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<b>Title</b>	<i>The Effects of International Relations on International Tourism in Romania</i>
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<b>Fields for which acceptable</b>	International Relations and Tourism Management
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## ***Abstract***

Romania's international relations and tourism industry have changed a lot over the last 40 years, particularly since the revolution in 1989. Now the country is aiming to join the European Union and become a major tourism destination (again). This dissertation shows how these two issues may be interrelated and more generally how international relations have impacted on international tourism in Romania.

The methodology employed is that of a single country case study with a historical analysis backed by academic literature and statistical and archive sources. The cornerstones in theoretical terms are realism, comparative foreign policy and some specific theories on the relationship between tourism and politics and international relations and tourism. These, together with historical data on Romania's tourism industry and international relations are used to analyse and interpret the data consisting of international arrivals and departures from and to Romania.

The following conclusions are reached: International relations did and still do have an effect on international tourism in Romania. However, this is mainly in terms of reasonably good international relations being needed for any meaningful tourism activity to take part at all, but improvements thereof bringing about nowhere near proportionate rises in either inbound or outbound tourism. Even a fall in tourism activity can result from good international relations. Moreover, inbound and outbound tourism are sometimes impacted on differently. Generally it can be said that international relations have become less important for tourism in Romania since the end of the bipolar world with the breakdown of communism in Eastern Europe. Only extremes, such as wars still have significant impacts.

## ***Acknowledgements and Dedications***

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I dedicate this work to my parents, without whose love and support I would not be where I am today; to my professors Dr Lucy Ford and Dr Bryan Mabee who taught international relations so interestingly and enthusiastically that my career aims have changed 180 degrees during the course of my undergraduate studies, and last but not least to my true friends Ana Lilia, Arturo, Brenda, Cecy, Christian, Cristy, Daniela, Deema, Doris, Eszter, Gabriele, Geni, Ioana, Jojo, Maria, Maria Luisa, Melissa, Paola, Rosi, Ruby, Xochiquétzal, Yatziri and Yazmín, who have always been there for me and helped me through recent troubles.

—Florian Küchler

## **Contents**

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements and Dedications</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Contents</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Map of Romania</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Definitions	3
<b>2 Literature Review</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 Tourism's Relationship With Politics and Economics	8
2.2 International Tourism's Relationship with Foreign Policy and International Relations	9
2.3 Romanian International Relations and Foreign Policy	10
2.4 The Romanian Tourism Industry	22
<b>3 Methodology</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>4 Data Analysis</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>5 Conclusions</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>6 Bibliography</b>	<b>49</b>
6.1 Quoted / Referenced Sources:	49
6.2 Data Sources:	54
6.3 Link List:	56
<b>7 Appendices</b>	<b>57</b>
7.1 Appendix 1 – Collected Data	57

## **List of Tables**

<i>Number</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>Table 2.1</b>	<b>Rosenau's Pre-Theory of Foreign Policy</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Table 4.1</b>	<b>Top countries of origin of foreign tourists in Romania 1970 – 2004</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Table 4.2</b>	<b>Top destination countries for Romanian tourists 1970 – 1998</b>	<b>37</b>

## **List of Figures**

<i>Number</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>Fig. I</b>	<b>Map of Romania</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>Fig. 3.1</b>	<b>Basic Tourism Statistics – A State Secret under Ceausescu</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Fig. 4.1</b>	<b>Total Inbound and Outbound International Tourism 1965-2004</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Fig. 4.2</b>	<b>Average Inbound and Outbound Tourism by Political/Economic System 1970-1975</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Fig. 4.3</b>	<b>Average Inbound and Outbound Tourism by Political Alignment 1970-1975</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Fig. 4.4</b>	<b>Bulgaria's, Hungary's and the USSR's average share of Romania's international Tourism 1970-1975</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Fig. 4.5</b>	<b>Average Proportions of Romania's International Tourism Flows with the two Germanys 1970-1975</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Fig. 4.6</b>	<b>Total Inbound International Tourism from Romania's neighbour states 1989 – 2004</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Fig. 4.7</b>	<b>Total Inbound and Outbound International Tourism to and from the EU 1980 and 1989-2004</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Fig. 4.8</b>	<b>Total Inbound International Tourism from key pre-2004 EU states, the USA and Israel 1989-2004</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Fig. 4.9</b>	<b>Total Outbound International Tourism to key pre-2004 EU member states, the USA and Israel 1989-2004</b>	<b>43</b>

## **List of Abbreviations**

BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
G77	Group of 77
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GNA	Grand National Assembly
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MNC	Multi-National Corporation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
pdi	personal disposable income
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
Polexco	Political executive Committee
SSR	Socialist Soviet Republic
TAROM	Transporturi Aeriene Române (Romanian National Airline)
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Soviet Union)
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

## Map of Romania

Fig. I: Map of Romania



(Source: CIA (2005) "The World Factbook" <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ro.html>)



# **The Effects of International Relations on International Tourism in Romania**

## **1 Introduction**

This dissertation identifies the effects of international relations<sup>1</sup> on international tourism in Romania<sup>2</sup> both before and after the revolution that overthrew the communist regime in 1989. It should be read as a case study and historical analysis with the potential to help understand current developments such as Romania's candidacy for European Union (EU) membership as well as the determination to make it a key tourism destination and to see how these two issues may be interconnected (Mintel, 2004b/ Glăvan, 2000 / Istrate, 1993). The key questions are therefore: How, when, and how much have international relations impacted on international tourism in Romania?

This is approached by examining the historical and contemporary situation using academic literature as well as statistical and archival analysis. However, the underlying aim is not to come up with business-report-style predictions of the future and related recommendations to tourism companies, though these may find it a valuable read. Furthermore, this one-country based case study cannot provide universal findings that would apply to international relations and international tourism

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<sup>1</sup> Whereas "International Relations" (capitalised) refers to the discipline and academic study of international relations, international relations describes the actual relations and interactions between states and other international actors,

<sup>2</sup> The author prefers spelling the country's name as Romania rather than the alternative spelling Rumania, which is also frequently found in English sources. This is simply due to the fact that Romania is closer to the country's name in its own language România.

in any country at any time. Nonetheless the insights gathered may be of interest to more than just scholars and businessmen and men focussing on Romania.

The key finding is that international relations do have an impact on international tourism in Romania, but only up to a certain degree. Other factors are found to be at least as important, if not more important than international relations. These include geographical proximity, historical links, cultural bonds, minority links and ideology. However, whilst acknowledging their influence, this dissertation does not have the scope to analyse them further, but rather delimits in-depth analysis to international relations.

This section defines the time period and conceptual boundaries the dissertation is set within. Section 2 gives the necessary background information needed for understanding Romanian international relations, Romanian international tourism and the relationship between the two. Section 3 outlines the methods employed for data collection. Section 4 presents and analyses the gathered data and section 5 details the conclusions reached.

Despite many factors that are specifically limited to Romania or the no longer existing Soviet world, several similarities exist with situations in other countries. There are other countries in central and Eastern Europe that are currently seeking entry into the EU and/or are trying to develop their tourism industry. Also, Cuba's inbound tourism market and China's outbound tourism market could be affected greatly by a development similar to the 1989 Romanian revolution (Hall, 1994:60). However, the application of the findings to these and other situations as well as comparisons with other countries is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The timescale to be considered here is from 1965 until 2004. There are several reasons for choosing this timescale. In war-torn Europe there was little tourist activity

during the immediate post-war decades, most of which took part in the last third of the century. Furthermore, a whole range of the most interesting developments in both international relations and tourism fall into this time frame including:

- the beginning and end of President Ceausescu's dictatorship<sup>3</sup>
- the 1970s growth, 1980s decline<sup>4</sup> and recent restructuring of the tourism industry
- several democratic changes of government coalitions and heads of state
- the granting of NATO membership
- the bid for EU membership
- the participation in the recent Iraq war

With the timescale clarified, this dissertation will now be further set into context by explaining the definitions used in compiling it.

## 1.1 Definitions

Evans and Newham (1998:274) define international relations as “[...] all interactions between state-based actors across state boundaries.” In the increasingly borderless world of today it has become clear that there is a multitude of actors other than the states themselves and that there can be even actors that are no longer state based. Different schools of thought within the discipline of International Relations disagree over the importance of different actors. However, for the purpose of this dissertation, the wisdom of the ancient school of realism<sup>5</sup> is utilized by limiting the actors looked at to just the unit of the nation-state as a whole (Baylis and Smith,

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<sup>3</sup> 1974-1989

<sup>4</sup> Linked to the oil crises and economic depression

<sup>5</sup> Realism is the oldest of many approaches to international relations with an emphasis on the nation state, power, self-interested human nature, self help, conflict and security issues.

2001:4) and moreover focus particularly on the relationships of the governments and heads of states of those units.

This involves inevitably looking at diplomatic relations, the study of which was at the heart of realist approaches to international relations. According to Berridge (2001:1) “[...] diplomacy consists of the communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment.” He describes diplomacy an alternative means to achieve foreign policy objectives without resorting to force, propaganda or law (Berridge, 2002:1). Similarly Evans and Newham (1998:129) warn not to confuse diplomacy with foreign policy itself, as it is just one instrument of many that are available for putting foreign policy into effect. Foreign policy is any type of activity that states perform to act, react and interact internationally (Evans and Newham, 1998:179). It has however been noted by more recent theorists that there is no clear division between international and national affairs, as in a globalising world many national and international affect each other and even presumably local issues can impact on places beyond national borders (Cohn, 2003:106-107).

There are several reasons for choosing the limited realist approach to international relations, the actors involved (states) and their actions (diplomacy). Firstly tourism statistics containing nationality of incoming foreigners and destination countries of outbound Romanians are the only ones that have been collected continuously and comprehensively over the years. Other demographic factors of the visitors have been considered in some statistics and research projects, but not continuously and coherently. Secondly, the explosion of the discipline of international relations through the proliferation of new theories challenging realist (and liberal) state-centrism only took part after the revolution of 1989. Whilst it is not impossible

to apply these new theories in retrospect, in many ways they are of limited use for explaining pre-1989 Romania in terms of the actors they focus on<sup>6</sup>. Romania was member of few international organizations other than the communist<sup>7</sup> bloc ones and its economic activity was almost completely controlled and run by the state, whilst civil society was extremely restricted.

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) defines international tourism as “[c]onsist[ing] of both inbound tourism and outbound tourism”; inbound tourism as “[...] the tourism of non resident visitors within the economic territory of the country of reference” and outbound tourism as “[...] the tourism of resident visitors outside the economic territory of the country of reference” (WTO, 2002). Note that “[t]he "persons" referred to in the definition of tourism are termed "VISITORS": any person travelling to a place other than that of his/her usual environment for less than twelve months and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the country visited.” (WTO, 2002). Therefore this includes for example business travellers, pilgrims as well as those visiting friends and relatives or seeking health treatments alongside with the recreational tourists that most easily spring to mind. Whilst there are other definitions, the WTO one has to be used for this dissertation, because all the data sources on tourism in Romania that stated their definitions and methodologies used it.

Who is not included in the WTO definition are those travelling abroad to work or to immigrate. This will cause some problems in the case of Romania, as shall be seen below. The distinction between visitors and tourists, the latter being visitors who

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<sup>6</sup> E.g. State and non-state international organizations, NGOs, TNCs, etc.

<sup>7</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, the term communist is used for referring to the countries of central and Eastern Europe as well as Asia and Cuba, which had an economic and political system based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and/or Maoism. This is preferred over the term socialist, simply due to its wider use in the west. This choice does not happen for the purpose of attaching different value to the states at question, neither is it seen as important for the purposes of this dissertation to enter any debate on these different terminologies and their definitions.

stay at least overnight, is not going to be considered for the purposes of this dissertation. This is due to the fact that the Romanian international tourism statistics are not consistently detailed enough to show how long the visitors stayed in the country and accommodation statistics only partially fill this gap.

Accordingly, the methods employed focus around these variables of measurable inbound and outbound tourism figures as well as the more abstract international relations. Data for the former were collected in statistical collections of libraries and institutions in Romania, whereas information about the latter was obtained mainly from literature.

The following literature review answers the questions of what the relationship is between tourism and politics, economics, foreign policy and international relations in general as well as detailing the nature of the tourism industry and international relations of Romania.

## **2 Literature Review**

After intensive reviewing of printed and electronic resources in several countries<sup>8</sup> it appears that nothing has been published directly on the specific topic of this dissertation. As far as general writings about tourism and international relations are concerned, there are few good sources, Hall's book on Tourism and Politics with a whole chapter devoted to "International Tourism Policy and International Relations" being an exception (Hall, 1994). Most authors have tended to concentrate on the impacts of certain international issues such as terrorism on tourism. Therefore writings about tourism and foreign policy as well as tourism and politics in conjunction with separate analyses of Romanian international relations and the Romanian tourism industry have been used to fill gaps in the theoretical part of this dissertation. The close relationship between tourism and politics and economics and the related potential for impacts of international relations on tourism are the main themes that run through this section.

Some attention has already been given to theoretical approaches in the definitions section. Further theories, as well as findings of scholars and commercial entities that can be applied to this task, will be critically analyzed in this section before they can be used to inform the research and to analyse the collected data.

