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**Collection:** Dobriansky, Paula J.: Files  
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*Last Updated: 12/10/2024*

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

**Withdrawer**

RBW 1/23/2017

**File Folder** ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (7)

**FOIA**

F1640/3

**Box Number** 5

HERSHBERG

52

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187602	LETTER	RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	3	1/24/1985	B1
187608	MEMO	ROBERT MCFARLANE TO RR RE. PROPOSED REPLY TO ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU	1	1/24/1985	B1
187614	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR	4	12/15/1984	B1
187617	MEMO	PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE. LETTER TO CEAUSESCU	1	1/23/1985	B1
187621	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO MCFARLANE RE. LETTER FROM RR TO CEAUSESCU	1	1/23/1985	B1
187623	LETTER	DRAFT RR TO CEAUSESCU	5	ND	B1

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

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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187624	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR	4	ND	B1
187629	CABLE	011535Z APR 85	6	4/1/1985	B1
	<b>D</b>	<b>1/23/2017</b>	<b>NLR-145-5-31-10-0 #187629</b>		

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# WASHFAX RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE

C

SSI #  
2502107

URGENT

2:12:08

MESSAGE NO. 321 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL PAGES three

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 454-2226 GEL/WH  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO CEAUDESCU

NBC LOG # 0995

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION</u>
<u>STATE</u>	<u>NICK PLATT</u>	<u>EXECUTIVE SECRETARY</u>	

REMARKS FOR INFORMATION: ORIGINAL LETTER GIVEN TO THE VICE PRESIDENT,  
WHO WILL GIVE IT TO THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR.

URGENT

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

C

MESSAGE NO. \_\_\_\_\_ CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <sup>11/23/17</sup> PAGES three

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 Gf1/WW  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO CEAUSESCU

NSC LOG # 0595

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<u>STATE</u>	<u>NICK PLATT</u>	<u>EXECUTIVE SECRETARY</u>	
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (7)

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187608	MEMO  ROBERT MCFARLANE TO RR RE. PROPOSED REPLY TO ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU	1	1/24/1985	B1

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INCOMING

PAGE 03 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TRANSLATION OF THE ROMANIAN TEXT (WHICH WE HAVE CHECKED AGAINST THE ROMANIAN TEXT AND ADJUSTED AS REQUIRED) FOLLOWS:

6/25/84

QUOTE

HIS EXCELLENCY  
MR. RONALD REAGAN  
PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15  
BY *EW* NARA DATE 1/23/17

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE CONVEYED TO ME ON 24TH OF MAY, 1984 AND, FOR MY PART, I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE AND USEFULNESS OF OUR CONTINUING EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES IN RECENT YEARS.

I CONSIDER, AS WOULD YOU, THAT THE STATE OF THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS GOOD. INDEED, IN THE SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDINGS CONVENED BETWEEN US, EXCHANGES OF MINISTERIAL-LEVEL VISITS HAVE CONTINUED, ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAVE BEEN POSITIVELY DEVELOPED, AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS REGARDING THE MAIN ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE HAVE INTENSIFIED. I APPRECIATE, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE STILL MANY POSSIBILITIES WHICH SHOULD BE EXPLOITED FOR EXPANDING ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND, ESPECIALLY, FOR PRODUCTION AND TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION. THEREFORE, I CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO FIND WAYS FOR ENCOURAGING THE AMERICAN FIRMS AND COMPANIES TO COOPERATE WITH ROMANIA AND TO FACILITATE LICENSING AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF TECHNOLOGY THAT WOULD ENABLE ROMANIAN PRODUCTS, INCLUDING THOSE DESTINED FOR EXPORT TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO BE AT A HIGHER TECHNICAL LEVEL.

I AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY PROFOUND CONCERN IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXTREMELY GRAVE TENSION REACHED IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE. THE

INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMS RACE. ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR ARMS, HAS LED TO AN INCREASE OF THE DANGER OF A WORLD





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WAR WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME A NUCLEAR WAR.  
ENDANGERING THE VERY CONDITIONS OF LIFE ON OUR PLANET.  
OF ESPECIAL GRAVITY IS THE SITUATION CREATED IN EUROPE  
AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE BEGINNING OF THE DEPLOYMENT  
BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OF MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR  
MISSILES IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE  
BEGINNING OF THE APPLICATION OF ANNOUNCED NUCLEAR  
COUNTER-MEASURES BY THE SOVIET UNION.

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, I REGARD WITH SATISFACTION  
THE IMPORTANCE YOU PAY TO THE MAINTAINING CLOSE CONTACTS  
WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE  
RESUMING OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.  
INDEED, THE ONLY RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE TO THIS DANGEROUS  
COURSE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND TO THE POLICY OF  
CONFRONTATION AND ARMAMENT IS DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS.

