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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 1/17/2017

File Folder ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (2)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 5

HERSHBERG

47

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187393	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	1/5/1982	B1
187396	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	1/29/1982	B1
187398	MEMO	PAUL BREMER TO JAMES NANCE RE. LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO RR	1	12/30/1981	B1
187399	LETTER	PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN]	5	12/26/1981	B1
187400	DRAFT	LETTER RR TO CEAUSESCU	4	ND	B1
187401	PAPER	RE. ROMANIA [PG. 3 ONLY]	1	ND	B1
187406	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	8/23/1982	B1

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

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ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (2)

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MEMORANDUM

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 29, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *J.W.N.*
SUBJECT: Response to Letter from President Ceausescu
of Romania

Attached for your signature at Tab A is a response to President Ceausescu's letter to you of November 30. The letter, based upon a Department of State draft and cleared with the speechwriters, responds to Ceausescu's proposals for a moratorium and for a nuclear free zone in Europe by drawing heavily on your speech of November 18.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve *JW* Disapprove _____

SIGNED

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Response to President Ceausescu
Tab B Incoming Letter of November 30

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 Department of State

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INCOMING
 TELEGRAM

Log
 adv. to
 RB
 Ex
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PAGE 01 BUCAR 88602 01 OF 02 021244Z
 ACTION EUR-12

1194

BUCAR 88602 01 OF 02 021244Z

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-09 PA-01 INRE-00 SMS-01 OES-09
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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1042

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 8602

E.O. 12065: NA

TAGS: PPDC, PARM, RO

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

REF: A. BUCHAREST 8395; B. BUCHAREST 8537

1. ON DECEMBER 1, FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI CALLED THE AMBASSADOR TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND ASKED HIM TO TRANSMIT TO PRESIDENT REAGAN; 1) A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU (IN ROMANIAN WITH AN MFA SUPPLIED ENGLISH TEXT) AND 2) AN APPEAL FROM THE ROMANIAN GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (GNA) OF NOVEMBER 28 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER EUROPEAN STATES AND CANADA; CALLING FOR THE ELIMINATION FROM EUROPE OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES AND ALL OTHER NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI SAID THAT THIS LETTER WAS TRANSMITTED "IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION" AND IN AN EFFORT "TO MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUCCESS OF THE TALKS" NOW BEGINNING IN GENEVA BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR. ANDREI SAID THE MFA WOULD ADVISE THE AMBASSADOR ON DECEMBER 2 REGARDING A ROMANIAN ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE TRANSMISSION OF THE LETTER AND APPEAL, WHICH HE ADDED IS NOT SECRET AND WAS PRESSAGED BY THE GNA ACTION LAST WEEK (BUCHAREST 8537). THE AMBASSADOR THANKED ANDREI FOR THE PACKAGE AND SAID THAT HE WOULD TRANSMIT THE ENGLISH TEXT OF PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU'S LETTER IMMEDIATELY. THE FOLLOWING IS THE ENGLISH TEXT, PREPARED BY THE MFA, OF THE NOVEMBER 30, 1981 LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN.

3. BEGIN TEXT: DATE NOVEMBER 30, 1981. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

ON BEHALF OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA AND ON MY OWN BEHALF I AM SENDING TO YOU, AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THIS MESSAGE IN CONNECTION WITH THE BEGINNING IN GENEVA OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ON THE STOPPING OF THE DEPLOYMENT AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES FROM EUROPE.

THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE OTHER EUROPEAN PEOPLES ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION CREATED IN EUROPE, WHERE THE GREATEST MILITARY ARSENAL EVER KNOWN IN HISTORY INCLUDING BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAS BEEN ACCUMULATED.