The author is fully aware of and partially in agreement with postmodernists' and critical theorists' criticisms of seeing theories as objective tools for explanation (Jackson and Sørensen, 2003:248-264). However, such a use of theory is appropriate for the purposes of this dissertation, as the topic covered is not a highly controversial one, neither is the author personally involved in any of the issues. Moreover, the

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<sup>8</sup> The author has visited libraries in - and accessed resources from - Romania, England, Canada, Germany and Mexico

author has explicitly and implicitly critically reflected upon all theories employed as well as his own opinion that built up in the process.

## **2.1 Tourism's Relationship With Politics and Economics**

Edgell (1990:37) writes that “tourism is [...] a tool used not only for economic, but for political means”. He considers politics and economics as closely interconnected and tourism appears as being used and controlled by politicians and government economists. This is particularly applicable to Romania before the revolution, where tourism served the dual purpose of bringing in vital foreign currencies through compulsory currency exchange for incoming foreigners as well as showcasing the achievements of socialism to western tourists (Rațiu, 1975:57).

However within the context of the free market in operation after the revolution, this view of tourism as a mere tool needs to be modified. The government no longer controls the rapidly privatised tourism industry (Istrate et al., 1993:4). This is not to say that it can no longer benefit from tourism or influence the industry. Tourism receipts are still filtering into the state's pockets and many of the economic and political decisions taken, impact on the tourism industry. Every business student or business person knows that any economic activity, including tourism, is influenced by its environment. Political and economic factors are key parts of this environment (Naylor, 2004:55-64). This is true for private as well as government run organisations and industries.



## **2.2 International Tourism's Relationship with Foreign Policy and International Relations**

If politics and economics in general have an impact on tourism, then it seems logical that foreign policy has an impact upon international tourism<sup>9</sup>. In fact Edgell (1990:38) points out that merely allowing international tourism to take place is a foreign policy decision.

International tourism is part of international relations and a basic understanding of a country's international relations and the resulting policies towards foreign tourists, is essential to understanding its tourism (Hall, 1994:59). It is impossible to understand tourism patterns in one nation without looking at what is happening elsewhere (Urry, 1990:48 in Hall, 1994:59).

If countries encourage travel between them, this hints to good relations (Hall, 1994:59). In the time of communism in Eastern Europe, the idea of communist solidarity led to increased intra-bloc travel (Hall, 1994:60). Conversely, restrictive visa regulations for inbound tourists and travel bans or other obstacles for outbound tourists can be employed by any government to further the aims of their foreign policy (Edgell, 1990:38). This has been the case in Eastern Europe, where nationals were often not let out of their countries and certain nationals or types of tourists were not let in for fear of "ideological contamination" (Hall, 1994:60). The goals for tourism in communist states were set in the context of the underlying ideology and even could become a tool for the achievement of ideological goals (Hall, 1994: 79).

Apart from these quite drastic, direct and conscious interferences with tourism numbers, many other foreign policy related aspects impact on international tourism, sometimes even without the government's intention (Hall, 1994:64). However, rather

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<sup>9</sup> and vice versa, but this is not the focus of this dissertation

than considering all types of possible interactions between foreign policy and international tourism, it makes sense to now start considering the particularities of Romania in the two fields. Yet the actual connection between the two will be left for the data analysis section.

### **2.3 Romanian International Relations and Foreign Policy**

In order to meaningfully discuss the effects of international relations on international tourism in Romania, it is vital to understand the nature of both areas. Therefore, this section aims to give an overview of international relations and foreign policy during the time period considered. First of all however, the mechanisms behind these are analysed in order to give a better understanding of where and how the decisions affecting them are made. This is done by looking at how Romania fits into theoretical frameworks of the field of comparative foreign policy. International relations are of course involving bilateral and multilateral interactions, so that the foreign policy and other factors of other countries would have impacted upon the relationships, too. However, an analysis of other countries decision making mechanisms is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In his pre-theory of foreign policy, Rosenau (1990:164-175) outlines which variables will be most likely to influence a country's foreign policy depending on its size, level of economic development and openness of the political system. The variables employed are idiosyncratic ones (individual level factors of key decision makers), role variables (that arise from a person's function rather than his idiosyncrasy), governmental variables (aspects of governmental structure influencing decision outcomes), societal ones (non-governmental impacts on decisions) and

systemic ones (outside national control, e.g. actions abroad or geography). He then draws up the ranking of these variables according to the type of country, as seen in table 2.1 below.

**Table 2.1: “An Abbreviated Presentation of [Rosenau’s] Pre-Theory of Foreign Policy, in Which Five Sets of Variables Underlying the External Behaviour of Societies are Ranked according to Their Relative Potencies in Eight Types of Societies” (Rosenau, 1990)**

<i>Geography and physical resources</i>	LARGE COUNTRY				SMALL COUNTRY			
	<i>Developed</i>		<i>Underdeveloped</i>		<i>Developed</i>		<i>Underdeveloped</i>	
<i>State of the economy</i>								
<i>State of the polity</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Closed</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Closed</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Closed</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Closed</i>
<i>Rankings of the variables</i>	Role Societal Systemic Idiosyncratic	Role Idiosyncratic Governmental Systemic Societal	Idiosyncratic Role Societal Systemic Governmental	Idiosyncratic Role Governmental Systemic Societal	Role Systemic Societal Governmental Idiosyncratic	Role Systemic Idiosyncratic Governmental Societal	Idiosyncratic Systemic Role Societal Governmental	Idiosyncratic Systemic Role Governmental Societal
<i>Illustrative examples</i>	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	India	Red China	Holland	Czechoslovakia	Kenya	Ghana

(Source: Rosenau, 1990)

Rosenau himself declares it only a pre-theory and there are several flaws in the author’s opinion. For example it seems dangerously naïve to conclude that underdeveloped democracies are bound to behave very similar to underdeveloped dictatorships, both being assigned the idiosyncratic variable as the most important influence on foreign policy. This could lead to comparing Saddam Hussein and the prime minister of India in terms of their power, influence and even goals. Similarly not all developed nations have the same institutional makeup, so that in some states with strong presidential or prime ministerial powers idiosyncratic factors may have a higher importance than in those states where the heads of state and executive are more constrained in what they can do.

However, in the case of pre-revolutionary Romania the theory can be effectively applied: Romania would have been placed as having a relatively small size

and physical resources base, rather underdeveloped and certainly a closed political system. This would mean that idiosyncratic, systemic and role variables would have been much more influential than governmental and societal ones. This assertion seems to hold if we look at the foreign policy decision making process:

Bachman (1989) described that although the Romanian constitution officially placed the formulation of foreign policy into the hands of the Grand National Assembly (GNA), actually Ceausescu and his closest circle as well as the Permanent Bureau and the politburo, called Political Executive Committee (Pollexco), made most of the decisions. These were then passed to the GNA for automatic and unchanged approval. The implementation and coordination of the formulated foreign policy was carried out by the council of ministers through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. However, these ministries functioned more like administrative agencies, as the real decision making power lay with the party leaders. They “[...] implemented party decisions in the fields of diplomatic, educational, cultural, and scientific relations with other states and with international organizations [...]” and “[...] international trade and economic activities [...]” respectively (Bachman, 1989). Whilst the State Council ratified international treaties and established official diplomatic relations with other states, President Ceausescu was of prime importance, because as the head of state he represented Romania in international relations (Bachman, 1989).

Ceausescu therefore is a key example for an idiosyncratic variable. Other high officials however, are examples of role factors, as they would have easily been replaced by Ceausescu if not fulfilling their roles according to his wishes. Systemic factors have not directly been proven to have been important, but the division of the

world into two camps, that would have shaped nearly every international action, is a good example.

By the time of the revolution in 1989, Romania had established diplomatic relations with 125 countries, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Ambassadors were maintained in 118 of them and Romania also traded with other states without entering into formal diplomatic relations. The country was and is a member of the United Nations (UN) and several UN specialized agencies. Like most Central and Eastern European states it was a member, of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, better known as the Warsaw Pact and COMECON<sup>10</sup> (Bachman, 1989). However, as shall be seen below, its relationship with these communist international organisations and their most powerful member, the Soviet Union, was not always easy as the country was not always compliant with their decisions:

In terms of foreign policy content, Ceausescu largely continued the course set by his predecessor Gheorghiu-Dej despite a very different personality and leadership style. This included the continued paradoxical situation of ideological and military dependency on Russia on the one side and increasingly close trading ties with the West on the other (Carr, 1998:141).

Communism had been imported from the Soviet Union, which dominated the communist bloc and its institutions. However, Romania frequently opposed Soviet economic and military policy and thus violated the communist bloc's unity of international action (Carr, 1998:141). In particular, Ceausescu rejected the Brezhnev doctrine<sup>11</sup>, did not participate in the invasion of Prague and also asserted that national interest overrides bloc interest in economic questions (Carr, 1998:141). Therefore

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<sup>10</sup> COMECON was an economic organization linking the economy of the USSR with those of the other communist countries from 1949 until 1991.

<sup>11</sup> that consisted of the Soviet's justification and rationalisation of the invasion of Prague 1968 to prevent democratisation (Nogee and Donaldson, 1981:226)

COMECON decisions such as the specialisation of communist countries based on comparative advantage were not accepted (Carr, 1998:139).

Even more courageously Romania refused Warsaw Pact manoeuvres on its soil (Nogee and Donaldson, 1981:227), condemned Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Carr, 1998:141) and even made moves together with Yugoslavia to strengthen common defences “against the potential threat from the east” (Nogee and Donaldson, 1981:227). However, the USSR did not go any further than sealing off the border between the Socialist Soviet Republic (SSR) Moldova and Romania (Waters, 2003:203).<sup>12</sup>

Romania almost seemed like a neutral power with a high degree of independence from the Communist Bloc. Watson (1982:198) therefore suggested that “[...] R[o]mania may develop a special role (for instance helping to bridge the gap between the United States and communist China) [...]”. Whilst there is no evidence of Romania ever fulfilling such an important international role, beyond rhetoric, the country did at least try to become internationally active in its own right in many ways.

It gained observer status at the non-aligned conference, redefined itself from a socialist country to a socialist developing country therefore joining the Group of 77 (G77)<sup>13</sup> (Linden, 1987:12/58). The EU was approached and asked to recognise Romania as a developing country and thus give its goods easy access to the common market. Even applications were made to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Rațiu, 1975:58), the “financial club of the West” (Rațiu, 1975:88). GATT membership was eventually granted, whereas the requests towards the EU and IMF were only partially successful.

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<sup>12</sup> Both Romania and Moldova had Romanian speaking majorities.

<sup>13</sup> The G77 is a group of third world countries established during the first UNCTAD conference in 1964 to give the poorest nations a stronger voice. It now contains 132 countries.

Romania was able to pioneer east-west rapprochement as strategic considerations enhanced Romania's importance to the West. The clearest proof for this was the visit of US President Nixon to Romania, which was in fact the first official visit of a US president to the whole communist world (Păiușan et al., 2002:145). He had been preceded by the French president General Charles de Gaulle in May 1968 (Păiușan et al., 2002:138). And these were just the beginnings of a long series of high profile visits of Western officials to Romania. Ceausescu and his wife Elena and other leading communist party officials in turn visited France and the USA on several occasions.<sup>14</sup>

Similar visits and improved relations also followed later between other communist and non-communist states. Most communist countries at some point commenced diplomatic relations with most non-communist countries and visits exchanged between heads of state and other high officials took place on various occasions. In the context of the depression of the 1980s that followed the oil crises of the 1970s all communist states including the Soviet Union were keen on at least good economic relations with the west whose resources and technological and managerial expertise they increasingly depended on (Malcolm, 1989:68).

One might easily dismiss Romania's special position in international affairs as opportunist one and compare it to that of some states of the non-aligned movement that used their neutral position to attract attention and investment from both the communist bloc and the western world. However, Romania also had good relations with a variety of states that were not so directly and obviously benefiting the country. In particular one should note the good relations with Yugoslavia, China, Israel, Palestine and the rest of the Arab world. In the case of the non-Moscow line

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<sup>14</sup> In 1978 for example the Ceausescu couple had the honour of being Queen Elizabeth II's guests in Buckingham palace (Păiușan et al., 2002:233).

communist countries including Yugoslavia, Albania and China, one could argue that it was logical for a relatively weak country which was trying to be neutral, it made sense to seek other countries that were neither under heavy influence from, nor leaning too far towards, either of the two super-powers (Rațiu, 1975). Although there is no evidence of defence related plans between China and Romania, and the ones between Yugoslavia and Romania were not put into practice, the sheer hint at potential united resistance of much of the Balkans and the USSR's huge Asian neighbour to Soviet military intervention in Romania might have been precisely what saved the country from such a fate.

