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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: SYSTEM I FILES
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Withdrawer

CAS 2/27/2018

FOIA

S9319

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22

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
218069	MEMO	COVEY TO MCFARLANE RE S-W-M BREAKFAST ITEM: PREPOSITIONING AGREEMENTS WIT JORDAN AND ISRAEL	1	1/22/1985	B1
218072	MEMO	SAME AS 218069 (ANNOTATED)	1	1/22/1985	B1
218075	TALKING POINTS	SAME AS 218073	1	ND	B1
218073	TALKING POINTS	RE GENEVA SUMMIT	1	ND	B1
218078	PAPER	RE CENTRAL AMERICA	4	ND	B1
PAR 2/27/2018 NLR-815-2-13-4-2					

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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INVESTIGATION

PA Files

564

6 DECEMBER 1986

RECEIVED 22 JAN 85 16

TO POINDEXTER

FROM O'NEILL, H

DOCDATE 16 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: LOS

GERMANY F R

GERMANY D R

DENMARK

NETHERLANDS

GREAT BRITAIN

SUBJECT: LOS / NORTHERN EUROPE

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR POINDEXTER DUE: 23 JAN 85 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

STARK

SOMMER

COBB

LEVINE

DOBRIANSKY *concur s*

COMMENTS

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*STARK**S**1/23**For Further Action**Poindexter**IX**1/24**For Info**C28 JAN 1985**Poindexter noted**JS*

DISPATCH

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FILE

PA 9th
(C)

National Security Council
The White House

System # 0560

Package # _____

1538

SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN DISPOSITION

Bob Pearson

1 P _____

Bob Kimmitt

2 K _____

John Poindexter

3 I _____

Paul Thompson

Wilma Hall

Bud McFarlane

Bob Kimmitt

NSC Secretariat

4 N _____

Situation Room

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

National Security Council
The White House

System #

I

19 JAN 23

PS

Package #

0560

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	
Bob Kimmitt			
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

Stark

2

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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

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The White House

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Package # _____

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Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	_____	<u>A</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

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(Date/Time)

Stuff

Action Stock
Cent Somers
Cobb
Bokmansky
Info Levine

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 23, 1985

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: JAMES R. STARK *JS*
SUBJECT: LOS/Northern Europe

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from Hugh O'Neill providing information concerning law of the sea developments in Northern Europe. A briefing has been offered, but I think the memo itself gives sufficient background.

A response to O'Neill is not necessary unless you want a briefing, since the attachment was sent for information only.

JS Peter Sommer, *JS* Ty Cobb and *JS* Paula Dobriansky concur.

Attachment

Tab I - O'Neill memo to Poindexter of January 16, 1985



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE/THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
REPRESENTATIVE FOR OCEAN POLICY AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

Staff ?
0560

16 JAN 1985

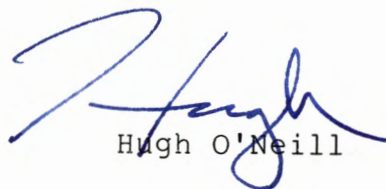
MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN POINDEXTER, USN

SUBJECT: Law of the Sea; Northern Europe

The following is provided FOR INFORMATION concerning recent law of the sea developments in Northern Europe.

- On 16 December 1984 the West Germans (over our objections) published a decree which will have the effect of extending their territorial sea claim out to 16 NM off one area of their North Sea Coast (Helgoland Bight). In other coastal areas they will continue to claim only 3NM.
 - We may still be able to work with them on modifying the 16NM claim, but for now the precedent is there for all to see.
- One of many arguments we used in attempting to dissuade the West Germans from such a claim was the potential for a ripple effect throughout Northern Europe, and the East Germans in particular.
 - On 1 January 1985, the East Germans in fact jumped from a 3NM to a 12NM territorial sea. (The West Germans claim no connection).
 - It at least appears that the GDR was more conservative than the FRG might have expected.
 - Citing international transit considerations, the GDR did not go to 12NM in the Kadet Channel, which is the narrows leading out into the Baltic Sea.
- The GDR move brings to 84 the number of coastal states claiming 12NM.
 - Approximately 24 claim more than 12NM.
 - Approximately 19 claim the traditional 3NM.
- Other North Sea claimants who may go from 3NM to 12NM in the wake of the moves by the two Germanys:
 - Denmark; Netherlands; UK

Please let me know if you would like a further briefing.


Hugh O'Neill

~~SECRET~~

4

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REVIEW
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

TO MCFARLANE

FROM COVEY

DOCDATE 22 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: ARMS SALES
ISRAEL

JORDAN

SHULTZ, G
WEINBERGER, C

SUBJECT: SWM BREAKFAST ITEM RE PREPOSITIONING AGREEMENTS WITH JORDAN & ISRAEL

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE :

STATUS IX FILES ~~PA#1111~~

FOR ACTION
MCFARLANE

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

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National Security Council The White House

System #

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Package #

0564

JAN 22

P 7: 21

1534

SEQUENCE TO

HAS SEEN

DISPOSITION

Bob Pearson

1

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Bob Kimmitt

2

John Poindexter

Paul Thompson

Wilma Hall

Bud McFarlane

3

RCM HAS SEEN

Bob Kimmitt

NSC Secretariat

4

N

Situation Room

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

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218069	MEMO COVEY TO MCFARLANE RE S-W-M BREAKFAST ITEM: PREPOSITIONING AGREEMENTS WIT JORDAN AND ISRAEL	1	1/22/1985	B1

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

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218072	MEMO SAME AS 218069 (ANNOTATED)	1	1/22/1985	B1

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

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UNCLASSIFIED INFORMATION
OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

RECEIVED 23 JAN 85 09

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WRIGHT

DOCDATE 22 JAN 85

G1 2/27/118

KEYWORDS: USSR

ARMS CONTROL

SUSPENSE

SUBJECT: BREAKFAST MTG 23 JAN

Us Soviet Disagreements in Geneva

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE:

STATUS X

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FOR ACTION

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MCFARLANE

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0566

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

ACTION

January 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: *Bill* BILL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Breakfast Meeting, January 23

Attached for your use are talking points covering U.S./Soviet areas of disagreement which arose in Geneva, the personnel changes which have taken place since then, and our next steps in preparation for follow-on talks.

RECOMMENDATION

That you use the attached talking points at tomorrow morning's Breakfast Meeting.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Ron Ron Lehman, *Bob* Bob Linhard, *SK* Sven Kraemer concur.

Attachment

Tab A - Talking Points

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

Declassify by: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

8000400 E.O. 12958, as amended

GV

4/27/18

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218075	TALKING POINTS SAME AS 218073	1	ND	B1

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

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OF CLASSIFICATION

RECEIVED 23 JAN 85 09

TO MCFARLANE FROM WRIGHT

DOC DATE 22 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

ARMS CONTROL

SUBJECT: BREAKFAST MTG 23 JAN RE US SOVIET DISAGREEMENTS IN GENEVA

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE:

STATUS C

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

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National Security Council
The White House

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Bob Pearson	1	P	
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John Poindexter	3		
Paul Thompson	4		
Wilma Hall	5		
Bud McFarlane	6	HAS SEEN	A
Bob Kimmitt	7		N
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: 1/23 Bfct
(Date/Time)

Geneva Negotiations

~~SECRET~~

0566

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET/SENSITIVE

ACTION

January 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: *Bill* BILL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Breakfast Meeting, January 23

NOTED

Attached for your use are talking points covering U.S./Soviet areas of disagreement which arose in Geneva, the personnel changes which have taken place since then, and our next steps in preparation for follow-on talks.

