elections in February 1992, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger paid a visit in May 1992. Congress voted down a 1992 attempt to restore MFN status, but restored MFN in November 1993 in recognition of Romania's progress in instituting political and economic reform.

As Romania's policies have become unequivocally pro-Western, the United States has moved to deepen relations. Secretary of State Warren Christopher invited his counterpart, Foreign Minister Melescanu, to Washington in December 1993. The United States maintains Agency for International Development (USAID) and Peace Corps missions in Bucharest, and provides humanitarian, economic, and technical assistance to help Romania in its transition to democracy and a market economy. In September 1994, President Clinton and Romanian President Iliescu met at the United Nations. In September 1995, President Clinton received President Iliescu at the White House during the latter's working visit to Washington.

Principal US Officials

Ambassador -- Alfred H. Moses
Deputy Chief of Mission -- Michael Einik
Counselor for Public Affairs -- John Katzka
Consul General -- Susan Jacobs
Political Affairs Counselor -- Robert E. Whitehead

Defense Attache -- Colonel Gary G. Chamberlin
Administrative Counselor -- Charles Kinn
Economic Affairs Counselor -- Richard Rorvig
A.I.D. representative -- Richard Hough
Peace Corps Director -- Art Flanagan
Commercial Attache -- William H. Crawford
Principal Officer, U.S. Embassy Information Office,
Cluj-Napoca -- Nathan Bluhm

The US Embassy in Romania is located at Strada Tudor
Arghezi 7-9, Bucharest (tel. 40-1 210-4042, fax 40-1 210-0395,
consular fax 211-3360).

A U.S. Embassy Information Office was opened in Cluj-Napoca
in January, 1994 (tel. 40-64 19-38-15, fax 40-64 19-38-68).

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Romania: Political and Social Overview

Romania is CEE's only nation where the anti-communist opposition has never held power. Reformed communists have led the country since the bloody and chaotic end to Ceausescu's tyranny in December 1989. This autumn's presidential and parliamentary elections will determine who will lead Romania into the 21st century. Polls show the three main contenders to be incumbent President Ion Iliescu of the center-left (and ruling) Social Democracy Party, former Prime Minister Petre Roman of the center-left (and opposition) Union of Social Democracy, and Emil Constantinescu of the center-right Romanian Democratic Convention Coalition (opposition). Iliescu has the strongest support.

The elections will feature the three principal parties listed above, plus two ethnically-based groups and small liberal parties. A loose coalition between the Ruling Social Democracy Party and three nationalist or neo-communist parties ended last year, and these fringe groups are expected to be in opposition after the elections. Key issues will be economic reform, corruption, and inter-ethnic relations. Foreign affairs will play a peripheral role.

Romania's social fabric is recovering from the devastation of the Ceausescu era, but significant problems remain. Mild ethnic tension persists, labor unrest erupts sporadically, and public services are often inadequate. Recent years have seen a dramatic surge in economic growth, but Romania remains one of the poorest countries in Europe.

Key Issues:

- Romania has not made the full-blown commitment to reform demonstrated by leading CEEs but now seems headed in the right direction.
- Political extremism is weakening; the GOR seems increasingly open to the West and aware of its economic challenges.
- American support can play a significant role at the margin. The prospect of integration with the West is a powerful incentive and Romanians look to the U.S. for help.
- The key social challenge to the new government will be protecting the interests of Romania's most vulnerable groups -- pensioners, children and the urban poor -- as it finally makes overdue economic reforms.

**Democracy Network Program
Romania**

Romanian NGOs have been at the forefront of efforts to encourage voter participation and fair elections, in the cultural and educational life of the country, and in meeting social service needs. However, financial resources for NGOs are few, and progress is often impeded by government red tape, difficulty in communications, and conflicting goals (especially among the ethnic-centered groups which constitute a large proportion of the total).

The Democracy Network grantee in Romania, World Learning, has identified 140 NGOs which pre-qualified for DemNet support. These NGOs have met certain criteria established by World Learning, including a strong public policy orientation, the existence of a democratic management structure, and a willingness to collaborate with other NGOs, government entities, and/or private enterprises. Over the past year, World Learning held training seminars which have strengthened institutional capacity and improved national and local government dialogue with the NGO community. These seminars were conducted for qualified NGOs prior to awarding any subgrants, and consequently, World Learning has nominated only four NGOs for grant awards, which await formal Democracy Commission/USAID approval.

(LIST OF GRANT AWARDS NOT FORMALLY APPROVED SO NOT YET PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE)

- Clubul "Piatra Altarului", \$8,700 to complete an environmental awareness campaign on the Apuseni Mountains;
- Asociatia Pentru Apararea Drepturilor Omului in Romania-Comitetul Helsinki (Helsinki Watch), \$58,157 to develop institutional capacities;
- Fundatia Oamenilor de Afaceri-Constanta, \$11,097 for equipment to develop service delivery capability; and
- Asociatia Societatilor cu Capital Privat de Industrializarea Carnii, \$1,998 for computer equipment to improve communications and better represent the interests of its membership in the development of public policy.

The NGO sector in Romania is governed by a 1924 law which was never repealed during the Communist era. This law has provided Romanian NGOs with a basic legal framework within which they can operate. On the other hand, the law is obsolete in several important respects, and its very existence has impeded revitalization of the legal framework in Romania. For example, in order for a group to be registered as an NGO, it must receive approval from the appropriate ministry, thereby subjecting its approval to administrative discretion. While most NGOs have not encountered problems, there have been isolated cases in which a

group did not receive approval.

The International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL) is working with the Romanian NGO CENTRAS to upgrade the fundamental legal system governing the NGO sector. On June 27, 1996 a meeting was held in Bucharest to discuss a new draft law that is being prepared.

ICNL has also been working with groups in Romania on projects relating to the development of an updated governing law, a handbook on NGO fiscal, tax, and accounting issues, and developing plans for a legal component for in-country training offered by both World Learning and Support Centers International. In addition, ICNL has provided ad hoc technical support for Romanian NGO legal initiatives. Moreover, through ICNL-sponsored regional conferences, Romanian lawyers, government officials, parliamentarians, judges, and academic and NGO leaders have met with their counterparts from throughout the region to develop specific standards and models for legislative and regulatory initiatives used in numerous countries both within CEE and beyond. As a result, Romanian leaders have strengthened their own capacity for legislative and regulatory initiative that has led to the current effort to provide an improved legal framework for the sector there.

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Romania's Economy

Fearing social unrest, Romania opted for economic gradualism after 1989, in deliberate contrast to Poland's shock therapy reforms. The limits of this approach have become clear: Romania has not experienced Poland's recent growth while sharing Poland's social strains anyway.

Slowly, however, Romania has moved ahead: more than 400,000 private companies and more than 200,000 family enterprises have been started. The government has returned most farm land to private ownership. Parliament has enacted laws on foreign investment, bankruptcy and intellectual property rights. When the GOR's mass privatization program is completed within the next twelve months, more than 50 percent of GDP will be in private hands. Much remains to be done. Average Romanian incomes are 20 percent lower than in 1989, when adjusted for inflation. With a per capita GDP of \$1,560, Romania is one of the poorest countries in Central Europe. However, economic growth resumed in 1993.

In 1995, the Romanian economy expanded by 6.9 percent, the third-fastest in Europe but this is not sustainable without structural reforms and more foreign investment. In mid-1996, foreign investment totaled less than \$2 billion, versus over \$10 billion for Hungary.

Key Issues:

- Romania must radically restructure its inefficient state-owned industries, but the GOR still fears the social costs of large-scale lay-offs and capacity reductions.
- Romania's economy is capital-starved. Attracting more foreign investment is the key to future growth.
- Investors are reluctant to come to Romania due to excessive bureaucratic red tape, high costs and the fear that issues will be decided in a non-transparent manner.
- Romania faces continuing current account difficulties due to its weak export performance and the need to import large amounts of oil and natural gas.
- The foreign exchange market is not functioning well following the national bank's decision earlier this year to restrict foreign exchange trading to four banks.
- The mass privatization program is opening up selective opportunities for U.S. investors.

U.S. Trade and Investment In Romania

The United States is Romania's fourth largest investor (with \$134 million since 1989). Top U.S. exports include coal, cotton fibers, telecommunication equipment, computers, aircraft parts, and instrumentation. Imports into the U.S. from Romania include textiles, footwear, iron and steel products, tractors, and glassware.

Among the largest U.S. investors are: Amoco (\$17.1 million); Kraft Jacobs Suchard (\$13.2 million); Colgate Palmolive (\$7.5 million); Master Foods (\$5.7 million); Wasserstein Perella (\$4.1 million); Proctor and Gamble (\$4.0 million); and McDonalds (\$2.6 million). Coca Cola is the largest U.S. investor in Romania with eight bottling plants operating throughout the country and presently has approximately a 50 percent market share for its products.

The rate of U.S. investment increased in 1995 with the following companies making new investments: Amoco, Citibank, IBM, McDonalds, Oracle, Proctor and Gamble, and Reynolds Tobacco. Tenneco Packaging's decision to complete a \$44 million wood processing and value added plant in Romania should boost U.S. investments in 1996.

U.S./Romania trade and investment is expected to continue to grow. The impact of Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status, resumed in 1993, was significant in encouraging trade between the two countries, and "permanent" MFN status for Romania, now being considered by Congress, should be an added boost.

Romania: Educational Issues

The educational system under the communists had a strong basic science/technical orientation. The social sciences have not yet fully recovered from the neglect and censorship imposed prior to 1989. Since December 1989, efforts at education reform have been made both by the government and by non-governmental organizations.

The educational budget remains low. Lack of public funding has forced the Education Ministry to look to the World Bank and the European Union for financial assistance. The American Embassy, through USIA, USAID and the Peace Corps, supports education reform in Romania.

Key Issues:

- Fee-levying private "universities" have sprung up since 1989, attracting large numbers of students, but a new accreditation law inhibits their growth by setting quality standards many cannot meet.
- Curriculum reform is of primary importance in preparing Romania for integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions and standards and for life in a modern Western society. USAID and the Peace Corps are actively involved in furthering courses in civic education and in the English language.

The Fulbright Program began in Romania in 1963. A Fulbright Commission was inaugurated in Romania in 1993, and immediately took as its top priority the exchange of scholars in fields previously barred: journalism, law, free market economics, psychology, social work and political science.