FOLLOWING THE TALKS I HAVE RECENTLY HAD IN MOSCOW  
WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR  
K. U. CHERNENKO, I AM LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE  
ARE POSSIBILITIES AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION DESIRES TO  
RESUME (LIT.: ARRIVE AT A RESUMPTION) THE DIALOGUE  
WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET-AMERICAN  
NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA FOR COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING  
ON A SUITABLE SOLUTION. THEREFORE, I CONSIDER IT WOULD  
BE ESSENTIAL THAT THE UNITED STATES TAKE AN INITIATIVE  
THAT WOULD PERMIT OVERCOMING THE PRESENT SITUATION. IN  
THIS RESPECT ONE COULD HAVE IN MIND THAT THE USA WOULD  
STOP DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND  
THE USSR WOULD STOP APPLYING NUCLEAR COUNTER-MEASURES  
AND, ON THIS BASIS, THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET  
UNION AND THE USA BE RESUMED WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE  
TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES  
AND THEN OF ALL NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD.

AS IN THE PAST, ROMANIA WISHES TO COLLABORATE  
WITH THE USA AND WITH THE OTHER STATES FOR A SUCCESSFUL

CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING  
MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT AT STOCKHOLM, FOR REACHING AN



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PAGE 05 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509  
AGREEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT VIENNA, FOR THE  
ADOPTING OF EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT MEASURES AT THE  
CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, AND FOR PUTTING A STOP TO THE  
ARMS RACE AND BEGINNING DISARMAMENT, AND, FIRST OF ALL,  
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

UNDER PRESENT INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS  
NECESSARY TO ACT MORE ACTIVELY FOR A DURABLE AND JUST  
SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I  
CONSIDER THAT THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION THAT COULD BRING  
A GLOBAL SETTLEMENT OF THIS CONFLICT SHOULD BE THE  
CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, UNDER THE  
AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, WITH THE  
PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING THE  
ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE.

SIMILARLY, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER TO SOME  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE  
GRAVE SITUATION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AS A  
CONSEQUENCE OF THE INCREASE OF THEIR FOREIGN DEBTS AND  
TO THE DEEPENING GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND POOR  
COUNTRIES. I REGARD AS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THE RESUMING  
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN  
THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS  
AND FOR SETTING UP A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER,  
BASED ON EQUALITY AND EQUITY, AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION  
FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

FIRST, I CONSIDER THAT THERE BE A GLOBAL AND NOT  
A SELECTIVE SOLUTION, AS A NEW APPROACH, REGARDING THE  
PROBLEM OF FOREIGN DEBTS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES,  
THAT WOULD ASSURE THE CANCELLATION OF THESE DEBTS FOR  
THE POOREST COUNTRIES, THE REDUCING OF AN IMPORTANT  
PROPORTION FOR OTHER COUNTRIES, RESCHEDULING OF DEBTS

ON A LONG TERM WITHOUT INTEREST OR WITH LOW, SYMBOLIC  
INTEREST AND PROVIDING NEW CREDITS UNDER FAVORABLE  
CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HELP THEIR  
EFFORTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN THIS REGARD A SPECIAL DIALOGUE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED



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PAGE 06 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509  
AT LEAST BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES  
REGARDING DEALING WITH THE FOREIGN DEBTS OF DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES AND, PROCEEDING ON THIS BASIS, TO SOLVE THE  
PROBLEMS FOR EACH COUNTRY. IN MY VIEW, THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES SHOULD CONSIDER PROVIDING 10-15 PER CENT OF  
THE TOTAL VALUE OF THEIR EXPORTS FOR PAYING FOREIGN  
DEBTS, INCLUDING INTEREST AND, IN THIS WAY, TO RETAIN  
THE NECESSARY MEANS FOR THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND  
FOR SOLVING SOME OF THEIR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

I EXPRESS MY CONVICTION THAT WE WILL ALSO ACT IN  
THE FUTURE TO EXPAND ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, TO  
PROMOTE A POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE, DISARMAMENT AND  
COLLABORATION OF RESPECT FOR THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE  
OF ALL PEOPLES.

SINCERELY,

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

UNQUOTE

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187614	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR	4	12/15/1984	B1

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PAGE 03 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509

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6/25/84

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BY RW DATE 11/23/87



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INCOMING

PAGE 04 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509  
WAR WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME A NUCLEAR WAR.  
ENDANGERING THE VERY CONDITIONS OF LIFE ON OUR PLANET.  
OF ESPECIAL GRAVITY IS THE SITUATION CREATED IN EUROPE  
AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE BEGINNING OF THE DEPLOYMENT  
BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OF MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR  
MISSILES IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE  
BEGINNING OF THE APPLICATION OF ANNOUNCED NUCLEAR  
COUNTER-MEASURES BY THE SOVIET UNION.