RECOMMENDATION

That you use the attached talking points at tomorrow morning's Breakfast Meeting.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Ron Ron Lehman, *Bob* Bob Linnhard, *Sven* Sven Kraemer concur.

Attachment

Tab A - Talking Points

SECRET/SENSITIVE

Declassify by: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

Sec 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended

White House, Declassification, Sept. 11, 2008

BY NACB 1045, DATE 2/27/18

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

0566

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET/SENSITIVE

ACTION

January 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: *Bill* BILL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Breakfast Meeting, January 23

Attached for your use are talking points covering U.S./Soviet areas of disagreement which arose in Geneva, the personnel changes which have taken place since then, and our next steps in preparation for follow-on talks.

RECOMMENDATION

That you use the attached talking points at tomorrow morning's Breakfast Meeting.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Ron Ron Lehman, *Bob* Bob Lickhard, *Sven* Sven Kraemer concur.

Attachment
Tab A - Talking Points

Discussed in general.

SECRET/SENSITIVE
Declassify by: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
Sec 2.4.01 E.O. 12958, as amended
Date 11/17/88 BY NARA 61 2/27/88

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218073	TALKING POINTS RE GENEVA SUMMIT	1	ND	B1

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10

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8500575

RECEIVED 22 JAN 85 19

TO PRESIDENT

FROM KOHL, HELMUT

DOCDATE 18 JAN 85

VAN WELL, GUENTHER

18 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

SPACE PROGRAMS

HS

SUBJECT: CHANCELLOR KOHL REPLY TO PRES RE GERMANY PARTICIPATION IN SPACE
STATION PROJECT

ACTION: RECOMMENDATIONS

DUE: 28 JAN 85 STATUS D FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

STATE

SOMMER

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LINHARD

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DECLASSIFIED

Authority DOSS HALL
BY IN NARA DATE 2/27/18

21

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85 STATE 53191

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PAGE 01 STATE 053191
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L-03 /014 R
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APPROVED BY: OES:JMALONE
FUR:TNILES EUR/RPF:BBLOOD
EUR/CE:WSALISEURY E:RMORRIS
NSC:RKIMMITT;RPEARSON:TCOBB S/S:BMCKINLEY
S/S-S:JALBA NSC:IMCMANN;GRYE T:SSIENKIEWICZ NSC:JMATLOCK
-----216223 212257Z /70

C 212254Z FEB 85
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 053191

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: TSPA, GE
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO CHANCELLOR KOHL
-- (S/S 8501984)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO CHANCELLOR KOHL.
3. BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR HELMUT:
- THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 18, 1985. I WAS VERY PLEASED TO HEAR OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S DECISION ON PARTICIPATION IN THE SPACE STATION PROGRAM. I WAS ALSO GRATIFIED BY THE ACTION OF THE MINISTERS AT THE ESA COUNCIL MEETING ON JANUARY 31 ACCEPTING THE OFFER OF THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SPACE STATION

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 053191
PROGRAM. THESE ARE IMPORTANT STEPS WHICH WILL ADD A SIGNIFICANT NEW DIMENSION TO OUR RELATIONS. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE ESA COUNCIL WILL SOON REVIEW THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING WITH THE U.S. ON SPACE STATION COOPERATION. I HOPE THE COUNCIL WILL TAKE POSITIVE ACTION SO WE CAN BEGIN AN EFFECTIVE JOINT PROGRAM. OUR PARTNERSHIP IN THE MANNED SPACE STATION WILL BE FRUITFUL AND BENEFICIAL TO ALL PARTICIPATING NATIONS, AND I TRUST THAT WE CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT WHICH YOU ARE HOSTING IN MAY TO CONFIRM FORMALLY OUR JOINT PARTICIPATION IN THE SPACE STATION PROGRAM. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU THEN.

-- SINCERELY,
- RON REAGAN

4. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL BE SENT.

DAM
CONFIDENTIAL

21

0575
THE AMBASSADOR
OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit to you the following telegram from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl:

"Lieber Ronald,

für Ihr Schreiben vom 13. Dezember 1984 über eine Beteiligung Europas an einer Raumstation danke ich Ihnen sehr.

Ich freue mich, Ihnen heute mitteilen zu können, daß die Bundesregierung einen Grundsatzbeschuß über ihre künftige Raumfahrtpolitik gefaßt hat. Als wesentliches Element dieser Entscheidung wird sich die Bundesrepublik mit einer Quote von knapp 40% im Rahmen der Europäischen Weltraumorganisation ESA am Programm Columbus, dem europäischen Teil der von Ihnen vorgeschlagenen Raumstation, beteiligen. Sie wird damit unter den europäischen Partnern die führende Rolle in diesem für die westliche Welt wichtigen Projekt übernehmen.

Dem Beschluß entsprechend wird die Bundesregierung unverzüglich ihre Teilnahme an dem zweijährigen Columbus-

The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.

- 2 -

DECLASSIFIED / RE-CLASSIFIED
Authority: DCS HALL
BY: GW NARA DATE: 4/27/18

23

vorbereitungsprogramm der ESA erklären und etwa Ende 1986 die für die Fortsetzung der Zusammenarbeit erforderlichen weiteren Beschlüsse fassen. Unsere nun schon zwanzigjährige erfolgreiche Zusammenarbeit in der Raumfahrt und insbesondere unsere Spacelab-Erfahrungen stärken mich in der Hoffnung, daß die nun beginnenden Arbeiten und die kommenden europäisch-amerikanischen Verhandlungen über Entwicklung, Bau und Nutzung der Station bis dahin zu befriedigenden Ergebnissen für beide Seiten geführt haben werden.

Über das gesamte europäische Weltraumprogramm einschließlich der Beteiligung an der Raumstation und der Entwicklung einer neuen Generation der europäischen Träger-rakete Ariane werden die zuständigen Minister im Rat der Europäischen Weltraumorganisation am 30. und 31. Januar 1985 in Rom beraten. Dabei wird die deutsche Delegation ihr besonderes Interesse an der partnerschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit mit den Vereinigten Staaten erneut zum Ausdruck bringen, in dem auch sie ein besonders geeignetes Instrument zur Sicherung der technologischen Führungsrolle des Westens und zur friedlichen Nutzung des Weltraums sieht.

Ich freue mich darauf Anfang Mai beim Weltwirtschaftsgipfel in Bonn über den weiteren Fortgang dieses großen gemeinsamen Projektes mit Ihnen sprechen zu können.

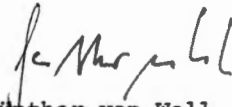
Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Helmut Kohl"

A courtesy translation is attached.

20
- 3 -

Respectfully yours,


Günther van Well

Washington, D.C., January 18, 1985

COURTESY TRANSLATION

"Dear Ronald,

Thank you very much for your letter of 13 December 1984 concerning Europe's participation in a space station.

I am pleased to be able to inform you today that my Government has taken a basic decision on its future space policy. As an essential element of this decision, the Federal Republic of Germany will, within the framework of the European Space Agency (ESA), participate with a share of just under 40% in the Columbus Programme, the European part of the space station proposed by you. Among the European partners, it will thus assume the leading role in this project of great importance to the western world.