THE PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES CANNOT BUT FURTHER AMPLIFY THE DANGER OF WAR AND TENSION ON THE CONTINENT THUS MAGNIFYING THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES CONCERN AND, AT THE SAME TIME, THEIR DETERMINATION TO INTERVENE WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH, IN ORDER TO CHECK THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR ARMA-

MENT ON THIS CONTINENT, FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE EXISTING POTENTIAL AND FOR FREEING EUROPE OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THE HUGE DEMONSTRATIONS AND ACTIONS BRINGING TOGETHER HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS PARTICIPANTS FROM THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INCLUDING ROMANIA, DEMONSTRATE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLES ON OUR CONTINENT, CONSCIOUS THAT THEY WILL BE THE VICTIMS OF A NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE, TO ACT WITH ALL THEIR FORCES TO REMOVE THE DANGER OF WAR, TO STOP THE ARMS RACE AND, FIRST OF ALL, THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ONE, TO ELIMINATE THE NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS OF ANY KIND FROM THIS REGION OF THE WORLD.

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES IN GENEVA ACQUIRE A PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE. DEBATING THESE ISSUES, THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA IN ITS SESSION OF NOVEMBER 28, THIS YEAR, HAS ENTRUSTED UPON ME THE TASK TO SEND THIS PERSONAL MESSAGE TO YOU, DEAR PRESIDENT REAGAN, CALLING UPON YOU TO DO EVERYTHING IN YOUR POWER, IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT, AS A RESULT OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS REGARDING THE CEASATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES FROM EUROPE.

I HAVE ALSO BEEN EMPOWERED BY THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO SEND A MESSAGE ON THE SAME ISSUE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, LEONID BREZHNEV. EQUALLY I HAVE BEEN EMPOWERED TO SEND MESSAGES TO THE HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES SIGNATORIES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT CALLING UPON THEM TO DO THEIR UTMOST FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, FOR A HALT TO NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS RACE IN EUROPE, FOR FREEING THE CONTINENT OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

ADIXED

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Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 08602 02 OF 02 021302Z
ACTION EUR-12

1251

BUCAR 08602 02 OF 02 021302Z

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1043

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 8602

AT THE SAME TIME, THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA ADOPTED A SIMILAR APPEAL ADDRESS-ED TO ALL PARLIAMENTS, GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, OF THE USA AND CANADA.

WE WELCOME THE BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA. THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE OTHER PEOPLES ARE EXPECTING THE NEGOCIATIONS TO AGREE, FROM THEIR VERY BEGINNING, ON A HALT, FOR THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATO DECISION TO DEPLOY IN EUROPE NEW INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES, IN THE INCREASING, BY BOTH SIDES, OF THE EXISTING ONES AND, THE SOVIET UNION, AS PRESIDENT L.I. BREZHNEV HAS STATED, TO UNILATERALLY REDUCE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF THE SAME KIND OF THEIR MISSILES DEPLOYED ON THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR TERRITORY.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS ENDING WITH AN AGREEMENT CONDUCIVE TO THE REDUCTION AT THE LOWEST LEVEL OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE, AS WELL AS TO MEASURES TO REMOVE ALL NUCLEAR ARMS, BE EITHER INTERMEDIATE-RANGE OR TACTICAL, SO THAT EUROPE WOULD BECOME A CONTINENT FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE I WOULD LIKE, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, TO APPEAL TO YOU, ON BEHALF OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, TO USE ALL YOUR AUTHORITY AS THE LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROGRESS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, TO THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE AND FRUITFUL COURSE, WITH THE VIEW OF THEIR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, SO THAT THEY MEET THE PEOPLES EXPECTATIONS AND BE REGISTERED AS A MAJOR EVENT WITH PROFOUND, POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL LIFE.

I THINK YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, THAT NOW, BEFORE THE MISSILES ENTER INTO ACTION, BEFORE NUCLEAR BOMBS ARE BEGINNING TO BE DROPPED ON THIS CONTINENT, NOW BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, WHEN WE ARE STILL ALIVE AND WE CAN ACT, WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING IN ORDER TO REDUCE AND ELIMINATE THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE, IN ORDER TO DEFEND THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT TO LIFE, FREEDOM AND PEACE.

THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE OTHER PEOPLES, HOPE THAT THE HEADS OF STATES AND, FIRST OF ALL, YOU AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, WILL ACT IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THE TWO GREAT NUCLEAR POWERS WILL NEVER USE THEIR NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, WILL RENOUNCE THEM, AND THE ATOM WILL BE USED ONLY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, IN THE INTEREST OF THE PROGRESS, THE WELFARE AND THE CIVILISATION OF MANKIND.

I AM AWARE OF THE NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES, OF MANY EXISTING COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS TO BE SOVED IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE, I KNOW THAT MANY WEAPONS AND MUCH DISTRUST HAVE BEEN ACCUMULATED, BUT THE CAUSE OF STOPPING THE ARMS RACE, OF REDUCING TENSION AND ARMAMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE NUCLEAR ONES, SHOULD PREVAIL ON EVERYTHING ELSE. IN THIS SPIRIT I CONSIDER THAT ALL THE EUROPEAN STATES SHOULD EXPRESS A SIMILAR APPEAL

CUPATION AND INTEREST IN THE SUCCESS OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, AND SHOULD PARTICIPATE, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, ROMANIA WILL FURTHER CO-OPERATE WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH THE OTHER STATES, FOR THE SUCCESS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND IS READY TO TAKE PART, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, TO THE QUEST FOR THE MOST JUDICIOUS WAYS LEADING TO UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION IN THE SERVICE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF PEOPLES ON OUR CONTINENT.

STARTING FROM THE MAJOR IMPORTANCE, THE CREATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF EUROPE OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, OF COOPERATION AND GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD, HAS FOR THE PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT, SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING ON THE CONTINENT, ROMANIA IS DETERMINED TO FURTHER DO EVERYTHING IN HER POWER TO DEVELOP HER GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL THE BALKAN STATES, TO TRANSFORM THE BALKANS INTO AN AREA OF PEACE AND COOPERATION, WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND WOULD WELCOME THE UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THIS DESIDERATUM OF THE BALKAN PEOPLES.

MAY I, IN CONCLUSION, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, CONVEY TO YOU CORDIAL GREETINGS AND MY BEST WISHES, AS WELL AS MY DESIRE TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS OF COOPERATION, IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST, TO THE BENEFIT OF THE CAUSE OF PEACE, COOPERATION AND INTERNATIONAL DETENTE.

SINCERELY,

(S) NICOLAE CEAUDESCU

END TEXT.

4. THE EMBASSY IS POUCHING TO EUR/EE ON DECEMBER 3, VIA CLASSIFIED POUCH A) THE ORIGINAL OF THE CEAUDESCU LETTER IN ROMANIAN, B) THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION, C) THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY APPEAL IN ROMANIAN, AND D) THE ENGLISH TEXT OF THE APPEAL PREPARED BY THE GOR. THE REGISTRY NUMBER IS 2395188.
FUNDERBURK

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

6944
6ACTION

December 24, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. NANCE

FROM: RICHARD PIPES/SVEN KRAEMER

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to the President of
Romania

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding a proposed response to President Ceausescu's letter of November 30 on INF. We have edited the text, which was prepared by the Department of State and cleared by the speechwriters, in order to have it conform with the President's INF proposal of November 18.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve End

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
A Proposed Response to President Ceausescu
B Incoming Letter of November 30



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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UNCLASSIFIED 7

December 22, 1981


81 DEC 22 PIO: 38

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JAMES W. NANCE
THE WHITE HOUSE

WHITE HOUSE
SITING ROOM

Subject: Letter from President Ceausescu of Romania

Enclosed is the original with translation of a letter from Romanian President Ceausescu to the President concerning INF missiles in Europe. Also enclosed is a proposed draft reply for the President to President Ceausescu.


L. Paul Bremer III
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Draft Reply to President Ceausescu.
2. Letter from President Ceausescu.

UNCLASSIFIED



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 4, 1981

8

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ALLEN LENZ
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Alerting NSC on Presidential
Correspondence

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Reagan from President Ceausescu of Romania which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat Information Management Section on December 4, 1981 at 1:43 p.m.