Romania: Women's Issues

Women enjoy equal rights under Romanian law. They are found in all skilled professions and are assured equal salary for equal work. In practice, however, authorities do not focus a great deal of attention or resources on women's issues.

There are recent signs that the government is trying to change this situation. Following the Beijing Conference, the Ministry of Labor established a department responsible for the advancement of women's concerns and family policies. The new department organizes programs for women, proposes new laws, and monitors Romanian legislation to prevent gender bias. Resources are targeted to train women for skilled professions, especially in rural areas, and to address programs for single mothers. This department is planning a follow-up regional conference to the Beijing Conference, to be held in Bucharest September 2-4, 1996. Romania has ratified the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Key Issues:

- Women currently occupy few top positions in either the private sector or government. They hold only 2.9 percent of the seats in Parliament, no cabinet posts, and number only 1.1 percent of the mayorships.
- Unemployment for women is higher than for men. Resentment at the policy of forced equality during the communist era (not in fact practiced), traditional patriarchal attitudes, and present economic difficulties have contributed to this.
- Human rights groups and women's groups credibly affirm that cultural patriarchal attitudes and present economic difficulties have made domestic violence a problem in Romania.
- Certain laws need expeditious reform. Rape is difficult to prove barring a medical certificate and a witness. In addition, a rapist will not be punished if he agrees to marry the victim.
- There are currently no functioning crisis centers, shelters, or hot lines for female victims of violent crime or domestic violence. The Ministry of Labor plans an assistance center which will provide judicial and medical assistance for abused women in cooperation with the police.

Romania: Population Issues

Ceausescu's dictatorship banned family planning, generating high rates of illegal abortions and a maternal mortality rate ten times higher than elsewhere in Europe. In addition, thousands of abandoned children were placed in institutions by parents too poor to support a child, or by mothers unable to cope with the social stigma of raising a child alone.

To address these problems, the U.S. has launched a family planning program including: (1) an information and education campaign about modern contraceptives, focused on specific consumer groups and using the local private pharmacies as a channel for disseminating information and medical advice; (2) a business training program for owners and staff working in private pharmacies, focused on marketing, management, sales and advertising; and (3) a program for promoting contraceptive products through pharmaceutical distributors and pharmacies.

Key Issues:

- The government's efforts to reform Romania's social and health systems are progressing slowly, especially in developing an effective public family planning system.
- There is a huge potential for private sector involvement in family planning, through non-government organizations, private physicians and private pharmacies.
- Only one in five Romanian women uses any form of modern contraception.
- Maternal mortality is still the highest in Europe, and abortions outnumber live births three to one.
- The number of institutionalized children in Romania is estimated to be over 100,000.

Romania: Children's Issues

Since 1989, the major part of USAID's social sector funding has been to provide emergency funding to PVOs/NGOs working to improve the health and well-being of abandoned and institutionalized children. Many child welfare PVOs/NGOs have successfully demonstrated community-based and alternative service models.

PVOs had started to become a significant force in changing Romania's approach to addressing the problems of handicapped and orphaned children.

Romania has ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and is party to the Hague Convention on Child Abduction. 275 Romanian children were adopted by American parents in FY '95. Romania is party to the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Cooperation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption.

Key Issues:

- The number of institutionalized children in Romania is estimated to be over 100,000.
- Institutionalized handicapped adolescents (physically, mentally, socially) are at risk of being transferred to residential institutions for handicapped adults from which there is virtually no chance for release.
- High rates of abandoned and institutionalized children, combined with unsafe injection practices, left a legacy of 3,000 juvenile AIDS cases, the highest concentration in Europe.
- Morbidity from lack of heat and/or adequate sanitation facilities.
- Newborns have access to a full immunization program; older children are not eligible for Hepatitis B vaccine, due to a lack of funds.

Romania: Health Issues

Over the last five years, the major part of U.S. social sector assistance has been emergency funding to PVOs/NGOs to improve the health and well-being of abandoned and institutionalized children. Many child welfare PVOs/NGOs have successfully demonstrated community-based and alternative service models.

The objectives of this activity include: (1) to provide highly visible targeted humanitarian/development assistance which meets immediate needs; (2) to support field programs which provide direct humanitarian/development assistance to targeted groups such as infants, children, the elderly, handicapped and unemployed, and to geographic regions where needs are greatest; and (3) to enhance indigenous capabilities in providing assistance through local NGOs.

In the health sector, we have sought to decrease maternal and child mortality, improve the lives of institutionalized children, and reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS.

USAID has also worked to reduce air, water and soil contamination health threats from industrial agricultural and household pollution. For example, the "Environmental Health Project" (EHP) helped to reduce community exposure to hazardous lead and sulphur dioxide, and to support worker health and safety training.

Key Issues:

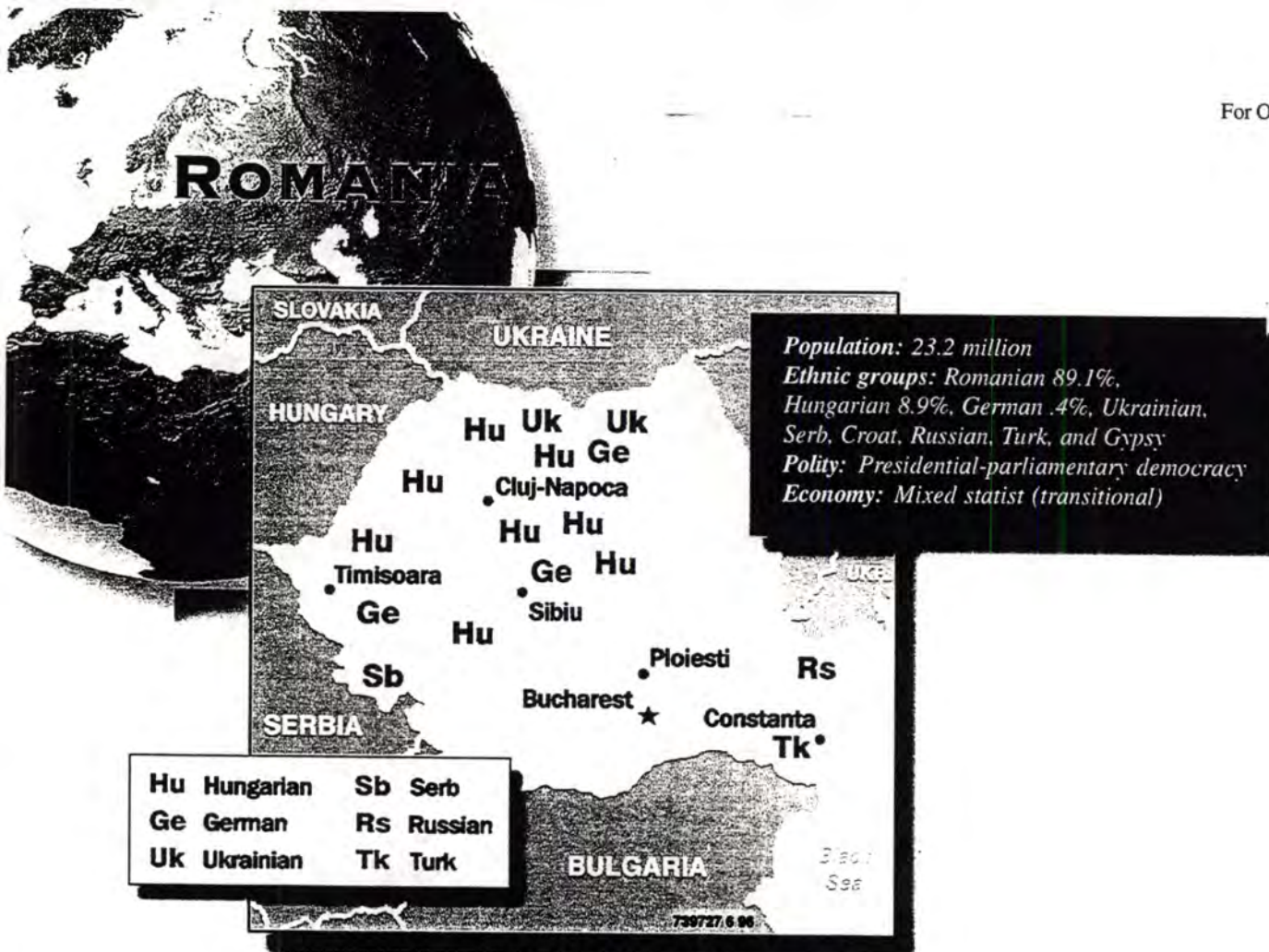
- High rates of abandoned and institutionalized children, combined with unsafe injection practices, have led to 3,000 juvenile AIDS cases, the highest concentration in Europe.
- Lack of modern medical equipment and insufficient training adversely affect the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses.
- Hospitals receive insufficient financial support from the government, which leads to inadequate care, poor sanitation, improper re-use of syringes and bribes to doctors and hospital attendants to receive care.
- The health sector suffers from a lack of management training and experience in implementing health delivery systems. USAID quality assurance systems and performance costing models have been developed to train health management teams.

Romania: Human Rights

Respect for human rights has improved markedly in Romania since the nadir in the 1980s and a slow recovery after 1989. Progress has been made in institutionalizing democratic norms, respecting human rights and conducting free and fair elections.

Key Issues:

- The government has slowly shed authoritarian habits toward the opposition and the media.
- The police have become increasingly cognizant of human rights, although reports of abuse were not uncommon and frequently without effective action by the Government to punish abusers.
- Prison conditions remain grim, primarily due to a lack of resources.
- The judicial system is subject to executive branch influence. In the past Government-appointed prefects have dismissed democratically elected mayors without due process but recent legislation has been passed to address this problem.
- Discrimination and societal violence against Roma remains one of the most serious human rights problems. Seldom are those responsible for such violence brought to justice.
- Violence against women remains a serious problem, which the Government has done little to address.



General Human Rights Situation: Romania's post-Communist constitution provides for fundamental freedoms, including freedom from arbitrary arrest and freedom of religion, although some Ceausescu-era practices are still in effect. Police beat detainees, and the government fails to take action. Prison conditions are poor. The judicial system is subject to executive branch influence. Last year, government-appointed prefects dismissed democratically elected mayors without due process. The government has not adequately addressed substandard living conditions for physically and mentally disabled residents. Violence against women, particularly rape, is a serious problem.