In accordance with the decision, my Government will without delay announce its participation in the two-year Columbus Preparatory Programme of ESA and at about the end of 1986 take further decisions needed for the continuation of this co-operation. Our successful twenty-year co-operation in space matters and especially our experience with Spacelab make me all the more hopeful that the work now being started and the forthcoming European-American negotiations on the development, construction and utilization of the station will by that date have produced results that are satisfactory to both sides.

- 2 -

DECLASSIFIED 1/24/04 (SP)
Authority DUS VALUE
BY CW NARS DATE 2/27/18

The entire European space programme, including participation in the space station and the development of a new generation of the European carrier rocket Ariane, will be discussed by the relevant ministers at the ESA council meeting in Rome on 30 and 31 January 1985. On that occasion, the German delegation will reaffirm its particular interest in co-operation with the United States in a spirit of partnership, which it, too, regards as a specially suitable instrument for maintaining the West's leading position in the field of technology and for the use of space for peaceful purposes.

I look forward to discussing with you the further procedure for this great joint project at the World Economic Summit in Bonn early in May.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Helmut Kohl"

REFERRAL

DATE: 22 JAN 85

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: KOHL, HELMUT

DATE: 18 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

SPACE PROGRAMS

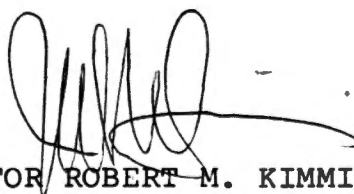
HS

SUBJ: CHANCELLOR KOHL REPLY TO PRES RE GERMANY PARTICIPATION IN SPACE

REQUIRED ACTION: RECOMMENDATIONS

DUE DATE: 28 JAN 85

COMMENTS:



FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DECLASSIFIED / RE / CASE 1
Authority: NOBWAIR
BY LV NARADATE 7/27/18

28
0575
THE AMBASSADOR
OF THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit to you the following telegram from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl:

"Lieber Ronald,

für Ihr Schreiben vom 13. Dezember 1984 über eine Beteiligung Europas an einer Raumstation danke ich Ihnen sehr.

Ich freue mich, Ihnen heute mitteilen zu können, daß die Bundesregierung einen Grundsatzbeschuß über ihre künftige Raumfahrtpolitik gefaßt hat. Als wesentliches Element dieser Entscheidung wird sich die Bundesrepublik mit einer Quote von knapp 40% im Rahmen der Europäischen Weltraumorganisation ESA am Programm Columbus, dem europäischen Teil der von Ihnen vorgeschlagenen Raumstation, beteiligen. Sie wird damit unter den europäischen Partnern die führende Rolle in diesem für die westliche Welt wichtigen Projekt übernehmen.

Dem Beschluß entsprechend wird die Bundesregierung unverzüglich ihre Teilnahme an dem zweijährigen Columbus-

The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.

- 2 -

vorbereitungsprogramm der ESA erklären und etwa Ende 1986 die für die Fortsetzung der Zusammenarbeit erforderlichen weiteren Beschlüsse fassen. Unsere nun schon zwanzigjährige erfolgreiche Zusammenarbeit in der Raumfahrt und insbesondere unsere Spacelab-Erfahrungen stärken mich in der Hoffnung, daß die nun beginnenden Arbeiten und die kommenden europäisch-amerikanischen Verhandlungen über Entwicklung, Bau und Nutzung der Station bis dahin zu befriedigenden Ergebnissen für beide Seiten geführt haben werden.

Über das gesamte europäische Weltraumprogramm einschließlich der Beteiligung an der Raumstation und der Entwicklung einer neuen Generation der europäischen Träger- rakete Ariane werden die zuständigen Minister im Rat der Europäischen Weltraumorganisation am 30. und 31. Januar 1985 in Rom beraten. Dabei wird die deutsche Delegation ihr besonderes Interesse an der partnerschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit mit den Vereinigten Staaten erneut zum Ausdruck bringen, in dem auch sie ein besonders geeignetes Instrument zur Sicherung der technologischen Führungsrolle des Westens und zur friedlichen Nutzung des Weltraums sieht.

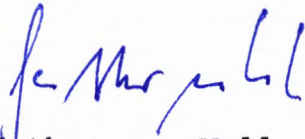
Ich freue mich darauf, Anfang Mai beim Weltwirtschaftsgipfel in Bonn über den weiteren Fortgang dieses großen gemeinsamen Projektes mit Ihnen sprechen zu können.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Helmut Kohl"

A courtesy translation is attached.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'G. van Well', written in a cursive style.

Günther van Well

Washington, D.C., January 18, 1985

COURTESY TRANSLATION

31
DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED
Authority DUS HALLER
BY LI NARA DATE 2/27/18

"Dear Ronald,

Thank you very much for your letter of 13 December 1984 concerning Europe's participation in a space station.

I am pleased to be able to inform you today that my Government has taken a basic decision on its future space policy. As an essential element of this decision, the Federal Republic of Germany will, within the framework of the European Space Agency (ESA), participate with a share of just under 40% in the Columbus Programme, the European part of the space station proposed by you. Among the European partners, it will thus assume the leading role in this project of great importance to the western world.

In accordance with the decision, my Government will without delay announce its participation in the two-year Columbus Preparatory Programme of ESA and at about the end of 1986 take further decisions needed for the continuation of this co-operation. Our successful twenty-year co-operation in space matters and especially our experience with Spacelab make me all the more hopeful that the work now being started and the forthcoming European-American negotiations on the development, construction and utilization of the station will by that date have produced results that are satisfactory to both sides.

The entire European space programme, including participation in the space station and the development of a new generation of the European carrier rocket Ariane, will be discussed by the relevant ministers at the ESA council meeting in Rome on 30 and 31 January 1985. On that occasion, the German delegation will reaffirm its particular interest in co-operation with the United States in a spirit of partnership, which it, too, regards as a specially suitable instrument for maintaining the West's leading position in the field of technology and for the use of space for peaceful purposes.

I look forward to discussing with you the further procedure for this great joint project at the World Economic Summit in Bonn early in May.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Helmut Kohl"

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JANUARY 18, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT:

SUBJECT: UNOPENED

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
ROBERT C. MCFARLANE	ORG	85/01/18		
REFERRAL NOTE:				
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COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO LORETTA BRAXTON

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: S INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION CODES:      *OUTGOING          *
*                        *                        *CORRESPONDENCE:   *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL    *          OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED          *          CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED          *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                        *          OUTGOING  *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                        *                        *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE        *                        *                        *
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LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

14
THE AMBASSADOR OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

272958

WHITE HOUSE MAIL
RECEPTION & SECURITY

1985 JAN 18 PM 4: 38

The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES
FROM LEHMAN, C

RECEIVED 23 JAN 85 16

DOCDATE 23 JAN 85

TO

MCFARLANE

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY

ADDABBO, J

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TALKING POINTS & BIOGRAPHY RE ^{MTG} ~~MRC~~ W/ ADDABBO 23 JAN-----
ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE:

STATUS IX FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8500563

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(DR)

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National Security Council
The White House

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65 JAN 23 AM 11:44

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Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Paul Thompson	<u>4</u>		
Wilma Hall	<u>5</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>6</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>7</u>		<u>N</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

1/23 1500

(Date/Time)

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0579

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED WITH
~~TOP SECRET~~ ATTACHMENT

January 23, 1985

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: CHRISTOPHER M. LEHMAN

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Congressman Joe Addabbo

You are scheduled to meet with Congressmen Joe Addabbo today, Wednesday, January 23, at 3:00 p.m. in Room 2365, Rayburn House Office Building.