Charles L. Jackson Jr. for
Director, S/S-I
Information Management Section
Executive Secretariat
ext. 23836

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (2)

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
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187396 LETTER

2 1/29/1982 B1

RR TO CEAUSESCU

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

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

REFERRAL

DATE: 01 FEB 82

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 29 JAN 82

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

POLAND

HS

SUBJ: PRES RESPONSE TO CEAUSESCU RE MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

Cathy Milleson
FOR MICHAEL WHEELER

STAFF SECRETARY

FOR NSC USE ONLY

FOR INFO LENZ

CLEVELAND

F

O DM C CM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15/ 1/29/82

HW

MEMORANDUM

7462

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The President has seen _____

12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 29, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK *WPC* SIGNED

SUBJECT: Your Reply to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter (U)

At Tab A is a reply to Romanian President Ceausescu's December 26, 1981 letter (Tab B). The letter justifies the imposition of martial law in Poland and criticizes U.S. and Western economic measures taken in response to events in Poland. (C)

Ceausescu states that the actions of "extremist, irresponsible elements" in Poland gave the Polish Government no choice but to impose martial law in order to avoid civil war which could have led to "foreign intervention." He claims that our economic measures are creating difficulties for the Polish people and rendering more difficult the process of normalization in Poland. He says these measures are not justified since martial law is an "internal" Polish matter. He closes with a call for an improvement in the international climate and wishes you a happy new year. (C)

Your reply refutes Ceausescu's view of the Polish situation and explains why we imposed sanctions on Poland and the Soviet Union. (C)

The speechwriters have approved the reply to Ceausescu. (U)

RECOMMENDATION:

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

Approve *✓ RR* Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab A Ltr to Pres. Ceausescu

Tab B Ltr fr Pres. Ceausescu, Dec. 26, 1981

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review on 1/25/88

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY PW DATE 11/17/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

13

PAGE 01 OF 03 BUCHAREST 9169
SIT923

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1418

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 9169

EXDIS
CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)
E.O. 12065: RDS-4, 12/26/91 (FUNDERBURK, DAVID B.) OR-M
TAGS: PPDC, PEPR, PL, RO, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM ROMANIAN
PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU
REF: BUCHAREST 9168 (EXDIS)

- EXDIS
1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
 2. FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE LETTER ON POLAND FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO THE AMBASSADOR ON DECEMBER 25 (SEE BUCHAREST 9168 (EXDIS)).

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IN THE SPIRIT OF ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN US BY MEANS OF PERSONAL MESSAGES, I WISH ON THIS OCCASION TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO YOU IN CONNECTION WITH THE TENSIONS CREATED FOLLOWING THE EVENTS IN POLAND.

AS IS WELL KNOWN, ROMANIA HAS ALWAYS STATED THAT THE COMPLEX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
State Waiver 11/6/15
BY: *FW* JMW DATE 11/7/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 02 OF 03 BUCHAREST 9169

DTG: 261110Z DEC 81 PSN: 046820

AND GRAVE PROBLEM OF POLAND SHOULD BE SOLVED ONLY BY THE POLISH PEOPLE, BY INTERNAL SOCIAL-POLITICAL FORCES, WITHOUT ANY FOREIGN INTERFERENCE.

I DO NOT WISH NOW TO REFER TO THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE EVENTS IN POLAND, BUT, AS IS KNOWN, LATELY THINGS HAVE ARRIVED AT A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION, OWING TO THE ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS FORCES HOSTILE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIAL ORDER THAT HAVE ACTIVELY PROMOTED A POLICY OF INTERNAL CONFRONTATION, A FACT WHICH HAS CAUSED THE SETTING UP OF A STATE OF SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF APPROPRIATE MEASURES.