Minority Rights: Discrimination is illegal, and a minorities law is currently being discussed in parliament. However, the Romanian Government has done little to protect ethnic Hungarians from discrimination. Hungarian residents are subject to often violent harassment by local authorities despite the fact that the ethnic Hungarian Political Party holds 39 seats in parliament. Last July, the European Parliament approved a resolution condemning Romania for its treatment of minority groups and for passing an education law that restricted the use of languages such as Hungarian in education. The Party of Romanian National Unity often voices extremist rhetoric to intimidate minorities. The Gypsy community suffers from discrimination, harassment, beatings, and violence.

Media Freedom: Although a 1992 law ended direct government control of the news media, there have been several recent instances of government interference, self-censorship, and other infringements on media freedom. An amendment to the penal code states that damaging the reputation of a public official or spreading false information capable of undermining Romanian national security or foreign relations is punishable by up to five years in prison. Two journalists who wrote articles on the alleged relationship between Prime Minister Iliescu and the KGB during the Soviet era were reportedly put under surveillance by Romanian intelligence agents. Small newspapers have encountered grave economic problems, but print remains the most independent form of media. The government controls newsprint production and distribution, prompting periodic charges of manipulation. State-owned television, in contrast to the balanced coverage of independent radio stations, provides most political news.

Romania's Position at the Beijing Conference on Women

A Romanian delegation participated actively in the Beijing Conference. The government is now planning to host, in cooperation with the U.N., a follow-up conference for East and Central European countries to assess implementation of provisions contained in Beijing Conference documents. The follow-up conference will be held in Bucharest on September 2-4, 1996.

Key Points:

- The Romanian government in principle addresses women's human rights as an integral part of universal human rights.
- Structural changes initiated after 1989 have brought declining living standards and higher unemployment, especially for women. As a result, social protection has become a major element in the government's reform program.
- Access of women to education and health care is not restricted in Romania. Women employers now represent about 28 percent of the private sector.
- Priority goals of the Romanian government in women's issues include: (1) reducing women's unemployment and ensuring them appropriate employment; (2) changing social attitudes; (3) helping vulnerable categories of women; and (4) upgrading women to decision-making positions.

Romania: Regional and Security Issues

Following the December 1989 revolution, Romania established as its principal foreign policy objective integration into Western structures. Romania has since been admitted to the European Parliament, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe, and several western-led arms control and disarmament regimes. It has also been admitted as an Associate Member in the European Union. Active in the Partnership for Peace, Romania seeks NATO entry and fears being left behind its more advanced CEE neighbors, Hungary especially.

Romania has renounced all claims to historical Romanian territories outside its present borders and is pursuing increased economic and political ties with its neighbors. Despite extensive trade and a history of good relations with Serbia, Romania enforced the UN embargo and hosted international sanctions-monitoring teams. It currently has an engineer battalion serving with IFOR in Bosnia.

Key Issues:

- Acceptance into NATO will require more progress toward democracy, market reform, NATO inter-operability, good relations with neighbors and civilian control of the military.
- Despite correct relations with its neighbors, basic treaties with Hungary, Ukraine, Moldova and Russia remain to be signed.
- Romania wants a role in the Balkan reconstruction effort and is participating in multilateral discussions on this issue.
- Romania has strictly abided by the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty and supports U.S. policy on treaty adjustment, but is concerned about a military unbalance to the east and believes this treaty must be modified.
- A deficit in attack helicopters authorized under CFE is being addressed through negotiations with Bell Helicopter for co-production in Brasov of AH-1 Cobras.

Romania: U.S. Assistance

U.S. assistance programs began immediately after the December, 1989 revolution with direct provision of social services and humanitarian aid to strengthen the tenuous post-revolutionary democracy. Since then, USAID programs have focused on economic restructuring and democratic development to promote a strong, sustainable and stable democratic society.

Current SEED Act activities include a major capital markets program (the largest in CEE), support for NGOs, local government training, increased access to modern family planning, support for environmental cleanup, assistance in economic restructuring, technical advice to the Central Bank and finance ministries, and business training for Romania's newly emerging entrepreneurs. In addition, the U.S. has funded (\$50 million) the Romanian-American Enterprise Fund inaugurated in 1994. Since 1990, USAID has provided over \$150 million in assistance to Romania.

Key Issues:

- The private sector is emerging rapidly with close to 700,000 privately owned businesses. To date, slightly more than 2,000 state-owned companies have been privatized, mainly small and medium-sized businesses. Romania is presently undertaking a mass privatization program, under which 3,900 companies are to be privatized through the distribution of coupons to 14 million adult Romanians.
- Foreign investment in Romania stands at \$1.78 billion, a minuscule amount compared to foreign investment in Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland. Romania is witnessing an increased interest in foreign investment and this year expects total foreign investment to be between \$600 million and \$800 million, about double foreign investment last year.
- Romania lags behind other countries in the region in delivery of social services. Efforts are underway with assistance from the World Bank and others to upgrade health care, including establishment of cardiac diagnostic and treatment centers throughout the country. Efforts are also underway to improve the availability of contraceptives by utilizing the expanding role of private pharmacies.

SEED ASSISTANCE SUMMARY

Program Overview

Immediately after the revolution, the Romanian economy experienced a 35 percent drop in real output levels, a 25% compression in real wages, and triple digit inflation. The U.S. assistance program to Romania began in 1990, by addressing direct provision of social services and humanitarian aid. It also sought to strengthen the very tenuous democracy which emerged from Romania's revolution. As conditions permitted, an increasing share of SEED resources were devoted to fundamental economic restructuring and democratic development programs, which now account for the largest shares of USAID commitments.

During 1995 Romania made substantial progress toward economic reform and recovery. The strong GDP performance (4% annual rate of growth in 1995, according to EBRD estimates) was Romania's best since 1984. Foreign investment rose steadily during the course of the year, with cumulative, registered foreign investment reaching \$1.55 billion in October 1995 (up from \$1.25 billion on January 1). Among the U.S. companies making new commitments were Pizza Hut, AMOCO, Reynold's Tobacco, McDonald's, Proctor and Gamble, Citibank, and IBM. Despite steady improvement in the overall economy, however, Romania's per capita GDP (\$1,352 in 1995) remains among the lowest in Central Europe.

Economic reform has entailed creating new laws in virtually every sphere: finance, commerce, privatization, intellectual property rights, banking, labor, foreign investment, environment and taxation. Among the most recent developments are the passage of the bankruptcy act, the mass privatization (MPP) law and several executive ordinances to assist state-owned enterprises in downsizing and restructuring. Several bills related to a modern copyright law, a petroleum law, and a modern telecommunications law are now before the Parliament. The USG has played a significant role in formulating this legal framework.

U.S. assistance continues to pursue a "three pronged" approach -- **economic restructuring, democratic development, and social sector restructuring/quality of life**. Although the USG program has made a major commitment to economic restructuring assistance, it also emphasizes other economic and political transition efforts, such as supporting direct business development programs; fostering additional development of the country's developing democratic system; increasing decentralization of government towards the municipal/county levels; facilitating development of Romanian non-governmental organizations (NGOs); and promoting sustainable use of natural resources and reduction of environmental risks to health. The program also pursues key social service restructuring opportunities, moving beyond earlier service delivery programs in family planning and help for institutionalized children.

The use of SEED resources to leverage financial contributions from other donors has also been an explicit element of the assistance program in Romania. These efforts have principally

involved collaboration with the international financial institutions (IFIs).

Since FY 90, a little over \$148 million in SEED, Economic Support, and Development Assistance resources have been obligated, of which over \$42 million were made available during FY 95.

Program Impact

Economic Growth:

The emerging private sector in Romania, which generates 40% of GDP, has been the single most dynamic element of Romania's economic restructuring. It employed an estimated 52% of Romania's occupied labor force, including 3 million farmers, 1.9 million owners and employees of private firms, and 0.3 million self-employed individuals. With SEED support, business development contractors, such as Washington State University-supported Centers for Business Excellence and the Citizens Democracy Corps, have provided technical assistance to companies with excellent growth potential. Important business-related laws covering intellectual property protection to bankruptcy were assisted by ABA/CEELI's Rule of Law program.

USAID technical assistance provided significant help in accelerating the use of IBRD's Farmers and Enterprise Support Project (IBRD \$100 million and EBRD \$75 million). Agriculture Cooperative Development International (ACDI) staff established a training program for the two Romanian banks responsible for managing these funds, working with executives and staff to improve skills. Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (VOCA) followed with in-bank advisory assistance. Lastly, staff from Land O'Lakes assisted dairy businesses with preparation of loan requests and provided pre-screening services to the banks.

The Romanian American Enterprise Fund, which was established in June 1994, has so far approved direct investments of \$3.5 million to eight companies.

Privatization: The Romanians took significant steps forward in reducing the number of publicly-owned enterprises. A functional banking system and new financial markets to underpin private sector support also began to take shape. SEED support for pre-privatization financial restructuring produced tangible results in 1995. A total of 123 restructuring programs for large state enterprises were completed. These programs identified over \$110 million in short-term cost savings and concluded debt restructuring plans for \$1 billion. In addition, a total of 250 companies in the portfolio of the Private Ownership Fund/Brasov, which received assistance from U.S. advisors, were privatized. And, a bankruptcy law was passed in August 1995, providing protection to restructuring companies.

A World Bank Financial and Enterprise Sector Adjustment Loan (FESAL) for \$250 million was executed in 1995. The loan calls for activities related to enterprise privatization, financial

sector reform, and enterprise restructuring. USAID worked with the major donors to coordinate efforts, particularly relating to targets for enterprise privatization.

In 1995, USAID undertook a major new assistance effort to support the development of a transparent and efficient capital market in Romania. The development of a viable capital market is essential for the long term success of Romania's new mass privatization program.

Assistance to the agricultural land privatization program was also successfully implemented. The percentage of private landholders with legal titles increased to over 50 percent. Cumulative transactions increased by 25% in 1995 in private sector land and housing sales. Sophisticated technical assistance using satellite technology and parallel support financed through local currency generations are being provided through a USAID agricultural program. These efforts address current constraints to issuing clear titles to private agricultural land owners, and lay the groundwork for an anticipated IBRD titling project.

Bank Reform: The USG supported bank privatization efforts by providing pre-privatization assistance to the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, one of the five State-owned banks which should become eligible for privatization. The U.S. Department of the Treasury also offered assistance in developing specific privatization plans for the banking sector.