The proposed talking points at Tab II follow the scenario of your meeting with Representatives Jim Wright/Murtha and Michel/Lott.

John Douglass sent you a separate memorandum updating you on the Battleship homeporting issue which may be an item of concern for the Congressman.

As in your previous meeting, the purpose is to reach out in hopes of building greater bi-partisan cooperation; to make a pitch on behalf of the President's defense program including MX and SDI; and to seek an updated reading of where the Democrats are headed in the wake of the election and the beginning of a new Congress.

Attached at Tab I is a biography of Congressman Addabbo.

Ron Lehman and Oliver North concur.

Attachments

Tab I Biography
Tab II Proposed Talking Points

Flash! Today's Washington Post has a story about Addabbo being upset about possible Contra funding through 3rd countries using U.S. aid money. See attached article (Tab II)

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Declassify on: OADR

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W 2/27/88

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800 NEW YORK

The People Pop. 1980: 516,844, dn. 5.7% 1970-80; voting age pop. 368,903; 47% Black, 8% Span. orig., 1% Asian orig. 42% housing units rented. Median owner \$42,800; renter \$222. Households: 77% family, 43% with children, 55% married couples.

Presidential Vote

1980	Reagan (R)	NA
	Carter (D)	NA
	Anderson (I)	NA

Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo (D) Elected 1960; b. May 17, 1925, Queens; home, Ozone Park; CCNY, 1942-44, St. John's U. Sch. of Law, LL.B. 1946; Roman Catholic.



Career Practicing atty., 1946-60.

Offices 2365 RHOB, 202-225-3461. Also 96-11 101st Ave., Ozone Park 11416, 212-845-3131.

Committees *Appropriations* (5th). Subcommittees: Defense (Chairman); Military Construction; Treasury-Postal Service-General Government. *Small Business* (3d). Subcommittees: General Oversight and the Economy; SBA and SBIC Authority, Minority Enterprise and General Small Business Problems.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	LWV	NTU	NSI	COC	ACA	CSFC
1982	85	83	94	92	87	75	13	20	26	0	25
1981	75	—	94	86	61	—	8	—	16	9	28
1980	72	80	100	79	70	88	10	11	54	5	19

National Journal Ratings

	Economic	Foreign	Cultural
1982	90% (LIB) 9% (CONS)	68% (LIB) 32% (CONS)	93% (LIB) 3% (CONS)
1981	77% (LIB) 23% (CONS)	72% (LIB) 26% (CONS)	82% (LIB) 18% (CONS)

Key Votes

1) Reagan 81 Budget	AGN	5) Incr SS Rtmt Age	AGN	9) Poor Pay Food Stamps	AGN
2) Reagan 81 Tax Cut	AGN	6) Saudi AWACS Sale	AGN	10) Ban Crt Busing Order	AGN
3) Bal Budget Amend	AGN	7) \$ for MX Missile	AGN	11) Auto Local Content	FOR
4) Gas & Road Tax	—	8) Nerve Gas Prod	AGN	12) Nuclear Arms Freeze	FOR

Election Results

1982 general	Joseph P. Addabbo (D-R-L)	95,483	(96%)	(\$176,022)
1982 primary	Joseph P. Addabbo (D-R-L) unopposed			
1980 general	Joseph P. Addabbo (D-R-L)	96,137	(95%)	(\$105,432)
	Francis A. Lees (C-RTL)	4,703	(5%)	(\$6)

Campaign Contributions

1981-82	
Receipts	\$361,634
Expend.	\$176,022
Unspent	\$232,616

SEVENTH DISTRICT

Queens is the borough the way into Manhattan. It casts more votes than much of it was still called into "the city" when it consisted mostly of German immigrants, a publican stronghold. After World War II, many of them giant, large number of Jews raise a family than New York City. The 7th congressional district is a class department store, one of New York's first shopping area. This is John's University, the hood where success district continues in the neighborhood of Queens.

This is a heavily Jewish area, and racial quotas. I who began his career in the House on several affairs; he was an humor and was solidly active in the Governor Mario

TALKING POINTS

- Appreciate opportunity to meet.
- Glad election is over -- we can get down to the business at hand.
- A lot of tough issues on our plate: defense budget, arms control, MX and Central America to name a few.
- Want to share with you where I see us headed on national security issues and to get your views on what you think we should be doing.

ARMS CONTROL

- I see us moving into a period where there could be great promise for improved relations with the Soviet Union.
- We have started the delicate process of finding the common ground on which we can begin to talk.
- We don't expect a lot from these early meetings; it will be a time for both sides to sound out their opponents' apparent objectives. The fact that we have agreed to begin negotiations is a very positive development.

- While all this is occurring, the Soviets will be closely following the political situation here in the U.S.
- To realize the full promise of this opportunity, we will need a period of bipartisan support at home. We will need a period of time when we settle our differences in meetings like this one today, instead of broadcasting them in the press and other media.
- One critical test of how we move forward on arms control will be this spring's Congressional vote on MX. This vote will be important because it comes first, because it involves a major strategic system, and because it involves the President's credibility in the eyes of the Soviets as a leader who can deliver on his promises.
- The same applies to the Defense Budget in general and to our Strategic Defense Initiative.
- Now, I know that you have opposed the MX and that you want to see defense spending at levels lower than the President's likely request -- but I also know that you are a patriot and trying to do what you think is right -- and that's why the President asked that I meet with you to see if we can work together more closely.

MX

- On MX, the President and I are determined that we not waste the \$10 billion we've invested to date. We need to deploy the MX. It would be a travesty for us to just walk away at this point and let the program die.

- I certainly understand the pressures on Democrats prior to the election. What I need to know is how do you see the issue now?

- On SDI, I believe the Soviets are worried about our ability to make dramatic breakthroughs with our robust technology, and our free economy.

- They have a great historical respect for defensive systems and our moves on SDI have them concerned. I believe they would like to see us constrained by politics and treaties, if possible, while they try to keep up with our research programs with their more cumbersome research community.

- We, on the other hand, are interested in stability, a notion they are not necessarily ready to endorse. Our task will be to bring these concepts into a common focus, in an equitable way.

11

-- All of this hinges to varying degrees on their assessment of our political resolve and stability at home. I'd like to hear your views on this and get your advice on how we should deal with these issues on the Hill this year.

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67

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CENTRAL AMERICA

- With the help of the Congress, substantial progress has been made in Central America:
 - Duarte government in El Salvador enjoys political legitimacy at home, respect abroad, and, with our help, ability to prevent a guerrilla victory.
 - Guatemala is headed for a second round of democratic elections in 1985.
 - Honduras is warming up for Presidential elections at the end of this year.
 - Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala are effectively defending their interests in the Contadora process.
 - The initial implementation of the Jackson Plan offers hope for economic recovery to democratic nations in the region.
- We have one serious liability in Central America: the consolidation of a Soviet client state on the mainland of this hemisphere.
 - The final consolidation of the FSLN as a state party in a Marxist-Leninist society represents a genuine long-term threat to political stability in the Americas.

