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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187285	CABLE	RE. LETTER FROM RR TO CEAUSESCU	4	11/25/1985	B1
187286	PAPER	RE. EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS [SECTION 3 ONLY]	2	ND	B1 B3
187288	PAPER	RE. ROMANIA [PG. 3 ONLY]	1	12/30/1986	B1 B3
187290	CABLE	BUCHAREST 00407	3	1/16/1987	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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ROMANIA

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 06 BUCHAREST 07783

STATE S/DEL FOR AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RO, WTO, OTRA (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN)
SUBJECT: CEASESCU RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT CEASESCU MET WITH PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY (AMBASSADOR) WARREN ZIMMERMANN NOV. 22. THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED AT THE LAST MINUTE BECAUSE OF THE CONCURRENT STATE VISIT OF POLISH PRESIDENT JARUZELSKI. AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN BRIEFED PRESIDENT CEASESCU ON THE RESULTS OF THE GENEVA SUMMIT, FOCUSING ON THE MAIN POINTS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT. PRESIDENT CEASESCU EXPRESSED HIS THANKS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN FOR SENDING AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN. HE WELCOMED THE SUMMIT PROCESS AND THE STEPS THAT HAD BEEN MADE, BUT SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT CONCRETE RESULTS HAD NOT BEEN ACHIEVED IN ARMS CONTROL. CEASESCU EXPRESSED SPECIAL CONCERN OVER EUROPEAN INF DEPLOYMENTS AND PARTICULARLY ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS AFTER DECEMBER 31. ZIMMERMANN POINTED OUT THE RECENT U.S. PROPOSAL TO HALT INF DEPLOYMENTS AS OF DECEMBER 31 AND SAID BOTH SIDES FELT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE AT GENEVA. AFTER HIS WHIRLWIND NOV. 21 TRIP TO PRAGUE, AND A FULL DAY'S SCHEDULE WITH JARUZELSKI NOV. 22, CEASESCU APPEARED TIRED BUT FIT. HE FOLLOWED THE BRIEFING CAREFULLY, AND MADE HIS POINTS IN A RESTRAINED BUT FORCEFUL MANNER. ZIMMERMANN'S LAST-MINUTE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT WAS A CLEAR SIGN OF ROMANIAN INTEREST IN THE GENEVA SUMMIT, BUT AN EVEN CLEARER SIGN THAT ROMANIA'S LEADERSHIP PUTS MUCH VALUE ON MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING THE DIALOG WITH US. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENT CEASESCU RECEIVED AMBASSADOR WARREN ZIMMERMANN, PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPECIAL EMISSARY ON THE GENEVA TALKS, THE EVENING OF NOV. 22. WHILE

WE HAD HINTS, THE FIRST DIRECT MENTION OF SUCH A MEETING CAME AT THE END OF A LUNCH HOSTED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER TRAIAN POP (OTHER MEETINGS REPORTED SEPT), WHEN ZIMMERMANN WAS ASKED IF HE COULD STAY ANOTHER DAY TO MEET THE PRESIDENT. TOLD THAT ZIMMERMANN'S SCHEDULE DID NOT ALLOW THAT, THE ROMANIANS APPARENTLY WENT INTO HIGH GEAR TO ARRANGE A MEETING THAT NIGHT. THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING WITH CEASESCU WAS AGAIN MENTIONED, BUT NOT CONFIRMED, DURING LATER TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER VADUVA. FINALLY, AT A LATE AFTERNOON MEETING, CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY PETRU ENACHE TOLD ZIMMERMANN, IN EFFECT, HE HAD LITTLE TO DISCUSS SINCE THE PRESIDENT WOULD SEE HIM THAT EVENING, IMMEDIATELY AFTER CEASESCU SAW JARUZELSKI OFF AT THE AIRPORT. ENACHE TOLD ZIMMERMANN HIS PLANE, A BULGARIAN AIRLINE FLIGHT, WOULD BE HELD FOR HIM AT THE AIRPORT, SEVERAL HOURS IF NECESSARY.

4. THE MEETING WITH CEASESCU LASTED ABOUT 50 MINUTES. CEASESCU WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER VADUVA AND THREE NOTETAKERS; AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE AND POLOFF.

5. CEASESCU WELCOMED ZIMMERMANN. ZIMMERMANN REPLIED BY EXPRESSING HIS GRATITUDE, AND THAT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN FOR CEASESCU'S RECEIVING HIM ON SUCH A BUSY DAY. HE SAID HE HAD JUST COME FROM THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET LEADERS IN SIX YEARS. PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD ASKED HIM TO INFORM PRESIDENT CEASESCU ABOUT THE MEETING AND OUR FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND WOULD BE KEENLY INTERESTED IN HEARING

PRESIDENT CEASESCU'S VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT.

6. ZIMMERMANN TOLD CEASESCU THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WENT TO GENEVA WITH THE INTENTION OF MAKING A FRESH START. WE UNDERSTOOD THAT RELATIONS WITH THE USSR HAVE NOT BEEN GOOD AND THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO PUT THEM ON A MORE STABLE BASIS THROUGH A SERIES OF CONCRETE STEPS. IN OUR VIEW WE ACHIEVED THIS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMMUNIQUE AGREED TO AT GENEVA PROVIDES A BASIS FOR PUTTING THIS PROCESS IN PLACE.

7. OF THE FIFTEEN HOURS OF MEETINGS BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS, ZIMMERMANN SAID, APPROXIMATELY SIX WERE SPENT IN DIRECT MEETINGS BETWEEN THE TWO, BT

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STATE S/DEL FOR AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN

E.O. 12356: DEC.: OADR
TAGS: PREL, FARM, RO, WTO, OTRA (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN)
SUBJECT: CEASESCU RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY

WITH ONLY TRANSLATORS PRESENT. THE PERSONAL
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS WAS A GOOD ONE,
BASED ON THE FRANKNESS AND CANDOR OF THE DISCUSSIONS
AS WELL AS A MUTUAL DESIRE FOR PEACE. WE DID NOT
HIDE OUR DIFFERENCES. INDEED, THERE WERE DIFFERENCES
ON ISSUES OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THE JOINT STATEMENT
REFERS TO DIFFERENCES, AS WELL AS TO THE HOPES OF
BOTH LEADERS.

8. ZIMMERMANN SAID THAT A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION
WAS PAID TO AN ISSUE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO
PRESIDENT CEASESCU, ARMS CONTROL. IN PARTICULAR
THERE WAS DISCUSSION REGARDING THE NUCLEAR AND
SPACE TALKS NOW GOING ON IN GENEVA (IN WHICH,
ZIMMERMANN NOTED, HE HAD PERSONALLY TAKEN PART).
ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT IN THIS AREA, THERE
WAS A MUTUAL DECISION TO ACCELERATE THE NEGOTIATIONS
IN THE HOPE AGREEMENTS CAN BE REACHED. SPECIAL
EMPHASIS WILL BE PLACED ON THOSE AREAS WHERE THERE
IS ALREADY COMMON GROUND: STRATEGIC WEAPONS, WHERE
EACH SIDE ADVOCATES A 50 PERCENT REDUCTION, AND INF,
WHERE BOTH SIDES HAVE EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO REACH
AN INTERIM AGREEMENT. BOTH SIDES AGREE, ZIMMERMANN
UNDERLINED, THAT A NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT BE WON AND
MUST NOT BE FOUGHT. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT
REALIZATION. EACH SIDE PLEDGED NOT TO SEEK NUCLEAR
SUPERIORITY.

9. REGIONAL PROBLEMS WERE THE SE
GENEVA AGENDA. PRESIDENT REAGAN APPRO
AREA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW THAT REGIONAL
CAUSE DISTRUST,
ARMS RACE. THE TWO LEADERS DISCUSSED ALL MAJOR
AREAS OF CONFLICT IN THE WORLD. IT WAS AGREED

THAT THERE WOULD BE FUTURE MEETINGS BETWEEN FOREIGN
MINISTERS AND BETWEEN EXPERTS, ON A REGULAR BASIS,
TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES.

10. THE THIRD AGENDA ITEM -- HUMAN RIGHTS -- IS
OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. THERE
WAS A ONE-HOUR PRIVATE DISCUSSION BETWEEN PRESIDENT
REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV ON THIS
ISSUE. IN THAT DISCUSSION BOTH EXPRESSED THEIR
VIEWS VIGOROUSLY.

11. BILATERAL ISSUES WERE FOURTH ON THE GENEVA
AGENDA, ZIMMERMANN TOLD CEASESCU. THE TWO SIDES
MADE SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS TO STRENGTHEN BILATERAL
RELATIONS. MOST IMPORTANT, THEY AGREED TO HOLD
SUMMIT MEETINGS IN 1986 IN THE UNITED STATES, AND
IN 1987 IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE TWO SIDES ALSO
AGREED THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD MEET MORE
REGULARLY AND WOULD DIG DEEPLY INTO MUTUAL
PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY ON REGIONAL ISSUES.

12. ON PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE EXCHANGES, THE TWO SIDES
AGREED TO EXPAND SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL
EXCHANGE. THIS IS AN ISSUE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST
TO PRESIDENT REAGAN WHO MADE IT THE SUBJECT OF HIS
LAST SPEECH BEFORE HE WENT TO GENEVA.

13. ZIMMERMANN CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT WHILE IT
WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS OTHER ARMS CONTROL AND
BILATERAL SUBJECTS COVERED AT THE SUMMIT IN VIEW
OF THE PRESIDENT'S ALREADY-FULL DAY, HE WOULD
SUMMARIZE. IN THE OVERALL, HE SAID, THE GENEVA
SUMMIT COULD BEST BE SUMMED UP BY SAYING THAT
PRESIDENT REAGAN REALIZED IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO
CHANGE UNITED STATES-SOVIET RELATIONS COMPLETELY
IN TWO DAYS OF MEETINGS. HE ALSO REALIZED THAT
THERE ARE STRONG IDEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT THESE
DIFFERENCES WILL ENDURE. PRESIDENT REAGAN BELIEVES
STRONGLY, HOWEVER, THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE
AN OBLIGATION -- NOT ONLY TO THEIR OWN PEOPLES BUT
TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD -- TO WORK FOR PEACE.
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IS THEREFORE
NECESSARY. HE BELIEVES THAT WITH THE MEETING AT
GENEVA WE HAVE BEGUN THIS PROCESS. PRESIDENT
REAGAN, CONTINUED ZIMMERMANN, ASKED ME TO CONVEY
BT

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STATE S/DEL FOR AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PARM, RO, WTO, OTRA (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN)

SUBJECT: CEASESCU RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY

HIS DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THIS PROCESS AND PUT IT ON A MORE PERMANENT BASIS. ZIMMERMANN CONCLUDED BY TELLING PRESIDENT CEASESCU HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THE PRESIDENT HAD, AND TO CONVEY PRESIDENT CEASESCU'S THOUGHTS ON THESE MATTERS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN.

14. CEASESCU THANKED PRESIDENT REAGAN AND AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN FOR THE INFORMATION ABOUT THE GENEVA MEETING. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED THE PREVIOUS AFTERNOON (NOV. 21) BY GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV IN PRAGUE, AND THAT HE APPRECIATED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SENDING AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN TO PROVIDE HIM WITH THE U.S. POINT OF VIEW ON THE MEETINGS.

15. "WE WILL COMPARE THE TWO BRIEFINGS," CEASESCU SAID. "THEY AGREE ON THE DIRECTIONS THAT THINGS WENT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE MEETING BETWEEN GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO US. THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT A LONG AND THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES TOOK PLACE, AND THERE IS NO DOUBT OF THE NEED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES."

16. SPEAKING BOTH PERSONALLY AND ABOUT OTHER HEADS OF STATE WITH WHOM HE HAS DISCUSSED THE MATTER, CEASESCU SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT THAT THIS FIRST MEETING WOULD RESULT IN MAKING GREAT PROGRESS, BUT HE KNEW THAT SOME OF THESE OTHER LEADERS EXPECTED MORE PROGRESS. AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, CEASESCU SAID, HE KNEW THAT ONE COULD NOT EXPECT TOO MUCH. "CERTAINLY, THE FACT THAT THE DISCUSSIONS OCCURRED IS IMPORTANT. ALSO VERY IMPORTANT IS

THE FACT THAT DECISIONS WERE MADE TO CONTINUE THE DIALOG AND THE MEETINGS. IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT THEY AGREED ON IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS."

17. BUT, HE CONTINUED, "THE QUESTION THAT WE IN ROMANIA ASK, AND PERHAPS IN THE REST OF THE WORLD AS WELL, IS 'WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN WITH THE ARMS RACE?'" NEGOTIATIONS STARTED IN GENEVA IN MARCH, MANY PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN TABLED BY BOTH SIDES. BUT IN PRACTICAL TERMS, NO AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED. CEASESCU SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE EMPLACEMENT OF INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES CONTINUES IN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET COUNTER-DEPLOYMENTS THAT WERE "MADE IN A CERTAIN PERIOD OF TIME ALSO REMAIN IN PLACE." THIS SUMMER THE SOVIET UNION STOPPED DEPLOYING ITS COUNTERMEASURES UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR. "BUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE END OF THIS YEAR? IN JANUARY WILL DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPE CONTINUE ON BOTH SIDES? THIS IS A BIG CONCERN HERE IN EUROPE. PEOPLE OF ALL PHILOSOPHICAL CONVICTIONS SHARE A GREAT LEVEL OF CONCERN ON THIS MATTER. CHRISTIANS AND INTELLECTUALS ARE PERHAPS EVEN MORE CONCERNED THAN OTHERS. SO THE QUESTION IS WHEN WILL THE DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE BE STOPPED?"

18. CEASESCU WELCOMED THE JOINT DECISION THAT A NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT BE WON AND SHOULD NEVER BEGIN. HIS POINT, HE SAID, IS THAT ANY WAR BETWEEN THE TWO POWERS OF BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCs WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME A NUCLEAR WAR. "IN OTHER WORDS THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF ANY KIND OF WAR BETWEEN

THE TWO NATIONS AND THE TWO BLOCs." HE ALSO WELCOMED THE DECISION THAT NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY WOULD NOT BE SOUGHT. BUT SAID THAT HE HIMSELF WOULD HAVE LIKED TO SEE THAT "THE NECESSARY CONCLUSIONS" HAD BEEN DRAWN FROM THAT STATEMENT.

19. CEASESCU SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE COULD NOT BE AGREEMENTS IN ALL AREAS IN TWO DAYS, BUT THAT THE SUMMIT WAS WELL PREPARED FOR, AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEGUN IN GENEVA IN MARCH. ROMANIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES EXPECTED AN AGREEMENT, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR TESTS WOULD BE STOPPED WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WERE BEING HELD. THIS WOULD BE

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STATE S/DEL FOR AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN

E.C. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RO, WTO, OTRA (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN)
SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY

HAVE BEEN PROOF THAT THE LEADERS OF THE TWO
LARGEST NUCLEAR POWERS WERE DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE
REAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

20. CEAUSESCU SAID HE WISHED TO MAKE SOME OTHER
POINTS -- "SINCE BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED THEY WOULD
REDUCE STRATEGIC WEAPONS BY 50 PERCENT, AND REACH
AN INF AGREEMENT, WHY CONTINUE TO PRODUCE NEW TYPES
OF WEAPONS AND ESPECIALLY THOSE TYPES THAT WILL
BE INTERDICTED? IN OTHER WORDS THE WORLD EXPECTS,
WE EXPECT, SOME TYPE OF AGREEMENT THAT WOULD SET
A CERTAIN COURSE TOWARDS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT."
CEAUSESCU SAID HE "HOPED WE WERE NOT GOING TO WAIT
A LONG TIME FOR THIS TO OCCUR."