I HAVE NO INTENTION OF IN ANY WAY JUSTIFYING THESE MEASURES WHICH ARE, STRICTLY SPEAKING, THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND WHICH IT WOULD HAVE BEEN GOOD TO AVOID. IT IS HOWEVER KNOWN THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT DEVOTED A GREAT DEAL OF TIME TO EFFORTS FOR A DIALOGUE TO BRING ABOUT A NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, BUT THESE EFFORTS WERE NOT RECIPROCATED. THEY WERE INTERPRETED AS A WEAKNESS ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT AND WERE REJECTED BY EXTREMIST, IRRESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS WHO GAVE MORE VALUE TO THEIR OWN NARROW GROUP INTERESTS AS OPPOSED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COUNTRY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT SAW NO WAY OUT OTHER THAN THE ESTABLISHING OF A STATE OF SIEGE WHICH IT ITSELF CONSIDERS NOT AS A SOLUTION BUT AS THE LESSER EVIL IN THE EXISTING SITUATION.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT AT PRESENT THE ONLY PATH TOWARD A NORMALIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS THAT OF THE JOINT AND UNITED EFFORTS OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, THE RESPECT BY ALL CITIZENS OF THE CONSTITUTION AND STATE LAWS, THE DEEPENING OF THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIZATION, THE REALIZATION OF NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, AND THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF POLISH SOCIETY.

I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT VERY HARD POSITIONS HAVE BEEN ADOPTED BY THE U.S.A. AND BY OTHER WESTERN STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE INSTALLATION OF A STATE OF SIEGE IN POLAND; ALL TYPES OF INTERPRETATIONS ARE BEING GIVEN, PRESSURES ARE BEING EXERTED, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN ECONOMIC MEASURES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 03 OF 03 BUCHAREST 9169

DTG: 261110Z DEC 81 PSN: 046820

EXDIS

WHICH AFFECT POLISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS, CREATING NEW DIFFICULTIES FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE AND RENDERING MORE DIFFICULT THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION IN POLAND. ROMANIA CONSIDERS THAT NO SORT OF JUSTIFICATION CAN EXIST FOR THE ADOPTION OF THESE POSITIONS SINCE THE MEASURES TAKEN IN POLAND ARE THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF THE POLISH STATE AND ARE DIRECTED TOWARD THE RESTORATION OF ORDER AND THE CREATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE OF CALM AND DISCIPLINE, NORMALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY. AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER AND DISCIPLINE ARE PRECISELY WHAT WILL ASSURE THE CONDITIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL UNITY, AND FOR THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND.

EXDIS

I BELIEVE THAT ONE SHOULD START FROM THE NECESSITY THAT NO ONE SHOULD INTERVENE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE ALONE SHOULD RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS AND ONE SHOULD DEVELOP RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, OF NON INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE ALSO INSCRIBED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE.

EXDIS

IT IS KNOWN THAT IF THINGS HAD CONTINUED WITHOUT THE TAKING OF
BT

EXDIS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

16

PAGE 01 OF 03 BUCHAREST 9169
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 9169

EXDIS
CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)
EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES, VIOLENT CLASHES WOULD HAVE
RESULTED, MOVING TOWARD CIVIL WAR, WHICH COULD HAVE LEAD TO FOREIGN
INTERVENTION, SOMETHING WHICH WOULD HAVE CREATED A VERY GRAVE
SITUATION ON THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS.

EXDIS
THUS I BELIEVE THAT THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN BY THE POLISH
AUTHORITIES TO PUT AN END TO ECONOMIC DISORGANIZATION AND CHAOS IN
SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE, TO REESTABLISH ORDER AND TO AVOID AN INTER-
VENTION FROM OUTSIDE ARE TEMPORARY AND THAT EVERYTHING VPST BE DONE
TO RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO NORMAL ACTIVITY, THUS CREATING THE
CONDITIONS FOR THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S LIFE
AND ACTIVITIES, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

EXDIS
IN THESE CURCUMSTANCES, ANY BOYCOTT MEASURE CAN ONLY LEAD TO THE
CREATION OF NEW DIFFICULTIES, THE SLOWING OF THE TEMPO OF RESTOR-
ATION OF NORMAL LIFE, OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND OF A RESUMPT-
ION OF DIALOGUE AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S
NATIONAL UNITY.