The good relations with the Middle East however, had a more economic rationale. The Arabic countries were not just also somewhat neutral, but also provided opportunities for trade Romania had no reason not to take advantage from. After all good relations with the region had existed for a long time (Anghelescu, 1974). Good relations with Israel seemed to be illogical considering both the good relations with the PLO and the Arab countries as well as strong anti-Semitic sentiments against the Jewish minority in Romania. Ceausescu and other senior communist officials indeed did not return the high profile visits made by Israeli statesmen to Romania. Nonetheless, Romania did not follow suit when other communist countries condemned Israel for its occupation of the Palestinian people, even formally recognising the country, and there was some co-operation in economic activities such as trade and tourism (Govrin, 2002:300-313). What must not be ignored in this context was Israel's closeness to the United States. Indeed the United States was the driving force behind Romanian-Israeli rapprochement. Negotiations for favourable trade access of Romania's low quality products to the US market for instance were



used periodically to pressure Romania into pro-Israeli and pro-Jewish policies<sup>15</sup> (Govrin, 2002:312 / Argatu and Glodeanu, 2005).

Romania's distinctly different and independent stand in international relations lasted all through the communist rule right until the revolution. In the 1980s depression several countries in the world came close to defaulting on servicing their debts. Romania, however, eager to preserve good relations with the west, started combined policies sacrifice such as extreme rationing whilst increasing exports, to raise money for paying back its debt (Argatu and Glodeanu, 2005 / Argatu, 2005 / Brucan, [no year of publication given]). Just before the revolution it had actually completely repaid its debt (Argatu and Glodeanu, 2005). As a final gesture of relative independence from the USSR, unlike Bulgaria, Romania did not follow Gorbachev's policies of perestroika<sup>16</sup> and glasnost<sup>17</sup> (Carr, 1998:142). Ceausescu probably thought that more openness and reform would leave him very vulnerable to loose equilibrium in his balancing act between east and west, which he eventually lost.

Despite all of the above, one should not exaggerate the importance and distinctiveness of Romania. Romania was not the only special status country within the communist bloc. Yugoslavia's and Albania's activities in the non-aligned movement, Hungary's western-style consumerism and Bulgaria's record of non-conformity with the USSR all distinguished these countries just like Romania from those more loyal to Moscow such as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) (John, 1975:134).

A dynamic and continuous change from communism to democracy, with elements of the old system remaining until this day alongside newer ones, has been

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<sup>15</sup> This included for example provisions to allow certain numbers of Romanian Jews to leave the country and settle in Israel

<sup>16</sup> restructuring of the USSR's economy

<sup>17</sup> making the USSR's government more open and transparent

triggered by the revolution. So now it would be hard to fit Romania into theoretical “boxes”. For this reason the most important post-revolutionary developments will be considered here now without attempting to apply theories to them. Still they will be valuable for informing the data analysis section below.

After the revolution and in the more general context of the end of the cold war, Romania has formed much closer ties with Western Europe, joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 2004 and hopes to join the EU in 2007. The recently elected president Traian Băsescu in his first TV interview criticised that Romania during the last 10 years has followed only had two foreign policy goals – joining NATO and becoming a member of the EU (Băsescu, 2005). Whilst it is certainly the case that most politicians try to criticise preceding governments of other parties and belittle their achievements, there is a strong element of truth in this statement, despite some exaggeration.

If one considers Romania’s close relationship with the west before 1989, it is actually quite surprising that they had to fight hard to be even pencilled in for the 2007 EU enlargement. Slovenia, the so-called Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia), and even the Baltic States were more readily accepted for the 2005 enlargement, because they democratised and economically developed further (Carr, 1998:168).

However, despite joining NATO and trying to enter the European Union Romania has not lost its individual spirit that always made it a special case. Just like it used to enjoy good relationships with the west in communist times and rebel against Soviet organisations’ decisions, now it enjoys some of the closest ties to Russia of all former communist countries. Trade links have been firmly re-established in 1993 and Russians working and trading in the Romanian black economy are widely tolerated

(Carr, 1998:168). Also now Romania has a history of non-compliance with international organisations' rules and/or advice. It fails for example to fully meet demands of the European Union such as the complete stop to international adoptions in the light of the corrupt and human-trafficking practices (de Quetteville, 2004:13). Similarly as a reluctant member of the Council of Europe, Romania persistently rejected recommendation 1201 on minority rights, as its various terms for recognition of and concessions to minorities were not acceptable to many government officials and the general population, due to widespread anti-gypsy, anti-Hungarian and anti-Semitic sentiments (Carr, 1998:153 / Council of Europe, 1993).

In terms of Romania's relationship with Western and Central Europe, given the dynamic move towards ever further integration, there is an overlap between issues arising with single countries and the block as a whole. In fact at least the greatest powers in the EU that are mainly the ones considered here, mainly interact with Romania in its role as likely accession country to the EU in 2007. They try to make sure that Romania meets both the EU's requirements and cooperates on issues in their particular national interest, which are not two mutually exclusive categories.

With the EU as a whole there is the problem of adoptions mentioned above, which has been taken up especially by the British politician Emma Nicholson in her role as the EU observer for Romania, who said that that the corrupt adoption practices could seriously endanger the accession process (de Quetteville, 2004:13). More directly with Britain there was the issue of a massive visa scam by Romanians<sup>18</sup> which were abusing business visas made available to nationals of EU candidacy states for self-employed work. This was taken so seriously that the British embassy in Bucharest was closed for a couple of weeks (Deutsche Welle, 2004).

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<sup>18</sup> Bulgarians and collaborating embassy staff were also involved.

Apart from corruption, the main issue appears to be massive legal and illegal immigration and work abroad by millions of Romanians going especially to the UK, Germany, France, Italy and Spain (BBC, 2002). The most negative discourse about this has been in the United Kingdom and France. In the UK the key actors of this discourse were rather the media (Dilley, 2000), but in France it was taken up by the government itself. Romania had already introduced a policy of asking nationals to show a minimum of 250 or 500 Euros respectively to be allowed to leave towards former communist countries or the EU (Thorpe, 2002). This was supposed to please the other European countries by preventing people arriving there in destitute and engaging in illegal activities or claim benefits eventually costing money for their deportations. However, this was not enough for France's minister of the interior Nicolas Sarkozy who demanded in particular that "[...] the Romanian authorities do more to prevent what the French media call gypsy beggars and thieves from reaching France" (Thorpe, 2002). Romania still wanted to please the EU and so started to make it virtually impossible for most Gypsies to cross leave the country, even when they fulfilled the official requirements, in a way reminiscent of the restrictions during Ceausescu's dictatorship, only that now it was focussed towards a badly defined racial and social group and largely welcomed by the west despite a clear condemning stand on other discrimination issues before (BBC, 2001). France even "help[ed] Romania to create Gypsy border controls. Some 300,000 were prevented from fleeing the country" in 2002 alone (Mortished, 2003).

However, relations with Romania have not been seriously impacted by all this, probably due to the fact that Romania always cooperated sufficiently. The best proof for this is the fact that after all these concerns and raised doubts, Romania's EU accession is now getting more and more certain. The EU has just approved the

accession bids of Romania and Bulgaria this February and the formal accession treaty is to be signed on 25 April this year (Southeast European Times, 2005).

There have also been changes too in respect of other countries than Russia and the EU member states considered so far. For example Romania has proven its commitment to excellent relations with the USA through its participation in the recent Iraq war. On the more negative side, border quarrels with Hungary have (re-) emerged (Roman, 1994:145-168) and Romanian-Moldovan relations are depressed by the drive of Romania for (re-) unification with Moldova whilst the Moldovan governments and even the vast majority of Moldovan citizens vehemently reject this idea (Waters, 2003:200-201).

Romania is also part of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone (BSEC), a sub-regional integration project created together with Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine in 1992. Other states have joined since then. This organisation offers somewhat of a continuation of COMECON as well as an alternative to the EU for those who are not likely to join it soon. (Malitza and Richelieu, 1995:174-188) It seems likely however, that the BSEC will not be of prime importance to Romania, if joining the EU as planned in 2007.

To summarise, Romania has been an almost neutral state pre-1989 with relatively good relations with all key countries and is increasingly involved in international organisations since the revolution. Therefore, one might easily expect, that Romania before the revolution would most likely have had balanced inbound and outbound tourism flows with the communist, western and non-aligned countries. Post-1989 then, one might expect to see an increase in tourism flows with EU, NATO and BSEC countries. That the realities are sometimes different will be shown in the data

analysis section, however first the nature of the Romanian tourism industry that these international actors and developments impact upon, needs to be considered.

## **2.4 The Romanian Tourism Industry**

In the following, the history of the development of Romania's tourism industry as well as its current state are described to facilitate understanding of the complicated issues involving the industry that are at the centre of this dissertation. The story of Romanian tourism begins with a small state run industry that is then quickly expanded, encounters prolonged booms and crises and is eventually privatised and modernized after the revolution.

Since Ceausescu came to power in 1965, he pursued autonomous economic and industrialisation plans. Romania started to develop its tourism industry, which, along with increased exports and trade redirection towards the West, earned the hard currency that was so desperately needed (Rațiu, 1975:51). Plans were made to increase the number of foreign arrivals from 670,000 in 1965 to 2.3 million in 1970 and 4 million in 1975 and these targets were actually nearly reached (see below). Tourist taxes and charges were payable in dollars and most establishments serving mainly tourists, such as gift shops and restaurants, accepted only dollars and other hard currency which Romanians were not allowed to hold by law. There was a set minimum for tourists' daily spending as well as compulsory minimum exchange sums (Rațiu, 1975:57). If one considers that private businesses did not exist and citizens were not allowed to own foreign currency, it becomes clear how directly the tourists provided the government with money.

With dramatic increases in both planned and actual inbound international tourism numbers, it was necessary to develop the country's tourism industry in many ways. A large number of seaside resorts were set up around the city of Constanța, and a couple in the Carpathian Mountains close to the historic city of Brașov. The former were mass tourism concrete developments similar to those appearing in southern Europe and elsewhere at the same time, whilst the latter became very popular as wildlife and skiing destinations for western tourists as well as the international communist elites (Glăvan, 2000:47/86). Other developments which were more spread across the country included a great number of spas and facilitation of visits to manmade attractions such as the myriad of beautiful monasteries and churches (Glăvan, 2000:90).

A wide variety of different types of accommodation and catering facilities was established by state agencies. In 1972 the total number of accommodation units was 1321 with a capacity of 236,792 beds, over half of which were available for international tourism (Ministerul Turismului, 1973:14-19). The latter figure increased by roughly 10,000 per year throughout most of the 1970s and even kept rising during the troublesome 1980s, reaching over 400,000 by the time of the revolution, after which about one quarter of accommodation capacity has been cut (Ministerul Turismului, 1976:160). Noteworthy is the construction of an "INTERCONTINENTAL" hotel by the American firm in conjunction with Romanian organisations in the 1970s. Other foreign hotel chains including Hilton soon followed suit soon followed (Rațiu, 1990).

Important to both international tourism and international relations, was the communication infrastructure, which "[...] put[...] Romania in economic and tourist connection with Europe and other continents and assure[...] tourist transit between

South-eastern Europe and Western Europe and Eastern [Europe], Central and Northern [Europe].” (Glăvan, 2000:99) In terms of its road network, Romania used to have no highway system, but was relatively well connected and main routes were of reasonable quality (Glăvan, 2000:99). The country has a long history of railway developments including the 19<sup>th</sup> century “Orient express” link to Paris (Glăvan, 2000:104). In the period between the Second World War and the Romanian revolution, the national and international railway links were expanded and modernised considerably and there were even more trains than nowadays (Dumitru, 2005). Romanian aviation commenced in 1920 and was already rather developed after the Second World War. This was increased when the national airline Transporturi Aeriene Române (TAROM) was founded in 1954, which led to numerous new internal and international routes (Glăvan, 2000:107 / TAROM, 2005a / TAROM, 2005c).

During the communist time, there was one inherent contradiction in the organisation of tourist resorts: On the one hand Romania wanted to educate western tourists by showing the great achievements of communism (Hall, 1994:44); on the other hand it effectively created a state of apartheid: Tourists and Romanians were segregated in the black sea resorts and some other spas with Romanians not allowed to enter tourist restaurants or hotels (Rațiu, 1975:118). Even the foreign tourists themselves were not treated all the same. The author remembers several acquaintances of his from Germany telling him that when they visited Romania before the revolution, West Germans were kept in different hotels to East Germans. Although no official policies or plans about this have been encountered at the Romanian authorities visited, it is very likely that this extended to other nationalities as well. Thus the contact between western tourists and those from communist



countries would have been minimised. The resorts and hotels for Romanian nationals engaging in internal tourism were even other ones. All this has to be understood in the light of Romanian officials' "fear of ideological contamination" by non-communist tourists (Hall, 1994:61). However, in the case of Romanian nationals one must also consider that, given the poverty and lack of hard currency, they could not generally have afforded hotels of the same standard as western tourists.

Similar to other communist states' practice Romanians were also not generally permitted to leave their country to travel themselves. Although there was no law about this, the pattern was always the same: At the very latest at the border they were simply refused exit and sent back to their home town without any explanation or the possibility for complaint (Artgatu, 2005).

As far as inbound international tourism was concerned, the 1970s were the golden years for the country, followed by a decline in the 1980s due the recession linked to the oil crises and the related debt crisis, which are detailed below (Artgatu, 2005 / Mintel, 2004b:3). The change to a capitalist economic system in 1989 resulted in privatisation and restructuring of the tourism industry, which, after initial shortcomings, is now slowly making up for the failures of the 1980s (Mintel, 2004b:3). Restrictions and regulations were lifted, and a number of new types of developments have taken place.