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ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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BY CN DATE 2/27/18

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- The unabated delivery of sophisticated offensive weapons by the Soviet Union and its surrogates poses a strategic threat to the United States.
- The continued presence of over 10,000 Soviet, Cuban, East German, Bulgarian, Libyan, and PLO military personnel in Nicaragua cannot be ignored.
- Our two principal objectives in the weeks and months ahead must be to:
 - Continue strengthening our Central American friends, promoting their greater cooperation.
 - We must also prevent the consolidation of a destabilizing Marxist-Leninist regime in Nicaragua.
- To accomplish our first goal, we must:
 - Press for the full multi-year program that the Kissinger Commission envisioned for the Jackson Plan.
 - Without the indication of a long-term commitment, the Jackson Plan will not enjoy its full potential.
 - Look to those additional measures we should be taking in security assistance and economic support to ensure that democracy flourishes in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica.

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-- To meet our second objective, we must take steps to ensure that Nicaragua establishes a pluralistic and fully democratic government. We must achieve this without the use of U.S. military forces.

- The Soviets have clearly demonstrated that they will take whatever steps are necessary--short of military intervention--to help the Communists consolidate in Nicaragua.
- A way must be found for the U.S. to support the democratic resistance forces in Nicaragua.
- This is a moral imperative for the U.S. in that we helped to create what is now a large-scale indigenous resistance movement--very much like that in Afghanistan.
- Working with you, we must find a means to relieve the constraints imposed by Section 8066 of the FY-85 Continuing Resolution.
- Congressional authority must be obtained which will allow us to provide, as a minimum, financial assistance to the resistance movement.
- If we fail to restore our assistance to the freedom fighters and our influence over them, we face major problems in Honduras and Costa Rica--and the Communist consolidation in Nicaragua that the Soviets are supporting.

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- This, in turn, could inevitably lead to the very U.S. military intervention--circa 1988-89--that we seek to prevent.

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'Contra' Aid Disavowal Questioned

*Addabbo Unsatisfied
With Shultz Reply*

Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense, said yesterday that he is not satisfied with the Reagan administration position that it is not supplying aid directly or indirectly to Nicaraguan "contra" rebel groups.

In an interview, Addabbo said "we had certain information" that prompted him to ask Secretary of State George P. Shultz in a letter earlier this month whether U.S. aid to Israel, Honduras and/or El Salvador was being passed to rebel groups seeking to overthrow Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government. Congress cut off direct U.S. aid to those groups last year.

Shultz replied, according to Addabbo, that U.S. aid is strictly controlled and not being passed on but said Washington has no control over what other governments do with their funds.

"No, I'm not satisfied," Addabbo said. "It wasn't a fishing expedition . . . I believe something is there."

Addabbo said he plans to summon administration officials to subcommittee hearings next month "to find out how much control they do have" over aid money. "I can give a dollar to help you and you go give your own dollar to help some other guy. That means you don't need my dollar in the first place," Addabbo said.

He added that high-ranking Israeli officials have convincingly denied providing aid to the rebels and said he believes that the aid is coming "from other channels."

Rebel groups have estimated that they receive \$1 million a month in military and humanitarian aid from private and international sources.

The administration has requested \$14 million for the Central Intelligence Agency to provide a fourth year of aid to the rebel groups, which claim to have more than 15,000 armed fighters attacking economic and military targets in Nicaraguan border areas.

Critics have opposed the program on grounds that its covert nature makes it difficult to control and to discuss publicly, and they have argued that the rebels have engaged in murder, torture and other human-rights violations.

RECEIVED 23 JAN 85 15

TO MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 23 JAN 85

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

M77 4/24/86

URGENT

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

ARMS CONTROL

CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

USSR

OLYMPICS

SDI

MIDDLE EAST

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRES LTR TO PRES CEAUSESCU RE OLYMPIC PARTICIPATION / INTL
ISSUES & BILATERAL RELATIONS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE

DUE: 23 JAN 85 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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KRAEMER

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	24 JAN 1985	Pres repl ltr			DO'JM'CV'
Vice Pres	24 JAN 1985	for delivery			SK

DISPATCH ed sm 24 JAN 1985W/ATTCH FILE PA (C)

27.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1985

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciate your letters of June 25 and December 15, and would like to share my thinking about current U.S.-Soviet relations, the Middle East, and the bilateral relationship between our two countries.

I am gratified that the Geneva discussions established the format and objectives for forthcoming negotiations, and that the Soviet Union has agreed to resume the dialogue on nuclear arms issues. We are deeply interested in making rapid progress toward the total elimination of nuclear weapons and believe that substantial reciprocal reductions would serve the interests of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the entire world.

I am optimistic that important progress can be made even though profound differences remain. I look to 1985 as a year for dialogue leading to better U.S.-Soviet relations. In addition to seeking early progress in the new arms negotiations, we will continue to pursue dialogue with the Soviets on regional problems, human rights, and bilateral issues. With a constructive approach on the Soviets' part, I am hopeful that a more stable and productive U.S.-Soviet relationship will emerge.

Tough issues, like space and other defensive weapons, will have to be resolved. We are prepared to discuss our Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and the broader question of strategic defense. But it must be understood that the SDI is a research effort to determine whether it will be possible for both countries to move away from a

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NLS F-95-070 41
BY for NARA, DATE 12/7/97

nuclear relationship based on the threat of mutual annihilation. No steps beyond research have been decided, nor could they be for several years. In any case, to restrict research would be neither practical nor verifiable, even if it were desirable. In the near term, priority must be given to radically reducing offensive nuclear weapons.

We are prepared to go beyond where we left off in the last round of Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in exploring mutually acceptable approaches to reducing strategic arms. We are also ready to consider new approaches to reductions in intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). I appreciate your advice but frankly, I do not believe that a halt to U.S. deployments and Soviet "countermeasures" is a balanced or viable approach. U.S. intermediate-range missiles are being deployed to offset the enormous -- and growing -- force of Soviet SS-20 missiles. Any agreement must be based on reductions to equal global levels in this class of systems.

As a practical matter, I feel that progress in the three groups which were agreed upon at Geneva need not be linked. If an understanding is reached in one or two areas and both sides agree it is in their interest, the agreement should be implemented.

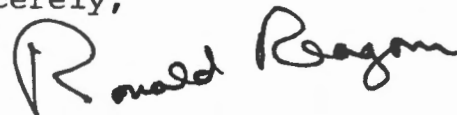
Regarding the Middle East, we remain committed to working with the parties to achieve a peaceful settlement between Israel and its neighbors. I understand that you will see Prime Minister Peres in late February. I want you to know that we believe an essential next step in moving the peace process forward is the commencement of direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan -- rather than an international conference -- and that efforts by all countries interested in the search for peace should be directed toward that goal. I believe that the positions in my September 1, 1982, Middle East peace initiative, which is based on Security Council resolution 242 and fully consistent with the Camp David framework, continue to be realistic and workable and could point the way to an equitable settlement. However, these positions do not have to be accepted in advance of negotiations. We would expect the parties to bring their own positions to the bargaining table.

As I told Vice President Manescu last September, I sincerely appreciated Romania's important contribution to the Los Angeles Olympics and the Olympic movement. I believe our bilateral relations are good, are based on common interests, and continue to mature. U.S. officials will continue actively to consult with Romanian colleagues on bilateral issues and in multilateral fora. I know you are aware of the importance of human rights issues in our perception of the bilateral relationship, and we will continue privately to raise specific human rights concerns with Romanian officials.