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, I REGARD WITH SATISFACTION  
THE IMPORTANCE YOU PAY TO THE MAINTAINING CLOSE CONTACTS  
WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE  
RESUMING OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.  
INDEED, THE ONLY RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE TO THIS DANGEROUS  
COURSE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND TO THE POLICY OF  
CONFRONTATION AND ARMAMENT IS DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS.

FOLLOWING THE TALKS I HAVE RECENTLY HAD IN MOSCOW  
WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR  
K. U. CHERNENKO, I AM LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE  
ARE POSSIBILITIES AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION DESIRES TO  
RESUME (LIT.: ARRIVE AT A RESUMPTION) THE DIALOGUE  
WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET-AMERICAN  
NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA FOR COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING  
ON A SUITABLE SOLUTION. THEREFORE, I CONSIDER IT WOULD  
BE ESSENTIAL THAT THE UNITED STATES TAKE AN INITIATIVE  
THAT WOULD PERMIT OVERCOMING THE PRESENT SITUATION. IN  
THIS RESPECT ONE COULD HAVE IN MIND THAT THE USA WOULD  
STOP DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND  
THE USSR WOULD STOP APPLYING NUCLEAR COUNTER-MEASURES  
AND, ON THIS BASIS, THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET  
UNION AND THE USA BE RESUMED WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE  
TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES  
AND THEN OF ALL NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD.

AS IN THE PAST, ROMANIA WISHES TO COLLABORATE  
WITH THE USA AND WITH THE OTHER STATES FOR A SUCCESSFUL

CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING  
MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT AT STOCKHOLM, FOR REACHING AN



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## Department of State

28  
S/S-0  
INCOMING

PAGE 05 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509  
AGREEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT VIENNA, FOR THE  
ADOPTING OF EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT MEASURES AT THE  
CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, AND FOR PUTTING A STOP TO THE  
ARMS RACE AND BEGINNING DISARMAMENT, AND, FIRST OF ALL,  
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

UNDER PRESENT INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS  
NECESSARY TO ACT MORE ACTIVELY FOR A DURABLE AND JUST  
SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I  
CONSIDER THAT THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION THAT COULD BRING  
A GLOBAL SETTLEMENT OF THIS CONFLICT SHOULD BE THE  
CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, UNDER THE  
AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, WITH THE  
PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING THE  
ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE.

SIMILARLY, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER TO SOME  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE  
GRAVE SITUATION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AS A  
CONSEQUENCE OF THE INCREASE OF THEIR FOREIGN DEBTS AND  
TO THE DEEPENING GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND POOR  
COUNTRIES. I REGARD AS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THE RESUMING  
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN  
THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS  
AND FOR SETTING UP A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER  
BASED ON EQUALITY AND EQUITY, AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION  
FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

FIRST, I CONSIDER THAT THERE BE A GLOBAL AND NOT  
A SELECTIVE SOLUTION, AS A NEW APPROACH, REGARDING THE  
PROBLEM OF FOREIGN DEBTS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES,  
THAT WOULD ASSURE THE CANCELLATION OF THESE DEBTS FOR  
THE POOREST COUNTRIES, THE REDUCING OF AN IMPORTANT  
PROPORTION FOR OTHER COUNTRIES, RESCHEDULING OF DEBTS

ON A LONG TERM WITHOUT INTEREST OR WITH LOW, SYMBOLIC  
INTEREST AND PROVIDING NEW CREDITS UNDER FAVORABLE  
CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HELP THEIR  
EFFORTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN THIS REGARD A SPECIAL DIALOGUE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED



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INCOMING

PAGE 06 OF 07 BUCAR 04163 00 OF 02 270628Z C01/15 008052 NOD509  
AT LEAST BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES  
REGARDING DEALING WITH THE FOREIGN DEBTS OF DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES AND, PROCEEDING ON THIS BASIS, TO SOLVE THE  
PROBLEMS FOR EACH COUNTRY. IN MY VIEW, THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES SHOULD CONSIDER PROVIDING 10-15 PER CENT OF  
THE TOTAL VALUE OF THEIR EXPORTS FOR PAYING FOREIGN  
DEBTS, INCLUDING INTEREST AND, IN THIS WAY, TO RETAIN  
THE NECESSARY MEANS FOR THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND  
FOR SOLVING SOME OF THEIR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

I EXPRESS MY CONVICTION THAT WE WILL ALSO ACT IN  
THE FUTURE TO EXPAND ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, TO  
PROMOTE A POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE, DISARMAMENT AND  
COLLABORATION OF RESPECT FOR THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE  
OF ALL PEOPLES.