In particular, the development of newer forms of tourism such as conference and other business related tourism, agro-tourism in the countryside and (supposedly) sustainable tourism mainly in the Danube Delta Biosphere Reservation, have taken place and are currently carried out or planned (Glăvan, 2000). Furthermore the traditional components of Romanian tourism based in the mountains, at the seaside

and around the numerous spas and manmade sights are further developed (Glăvan, 2000 / Burford and Richardson, 2001:24).

One big current project is the planned Dracula Park, which was originally supposed to be built in the Transylvanian countryside and aspired to compete with other big European amusement parks for international visitors. However, after a few cases of corruption, finance problems, and the realisation that the park alone in such a location will not be very likely to attract too many tourists, the plan had been postponed. It is now to be constructed closer to Bucharest, where according to international consultants it is much more likely to attract tourists (BBC, 2003).

In terms of communications infrastructure, several developments have taken place since the revolution: The construction of a Bucharest-Constanța motorway was commenced in the early 1990s and is likely to be completed soon. Individual sections of it are already used (Glăvan, 2000:99). There is also a very short strip of motorway leading westwards from the capital and supposedly to be continued towards Hungary<sup>19</sup>. Romania is connected by 10 border-crossing railway connections to its neighbour countries (Glăvan, 2000:107), but there are actually far fewer domestic and international trains nowadays as a result of the cost focus introduced by capitalist economic thinking into the (still) state owned company (Dumitru, 2005).

TAROM has modernised and expanded its fleet and network since the revolution and is about to be privatised (TAROM, 2005b). Since 1999 Carpatair, a Romanian-Swiss company, has commenced domestic and international flights to Italy (Carpatair, 2000). The Italian low cost airline Volareweb served two Romanian cities from Venice between November 2003 and its suspension of all its flights in

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<sup>19</sup> Considering the slow progress on the other motorway and the general financial situation of the country, this is unlikely to be continued quickly unless the EU would release funds for this in connection with the prospective admission in 2007.

November 2004 (Volare Group SPA, 2004) and now Romania has its own low cost charter airline, Blue Air, servicing one domestic destination as well as international ones in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Turkey (Blue Air, 2005).

In closing this section on the Romanian tourism industry, it may seem as if tourism has not been considered here, and in the previous sections, as lengthily as international relations. However, by the design of the dissertation research of examining a one-way impact of the diverse field of international relations onto international tourism, which had to be delimited to inbound and outbound tourism flows, this became a necessity. Furthermore, international tourism strongly features as the main content of the data analysis section, representing the only numerical data collected for this dissertation.

With all the above literature and theory considered, sufficient background information has been provided to understand and analyse Romanian international tourism statistics in the light of the question how they might have been affected by the international relations of Romania. However, before this is done, the methodology section outlines the methods employed for gathering this statistical data.

### **3 Methodology**

This dissertation follows a hybrid methodology with aspects of both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The underlying epistemology is mainly positivist and interpretive thus somewhat lacking the critical component needed for a full scale qualitative research. Basic statistical analysis and interpretation is useful precisely in situations like the relationship analysed here, where “[...]knowledge of causal mechanisms[...]” has not been sufficiently gathered so that there are little previous findings to be critically analysed (Sayer, 1992). However, wherever possible, the author does approach his own methods and findings critically.

By using a case study and case history approach, the author carries out an in-depth study (Hamel et al., 1993:1) intended to “catch the complexity” (Stake, 1995:xi) of the relationship rather than simplifying it and try to establish some causal relationships (Yin, 2003:5). However, a case study implies that there is a problem of drawing generalisations from the findings (Gomm et al., 2000). Nonetheless, by considering a relatively long timescale and analysing a high number of different country pairs, some generalising conclusions are made possible<sup>20</sup>.

Data from the tourism side is mainly of numerical form whereas information about international relations is not. The author has conducted some preliminary library and internet based research in the UK, Germany, Canada and Mexico as well as during a holiday in Romania. Then followed a 2 week research trip to Romania in January 2005 for obtaining mainly tourism related data and further library and electronic resource based research on international relations related information led to the actual basis of this dissertation.

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<sup>20</sup> That is in terms of Romania, not in terms of international relations and tourism in any country.

Due to the fact that little if anything has been written directly on the topic concerned, much of the research conducted was of primary rather than secondary nature. Theories of other academics have then been used in conjunction with the author's own judgement in order to analyse the gathered data. The preceding literature review already had to rely on several non-literature sources such as interviews and personal communication in order to provide missing background knowledge, with all the implications this has such as issues of credibility, reliability, validity, subjectivity, memory and language (Arksey and Knight, 1999 / Saunders et al., 2003). Some more of the information from these sources will also be employed in the data analysis section, again to fill the gaps that the official tourism statistics and information necessary for their analysis could not provide for.

There is a danger for higher subjectivity in interviews and personal communications, therefore Burnham et al (2004:218) warn from relying too much on the responses of a particular respondent. However, as a result of the unavailability of the information from other data sources and even of other interview partners, in combination with the fact that the issues at stake were not contentious nor currently personally affecting the respondents, their use can be justified. The only interference that cannot be ruled out is the potentially selective memory of the people interviewed.

Dumitru is a pensioner, who has worked for the Romanian railway in several different positions and commented on his working life and the general situation of pre-revolutionary Romania's railway system (Dumitru, 2005). Argatu and Glodeanu are young employees in the Ministry of Tourism who commented on the situation of Romania and its tourism industry before the revolution, a time when they didn't work themselves (Argatu, 2005 / Argatu and Glodeanu, 2005).

To avoid further possible interferences with the data on tourism, the internet has been avoided as far as possible, as the relevant information found through this medium seemed rather limited and of questionable basis. However, there are also some serious issues arising from the data that was used, which have been taken into consideration.

The data gathered from reports and statistics compiled by and/or found in Romania's Ministry of Tourism (MT), National Tourism Authority (ANT), National Institute of Statistics (INS) and National Institute for Tourism Research and Development (INCDT) is far from perfect. Mintel (2004b) hint to the questionable basis and sometimes contradictory nature of their data<sup>21</sup>. This can only be emphasized by the author, who has made the following observations:

Tourism statistics are patchy as not regularly and consistently collected during the period of interest. Some publications seem to have been lost, as data appears in later publications about years from which the original publications cannot be found. Sometimes different numbers appear in different publications of the same institutions. Some statistics have data handwritten into the tables for the latest periods covered.

Moreover there are some serious issues concerning the methodologies used in the collections of the data. Many publications have no statements of methodology, and those that do, include only a brief statement which even has been copied unmodified from the previous years over and over again<sup>22</sup>. The fact that the pre-1989 data has been collected under a communist regime has also may have influenced the collection and publication of the results in many ways. There may have been certain pressures and circumstances confronting the data collectors that would not have

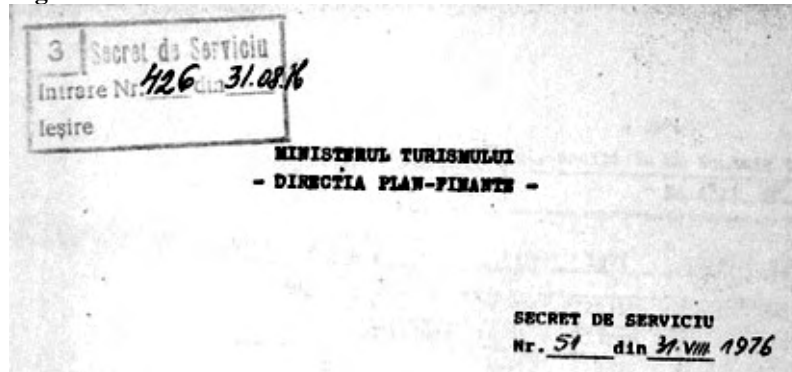
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<sup>21</sup> Mintel in their Travel & Tourism Intelligence Country Report on Romania also used these organisations and authorities named here as sources.

<sup>22</sup> Considering the above mentioned irregularity of some publications and the fact that at different times different ministries and government departments were in charge of tourism, it seems rather unlikely that indeed the same methodology was stuck to.

existed in a democratic country. How closed and restrictive the communist system of control over the organisations and authorities was, is exemplified by the stamps in many publications identifying them as registered state secrets (see figure 3.1).

**Fig. 3.1: Basic Tourism Statistics – A State Secret under Ceausescu:**



(Source: Ministerul Turismului, 1976)

The actual data collected from various sources, but most of which based on NSI statistics, can be seen in Appendix 1. Some contradictory data was found, such as an up to 25% difference in figures for early total tourism numbers, in which case it was assumed that figures in newer publications for the same year, were the revised and hence more correct ones. Varying approaches such as the redefinition of Turkey as sometimes Asian, sometimes European, have been dealt with by recalculation of figures to ensure consistency. Numbers ending in three 0s stem from rounded statistics where no exact figures have been found, except for the 2004 figures, which have been calculated and rounded by the author. This was done by taking the first three quarters' statistics of 2004 and assuming that the numbers in the last quarter would relate to those in the same way in which the previous year's last quarter related to the three preceding ones.

The most complete sets of data are available for the years of 1970 until 1975 as well as the post-1989 period. It can be noticed, that after 1998 there are no more details available for outbound tourism to specific countries or regions. This is probably due to the fact that bureaucratic exit procedures that remained from the

communist time were discontinued, whilst other monitoring methods such as exit surveys have not yet been employed beyond pilot projects (INCDT,1995a / INCDT,1995b). This constrains the data analysis to cover only the most complete periods.

However, even the best methodology and complete records could not make up for some interfering factors in the data. The most important single such factor is the fact that a huge proportion of the people who appear in Romania's tourism statistics as outbound tourists, are actually engaging in legal and illegal migration and international employment (Artgatu, 2005), which is outside the WTO's definition of tourist activities. This is partially due to the reliance of simple head counts at border posts rather than elaborate exit surveys (Artgatu, 2005), as well as the fact that even when questioned more specifically, at least the illegal work seekers and migrants would conceal their aim and try to appear like tourists. This has to be always kept in mind when looking at the following data analysis section of international tourist statistics.

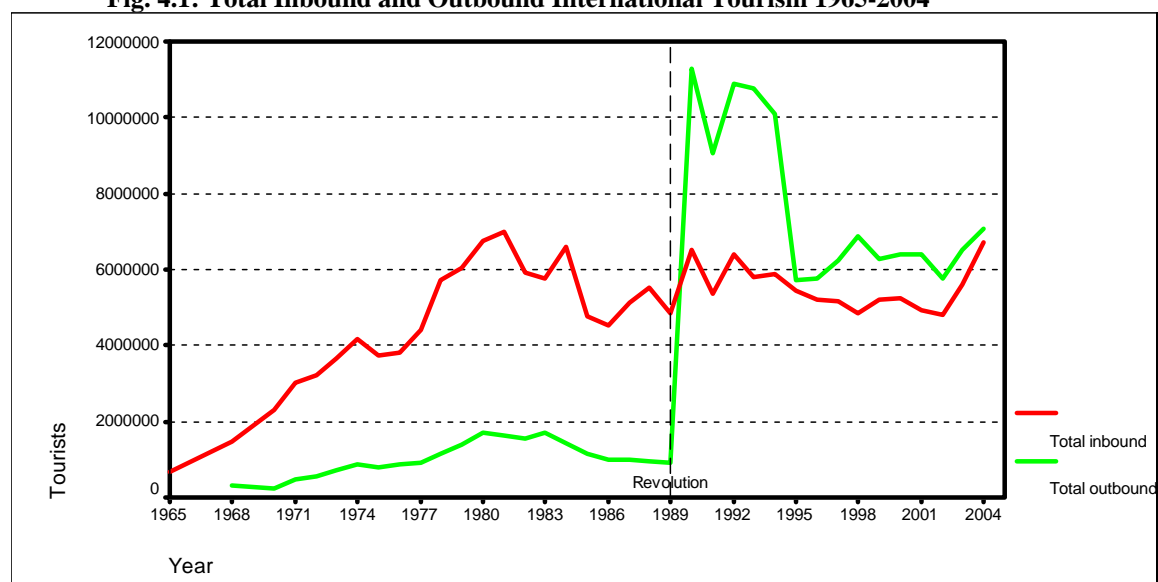
With the methodology clarified and problems and issues accounted for, one can now comprehend the collected data (see Appendix 1) and the subsequent data analysis.



## 4 Data Analysis

If one looks at the total numbers of Romania's international inbound and outbound tourism, a drastic picture appears (see figure 4.1). Throughout the late 1960s and 1970s inbound international tourism grew steadily and rapidly, reaching a high of over 7 million by 1981. Outbound international tourism grew as well, but both its absolute numbers and growth rates were dwarfed by the inbound figures. Then the 1980s saw a decline in both inbound and outbound tourism numbers.