You wrote to me about the desirability of our approving export licenses for Romania. As you know, the area of technology transfer is a sensitive one, because advanced technology is one of our greatest strategic assets. My administration has approved the great majority of export license applications for Romania. We have not found solutions to some cases in which we are aware of your personal interest. I want to assure you, however, that I personally have given considerable attention to these cases, and we will continue to seek case-by-case approval of export licenses for Romania consistent with national security considerations.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "R" at the beginning.

His Excellency
Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania
Bucharest

MEMORANDUM

DECLASSIFIED

NLS

F 95-013 H 2

BY

dd

NARA, DATE 12/9/97

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The President has seen

Received 595

1985 JAN 24 AM 10:46

~~SECRET~~

January 24, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SIGNED

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE *RCM*

SUBJECT: Proposed Reply to Romanian President Ceausescu

Issue: Proposed response to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Facts: President Ceausescu sent you two letters, dated June 25 and December 15, 1984 (Tab B). His letters followed on your May 24 message inviting Romanian participation at the Los Angeles Olympics. In both of these letters, the Romanian President shares his views on major international issues and bilateral relations, but does not present any new ideas.

Discussion: Your proposed reply (Tab A) addresses U.S.-Soviet relations in light of Geneva, the Middle East and our bilateral relationship. Specifically, it reaffirms a) our interest in equitable, verifiable arms control agreements that would substantially reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear weapons; b) our willingness to discuss our Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and the broader issue of strategic defense; c) our opposition to a moratorium on the deployment of theater nuclear forces but willingness to consider new approaches to reduction in INF; d) our September 1, 1982, Middle East peace initiative; and e) our case-by-case approach, consistent with national security considerations, for reviewing export license applications for Romania.

Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATIONOK No*OR*

— That you sign the letter to President Ceausescu at Tab A.

Attachment:

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

Tab A Proposed Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu
Tab B Letters from President Ceausescu, June 25 and
 December 15, 1985

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on:

OADR

~~SECRET~~

cc Vice President



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of State

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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,

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

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F 95-070 #3

BY *dh* NADA DATE *12/16/84*



CONFIDENTIAL

Department of State

S/S-0
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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



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of State

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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



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of State

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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

WASHFAX RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE

C

SSI #
2502107

URGENT

NSC/s

Handwritten signature/initials

2:12:08

MESSAGE NO. 321 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL PAGES three
FROM ROBERT KIRBY 434-2224 GEL/WH
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO CEADUSCV

REC LOG # 0595

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

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

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

10/17/4/2/98

MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PAGES three

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

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO CEAUSESCU

NSC LOG # 0595

<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.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

URGENT

January 23, 1985

NSC - Bob Pearson

Bob,

We understand that the Vice President
wishes to hand this letter personally
to the Romanian Ambassador on Thursday,
January 24.

Brunson McKinley

B McKinley

S/S 8434639

National Security Council
The White House

System #

I

Package #

0595

85 JAN 24 11:28

SEQUENCE TO

HAS SEEN

DISPOSITION

Bob Pearson

1

K

A

Bob Kimmitt

John Poindexter

Paul Thompson

Wilma Hall

Bud McFarlane

Bob Kimmitt

NSC Secretariat

Situation Room

2

24 JAN 1985

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

date today.

original
get to Paula ASAP
so she can get it to VP's
office. LDX copy to
State telling them VP
will come letter to Ambassador

**National Security Council
The White House**

System #

I

Package #

0595

86 JAN 23 P 7: 41

1536

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
ob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
ob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
ohn Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>J</u>	
aul Thompson			
Vilma Hall	<u>4</u>		
ud McFarlane	<u>5</u>		<u>A</u>
ob Kimmitt			
ISC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>D</u>
ituation Room			

= Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

C: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

ASAP before 1/24 2pm
(Date/Time)

~~Recommended put in PDB.~~

Letter has been received 1/24

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

January 23, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu

State has forwarded a draft letter (Tab A) from President Reagan to Romanian President Ceausescu. It is in response to Ceausescu's two lengthy letters (dated June 25 and December 15, 1984), in which he discusses his views on major international issues and bilateral relations, but does not present any new ideas. The draft Presidential reply addresses U.S.-Soviet relations in light of Geneva, the Middle East and our bilateral relationship. Specifically, it reaffirms a) our interest in equitable, verifiable arms control agreements, b) our willingness to discuss SDI and the broader issue of strategic defense, c) our opposition to a moratorium on the deployment of theater nuclear forces but willingness to consider new approaches to reductions in INF, d) our September 1, 1982 Middle East peace initiative, and e) our case-by-case approach consistent with national security considerations for reviewing export license applications for Romania.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding the draft reply. A decision is needed by 2:00 p.m. Thursday, January 24. State believes that Romanian Ambassador Malitza, who departs the U.S. on January 30 (and Washington, D.C. on January 25) should be given the signed original to take to Bucharest. Since the Ambassador is scheduled to pay a farewell call on the Vice President at 3:30 p.m. tomorrow, January 24, State has strongly recommended that the Vice President provide the Ambassador with the President's response. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

Jack Matlock, Don Fortier, Sven Kraemer and Jock Covey concur. *HT FOR*

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Approve ✓ Disapprove

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Proposed letter to President Ceausescu
Tab B Ceausescu letters, June 25, December 15, 1984
Tab II State's memorandum, January 23

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLS 795-070 #5



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~SECRET~~

EXDIS

(with NODIS attachment)

January 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Proposed Letter from the President to Romanian
President Ceausescu

Romanian President Ceausescu has sent two lengthy personal letters to the President, dated June 25 and December 15. Ceausescu's letters followed on the President's May 24 message inviting Romanian participation at the Los Angeles Olympics. In his letters, Ceausescu has given his views on major international issues and bilateral relations.

The Department believes a personal letter from the President to Ceausescu at this point could significantly further our post-Geneva diplomacy by stimulating Romanian pressure on the Soviets to show flexibility in negotiations with us. A Presidential letter would also serve important bilateral interests. Despite significant Romanian signals such as Olympics participation and foot-dragging on Warsaw Pact renewal, we have not been able to do much for Romania or respond to Ceausescu's concerns about export licensing cases, and we need to remind the Romanians at high level that we take them seriously and appreciate their dissenting role in the Warsaw Pact.

A draft letter from the President to Ceausescu is attached. The Department believes Ambassador Malitza, who departs the U.S. January 30, should be given the signed original to take to Bucharest, and that an information copy should be cabled to Embassy Bucharest.

Attachments:

1. Draft letter to Ceausescu.
2. Ceausescu's December 15 letter.
3. Ceausescu's June 25 letter. (NODIS)
4. The President's May 24 message.

*B. McKinley*Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary~~SECRET~~

EXDIS

(with NODIS attachment)

DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLSF 95-07046

BY *VM* NARA, DATE *2/9/97*

Bucharest, December 1984
(Informal Translation;
following message received by
telegram):

12/15/84

Dear Mr. President:

I would first like to give you my warm greetings and best wishes, and to congratulate you once again on your re-election as President of the United States of America.

Continuing our exchange of messages on bilateral relations and some international matters, which has proved to be extremely useful, I would like to impart to you my preoccupation about the very grave tension existing on the international scene. We are now in a decisive stage for mankind, at a crossroads where the question is whether to continue the arms race and especially the nuclear arms race, or to stop this dangerous course and resume policies of peace, detente, and disarmament.