SINCERELY,

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

UNQUOTE

5. EMBASSY COMMENT: ON THE SURFACE--AND PROBABLY BELOW  
IT AS WELL--MOST OF THE LETTER IS VINTAGE CEAUSESCU,  
THE POINTS HAVING BEEN MADE BEFORE IN NUMEROUS SPEECHES.  
ANDREI, HOWEVER, MADE A POINT OF CALLING ATTENTION  
TO THE LANGUAGE USED BY CEAUSESCU WHEN SUGGESTING  
HOW INF TALKS MIGHT BE RESUMED ("ONE COULD HAVE IN  
MIND THAT THE U.S. HALT THE DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM  
RANGE MISSILES..."). THIS LANGUAGE INDEED IS DIFFERENT  
THAN CEAUSESCU'S--AND, FOR THAT MATTER, SOVIET--DEMANDS  
THAT THE U.S. HALT INF DEPLOYMENT (AND WITHDRAW  
MISSILES ALREADY DEPLOYED) AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE  
RESUMPTION OF INF TALKS AND SUGGEST OTHER PROPOSALS

MIGHT BE CONSIDEREED. THIS MAY BE MERELY TYPICAL CEAUSESCU.  
HE COULD BE READING MORE INTO SOVIET THINKING THAN IS  
MERITED. HE COULD BE FABRICATING. HE MAY ALSO BE TRYING  
TO ADD SOME LUSTER TO HIS OWN CREDENTIALS AS A USEFUL  
GO-BETWEEN. NEVERTHELESS, ON THE CHANCE THAT THERE MAY

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Department of State

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OUTGOING

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PAGE 01 STATE 152611 5631 000727 SS05405  
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DRAFTED BY TEXT RECEIVED FROM WHITE HOUSE  
APPROVED BY EUR:RRBURT  
EUR/EEY:RECOMBS  
EUR:TMTNILES  
NSC:PDOBRIANSKY  
S/S:BMCKINLEY  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 152611

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: ETRD, KOLY, OPDC, PREL, RO, US  
SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU FROM PRESIDENT  
REAGAN

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. EMBASSY REQUESTED TO DELIVER TEXT OF FOLLOWING  
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU TO  
HIGHEST LEVEL MFA OFFICIAL IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

-- I HAVE FOUND OUR CORRESPONDENCE OVER THE PAST FEW  
YEARS USEFUL AND WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS SEVERAL MATTERS  
OF INTEREST TO BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES, INCLUDING  
ROMANIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES.

-- THE STATE OF U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IS GOOD. THE  
1983 VISITS OF VICE PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY OF  
COMMERCE BALDRIGE TO ROMANIA, AS WELL AS THE VISITS OF  
FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI AND MINISTER NEGULA TO THE  
UNITED STATES THIS YEAR, ARE RECENT EXAMPLES OF THE  
FREQUENT AND CONSTRUCTIVE EXCHANGES WE ENJOY.

-- OUR BILATERAL TRADE RELATIONS HAVE ALSO EXPANDED  
SIGNIFICANTLY THIS YEAR, AND WE EXPECT THAT EXPANSION  
TO CONTINUE. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WISH TO INFORM YOU  
THAT SHORTLY I WILL SUBMIT TO CONGRESS MY DETERMINATION  
OF THE EXTENSION OF ROMANIA'S MOST-FAVORED-NATION  
TARIFF STATUS FOR ANOTHER YEAR. MOREOVER, THIS SUMMER  
WE WILL AGAIN BE EXTENDING FOR THREE YEARS THE  
BILATERAL COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WHICH HAS SERVED THE  
INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.

-- OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE CONSULTED REGULARLY ON  
IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL ISSUES SUCH AS VARIOUS PROBLEMS  
AT THE UNITED NATIONS, THE CDE CONFERENCE IN STOCKHOLM,  
INF, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE HAVE  
ALSO KEPT YOUR ABLE REPRESENTATIVE IN WASHINGTON,

PAGE 01 STATE 152611 5631 000727 SS05405

AMBASSADOR MALITZA, INFORMED ON OUR CONTINUING EFFORTS  
TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE  
SOVIET UNION. WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE  
MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY THAT WE REMAIN IN  
CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, AND THAT THE  
IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH WE WERE ENGAGED,  
ESPECIALLY ON INF AND START, BE RESUMED. WE WELCOME  
ROMANIA'S SUPPORT FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND HOPE THAT  
THEY CAN BE RESUMED SOON AND WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

-- REGARDING THE OLYMPICS WE ARE HOSTING IN LOS  
ANGELES THIS SUMMER, I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT SOVIET  
CONCERNS ABOUT THE SAFETY OF THEIR ATHLETES AND OTHER  
PARTICIPANTS ARE GROUNDLESS. AS YOU MAY KNOW, I HAVE  
PERSONALLY ASSURED THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE  
THAT THE U.S. WILL LIVE UP TO THE OLYMPIC CHARTER. THE  
LOS ANGELES OLYMPIC ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, IN CLOSE  
COORDINATION WITH LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL AUTHORITIES,  
IS WORKING WITH THE UTMOST DILIGENCE TO ENSURE THAT ALL  
LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COMFORT AND SAFETY OF  
VISITING ATHLETES ARE FULLY MET. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT  
THE ROMANIAN OLYMPIC COMMITTEE WILL CONCUR IN THIS AND  
THAT THE ROMANIAN OLYMPIC TEAM WILL HAVE THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GAMES THIS SUMMER.