I BELIEVE THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND IN
THE INTEREST OF THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND PEACE TO AVOID THE ADOPT-
TION OF MEASURES WHICH WILL WORSEN TENSIONS AND INSTEAD TO LEAVE THE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

18

PAGE 02 OF 03 BUCHAREST 9169

DTG: 261110Z DEC 81 PSN: 046818

EXDIS
PROBLEMS OF POLAND TO BE SOLVED BY THE POLISH PEOPLE, TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RAPID RESTORATION OF THE SITUATION, NOT THROUGH BOYCOTT MEASURES, BUT BY GIVING ASSISTANCE TOWARD THE SWIFT RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS AND THE NORMALIZATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

I BELIEVE THAT THE EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE TO BE PREFERRED TO THE PERSPECTIVE OF A CIVIL WAR WHICH COULD LEAD TO ARMED INTERVENTION FROM OUTSIDE.

EXDIS
ROMANIA CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY PATH IS FOR THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND PEOPLE TO BE LEFT TO RESOLVE THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS THROUGH WHICH THEIR COUNTRY IS PASSING; TO REACH A STATE OF NORMALIZATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, THE RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE, PROGRESS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, FOR THE INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND AND FOR NATIONAL UNITY.

EXDIS
I BELIEVE THAT THE FRIENDS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL DO WELL TO ACT IN THIS WAY; A WAY WHICH WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, OF THE POLICY OF PEACE AND DETENTE, AND OF THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

EXDIS
AS FOR ROMANIA, STARTING FROM RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF POLAND, OUR COUNTRY WILL CONTINUE TO ACT TO HELP THE POLISH PEOPLE TO OVERCOME THEIR PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND WILL DO EVERYTHING TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS MADE TO RESTORE AND NORMALIZE THE SITUATION IN POLAND.

EXDIS
EVEN IF THERE ARE DIFFERENT OPINIONS REGARDING THE MEASURES ADOPTED IN POLAND, AND IT CANNOT BE EXPECTED THAT THE USA OR OTHER STATES APPROVE THESE MEASURES, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT NOT TO DO ANYTHING WHICH WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES ON THE PATH OF RESTORATION OF CALM AND ORDER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPORTANT ROLE WHICH POLAND HAS AND CAN HAVE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE, AND CONSIDERING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION. I BELIEVE THAT SUCH A WAY OF UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS WOULD SUIT THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF POLAND AND THE POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

IN CLOSING, I EXPRESS ROMANIA'S WISH TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR PEACE, DISARMAMENT, DETENTE AND

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

17

PAGE 03 OF 03 BUCHAREST 9169

DTG: 261110Z DEC 81 PSN: 046818

EXDIS

SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD AND FOR THE REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS; SO THAT THE DIFFERING POSITIONS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH APPEAR ON THE WORLD SCENE WILL NOT CONSTITUTE A SOURCE OF STRAIN, OF AGGRAVATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND OF ESCALATION OF SUSPICION, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, SO THAT THE EFFORTS OF ALL COUNTRIES MAY BE INTENSIFIED TOWARD SOLVING THEIR OWN PROBLEMS BY POLITICAL MEANS, TOWARD AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE, TOWARD SECURITY, INDEPENDENCE AND THE PROGRESS OF ALL NATIONS.

EXDIS

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW YEAR, I WANT TO USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND TO YOU WARM GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS, HEALTH AND PERSONAL HAPPINESS, AND TO OUR FRIENDS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUCH PROSPERITY AND PEACE,

SINCERELY,

NICOLAE CEAUDESCU

EXDIS

END TEXT.
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19

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

January 22, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: WILLIAM L. STEARMAN *WLS*

SUBJECT: President's Reply to Romanian President
Ceaurescu's Letter (U)

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President with a reply (Tab A) to Romanian President Ceaurescu's December 26, 1981 letter (Tab B) to the President on Poland. The Ceaurescu letter justifies martial law in Poland and criticizes U.S. and Western economic measures taken in response. (C)