In these conditions, which call for the greatest possible responsibility of heads of state and government, I consider that it is imperative for all countries to do everything possible to adopt concrete measures of disarmament, and firstly of nuclear disarmament, to stop the race toward a nuclear catastrophe and defend the supreme right of human beings to existence, life, and peace.

In this framework a special responsibility devolves upon the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which possess the preponderance of nuclear arms and other types of weapons, and directly upon you, Mr. President, and on Mr. Konstantin U. Chernenko, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

That is why we welcome the January meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We also believe that this meeting should create the conditions for convening a direct summit meeting between you and the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Romania, like all countries in the world, expects that the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union will set the foundations for new negotiations on disarmament issues and other complex problems in the international situation.

His Excellency
Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
of America
The White House
Washington

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F 95-070 #4
BY dl NARA, DATE 12/9/97

In reference to the foregoing, I would like to present to you certain Romanian views.

Without any doubt, a global approach to disarmament issues has great importance, but this does not mean that some major issues should be neglected or postponed. In this regard, I consider that the beginning of the negotiations should work from the necessity of freezing the development of nuclear arms and other types of weapons, at least while the negotiations are carried on. This would increase mutual trust between both sides and assure positive development and results for the negotiations.

Special priority in these talks should be given to halting the arms race, to moving on to disarmament and first of all nuclear disarmament, to measures for halting and reducing military expenditures, and to the renunciation of any nuclear testing.

The basic idea in taking these measures is that the realization of military balance between the two sides has to be achieved not by increasing weapons, but by reducing weapons and nuclear arms to the smallest possible level. It would be equally important to conclude an agreement on banning the militarization and other military activities in outer space, while enshrining general regulations for the utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes.

The serious situation in Europe requires that during the negotiations a total priority should be given to the halting of both the deployment of intermediate range American missiles in West European countries and to the countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union and some of the socialist countries in Europe, followed by measures conducive to turning Europe into a continent free of nuclear weapons.

The halting of deployment of the American intermediate range missiles and of the Soviet nuclear countermeasures will represent an element of confidence, and will create a better climate for progress in the talks and for concluding them with positive results.

In view of the grave situation in Europe and, bearing in mind that the intermediate range missiles are first of all aimed at the European countries, it is necessary that the countries of Europe and especially the members of both military alliances -- NATO and the Warsaw Treaty -- assume a greater responsibility and participate in an appropriate form in the solution of peace problems and firstly of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament, to contribute to the realization of an agreement for the elimination of intermediate range missiles and other nuclear weapons from Europe and from the world.

Romania considers that unfailing efforts are necessary for successful development of the Stockholm Conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

A successful conclusion of this conference would have great importance for detente and cooperation, for strengthening confidence and friendship among the participating countries.

We also feel that it is necessary to act more decisively in order to reach a suitable agreement at the Vienna talks for reducing military armaments and troops in Central Europe, an agreement which would have an important role in promoting a policy of peace, confidence, and cooperation on our continent.

In order to achieve a healthier international situation it is necessary to act with all strength and to intensify political and diplomatic efforts for solving only by means of negotiation all conflicts and legal disputes between states.

To that end, I consider that it is necessary to organize an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations with participation of all interested countries -- including the PLO, the United States, and the Soviet Union -- conducive to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, to securing the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, including the creation of an independent state.

At the same time, it is necessary to intensify efforts for settlement of the situation in southern Africa and especially for assuring Namibia's right to independence.

Romania considers that, taking into account the current situation of the world economy and the worsening of the economic situations of developing countries it is necessary, as I expressed to you in my previous messages, to take urgent and efficient measures which should lead to settlement of problems of underdevelopment and foreign debts of the developing countries, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

I would like to emphasize the constant preoccupation of Romania that relations between states should be based on equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and the right of every country to decide freely its own path of social and economic development, without any outside intervention.

I express my hope that you personally, Mr. President, will do everything possible for the commencement and successful development of the talks for halting the arms race and for the

achievement of disarmament for assuring peace and independence of all peoples.

I would like to assure you that as concerns Romania, as in the past, it will do everything to contribute, together with other countries, to the achievement of disarmament and assuring peace, security, and international cooperation, and we will support every step toward that end.

Dear Mr. President, I would also like to make a few remarks concerning prospects for the development of relations between our countries. I consider that by intensifying efforts in the spirit of the agreements we have reached by previous messages, we will be able further to increase commercial exchanges and economic cooperation in production.

In that respect, the positive settlement of the question of export licenses, as well as the granting of most-favored nation status for Romania on a permanent basis or at least for several years would give impetus and stability to our economic relations.

I am confident that in the future as well we will act together for the development of the bilateral relations between our countries, for the extension of our cooperation in the international field, for a policy of peace and cooperation, of disarmament and respect for the national independence of all peoples.

With very best wishes,

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciate your letters of June 25 and December 15, and would like to share with you my thinking about U.S.-Soviet relations in light of Secretary Shultz's Geneva discussions with Foreign Minister Gromyko, the situation in the Middle East, and the bilateral relationship between our two countries.

You will be aware of our assessment of the Geneva talks from Mr. Adelman's briefings in Bucharest. I would like to emphasize several points. I am deeply interested in making rapid progress toward the ultimate goal of eliminating nuclear weapons -- and I believe that substantial reductions in nuclear weapons would serve the basic interests of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the world at large. However, reductions which are not reciprocal and to mutual advantage would increase instability and the danger of nuclear confrontation. I am gratified that the Geneva discussions established the format and objectives for forthcoming negotiations, and that the Soviets have agreed to resume the dialogue on nuclear arms issues.

His Excellency

Nicolae Ceausescu

President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

Bucharest

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F 95.0 70A 7
BY dd. NARA, DATE 12/7/97

Profound differences remain, and tough issues will have to be resolved. This is especially the case with regard to space and other defensive weapons. As Secretary Shultz explained to Foreign Minister Gromyko, we are prepared to discuss our Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and the broader question of strategic defense, but we are not going to negotiate it away. The SDI is a research effort to determine whether it will be possible for both countries to move away from a nuclear relationship based on the threat of mutual annihilation. No steps beyond research have been decided, nor could they be for several years. In any case, to restrict research would be neither practical nor verifiable, even if it were desirable. In the near term, priority should be given to radically reducing offensive nuclear arms.

Secretary Shultz made clear that we are prepared to go beyond where we left off in the last round of Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in exploring mutually acceptable approaches to reducing strategic arms. We are also ready to consider new approaches to reductions in intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). On this issue, I appreciate your advice but must state frankly that I do not believe your idea of halting U.S. deployments and Soviet "countermeasures" is a balanced or viable approach. U.S. intermediate-range missiles are being deployed to offset the enormous -- and growing -- force of Soviet SS-20 missiles. Any agreement must be based on reductions to equal global levels in this class of systems.

As a practical matter, I feel that progress in the three groups agreed at Geneva need not be linked. If understanding is reached in one or two areas which both sides agree is in their interest, it should be implemented.

Overall, I look to 1985 as a year for dialogue leading to better U.S.-Soviet relations. In addition to seeking early progress in the new arms negotiations, we will continue to pursue dialogue with the Soviets on regional problems, human rights, and bilateral issues as well as arms control. With a constructive approach on the Soviets' part, I am hopeful that a more stable and constructive U.S.-Soviet relationship will emerge.