21. IN SHORT, CEAUSESCU SAID, HE HOPED THERE WILL
BE AGREEMENTS REACHED AT GENEVA. IT WOULD HAVE
BEEN GREATLY DESIRABLE THAT WORK FOR THE NEXT
SUMMIT MEETING COULD HAVE FOCUSED ON IMPLEMENTING
ACCORDS ALREADY REACHED. CEAUSESCU SAID HE
WOULD WELCOME PRESIDENT REAGAN USING HIS INFLUENCE
TO COMPLETE AGREEMENTS TOWARDS THAT GOAL. "IT IS
CLEAR THAT POLITICAL WILL TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL
IS NECESSARY -- AND IT IS NECESSARY ON BOTH
SIDES."

22. CEAUSESCU SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO APPEAL TO
PRESIDENT REAGAN "THAT HE AND THE UNITED STATES
ADDRESS EVERY EFFORT TOWARDS ACHIEVING AGREEMENTS."
IN PRAGUE GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV TOLD CEAUSESCU
AND THE OTHER LEADERS HE WAS "READY AT ANY MOMENT
TO GO ANYWHERE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT." CEAUSESCU
SAID HE BELIEVED THIS STATEMENT WAS EVEN INCLUDED

IN THE COMMUNIQUE FROM THE PRAGUE SUMMIT. HE SAID
HE HOPED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS EQUALLY WILLING.
THE TWO SIDES CAN DO ALOT, HE SAID, THOUGH IT SHOULD
BE RECOGNIZED THAT CHANGES IN THE WORLD MAY COMPLICATE
THE PROCESS IN THE FUTURE.

23. CURRENTLY THERE ARE TWO NUCLEAR POWERS THAT
DOMINATE THE WORLD'S ARSENAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AND, IF IT IS SO DIFFICULT TO GET THEM TO AGREE
ON THINGS, "HOW MUCH HARDER WOULD IT BE TO REACH
AGREEMENT IF THERE WERE THREE OR FOUR NATIONS
INVOLVED?" THEREFORE WHILE WE AGREE WITH THE
WORDS OF THE STATEMENTS ISSUED AT GENEVA, AND VALUE
YOUR VISIT HERE, AT THE SAME TIME WE REGRET THE LACK
OF AGREEMENTS IN GENEVA.

24. CEAUSESCU SAID "IT COULD BE SEEN" HE WAS "SPEAKING
FRANKLY" TO AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN, AND HE THANKED
PRESIDENT REAGAN FOR INFORMING HIM ABOUT THE TALKS.
"IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT MEETINGS AT THE LEVEL OF
FOREIGN MINISTER WILL CONTINUE," ESPECIALLY ON
REGIONAL ISSUES, "BUT THE U.S. AND THE USSR, AND
THEIR LEADERS, COULD HAVE DONE MORE" TO REACH
AGREEMENT. "I DON'T SAY THAT THEY COULD HAVE
SOLVED ALL THE PROBLEMS BUT MORE PROGRESS COULD
HAVE BEEN MADE. WHAT ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST? THIS
IS AN AREA OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE WORLD.
WHAT ABOUT RESOLVING THE IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT?" HE
SAID PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD INFORMED HIM BEFOREHAND
THAT HE WOULD RAISE THESE TOPICS AT GENEVA.
CEAUSESCU SAID HE CONSIDERED THESE TWO TO BE
THE MOST ESSENTIAL ISSUES.

25. CEAUSESCU SAID HE HAD ONE MORE POINT: "MANY
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (ROMANIA WAS NOT AMONG THEM)
EXPECTED THAT AT LEAST A VERY SHORT MENTION OF THEIR
PROBLEMS WOULD BE MADE AT THE MEETING BECAUSE THE
SITUATION OF THESE COUNTRIES IS VERY DIFFICULT WITH
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE PROBLEM OF HEAVY DEBTS.
IN OTHER WORDS, I AM CONCERNED WITH WHAT HAD NOT
BEEN ACHIEVED" AT GENEVA.

26. "IT IS A SIMPLE FACT," CEAUSESCU NOTED, "THAT
CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD WILL MAKE IT MORE
DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENTS IN THE FUTURE.
IT IS NECESSARY THEREFORE TO CONTINUE THIS PROCESS
AS LONG AS PROBLEMS EXIST, AND HOPE THAT EVENTS WILL
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STATE S/DEL FOR AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN

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TAGS: PREL, PARM, RO, WTO, OTRA (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN)

SUBJECT: CEASESCU RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY

ALLOW PROGRESS TO TAKE PLACE."

27. "GORBACHEV AND THE UNITED STATES INFORM US THAT THE TWO SIDES HAVE DETERMINED TO ACCELERATE NEGOTIATIONS," CEASESCU SAID. "THAT MEANS THAT YOU AT THE NEGOTIATIONS" (INQUIRY WHETHER ZIMMERMANN WAS PART OF THE NEGOTIATING TEAM, WHICH ZIMMERMANN CONFIRMED) "HAVE A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY TO CARRY OUT THE TASK YOUR TWO LEADERS HAVE SET FOR YOU -- TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE."

28. CEASESCU CONCLUDED BY AGAIN THANKING PRESIDENT REAGAN FOR SENDING AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN TO INFORM HIM OF DETAILS OF THE MEETING AND THANKED ZIMMERMANN FOR CARRYING THE MESSAGE.

29. ZIMMERMANN SAID HE WISHED TO MAKE TWO SHORT POINTS. ON ARMS CONTROL, HE SAID WE SHARE YOUR CONCERN AND HOPES. EACH GOVERNMENT HAS THE OBLIGATION YOU HAVE MENTIONED TO REACH AGREEMENTS. WE HAVE READ WITH CARE THE (ROMANIAN) GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY'S APPEAL ON THIS SUBJECT, AND WE TAKE SERIOUSLY THE CALL FOR EACH SIDE TO ACCELERATE THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS WAS MADE AT THE TALKS IN GENEVA AND WE FEEL THAT THE JOINT DECLARATION IS AN IMPORTANT BASIS TO BUILD ON.

30. IN REGARD TO PRESIDENT CEASESCU'S QUESTION AS TO WHEN INF DEPLOYMENTS WILL STOP, AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN NOTED THAT IN OUR NST PROPOSAL THE DEPLOYMENT WOULD STOP ON DECEMBER 31. WE WOULD STOP DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING 2 AND CRUISE MISSILES

ON DECEMBER 31 IF THE USSR WOULD AGREE TO REDUCE ITS SS-20 MISSILES IN EUROPE TO A LIKE NUMBER. WE ARE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE ON THIS PROPOSAL. WE ARE PREPARED TO LISTEN TO THE OTHER SIDE'S PROPOSALS AND WILL RETURN TO GENEVA IN THAT SPIRIT.

31. FINALLY, ZIMMERMANN SAID, THE INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WERE VERY MUCH ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S MIND IN MEETING WITH GORBACHEV. THESE CONCERNS WERE REPRESENTED IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S COMMITMENT TO END THE ARMS RACE, AND IN THE SPEECH PRESIDENT REAGAN MADE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON REGIONAL ISSUES.

32. COMMENT. THE ROMANIANS WENT TO GREAT LENGTHS TO ENSURE THAT CEASESCU MET WITH ZIMMERMANN. THIS WAS PROBABLY MOTIVATED IN PART BY ROMANIA'S DESIRE TO APPEAR EVENHANDED -- AFTER GOING TO PRAGUE THE DAY BEFORE TO HEAR GORBACHEV, THEY WANTED TO MAKE THE EFFORT TO HEAR OUR SIDE -- IN PART BY CEASESCU'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN ARMS CONTROL, AND IN PART BY ZIMMERMANN'S PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY TITLE, WHICH GAVE HIM THE PROTOCOLAR STATUS TO MEET WITH CEASESCU.

33. IN THE MEETING, CEASESCU WAS FATIGUED, BUT FOLLOWED ZIMMERMANN'S BRIEFING CLOSELY. CEASESCU WAS AT TIMES ANIMATED ESPECIALLY ON THE SUBJECT OF THE NEED FOR SPEEDY AGREEMENTS AND ON INF. HE EXPRESSED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE FAILURE TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSALS CLEARLY AND FORCEFULLY, BUT IN TERMS OF REGRET OVER A LOST

OPPORTUNITY, RATHER THAN IN AN ACCUSATORY OR CONFRONTATIONAL TONE. UNLIKE HIS PUBLIC ARMS CONTROL STATEMENTS, HE DID NOT MENTION ONCE THE "MILITARIZATION OF SPACE," AND WAS THUS ADDRESSING MAINLY THE U.S. AGENDA FOR GENEVA.

34. CLEARLY CEASESCU PLACES A HIGH VALUE ON THIS TYPE OF PERSONAL DIPLOMACY AND DIALOG WITH HEADS OF STATE. WHILE THESE MAY NOT PRODUCE NOTABLE SUBSTANTIVE GAINS, AND SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO PAPER OVER OUR DIFFERENCES, THEY DO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENGAGE THE ATTENTION OF ROMANIA'S ULTIMATE DECISION-MAKER, TO ADDRESS MAJOR CONCERNS ON BOTH SIDES, AND THUS TO STEER OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IN A MORE POSITIVE DIRECTION. END COMMENT.

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STATE S/DEL FOR AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RO, WTO, OTRA (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN)
SUBJECT: CEASESCU RECEIVES PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY

-

35. AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN HAS NOT SEEN OR CLEARED
THIS REPORT. CLARKE
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187285	CABLE RE. LETTER FROM RR TO CEAUSESCU	4	11/25/1985	B1

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187286	PAPER RE. EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS [SECTION 3 ONLY]	2	ND	B1 B3

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MIL HQ FOR POLANDS/INTAFF

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, MCAP, MOPS, PREL, PGOV, RO, WTO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU REITERATES STAND ON
WARSAW PACT

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN A SPEECH TO ARMY LEADERS DEC. 17 PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU SAID THAT ROMANIA WOULD FULFILL ITS WARSAW TREATY COMMITMENTS BY STRENGTHENING ITS OWN ARMED FORCES TO PARTICIPATE IN COMMON DEFENSE. CONTRARY TO SOME WESTERN PRESS REPORTS, THE SPEECH WAS IF ANYTHING WEAKER IN ITS FORMULATION ON WARSAW PACT COOPERATION THAN PREVIOUS CEAUDESCU LANGUAGE. THE NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE, GENERAL VASILE MILEA, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR ON DECEMBER 21 THAT THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN ROMANIA'S MILITARY COLLABORATION WITH THE WARSAW PACT -- "WE WILL RESPECT OUR OBLIGATIONS, BUT OUR CURRENT FORCES

... ARE NOT UNDER ANY OUTSIDE HIGH COMMAND."
END SUMMARY.

3. IN A DECEMBER 17 SPEECH (THE TEXT OF WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN ALL MAJOR ROMANIAN DAILIES) TO A MEETING TO REVIEW THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MILITARY'S COMMAND AND PARTY LEADERS, PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU DEVOTED ONE OUT OF 41 PARAGRAPHS TO THE WARSAW PACT. HE SAID:

- WE MUST ALSO DEVELOP THE FEELING OF
- COOPERATION WITH THE ARMIES OF THE WARSAW
- TREATY MEMBER STATES, WITH OTHER FRIENDLY
- ARMIES. WE ARE FIRMLY RESOLVED TO FULFILL,
- UNDER THE CURRENT CONDITIONS OF THE INTER-
- NATIONAL SITUATION, THE PLEDGES WE HAVE ASSUMED
- AS WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION (WTO) MEMBERS
- REGARDING THE DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRIES AGAINST
- AN IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION, THE DEFENSE OF
- THE PEACEFUL LABOR AND INDEPENDENCE OF OUR
- COUNTRIES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FULFILLMENT
- OF THESE OBLIGATIONS ENTAILS EXACTLY THE
- STRENGTHENING OF THE CAPABILITIES OF OUR
- ARMED FORCES, A BETTER COOPERATION AMONG ALL
- WEAPONS AND UNITS -- BECAUSE IT IS ONLY ON
- THE STRENGTH AND CAPABILITIES OF EACH ARMY
- THAT THE CAPABILITY TO FIGHT -- IF NEEDED --
- TOGETHER AGAINST AGGRESSION DEPENDS.

4. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED NEWLY-APPOINTED DEFENSE MINISTER MILEA ON DECEMBER 21 WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS, MINISTER OLTEANU'S EARLY DECEMBER VISIT TO MOSCOW, AND THE WARSAW PACT'S COMMANDER IN CHIEF, SOVIET MARSHAL V.G. KULIKOV'S DECEMBER 20 VISIT TO BUCHAREST SIGNIFIED CLOSER MILITARY TIES BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE PACT, AS THE WESTERN PRESS WAS SPECULATING. MILEA STRESSED THAT "OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT CHANGING." HE SAID THAT ROMANIA'S POLICIES ON MILITARY COOPERATION WITHIN THE WTO WERE "VERY FIRM -- THEY WERE NOT ESTABLISHED YESTERDAY," AND THAT JUST AS THE U.S. IS AWARE OF THIS POLICY, SO ALSO ARE THE SOVIETS. HE ADDED, "AS LONG AS WE BELONG TO THE WARSAW TREATY, WE WILL RESPECT OUR OBLIGATIONS. BUT WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID WE REGARD THE PARTICIPATION OF OUR ARMED FORCES AS BEING UNDER NATIONAL (WORD

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MIL HQ FOR POLANDS/INTAFF

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, MCAP, MOPS, PREL, PGOV, RO, WTO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU REITERATES STAND ON

STRESSED) COMMAND AND NOT UNDER ANY OUTSIDE
HIGH COMMAND."

5. MILEA STATED THAT THE SOVIET-ROMANIAN VISITS
WERE ROUTINE AND INDEED WERE PART OF AN ANNUAL
VISIT PLAN. HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S
WORDS WERE NOT SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT
HE HAD SAID IN EARLIER SPEECHES IN THE SAME FORUM
IN 1979, 1980 AND 1983. COMMENTING ON WESTERN
PRESS SPECULATION OCCASIONED BY THE SPEECH, MILEA
JOKED THAT THE NEWSPAPERMEN OBVIOUSLY HAD NOTHING
BETTER TO WRITE ABOUT. HE SAID THAT "WHEN YOU READ
SOMETHING IN OUR NEWSPAPERS, IT IS TRUE. YOU
UNDERSTAND BETTER THAN I THE PRACTICES OF YOUR
OWN NEWSPAPERS."

6. COMMENT. THE LANGUAGE IN THE DEC. 17, 1985
SPEECH IS IF ANYTHING WEAKER THAN PRIOR LANGUAGE
ON THE SUBJECT. IN CEAUSESCU'S 1984 SPEECH TO THE
13TH PARTY CONGRESS HE SAID "WE WILL STRENGTHEN
CONTINUED COLLABORATION BETWEEN (WARSAW PACT)
FORCES". IN SPEECHES TO ARMY PERFORMANCE REVIEW
MEETINGS IN PREVIOUS YEARS CEAUSESCU HAS MADE
SIMILAR STATEMENTS. IN THIS WEEK'S SPEECH HE ONLY
CALLED FOR STRENGTHENING THE "FEELING OF COOPERATION."
WE THEREFORE SEE NO GROUNDS IN THE SPEECH FOR
ANY INFERENCE THAT WARSAW PACT COOPERATION BY
ROMANIA IS TO INCREASE. END COMMENT. KIRK
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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E.O. 11652 DECL: OADR
TAGS: EXPL, FIUM, RO, US
SUBJECT: JANUARY 7 CEASESCU LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

1 (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR GAVRILESCU CALLED UPON
COUNSELOR DERWINSKI JANUARY 9 TO PRESENT ADVANCE TEXT
OF JANUARY 7 LETTER FROM CEASESCU TO PRESIDENT
REAGAN. DEPARTMENT'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS PARA
4; ROMANIAN ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED TO POST. END
SUMMARY.3. GAVRILESCU, HIGHLIGHTING DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL
RELATIONS IN CEASESCU LETTER, EXPLAINED THAT LETTER
RESPONDS TO THE PRESIDENT'S DECEMBER 6 LETTER, ORIGINAL
OF WHICH WAS GIVEN TO CEASESCU BY SECRETARY SHULTZ IN
BUCHAREST DECEMBER 15. DERWINSKI SUGGESTED THAT
FOLLOW-UP ON MATERIAL REGARDING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS
AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES BE LEFT TO OTHERS, AND
THAT HE AND GAVRILESCU BEGIN REGULAR MEETINGS ON
BILATERAL AND PARTICULARLY RELIGIOUS RIGHTS ISSUES
FOLLOWING DERWINSKI'S THREE-WEEK MIDDLE EAST/SOUTH
ASIAN/PACIFIC TRIP BEGINNING JANUARY 11. GAVRILESCU
AGREED. END SUMMARY.