Fiscal Performance: With SEED-financed technical assistance from the Department of the Treasury, the GOR consolidated its national accounts, keeping better track of its funds flow and enabling greater control over revenues and expenditures. Government securities advisors focussed on the legal framework, development of the primary market, and approaches to debt management. SEED financing has also fostered several cooperative partnerships with U.S. electrical utilities to improve the energy efficiency of the power sector and its major clients. These efforts have reduced government subsidies, thereby relieving pressure in public spending.

Large Industry Profitability: USAID technical assistance prepared the original sector analyses and restructuring recommendations for the World Bank's Petroleum Rehabilitation Project (total cost \$345.6 million). This project makes the industry more efficient and less destructive to the environment.

In the area of waste minimization, programs are being applied in four major industrial plants. Cost reductions amounting to \$1.7 million were achieved at the ARPECHIM Refinery and Petrochemical Complex.

Next Steps: The new MPP program will greatly expand the private sector by shifting perhaps 10% more of GDP from the state to private hands. It is also expected that in 1996, over 3,000 companies will have been privatized. Likewise, a well-functioning, transparent secondary trading forum for potential stockholders will give Romanian citizens the opportunity to fully participate in the MPP and attach a market value to the issued coupons. More progress in the

issuance of titles for land is also expected.

Democratic Development:

The building of democratic attitudes, practices and institutions, critical to future stability, are slowly but firmly taking root. The September 1992 elections in Romania were declared "free and fair" due in part to the efforts of USAID and other donors who provided assistance in poll monitoring, voter education, and electoral management. During 1995, election awareness and monitoring NGOs such as International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), International Republican Institute (IRI), and National Democratic Institute (NDI) continued their programs. Other programs addressed the issue of public participation in local government and accountability of elected officials. Specific voter election awareness drives in preparation of the 1996 elections were also initiated.

Parliamentary Strengthening: To improve the legislature's ability to make decisions based on independent and sound policy research, USAID is working with the Congressional Research Service (CRS) to assist parliamentarians through training programs, and greater access to information. In addition, ABA provided continued assistance to the School of Magistrates, and sponsored seminars for young magistrates and lawyers, who interpret the laws enacted by the Parliament.

Local Governments: Ongoing SEED-funded municipal infrastructure projects in three cities dealt with backlogs for customer services, management improvements and increased reliability of services. These activities helped reduce backlogs in requests for water, sewage, and heating services.

In addition, EBRD's Municipal Utilities Development Project (\$65 million) will be financing infrastructure improvements in five cities. In two of those cities (Brasov and Craiova) USAID is assisting the implementation of infrastructure development activities through the International City/County Managers Association (ICMA).

Next Steps: USAID anticipates providing election-related assistance for the 1996 elections. The most critical pieces of legislation concerning electoral laws are expected to be in place in 1996. Together with support for the 1996 elections, both Parliamentary and Presidential, this support will have further strengthened Romania's maturing democratic process.

Social Sector Restructuring/Quality of Life:

The USAID program targets the special circumstances facing children in Romania. In addition, it attempts to reduce dependency on social welfare and produce changes in the health system, particularly impacts from environmentally degrading practices which characterized the

former Communist regime.

Child Care Improvements: As a result of USAID's intervention, neonatal care protocols have been developed in seven cities and the General Practitioner Associations are beginning to introduce quality assurance concepts, including establishment of protocols and standards, plans to continue medical education for doctors and nurses, appropriate referral systems, and analysis of infant mortality and morbidity data.

Some SEED-supported programs have a direct aim of reducing human suffering and improving the long-term prospects for the disabled, i.e. UNICEF's Early Childhood Development Program promoting decision making, initiative, team work and cognitive and motor development; and World Vision's Handicapped Services Project, setting up two physical therapy rooms and training others to provide upgraded levels of service.

Orphans/abandoned children issues have also been addressed. A total of 1224 children have been reunited with their families, 65 handicapped or abandoned children were placed in foster or group homes instead of institutions, and over 450 children were adopted into domestic and international homes.

Environmental Health: The USAID program has also helped reduce health risks. For example, regulatory authorities and community representatives have worked together to improve worker health and safety in Zlatna, site of an outdated copper smelter responsible for heavy metal contamination and sulfur dioxide emissions. Air monitoring equipment was successfully installed to reduce emissions from the "Ampellum" copper smelter.

Health Reform: Since 1994, SEED technical assistance has supported three key elements of IBRD's Health Rehabilitation Project implementation (total cost \$207.5 million). First, a SEED grant to UNICEF for Hepatitis B vaccinations directly leveraged the inclusion of a \$15 million vaccination component in the IBRD project. Second, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) provided training and advice in family planning logistics management, helping the GOR Ministry of Health and the National Pharmacy to better implement a large IBRD-financed contraceptive commodity distribution program. Third, ongoing assistance to regional hospitals, chosen as test sites for health finance and management reform, is laying the groundwork for an entirely new system of payment for health care services.

Worker Retraining/Placement: Through the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL), the U.S. is supporting implementation of the IBRD-sponsored Employment and Social Protection Project (total cost \$96.7 million). DOL technical assistance with employment services is being coordinated with programs by other bilateral donors, notably the German Government.

Next Steps: A minimum set of standards for hospital accreditation is expected to be established and implemented in 1996. Likewise, child care improvements will continue by helping reunite 2,000 more children with their families and by assisting 700 adoptions. In order to

improve the sustainability of social benefits, newborn care protocols are expected to be in effect in several hospitals.

U.S. Mission in Romania

There are currently 94 American employees (with 94 dependents) and 191 Romanian employees, representing seven agencies: State, USAID, USIS, FCS, DoD, Agriculture and Peace Corps. This year, there have been 24 Fulbright grantees. The Peace Corps, celebrating its fifth year in Romania, includes 65 volunteers. The embassy also provides support to the American School of Bucharest, which could exceed 400 students this coming school year. More than 40 nationalities are represented at the school.

Key embassy employees are:

Alfred H. Moses	Ambassador
M. Michael Einik	Deputy Chief of Mission
John B. Katzka	Public Affairs Counselor
Susan S. Jacobs	Consul General
Col Gary Chamberlin	Defense and Air Attache
Lt Col Kristi Crosby	Army Attache
Commander Robert Tate	Naval Attache
William Crawford	Commercial Attache
Charles N. Kinn	Administrative Officer
Mary Jo Furgal	Cultural Affairs Officer
Richard J. Hough	USAID Country Director
Randal Thompson	USAID Program Officer
Robert Whitehead	Political Officer
Arthur J. Flanagan	Peace Corps Director
Harold S. Countryman	Regional Security Officer
Richard Rorvig	Economic Officer
Laurie Weitzenkorn	Information Officer

Romania: Arrival and Departure Statements

Arrival

This is my first visit to Romania, and I am delighted to be here. I should add that the President is sorry that he couldn't be here with me to share this experience. I am here because the United States believes that Romania can have and should have a full place in the democratic community of the West. We believe that the efforts of the Romanian people -- of all walks of life and ethnic background -- to build a democratic future for themselves deserve recognition and support.

During those historic days in December of 1989, all Romanians saw their lives transformed forever, I know that you are going through the difficult economic transition stemming from that revolution. During these societal transformations, no matter where they occur, women, children and the aged often are the most vulnerable. I know the situation has not been different in Romania. I want you to know that the recent rally of 200,000 people in Washington in support of children shows that we in the United States confront these problems as well.

While in Romania, I will be meeting with official and unofficial Romanians of many walks of life. I will also be visiting institutions that are attempting to deal with some of the difficult social issues facing Romania. Thank you, and I hope to see many of you again as the day progresses.

Departure

Let me express my thanks to the many people who made my visit so enjoyable and fulfilling. What I had heard about Romanian hospitality before coming proved to be true, and I am grateful for the warm welcome I received everywhere.

The programs and institutions I visited, like the Colentina Hospital and [to be completed when sites are finalized], were an inspiration. I met many hardworking, intelligent, and creative people doing amazing things with the available resources. I learned firsthand that Romanians share my conviction that children are our most important resource and that we have a responsibility to ensure they are loved and cared for. I am proud to say that I saw some programs in defense of children and families that are benefiting from U.S. assistance. I also saw other ideas at work that I will take home and share.

Thus, I leave Romania with a great deal of admiration for the work being done here and for the country as a whole. I should also add that my visit to the Village Museum left me with the

desire to return to Romania and visit the sources of those wonderful wooden churches and brilliantly colored handicrafts. But for now, however, I can only borrow the Romanian expression that says a part of my soul remains with you, the Romanian people.

Thank you very much for a wonderful visit.

The Washington Times

★ THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1996

Hillary's European tour

When Washington gets too hot for a politician, a foreign trip is always a good tonic.

That also holds true for first ladies.

Hillary Rodham Clinton will accompany President Clinton to the Group of Seven summit next week and then continue on her own on a trip to Eastern Europe.

Her first stop will be Romania, where they couldn't care less about Whitewater or FBI files.

Romanian Ambassador Mircea Dan Geoana said Mrs. Clinton will be warmly welcomed during her one-day stop in Bucharest, where she plans to visit a clinic for children with AIDS.

"She is the first lady of the first nation on the planet," Mr. Geoana told us yesterday.

"This is a major event for Romania. It is a good sign of interest in our country."

Mrs. Clinton is tentatively due to begin her tour of Romania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Estonia July 1.

Romania has the worst juvenile AIDS problem in Europe, the Reuters news agency reports.

More than 90 percent of its nearly 3,000 cases are under 12 years old. Most were infected by contaminated blood and poor medical hygiene.