**Fig. 4.1: Total Inbound and Outbound International Tourism 1965-2004**



(Source: CNS, 1993 / CNS, 1996 / CNS, 1998 / CNS, 2000 / Cojocaru, 1992 / Ceauseanu et al., 1977 / INS, 2000 / INS, 2001 / INS, 2002 / INS, 2003a / INS, 2003b / INS, 2004a / INS, 2004b / INS, 2004c / INS, 2004d / INS, 2004e / INS, 2004f / Ministerul Turismului, 1973 / Ministerul Turismului, 1976 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / Mintel, 2004a / Mintel, 2004b / Mintel, 2004c / Nița and Nița, 2000 / Oficiul Național de Turism al Republicii Socialista România, no publication year given / Vielhaber and Aderhold, 1981)

After the revolution inbound tourism stayed relatively stable between 4.8 and 6.4 million foreigners visiting Romania. Outbound figures skyrocketed to a number half as big as the total population and nearly twice as much as inbound tourism. Although they didn't stay that high for long, they have constantly stayed above inbound tourism figures ever since. The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has brought

about what is possibly the start of another increase for both inbound and outbound tourism, but it is to be seen in the next few years whether a lasting development emerges.

So how far has all this been influenced by international relations? As mentioned above, Romania used to play a special role in that it tried under Ceausescu to have good relations with communist, western and non-aligned states. Therefore one might be lead to expect flourishing inbound and outbound tourism. In terms of inbound tourism, this took place. However, as far as outbound tourism is concerned, it did not. Of course the background of international relations was the same for both inbound and outbound tourism. So it must have been other factors that made the difference. The key to this are the extreme restrictions on outbound travel in communist times (see below), which must be understood as instruments of domestic policy and control rather than foreign policy measures.

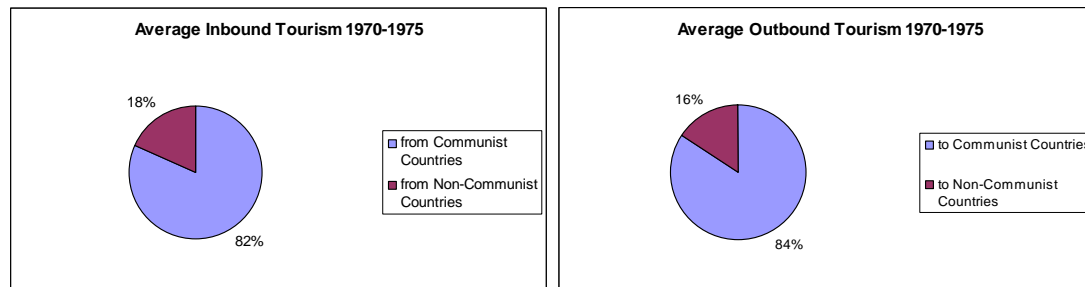
However, looking at totals might conceal some more subtle changes in tourism statistics or simultaneous developments that go in different directions. Therefore the figures for certain states and groups of states need to be analysed. The most sensible categories of states for the time before the Romanian revolution, are those of communist and non-communist states. Again, one might expect to see a balance between communist and non-communist countries due to Romania's special status. However, as figure 4.2 shows, this was not the case at all<sup>23</sup>. The vast majority of both inbound and outbound international tourism in Romania was to and from other communist countries (Neder, 1974:84), despite the good relations with the West. The

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<sup>23</sup> Percentages are for the first half of the 1970s only, because there are no data sets available for the following years until after the revolution. The exception to this is a set of data for 1980, but that one is not readily comparable due to the fact that it does not list countries in categories. A manual calculation of such totals is prevented by the absence of definition statements which countries were included in which category in the 1970s and the fact that in 1980 for some reason Germany is represented as a whole rather than in two parts which would belong into different categories. The years before 1970 have been ignored here, because tourism in Romania only really took off in the 1970s and data was not neither very complete nor very reliable.

figures are very similar, with over four fifth taken up by communist countries in both cases.

**Fig. 4.2: Average Inbound and Outbound Tourism by Political/Economic System 1970-1975**



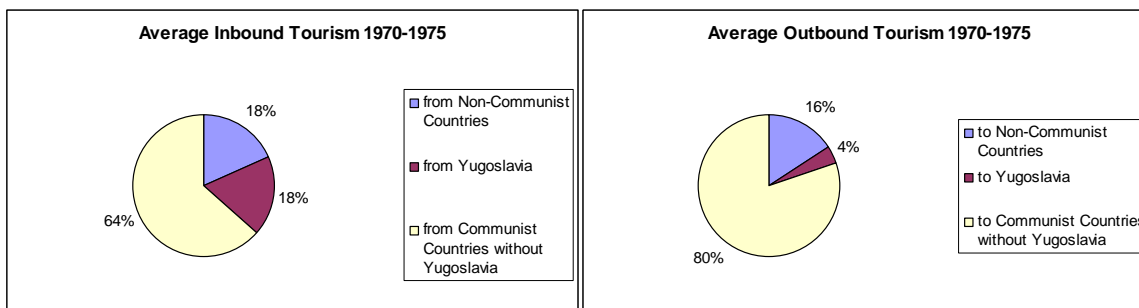
(Source: Ceauseanu et al., 1977 / Ministerul Turismului, 1973 / Ministerul Turismului, 1976)

The direct cause for both low total outbound journeys and even lower outbound ones to non-communist countries were most likely due to the heavy restrictions mentioned in the literature review. These were however not necessarily used as tools of foreign policy, but rather to preserve domestic ideology from contamination (Hall, 1994:60) that might have upset the internal equilibrium of Ceausescu's dictatorship. Both inbound and outbound tourism related contacts between Romanians and foreigners would have been less threatening to Romanian communist ideology than contacts with western citizens, due to the high levels of similarity between the communist countries' ideology. Whilst the share of incoming tourists from non-communist countries was only slightly higher than that of outbound flows to these countries, the absolute number of western tourists visiting Romania was about 50% higher than that of Romanians visiting the west. This placed the greatest number of possible interactions into Romania's territory, where they could be controlled, influenced and limited by measures mentioned in section 2.4.

However, one must not forget that neither of the blocs was completely homogeneous. In particular, the non-aligned movement needs to be accounted for. Due to lack of detailed statistics on non-European countries as well as very low

numbers whenever figures are available, Yugoslavia is taken here to represent this category that can be singled out. Figure 4.3 shows the result of this.

**Fig. 4.3: Average Inbound and Outbound Tourism by Political Alignment 1970-1975**



(Source: Ceauseanu et al., 1977 / Ministerul Turismului, 1973 / Ministerul Turismului, 1976)

Due to the good relations between Yugoslavia and Romania, one might again have expected high inbound and outbound tourism figures. However, the reality looks quite different. The proportion that Yugoslavia takes of total inbound tourism is more than four times higher than that of outbound tourism. As such different percentages arise within the context of the same international relations, a further hint is given to the fact that again other factors than international relations impacted on tourism flows.

One thing that quickly springs to mind is that Yugoslavia and Romania were neighbouring countries, and that given the absence of cheap air travel, tourism flows could be expected to have taken place more between geographically closer countries. This can explain why Yugoslavia's share of inbound tourism to Romania was about as high as all the (geographically more distant) non-communist countries together. This can be supported by the fact that since the break-up of Yugoslavia into several states, the vast majority of tourism flows in both directions occur between Romania and the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro rather than the other successor states, none of which Romania appears to have any diplomatic problems with. However, this cannot account for the attraction of a far smaller share of outbound Romanian tourists in the early 1970s, some possible explanations for which is offered further below.

In order to find out more, other individual countries need to be looked at. It makes sense to turn to other neighbouring countries in order to see whether the patterns differ from the case of Yugoslavia. As can be seen in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 the neighbouring countries were indeed the ones attracting most Romanian nationals as well as being the sources of the greatest number of travellers to Romania.

**Table 4.1 Top countries of origin of foreign tourists in Romania 1970 – 2004**

1970		1980		2004 estimates	
Country	Tourists in thousands	Country	Tourists in thousands	Country	Tourists in thousands
Yugoslavia	423	Yugoslavia	1531	Hungary	2639
Bulgaria	223	Bulgaria	1007	Moldova	1278
Poland	186	Hungary	904	Bulgaria	362
West Germany	170	Poland	718	Ukraine	342
Soviet Union	164	Soviet Union	541	Germany	286
Hungary	152	Germany*	599	Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro)	269
East Germany	75	United Kingdom	84	Italy	259

\*no separate statistics available for East and West Germany

(Source: Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / INS, 2004e)

**Table 4.2 Top destination countries for Romanian tourists 1970 – 1998**

1970		1980		1998	
Country	Tourists in thousands	Country	Tourists in thousands	Country	Tourists in thousands
Hungary	56	Yugoslavia	706	Hungary	3087
Bulgaria	53	Hungary	303	Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro)	1525
Soviet Union	42	Bulgaria	259	Turkey	630
Yugoslavia	21	Soviet Union	125	Bulgaria	603
Czechoslovakia	16	Germany*	86	Germany	178
Poland	14	Czechoslovakia	42	Moldova	134
West Germany	13	Poland	27	Ukraine	111

\*no separate statistics available for East and West Germany

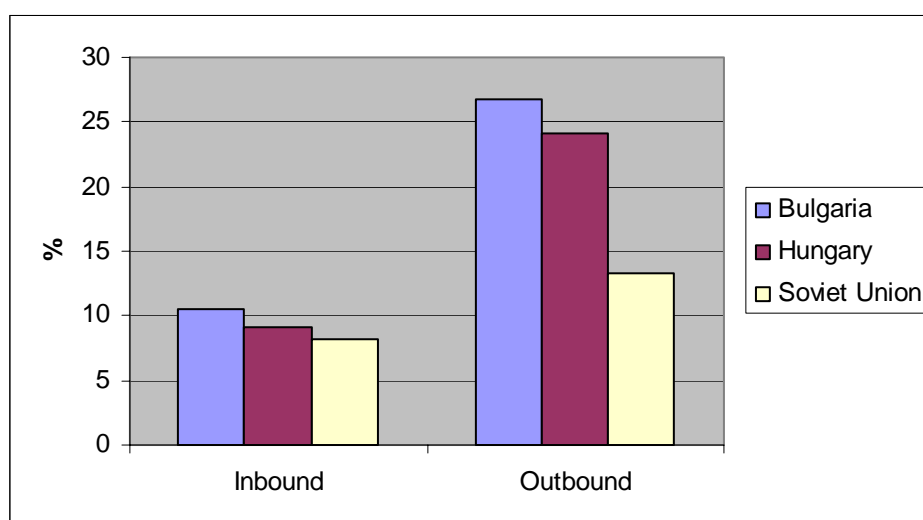
(Source: Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / INS, 1999)

Bulgaria, being the only other neighbour country of Romania that not always followed Moscow's policies (see literature review), was always in one of the top places for both inbound and outbound tourism in 1970. However, so was Hungary. Moreover, the two countries made up on average a tenth of inbound tourism to Romania, but a quarter each of outbound Romania tourists (See figure 4.4). This is exactly the opposite way around as in the case of Yugoslavia. In the case of Bulgaria,

it is likely that the proximity to the most populated south-eastern part of Romania, which includes the capital, made it convenient for many Romanians to visit Bulgaria, rather than other (neighbour-) countries. In the case of Hungary, the author suggests that the sizeable minority of ethnic Hungarians in Romania encouraged travel of those and other Romanians to Hungary.

In the case of the Soviet Union, both inbound and outbound share of tourism flows were smaller than Bulgaria's, despite the fact that the border with the USSR was Romania's longest and the SSR Moldova, then part of the USSR, had a majority of ethnic Romanian citizens. The potential for tourist interaction generated by these geographic and ethnic proximity was not realised due to the fact that the border was sealed off by the Soviets as mentioned above (Waters, 2003:203). This is a major example for the scenario where a country strongly affects tourism by limiting both entries and exits as a reaction to bad international relations.

**Fig. 4.4: Bulgaria's, Hungary's and the USSR's average share of Romania's international Tourism 1970-1975**

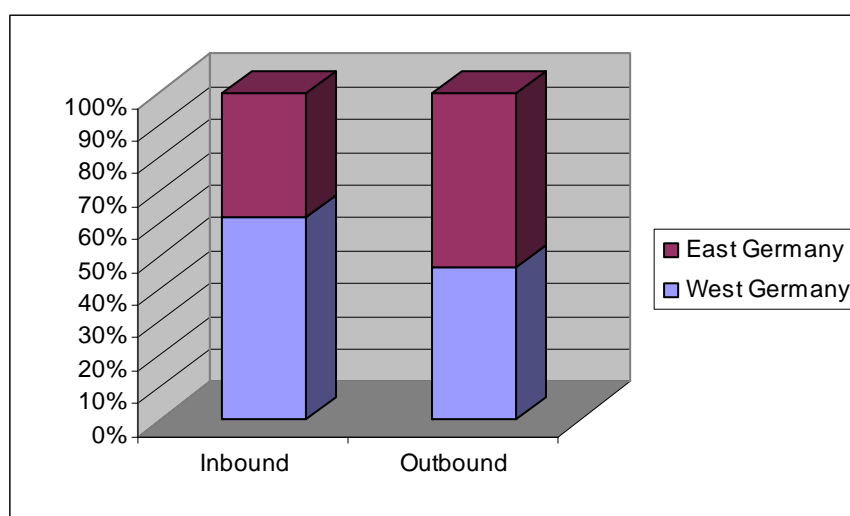


(Source: Ceauseanu et al., 1977 / Ministerul Turismului, 1973 / Ministerul Turismului, 1976)

France, the UK and the USA did not feature on high positions in the tourism figures despite their good relations with Romania. This is most likely due to their

remoteness from the country. Germany, however, despite its distance is the only western country that appears in all of the columns of Tables 4.1 and 4.2. As in the case of Hungary, there was also quite a large German speaking minority in Romania and the countries were historically linked due to their related ruling elites during the time of monarchies. Figure 4.5 shows the average distribution of the tourism figures between east and West Germany.