4. BEGIN TEXT.

--BUCHAREST, JANUARY 7, 1986

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I PARTICULARLY APPRECIATE THE EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES
BETWEEN US REGARDING VARIOUS ISSUES IN BILATERAL
RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. IN THIS CONTEXT,
I WELCOMED THE INITIATIVE TO INFORM US, THROUGH
AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN, ABOUT THE HIGH-LEVEL
SOVIET-AMERICAN MEETING IN GENEVA. I ALSO WELCOMED THE
RECENT VISIT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, GEORGE SHULTZ. I REGARD ALL THIS AS
AN EXPRESSION OF THE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR
COUNTRIES, AND OF OUR COMMON DESIRE TO CONSOLIDATE
THOSE RELATIONS AND ASSURE THE MOST POSITIVE COURSE FOR
THEM.AS I STRESSED IN MEETINGS WITH AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN AS
WELL AS WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE, GEORGE SHULTZ, I
APPRECIATE THAT THE HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET-AMERICAN MEETING

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IN GENEVA WAS A SIGNIFICANT EVENT FOR THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IT WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE IT LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIRECT CONTACTS AND JOINT DECISIONS REGARDING THE CONTINUATION OF THESE CONTACTS AND MEETINGS, WHICH OPEN THE WAY TO ACHIEVING CERTAIN CONCRETE, RECIPROCAL, MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDINGS. HOWEVER, AT PRESENT, THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT AND PREVENTION OF A NUCLEAR WAR REMAIN PRACTICALLY UNRESOLVED, AND MANKIND WILL APPRECIATE THE REAL VALUE OF THE HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET-AMERICAN MEETING ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT CONCRETE ACCORDS AND REAL STEPS ARE ACHIEVED TOWARD THESE ENDS.

THE FACT THAT PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, AS WELL AS ACTIVITIES FOR THE MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE, HAVE CONTINUED AFTER GENEVA IS A REALITY WHICH CANNOT BUT CAUSE CONCERN. IF THE CURRENT SITUATION GOES ON, IF THERE IS NO UNDERTAKING, BY ONE SIDE AS WELL AS THE OTHER, OF MEASURES AND CONCRETE INITIATIVES TOWARD HALTING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE GENEVA TALKS WILL LOSE THEIR IMPORTANCE, AND I WOULD NOT WANT THAT TO HAPPEN. IN MY OPINION, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT THAT, AT LEAST FOR THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS BE STOPPED, THE PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE BE HALTED, AND THAT ACTIVITIES FOR THE MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE BE RENOUNCED. SUCH

INITIATIVES AND INTERMEDIATE MEASURES WOULD BE OF CHARACTER DEMONSTRATING THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION REGARD WITH FULL RESPONSIBILITY AND SERIOUSNESS THE PROBLEM CURBING THE ARMS RACE, AND FIRST OF ALL THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, AND OF PROCEEDING TO DISARMAMENT AND REMOVING THE DANGER OF A NUCLEAR WAR IN WHICH -- AS THE SOVIET-AMERICAN JOINT DECLARATION ADOPTED AT GENEVA HAS EMPHASIZED -- THERE WILL BE NO VICTOR.

REGARDING BILATERAL RELATIONS, AS YOU RIGHTLY POINTED OUT YOURSELF, AN IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP BASED ON COMMON INTEREST AND MUTUAL RESPECT HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTED BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES. RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOSE RELATIONS HAS BEEN IMPEDED BY CERTAIN MEASURES AND ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN BY CERTAIN CIRCLES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. I ESPECIALLY HAVE IN MIND THE PRESSURES BEING GENERATED IN THE DIRECTION OF CONDITIONING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS ON A SERIES OF ELEMENTS WHICH ARE IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS SET FORTH IN THE JOINT DOCUMENTS AS WELL AS THE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AND WHICH CAN ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ROMANIA.

IN YOUR LETTER YOU INDICATED THAT APPRECIATION FOR ROMANIA'S SOVEREIGNTY IS A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TOWARD OUR COUNTRY. I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MENTION THAT THE INDEPENDENT POLICY PURSUED BY THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT A MATTER OF BIDDING TIME OR EXPENDIENCY ("POLITICA DE CONJUNCTURA"), BUT HAS ALWAYS CONSTITUTED THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. IN THIS SPIRIT, ROMANIA HAS PROMOTED AND WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE IN ITS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THE RESPECT OF PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, NON-INTERFERENCE

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IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

IN FACT, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE LAST TWO DECADES HAS BEEN FOUNDED PRECISELY ON THESE PRINCIPLES. I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THESE PRINCIPLES FOUND EXPRESSION IN THE JOINT DECLARATIONS WHICH I SIGNED, OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS, WITH THREE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. I ALSO FIND THESE PRINCIPLES IN THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN TRADE AGREEMENT, SIGNED IN 1975, WHICH REMAINS IN FORCE. IN

THE SPIRIT AND ON THE BASIS OF THESE PRINCIPLES, I BELIEVE THAT ALL THE CONDITIONS EXIST FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS -- AND WE WANT TO DO OUR UTMOST IN THIS DIRECTION.

IN YOUR LETTER YOU MENTIONED SOME ISSUES RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH WOULD CREATE A CERTAIN TENSION IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. MR. SHULTZ DEVELOPED THIS IDEA AND REFERRED TO THE PRESSURE GENERATED BY VARIOUS GROUPS, AS WELL AS WITHIN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. I AFFIRM TO YOU MY PROFOUND CONVICTION THAT SUCH PROBLEMS CANNOT EXIST EXCEPT TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE ARTIFICIALLY CREATED. I HAVE WRITTEN TO YOU ON OTHER OCCASIONS ABOUT THIS PROBLEM, ABOUT THE WAY IN WHICH WE UNDERSTAND HUMAN RIGHTS. WE CONSIDER THAT, IN ROMANIA, THE BROADEST AND MOST FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ASSURED--THE RIGHT TO WORK, TO A FREE AND DIGNIFIED LIFE, TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN CONDITIONS OF FULL EQUALITY--THEY ARE ASSURING THE UNHAMPERED PARTICIPATION OF ALL CITIZENS IN THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP OF OUR SOCIETY. WE WOULD LIKE THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS TO BE FULFILLED, IN FACT, IN ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. I BELIEVE THAT THE LINKING OF HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THE ISSUE OF EMIGRATION IS TOTALLY INAPPROPRIATE. ROMANIA HAS NOT ENCOURAGED AND DOES NOT ENCOURAGE EMIGRATION. OF COURSE, IN A HUMANITARIAN SPIRIT, WE HAVE RESOLVED, THUS FAR, NUMEROUS FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES. WE WILL ALSO DEMONSTRATE UNDERSTANDING IN THE FUTURE REGARDING VALID AND JUSTIFIED CASES; IF THERE ARISE CERTAIN UNCLEAR ELEMENTS, THEY SHOULD BE RAISED THROUGH THE USUAL CHANNELS. RECOURSE TO PUBLICITY CANNOT BUT ADVERSELY AFFECT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

IN RESPECT TO THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED REGARDING THE PROCEDURES FOR ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS TO PEOPLE WITHIN ROMANIA WHO ARE LEAVING PERMANENTLY FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, I EXPLAINED IN FULLER TERMS TO MR. GEORGE SHULTZ WHY I BELIEVE THAT IT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT IT ALSO ACQUIRE A WRITTEN FORM.

I WAS SURPRISED, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT IN YOUR LETTER YOU ALSO RAISED CERTAIN POINTS CONCERNING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN ROMANIA. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT WERE YOUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THIS REGARD, BUT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT, IN ROMANIA, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY

ASSURES THE FREE EXERCISE OF ACTIVITY BY THE RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND OF THE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES. NO ONE SUFFERS AND NO ONE IS SUBJECTED TO ANY RESTRICTION DUE TO THE FACT OF THEIR BELONGING TO A RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION. THE DENOMINATIONS PUBLISH AND PRINT RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS, INCLUDING BIBLES -- AND THE NECESSITY OF IMPORTING BIBLES FROM ABROAD DOES NOT EXIST. THE CHURCH ITSELF IS OPPOSED ("INSASI BISERICA SE OPUNE") TO SUCH IMPORTS, IN THAT IT PREFERENCES

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DTG: 142231Z JAN 86 PSN: 041112

TO PRINT AND DISTRIBUTE ITS OWN EDITIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU THAT THE ROMANIAN STATE SPENDS HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF LEI EACH YEAR FOR THE SALARIES OF PRIESTS, AS WELL AS FOR THE CONSERVATION, RESTORATION, AND MAINTENANCE OF RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS. I WANTED TO TELL YOU THESE THINGS, MR. PRESIDENT, IN THE HOPE OF GIVING YOU THE POSSIBILITY OF KNOWING THE TRUE SITUATION -- ALTHOUGH THESE SUBJECTS ARE STRICTLY INTERNAL MATTERS FOR ROMANIA AND WE CANNOT ACCEPT, IN ANY FORM, ANY INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD IN THIS AREA.

ROMANIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST TERRORISM. WE HAVE CONDEMNED TERRORIST ACTIONS WITH ALL FIRMNESS, BELIEVING THAT TERRORIST ACTIONS CANNOT IN ANY WAY CONSTITUTE A MEANS OF RESOLVING PROBLEMS, AND THAT THEY ONLY ADD FURTHER STRAINS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WEIGH ON THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE. I AGREE THAT THE CLERICAL INSTITUTIONS IN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD ESTABLISH CONTACT IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM IN ALL ITS ASPECTS.

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN WHICH ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CAN ACTIVELY COOPERATE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. WE BELIEVE THAT POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS MUST BE INTENSIFIED TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACEFULLY, THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT A CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN WHICH ALL INTERESTED PARTIES WOULD TAKE PART, INCLUDING THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE GATHERED IN THAT REGION.

THE SETTLEMENT, THROUGH POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS, OF PROBLEMS IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE PLANET, THE FINAL RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND THE THREAT OF EMPLOYING FORCE HAVE, IN OUR VIEW, AN ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE

NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES, AND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.

I ALSO BELIEVE THAT GREATER EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO IDENTIFY JUST AND EQUITABLE SOLUTIONS IN ORDER TO ELIMINATE UNDERDEVELOPMENT, INCLUDING THE EXTREMELY LARGE FOREIGN DEBTS OF OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- A PROBLEM WHICH CONSTITUTES A FACTOR OF TENSION AND INSTABILITY IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE -- BY ESTABLISHING A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER BASED ON FULL EQUALITY AND EQUITY, BY RENOUNCING ALL PROTECTIONIST AND OTHER MEASURES WHICH IMPEDE THE NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE, AND BY GIVING MANKIND BROAD ACCESS TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY. IN MY VIEW, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

ON THE WHOLE, MR. PRESIDENT, I THINK IT NECESSARY THAT WE CONTINUE OUR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ABOUT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST, INCLUDING THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS, PARTICULARLY, ABOUT WAYS AND POSSIBILITIES OF FURTHER DEVELOPING THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS, WE ARE CONVINCED, IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES, AND OF THE OVERALL CAUSE OF DETENTE,

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COOPERATION, AND PEACE IN THE WORLD.

--WITH BEST WISHES,

--SINCERELY,

--NICOLAE CEAUDESCU

END TEXT.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 01334

EXDIS

~~CORRECTED~~ COPY PARA'S REARRANGED//

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, CVIS, RO, US
SUBJECT: TACTICS TOWARD ROMANIA ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REVIEWS THE CHANCES FOR PROGRESS ON OUR MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AND SUGGESTS HOW WE MIGHT HANDLE THEM. IT RECOMMENDS A MODERATE FLOW OF INFLUENTIAL VISITORS TO BUCHAREST, AND SUGGESTS A DERWINSKI VISIT CLOSE TO SOME CRUNCH POINT IN THE ADMINISTRATION OR CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, WHEN HIS LEVERAGE WILL BE GREATEST. WE HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT URGING CONGRESSIONAL TRIPS, AND ARE CERTAINLY NOT IN A POSITION TO PROMISE THAT ANY CONGRESSIONAL VISITOR WOULD GET A CONCESSION TO BRING HOME. END SUMMARY.

3. FOUR TIMES WITHIN THE LAST TWO MONTHS, AMERICAN FIGURES VERY IMPORTANT TO CEAUSESCU HAVE GIVEN HIM OUR PRINCIPAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS. THEIR PRESENTATIONS, WHILE DIFFERING SLIGHTLY IN NUANCE, HAVE FOCUSED ON SEVEN MAJOR AREAS: BIBLES, NAZARENES, EMIGRATION NUMBERS AND WRITTEN PROCEDURES, SPECIFIC CASES, CHURCH CONSTRUCTION/DESTRUCTION, AND ROMANIA'S PRESENTATION OF ITS CASE IN THE US.

4. CEAUSESCU HAS TOTALLY REJECTED IMPORTATION OF PROTESTANT BIBLES. HE HAS LEFT THE DOOR OPEN A SMALL CRACK TO STEPS TOWARD PRINTING THEM IN ROMANIA. THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL, EVEN THOUGH ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION WOULD BE FAR DISTANT, AND PROBLEMATIC. DESPITE HIS FLAT REFUSALS, WE THINK CEAUSESCU MIGHT ALLOW A ONE-TIME IMPORT OF, SAY, 50,000 BIBLES IF HE FELT THIS NECESSARY TO BUY MFN. WE FEEL THE BIBLE ISSUE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE STRESSED, EMPHASIZING THE NEATNESS AND IMPACT OF IMPORTATION BUT ACKNOWLEDGING DOMESTIC PRINTING AS AN ALTERNATIVE, THOUGH LESS EFFECTIVE.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: State Waiver 11/6/85
BY: [Signature] DATE: 11/7/87

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5. RECOGNITION OF NAZARENES IS HOPELESS AND IT IS NOT PRODUCTIVE TO MAKE THIS A MAJOR POINT IN TALKS WITH THE ROMANIANS. A MORE PROFITABLE APPROACH WOULD BE TO URGE THE ROMANIANS TO AVOID GRATUITOUS HARASSMENT OF NAZARENES. IN WASHINGTON, WE COULD POINT OUT THAT THE PRESS CRITICISM OF THE NAZARENES OF LAST JULY HAS NOT RECURRED, AND PACKAGES FROM AMERICA ARE APPARENTLY GETTING THROUGH.

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6. THE ROMANIANS MAY TAKE STEPS TO INCREASE THE EMIGRATION NUMBERS OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS' FIGURES. WE CAN PUSH FOR THIS, REALIZING, HOWEVER, THAT THE LEVELS WILL NOT REACH THOSE OF 1984 (OR EVEN THOSE OF 1985), AND THE ROMANIANS WILL CONTINUE TO CITE OUR IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS AS THE REASON. IN WASHINGTON, WE CAN POINT OUT THAT TCP NUMBERS ARE DOWN IN GOOD PART BECAUSE OF A MARKEDLY SHRINKING POOL OF ELIGIBLES (SEPTEL).