SINCERELY,

END TEXT.

4. EMBASSY SHOULD ADVISE MFA THAT THERE WILL BE NO  
SIGNED ORIGINAL. SHULTZ

JK  
TMTN  
MP  
JD  
SOV  
KAM  
KJ

9

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BY RW DATE 11/23/17

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (7)

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ROMANIA

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ID 8506110

RECEIVED 01 AUG 85 17

TO PRESIDENT FROM CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE DOCDATE 01 AUG 85  
PLATT, N 37

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA ARMS CONTROL  
HS

SUBJECT: 11 MAR LTR FROM PRES CEAUSESCU TO PRES RE ARMS CONTROL

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ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES DUE. 01 AUG 85 STATUS C FILES PA  
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FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
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		ROBINSON
		MATLOCK
		SESTANOVICH
		STEINER
		Pearson
		Linhard
		Kraemer
		Sommer

COMMENTS

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(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8518915

Date August 1, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Council  
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Romanian President Ceausescu

Date: March 11, 1985 Subject: Letter from President  
Ceausescu to President Reagan

WH Referral Dated: July 17, 1985

NSC ID#

850 6110  
(if any)

\_\_\_\_\_ The attached item was sent directly to the  
Department of State

Action Taken:

- \_\_\_\_\_ A draft reply is attached.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A translation is attached.
- \_\_\_\_\_ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- \_\_\_\_\_ We believe no response is necessary for the reason  
cited below.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Department of State has no objection to the  
proposed travel.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other.

Remarks: No Action Necessary.

  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL. OADR  
(Classification)

fw  
1/23/17



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 116741  
C/ADS  
Romanian

[Seal]  
President of the  
Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, March 11, 1985

Dear Mr. President:

In the framework of the exchange of views established between us and considering the problems existing in international life, I should like to present my views on a number of international aspects today.

We now find ourselves at a decisive moment in the future evolution of international life, and the way in which events will unfold this year will depend largely on whether the present dangerous course can be successfully arrested or whether humanity will continue to head for a world war, a nuclear catastrophe.

I attribute great value to the meeting in January between the foreign ministers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union and the understanding regarding the beginning of American-Soviet negotiations, of March 12 of this year. Of course, the beginning of negotiations does not signify a change in the course of international events nor a solution of the serious problems of nuclear armaments.

His Excellency  
Ronald Reagan,  
President of the  
United States of America

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BY RW  
DATE 1/23/97

The peoples of our nations, as well as all peoples of the world, expect that the negotiations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union will lead to an understanding that will ensure an end to the nuclear arms race, prevention of the militarization of the cosmos, and a transition to practical measures for nuclear disarmament.

I especially appreciate the statements made by you and the leaders of the Soviet Union to the effect that both parties are prepared to take radical measures to reduce nuclear armaments.

Since it is possible that the negotiations may last for a considerable time, I believe it is necessary during the period of the negotiations to halt or freeze nuclear armaments, first of all the production of new nuclear arms, the stationing of American medium-range missiles in some of the West European countries, and the application of nuclear countermeasures of the Soviet Union, as well as any action militarizing cosmic space. Such a step would be welcomed by all European states and by all the peoples of the world.

The adoption of such measures at the very beginning of the Soviet-American negotiations would lead to an enhancement of mutual trust, would give proof of the desire of both parties participating in the negotiations to reach a suitable agreement, and would constitute an expression of their desire and intention to put an end to the nuclear arms race, to reduce the nuclear arsenals and arsenals of other armaments, and would have a positive influence on the outcome of the Geneva negotiations.

- 3 -

To carry on the negotiations and at the same time have a continuation of the nuclear arms race is inconceivable. Moreover, how could progress be made in identifying solutions if there is a continuation of the production and stationing of new arms, which would bring about a continual change in the base point for the negotiations.

A halt to the increase, and transition to a reduction, in strategic arms, and the cessation of any actions directed toward the militarization of cosmic space are certainly of extraordinary importance for the effort to put an end to the nuclear arms race. To extend the arms race into the cosmos will lead to an intensification of the arms race in general and will increase the danger of a nuclear war. However, since medium-range nuclear arms continue to be stationed in Europe, they constitute an immediate problem of major importance for the peoples of the continent. Therefore I believe that in the framework of the Geneva negotiations priority should be given to halting the stationing of medium-range American nuclear missiles in some of the West European countries and Soviet countermeasures, so that one may achieve suitable understandings which will ensure the withdrawal of nuclear missiles now on the continent and the liberation of Europe from all nuclear arms.

Since the problems forming the subject of the Soviet-American negotiations concern the life, existence, and security

- 4 -

of all peoples, I believe it is necessary that the USA and the USSR be in agreement and that conditions be created under which all nations will have an active role and contribute to a successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations.

