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FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT TO ROMANIA: 12-14 MARCH.

1.. THE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT EMBARGOED FOR 14.30 Z TODAY, 14 MARCH) IS IN MIFT (NOT TO ALL).

2.. THE LINE TAKEN ON AFGHANISTAN BY CEAUSESUCU AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER, ANDREI, SHOWED THAT ROMANIAN POSITION IS CONTRADICTIONARY. THEY SAY THAT THERE WAS FOREIGN INTERVENTION BEFORE THE INVASION BUT THAT IT DID NOT JUSTIFY THE INVASION. THEY HAVE DISTANCED THEMSELVES FROM THE SOVIET ACT MORE CLEARLY THAN HAVE THE USSR'S OTHER ALLIES. THEY AGREE ON THE NEED FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL. YET IN DISCUSSING A SETTLEMENT CEAUSESUCU AND ANDREI SEEMED DETERMINED NOT TO DEPART SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE SOVIET CALL FOR GUARANTEES OF NONE-INTERVENTION AFTER WHICH THEY RUSSIANS WOULD WITHDRAW.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE DESCRIBED OUR CONCEPT OF NEUTRALITY AND NON-ALIGNMENT VERY FULLY TO ANDREI. THE LATTER RAISED VARIOUS OBJECTIONS - ABOUT FOREIGN IMPOSITION OF A STATUS ON AFGHANISTAN AND THE UNDESIRABILITY OF PUTTING THE CLOCK BACK ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY INSIDE AFGHANISTAN BY REVERTING TO RULING GROUPS LIKE THOSE OF THE PRE-1978 PERIOD.

3.. THERE WAS NEVER ANY CHANCE OF GETTING THE ROMANIANS TO ACCEPT A MENTION OF NEUTRALITY IN THE JOINT STATEMENT. WE TRIED HARD FOR A DIRECT REFERENCE TO AFGHANISTAN BUT THE ROMANIANS, WHO AVOID MENTIONING THE WORD IN THEIR PRESS LET ALONE IN FORMAL DOCUMENTS, WOULD AGREE ONLY TO THE GENERAL PHRASE AT THE END OF PARA 6 ABOUT CONFLICTS IN VARIOUS AREAS. BUT THE PARA IS CLEARLY ABOUT AFGHANISTAN AND USES ROMANIAN-TYPE LANGUAGE TO CONVEY OUR VIEWS ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED AND THE NEED FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

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IN BRIEFING

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4.. IN BRIEFING JOURNALISTS ON THE FLIGHT BACK THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL PROBABLY DRAW ON THE PREVIOUS PARA LESS ITS FIRST SENTENCE, ADDING THAT THE ROMANIANS AGREED WITH HIM ON THE NEED FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL AND THAT THEY LISTENED CAREFULLY TO HIS EXPLANATION OF BRITISH IDEAS ON NEUTRALITY AND NON-ALIGNMENT, BUT INSISTED THAT AFGHANISTAN MUST CHOOSE ITS OWN FUTURE STATUS. LORD CARRINGTON WILL ALSO REPEAT THE POINT, MADE TO UK REPORTERS IN ROMANIA YESTERDAY, THAT TOTAL SOVIET WITHDRAWAL WAS A PREREQUISITE FOR A SETTLEMENT.

5.. LORD CARRINGTON HAD USEFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH ANDREI ON YUGOSLAVIA AND CAMBODIA. THE ROMANIANS WERE CONCERNED THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD REMAIN NON-ALIGNED AND WOULD MANAGE WELL AFTER TITO, AT LEAST FOR A TIME.

6.. ON CAMBODIA, LORD CARRINGTON SAID THAT THE ASEAN COUNTRIES SAW THIS AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF A FOREIGN INVASION, WHICH NEEDED TO BE REVERSED IF THE THREAT TO THEM WAS TO BE REMOVED, AND WERE RIGHTLY DISTURBED BY THE DEGREE TO WHICH AFGHANISTAN HAD OVERSHADOWED CAMBODIA. ANDREI RECALLED ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENT STAND ON THE ISSUE, AND CONTINUED RECOGNITION OF POL POT. THE VIETNAMESE HAD UNDERESTIMATED CAMBODIAN RESISTANCE, BUT WOULD NOT WITHDRAW IN THE FACE OF IT. THE BEST EVENTUAL OUTCOME WOULD BE FREE ELECTIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION, WITH UN-INVOLVEMENT, LEADING TO A GOVERNMENT INCLUDING KHIEU SAMPHAN AS WELL AS HENG SAMRIN AND SIHANOUK. BUT THE ROMANIANS WERE NOT AT ALL HOPEFUL OF SUCH A SOLUTION, AND WERE CLEARLY NOT PREPARED TO TAKE ANY INITIATIVES. GROMYKO HAD TOLD THEM DURING HIS RECENT VISIT THAT THE SITUATION WAS IRREVERSIBLE; AND THE CHINESE WERE NOT UNHAPPY AT A SITUATION WHICH BLED THE VIETNAMESE AND RUSSIANS SIMULTANEOUSLY. IN ALL, ANDREI'S ANALYSIS WAS REMARKABLY SIMILAR TO THAT OF LEE KUAN YEW.

7.. I SUGGEST THAT SIR N HENDERSON (AND/OR THE PUS) SHOULD BRIEF THE AMERICANS TODAY ON THE VISIT AND THE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT.

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(REPETITION TO HANOI REFERRED FOR  
DEPARTMENTAL DECISION REPEATED AS  
REQUESTED TO OTHER POSTS)