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7. WE SEEM TO HAVE FOUND A WAY TO PRESENT LAST SUMMER'S AGREEMENT ON EMIGRATION PROCEDURES TO CONGRESS WITHOUT A WRITTEN US-ROMANIAN AGREEMENT. WE MUST RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THE BENEFICIAL EFFECT OF THE NEW PROCEDURES IS LIMITED. VIRTUALLY NONE OF THE ROMANIANS WHO ALREADY HAD EMIGRATION PASSPORTS ARE BETTER OFF, AND THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO EXPECT THIS TO CHANGE. THESE PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO GIVE UP THEIR EMIGRATION PASSPORTS AND WILL NOT SEEK ROMANIAN CITIZENSHIP AGAIN. EVEN MANY OF THOSE NOW RECEIVING ADEVERINTAS HAD ALREADY LOST THEIR JOBS, AND SOME NEW APPLICANTS

ARE LOSING THEIRS. IN SHORT, THE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE PORTRAYED AS MAKING SIGNIFICANT, BUT LIMITED, PROGRESS.

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8. SPECIFIC CASES ARE A WORTHWHILE SUBJECT TO RAISE, BUT WE SHOULD PROBABLY NOT EXPECT ANY MOVEMENT UNTIL JUST BEFORE WHAT CEAUSESCU SEES AS THE CRUCIAL MOMENT ON MFN, PROBABLY SOME TIME THIS SUMMER. RELEASES FROM PRISON ARE USUALLY ANNOUNCED, BY CATEGORY, ON THE OCCASION OF THE TRADITIONAL AUGUST 23 NATIONAL HOLIDAY AMNESTY. IT WOULD BE A MARKED DEPARTURE FROM PAST PRACTICE FOR CEAUSESCU TO PROMISE RELEASE OF A SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL, PARTICULARLY BEFORE THE ANNIVERSARY, AND ESPECIALLY IF CEAUSESCU FELT HIS PROMISE WOULD BECOME PUBLIC.

9. PERMISSION FOR CONSTRUCTION OF CHURCHES WITH
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EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA'S REARRANGED)

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, CVIS, RO, US
SUBJECT: TACTICS TOWARD ROMANIA ON HUMAN RIGHTS

FOREIGN FUNDS SEEMS VERY UNLIKELY. CONSTRUCTION WITH LOCAL FUNDS IS NOT RULED OUT, BUT DEPENDS ON A HOST OF LOCAL (AND MANIPULATABLE) FACTORS. IT DOES NOT SEEM ONE OF THE MORE PROMISING SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION. DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES IS LIKEWISE A TANGLED WEB, GIVEN LOCAL PREJUDICES AND URBAN RENEWAL PLANS, AND THE COMPLEXITY OF BUILDING PERMIT CONFLICTS. PERHAPS THE BEST WE CAN DO IS TO GET A DOCUMENTED RECORD OF THE (ALLEGEDLY 15) BAPTIST CHURCHES BUILT IN THE LAST TWO YEARS -- WE WILL SEEK THIS.

10. MEASURES TO IMPROVE PRESENTATION OF ROMANIA'S CASE ARE USEFUL -- PREFERABLY AS A COMPLEMENT TO SOME FORWARD ACTION ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES. WE SHOULD WELCOME THEM, BUT NOT TREAT THEM AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION ON THE ISSUES. PUBLIC RELATIONS MOVES SUCH AS THE JEWISH YOUTH CHOIR WILL PROBABLY HAVE A REAL IMPACT, THOUGH BEST LEFT IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL HANDS.

11. THE BEST WAY TO PURSUE ALL THIS, IT SEEMS TO US IS TO HAVE A MODERATE FLOW OF INFLUENTIAL VISITORS TO BUCHAREST AS A COMPANION TO THE REGULAR PRESSURE THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND THE SECRETARY'S VISIT WERE VERY IMPORTANT; THEY HAVE BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY TWO TOP-LEVEL PRIVATE SECTOR EMISSARIES TO CEAUSescu IN QUICK SUCCESSION. WE THINK ABOUT ONE A MONTH IS NOW ENOUGH, ASSUMING NO CHANGE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL PICTURE. WE NOTE ROSENTHAL MAY COME IN LATE MARCH, AND SPITZER AGAIN AT THE END OF MAY. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GROZA WILL PROBABLY BE IN WASHINGTON IN EARLY APRIL.

12. WE WOULD RECOMMEND A DERWINSKI VISIT CLOSE TO A CRUNCH POINT, EITHER IN THE ADMINISTRATION OR THE CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. THAT IS WHEN

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HIS LEVERAGE WILL BE GREATEST, AND THE MOST NEEDED.

13. WE COULD CONSIDER A SECRETARIAL, OR EVEN PRESIDENTIAL, LETTER AT SOME POINT, BUT WE SHOULD NOT DUPLICATE PREVIOUS, LARGELY UNSUCCESSFUL, MISSIVES. A COMMUNICATION WOULD IN ANY CASE SEEM ADVISABLE AT THE TIME OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECOMMENDATION TO CONGRESS ON MFN, TO GIVE THE BACKGROUND AND STRESS THE NEED FOR THE ROMANIANS TO DO THEIR SHARE.

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14. WE IMAGINE THE CONGRESSIONAL CALENDAR WILL BE VERY FULL, AND HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT URGING VISITS. UNCOMMITTED CONGRESSIONAL FIGURES ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY A VISIT HERE, GIVEN THE UNATTRACTIVENESS OF THIS REGIME'S INTERNAL POLICIES. HOSTILE CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES ARE LIKELY TO COME AWAY WITH NEW ARGUMENTS FOR THEIR POSITION. THOSE FAVORABLY INCLINED WOULD NEED AN ASSURED CONCESSION TO BRING HOME TO MAKE THEIR TRIP PROFITABLE, SOMETHING WHICH WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GUARANTEE AND WHICH WOULD GO AGAINST CEAUSESCU'S STYLE. KIRK
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EXDIS

LONDON FOR RMO ARNOLD WEBER AT MED CONFERENCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ENGR, TRGY, PREL, AMED, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIA REQUESTS SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANCE ON
- RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT
-
REF: (A) BUCHAREST 3102, (B) STATE 136047

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)
-
2. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING A SUDDEN INCREASE IN RADIO-ACTIVITY ON MAY 1, GOR LEADERSHIP HELD AN EMERGENCY MEETING, WHICH DECIDED TO FORM A SPECIAL COMMITTEE, REVIEW THE ALARMING MEASUREMENTS, AND SEEK U. S. SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANCE. ACTION REQUESTED: AN IMMEDIATE REPLY TO THE ROMANIAN REQUEST, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF SENDING AN EXPERT ON RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT TO ROMANIA. IF SERIOUS DAMAGE TO DAIRY OR OTHER FOOD SUPPLIES SEEMS LIKELY, USG SHOULD BEGIN CONSIDERING WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE IN OUR INTEREST TO OFFER EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.
-
3. FOREIGN MINISTER VADUVA CALLED IN DCM TO AN "URGENT" MEETING ON MAY 1, IN ABSENCE OF AMBASSADOR WHO IS TRAVELLING IN ROMANIA. IOAN URSU, FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ACCOMPANIED THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND LED THE DISCUSSION. MARIN IVASCU, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY, JOINED LATER. RACEANU (MFA) WAS ALSO PRESENT. URSU NOTED THAT THE EMBASSY HAD INQUIRED ABOUT

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Authority: State Waiver 11/6/15
BY: [Signature] NARA DATE 1/17/17

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DTG: 011712Z MAY 86 PSN: 016337

RADIATION LEVELS ON APRIL 30 (REF A), AND EXPRESSED
APPRECIATION FOR OUR INTEREST.

4. URSU SAID THAT AS SOON AS GOR LEARNED ABOUT THE
CHERNOBYL INCIDENT, IT HAD ALERTED ITS NATIONAL NETWORK
OF MONITORING STATIONS TO MEASURE AIR, WATER AND SOIL
RADIOACTIVITY. UNTIL THE NIGHT OF APRIL 30/MAY 1,
THERE HAD BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN RADIOACTIVITY
-- WHICH HAD RESULTED IN A "COMMUNIQUE" OF THE NATIONAL
COUNCIL FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION TO THAT EFFECT ON
APRIL 30. (NOTE: WE HAVE NOT SEEN THIS REPORT.)

5. DURING THE NIGHT OF APRIL 30/MAY 1, THERE WAS A
GREAT INCREASE IN RADIOACTIVITY IN SEVERAL REGIONS OF
ROMANIA, ESPECIALLY IN THE NORTHEASTERN PART, URSU
CONTINUED. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU CHAIRED A MEETING OF
THE LEADERSHIP TO REVIEW THE RESULTS, WHICH URSU
ATTENDED IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AND AS A PHYSICIST.
THE LEADERSHIP DECIDED TO FORM A PARTY/STATE GROUP,
HEADED BY ACADEMICIAN ELENA CEAUSESCU TO IMPLEMENT THE
NECESSARY MEASURES TO PROTECT THE POPULATION, LIVE-
STOCK AND THE COUNTRY IN GENERAL. THE LEADERSHIP
ALSO ASKED TO PASS TO U.S. AUTHORITIES, IN CONFIDENCE,
THE KEY RADIOACTIVE MEASUREMENTS, AND A REQUEST FOR
ASSISTANCE BY SPECIALISTS OR APPROPRIATE MATERIALS
TO HELP ANALYZE THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA. URSU SAID
THAT SINCE IT WAS A HUMANITARIAN MATTER, GOR DID NOT
OBJECT TO SHARING THE INFORMATION WITH OTHER STATES,
BUT ASKED REPEATEDLY THAT IT BE HELD CONFIDENTIALLY.

6. MEASUREMENTS OF RADIOACTIVITY AT 4:30 TO 5:00 A.M.
ROMANIAN TIME, MAY 1 (AFTER NEGLIGIBLE REPORTS UP TO
NIGHT OF APRIL 30):

- A. IASI (MOLDAVIA):
- -- SOIL RADIOACTIVITY SLIGHTLY OVER ALARM LEVEL
 - (50,000 PICO CURIES PER SQUARE METER).
 - -- AIR: CLOSE TO NORMAL, NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.
- B. SUCEAVA:
- -- SOIL ABOVE WARNING LEVELS (20,000 PICO CURIES
 - PER SQUARE METER)
- C. TIRGU MURES (TRANSYLVANIA):
- -- SOIL CLOSE TO WARNING LEVEL (10,000 PICO
 - CURIES)
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LONDON FOR RMO ARNOLD WEBER AT MED CONFERENCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ENGR, TRGY, PREL, AMED, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIA REQUESTS SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANCE ON

D. TULCEA (DANUBE DELTA):
- -- INCREASE IN ATMOSPHERIC RADIATION, 600 PICO
- Curies PER CUBIC METER.
-

7. AFTER FORMING THE COMMITTEE, THEY OBTAINED THE
FOLLOWING HIGHER LEVELS OF RADIOACTIVITY AT 1:00 P.M.
MAY 1:

A. IASI:
- -- SOIL: OVER 200,000 PICO CURIES
- -- AIR: FOR FIRST TIME, SMALL READING AT ABOUT
- WARNING LEVEL
- (ABOUT 1000 PICO CURIES PER CUBIC METER)
B. SUCEAVA: LEVELS SAME AS EARLIER
C. TULCEA: AIR RADIOACTIVITY REACHED 3000 PICO CURIES
- PER CUBIC METER, THEN DROPPED A LITTLE.
D. GALATI (DANUBE, NEAR SOVIET BORDER):
- -- AIR RADIOACTIVITY REACHED ABOUT 2000 PICO
- CURIES.

E. THERE WAS ALSO A SMALL INCREASE IN RADIOACTIVITY IN
SEVERAL OTHER PLACES IN ROMANIA, INCLUDING BUCHAREST,
BUT NOT A CAUSE FOR CONCERN.
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8. ASKED WHY THERE MIGHT BE SUCH A SUDDEN INCREASE IN RADIATION, AFTER NORMAL READINGS, URSU SAID HE HAD NO OFFICIAL CONCLUSION. HOWEVER, IT LOOKED TO HIM AS IF ROMANIA HAD BEEN LUCKY AT FIRST, WITH THE WIND HEADED TOWARD POLAND; BUT UNFORTUNATELY THE WIND SHIFTED. HE ATTRIBUTED THE SUDDEN CHANGE IN SOIL RADIOACTIVITY TO AN ACCOMPANYING LIGHT RAIN -- "NOT MUCH RAIN, BUT ENOUGH."

-

9. REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE. URSU AND IVASCU SAID ROMANIAN SCIENTISTS WANTED INFORMATION FROM U. S. SCIENTISTS ON PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF HARM FROM THE VARIOUS ISOTOPES. THEY WERE AWARE OF RADIOACTIVE IODINE AND THE THREAT TO THE THYROID; THEY WERE LESS ACQUAINTED WITH CESIUM AND STRONTIUM. WHAT WERE THE ANTIDOTES? WERE THERE NOT ANTIDOTES MORE SOPHISTICATED THAN POTASSIUM IODIDE (WITH WHICH THEY WERE FAMILIAR)? WHAT TREATMENT WAS THERE FOR ANIMALS? WERE THERE OTHER ISOTOPES? SO FAR, ROMANIA HAD NEVER HAD ANY CASES OF RADIATION POISONING, AND URSU REALIZED THAT THE U. S. HAD A GREAT BODY OF EXPERIENCE. THEY THEREFORE REQUESTED WHATEVER WRITTEN MATERIALS OR INSTRUMENTS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. THEY WOULD WELCOME A VISIT BY SPECIALISTS. THEY WANT KNOWLEDGE, NOT BROAD ADVICE. URSU THEN ADDED, ALMOST AS AN AFTERTHOUGHT, THAT ROMANIA HAD NO INFORMATION WHATSOEVER ABOUT THE REACTOR INCIDENT ITSELF, OTHER THAN THAT AVAILABLE THROUGH THE PRESS, AND SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION THE U. S. COULD PROVIDE, ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS.

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10. COMMENT: APPARENTLY GOR HAS NOT BEEN BRIEFED AT ALL BY THE SOVIETS, AND IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE USSR

WILL BE IN A POSITION TO SPARE EXPERTS. WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A HUMANITARIAN AND SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION THAT WILL BE APPRECIATED AT THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVELS HERE. THE INFORMATION MAY ALSO BE OF VALUE TO US. WHILE WE SHOULD RESPECT THE GOR REQUEST FOR CONFIDENTIALITY -- OBVIOUSLY INTENDED TO AVOID PANIC, AS WELL AS OFFENSE TO THE SOVIETS -- WE CAN EXPECT EVENTUALLY TO HAVE A STRONGLY POSITIVE IMPACT ON THE ATTITUDES OF ORDINARY ROMANIANS AS WELL, ONCE THEY LEARN THE U. S. PROVIDED PROMPT HELP.

11. IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL FOR USG TO GAUGE HOW BADLY FOOD SUPPLIES WILL BE CONTAMINATED HERE. IF
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8616

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY 8941
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY 6387
AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY 7649
AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY 6978

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BUCHAREST 03143

EXDIS

LONDON FOR RMO ARNOLD WEBER AT MED CONFERENCE

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ENGR, TRGY, PREL, AMED, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIA REQUESTS SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANCE ON

THIS TURNS OUT TO BE SERIOUS, WE MAY ALSO WANT TO
CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING A MAJOR POLITICAL
DEMONSTRATION BY PROVIDING RELIEF ASSISTANCE, AS WE
DID FOLLOWING FLOODS AND THE EARTHQUAKE IN THE 1970S.
END COMMENT.

12. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE PROVIDE AN IMMEDIATE
ANSWER TO THE REQUEST FOR SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANCE.
PLEASE ALSO ADVISE WHAT DATA WE CAN SHARE WITH GOR
ON THE CHERNOBYL INCIDENT ITSELF. KIRK
BT

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ROMANIA

MFN 29

URGENT

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OF CLASSIFIED

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S/S #

URGENT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

MESSAGE NO. 008249 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL No. Pages 3
FROM: BMCKINLEY S/S X73126 7224
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION TELEGRAM TO BUCHAREST: Presidential Letter to
Ceausescu

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
NSC	ROBERT PEARSON		
NSC	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT		
	McDaniel		
	Dobriansky		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: PLEASE CLEAR BY COB TODAY, JUNE 3.

S/S Officer: BMCKINLEY *lf for MA*

Concur -
w/ 1 change

CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME-STAMPED COVER SHEET TO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TEXT RECEIVED FROM THE WHITE HOUSE DRAFTING OFFICE
 06/03/86 EXT. 7324
 S/S FBNCKINLEY

EUR:RMPALMER
 S/S-01

NSC:PDORRIANSKY

CLEARANCES

CLEARANCES

NIAC IMMEDIATE HIGH PRIORITY

MODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ETRD, NO, US

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN MFM RENEWAL: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER
 TO CEAUDESCU

BMCK

WH

RMP

PD

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. EMBASSY SHOULD URGENTLY DELIVER TO FOREIGN MINISTER
 VADUVA OR SENIOR AVAILABLE MFA OFFICIAL THE FOLLOWING
 TEXT OF JUNE 3 LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO
 CEAUDESCU, AS WELL AS TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO
 CONGRESS ON ROMANIAN MFM EXTENSION FOR 1986-87
 (SEPTEL). SIGNED ORIGINNE OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER
 BEING POUCHED.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON
 JUNE 3, 1986

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU KNOW, I AM REQUIRED BY AMERICAN LAW TO FORWARD
 TO CONGRESS BY JUNE 3 OF EACH YEAR A DETERMINATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
 BY RW PA ATE 11/17/17

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CONCERNING CONTINUATION OF MOST-FAVORED NATION (MFN) TREATMENT FOR ROMANIA. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DELIBERATION, WHICH REVEALED STRONG CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION AND RESERVATIONS WITHIN MY OWN ADMINISTRATION, I HAVE TODAY SIGNED A REPORT TO THE CONGRESS CONTAINING MY DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE ROMANIAN MFN FOR 1986-87.

THIS WAS A DIFFICULT DECISION FOR ME. IT WILL NOT BE EASY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO DEFEND IT IN CONGRESS. IN MY DECEMBER 6 LETTER, I WROTE OF THE HEARTFELT CONCERNS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE REGARDING OBSERVANCE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN ROMANIA. I CANNOT ACCEPT, AS YOU REPLIED TO YOUR JANUARY 7 LETTER, THAT THESE CONCERNS ARE ARTIFICIAL OR UNFOUNDED. I PERSONALLY SHARE THEM. AT MY REQUEST, SECRETARY SHULTZ PRESENTED TO YOU ON DECEMBER 15 PROPOSALS REGARDING BIBLES AND TREATMENT OF UNRECOGNIZED RELIGIOUS GROUPS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE WELL WITHIN YOUR DISCRETIONARY POWER TO ACCOMMODATE. OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE PURSUED THESE POINTS IN NUMEROUS CONVERSATIONS IN BUCHAREST AND WASHINGTON.

AS I SAID IN MY DECEMBER 6 LETTER, OUR INTEREST HAS NOT BEEN TO UNDERMINE ROMANIAN SOVEREIGNTY OR INTERVENE IN ROMANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT TO UPHOLD THE COMMITMENTS WHICH OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE TO ADDRESS BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

TOGETHER WITH THE AMERICAN CONGRESS AND PUBLIC, I SEEK TO ALLAY SERIOUS CONCERNS WHICH THREATEN THE CAREFUL BALANCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. YOUR GOVERNMENT'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE THESE CONCERNS HAS PLACED AT RISK OUR POLICY, WHICH BENEFITS ROMANIA SUBSTANTIALLY. I HAVE DECIDED THAT ONCE AGAIN, MY ADMINISTRATION WILL SEEK TO ARGUE THE CASE FOR CONTINUED ROMANIAN MFN BEFORE CONGRESS, RECOGNIZING THAT WE ARE UNDER A SEVERE HANDICAP IN DOING SO. WITHOUT ~~MORE~~ MEANINGFUL STEPS ON THE PART OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO ADDRESS OUR CONCERNS, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT WE WILL BE PERSUASIVE.

WITH BEST WISHES,
SINCERELY,
/S/
RONALD REAGAN

HIS EXCELLENCY

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32

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
OF ROMANIA
BUCHAREST

END TEXT. YY

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

86 JUN -3 PM

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S/S #

86 JUN 3

URGENT 13

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

ROMANIA
MFN

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33

MESSAGE NO. 003248 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED No. Pages 5

FROM: BMCKINLEY S/S X73126 7224
(Officer name) (Officer symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION TELEGRAM TO BUCHAREST: Extension of MFN Status for
Romania, Hungary, and China: Text of President's Report to Congress

<u>TO: (Agency)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Room No.</u>
<u>NSC</u>	<u>ROBERT PEARSON</u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
<u>NSC</u>	<u>EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT</u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
<u></u>	<u>McDaniel</u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
<u></u>	<u>Dobriensky</u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
<u></u>	<u>LAUX</u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
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FOR CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: PLEASE CLEAR BY COB TODAY, JUNE 3.

S/S Officer: BMCKINLEY

[Signature]

*Concur - w/ changes
(Lisa called in changes
to Elaine) TI*

CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME-STAMPED COVER

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EUR/EEY: TALYNCH (01550)
 DW/DR/AL EXT. 28240
 EUR: MPALMER

EUR/EEY: HSHALIN
 NSC: DBOBRIANSKY
 S/S: CLEARANCES

EAP/C: RGOLDBERG
 L/EUR: MBWEST
 EB/MT: ISPI/SBURY/SCSUBS

ALSO FOR COMMERCE/DEESA

IMMEDIATE BUCHAREST, BEIJING IMMEDIATE, BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE

ROUTINE BELGRADE, BERLIN, BONN, MOSCOW, LONDON, PARIS,
 PRAGUE, SOFIA, TEL AVIV, TOKYO, USNATO, WARSAW

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: ETRD, PREL, PHUN, US, RO, HU, CH

SUBJECT: EXTENSION OF MFN STATUS FOR ROMANIA,
 HUNGARY, AND CHINA: TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO
 CONGRESS

1. ON JUNE 3, AS REQUIRED BY THE TERMS OF SECTION 402 OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974 (THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT), PRESIDENT REAGAN SENT A DETERMINATION AND REPORT TO CONGRESS CONCERNING EXTENSION OF MOST-FAVORED NATION TRADE STATUS FOR ROMANIA, HUNGARY, AND CHINA FOR 1986-87. NO AFFIRMATIVE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IS NEEDED TO MAKE THE EXTENSION VALID. HOWEVER, CONGRESS COULD WITHDRAW OR SUSPEND MFN BY PASSING LEGISLATION SUCH AS THAT PENDING IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE. THE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE WILL HOLD HEARINGS JUNE 30, AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE WILL HOLD HEARINGS LATER IN THE SUMMER.

2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO CONGRESS-BEGIN TEXT.

REPORT TO CONGRESS CONCERNING

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 RG R6
 MBW
 PD

S/S:

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EXTENSION OF WAIVER AUTHORITY

PURSUANT TO SUBSECTION 402 (B) (5) OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974 (HEREINAFTER "THE ACT"), I HAVE TODAY DETERMINED THAT FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE WAIVER AUTHORITY GRANTED BY SUBSECTION 402 (C) OF THE ACT FOR TWELVE MONTHS WILL SUBSTANTIALLY PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVES OF SECTION 402 AND THAT CONTINUATION OF THE WAIVERS CURRENTLY APPLICABLE TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, AND THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA WILL ALSO SUBSTANTIALLY PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVES OF SECTION 402 OF THE ACT. MY DETERMINATION IS ATTACHED AND IS INCORPORATED HEREIN.

THE GENERAL WAIVER AUTHORITY CONFERRED BY SECTION 402 (C) OF THE ACT IS AN IMPORTANT MEANS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THE WAIVER AUTHORITY HAS PERMITTED US TO CONCLUDE AND MAINTAIN IN FORCE BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH HUNGARY, ROMANIA, AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THESE AGREEMENTS CONTINUE TO BE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS IN OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES, INCLUDING IMPORTANT EXCHANGES ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND EMIGRATION MATTERS. GRANTING OF MFN GIVES U.S. COMPANIES THE ABILITY TO COMPETE IN THOSE MARKETS. MOREOVER, CONTINUATION OF THE WAIVER AUTHORITY MIGHT PERMIT FUTURE EXPANSION OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES NOW SUBJECT TO SUBSECTIONS 402 (A) AND (B) OF THE ACT, SHOULD CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. I BELIEVE THAT THESE CONSIDERATIONS CLEARLY WARRANT THIS RENEWAL OF THE GENERAL WAIVER AUTHORITY.

I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT EXTENDING THE CURRENT WAIVERS APPLICABLE TO HUNGARY, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND ROMANIA WILL SUBSTANTIALLY PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVES OF SECTION 402 OF THE ACT.

X
I
I NOTE THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED RESPONSIVENESS TO OUR CONCERNS ABOUT ITS EMIGRATION RECORD, THE CRITERION ESTABLISHED BY SECTION 402 FOR EXTENSION AND CONTINUATION OF THE WAIVER AUTHORITY. I AM DISAPPOINTED, HOWEVER, BY THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S VERY LIMITED RESPONSE TO NUMEROUS EXPRESSIONS OF STRONG U.S. PUBLIC, CONGRESSIONAL, AND ADMINISTRATION CONCERN ABOUT ITS PERFORMANCE IN AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES, AND AM DIRECTING THE SECRETARY OF STATE FURTHER TO PRESS OUR CONCERNS IN THESE AREAS.

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-- HUNGARY.

HUNGARY HAS CONTINUED TO TAKE A RELATIVELY POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO EMIGRATION MATTERS. NEARLY ALL HUNGARIANS WHO ARE ELIGIBLE TO APPLY TO EMIGRATE FOR PURPOSES OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION RECEIVE PERMISSION TO DEPART. THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST ISSUED 103 IMMIGRANT VISAS IN 1985, APPROXIMATELY 15 PERCENT MORE THAN IN 1984. THERE IS ONE PENDING DIVIDED FAMILY CASE, BUT A RESOLUTION IS EXPECTED SHORTLY. THERE ARE NO SYSTEMATIC OFFICIAL SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON PERSONS WHO SEEK TO EMIGRATE.

-- ROMANIA.

EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA, BOTH OVERALL AND TO THE UNITED STATES, HAS INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY IN THE TEN YEARS SINCE THE WAIVER HAS BEEN IN EFFECT. ALL TOLD, MORE THAN 154,000 ROMANIANS HAVE EMIGRATED TO THE U.S., ISRAEL, AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY DURING THIS PERIOD. IN 1985, OVER 17,000 ROMANIANS EMIGRATED LEGALLY TO THE FRG, U.S., AND ISRAEL. THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST ISSUED VISAS OR OTHER DOCUMENTATION TO 2,981 PEOPLE IN 1985 FOR LEGAL DEPARTURE FROM ROMANIA TO THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS SIX TIMES THE PRE-MFM LEVEL. ALTHOUGH THE FIGURE REFLECTS A FALLOFF IN ROMANIAN PASSPORT APPROVALS TO INDIVIDUALS QUALIFIED FOR U.S. ADMISSIONS PROCESSING IN MID-1985, MORE THAN 1,000 RECENT NEW APPROVALS AND CONVERSATIONS WITH THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT SUGGEST THAT IT IS TAKING STEPS TO INCREASE THE FLOW TO A LEVEL CONSISTENT WITH U.S. IMMIGRATION AND ADMISSIONS PROCEDURES. ETHNIC GERMAN DEPARTURES FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY CONTINUED APACE, WITH 13,072 IN 1985. THE 1,327 ROMANIAN JEWISH ARRIVALS IN ISRAEL WERE SLIGHTLY BELOW THE AVERAGE FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS, AND EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL HAS NOW REDUCED THE ROMANIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY TO UNDER 25,000 PEOPLE.

ALTHOUGH NUMEROUS PROBLEMS REMAIN IN THE EMIGRATION AREA, THE ADMINISTRATION NOTES THAT THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S SUBSTANTIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PROCEDURES FOR EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA TO THE UNITED STATES WHICH WERE ARRIVED AT LAST YEAR HAS REDUCED MATERIAL AND PHYSICAL HARDSHIPS FOR THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE DEPARTING FOR THE U.S. SINCE THE MIDDLE OF 1985. THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT HAS CONTINUED TO HONOR ITS ASSURANCES, GIVEN IN JUNE 1983, THAT IT WOULD NOT

United States
Federal Republic of Germany

United States

add comma)

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REQUIRE REIMBURSEMENT OF EDUCATION COSTS AS A
PRECONDITION TO EMIGRATION.

I SHARE THE STRONG CONCERNS MANIFESTED AMONG THE PUBLIC
AND IN THE CONGRESS REGARDING THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S
RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES. IN CONSEQUENCE,
WE HAVE URGED THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT A MORE
HUMANE APPROACH BY TAKING STEPS SUCH AS:

-- RELEASING JAILED RELIGIOUS ACTIVISTS SUCH AS
CONSTANTIN SPATCU AND DOREL CATARAMA;

-- ALLOWING SUBSTANTIAL LEGAL IMPORTATION OR DOMESTIC
PRINTING OF PROTESTANT BIBLES AND PERMITTING THEIR
LEGAL DISTRIBUTION;

-- EASING ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS AGAINST
NAZARENES, "UNOFFICIAL" BAPTISTS, AND OTHER GROUPS
WHICH ARE NOT OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED BY THE ROMANIAN
GOVERNMENT, AND

that

- some nations
that

X

-- EASING MEASURES WHICH DISCOURAGE CONSTRUCTION OR
REPAIR OF CHURCHES AND HAVE ALLOWED, IN ROUGHLY EIGHT
CASES IN RECENT YEARS, THEIR DEMOLITION ON GROUNDS OF
ALLEGED BUILDING CODE VIOLATIONS.

WE WELCOME THE FREEING OF CONSTANTIN SPATCU AND DOREL
CATARAMA FROM PRISON, BUT ARE OTHERWISE DISAPPOINTED BY
THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO OUR CONCERNS IN
THIS AREA.

MY DECISION TO EXTEND THE WAIVER AUTHORITY FOR ROMANIA
FOR 1986-87 HAS BEEN TAKEN WITH DIFFICULTY, FOLLOWING
CAREFUL DELIBERATION WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION. I HAVE
CONCLUDED THAT EXTENSION OF MFN TO ROMANIA CONTINUES
NOT ONLY SUBSTANTIALLY TO PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE
ACT CONCERNING EMIGRATION, BUT ALSO TO ENABLE US TO
HAVE AN IMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS AND TO HELP TO
STRENGTHEN THE EXTENT OF RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE IN
ROMANIA. THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO
DISCOURAGE RELIGION SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO OVERSHADOW
THE WIDESPREAD PRACTICE OF RELIGION IN ROMANIA WHICH,
ESPECIALLY AMONG THE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS, IS ^{that}
GROWING FASTER THAN IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF EASTERN
EUROPE. ROMANIA HAS SOME 8,100 FUNCTIONING ORTHODOX
CHURCHES, AS WELL AS OVER 4,000 OF OTHER DENOMINATIONS
INCLUDING MORE THAN 1,000 FUNCTIONING BAPTIST
CHURCHES. THERE IS EXTENSIVE TRAINING OF NEW
MINISTERS. THE EXTENSION OF MFN HAS FACILITATED

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no hyphen

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AMERICAN CITIZENS' ACCESS TO CO-RELIGIONISTS IN ROMANIA AS WELL AS THE FLOW OF SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO THEM EACH YEAR. IN THIS DIFFICULT CONTEXT, I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT EXISTING ACCESS AND INFLUENCE BE PRESERVED.