Ceaurescu no doubt wrote this letter to prove that he can be a team player as a Warsaw Pact member. He has also been very concerned about the impact of pre-martial law liberalization in Poland on his own troubled country and probably welcomed martial law; nevertheless, it was certainly ill-advised of him to be condoning martial law and criticizing us at a time when Romania is badly in need of U.S. credits. (C)

The President is getting this reply so late because State just sent us the draft reply upon which the reply at Tab A is based. (C)

The speechwriters have approved the reply to Ceaurescu. (U)

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
A Pres Ltr to Ceaurescu
B Ceaurescu's Ltr to Pres, Dec 26, 81

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review on
January 22, 1982

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/18
BY *RW* DATE 11/7/17



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - EXDIS
Attachment

January 20, 1982 02 11 11 11 11

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Presidential Response to Romanian
President Ceausescu

Attached is the original Romanian and Embassy translation of a letter from President Ceausescu of Romania on the issue of the imposition of martial law in Poland. Also attached is a proposed draft response from President Reagan to President Ceausescu.

L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachments:
As stated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~- EXDIS - Attachment

A... State Unives 11/6/15
BY RW 1/17/17

CONFIDENTIAL
Department of State

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 09169 01 OF 02 280837Z
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 9169

EXDIS.

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

E.O. 12065: RDS-4, 12/26/91 (FUNDERBURK, DAVID B.) OR-M
TAGS: PPDC, PEPR, PL, RO, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM ROMANIAN
PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU

REF: BUCHAREST 9168 (EXDIS)

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT
OF THE LETTER ON POLAND FROM PRESIDENT CEAUDESCU TO PRESIDENT
REAGAN WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO THE AMBASSADOR ON DECEMBER 25
(SEE BUCHAREST 9168 (EXDIS)).

BEGIN TEXT OF CEAUDESCU MESSAGE:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

IN THE SPIRIT OF ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND OF THE EXCHANGE
OF VIEWS BETWEEN US BY MEANS OF PERSONAL MESSAGES, I WISH ON
THIS OCCASION TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO YOU IN CONNECTION WITH THE
TENSIONS CREATED FOLLOWING THE EVENTS IN POLAND.

AS IS WELL KNOWN, ROMANIA HAS ALWAYS STATED THAT THE COMPLEX
AND GRAVE PROBLEM OF POLAND SHOULD BE SOLVED ONLY BY THE POLISH
PEOPLE, BY INTERNAL SOCIAL-POLITICAL FORCES, WITHOUT ANY FOREIGN
INTERFERENCE.

I DO NOT WISH NOW TO REFER TO THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE BROUGHT
ABOUT THE EVENTS IN POLAND, BUT, AS IS KNOWN, LATELY THINGS
HAVE ARRIVED AT A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION, OWING TO THE
ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS FORCES HOSTILE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE
SOCIAL ORDER THAT HAVE ACTIVELY PROMOTED A POLICY OF INTERNAL
CONFRONTATION, A FACT WHICH HAS CAUSED THE SETTING UP OF A
STATE OF SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF APPROPRIATE MEASURES.

I HAVE NO INTENTION OF IN ANY WAY JUSTIFYING THESE MEASURES
WHICH ARE, STRICTLY SPEAKING, THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND WHICH IT WOULD HAVE BEEN GOOD TO AVOID.
IT IS HOWEVER KNOWN THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT DEVOTED A GREAT
DEAL OF TIME TO EFFORTS FOR A DIALOGUE TO BRING ABOUT A NATIONAL
UNDERSTANDING, BUT THESE EFFORTS WERE NOT RECIPROCATED. THEY
WERE INTERPRETED AS A WEAKNESS ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT AND
WERE REJECTED BY EXTREMIST, IRRESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS WHO GAVE
MORE VALUE TO THEIR OWN NARROW GROUP INTERESTS AS OPPOSED TO THE
INTERESTS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND
SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COUNTRY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE POLISH
GOVERNMENT SAW NO WAY OUT OTHER THAN THE ESTABLISHING OF A STATE OF
SIEGE WHICH IT ITSELF CONSIDERS NOT AS A SOLUTION BUT AS THE LESSER
EVIL IN THE EXISTING SITUATION.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT AT PRESENT THE ONLY PATH TOWARD A NORMAL-
IZATION OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS THAT OF THE JOINT AND UNITED
EFFORTS OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, THE RESPECT BY ALL CITIZENS OF THE
CONSTITUTION AND STATE LAWS, THE DEEPENING OF THE PROCESS OF
SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIZATION, THE REALIZATION OF NATIONAL UNDER-
STANDING, AND THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF
POLISH SOCIETY.