**Fig. 4.5: Average Proportions of Romania's International Tourism Flows with the two Germanys 1970-1975**



(Source: Ceauseanu et al., 1977 / Ministerul Turismului, 1973 / Ministerul Turismului, 1976)

Surprisingly, the share of East and West Germany of Romanian inbound and outbound tourism was nearly the same, despite the much more biased proportions of all communist and non-communist countries (see above). West Germany had just over half the share of Germans visiting Romania, with East Germany in a similarly small lead in receiving Romanians. However, if one were to adjust these numbers to allow the different size of the populations of the two Germanys, East Germany would have a much higher relative proportion of Romania's inbound and outbound tourism for its population size that was about three times smaller than West Germany's. Still, West Germany retains a relatively high share of inbound and outbound tourism compared to

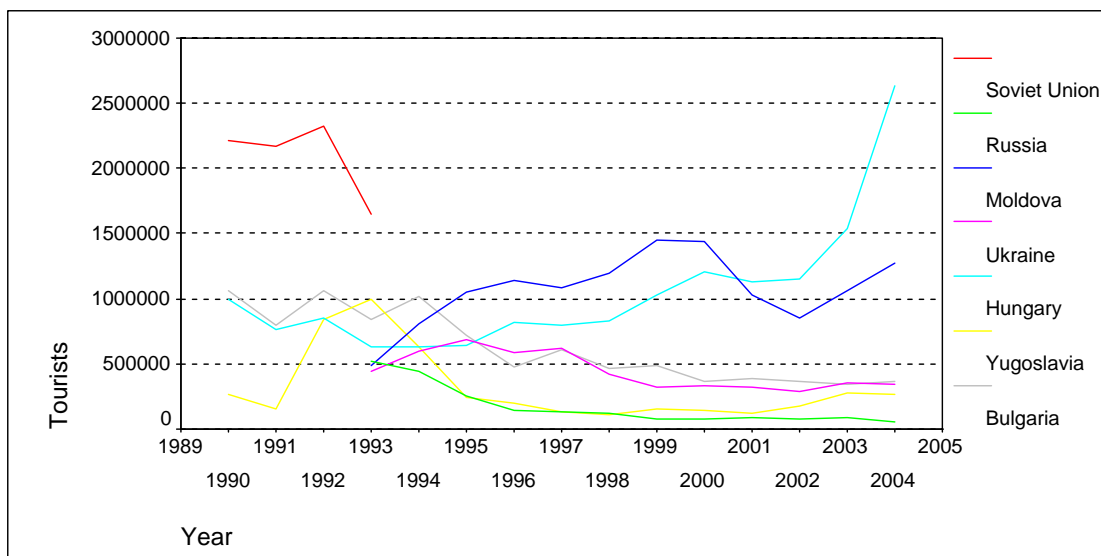
other western countries, probably due to the historical and ethnical minority links mentioned above.

Whilst absolute numbers are generally higher for 1980, the relative positions of countries in Romania's inbound and outbound tourism statistics did not change a lot between the early 1970s and 1980 (see figure 4.1). After that there are no detailed figures available until the revolution, but the total numbers slowed down in growth and at times declined throughout the 1980s. This must be seen in conjunction with the economic crisis referred to in the literature review. Romania was hard hit by the austerity programme introduced by Ceausescu in order to pay back the country's debt (Brucan, [no year of publication given] / U.S. News & World Report, 1988:17). People had to work more for lower real salaries which implies less time and personal disposable income (pdi) for outbound international tourism, whilst food and goods rationing and electricity cuts started to make Romania look poor and unattractive to western tourists who themselves were affected by a decline in pdi as well (Brucan, [no year of publication given] / Argatu, 2005, Barbu and Sirbu, 1982 / Aurelian et al, 1976).

If before the revolution the impact of international relations on international tourism in Romania was already limited in many cases by other factors, after the revolution international relations have shown even less important to tourism. Relations with Russia improved whilst those with Moldova and Hungary didn't, but at the same time the inbound tourism figures developed the other way around (see figure 4.6). Outbound figures fluctuated more and are not considered here, because they are not very helpful due to the availability of data for the SSRs only as a total until 1993 despite the break-up into independent republics in 1991 and the lack of any data after 1998.



**Fig. 4.6: Total Inbound International Tourism from Romania's neighbour states 1989 – 2004**



(Source: CNS, 1993 / CNS, 1996 / CNS, 1998 / CNS, 2000 / Cojocaru, 1992 / INS, 2000 / INS, 2001 / INS, 2002 / INS, 2003a / INS, 2003b / INS, 2004a / INS, 2004b / INS, 2004c / INS, 2004d / INS, 2004e / INS, 2004f / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / Mintel, 2004a / Mintel, 2004b / Mintel, 2004c / Nița and Nița, 2000)

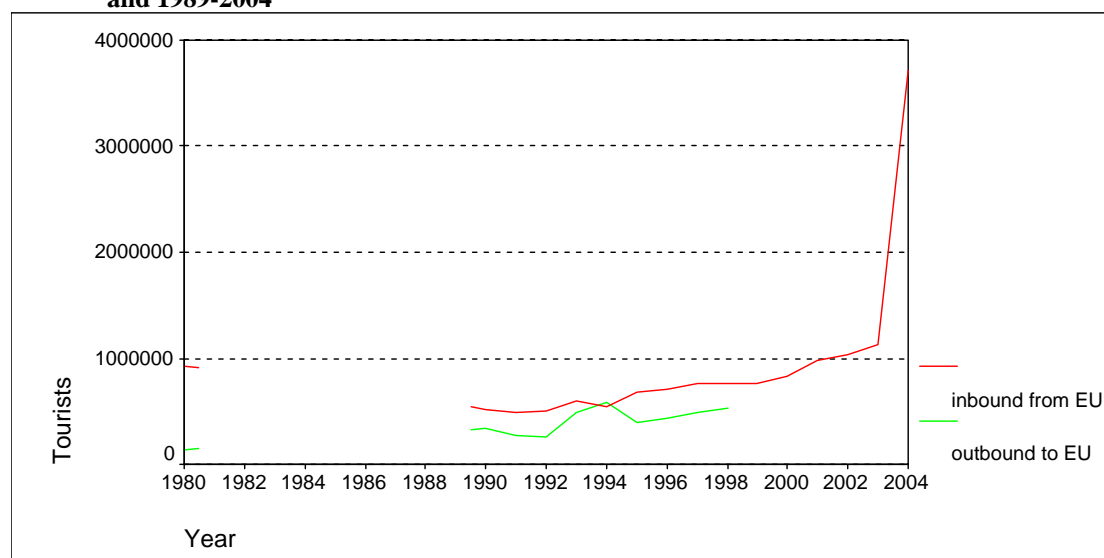
The fact that inbound tourism from Ukraine, Russia and Bulgaria declines whereas that from Moldova and Hungary increases again could be interpreted in such a way that now when the bi-polar system has come to an end and ideological considerations matter less, the minority bonds matter even more than before, hardly affected by international relations at all. Probably for similar reasons, Yugoslavia also lost a lot of its share of inbound tourism to Romania compared to the communist time. The temporarily high numbers of visitors to Romania in the early nineties have almost certainly been caused by the civil war in the Balkans, and probably some refugees have been counted as tourists. The fact that this civil war has impacted on to Romania's tourism industry makes it a transnational issue.

The new presence of Turkey in the top group of countries receiving Romanian tourists and the absence of Poland and the successor states of Czechoslovakia from both the top inbound and outbound tourism ranking (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2) are not necessarily due to international relations. Turkey also has historical links with

Romania through the occupation of the country by the Ottoman Empire, which even left a small Turkish Muslim minority in Romania until today. These factors became important again, when outbound tourism restrictions were lifted due to changes in ideology more than in international relations. Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia became more oriented towards the west, particularly the EU, thus shifting tourism flows there. Again, this was not accompanied by a great change in relations with Romania.

The tourism flows between Romania and the EU also rose steadily since the revolution and extremely increased when 10 new members including Hungary were admitted in 2004. This can be seen in figure 4.7. The growth to some extent could be attributed to the good relations with the European Union and the accession process. However, the biggest growth towards the end is distorted due to the higher number of member countries.

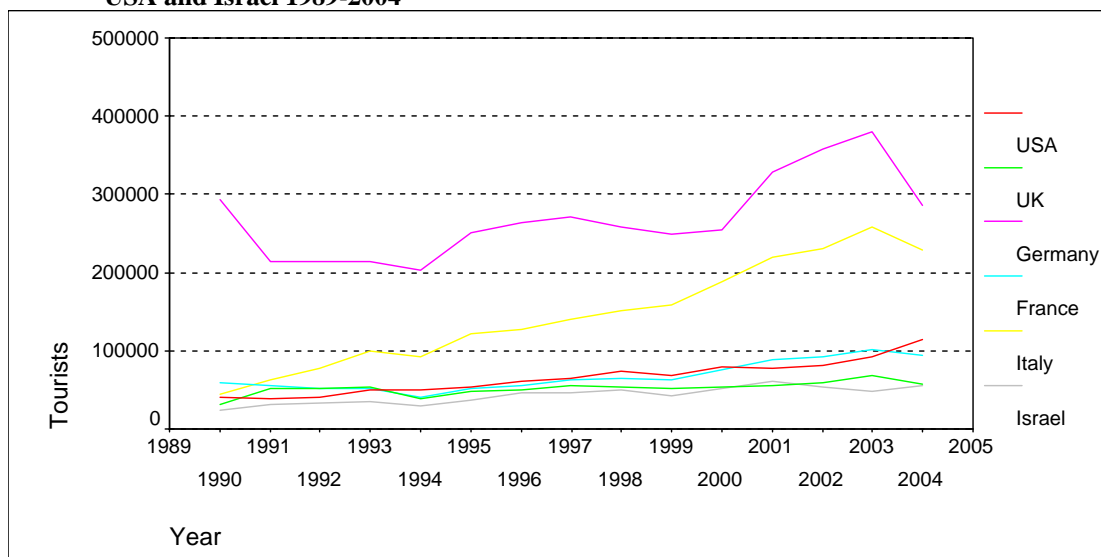
**Fig. 4.7: Total Inbound and Outbound International Tourism to and from the EU 1980 and 1989-2004**



(Source: CNS, 1993 / CNS, 1996 / CNS, 1998 / CNS, 2000 / Cojocaru, 1992 / INS, 2000 / INS, 2001 / INS, 2002 / INS, 2003a / INS, 2003b / INS, 2004a / INS, 2004b / INS, 2004c / INS, 2004d / INS, 2004e / INS, 2004f / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / Mintel, 2004b / Nița and Nița, 2000)

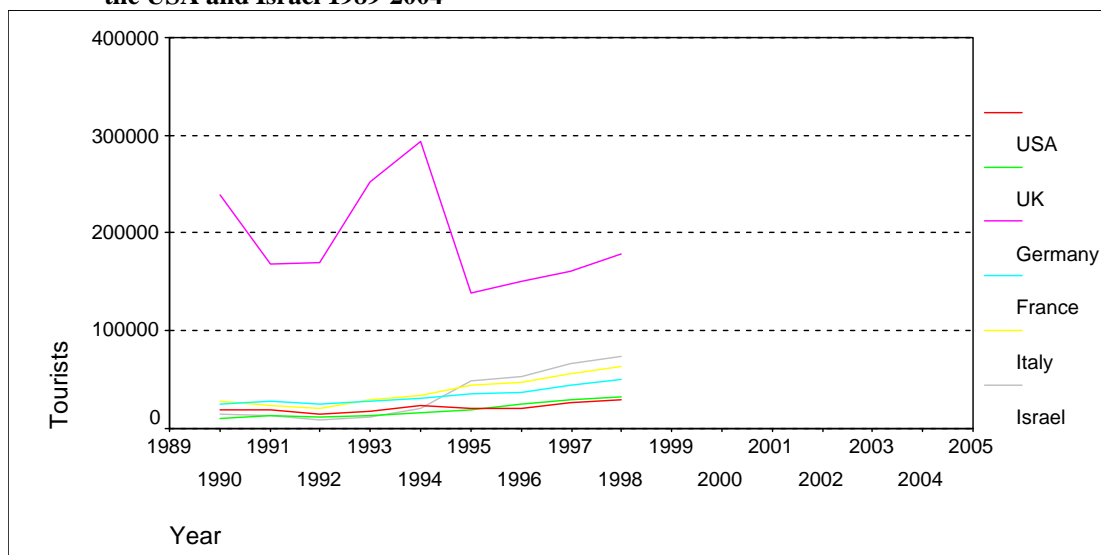
As some of the ex-communist countries that have entered the EU in 2004 already have been considered, a closer look at some individual non-ex-communist countries including key EU ones is necessary. This is done by figures 4.8. and 4.9.