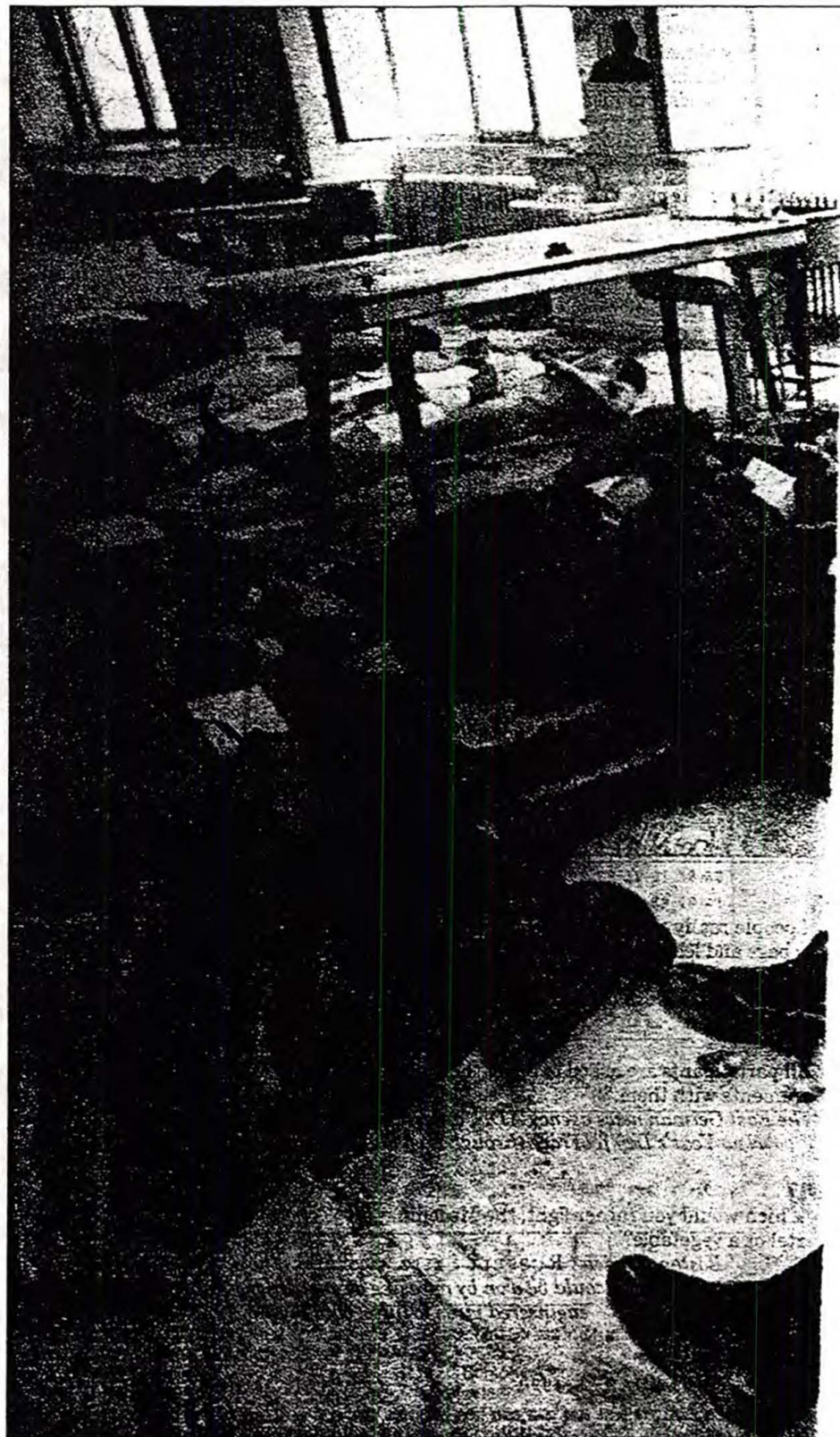
Meanwhile, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu is planning to visit Washington on July 16 and 17, Mr. Geoana said.

The Last Days

The scene opens with a long-range shot of what appear to be two piles of rags on a floor strewn with rubble. Then the video camera moves closer to one of the figures, and there is Nicolae Ceausescu, lying on his back near a battered brick wall, his eyes staring, a pool of blood near his head. The camera lingers over his dead body for nearly a minute.

All over Romania, people let out a collective sigh of relief and bitterness when the visible proof of Ceausescu's downfall and death was broadcast last Tuesday, a day after his execution on Christmas night. "The antichrist is dead," murmured a man who watched the broadcast in Bucharest, the capital. "He died too easily," complained a soldier in the city of Timisoara, where the popular uprising against Ceausescu's hated dictatorship began. "I would have kept him in a cage in a public square," said a Bucharest hotel manager, "so that people could spit on him and pelt him with stones."

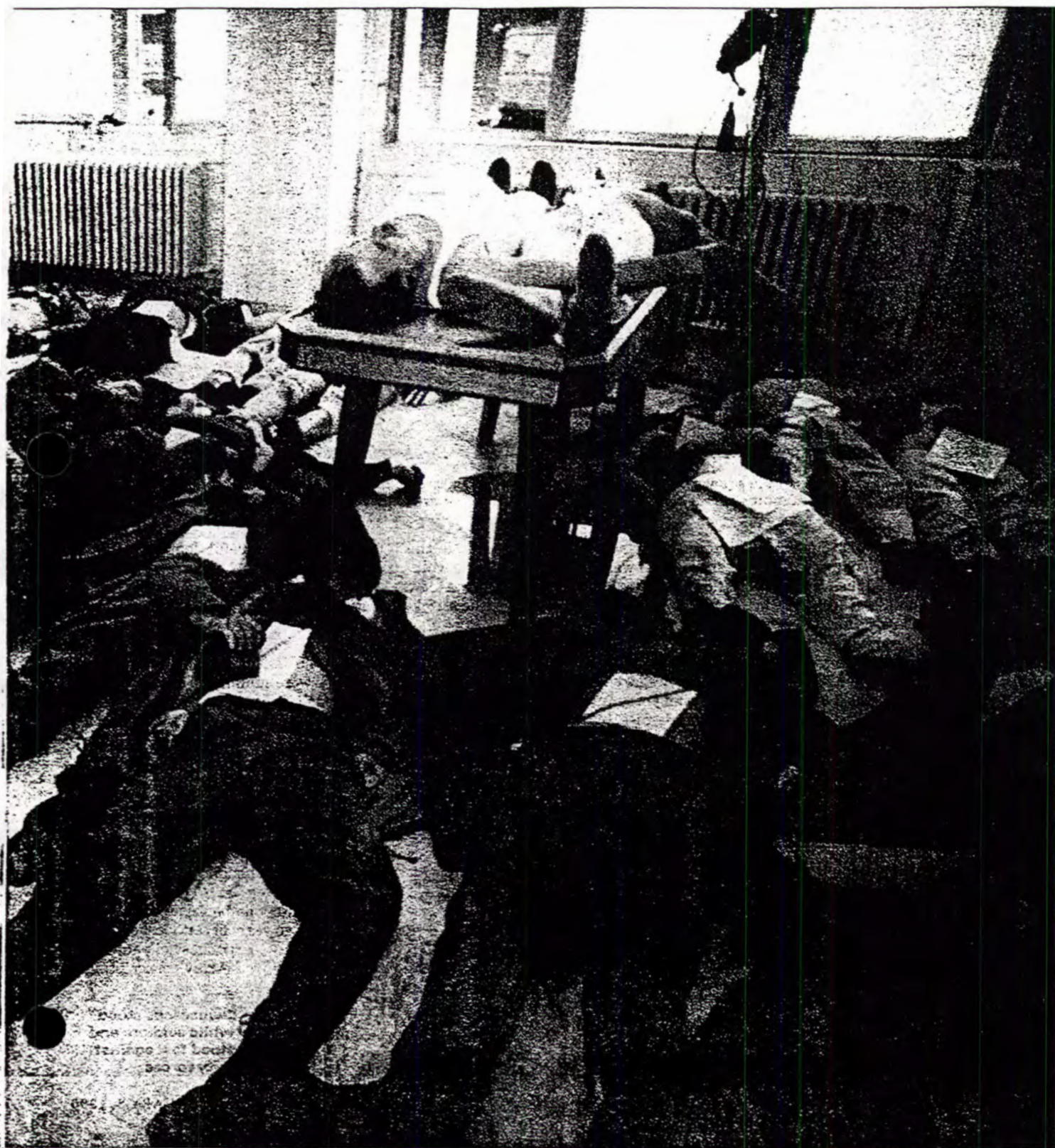
Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, his chief deputy, were condemned by an anonymous court in a hasty trial at a secret location. The death sentence was administered without ceremony or appeal, and vengeful soldiers clamored to join the firing squad. The rough justice distressed some otherwise enthusiastic supporters of the Romanian revolution; the United States, among others, expressed "regrets" that the trial "did not take place in an open and public fashion." But the Romanian revolutionaries knew what they were doing. Even after Ceausescu's capture on Dec. 23, the Securitate, his well-armed and fanatically loyal security police, continued to wage war on his behalf, slaughtering people almost at random. The dead piled up uncounted, but it appeared that thousands of people—perhaps as many as 7,000—had perished nationwide. Keeping Ceausescu alive would have prolonged the bloodbath, the worst in Europe since World War II. "We had reports concerning possible attacks on the place where he was being kept," said Petre Roman, prime minister in a transitional government