I HAVE INSTRUCTED THE SECRETARY OF STATE VIGOROUSLY TO PURSUE OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS AND TO REPORT TO ME AND TO THE CONGRESS EVERY SIX MONTHS CONCERNING THESE MATTERS.

Delete

-- PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

CHINA CONTINUES TO HAVE A RELATIVELY OPEN EMIGRATION POLICY. THE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT AND NON-IMMIGRANT VISAS ISSUED BY OUR EMBASSY AND CONSULATES IN CHINA HAS INCREASED EVERY YEAR SINCE THE U.S. NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH CHINA IN 1979. IN FISCAL YEAR 1985, 13,356 IMMIGRANT VISAS WERE ISSUED. IN ADDITION, 45,000 NON-IMMIGRANT VISAS, COMPARED WITH 24,000 THE PREVIOUS YEAR, WERE ISSUED TO CHINESE WHO WISHED TO STUDY, CONDUCT BUSINESS, OR VISIT RELATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES. IT REMAINS TRUE THAT OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE ALSO EXPERIENCED INCREASES IN CHINESE TRAVEL AND EMIGRATION.

Delete

United States

delete

FOR THE ABOVE REASONS, I HAVE DETERMINED THAT CONTINUATION OF THE WAIVERS FOR HUNGARY, ROMANIA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA WILL SUBSTANTIALLY PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ACT.

add comma

END TEXT.
VV

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romania

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39

PAGE 01 BUCHAREST 3962 DTG: 031350Z JUN 86 PSN: 076608
EOB499 AN005413 TOR: 154/1518Z CSN: HCE347

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BUCHAREST 03962

USIA FOR ED MAINLAND (VOA)
USDOC FOR 4232/EUR/OEEASA/JAY BURGESS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT ISSUES AMNESTY DECREE

REFS: (A) 85 BUCHAREST 6405, (B) BUCHAREST 862,
- (C) BUCHAREST 3794, (D) BUCHAREST 2862,
- (E) BUCHAREST 3138
-

1. (C) SUMMARY. THE ROMANIAN COUNCIL OF STATE PROCLAIMED A WIDE RANGING AMNESTY/SENTENCE REDUCTION JUNE 2. FULL AMNESTY IS GRANTED FOR OFFENSES CARRYING SENTENCES OF THREE YEARS OR LESS. THOSE SERVING SENTENCES OF LESS THAN FIVE YEARS ARE GIVEN FULL REPRIEVES, THOSE SERVING TERMS OF 5-8 YEARS HAVE THEIR TERMS REDUCED BY ONE-THIRD, AND THOSE SERVING SENTENCES OF 8-10 YEARS BY ONE-FIFTH. EXCEPTED FROM THE AMNESTY ARE REPEAT OFFENDERS, THOSE CONVICTED OF MURDER, ROBBERY, ILLEGAL ABORTION, RAPE, CAUSING SERIOUS HARM TO PUBLIC PROPERTY, BRIBERY, INFLUENCE PEDDLING, "VIOLENT OUTRAGE", AND ESCAPE. THE DECREE ALSO ANNOUNCES THAT OFFENSES WHICH DO NOT POSE "THE SOCIAL DANGER OF A CRIME" WILL NO LONGER BE PUNISHED. THIS REFERENCE AND SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THE AMNESTY ARE AS YET UNCLEAR. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS FROM THE TEXT OF THE DECREE THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF THOSE PRESENTLY IN PRISON WILL BE FREED, INCLUDING MANY HUMAN/RELIGIOUS RIGHTS CASES. WE NOTE THAT THE RECENT RELEASE OF DOREL CATARAMA REMAINS EXCEPTIONAL AS HE WOULD NOT HAVE QUALIFIED FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE AMNESTY.

2. (C) THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH ONE OF THE RARE ANNOUNCED MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE COUNCIL CONSIDERED A NUMBER OF LAW-RELATED REPORTS. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO MENTION OF THE MOTIVATION FOR THE AMNESTY. UNLIKE PAST AMNESTIES THERE IS NO

OBVIOUS TIE-IN WITH AN IMPORTANT NATIONAL HOLIDAY. WHATEVER THE REASON WE WELCOME THIS STEP BY THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT. IT IS STRONG EVIDENCE THAT POWERS HERE ARE RESPONSIVE TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) ROMANIAN PRESS ANNOUNCED JUNE 3 THAT THE COUNCIL OF STATE HAD MET JUNE 2, AND AMONG OTHER ACTIONS APPROVED A DECREE OF AMNESTY AND REPRIEVES. ALL PAPERS PUBLISHED THE DECREE SUMMARIZED BELOW:

- THE DECREE GRANTS A FULL AMNESTY FOR
- 1. -- CRIMES PUNISHED BY THE PENAL CODE WITH 3-YEAR PRISON TERMS AND/OR A FINE;
- AND A FULL REPRIEVE OF SENTENCES FOR
- 2. -- CRIMES PUNISHED BY PRISON TERMS UP TO 5 YEARS, INCLUDING THOSE TO WHICH FINES WERE ADDED BY THE COURT; YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER AGE FALLING IN THIS CATEGORY WILL NO LONGER BE SENT TO SPECIAL "RE-EDUCATIONAL SCHOOLS;"
- AND A PARTIAL PARDDN AS FOLLOWS
- 3. -- PRISON TERMS BETWEEN 5-8 YEARS WILL BE REDUCED BY 1/3;
- -- PRISON TERMS BETWEEN 8-10 YEARS WILL BE REDUCED BY 1/5.
- THE AMNESTY RULES OUT
- -- THOSE GUILTY OF REPEATED OFFENSES AND THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO PRISON TERMS SEVERAL TIMES FOR THE SAME CRIME;
- -- PRISONERS SENTENCED FOR MURDER, SERIOUS INJURIES WHICH CAUSED DEATH, ROBBERY, ILLEGAL ABORTION PRACTICES, RAPE, LOSSES TO PUBLIC PROPERTY "WITH GRAVE OR VERY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES," BRIBING AND ACCEPTING BRIBES, INFLUENCE PEDDLING, VIOLENT OUTRAGE AND ESCAPE.

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RW 11/17/17

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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PAGE 01 BUCHAREST 3962 DTG: 031350Z JUN 86 PSN: 076611
EOB509 AN005412 TOR: 154/1520Z CSN: HCE348

AMNESTY, WHICH APPLIES ONLY TO OFFENSES COMMITTED
BEFORE JUNE 2, 1986.

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INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
USIA WASHDC 5369
USDOC WASHDC
AMEMBASSY LONDON 4319

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BUCHAREST 03962

USIA FOR ED MAINLAND (VOA)
USDOC FOR 4232/EUR/OEEASA/JAY BURGESS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT ISSUES AMNESTY DECREE

PROVISIONS 1 AND 2 INCLUDE THOSE WHO ARE SERVING
CORRECTIONAL WORK TERMS INSTEAD OF PRISON TERMS.
CASES UNDERWAY FOR OFFENSES IN CATEGORIES 2 AND 3
WILL CONTINUE AND THE AMNESTY WILL APPLY AFTER
THE SENTENCE HAS BEEN PRONOUNCED IN COURT. THE
DECREE ALSO COVERS CRIMES JUDGED BY TRIAL
COMMISSIONS (IN ENTERPRISES).

- THE DECREE ALSO RULES THAT
- -- OFFENSES WHICH UNDER SECTION 18 (1) OF THE
PENAL CODE DO NOT POSE THE SOCIAL THREAT
OF A CRIME WILL BE NO LONGER PUNISHED, AND
FINES AND OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE SANCTIONS
IMPOSED WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN ENFORCED TO DATE
WILL NO LONGER APPLY:
- -- FOR THOSE WHO SERVE PRISON AS WELL AS
CORRECTIONAL WORK TERMS, PRISON TERMS WILL
NO LONGER APPLY.

THE DECREE DOES NOT APPLY TO THOSE WHO "HAVE
DELIBERATELY STOPPED SERVING THEIR TERMS OR HAVE
REFUSED TO CARRY IT OUT AT ALL." FOR THOSE
WHO MAY BENEFIT OF PARDON FOR MORE COUNTS THAN
ONE, THE MOST FAVORABLE DECISION WILL BE TAKEN.

THOSE WHO, DURING AN INTERVAL OF 3 YEARS AFTER
THE AMNESTY OR PARDON DELIBERATELY OFFEND THE LAW,
WILL HAVE TO SERVE A LEGAL TERM FOR THEIR NEW
PUNISHMENT AND THE TERM FOR WHICH THEY WERE
PARDONED BY VIRTUE OF THE PRESENT DECREE.

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL AND RELEVANT LABOR AUTHORITIES
MUST ENSURE JOBS FOR THOSE BENEFITING BY THE CURRENT

4. (C) COMMENT. SOME OF THE TERMS IN THE DECREE
ARE UNCLEAR TO US. THE PHRASES "VIOLENT OUTRAGE"
AND "GRAVE HARM TO PRIVATE PROPERTY" MAY GIVE
SOME LATITUDE TO THOSE IMPLEMENTING THE AMNESTY.
WE CANNOT TELL FROM THE DECREE OR PENAL CODE
SECTION 18 JUST WHAT OFFENSES ARE TO BE DECRIMINALIZED
AS THE LANGUAGE OF THE DECREE SEEMS TO IMPLY. WE
WILL CHECK WITH LOCAL LEGAL SOURCES TO TRY AND PIN
DOWN THE EXACT PARAMETERS OF THE DECREE. END COMMENT.

5. (C) WHILE WE HAVE NO EXACT FIGURES, IT APPEARS TO
US THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF PRISONERS COULD BE RELEASED
UNDER THE DECREE. INCLUDED IN THEIR NUMBERS SHOULD
BE FOUR OPEN BRETHREN -- NICULA, MICH, RUSE,
DOCIU (REF A) -- CONVICTED IN BUCHAREST LAST YEAR
FOR BIBLE DISTRIBUTION, AND ILIE NEAMTU, AN OPEN
BRETHREN LEADER FROM PLOIESTI CURRENTLY JAILED ON
EMBEZZLEMENT CHARGES (REF B). THE TERMS OF THE
DECREE APPEAR TO APPLY TO ANYONE WHO COULD BE
CONSIDERED A POLITICAL PRISONER, INCLUDING WHAT
MUST BE A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE CURRENTLY JAILED
FOR ATTEMPTING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY ILLEGALLY AND
FOR "PARASITISM" -- BEING WITHOUT A JOB FOR SIX
MONTHS.

6. (C) WHEN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GROZA TOLD THE
AMBASSADOR OF THE RELEASE OF DOREL CATARAMA (REF C)
LAST WEEK, SHE SAID HE "AMONG OTHERS" WOULD BE
RELEASED. SHE GAVE NO INDICATION THAT THE OTHERS
WOULD INCLUDE SUCH A LARGE NUMBER. IT IS NOTEWORTHY
THAT CATARAMA WOULD NOT HAVE QUALIFIED FOR IMMEDIATE
RELEASE BECAUSE HIS SENTENCE WAS FOR MORE THAN TEN
YEARS. WHILE TWO OTHER RECENTLY RELEASED HUMAN
RIGHTS CASES -- CONSTANTIN SFATCU (REF D) AND EMIL
MOCANU (SEPT1) -- WOULD HAVE QUALIFIED FOR RELEASE
UNDER THE JUNE 2 DECREE, A THIRD RECENT RELEASE,
RADU FILIPESCU (REF E), ALSO WOULD HAVE BEEN
INELIGIBLE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE UNDER THE AMNESTY
DECREE.

BT

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PAGE 01 BUCHAREST 3962 DTG: 031350Z JUN 86 PSN: 076612
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RELIGIOUS CONCERNS (BIBLES, CHURCH CONSTRUCTION)
IMPORTANT TO WESTERN GROUPS, THE AMNESTY IS AN
IMPORTANT GESTURE TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND
REPRESENTS SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS.
THIS TYPE OF PROGRESS IS JUST WHAT WE WOULD LIKE

? SHOW ONGRESS AS EVIDENCE OF THE UTILITY OF CONTINUED
MFN. END COMMENT. KIRK
BT

PRIORITY
UTS8868
DE RUFHBC #3962/03 1541358
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USIA FOR ED MAINLAND (VOA)
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, RO
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT ISSUES AMNESTY DECREE

7. (U) THE REPORT OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE WAS ON THE FRONT PAGE OF ALL DAILIES. ON THE AGENDA WAS APPROVAL OF SEVERAL TREATIES, REPORTS FROM THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON THE PERFORMANCE OF MINISTRIES AND OTHER CENTRAL BODIES, AND SEVERAL REPORTS DEALING WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT, AMONG OTHER ISSUES. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU, WHO CHAIRED THE MEETING, CALLED FOR FIRM AND EFFICIENT ACTIONS TO PUNISH AND PREVENT ANTI-SOCIALIST ACTS WHICH PREJUDICE "SOCIALIST PROPERTY AND CITIZEN'S RIGHTS" AND CALLED ON THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT BODIES TO CONDUCT AN INFORMATION CAMPAIGN ON ROMANIAN LAWS AND FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN CRIME PREVENTION. THE COUNCIL ASKED THE PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE TO EXERCISE MORE EFFECTIVE CONTROL IN HOW IS? THIS AND CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES APPLY THE LAWS.

8. (C) COMMENT. MOST OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE'S AGENDA WAS ITEMS THAT WOULD NOT NORMALLY WARRANT (R)

LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE AMNESTY ANNOUNCEMENT WERE CLEARLY THE CENTERPIECE OF THE SESSION. UNLIKE PAST AMNESTIES WE CAN RECALL, THIS ONE HAS NO SPECIAL TIE-IN WITH A NATIONAL HOLIDAY. THE PRESS REPORTS IMPLY DEFICIENCIES IN THE SYSTEM OF JUSTICE. THIS MIGHT BE SEEN AS REASON FOR THE AMNESTY. MORE LIKELY, WE THINK, IS THAT THE AMNESTY IS MOTIVATED BY WIDESPREAD WESTERN CONCERN OVER THE ROMANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE MFN RENEWAL PROCESS. FOLLOWING THE RELEASES OF SFATCU, ET AL., THIS AMNESTY COULD (WE ARE CHECKING OUR RECORDS) FREE MOST OF THOSE CONSIDERED HUMAN RIGHTS CASES IN THE WEST. WHILE NOT ADDRESSING SOME OF THE

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<PREC> PRIORITY CLAS CONFIDENTIAL OSRI RUFHBC DTG 231506Z DEC 86
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3144

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIA ON TERRORISM:
SETTING AND SUGGESTIONS FOR TOPICS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 BUCHAREST 09349
EXDIS

EUR/EEY: PLEASE HOLD FOR AMBASSADOR KIRK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PREL, US, RO OTRA (ADAMS, ALVIN)
SUBJECT: DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIA ON TERRORISM:
SETTING AND SUGGESTIONS FOR TOPICS

REF: (A) STATE 379385; (B) BUCHAREST 9103;
(C) BUCHAREST 9218; (D) BUCHAREST 9212

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

>BEGIN SUMMARY>

2. SUMMARY: NOW THAT ROMANIA HAS ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSED DATES FOR AMBASSADOR ADAMS' CONSULTATIONS ON TERRORISM, THIS CABLE OUTLINES THE SETTING FOR THE MEETING AND DISCUSSES POSSIBLE ITEMS FOR THIS AGENDA. PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU HAS CONDEMNED TERRORISM PUBLICLY IN TERMS STRONGER THAN MOST, AND HE PLACES GREAT STORE BY HIS PUBLIC IMAGE. AT THE SAME TIME HE HAS UNIQUE LINKS WITH MANY OF THE KEY MIDDLE EAST PLAYERS, AND SEEKS A ROLE FOR HIMSELF THERE. HE HAS PARTICULARLY STRONG TIES WITH ARAFAT, AND POSSIBLY OTHERS. ONCE REPORTEDLY A SUPPLIER OF ARMS, TRAINING AND MONEY TO RADICAL ARAB GROUPS, IF THIS WAS TRUE THEN ROMANIA HAS APPARENTLY WITHDRAWN FROM THAT ROLE. A MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF U.S. - ROMANIAN CONSULTATIONS, IN OUR VIEW, SHOULD BE TO KEEP ROMANIA OUT OF THE BUSINESS OF ASSISTING TERRORISM.