**Fig. 4.8: Total Inbound International Tourism from key pre-2004 EU states, the USA and Israel 1989-2004**



(Source: CNS, 1993 / CNS, 1996 / CNS, 1998 / CNS, 2000 / Cojocaru, 1992 / INS, 2000 / INS, 2001 / INS, 2002 / INS, 2003a / INS, 2003b / INS, 2004a / INS, 2004b / INS, 2004c / INS, 2004d / INS, 2004e / INS, 2004f / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / Mintel, 2004b / Nița and Nița, 2000)

**Fig. 4.9: Total Outbound International Tourism to key pre-2004 EU member states, the USA and Israel 1989-2004**



(Source: CNS, 1993 / CNS, 1996 / CNS, 1998 / CNS, 2000 / Cojocaru, 1992 / INS, 2000 / INS, 2001 / INS, 2002 / INS, 2003a / INS, 2003b / INS, 2004a / INS, 2004b / INS, 2004c / INS, 2004d / INS, 2004e / INS, 2004f / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995 / Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996 / Mintel, 2004b / Nița and Nița, 2000)

Germany fluctuates rather than growing steadily in both inbound and outbound tourism, which in the absence of any findings of serious ups and downs in diplomatic relations. Italy is the fastest growing country as far as inbound tourism is concerned and is only second to Israel for outbound tourism. This is however rather due to the contact between the many Romanian immigrants in Italy and their relatives back in Romania, as nothing suggests that relations are better with Italy than with other EU states.

Most countries decline in the inbound statistic towards the end of the period considered, which coincides with the Iraq war Romania participated in. Growth continued only in respect of Israel and the USA, where both the government and the majority of the population were in favour of attacking Iraq whilst in the others either one of the two or both were against it. This shows that in relatively extreme situations such as war, international relations continue to affect tourism at least somewhat. More drastic impacts could be expected the more involved the parties concerned are in the conflict.

Whilst so far this dissertation has generally considered the effects of international relations on Romanian tourism as a whole, there is one instance in connection with the EU, where they have affected one ethnic group in particular. When Western States lead by France criticised Romania for not keeping its “gypsy beggars” at home and “advised” the country to do something, hinting at the unclear accession of Romania to the EU, this caused gypsies finding it increasingly hard to leave the country, even if they fulfil the official requirements (Thorpe, 2002). However, there are no numbers for this apart from the 300,000 in 2002 which Romania claimed to have prevented from “fleeing the country” (Mortished, 2003).

This section has brought up a number of findings in terms of the effects of international relations on international tourism in Romania. The following “Conclusions” section draws these together, generalises and simplifies them further.

## **5 Conclusions**

International relations appear to have had some impact on both inbound and outbound international tourism. However, there is definitely no such simple relationship as “the better the international relations, the higher both inbound and outbound tourism figures”. In some cases good international relations appear have indeed led to higher tourism flows. One example of this has been the relatively high inbound tourism to Romania from Yugoslavia in the early 1970s as well as outbound tourism from Romania to this country in the 1980s compared to both other countries at the respective moments in time and today’s share compared to other (neighbouring) countries. In other cases however there seems not to have been too much of an impact, as in respect to the many western countries Romania enjoyed good relations with. Even a seemingly ironic decrease in tourism at least partially due to good international relations with the West has been identified during the 1980s economic depression. Also inbound and outbound international tourism have not always been affected in the same way or similarly strong.

One has to keep in mind, that the Romanian government’s position in international relations, just like the positions of other governments, did not always represent the views of the majority of the population or the majority of the potential tourists within that population. Even where they were in agreement, it did not necessarily mean that personal travel plans would be influenced heavily. Economic and taste and other situational factors are therefore more likely to determine the choice of destination.

Borrowing the terminology of Herzberg’s (1959) theory on motivation, Romania’s international relations seem to be a hygiene factor, not a motivator for

international tourism. By this is meant that a certain degree of good international relations are needed in order for any international tourism to occur at all, but once relatively good relations are established, the improvement thereof does not guarantee to trigger much of an increase in international tourism and conversely the deterioration of international relations does not necessarily reduce international tourism, unless of course serious crisis would occur. This is increasingly true after the revolution since the end of the bipolar world has decreased the relative importance of international relations in respect to tourism.

It appears from these examples that countries that had not just good international relations with Romania, but also historical links and/or sizeable minorities of their ethnic or religious group within Romania, were more likely not just to be the source of relatively high tourism flows towards Romania, but also to attract a similarly high share of Romanian nationals.

Other factors, such as geographical proximity, historical links, cultural bonds and minorities' links to their kin in other countries have always been important and are now even more likely to bias inbound and outbound international tourism flows towards certain countries. Ideology too was a factor to be reckoned with in communist times, but seems to have largely disappeared now. Actual numbers each year then are very likely to depend on economic factors such as prices and pdi. Unfortunately due to constraints placed on this dissertation amongst other things by the limited availability of time, sources and statistics, such economic factors can only be guessed to have had an impact based on the author's judgement, experience and knowledge of general tourism theory. They could not be employed as control factors in this statistical analysis.

Moreover, all factors impacting on tourism are dynamic, and so the relative importance of international relations may change. Also, surely the ranking of top countries for inbound and outbound tourism will undergo more changes. In particular it remains to be seen how the enlarged EU will conduct its international relations in 2007 and Romania within it<sup>24</sup>.

Further research would be needed to turn these limited findings into a full scale theory. Also, it is very likely that similar conclusions can be reached for countries in similar situations, if not even more universal. However, again further research would be necessary to do so. Until this is done, the findings of this dissertation will constitute a loose collection of insights applicable with some caution to issues concerning Romania's international relations and/or international tourism, rather than a fully fledged theory applicably across time and space.

Romanian authorities would benefit from rethinking their data collection methods, research methodologies and definitions employed, because meaningful conclusions leading to effective policy can only be drawn from meaningful, complete and relatively undistorted statistics. In particular a comprehensive exit survey is suggested, as well as the necessity of devising a way to estimate wrongly declared non-tourist activities and thus keep them out of tourism statistics. Also the missing outbound data for the years from 1998 onwards should be reconstructed or estimated.

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<sup>24</sup> E.g.: Will the border between Romania and Moldova be sealed off again, and will this also happen with Ukraine? How will the new land connection between the western parts of the current EU and Greece through Romania and Bulgaria impact upon international relations and international tourism?



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Yin, R. K. (2003), “Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)” in Applied Social Research Methods Series, Volume 5, London (UK): Sage Publications.

## 6.2 Data Sources:

*These are the sources of tourism data used in the data analysis section:*

CNS (1993), Anuarul Statistic al României 1992 [Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1992], Bucharest (Romania): Comisia Națională pentru Statistica [National Commission for Statistics].

CNS (1996), Anuarul Statistic al României 1995 [Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1995], Bucharest (Romania): Comisia Națională pentru Statistica [National Commission for Statistics].

CNS (1998), Turismul in România 1997 [Tourism in Romania 1997], Bucharest (Romania): Comisia Națională pentru Statistica [National Commission for Statistics].

CNS (2000), Anuarul Statistic al României 1999 [Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1999], Bucharest (Romania): Comisia Națională pentru Statistica [National Commission for Statistics].

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Ceauseanu, A. P. et al. (1977), Proiect: Probleme Economice si Sociologice Ale Turismului in Europa [Economic and Sociological Problems of Tourism in Europe], Bucharest (Romania): Institutul de Economia Comerțului Interior si a Turismului, Sectia Turism [Institute of Internal Trade Commerce and Tourism, Tourism Section].

INS (2000), Turismul International al României 1999 [Romania's International Tourism 1999], Bucharest (Romania): Institutul Național de Statistica [National Institute of Statistics].

INS (2001), Turismul International al României 2000 [Romania's International Tourism 2000], January 2001, Bucharest (Romania): Institutul Național de Statistica [National Institute of Statistics].

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INS (2004a), Capacitatea de Cazare Turistica Existenta la 31 Iulie 2004 [Touristic Accomodation Capacity Existing on 31 July 2004], Bucharest (Romania): Institutul Național de Statistica [National Institute of Statistics].

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INS (2004c), Traficul de Aeroport in Perioada 1.I.-30.IX.2004 [Airport Traffic in the Period of 1 January – 30 September 2004], Bucharest (Romania): Institutul Național de Statistica [National Institute of Statistics].

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INS (2004f), Turismul României: Breviar Statistic [Romania's Tourism: Statistical Summary], Bucharest (Romania): Institutul Național de Statistica [National Institute of Statistics].

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Vielhaber, A. and Aderhold, P. (1981), “Tourismus in Entwicklungsländer“ [“Tourism in Developing Countries“], in Entwicklungs-Politik: Materialien Nr.67 [Development Politics: Materials Nr. 67], Bonn (Germany): Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit [Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation].

### 6.3 Link List:

#### *Related Web Links:*

<http://www.cecta.org/contact.htm> (Central European Countries Travel Association)

<http://www.chfro.org/pdf/Tourism%20Sector%20Assessment.pdf> (Tourism History)

<http://www.factbook.net/> (Investor Services, Romania)

<http://www.incdt.ro/> (Romanian Institute for Tourism Research and Development)

<http://www.ines.ro/> (Investor Services, Romania)

<http://www.insse.ro/> (Romanian National Institute of Statistics)

<http://www.mt.ro/> (Romanian Tourism Ministry)

<http://www.mtromania.ro/> (Romanian Tourism Ministry)

[http://www.roembus.org/virtual/travel/tr\\_index.htm](http://www.roembus.org/virtual/travel/tr_index.htm) (Tourism Promotion)

<http://www.romaniatravel.com/> (Tourism Promotion)

<http://www.romaniatourism.com> (Tourism Promotion)

<http://www.rotur.ro/> (Tourism Promotion)

<http://www.turism.ro/> (Tourism Promotion)

<http://www.visitcentraleurope.com/> (Tourism Promotion)

<http://www.world-tourism.org/> (World Tourism Organisation)



## 7 Appendices

### 7.1 Appendix 1 – Collected Data

The following pages show the tourism data used in this dissertation.

The sources from which the data has been collected are the following:

- CNS, 1993
- CNS, 1996
- CNS, 1998
- CNS, 2000
- Cojocaru, 1992
- Ceauseanu et al., 1977
- INS, 2000
- INS, 2001
- INS, 2002
- INS, 2003a
- INS, 2003b
- INS, 2004a
- INS, 2004b
- INS, 2004c
- INS, 2004d
- INS, 2004e
- INS, 2004f
- Ministerul Turismului, 1973
- Ministerul Turismului, 1976
- Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1995
- Ministerul Turismului and CNS, 1996
- Mintel, 2004a
- Mintel, 2004b
- Mintel, 2004c
- Nița and Nița, 2000
- Oficiul Național de Turism al Republicii Socialista România, no publication year given
- Vielhaber and Aderhold, 1981

(For full bibliographical reference, see Bibliography section)

All figures refer to the number of arrivals / departures recorded by the Romanian authorities.