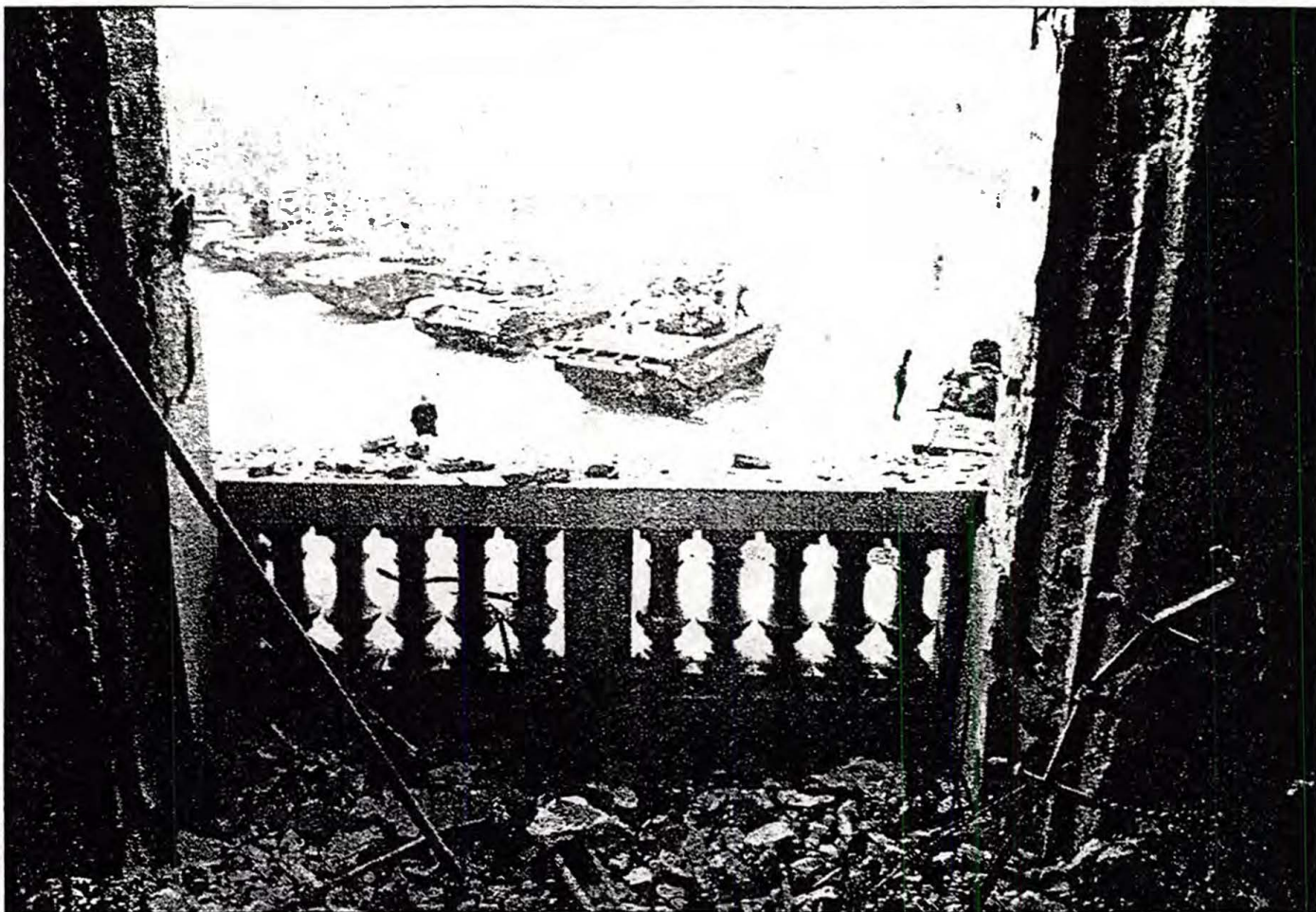


In a bloody last spasm of Europe's hopeful year, soldiers' bodies filled a room at a Bucharest hospital

PATRICK ROBERT—SYGMA

of a Dictator





PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

Army tanks took up positions in the square outside Bucharest's Royal Palace on Christmas Day. By then, the regular troops were siding with the revolutionaries against Ceausescu and the diehard fighting men of his Securitate

that has promised to establish democracy.

Romania's splash of blood came at the end of a mostly peaceful upheaval in Eastern Europe. The collapse of the last Communist regime in Moscow's former empire was hailed almost everywhere, even in Moscow. Ceausescu's Stalinism was out of style in Mikhail Gorbachev's Kremlin, and even before his death, the Soviet news agency Tass denounced the Romanian president as "one of the most odious dictators of the 20th century." George Bush was more circumspect about the anti-Communist revolt. "I'm just amazed and respectful of the change that has taken place," he said.

As emergency aid poured in from overseas, the Romanians helped themselves. They ransacked Ceausescu's mansion, crammed with tasteless, ornate furnishings and Elena's dowdy clothes. They plundered government warehouses, where long-grown food had been stockpiled for export, leaving ordinary citizens on short rations. Suddenly such rarities as

meat, chocolate and fruit appeared in the shops. That was the easy part of the revolution. The hard part was creating a new political system and rebuilding the stricken country.

Revolutions used to take months or years, but modern communications technology, regarded by Orwellians as an instrument of tyranny, actually seems to hasten its demise. In Romania, the last days of a resolutely ironhanded dictator numbered precisely eight. Ceausescu's downfall began on Dec. 17, when his security

forces fired on peaceful demonstrators in Timisoara. Despite 24 years of deadening repression under Ceausescu, the protesters fought back, setting off a cycle of violence that eventually killed at least several hundred people in Timisoara and perhaps as many as 4,000. Among the dead were soldiers who were summarily executed by Securitate men when they refused to fire on the demonstrators.

While Ceausescu was alive, the Securitate never wavered in its support of him. An elite force of as many as 60,000, the Securitate included many men

recruited as youngsters from orphanages, owing loyalty to no other family than the Ceausescus. Though outnumbered by the regular Army, the Securitate was better equipped. "In two years of service, I only had four cartridges of ammunition," an Army conscript said



HABANS-SYGMA

The Ceausescus stood trial while soldiers and civilians stood fast against their security forces

NEWSWEEK/JANUARY 8, 1990

last week in the city of Giurgiu on the Danube. "But the Securitate had plenty of ammunition, and they had guns with lasers and night scopes. That's why they were so dangerous."

The Securitate fighters also were prepared to do anything. Last week, long after the battle was lost in Timisoara, security holdouts commandeered a crane, climbed to the top of it and shot down into the courtyard of a hospital, wounding several patients and staff and preventing ambulances from going in or out. "Their purpose was to wreak panic," said Dr. Marius Aconiu, whom the attack interrupted in the middle of an operation. He said the Securitate men often seized ambulances to use as roving gun platforms, shooting randomly at passersby. "They were indifferent to age and sex," said the surgeon.

Eye to eye: On Dec. 18, a telecommunications professor named Lorin Fortuna found himself being elected chairman of the National Salvation Front's local branch. He had a run-in that evening with Radu Balan, Timisoara's Communist Party chairman, who reportedly had refused an order from Ceausescu to fire on the protesters. Balan wanted the demonstrators to disperse. "We were talking eye to eye," recalled the 40-year-old Fortuna. "I said, 'If we are losing, take care of my family, because I'm sure I'll be dead. And if we win,'" Fortuna added—not feeling at all optimistic about the outcome—"I will take care of your family for you." Last



week Fortuna fulfilled his promise. Balan was deposed from power but not arrested; Fortuna put him to work as a technical adviser to the new government.

The Romanian Army went over to the protesters in Timisoara on Dec. 19. Two days later the fighting spread to Bucharest after Ceausescu was shouted down at what he thought was going to be a pro-government rally (NEWSWEEK, Jan. 1). "The police formed ranks on these streets," student

Realina Ionescu said last week in University Square, the site of the first pitched battle. "They merely blocked our path to the palace, but they did not shoot. At first they tried only to control us." Then, Ionescu recalled, the Securitate forces drove their armored vehicles straight into the crowd. "It was horrible," the student said. "People were crushed under the wheels."

Looking like relics of the French Resist-

'The Wolves Are Dressed in Sheep's Clothing'

Romania is now a society where yesterday's subversives are the new governors, and the old governors are today's subversives. But these subversives, the cashiered spies and secret policemen of the ousted Communist regime, are armed and dangerous. And they're still at large. The new rulers face the formidable task of subduing them without repeating some of the worst excesses of the old regime. While the new government has pledged to treat everyone justly, the ongoing resistance will not make it easy.

Nowhere does this task seem more difficult than in the "hero city" of Timisoara. The revolution began there when the secret police—the Securi-

tate—launched a Tiananmen Square-style massacre in the Opera Square. By the time the Army switched sides and tipped the balance of power two days later, the regime had gunned down at least several hundred and possibly as many as 4,000 people. Beaten

by the Army, the Securitate resorted to wholesale terror—even commandeering ambulances to drive around shooting at bystanders. Residents are still trying to find their dead, digging up mass graves and filing thousands of missing-persons reports. Not sur-

In Timisoara, residents are digging up mass graves, still trying to find victims of the regime's secret police

ROBERT MAASS FOR NEWSWEEK



prisingly, passions run high.

And suspicions run deep. An unusually large concentration of the Securitate ended up in Timisoara, reinforcements sent in the last days of the tottering regime. Trapped in a city of 325,000 hostile souls, they could still draw on resources like secret safe houses, arms caches and false documents. So far, not one has surrendered, and none has been captured while armed, according to the local Army commander, Maj. Gen. Gheorghe Popescu. Even as daylight fighting ended last week, every night sent new sniping victims to the county morgue—many of them shot for simply showing themselves at a lighted window. Some Securitate even put on the red, yellow and blue armbands of the revolutionaries and made arrests. "The wolves are dressing up in



THERRY CHESNOT—SIPA



PATRICK ROBERT—SYGMA

On the day after Christmas, a man suspected of collaborating with the Securitate is marched into custody. Two days before, with the battle undecided, soldiers hit the pavement in a shoot-out with the dictator's security forces

ance, civilians formed a ragtag militia, armed with sticks and knives and old guns. Teaming with the Army, they rounded up suspected collaborators, beating some of them and shooting a few out of hand. The Securitate fought back stubbornly, holding out in a maze of secret tunnels that the dictatorship had dug beneath the capital to connect Ceausescu's palaces with other key government facilities. "The killing fields are now under-

ground," an Army captain said last week.

Ceausescu and his wife fled Bucharest on Dec. 22, reportedly by helicopter, and landed in Tirgoviste, a medieval city 45 miles northwest of the capital. They were seen driving away in a car and later switching to another car. Then they disappeared. In the city of Sibiu, 130 miles northwest of Bucharest, their son Nicu tried to take command of Securitate forces in central Transylvania. Instead, he was arrested, and when he

was shown off to reporters, his face bore the signs of a beating.

The fighting went on anyway, and Securitate attacks appeared to be coordinated. Ceausescu's followers assaulted the airports in Bucharest and Timisoara almost simultaneously, and their closely timed attacks were beaten back at the capital's radio and television stations. The next day, however, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were "captured and arrested in

sheep's clothing," said a woman who said she was abducted last week and tortured by disguised Securitate.

Sorting out the good guys and the bad guys will not be easy. "It's said that half the country was spying on the other half," said Valentin Virtan, a member of the Timisoara National Salvation Front. In the first days of the government, the managing director of the Continental Hotel, Cornel Urcan, appeared at news conferences with the Front. He even turned over bugging equipment he said the secret police made him install in hotel rooms. On day four, Urcan was arrested—charged with cooperating with the Securitate a bit too enthusiastically.

Mixed bag: The new government is a mixture of Army officials and civilian members of the National Salvation

Front, some armed, some not. While democratically laudable perhaps, it's a governing formula that is confused at best—and easily subverted. One civilian, Peter Borosoiu, gave a press conference on behalf of the Front Wednesday. Interrupted halfway through, he left and promised to return shortly. Instead, a military officer showed up and denounced him as an impostor. "It was a lie and he was not authorized to say what he said," declared Corneliu Vaida, a military spokesman. When told that Borosoiu's female interpreter, a Front member, had vouched for him, Vaida exploded, "For giving false information, she may be shot." Later, she had an intermediary convince him that she was a loyal revolutionary.