3. ROMANIA OFTEN TAKES STRONG MEASURES TO PREVENT TERRORISM ON ITS OWN TERRITORY. IT HAS A LARGE MIDDLE EASTERN STUDENT POPULATION, WITH BRANCHES OF MOST OF THE ACTIVE RADICAL GROUPS. WHILE ROMANIA HAS ONE OF THE LARGEST INTERNAL SECURITY NETWORKS IN THE BLOC, IT APPARENTLY HAS GAPS. CEAUDESCU HIMSELF FEARS ASSASSINATION, AND EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES ARE TAKEN FOR HIS PHYSICAL SECURITY. PROTECTION OF EMBASSIES AND BUCHAREST'S AIRPORT IS HEAVY, BUT DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION IS UNDERTAKEN UNILATERALLY, WITH VERY LITTLE CONSULTATION WITH USG.

4. THERE ARE WAYS IN WHICH ROMANIA MIGHT ASSIST THE U.S., LOCALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY, AGAINST TERRORISM. A REVIEW AND PERHAPS REVISION OF OUR EXTRADITION TREATY COULD BE USEFUL. WE SHOULD PROBABLY RAISE AVIATION SECURITY. WE SHOULD GIVE A PUSH TO BILATERAL JUDICIAL COOPERATION, EVEN THOUGH GOR HAS SHOWN LITTLE ENTHUSIASM

FOR IT SO FAR. WE NEED FASTER, MORE EFFECTIVE CHANNELS FOR (A) SEEKING ROMANIAN ASSISTANCE IN DENYING HAVEN TO TERRORISTS, AND (B) FOR LOCAL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE IN CASE OF THREATS TO U.S. PERSONNEL AND PROPERTY IN ROMANIA. END SUMMARY.
>END SUMMARY>

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THE SETTING

5. ROMANIA'S PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU PUBLICLY AND STRONGLY CONDEMNS TERRORISM. WHILE AT THE SAME TIME HE SEEKS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE IS STILL THE ONLY EAST EUROPEAN LEADER WITH FORMAL TIES TO ISRAEL, BUT ALSO MAINTAINS STRONG TIES TO, AND A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH, THE PLO'S YASSER ARAFAT. HE PROBABLY ALSO SEEKS TO MAINTAIN SOME ACCESS WITH OTHER RADICAL MIDDLE EAST GROUPS AS WELL. ROMANIA HAS HAD RELATIVELY CLOSE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH LIBYA, THOUGH THIS RELATIONSHIP SEEMS TO HAVE COOLED CONSIDERABLY. SEVERAL YEARS AGO ROMANIA REPORTEDLY PROVIDED SOME SUPPORT TO RADICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING THE PLO, ZIMBABWE INSURGENTS, AND OTHERS, ALLEGEDLY PROVIDING MONEY, TRAINING, AND ARMS. IF TRUE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS ASSISTANCE WAS FOR MILITARY RATHER THAN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST PURPOSES. THERE ARE OCCASIONAL RUMORS THAT SOME ROMANIAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT SOLD TO ARAB COUNTRIES FINDS ITS WAY INTO RADICAL HANDS. BUT WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE IF ROMANIA DID ONCE GIVE DIRECT MATERIAL SUPPORT TO SUCH GROUPS. IT SEEMS TO HAVE DWINDLED, AND PERHAPS EVEN CEASED. CEAUDESCU STILL MAINTAINS THE LINKS: ABU JIHAD VISITED HERE OPENLY THIS YEAR, AS DID ARAFAT. OUR CONSULTATIONS GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND GOR OF THE RISKS OF SUPPORTING RADICAL GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AT A TIME WHEN THEY MAY ALREADY BE SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL OF SYRIA, LIBYA AND EXTREME PLO FACTIONS.

6. TERRORISM IN ROMANIA IS A SUBJECT OF KEEN CONCERN TO CEAUDESCU, PROBABLY ONE OF THE WORLD'S LEAST-LOVED AUTOCRATS. HE DEMONSTRABLY FEARS ASSASSINATION AND GOES TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO PROTECT HIMSELF. HE HAS AN INTERNAL SECURITY SERVICE WHICH IS VERY WELL-FUNDED AND POSSIBLY THE LARGEST, PER CAPITA, IN THE C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BUCHAREST 09349 EXDIS

EUR/EEY: PLEASE HOLD FOR AMBASSADOR FARK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PREL, US, RO OTRA (ADAMS, ALVIN)
SUBJECT: DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIA ON TERRORISM...
WORLD. YET IN 1984, THIS PERVASIVE DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY APPARATUS WAS UNABLE TO PREVENT THE ASSASSINATION OF A JORDANIAN DIPLOMAT, PROBABLY THE RESULT OF A CONSPIRACY SUPPORTED FROM ABROAD. THE KILLING OCCURRED ALONG A ROUTE CEAUDESCU HIMSELF SOMETIMES TRAVELED TO AND FROM WORK, NOT FAR FROM POLICEMEN ON DUTY. MORE RECENTLY, ABU NIDAL THREATENED TO SEND "HIT TEAMS" AGAINST ARAB PARTICIPANTS IN A PLO MEETING WITH PRO-PLO ISRAELIS HERE. WE DO NOT KNOW HOW THE GOR REGARDED THIS THREAT OF ACTION WITHIN ITS OWN TERRITORY, BUT THE PLO PARTICIPANTS CERTAINLY

TOOK IT SERIOUSLY.

7. CEAUDESCU WILL NOT WISH TO OFFEND ARAB COUNTRIES OR THE PLO THROUGH HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH US ON TERRORISM. THIS CONDITION MAY EVEN APPLY TO SYRIA, ALTHOUGH ROMANIA'S DEALINGS WITH THE PLO, LEBANESE PRESIDENT GEMAYEL AND OTHERS HAVE LED TO POORER ROMANIAN-SYRIAN RELATIONS. THUS WE BELIEVE THAT A LOW-KEY CONSULTATION -- WITHOUT PRESS ANNOUNCEMENTS ON OUR SIDE -- IS ESSENTIAL FOR EVEN MODEST SUCCESS. ROMANIAN PUBLICITY, IF ANY, WILL PROBABLY BE LIMITED TO BRIEFEST MENTION OF AMBASSADOR'S HIGHEST LEVEL OFFICIAL MEETING HERE, IF HE SEES FOREIGN MINISTER TOTU OR CEAUDESCU.

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8. A LOW-KEY APPROACH ALSO HELPS AVOID ANY PUBLIC IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE SOMEHOW CONVEYING TECHNIQUES USABLE AGAINST ANY DOMESTIC NON-TERRORIST OPPOSITION. FRANKLY, WE CANNOT IMAGINE WHAT GOR COULD LEARN FROM US ABOUT DOMESTIC REPRESSION. ALTHOUGH CONTACT WITH THE INTERIOR MINISTRY AND POLICE ORGANIZATIONS IS VERY DESIRABLE, IF WE ARE TO GET ACTIVE SUPPORT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS. THE FACT THAT GOR HAS NAMED A FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL AS LEADER OF ITS SIDE WILL HELP PREVENT A FALSE IMAGE FROM BEING CREATED. WE THINK OUR MAIN OBJECTIVES -- DISCOURAGING POSSIBLE ROMANIAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISTS, AND SEEKING CHANNELS FOR MODEST ROMANIAN HELP AGAINST TERRORISTS -- ARE IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST AND EASILY DEFENSIBLE WITH THIRD PARTIES.

GOR PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON TERRORISM

9. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU HAS PROBABLY SPOKEN OUT AGAINST TERRORISM MORE THAN ANY WARSAW PACT LEADER. HE WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO EXPLICITLY REJECT TERRORISM AS A LEGITIMATE WEAPON IN WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. WE DON'T KNOW HOW STRONGLY HE VOICES THIS THEME IN INNER WARSAW PACT OR CEMA COUNCILS, BUT BELIEVE WE CAN ENCOURAGE THIS BY EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION FOR HIS CURRENT FORTHRIGHT POSTURE.

10. CEAUSESCU'S FORMULATION CONDEMNING "STATE TERRORISM" CAN BE READ AS APPLYING TO ARAB GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR TERRORIST GROUPS, TO U.S. ACTION AGAINST LIBYA OR TO ISRAELI ATTACKS IN LEBANON. WE ASSUME HE INTENDED THIS AMBIGUITY. GIVEN CEAUSESCU'S STRONG AND PERSONAL REPRESENTATIONS TO US OVER OUR LIBYAN POLICY, AMBASSADOR ADAMS SHOULD EXPECT TO DISCUSS BOTH LIBYAN AND SYRIAN SANCTIONS.

OTHER SPECIFIC TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

11. U.S.-ROMANIAN EXTRADITION TREATIES. THE ORIGINAL TREATY, SIGNED IN 1925 (TSUS 713), AND AMENDED IN 1937, LISTS PIRACY, "WRONGFULLY SINKING OR DESTROYING A VESSEL AT SEA, OR ATTEMPTING TO DO SO," AND ASSAULT ON BOARD SHIP ON THE HIGH SEAS, AS EXTRADITABLE OFFENSES. LANGUAGE RELATED TO AIR TRANSPORT, IF CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICIES ON HIJACKING, WOULD BE WORTH CONSIDERING. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE TREATY BE REVIEWED TO SEE WHETHER

IT MEETS OUR OVERALL NEEDS.

12. CIVAIR AGREEMENT AND ICAO. THE ROMANIANS HAVE REQUESTED EXTENSION OF OUR AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT FOR ANOTHER TWO YEARS (REF D). WHEN ASKED ABOUT INCLUSION OF NEW U.S.-PROPOSED LANGUAGE ON AVIATION SECURITY, HOWEVER, THEY MADE IT CLEAR THEY DO NOT WANT TO GET OUT AHEAD OF OTHERS ON THIS, AND WILL WAIT TO SEE WHAT ICAO DOES. IF ICAO DOES NOTHING BEFORE AMBASSADOR ADAMS' VISIT, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO OUTLINE OUR OWN

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EUR/EEY: PLEASE HOLD FOR AMBASSADOR KIRK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PTER, PREL, US, RO OTRA (ADAMS, ALVIN)

SUBJECT: DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIA ON TERRORISM:

AND OTHER IMPORTANT ICAO MEMBERS' VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE.

13. AIRPORT SECURITY. WE NOW HAVE A PROGRAM WITH THE GOR FOR REGULAR, PERIODIC FAA AIRPORT SECURITY INVESTIGATION OF THE COUNTRY'S PRINCIPAL AIRPORT, BUCHAREST'S OTOPENI. THE EMBASSY'S IMPRESSION IS THAT FAA IS

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SATISFIED WITH ROMANIAN COOPERATION AND THEIR SECURITY MEASURES; IF TRUE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR AMB. ADAMS TO NOTE IT. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY SPECIFIC U.S. NEED TO EXPAND THIS TO INCLUDE PERIODIC FAA VISITS TO ROGALNICEANU AIRPORT AT CONSTANTA, ON THE BLACK SEA, OR AT TIMISOARA AIRPORT IN THE EXTREME WEST. ROMANIA'S ONLY OTHER INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS. FOREIGN AIR CARRIERS USE THESE TWO ONLY IN EMERGENCIES. A FEW FLIGHTS BY THE ROMANIAN AIRLINE TAROM USE THEM AS SCHEDULED AIRPORTS OF ENTRY OR EXIT FROM ROMANIA, BUT NOT ON FLIGHTS TO OR FROM THE U.S.

14. WE SHOULD PROPOSE CLOSER BILATERAL JUDICIAL COOPERATION, EVEN THOUGH GOR MAY RESPOND WITH POSITIVE RHETORIC RATHER THAN PRACTICAL STEPS. DESPITE AN EXPRESSED GOR DESIRE TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE WAR CRIMINALS, WE HAVE NEVER RECEIVED ANY RESPONSE TO A LONG-AGO JUSTICE DEPARTMENT INQUIRY SUGGESTING COOPERATION IN SCREENING OLD GOR RECORDS OF IN-ABSENTIA CONVICTIONS OR INDICTMENTS. WE WANTED A LIST WE COULD COMPARE WITH U.S. IMMIGRATION SERVICE COMPUTER RECORDS. WHEREAS IN THE MORE DISTANT PAST THE GOR WAS FAIRLY FORTHCOMING IN RESPONSE TO OFFICIAL USG REQUESTS FOR RECORDS, ETC., IN CONNECTION WITH ONGOING U.S. WAR CRIMES INVESTIGATIONS, IN THE PAST TWO YEARS RESPONSE RATE TO THIS TYPE OF REQUEST HAS BEEN ALMOST ZERO. APPARENTLY THE ROMANIAN JUDICIAL APPARATUS NOW PREFERS TO KEEP US OUT OF THEIR RECORDS. WE SHOULD USE AMBASSADOR ADAMS' VISIT TO SEE WHETHER WE COULD GAIN ACCESS IN FUTURE, SPECIFIC CASES RELATED TO TERRORISM, AND THROUGH WHOM.

15. CLOSER LIAISON. WE WOULD RECOMMEND GIVING HIGH PRIORITY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE OR MORE CHANNELS FOR FAST AND EFFECTIVE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON TERRORIST ACTIVITIES, WHEN IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO DO SO. THERE IS NO NEED TO MAKE COMMITMENTS ABOUT PROVIDING OPERATIONAL DETAILS -- GOR IS SURE TO WITHHOLD INFORMATION, AND WILL NOT EXPECT WONDERS FROM US. BUT WE NEED SUCH CHANNELS ON TWO LEVELS.

A. DENYING HAVEN OR ASSISTANCE TO SPECIFIC TERRORISTS IN A FAST-MOVING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, SUCH AS WHEN ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKERS WERE RELEASED. COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL POLICE MATTERS IS NOW VERY POOR. DESPITE ROMANIAN INTEREST IN NARCOTICS CONTROL, WHEN WE ASK FOR INFORMATION ON INTERNATIONALLY-WANTED NARCOTICS OR OTHER OFFENDERS, WE ARE ALMOST ALWAYS TOLD TO PUT THE REQUEST THROUGH INTERPOL CHANNELS. IDEALLY, THE EMBASSY SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTACT POLICE AUTHORITIES DIRECTLY; IF GOR DOES NOT AGREE, WE NEED A MORE EFFECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTRY CHANNEL.