The following abbreviations are used in the table:

TOTALIN	=	total inbound tourism to Romania
TOTALOUT	=	total outbound tourism from Romania
EUROPIN	=	inbound tourism from Europe
EUROPOUT	=	outbound tourism to Europe

AMIN	=	inbound tourism from America
AMOUT	=	outbound tourism to America
AFRIN	=	inbound tourism from Africa
AFROUT	=	outbound tourism to Africa
ASIN	=	inbound tourism from Asia
ASOUT	=	outbound tourism to Asia
AOIN	=	inbound tourism from Australia/Oceania
AOOUT	=	outbound tourism to Australia/Oceania
EUIN	=	inbound tourism from EU
EUOUT	=	outbound tourism to EU
COIN	=	inbound tourism from communist states
COOUT	=	outbound tourism to communist States
NONCOIN	=	inbound tourism from non-communist states
NONCOOUT	=	outbound tourism to non-communist States
USAIN	=	inbound tourism from USA
USAOUT	=	outbound tourism to USA
SOVIN	=	inbound tourism from Soviet Union
SOVOUT	=	outbound tourism to Soviet Union
RUSIN	=	inbound tourism from Russia
RUSOUT	=	outbound tourism to Russia
MOLDIN	=	inbound tourism from Moldova
MOLDOUT	=	outbound tourism to Moldova
UKRAIN	=	inbound tourism from Ukraine
UKRAOUT	=	outbound tourism to Ukraine
UKIN	=	inbound tourism from UK
UKOUT	=	outbound tourism to UK
WGERIN	=	inbound tourism from West-Germany
WGEROUT	=	outbound tourism to West-Germany
EGERIN	=	inbound tourism from East-Germany
EGEROUT	=	outbound tourism to East-Germany
GERIN	=	inbound tourism from the whole of Germany
GEROUT	=	outbound tourism to the whole of Germany
FRAIN	=	inbound tourism from France
FRAOUT	=	outbound tourism to France
ITIN	=	inbound tourism from Italy
ITOUT	=	outbound tourism to Italy
HUIN	=	inbound tourism from Hungary
HUOUT	=	outbound tourism to Hungary
YUIN	=	inbound tourism from Yugoslavia
YUOUT	=	outbound tourism to Yugoslavia
BUIN	=	inbound tourism from Bulgaria
BUOUT	=	outbound tourism to Bulgaria
ISRIN	=	inbound tourism from Israel
ISROUT	=	outbound tourism to Israel
TURKEIN	=	inbound tourism from Turkey
TURKEOUT	=	outbound tourism to Turkey
CHINAIN	=	inbound tourism from China
CHINAOUT	=	outbound tourism to China
*	=	missing data

YEAR	TOTALIN	TOTALOUT	EUROPIN	EUROPOUT	AMIN	AMOUT	AFRIN	AFROUT
1965	670000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1966	916502	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1967	1201090	261243	*	*	*	*	*	*
1968	1450860	328703	*	*	*	*	*	*
1969	1838975	365528	*	*	*	*	*	*
1970	2289450	255053	*	*	*	*	*	*
1971	3030000	482000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1972	3212000	557000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1973	3645000	709000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1974	4167000	879000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1975	3736000	805000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1976	3827000	864000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1977	4407000	919000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1978	5730000	1159000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1979	6035000	1409000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1980	6742381	1711318	5681487	*	32000	*	27000	*
1981	7002000	1644000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1982	5940000	1543000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1983	5756000	1693000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1984	6584000	1441000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1985	4772000	1147000	4636000	*	34000	*	18000	*
1986	4531000	975000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1987	5142000	1010000	*	*	*	*	*	*
1988	5514000	944000	5073000	*	32000	*	18000	*
1989	4850000	898000	4739000	*	34000	*	20000	*
1990	6531923	11274739	5929420	*	53000	*	20000	*
1991	5359445	9078126	5156945	9013280	49331	20650	15664	12248
1992	6401116	10904505	6137812	10834060	50720	16218	11933	9159
1993	5785575	10756843	5589538	10705794	63343	18641	11059	6861
1994	5898081	10104974	5719281	10044956	60233	25345	10154	4293
1995	5444991	5736592	5239995	5635892	66485	21703	13503	11058
1996	5205487	5748227	4977012	5641783	75361	22597	12210	10261
1997	5149000	6243000	4923000	6108000	81000	28000	11000	12000
1998	4831000	6893000	4601000	6744000	90000	31000	10000	13000
1999	5223896	6274000	5006000	*	84000	*	10000	*
2000	5263715	6388000	5024000	*	95000	*	10000	*
2001	4938375	6408000	4696000	*	96000	*	8000	*
2002	4793722	5757325	4551056	*	102481	*	9087	*
2003	5594828	6497075	5343825	*	115373	*	9963	*
2004	6726000	7071000	6423000	*	144000	*	12000	*

YEAR	ASIN	ASOUT	AOIN	AOOUT	EUIN	EUOUT	COIN	COOUT	NONCOIN	NONCOOUT
1965	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1966	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1967	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1968	*	*	*	*	*	*	1101910	276786	348950	51917
1969	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1970	*	*	*	*	*	*	1911180	214022	378270	41031
1971	*	*	*	*	*	*	2213289	231393	513100	51870
1972	*	*	*	*	*	*	2297320	248669	606035	75827
1973	*	*	*	*	*	*	2769217	405763	573120	74669
1974	*	*	*	*	*	*	3181525	511085	643727	76789
1975	*	*	*	*	*	*	2575220	417339	630706	59937
1976	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1977	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1978	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1979	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1980	*	*	*	*	926899	140998	5887000	*	855300	*
1981	*	*	*	*	*	*	6262600	*	739800	*
1982	*	*	*	*	*	*	5392000	*	547700	*
1983	*	*	*	*	*	*	5283800	*	472300	*
1984	*	*	*	*	*	*	6066600	*	519300	*
1985	*	*	*	*	*	*	4241300	*	530400	*
1986	*	*	*	*	*	*	4099500	*	435300	*
1987	*	*	*	*	*	*	4656400	*	485500	*
1988	*	*	*	*	*	*	4711000	*	491000	*
1989	*	*	*	*	*	*	4380800	*	520400	*
1990	*	*	*	*	517038	342174	5660700	*	872500	*
1991	119678	31466	4660	482	488552	275355	4261500	*	1098500	*
1992	115843	25385	4527	249	503681	258754	*	*	*	*
1993	103860	24542	5257	186	600838	486853	*	*	*	*
1994	92075	26724	5004	69	548368	580505	*	*	*	*
1995	112580	66520	5767	86	680403	395944	*	*	*	*
1996	125506	71087	6275	132	712783	441550	*	*	*	*
1997	125000	88000	7000	*	766000	484000	*	*	*	*
1998	122000	97000	7000	*	761000	536000	*	*	*	*
1999	116000	*	6000	*	765000	*	*	*	*	*
2000	126000	*	7000	*	834000	*	*	*	*	*
2001	130000	*	6000	*	981000	*	*	*	*	*
2002	123360	*	6247	*	1032941	*	*	*	*	*
2003	118883	*	5733	*	1127741	*	*	*	*	*
2004	138000	*	7000	*	3719000	*	*	*	*	*

YEAR	USAIN	USAOUT	SOVIN	SOVOUT	RUSIN	RUSOUT	MOLDIN	MOLDOUT	UKRAIN	UKRAOUT
1965	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1966	8714	*	98632	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1967	11630	599	127237	42491	*	*	*	*	*	*
1968	12969	808	126786	47535	*	*	*	*	*	*
1969	16847	1294	147075	40956	*	*	*	*	*	*
1970	18893	1066	163444	41787	*	*	*	*	*	*
1971	18696	1377	182781	42369	*	*	*	*	*	*
1972	24016	2283	231393	39609	*	*	*	*	*	*
1973	22877	1894	284952	55584	*	*	*	*	*	*
1974	28272	2131	333241	65637	*	*	*	*	*	*
1975	35211	2402	317579	75094	*	*	*	*	*	*
1976	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1977	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1978	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1979	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1980	19692	6048	540524	125108	*	*	*	*	*	*
1981	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1982	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1983	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1984	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1985	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1986	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1987	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1988	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1989	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1990	41016	19170	2216032	443225	*	*	*	*	*	*
1991	38072	19290	2171903	597018	*	*	*	*	*	*
1992	39940	15426	2319453	528523	*	*	*	*	*	*
1993	50049	17335	1643990	365771	523363	7622	485458	97054	443444	193571
1994	49198	23672	*	*	443482	6610	803262	87559	593052	119666
1995	53285	20404	*	*	254764	8863	1054188	113324	683295	94537
1996	61349	21374	*	*	146583	6689	1142420	100794	586791	88489
1997	65000	27000	*	*	136000	10000	1080000	118000	622000	99000
1998	74000	29000	*	*	124000	11000	1192000	134000	424000	111000
1999	69000	*	*	*	78000	*	1455000	*	319000	*
2000	79000	*	*	*	83000	*	1436000	*	330000	*
2001	78000	*	*	*	86000	*	1033000	*	324000	*
2002	81737	*	*	*	79868	*	856723	*	289383	*
2003	91930	*	*	*	85251	*	1058636	*	349268	*
2004	115000	*	*	*	52000	*	1278000	*	342000	*

YEAR	UKIN	UKOUT	WGERIN	WGEROUT	EGERIN	EGEROUT	GERIN	GEROUT
1965	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1966	9126	*	108570	*	65394	*	173964	*
1967	10977	965	131118	6573	65868	8842	196986	15415
1968	14704	1329	160402	10527	72163	9019	232565	19546
1969	13812	2051	165929	19645	63304	12219	229233	31864
1970	19130	1658	169504	12719	75398	10778	244902	23497
1971	35769	2353	221998	15219	91718	17429	313716	32648
1972	41756	1962	267370	21816	126629	17127	393999	38943
1973	44941	1978	205049	23882	142802	25017	347851	48899
1974	37224	1989	239584	21280	178876	28602	418460	49882
1975	37463	1451	206496	13795	199912	26537	406408	40332
1976	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1977	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1978	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1979	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1980	84198	9420	*	*	*	*	599486	86708
1981	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1982	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1983	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1984	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1985	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1986	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1987	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1988	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1989	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1990	31654	10367	*	*	*	*	293527	238565
1991	51490	13244	*	*	*	*	214071	168464
1992	50842	11759	*	*	*	*	213932	169401
1993	53385	13372	*	*	*	*	214313	253024
1994	37852	16907	*	*	*	*	202901	293175
1995	47596	19908	*	*	*	*	250548	138056
1996	49270	25667	*	*	*	*	263875	150415
1997	55000	29000	*	*	*	*	272000	161000
1998	54000	32000	*	*	*	*	259000	178000
1999	52000	*	*	*	*	*	249000	*
2000	53000	*	*	*	*	*	255000	*
2001	56000	*	*	*	*	*	328000	*
2002	59627	*	*	*	*	*	358738	*
2003	68661	*	*	*	*	*	380478	*
2004	58000	*	*	*	*	*	286000	*

YEAR	FRAIN	FRAOUT	ITIN	ITOUT	HUIN	HUOUT	YUIN	YUOUT
1965	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1966	16738	*	10192	*	64525	*	68569	*
1967	23326	3925	15777	3976	104350	77609	133800	20773
1968	24587	6157	20527	6743	138486	76093	265160	40330
1969	20746	9894	28786	9357	159875	79683	326840	40225
1970	26389	4919	31527	4177	152270	56157	422858	21104
1971	30190	4780	47379	5210	230180	65672	569676	18094
1972	38263	7423	52488	7559	234989	82882	582374	18824
1973	46432	7728	52267	7139	335651	126800	701436	13974
1974	55013	6975	50960	8050	360593	145366	893881	14917
1975	45730	4188	46150	4223	369149	102866	170852	8185
1976	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1977	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1978	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1979	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1980	53363	13571	39592	11496	904461	303197	1531360	705999
1981	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1982	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1983	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1984	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1985	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1986	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1987	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1988	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1989	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1990	59743	25807	44864	28770	998285	6399285	264294	2400389
1991	55550	27930	63518	23230	760073	6273734	151684	548009
1992	50919	24703	78047	21074	855863	6881101	844609	1539064
1993	51343	27684	99085	29501	631054	6400684	995000	1934868
1994	39931	31479	92917	34533	627692	4667234	633982	2701331
1995	51729	35784	121112	44447	639048	2659146	238657	1265750
1996	55239	37465	127607	47425	824723	2502197	196002	1332031
1997	62000	45000	140000	56000	796000	2782000	137000	1390000
1998	64000	50000	151000	63000	829000	3087000	112000	1525000
1999	62000	*	158000	*	1031000	*	152000	*
2000	76000	*	189000	*	1203000	*	143000	*
2001	88000	*	219000	*	1131000	*	127000	*
2002	91788	*	230454	*	1152599	*	174643	*
2003	101080	*	258830	*	1537114	*	271290	*
2004	95000	*	229000	*	2639000	*	269000	*

YEAR	BUIN	BUOUT	ISRIN	ISROUT	TURKEIN	TURKEOUT	CHINAIN	CHINAOUT
1965	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1966	97345	*	4228	*	2675	*	*	*
1967	128402	50974	3896	373	2448	2039	*	*
1968	154645	65178	9387	1948	3335	8657	*	*
1969	222198	63546	5764	5005	3891	8300	*	*
1970	223637	52602	5460	2052	4486	1192	*	*
1971	255351	40718	7421	2205	5489	1516	216	207
1972	303726	51229	9685	7629	7141	3256	*	*
1973	312509	145804	14068	5582	9239	2467	*	*
1974	380452	197024	15258	4288	12681	3291	*	*
1975	460081	158144	13059	3070	17106	1799	*	*
1976	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1977	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1978	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1979	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1980	1006724	258908	31556	7298	31206	8991	10067	2476
1981	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1982	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1983	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1984	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1985	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1986	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1987	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1988	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1989	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1990	1057764	693266	24506	14790	131129	561318	8442	2914
1991	797469	347924	32287	12597	179656	737170	14199	4321
1992	1058490	529648	33180	9316	222037	924821	12067	5432
1993	845255	717275	34484	11177	468191	683159	8317	2806
1994	1022115	844226	30258	20047	535229	912394	7267	654
1995	714139	478313	37434	48575	488835	537025	9410	2986
1996	474982	608114	46006	53037	427270	473224	9836	3184
1997	604000	573000	47000	66000	302000	555000	*	*
1998	464000	603000	49000	74000	263000	630000	*	*
1999	489000	*	43000	*	280790	*	8420	*
2000	363000	*	51000	*	252968	*	9457	*
2001	392000	*	61000	*	229762	*	8055	*
2002	362660	*	52811	*	191447	*	7854	*
2003	340291	*	47850	*	205195	*	6807	*
2004	362000	*	56000	*	196000	*	8000	*

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Wordcount: approx. 10350 words (exluding: abstract, figures, tables, appendices, references, quotations, footnotes and bibliography)