With the Army unable to track down remaining mem-

bers of the Securitate, and the police not functioning, self-appointed civilians are making most of the arrests. Two Front members roused the home of the local agricultural minister, Ion Josu, uncovering a cache of hunting rifles. Josu was arrested as a "terrorist," the term for all Ceausescu holdouts. Taken to the military prison, he joined 400 other suspects. Among the new arrivals was an ethnic Hungarian man so dazed he could not give his name. The civilian officials who transported him to the jail didn't know how or why he had been arrested. Said one of the soldiers who put him into custody, "He must have done something." At military headquarters, five well-dressed men waited to see General Popescu to give him "important confidential information." Vaida eyed them sus-

piciously. "Anyone that well dressed must have been Securitate," he muttered.

Justice wanted: Such excesses are hard to fault when secret-police snipers rule the night. Many of the new leaders have appealed for fairness, and some have even criticized the kangaroo-court trial and execution of Nicolae Ceausescu. "Now we want justice, not revenge," said Lorin Fortuna, president of the local National Salvation Front. On Thursday, an amnesty for the Securitate expired without a single surrender in the city. Those captured now are subject to the death penalty. That and the execution of their leader may have convinced the holdouts that only vengeance awaits them. That will likely mean more grief in the hero city before it is over.

ROD NORDLAND in Timisoara



SYLVAIN JULIENNE—SIPA

Thousands of Securitate men and suspected collaborators were seized, including a man in Timisoara, but an unknown number of others remained at large

Tirgoviste," according to an official news-agency report that gave little additional information.

That still didn't stop the bloodshed, which led to some loose talk in both Moscow and Washington. Gorbachev vaguely raised the possibility of Soviet intervention in Romania, saying that he would talk to his Warsaw Pact allies about assisting the "just cause" of the people there. American officials said there was no sign that the Soviets were planning to act militarily. Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov quickly warned that it would be a mistake to send in troops. "We recently reassessed the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia," he

said. "Should we repeat this [mistake] just a few days later?"

The next day, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said on a television interview show that Warsaw Pact military intervention would be OK with him. "They are attempting to put off the yoke of a very, very oppressive and repressive dictatorship," he said of the Romanians. "So I think that we would be inclined to follow the example of France, who today has said that if the Warsaw Pact felt it necessary to intervene on behalf of the opposition, that it would support that action." His remarks took the rest of the Bush administration by surprise. "I know that our relations with the Soviets are

good right now," said a State Department official, "but I don't think we're at the level where we can invite them into neighboring countries."

Ceausescu's trial and execution made the issue moot. After his capture, he and his wife were taken to the headquarters of a tank regiment in Tirgoviste. Some reports said they were brought back to Bucharest for trial, but circumstantial evidence suggests that they were tried outside the capital. The two-hour proceeding was recorded by a video camera, and the faces of the judges and prosecutor were not shown on television, apparently for their own protection.

On the tape, the Ceausescus were the picture of pained disbelief, indignant at the ridiculousness of their predicament. "You are in front of the People's Tribunal, the new legal body of the country," a voice told them at the start. "I do not recognize any tribunal but the Grand National Assembly," Ceausescu replied. "A state coup cannot be recognized."

A list of charges: The principal charge against them was genocide—not just "genocide against people in Timisoara and Bucharest," the prosecutors said, "but genocide carried out for more than 20 years against the Romanian people, against innocent children." The prosecution put the total at "more than 64,000 dead." Other charges included "armed attack on the people and the state power" and "undermining of the national economy."

With the formalities completed, the prosecutor asked who gave the order to fire on the crowd in Bucharest. "I do not answer," Ceausescu replied. The prosecutor insisted, pointing out that the shooting was still going on.

CEAUSESCU: I will not answer any question. Not a single shot was fired in Palace Square. Not a single shot. No one was shot.

PROSECUTOR: By now there have been 34 casualties.

ELENA: Look, and that they are calling genocide.

Then the prosecution turned to the economy. For years, Ceausescu had deprived his people of heat, light and food in order to increase exports and pay off foreign debts. But he denied that he had made the people "starve," as the prosecutor charged. "I have done everything to create a decent and rich life for the people in the country, like in no other country in the world," Ceausescu claimed.

That brought up the subject of the money Ceausescu had allegedly stashed in secret Swiss bank accounts. After the trial,

Ceausescu on Stalin: He Did the Job

Nicolae Ceausescu was interviewed by NEWSWEEK last August at his villa outside Bucharest. Highlights were published in the Aug. 21 issue.

sue, but without remarks Ceausescu put off the record, including these about Stalin:

In my opinion, the very no-

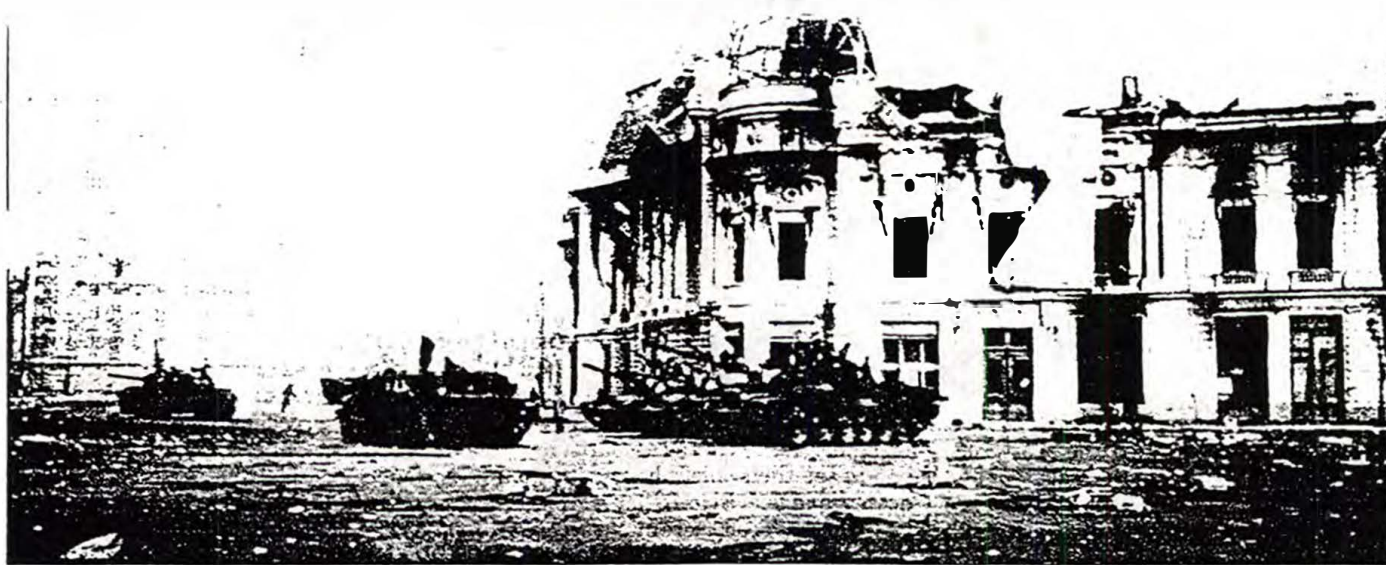
tion of a cult of personality is false, because if somebody is a realist, that is not a cult of personality. In 20 years, Stalin raised Russia from an undeveloped country to the second most powerful country in the world. Of course, he made mistakes. It's very easy for someone to say Stalin didn't do anything positive. But he won a war. He built nuclear weapons. He did everything a person should do in his job.

When I was in Moscow for the first time in 1950, the shops were full of food and clothing and other merchandise... Now, everything that is bad in the Soviet Union is linked to the Stalin period, even though Stalin has been dead for 40 years.



JIRI JIRU

The changing faces of leadership: Ceausescu (right) with Prague Spring leader Alexander Dubcek in 1968



ORBAN—SYGMA

The fighting in Bucharest was heavy at times. One pitched battle left Army tanks in control of Palace Square, next to the charred shell of the Central University Library where many rare and ancient volumes were destroyed by the flames.

state radio broadcast an unconfirmed report from Switzerland that the dictator had \$470 million on deposit there. "We had no account in Switzerland," Ceausescu told the court. "What defamation, what provocations!"

As the interrogation continued, the questions became more snide. When the prosecutor questioned Elena Ceausescu's credentials as a scientist (she claims to be a chemist), her husband exclaimed: "Her scientific papers were published abroad!" The prosecutor asked: "And who wrote the papers for you, Elena?" Ceausescu's wife dismissed the line of questioning as "impudence." When the prosecutor mentioned that she had served as a deputy prime minister, her husband interjected: "She was not a deputy prime minister, but the first deputy primeminister!"

Near the end of the proceeding, the prosecution offered the Ceausescus an apparent way out.

PROSECUTOR: Please, ask Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu whether they have ever had a mental illness.

CEAUSESCU: What? What should he ask us?

PROSECUTOR: Whether you have ever had a mental illness.

CEAUSESCU: What an obscene provocation.

PROSECUTOR: This would serve your defense. If you had a mental illness and admitted this, you would not be responsible for your acts.

ELENA: How can one tell us something like this? How can he say something like this?

CEAUSESCU: I do not recognize this court.

PROSECUTOR: You have never been able to hold a dialogue with the people. You were not used to talking to the people. You held monologues and the people had to applaud, like in the rituals of tribal people. And today you are acting in the same megalomaniac way.

It was clear that the court had no intention of letting the Ceausescus off lightly.

Their court-appointed attorney, whom they never accepted, did not speak up, according to the transcript, until near the end—when he asserted that "this is a legal trial," and told his clients: "You are guilty of these offenses even if you do not want to admit it." The faceless court agreed, quickly handing down a sentence of death.

It was carried out at once. Ceausescu's hands were tied behind him, and he was led from the tribunal to a courtyard. So many soldiers sought firing-squad duty that a lottery had to be held; two enlisted men and one officer were given the privilege. Army Capt. Mihai Lupoi, who said he witnessed the execution, told *The Washington Post* that Elena Ceausescu tried to curry favor with soldiers at the trial, pleading that she had been "like a mother to them." One soldier reportedly told her to think about all the mothers who had been killed by her husband's regime. Nicolae Ceausescu was defiant to the end, admitting nothing and offering no apologies. According to Lupoi, Elena Ceausescu's last words were: "We want to die together." The wish was quickly granted. A witness told *The New York Times* that the firing squad "could not restrain their hate [and] fired immediately, with abandon."