B. PROTECTION OF AMERICANS AND AMERICAN PROPERTY IN ROMANIA. WE ALSO NEED A BETTER LINK WITH THE ROMANIAN SECURITY APPARATUS IN CONNECTION WITH PROTECTION OF THE EMBASSY, AMERICANS, AND PRIVATE BUSINESSES. OUR RELATIONSHIP IS DISTANT AND FORMAL. THE GOR HAS SHOWN ITSELF HIGHLY SENSITIVE ON PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS HERE, OFTEN GOING TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS IN TERMS OF PHYSICAL SECURITY MEASURES WHEN IT PERCEIVES SOME THREAT. IT HAS NOT, HOWEVER, BEEN WILLING TO SHARE ANY INFORMATION WITH US. THAT WHICH WE HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME PROVIDED THEM HAS BEEN ACCEPTED, BUT DISAPPEARS -- WE GET NO READOUT ON WHAT HAPPENS AS A RESULT, NO COMMENT AND NO CORROBORATIVE OR SUPPLEMENTAL FEEDBACK FROM THEM. THERE COULD BE TIMES WHEN A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH OPERATIONAL OFFICERS MIGHT FORESTALL TERRORIST ACTION. ON ONE OCCASION, OUR WRITTEN REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL PROTECTION GOT LOST FOR OVER FOUR DAYS IN

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MFA'S PROTOCOL DEPARTMENT.

AMBASSADOR CONSTANTIN ENE: BIOGRAPHIC UPDATE

16. AMBASSADOR CONSTANTIN ENE, WHO WILL HEAD THE GOR'S TEAM IN TALKS WITH AMBASSADOR ADAMS, IS A SERIOUS AND THOROUGHGOING PROFESSIONAL. CURRENTLY HEAD OF THE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 BUCHAREST 09349
EXDIS

EUR/EEY: PLEASE HOLD FOR AMBASSADOR FARK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

T/GS: PTER, PFEL, US, RO OTRA (ADAMS, ALVIN)

SUBJECT: DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIA ON TERRORISM:

MFA'S DIVISION FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, HE IS ABOUT 45 YEARS OLD. OUR FIRST RECORD OF ENE IS AS A THIRD SECRETARY AT THE ROMANIAN U.N. MISSION, SPECIALIZING IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS. IN 1959, HE LATER HEADED MFA'S INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORATE FOR SOME TIME, THEN WENT TO GENEVA IN 1971 AS AMBASSADOR. HE HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN THE SENIOR PROFESSIONAL ON ROMANIA'S U.N. DELEGATION. COSMOPOLITAN AND RARELY DOCTRINAIRE, ENE UNDERSTANDS THE WEST WELL AND IS IMPRESSIVELY WELL INFORMED ON MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, ESPECIALLY UN AND CSCE MATTERS, OFTEN FROM PERSONAL PARTICIPATION. HE IS ONE OF THE FEW WE HAVE HEARD WHO CAN MAKE EFFECTIVE ARGUMENTS ON SUCH TIRESOME TOPICS AS PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S FAVORITE AND PERENNIAL "GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS" RESOLUTION AT THE

UNGA. THESE CAPABILITIES HAVE ALSO APPARENTLY WON HIM THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT. CEAUSESCU LAST SUMMER SENT ENE TO MOSCOW WITH A PERSONAL MESSAGE FOR GORBACHEV ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A POSITIVE OUTCOME AT THE STOCKHOLM CDE (STOCKHOLM 5724). HE SPEAKS ENGLISH WELL, BUT WILL PROBABLY USE AN INTERPRETER IN FORMAL SESSIONS. WE KNOW OF NO SPECIAL COMPETENCE IN TERRORISM MATTERS ON ENE'S PART.
CLARKE

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 04<SSN> 9349<TOR> 861224055717 MSG000157096636

<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04<SSN> 9349<TOR> 861224055920 MSG000157096759

<SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04<SSN> 9349<TOR> 861224060119 MSG000157096378

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3342
INFO RUEHDC/USDOC WASHDC IMMEDIATE

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER'S MESSAGE ON WITHDRAWAL
OF GENERALIZED TARIFF PREFERENCES FOR ROMANIA

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EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY SHULTZ AND DEPUTY SECRETARY WHITEHEAD
S/S-0 - PLEASE NOTIFY EUR AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, ETRD, GSP, US, RO
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER'S MESSAGE ON WITHDRAWAL
OF GENERALIZED TARIFF PREFERENCES FOR ROMANIA

REF: BUCHAREST 00023

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

>BEGIN SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY: IN A FORMAL NOTE AND IN PERSONAL
COMMENTS, FOREIGN MINISTER TOTU HAS ASKED THAT THE
U.S. RE-ANALYZE ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW ROMANIA
AS A BENEFICIARY UNDER THE U.S. GENERALIZED
SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES (GSP). DRAWING ON HIS
CONVERSATIONS WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ AND DEPUTY
SECRETARY WHITEHEAD, TOTU INSISTED THAT LOSS OF
GSP STATUS WAS ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL ISSUE,
BASED UPON POLITICAL "MISJUDGMENTS" OF ITS INTERNAL
AFFAIRS, AND INCONSISTENT WITH THE U.S. STATED
DESIRE FOR CLOSER POLITICAL COOPERATION. ROMANIA
COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO CHANGE ITS TRADE UNION
SYSTEM FOR THE SAKE OF TARIFF PREFERENCES. GOR
SEES LOSS OF GSP AS WITHDRAWAL OF ROMANIA'S
STATUS AS A DEVELOPING COUNTRY, AND HIGHLY DISCRIMINA-
TORY, WITH ROMANIA PRACTICALLY THE ONLY LDC AFFECTED.
BILATERAL RELATIONS WOULD SUFFER.

3. ACTION RECOMMENDED: A HIGH LEVEL RESPONSE,
AS PROMPTLY AS POSSIBLE, WHICH MAKES IT CLEAR THAT
U.S. POLICY TOWARD ROMANIA HAS NOT CHANGED, AND
SPECIFICALLY ENDORSING THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S CONVER-
SATIONS HERE IN NOVEMBER. SUCH A MESSAGE COULD
GREATLY ASSIST IN CONVINCING CEAUDESCU AND TOTU
THAT THE GSP CHANGE WAS UNAVOIDABLE AND THAT OUR
BILATERAL INTEREST IS SINCERE. END ACTION REQUEST AND
SUMMARY.

ROMANIAN NOTE ON WITHDRAWAL OF GSP

4. ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IOAN TOTU CALLED

IN CHARGE SATURDAY MORNING, JANUARY 10, TO PRESENT
A NOTE WHICH HE ASKED BE TRANSMITTED TO THE
SECRETARY, AND BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE
PRESIDENT. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ILIE SIMON OF
THE AMERICAS DIVISION. THE FOREIGN MINISTER READ
THE ENTIRE NOTE, THE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF WHICH

Paula
What meant out?
Back record?
Our foreign policy
toward Romania is
changing!
Romania could
prevent the biggest
E-W crisis of the
Reagan presidency
if they don't reform.
Z

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WE TRANSLATE AS FOLLOWS.

- (A) THE EXCLUSION OF ROMANIA FROM THE LIST (OF GSP BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES) REPRESENTS AN ACT OF DISCRIMINATION, EQUIVALENT TO NEGATING THE STATUS OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY, CONTRARY TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U. S. AND ROMANIAN GOVERNMENTS OF APRIL 2, 1975, ARTICLE ONE, PARAGRAPH THREE, AND THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AGREED IN THE UNCTAD FRAMEWORK WITH RESPECT TO NON-RECIPROCITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION IN GRANTING TARIFF PREFERENCES.

- (B) THE REASON INVOKED BY THE AMERICAN SIDE (WORKERS RIGHTS) REPRESENTS A DISTORTION OF ROMANIAN REALITIES AND ARISES FROM A MISUNDERSTANDING OF ITS SOCIAL ORDER, OF THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF THE PARTICIPATION OF WORKERS IN THE DIRECTION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES.

- (C) THE EXCLUSION OF ROMANIA FROM THE LIST OF BENEFICIARIES CONTRADICTS UNDERSTANDINGS AND DOCUMENTS AGREED BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RAPPORT AND COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, AS WELL AS WITH DECLARATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U. S. ADMINISTRATION WITH RESPECT TO DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA. IN FACT, IT IS REMARKABLE THAT, OF THE 140 COUNTRIES BENEFITING FROM THE SYSTEM OF TARIFF PREFERENCES OF THE U. S., PRACTICALLY THE ONLY ONE WHICH IS TO BE EXCLUDED IS ROMANIA.

- (D) BILATERAL RELATIONS CANNOT BE LASTING
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AND CANNOT HAVE A STABLE AND EFFICIENT CHARACTER UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH ONE OF THE SIDES UNDERTAKES UNILATERAL MEASURES CONTRARY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOSE RELATIONS. EXCLUDING ROMANIA FROM THE LIST (OF BENEFICIARIES) CANNOT BUT NEGATIVELY INFLUENCE THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

- (E) THE FOREIGN MINISTRY REQUESTS THE U. S. EMBASSY TO TRANSMIT THESE CONSIDERATIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ, TO BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, TOGETHER WITH THE REQUEST OF THE ROMANIAN SIDE CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE ON THIS SUBJECT WITH THE INTENTION OF MAINTAINING ROMANIA ON THE LIST OF BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES OF THE SYSTEM OF TARIFF

PREFERENCES OF THE USA.

- (F) THE NOTE CONCLUDES WITH A REQUEST FOR A RESPONSE "AS URGENTLY AS POSSIBLE."

FOREIGN MINISTER'S REMARKS

5. TOTU SAID THAT DURING THEIR MEETING LAST FALL, HE AND THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED THEIR CLEAR DESIRE TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE SECRETARY, ACCORDING TO TOTU, EXPRESSED HIS SPECIAL ESTEEM FOR ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY, AND THESE POINTS HAD BEEN CONVEYED TO PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU.

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DURING TOTU'S TWO MEETINGS WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY, AND THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU, THE U.S. HAD STATED ITS INTENTION TO DEVELOP OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND TOTU HAD FULLY AGREED.

6. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE GOR WAS SURPRISED AT THE PRESIDENTIAL DECISION, TOTU CONTINUED. ROMANIA DID NOT EXPECT THE U.S. TO BE MAKING ARGUMENTS ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION HERE, BECAUSE WORKERS HAVE RIGHTS TO ACT AND PARTICIPATE (IN DECISIONS) AT THEIR WORKPLACE. THE GOR DID NOT EXPECT SUCH A DECISION AT A TIME WHEN SO MANY U.S. OFFICIALS HAD EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS.

7. THE GOR COULD NOT ACCEPT THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE DECISION, TOTU SAID. OF THE ONE-HUNDRED-FORTY COUNTRIES INCLUDED, ONLY ROMANIA WAS AFFECTED. TOTU DISMISSED THE DECISION TO WITHDRAW GSP FROM NICARAGUA, SAYING THAT IT "DID NOT APPLY" (PROBABLY REFERRING TO OUR SANCTIONS). ROMANIA DID NOT INTEND TO MAKE ITS INTERNAL POLITICS A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. HE ASKED THAT WE EMPHASIZE TO THE SECRETARY THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINATION, AND TO NOTE THAT IT WOULD AFFECT NEGATIVELY OUR POLITICAL RELATIONS.

8. TOTU ASKED WHY WE WOULD CREATE SO GREAT A POLITICAL PROBLEM OVER SUCH A SMALL ECONOMIC QUESTION. THE FIVE OR SIX MILLION DOLLARS IN TRADE AFFECTED BY THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION WAS NOT SIGNIFICANT TO THE U.S. ECONOMY. ROMANIA CAN "ACCEPT THE PLAY OF THE MARKET," BUT NOT A POLITICALLY MOTIVATED DECISION.

9. THE U.S. CHARGE REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO ANTICIPATE WASHINGTON'S RESPONSE, BUT DID WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD ACTED IN RESPONSE TO A CHANGE IN THE LAW, AND HAD NOT SOUGHT SPECIFICALLY TO ELIMINATE GSP FOR ROMANIA. THE ADMINISTRATION HAD BEEN OBLIGED TO EXAMINE COMPLAINTS THAT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WERE INELIGIBLE UNDER THE NEW LAW, AND HAD CONSULTED WITH THE GOR OVER THE MATTER. THE PRESIDENT COULD NOT IGNORE THE LAW AND ITS DEFINITIONS, WHICH LEFT THE ADMINISTRATION LITTLE FLEXIBILITY. ROMANIA'S REPRESENTATIVES HAD MET IN

DECEMBER WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS U.S.G. AGENCIES IN WASHINGTON, WHO HAD ALSO STATED THE REASONS FOR THE DECISION.

10. CHARGE REITERATED THAT U.S. POLICY TOWARD ROMANIA HAD NOT CHANGED. NOR HAD THE U.S. CHANGED ITS DESIRE, EMPHASIZED BY THE DEPUTY SECRETARY DURING HIS NOVEMBER VISIT TO BUCHAREST, TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP BILATERAL RELATIONS.

11. TOTU THEN LAUNCHED INTO A MORE EMOTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTION. "YOU KNOW CLEARLY," HE SAID, THAT ROMANIA WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS SYSTEM -- "YOU CAN DO WHAT C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BUCHAREST 00175

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YOU WANT." ROMANIANS, HE ADDED, "HAVE A CLEAR CONCEPTION" OF WORKERS' RIGHTS TO EDUCATINN, WORK, AND PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP. "DO NOT BELIEVE," HE SAID, "THAT WE WILL CHANGE OUR SYSTEM FOR \$6,000,000." HE ADDED THAT ROMANIA DID NOT AGREE WITH THE UNITED STATES ON MANY U.S. INTERNAL ISSUES. IT DID NOT, HOWEVER, SPEAK OF U.S. UNEMPLOY-

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MENT, OR THE DRUG PROBLEM, BECAUSE THIS WAS NOT THE WAY TO CARRY OUT A BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. ROMANIA WAS A MODERATING INFLUENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES WHO WANTED TO MAKE THESE INTO MAJOR ISSUES.

12. TOTU SAID THAT NEITHER HE, NOR OTHER INDIVIDUALS HAD CREATED THE ROMANIAN LABOR SYSTEM: "THE WORKERS DID IT." THE SYSTEM WOULD NOT CHANGE, AND THE GSP DECISION "WILL HAVE NO EFFECT EXCEPT ON OUR POLITICAL RELATIONS." HE SUGGESTED THAT AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS VISIT ROMANIA TO EXAMINE WORKERS' SITUATION HERE. HE COMPARED AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS TO "OTHER CIRCLES" WHO REFUSE TO VISIT ROMANIA BUT CONTINUE TO CONDEMN IT.

13. TOTU MENTIONED MFN ONLY ONCE, NOTING THAT MFN ALSO "PUTS ROMANIA UNDER EXAMINATION," AND SAYING THIS PROCESS ALSO UNDERCUT BILATERAL RELATIONS.

14. CHARGE COMMENTED THAT THE EMBASSY HAD NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT WOULD DISCUSS ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT GOR MIGHT SUGGEST ON THE ISSUE. THE ESSENTIAL POINT WAS THAT USG HAD TO IMPLEMENT THE LAW. TOTU SAID THAT WAS TRUE FOR ROMANIA, TOO.

15. COMMENT: THIS DEMARCHE WAS FULLY COORDINATED WITHIN GOR AND WITH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU. FOLLOWING OUR MANY BRIEFINGS ON THIS SUBJECT, WE ALSO CONCLUDE THAT CEAUSESCU AND TOTU FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT OUR PRESIDENT'S HANDS WERE TIED ON THIS ISSUE. WE DO NOT EXCLUDE SOME FORM OF ECONOMIC RETALIATION LATER, BUT THIS DEMARCHE IS AN OFFER OF FURTHER HIGH-LEVEL COMMUNICATION. WHETHER OR NOT IT IS POSSIBLE TO RECONSIDER OUR ANALYSIS, IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL TO CONVEY PROMPTLY THE PERSONAL VIEW OF THE SECRETARY OR DEPUTY SECRETARY THAT WITHDRAWAL OF GSP DOES NOT IMPLY A REASSESSMENT OF OUR FOREIGN

POLICY TOWARD ROMANIA. END COMMENT.
CLARKE

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