Mindful of the serious situation existing in Europe owing to the great concentrations of nuclear arms and other arms of mass destruction, I believe it is necessary for the European countries to show more initiative and participate in a form appropriate for the negotiations between the USSR and the USA regarding disarmament. In a special way I believe it is imperative that the countries should meet each other in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and NATO and actively contribute to the success of the Soviet-American negotiations.

It is especially important that, parallel with the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, there should be an intensification of the activity of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the Stockholm Conference for Trust and Disarmament, the Vienna negotiations concerning reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe and the efforts through other international conferences in the field of disarmament to reach appropriate agreements, which would have a positive influence on the progress and success of the Soviet-American negotiations.

The strengthening of international peace and security requires a resolution of the state of war and conflict in

- 5 -

various regions of the world. Romania has pronounced itself, and pronounces itself, firmly in favor of a political settlement, through negotiations, of all litigious situations between states.

In this spirit I believe it is necessary at present to intensify diplomatic activity with a view to achieving a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

I view the recent Jordanian-Palestinian agreement as a positive factor tending toward a political solution in the Middle East. It is now necessary to continue efforts to bring about a political solution in the Middle East through the organization of an international conference in the framework of the United Nations, with the participation of all interested parties, the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine, the USA and the USSR. It is necessary to take action in order to reach an agreement in connection with organization of this conference, in which Syria, too, must necessarily participate. I believe that any initiative must have in view the active participation of Syria. I am firmly convinced that Syria must not be left aside in the discussions and resolution of the situation in the Middle East, while its engagement and active participation would provide a real prospect of reaching a global settlement in the Middle East.

For the preparation of this international conference one might consider authorizing the Secretary General of the United

- 6 -

Nations to contact the two parties -- like the action taken in the Cyprus problems -- and organize indirect negotiations between the two parties.

These are some of the considerations which I have wanted to share with you in connection with the upcoming Soviet-American negotiations and with the present situation in the Middle East.

I do not wish on this occasion to deal at length with bilateral Romanian-American relations. I am confident that in the spirit of the understandings previously established we will act to extend commercial exchanges and cooperation in production in order to intensify relations in the field of science and technology, education, culture and other areas.

I am convinced that development of bilateral Romanian-American relations, with intensification of our cooperation on the international level, is in keeping with the interests of the two countries, the policy of peace, security and international collaboration.

Cordially yours,

[s] N. Ceausescu



*Președintele  
Republicii Socialiste România*

București, 11 martie 1985

Stimate domnule președinte,

În cadrul schimbului de păreri statornicit între noi și ținând seama de problemele existente în viața internațională, doresc să vă prezint considerentele mele cu privire la unele aspecte ale actualității mondiale.

Acum ne aflăm într-un moment hotărâtor pentru evoluția viitoare a vieții internaționale și de felul cum se vor desfășura evenimentele în acest an va depinde foarte mult dacă se va reuși oprirea actualului curs periculos sau omenirea va continua să se îndrepte spre un război mondial, spre catastrofă nucleară.

Dau o înaltă apreciere întâlnirii, din ianuarie, dintre miniștrii de externe ai Statelor Unite ale Americii și Uniunii Sovietice și înțelegerii privind începerea negocierilor americane-sovietice la 12 martie a.c. Desigur, începerea negocierilor nu înseamnă schimbarea mersului evenimentelor internaționale și nici soluționarea problemelor grave ale înarmărilor nucleare.

Popoarele țărilor noastre, ca și toate popoarele lumii, așteaptă ca negocierile dintre Statele Unite ale Americii și Uniunea Sovietică să ducă la înțelegeri care să asigure oprirea cursei înarmărilor nucleare, prevenirea militarizării Cosmosului trecerea la măsuri practice de dezarmare nucleară.

Apreciez în mod deosebit declarațiile dumneavoastră și ale conducătorilor Uniunii Sovietice că ambele părți sînt gata să meargă la măsuri radicale de reducere a armamentelor nucleare.

./.

EXCELENTEI SALE  
DOMNULUI RONALD REAGAN  
PRESEDINTELE STATELOR UNITE ALE AMERICII

Authority State Waives 11/16/15  
BY *RW* DATE 1/23/17



- 2 -

Intrucît este posibil ca negocierile să dureze un timp mai îndelungat, consider că este necesar ca pe perioada tratativelor să fie oprite sau înghețate înarmările nucleare și în primul rînd producerea de noi arme nucleare, amplasarea rachetelor nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune în unele țări vest-europene și aplicarea contramăsurilor nucleare ale Uniunii Sovietice, precum și orice acțiuni de militarizare a spațiului cosmic. O asemenea măsură ar fi salutată de toate statele europene, de toate popoarele lumii.