Pockets of resistance: That did not put an end to the fighting. Sniping continued as Securitate men played out their private apocalypse. The new government announced that several thousand "terrorists" turned themselves in before an offer of leniency expired last Thursday. The unknown number still at large now faced death sentences. There were pockets of resistance in the countryside and in Bucharest, where fighting continued around the television station. The bands of Ceausescu loyalists seemed to be communicating with one another by radio. "They are very professional and very well organized," said a Western diplomat in the capi-

tal. "They cannot bring down the government, but they can destabilize society." Given enough instability, the Army could yet decide to take over, a frequent occurrence in Romania's turbulent history.

So far, however, the transitional government seemed to be making sense on many fronts. It stocked stores with food and other consumer goods that Ceausescu's regime had intended for export. It diverted to Romanians electricity that had been generated for foreign customers. It turned up the heat in frigid apartments. Where did it get the necessary oil and gas? "We shut down factories that were open and operating, but not producing anything," said Lorin Fortuna, the new leader in Timisoara. The government also repealed many of Ceausescu's laws, including one that mandated the use of the term "comrade," another prohibiting most abortions and a third that severely restricted the possession of such instruments of sedition as typewriters and word processors.

In what has become a traditional rite of passage for countries moving from dictatorship toward democracy, Romanians broke into Ceausescu's pink stucco mansion in northern Bucharest. The opulence was more than a little tacky, but the creature comforts amazed and infuriated people who had gone without so much for so long. In a labyrinth beneath the house, they found Ceausescu's command center, including an ammunition supply and elaborate communications equipment. The electronic hardware reportedly included a set of switches that would have enabled the dictator to detonate explosives placed at key locations around Bucharest. Fortunately, Nicolae Ceausescu never got the opportunity to destroy his capital, or his country, in order to save them for himself.

RUSSELL WATSON with MICHAEL MEYER and KAREN BRESLAU in Bucharest, ROD NORDLAND in Timisoara and bureau reports

Breath of Fresh Air

Romania celebrates its new leaders—for now

Contemptuous caricatures of Nicolae Ceausescu decorate the lobby of the Bucharest broadcast station that became known as Radio Free Romania after the dictator's fall. One shows Ceausescu as a vampire, with pointed horns and teeth dripping blood; in another, the satanic numbers '666' are etched into his forehead. Upstairs, a chapter of the National Salvation Front, Romania's provisional revolutionary government, has taken over an office. A wall map dotted with bits of paper indicates that the Front controls each of the country's 40 districts. In another room, a group of haggard revolutionaries confer over radio programming; none works for the station, or is even a journalist. Dan Cristescu, an engineer and self-appointed leader of the chapter, admits that his only qualification for the job was his presence in the crowd occupying the radio station in the popular uprising of Dec. 22. "I organized the defense of the second floor," he says.

Last week the bloodshed and fear that had paralyzed the Romanian capital gave way to grieving for the dead and hope for a



ROBERT MAASS FOR NEWSWEEK

Leaving the bloodshed behind: Funeral of civilian killed by Ceausescu's forces

democratic future. Teenage soldiers, who only days earlier had defended the radio station from an attack by Ceausescu loyalists, casually frisked visitors while tapping their feet to a Michael Jackson video broadcast by Romania's newly uncensored state television. Ordinary citizens were astonished by their sudden good fortune. Food was back on the shelves, heat came on in their homes and gas rationing was lifted. The new government released all political

prisoners. Typewriters were legal again, so was birth control, and the death penalty was abolished. Passports were available to all citizens, and the provisional government promised to hold free elections in April. "I trust the National Salvation Front completely," said Georgete Pop in a Bucharest store that offered oranges, coffee and meat. "We have things now that we haven't had for years."

Was that trust misplaced? Real power

Ceausescu: Have Babies—Or Else!

Nicolae Ceausescu loved creating monuments to his rule. But his ministerial palaces and avenues paled next to another of his schemes for building socialism: his plan to increase Romania's population from 23 million to 30 million by the year 2000. He began his campaign in 1966 with a decree that generally outlawed sex education, birth control and abortion. "The fetus is the property of the entire society," Ceausescu proclaimed. "Anyone who avoids having children is a deserter who abandons the laws of national continuity."

It was one of his cruelest commands. At first

Romania's birthrate nearly doubled. But poor nutrition and inadequate prenatal care endangered many pregnant women. And many children were born into a system that could not care for them. The country's infant-mortality rate soared to 83 deaths in every 1,000 births—far higher than that of any West European country. About one in 10 babies was born underweight; newborns weighing less than 1,500 grams commonly were classified as miscarriages and were denied treatment. Many unwanted survivors ended up in orphanages discovered after Ceausescu's fall. "The law only forbade abortion," says

Dr. Alexander Floran Anca of Bucharest. "It did nothing to promote life."

Pregnancy was indeed hard to avoid. Sex education was forbidden and books on human sexuality and reproduction were classified as "state secrets," to be used only as medical textbooks. Since contraception was illegal, Romanians relied on scant supplies of smuggled condoms and birth-control pills. Illegal—and often life-threatening—abortions remained a widespread birth-control measure of last resort. Nationwide, Western sources estimate, 60 percent of all pregnancies ended in abortion or miscarriage.

The government's enforcement measures were as bad as the law. Romanian women under the age of 45 were rounded up at their workplaces every one to three months and taken to clinics, where they were physically examined for signs of pregnancy—often in the presence of government agents whom some Romanians dubbed "menstrual police." A pregnant woman who failed to "produce" a baby at the proper time could expect to be summoned for questioning. Women who miscarried were suspected of arranging an abortion. Some doctors resorted to forging medical statistics in order to avoid punishment. "If a child died in our district, we lost 10 to 25 percent of our salary," says Dr. Geta

resided in only a handful of dissidents, intellectuals and former Communist Party members who formed the 11-member executive council of the Front. Front members continued to insist that they came together spontaneously during the tumultuous afternoon when Ceausescu fled Bucharest. But some skeptics—chiefly Romanian exiles—were convinced that the Front had in fact planned a coup d'état and were intent on maintaining authoritarian control. "They killed the dog but kept the chain," charged Ion Ratiu, leader of the London-based World Union of Free Romanians.

Inner circle: As evidence, exiled critics cited a film that was supposedly taken during the Front's chaotic first meeting on the day Ceausescu fell. In that film, Gen. Nicolae Militaru, the new defense minister, declared that the Front had "already been operating for six months," an assertion supported by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. The exiles also cited the Front's rapid organization and the fact that the inner circle was self-appointed as evidence that a coup may already have been in the works when the uprising began. Executive committee spokesman Silviu Brocan dismissed the speculation as "trash," and insisted that "the revolution was 100 percent spontaneous." He conceded, however, that he had obtained a "reluctant" promise from Soviet officials as early as November to support the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime.

Whatever its claim to legitimacy, the self-named government promises to remain a dominant force. It made that clear last week when the Front announced it would field its own candidates in the prom-

The Wheels of Change

Two Eastern European nations shook up their economies last week, and nationalist unrest continued in the Soviet Union.



Azerbaijan: Ethnic rioting broke out along the Soviet republic's border with Iran, as Soviet Azerbaijanis sought closer ties with relatives and fellow Shiite Muslims on the other side. The Kremlin sent troops in to keep order.

Lithuania: Local Communist Party leaders met with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow to defuse tensions over their decision to break with the national party. Afterward, they said Gorbachev would seek compromise.

Poland: The Solidarity-led government began a crash program of market-oriented economic reforms, raising prices by as much as 600 percent.

Czechoslovakia: Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said the East-bloc trading alliance, Comecon, has "no reason" to exist, and threatened to quit it.

Albania: In a New Year's speech, leader Ramiz Alia noted the upheaval elsewhere in East Europe, and said his own country would "never" be affected.

ised April elections. With its control of the media, economy and government infrastructure, it could easily overwhelm the tiny new parties struggling to be born. "We need time to organize," said Nicolae Costel, a spokesman for the Democratic Party, which was formed by 18 people who found themselves in the same room during the siege of the Central Committee building. "We'd rather see elections in September." That may be irrelevant, however, to the bulk of Romanians who overwhelmingly support the reforms of the Front. "There's

not a single measure that can be criticized, given the extreme difficulties of the country," said Doru Dobrescu, an editor at Radio Free Romania, Bucharest's main radio station. As a further measure of good will, acting President Ion Iliescu promised in a New Year's Eve address to institute a five-day workweek and relax restrictions on cooperative farms. For now, the Romanian people seem more intent on enjoying the fruits of revolution than on worrying that the ground may one day be stolen away.

KAREN BRESLAU in Bucharest



JEAN-PIERRE REY—AFP

Unwanted: Romanian orphans

Stanescu of Bucharest. "But it wasn't our fault: we had no medicine or milk, and the families were poor."

Abortion was legal in some cases: if a woman was over 40, if she already had four children, if her life was in danger—or, in practice, if she had high-level Communist Party connections. Otherwise, illegal abortions cost from two to four months' wages. If something went wrong, the legal consequences were enough to deter many women from seeking timely medical help. "Usually women were so terrified to come to the hospital that by the time we saw them it was too late," says Dr. Anca. "Often they died at home."

A woman didn't have to be pregnant to come under scru-

tiny. In 1986, members of the Communist youth group were sent to quiz citizens about their sex lives. "How often do you have sexual intercourse?" the questionnaire read. "Why have you failed to conceive?" Women who did not have children, even if they could not, paid a "celibacy tax" of up to 10 percent of their monthly salaries.

Dingy hospital room: The revolutionaries who overthrew Ceausescu last month quickly rescinded his population-building measures. "I would have killed Ceausescu for that law alone," says Maria Dulce from her bed at Bucharest's Municipal Hospital. The 29-year-old shop clerk and mother of two is recovering from a near-fatal self-induced abor-

tion. Her eyes are bruised with fatigue and dark with pain. She is among a half-dozen women in a similar condition in the dingy hospital room.

Dulce says she decided to terminate her pregnancy because of the trauma associated with caring for her second child, an 18-month-old boy. "We had to buy milk on the black market," she says, "and we had to buy a heater just for the baby's room." She had to have an emergency hysterectomy only days before the December revolution. "Now that it is possible for a woman to be a woman again I'm mutilated," Dulce says through her tears. "And now there is a reason to have a child in this country."

KAREN BRESLAU in Bucharest