Regarding the Middle East, we remain committed to working with the parties to achieve a peaceful settlement between Israel and its neighbors. I understand that you will be having talks with Prime Minister Peres in late February, and want you to know that we believe an essential next step in moving the peace process forward is the commencement of direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan, and that efforts by all countries interested in the search for peace should be directed toward that goal. I believe that the positions in my September 1, 1982 Middle East peace initiative, which is based on Security Council resolution 242 and fully consistent with the Camp David framework, continue to be realistic and workable and could point the way to an equitable settlement. However, these positions do not have to be accepted in advance of negotiations; we would expect the parties to bring their own

positions to the bargaining table. I do not believe that an international conference is the most practical or productive forum for advancing a settlement.

As I told Vice President Manescu in September, I appreciated Romania's contribution to the Los Angeles Olympics -- your athletes were warmly welcomed by the American people. I believe that our bilateral relations are good and soundly based on common interests. U.S. officials will continue actively to consult with Romanian colleagues on bilateral issues and in multilateral fora. I know you are aware of the importance of human rights issues in our perception of the bilateral relationship, and we will continue privately to raise specific human rights concerns with Romanian officials.

You wrote to me about the desirability of our approving export licenses for Romania. As you know, the area of technology transfer is a sensitive one, because advanced technology is one of our greatest strategic assets. My administration has approved the great majority of export license applications for Romania. We have not been able to find solutions to some cases in which we are aware of your personal interest. I want to assure you, however, that my administration and I personally have given considerable attention to these cases in recognition of the importance of U.S.-Romanian relations. My administration will continue to seek case-by-case approval of export licenses for Romania consistent with national security considerations. Overall, I

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am gratified that our relations continue to progress.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Bucharest, December 1984
(Informal Translation;
following message received by
telegram):

Dear Mr. President:

I would first like to give you my warm greetings and best wishes, and to congratulate you once again on your re-election as President of the United States of America.

Continuing our exchange of messages on bilateral relations and some international matters, which has proved to be extremely useful, I would like to impart to you my preoccupation about the very grave tension existing on the international scene. We are now in a decisive stage for mankind, at a crossroads where the question is whether to continue the arms race and especially the nuclear arms race, or to stop this dangerous course and resume policies of peace, detente, and disarmament.

In these conditions, which call for the greatest possible responsibility of heads of state and government, I consider that it is imperative for all countries to do everything possible to adopt concrete measures of disarmament, and firstly of nuclear disarmament, to stop the race toward a nuclear catastrophe and defend the supreme right of human beings to existence, life, and peace.

In this framework a special responsibility devolves upon the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which possess the preponderance of nuclear arms and other types of weapons, and directly upon you, Mr. President, and on Mr. Konstantin U. Chernenko, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

That is why we welcome the January meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We also believe that this meeting should create the conditions for convening a direct summit meeting between you and the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Romania, like all countries in the world, expects that the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union will set the foundations for new negotiations on disarmament issues and other complex problems in the international situation.

His Excellency
Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
of America
The White House
Washington

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In reference to the foregoing, I would like to present to you certain Romanian views.

Without any doubt, a global approach to disarmament issues has great importance, but this does not mean that some major issues should be neglected or postponed. In this regard, I consider that the beginning of the negotiations should work from the necessity of freezing the development of nuclear arms and other types of weapons, at least while the negotiations are carried on. This would increase mutual trust between both sides and assure positive development and results for the negotiations.

Special priority in these talks should be given to halting the arms race, to moving on to disarmament and first of all nuclear disarmament, to measures for halting and reducing military expenditures, and to the renunciation of any nuclear testing.

The basic idea in taking these measures is that the realization of military balance between the two sides has to be achieved not by increasing weapons, but by reducing weapons and nuclear arms to the smallest possible level. It would be equally important to conclude an agreement on banning the militarization and other military activities in outer space, while enshrining general regulations for the utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes.

The serious situation in Europe requires that during the negotiations a total priority should be given to the halting of both the deployment of intermediate range American missiles in West European countries and to the countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union and some of the socialist countries in Europe, followed by measures conducive to turning Europe into a continent free of nuclear weapons.

The halting of deployment of the American intermediate range missiles and of the Soviet nuclear countermeasures will represent an element of confidence, and will create a better climate for progress in the talks and for concluding them with positive results.

In view of the grave situation in Europe and, bearing in mind that the intermediate range missiles are first of all aimed at the European countries, it is necessary that the countries of Europe and especially the members of both military alliances -- NATO and the Warsaw Treaty -- assume a greater responsibility and participate in an appropriate form in the solution of peace problems and firstly of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament, to contribute to the realization of an agreement for the elimination of intermediate range missiles and other nuclear weapons from Europe and from the world.

Romania considers that unfailing efforts are necessary for successful development of the Stockholm Conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

A successful conclusion of this conference would have great importance for detente and cooperation, for strengthening confidence and friendship among the participating countries.

We also feel that it is necessary to act more decisively in order to reach a suitable agreement at the Vienna talks for reducing military armaments and troops in Central Europe, an agreement which would have an important role in promoting a policy of peace, confidence, and cooperation on our continent.

In order to achieve a healthier international situation it is necessary to act with all strength and to intensify political and diplomatic efforts for solving only by means of negotiation all conflicts and legal disputes between states.

To that end, I consider that it is necessary to organize an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations with participation of all interested countries -- including the PLO, the United States, and the Soviet Union -- conducive to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, to securing the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, including the creation of an independent state.

At the same time, it is necessary to intensify efforts for settlement of the situation in southern Africa and especially for assuring Namibia's right to independence.

Romania considers that, taking into account the current situation of the world economy and the worsening of the economic situations of developing countries it is necessary, as I expressed to you in my previous messages, to take urgent and efficient measures which should lead to settlement of problems of underdevelopment and foreign debts of the developing countries, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

I would like to emphasize the constant preoccupation of Romania that relations between states should be based on equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and the right of every country to decide freely its own path of social and economic development, without any outside intervention.

I express my hope that you personally, Mr. President, will do everything possible for the commencement and successful development of the talks for halting the arms race and for the

achievement of disarmament for assuring peace and independence of all peoples.

I would like to assure you that as concerns Romania, as in the past, it will do everything to contribute, together with other countries, to the achievement of disarmament and assuring peace, security, and international cooperation, and we will support every step toward that end.

Dear Mr. President, I would also like to make a few remarks concerning prospects for the development of relations between our countries. I consider that by intensifying efforts in the spirit of the agreements we have reached by previous messages, we will be able further to increase commercial exchanges and economic cooperation in production.

In that respect, the positive settlement of the question of export licenses, as well as the granting of most-favored nation status for Romania on a permanent basis or at least for several years would give impetus and stability to our economic relations.

I am confident that in the future as well we will act together for the development of the bilateral relations between our countries, for the extension of our cooperation in the international field, for a policy of peace and cooperation, of disarmament and respect for the national independence of all peoples.

With very best wishes,

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania



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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:

QUOTE

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

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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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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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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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: ETRD, KOLY, OPDC, PREL, RO, US

SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU FROM PRESIDENT
REAGAN

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. EMBASSY REQUESTED TO DELIVER TEXT OF FOLLOWING
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU 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 NECULA 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,

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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

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BY AK NARA, DATE 12/5/97