Trecerea la astfel de măsuri, chiar la începerea negocierilor sovieto-americane ar duce la creșterea încrederii reciproce, ar fi o dovadă a voinței ambelor părți participante la negocieri de a ajunge la un acord corespunzător, ar constitui o expresie a dorinței și voinței lor de a pune capăt cursei înarmărilor nucleare, de a trece la reducerea arsenalelor nucleare și a celorlalte armamente, ar influența pozitiv rezultatul tratativelor de la Geneva.

Nu se poate concepe desfășurarea tratativelor și continuarea, în același timp, a cursei înarmărilor nucleare. De altfel, cum s-ar putea înainta în identificarea soluțiilor, dacă vor continua producerea și amplasarea de noi arme, ceea ce ar determina o schimbare continuă a bazei de pornire pentru negocieri.

Oprirea creșterii și trecerea la reducerea armelor strategice, încetarea oricăror acțiuni îndreptate spre militarizarea spațiului cosmic prezintă, desigur, o însemnătate deosebită pentru efortul de încetare a cursei înarmărilor nucleare. Extinderea cursei înarmărilor în Cosmos va duce la intensificarea cursei înarmărilor în general, va crește pericolul unui război nuclear. Dar, intrucît armele nucleare cu rază medie de acțiune continuă să fie amplasate în Europa, ele reprezintă o problemă imediată, de importanță majoră pentru popoarele de pe continent.





- 3 -

De aceea, consider că în cadrul negocierilor de la Geneva ar trebui să aibă prioritate problemele privind oprirea amplasării rachetelor nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune în unele țări vest-europene și a contramăsurilor sovietice, să se ajungă la realizarea de înțelegeri corespunzătoare, care să asigure retragerea rachetelor nucleare existente pe continent, eliberarea Europei de orice arme nucleare.

Deoarece problemele care fac obiectul negocierilor sovieto-americane privesc viața, existența și securitatea tuturor popoarelor, consider că este necesar ca S.U.A. și U.R.S.S. să fie de acord și să se creeze condițiile ca toate statele să aibă și un rol activ și să contribuie la încheierea cu succes a tratativelor de la Geneva.

Ținând seama de situația gravă existentă în Europa datorită marii concentrări de arme nucleare, de alte arme de distrugere în masă, consider că este necesar ca țările europene să manifeste mai multă inițiativă și să participe într-o formă potrivită la negocierile dintre U.R.S.S. și S.U.A. privind dezarmarea. În mod deosebit consider că se impune ca țările din cadrul Tratatului de la Varșovia și din N.A.T.O. să se întilnească și să contribuie activ la succesul negocierilor sovieto-americane.

Este de o deosebită importanță ca, paralel cu negocierile dintre Uniunea Sovietică și Statele Unite, să se intensifice activitatea Conferinței pentru dezarmare de la Geneva, a Conferinței pentru încredere și dezarmare de la Stockholm, negocierile de la Viena privind reducerea armamentelor și efectivelor armate din centrul Europei și eforturile în cadrul altor conferințe internaționale în domeniul dezarmării, pentru a se ajunge la acorduri corespunzătoare, ceea ce ar influența pozitiv desfășurarea și succesul negocierilor sovieto-americane.

Intărirea păcii și securității internaționale necesită soluționarea stărilor de război și conflict din diferite regiuni ale lumii. România s-a pronunțat și se pronunță în mod ferm pentru reglementarea pe cale politică, prin negocieri



În acest spirit, consider că în prezent este necesar să fie intensificată activitatea diplomatică în vederea realizării unei păci trainice și juste în Orientul Mijlociu.

Apreciez că recentul acord iordaniano-palestinian este un factor pozitiv care merge în direcția unei soluționări politice în Orientul Mijlociu. Acum este necesar să se depună în continuare eforturi pentru o soluție politică în Orientul Mijlociu prin organizarea unei Conferințe internaționale în cadrul Organizației Națiunilor Unite, cu participarea tuturor părților interesate, a Organizației pentru Eliberarea Palestinei, a S.U.A. și U.R.S.S. Este necesar să se acționeze pentru a se ajunge la un acord în legătură cu organizarea acestei Conferințe, la care să participe neapărat și Siria. Consider că orice inițiativă ar trebui să aibă în vedere participarea activă a Siriei. Sunt ferm convins că Siria nu poate fi lăsată de o parte în discuțiile și soluționarea situației din Orientul Mijlociu, în timp ce angajarea și participarea sa activă ar da o perspectivă reală pentru a se ajunge la o soluție globală în Orientul Mijlociu.

Pentru pregătirea acestei Conferințe internaționale s-ar putea avea în vedere ca secretarul general al Organizației Națiunilor Unite să fie împuternicit să intre în contact cu cele două părți - așa cum s-a acționat în problemele Ciprului - și să organizeze tratative indirecte între cele două părți.

Acestea au fost unele considerente pe care am vrut să vi le împărtășesc în legătură cu apropiatele negocieri sovieto-americe și cu situația actuală din Orientul Mijlociu.



