MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

June 22, 1976

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Ambassador Harry G. Barnes, Jr. (Interpreter)
Mr. Stefan Andrei, Secretary for International Affairs, Romanian Communist Party
Ambassador (appointed) Nicolae Nicolae
Mr. Mircea Mitran, Counselor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Interpreter)

DATE AND PLACE: Tuesday, June 22, 1976, 3:35 - 4:05 p.m.

The White House

The President: It is a great pleasure to have you here. I have just read the letter from President Ceausescu and it reaffirms, as I do to you, the good relations we have between our countries and the desire on our part and yours to continue and to expand them. Please extend my best wishes to your President. I enjoyed my visit to Romania and we were delighted to have him visit here.

Mr. Andrei: I would like to give you the original of the President’s letter and on this occasion extend on behalf of my President and his wife to you and Mrs. Ford their greetings and very best wishes for happiness and success. My President recalls with pleasure your visit to Bucharest and he hopes to meet you again so as to continue the dialogue with you. Right now it’s the time of the presidential election campaign and the President told me he doesn’t want to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States but he would like to wish you much success so he would be able to carry on this dialogue with you, to exchange views on questions concerning the relations between our two countries and on international matters.

The President: Will you express to the President my appreciation for his kind words and tell him I look forward to continuing this dialogue for the next four years.
Mr. Andrei: Speaking of the relations between our two countries, our President considers them as good. He appreciates the special role you personally have had. It is our desire to develop these relations, including economic relations, and in view of, or anticipating the results of the elections, we ask you to retain on your agenda the question of supporting Romania through a credit on advantageous terms which would enable us to purchase equipment and technology from the US.

The President: I consider the economic relations we have a very important element in our overall relations. We strongly believe we should continue the MFN relations we have. I submitted to the Congress the necessary recommendations on June 2 so Congress would have the opportunity to act affirmatively. The best information I have indicates that Congress may temporarily delay this affirmative act on the recommendations I made for extending MFN. You know, as I do, the problem we have with the Congress. When President Ceausescu was here he met with several committees to explain the policy of your country to them. He heard directly from Members of Congress the feelings they had. I just hope we will have some evidence that will respond to the views Congress has and if these responses are encouraging there will be no problem whatever with extending MFN.

Mr. Andrei: I've met with the Secretary of State and with a series of senators and congressmen. In fact, before seeing you now, I met with Senators Javits and Jackson and I saw some other senators.

Our President has just begun a visit to Turkey as part of our desire to develop our relations with the other Balkan countries. He asked me to express his hope that the United States will continue to work actively for a solution of the Cyprus problem and for improvement of the relations between Turkey and Greece because the United States is in a special position to help. As people who live in that region, we have no interest in tensions remaining high in the area.

The President: I can assure you a settlement on Cyprus has the highest priority, and we have worked with the Greek government and the Turkish government to continue the negotiations which unfortunately lapsed for too long. We think it is tragic that they cannot resolve...
their differences which have festered and created insecurity and tension in that part of the world. We share with you the desire for the problem to be solved as fairly and rapidly as possible. It is hard to believe almost two years have gone by since the problem arose in the first place and if something doesn't move it seems to us that it gives some of the more vigorous and radical people an opportunity to create tension and to preclude or prevent a settlement which actually was achievable some months ago.

Mr. Andrei: That is our point of view as well. My President believes that we cannot let the Greek-Turkish-Cyprus problems accumulate because if they can't be solved things could well get to the point of an explosion which no one could control.

Related to this problem, President Assad had been scheduled to visit Romania last Saturday but his visit was postponed and he is now coming this Saturday.

You know the position of our President in connection with the Middle East and our concern over Lebanon whose independence and sovereignty we want to preserve. We informed President Giscard d'Estaing, through the French foreign minister, that we did not think well of the idea that France should send troops to Lebanon. I believe that our President would be very grateful if you could give your appreciation of the situation in the Middle East.

The President: Of course we have been working with all parties on trying to find a political solution to the problem in Lebanon. Our efforts, of course, were set back by the assassination of our ambassador and his top economic advisor.

Mr. Andrei: We have expressed our regret over this terrorist act.

The President: We will continue to work with all parties because a political solution, not a military one, is the best assurance toward a stable and secure Lebanon. We will continue efforts for further movement in the Middle East as a whole. Sinai II was a step forward. It is working well but we cannot be satisfied with the status quo.
We will continue to work with President Sadat, Prime Minister Rabin, President Assad and others in the Middle East because stagnation could again lead to military conflict. Whether we take up again the step-by-step approach or go to Geneva - we have not made a firm decision - we are keeping the pressure on all parties because no action in a political or diplomatic sense will inevitably lead to the sort of problems we had in '73.

