

December 5, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. FORD

SUBJECT: Ceausescu Visit



Ceausescu is visiting at a time when US-Romanian relations are good and continuing to improve. Since President Nixon's visit to Bucharest in 1969 and Ceausescu's visit to Washington in connection with his trip to the UN in 1970, there has been a steady stream of high-level visits between the capitals and trade has quintupled with a two-to-one balance in our favor. The Romanians are still anxious for MFN. As their credit lines are strained, they attach particular importance to joint venture arrangements. Control Data has already concluded one, and others with US partners are in prospect. On European security issues, Romania's outspokenly independent stance gives us occasional problems in CSCE and MBFR, but we have kept in close consultation with them and they value this as evidence of their status and independence.

President Ceausescu has continued to demonstrate considerable diplomatic skill in charting a distinctly nationalistic foreign policy course which on carefully selected issues deviates from the prescribed Soviet line. He has cultivated Romanian ties with China and apparently resisted preliminary Soviet moves to get Peking readout of the Communist camp. Romania continues to forego participation in Warsaw Pact exercises and allows only modest Pact movements on Romanian territory. It has treated the Vietnam settlement even-handedly.

Particularly galling to the Soviets and of some political benefit to Israel and us was the balanced posture which Ceausescu assumed in the Middle East crisis. Maintaining

diplomatic relations with Israel, Romania offered forces for UNEF when the Soviet Union was insisting on a Polish contingent and underlined its political stance by inviting Abba Eban (as well as Arab Foreign Ministers who did not come) to Bucharest for a three-day visit.

Ceausescu has sought to use his visit to buttress his country's image of preserving its independent course in the face of Soviet pressures. In particular, he has sought:

-- to strengthen the notion that smaller, developing countries have an essential role to play.

-- clear evidence of US support for such principles as sovereignty independence, nonuse or threat of force and noninterference in internal affairs, to help counter the Brezhnev doctrine.

-- high-level US encouragement for US firms to undertake cooperative ventures, including equity arrangements in Romania.

Principle US objectives of the visit are:

-- encourage the Romanians to persist in their independent course without seriously engaging Soviet security concerns.

-- Remind Ceausescu that we expect our interests -- in a close European alliance and in other regions -- to be given due consideration, and express appreciation for balanced and courageous Romanian positions during the Middle East crisis.

-- Convey our interest in encouraging joint ventures and other forms of economic cooperation by US firms.


Mike Dunn

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