- 5 -

Nu doresc cu acest prilej să mă refer pe larg la relațiile bilaterale româno-americane. Imi exprim încrederea că în spiritul înțelegerilor stabilite anterior vom acționa pentru extinderea schimburilor comerciale și a cooperării în producție, pentru intensificarea raporturilor în domeniul științei și tehnicii, învățămîntului, culturii și în alte domenii.

Sînt convins că dezvoltarea relațiilor bilaterale româno-americane, intensificarea conlucrării noastre pe plan internațional corespund intereselor celor două națiuni, politicii de pace, securitate și colaborare internațională.

Cu prietenie,



*Președintele  
Republicii Socialiste România*

București, 11 martie 1985

Stimate domnule președinte,

În cadrul schimbului de păreri statornicit între noi și ținând seama de problemele existente în viața internațională, doresc să vă prezint considerentele mele cu privire la unele aspecte ale actualității mondiale.

Acum ne aflăm într-un moment hotărâtor pentru evoluția viitoare a vieții internaționale și de felul cum se vor desfășura evenimentele în acest an va depinde foarte mult dacă se va reuși oprirea actualului curs periculos sau omenirea va continua să se îndrepte spre un război mondial, spre catastrofă nucleară.

Dau o înaltă apreciere întâlnirii, din ianuarie, dintre miniștrii de externe ai Statelor Unite ale Americii și Uniunii Sovietice și înțelegerii privind începerea negocierilor americane sovietice la 12 martie a.c. Desigur, începerea negocierilor nu înseamnă schimbarea mersului evenimentelor internaționale și nici soluționarea problemelor grave ale înarmărilor nucleare.

Popoarele țărilor noastre, ca și toate popoarele lumii, așteaptă ca negocierile dintre Statele Unite ale Americii și Uniunea Sovietică să ducă la înțelegeri care să asigure oprirea cursei înarmărilor nucleare, prevenirea militarizării Cosmosului, trecerea la măsuri practice de dezarmare nucleară.

Apreciez în mod deosebit declarațiile dumneavoastră și ale conducătorilor Uniunii Sovietice că ambele părți sînt gata să meargă la măsuri radicale de reducere a armamentelor nucleare.

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EXCELENTEI SALE

DOMNULUI RONALD REAGAN

PRESEDINTELE STATELOR UNITE ALE AMERICII

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- 2 -

Intrucît este posibil ca negocierile să dureze un timp mai îndelungat, consider că este necesar ca pe perioada tratativelor să fie oprite sau înghețate înarmările nucleare și în primul rînd producerea de noi arme nucleare, amplasarea rachetelor nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune în unele țări vest-europene și aplicarea contramăsurilor nucleare ale Uniunii Sovietice, precum și orice acțiuni de militarizare a spațiului cosmic. O asemenea măsură ar fi salutată de toate statele europene, de toate popoarele lumii.

Trecerea la astfel de măsuri, chiar la începerea negocierilor sovieto-americane ar duce la creșterea încrederii reciproce, ar fi o dovadă a voinței ambelor părți participante la negocieri de a ajunge la un acord corespunzător, ar constitui o expresie a dorinței și voinței lor de a pune capăt cursei înarmărilor nucleare, de a trece la reducerea arsenalelor nucleare și a celorlalte armamente, ar influența pozitiv rezultatul tratativelor de la Geneva.

Nu se poate concepe desfășurarea tratativelor și continuarea, în același timp, a cursei înarmărilor nucleare. De altfel, cum s-ar putea înainta în identificarea soluțiilor, dacă vor continua producerea și amplasarea de noi arme, ceea ce ar determina o schimbare continuă a bazei de pornire pentru negocieri.

Oprirea creșterii și trecerea la reducerea armelor strategice, încetarea oricăror acțiuni îndreptate spre militarizarea spațiului cosmic prezintă, desigur, o însemnătate deosebită pentru efortul de încetare a cursei înarmărilor nucleare. Extinderea cursei înarmărilor în Cosmos va duce la intensificarea cursei înarmărilor în general, va crește pericolul unui război nuclear. Dar, întrucît armele nucleare cu rază medie de acțiune continuă să fie amplasate în Europa, ele reprezintă o problemă imediată, de importanță majoră pentru popoarele de pe continent.



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De aceea, consider că în cadrul negocierilor de la Geneva ar trebui să aibă prioritate problemele privind oprirea amplasării rachetelor nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune în unele țări vest-europene și a contramăsurilor sovietice, să se ajungă la realizarea de înțelegeri corespunzătoare, care să asigure retragerea rachetelor nucleare existente pe continent, eliberarea Europei de orice arme nucleare.

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In acest spirit, consider că în prezent este necesar să fie intensificată activitatea diplomatică în vederea realizării unei păci trainice și juste în Orientul Mijlociu.

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Cu prietenie,