Mr. Andrei:

That is our evaluation too and our position is to act in this same way with the Arab countries, with Egypt and with the PLO to get them to renounce any adventurist type position, to adopt a more realistic approach, likewise with certain circles in Israel, toward solution of the problems.

Mr. President, I don't want to detain you but I was asked to tell you in a few words about our relations with other socialist countries, in the first instance with the USSR.

We have had in recent years discussions with them in connection with the historical problems relating to the Moldavian Socialist Republic which was occupied by the Tsar in 1812, came back to Romania in 1918 and in 1940 went to the USSR. This problem has two aspects in respect to the territorial question. You know that we are in favor of maintaining the territorial integrity of states in Europe, for respecting the 1947 treaty and the Helsinki undertakings which we signed. We consider the Moldavian Socialist Republic as a part of the USSR. There are also two aspects to our differing views (with the Soviets). In the first place, the idea of calling the Tsarist occupation liberation we cannot accept. Secondly, Soviet historians spread the position in which they present the population of the Moldavian Republic as being of a nationality which is not Romanian, which is simply not true.

We have had some discussions in Bucharest and we clarified things, of course while maintaining our own positions, as in the case of other questions. Our President has declared publicly that we recognize the Moldavian Socialist Republic as an integral
part of the USSR, but we cannot accept the idea that Moldavians are not Romanians, when the greater part of Moldavia is part of Romania.

They have told us they want to develop their relations with us. We agree. We have no desire to worsen our relations with anyone, with our neighbors, especially the USSR.

The President asked me to tell you that our relations with China are going well and to say that in his opinion the faster US relations were normalized with China the better it would be for the international situation.

The President: I appreciate very much your giving me this information regarding Moldavia and this background will be helpful in understanding the situation.

I can assure you that we will continue the normalization process with China. That relationship is good. We want to make it better.

May I conclude by saying that the United States is dedicated to the independence and sovereignty of the Eastern European countries. There is no validity to news stories that took out of context some of the materials that appeared. We are completely and totally dedicated to the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Eastern Europe and please inform President Ceausescu personally of my strong feelings in this regard.

Mr. Andrei: Thank you very much. I will keep very pleasurable memories of our meeting. I hope we will be able to greet you again sometime in Romania.

The President: I would like to come again. I have especially good memories of our train trip last time.
MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: Mr. Clift

SUBJECT: State Requests Approval of Andrei Memcon

With the memorandum at Tab B the Department of State has forwarded a draft memorandum of conversation prepared by Ambassador Harry Barnes covering the President's June 22 meeting with Romanian Party Secretary Andrei. State requests clearance of the memcon and guidance on its distribution.

Provided there are no substantive faults with the draft memorandum I recommend that it be approved subject to the condition that its classification be changed from LIMDIS to NODIS and that its distribution be treated accordingly. The memorandum for Jeanne Davis' signature to State at Tab A would provide the necessary guidance.

RECOMMENDATION

Following your review of the memcon at Tab B, that you approve the memorandum for Jeanne Davis' signature to State at Tab A.

APPROVE

OTHER

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines, NSC Memo, 1/24/88
By MARA Date 2/21/88

CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS/XGDS
July 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Memorandum of Conversation: President Ford and Romanian Party Secretary Andrei, June 22, 1976.

Transmitted herewith for clearance is the memorandum of the June 22, 1976 conversation between President Ford and Secretary for International Affairs of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Stefan Andrei, prepared by Ambassador Harry G. Barnes, Jr. I would appreciate your instructions on distribution for the memorandum, once cleared.

George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
Memorandum of Conversation
(CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS)
MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. C. Arthur Borg
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of President's Conversation with Andrei (S/S 7613988)

This is in response to your memorandum of July 7 which forwarded for clearance a draft memorandum on the President's conversation with Romanian Party Secretary Stefan Andrei at the White House, June 22, 1976.

The classification of the memorandum should be revised to read CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS/XGDS. Subject to this change, the memorandum of conversation is approved. Distribution of the memorandum should be handled in accordance with the Department of State's procedures for documents having the NODIS caption.

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary
Memcon of Pres Mtg w/Romanian Party Sec Stefan Andrei 22 Jun 1976 also
request for disposition instructions