I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT VERY HARD

POSITIONS HAVE BEEN ADOPTED BY THE U.S.A. AND BY OTHER WESTERN
STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE INSTALLATION OF A STATE OF SIEGE IN
POLAND; ALL TYPES OF INTERPRETATIONS ARE BEING GIVEN, PRESSURES ARE
BEING EXERTED, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN ECONOMIC MEASURES
WHICH AFFECT POLISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS, CREATING NEW DIFFICULTIES
FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE AND RENDERING MORE DIFFICULT THE PROCESS
OF NORMALIZATION IN POLAND. ROMANIA CONSIDERS THAT NO SORT OF
JUSTIFICATION CAN EXIST FOR THE ADOPTION OF THESE POSITIONS SINCE
THE MEASURES TAKEN IN POLAND ARE THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF THE POLISH
STATE AND ARE DIRECTED TOWARD THE RESTORATION OF ORDER AND THE
CREATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE OF CALM AND DISCIPLINE, NORMALIZATION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE AND THE STRENGTHENING
OF THE COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY. AND THE REESTABLISH-
MENT OF ORDER AND DISCIPLINE ARE PRECISELY WHAT WILL ASSURE THE
CONDITIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL UNITY, AND FOR THE DEMOCRAT-
IC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND.

I BELIEVE THAT ONE SHOULD START FROM THE NECESSITY THAT NO ONE
SHOULD INTERVENE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THAT THE POLISH
PEOPLE ALONE SHOULD RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS AND ONE SHOULD DEVELOP
RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY OF RIGHTS,
RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, OF NON INTERFER-
ENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE ALSO INSCRIBED IN
THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE.

IT IS KNOWN THAT IF THINGS HAD CONTINUED WITHOUT THE TAKING OF

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BY BW 11/7/17

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 09169 02 OF 02 280839Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1419

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 9169

EXDIS.

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (T E X T)

EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES, VIOLENT CLASHES WOULD HAVE RESULTED, MOVING TOWARD CIVIL WAR, WHICH COULD HAVE LEAD TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION, SOMETHING WHICH WOULD HAVE CREATED A VERY GRAVE SITUATION ON THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS.

THUS I BELIEVE THAT THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO PUT AN END TO ECONOMIC DISORGANIZATION AND CHAOS IN SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE, TO REESTABLISH ORDER AND TO AVOID AN INTERVENTION FROM OUTSIDE ARE TEMPORARY AND THAT EVERYTHING VPST BE DONE TO RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO NORMAL ACTIVITY, THUS CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S LIFE AND ACTIVITIES, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

IN THESE CURCUMSTANCES, ANY BOYCOTT MEASURE CAN ONLY LEAD TO THE CREATION OF NEW DIFFICULTIES, THE SLOWING OF THE TEMPO OF RESTORATION OF NORMAL LIFE, OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND OF A RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S NATIONAL UNITY.

I BELIEVE THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLICY OF OETENTE AND PEACE TO AVOID THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES WHICH WILL WORSEN TENSIONS AND INSTEAD TO LEAVE THE PROBLEMS OF POLAND TO BE SOLVED BY THE POLISH PEOPLE; TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RAPID RESTORATION OF THE SITUATION, NOT THROUGH BOYCOTT MEASURES, BUT BY GIVING ASSISTANCE TOWARD THE SWIFT RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS AND THE MAORMALIZATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

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ROMANIA CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY PATH IS FOR THE POLISH AUTHORITIES AND PEOPLE TO BE LEFT TO RESOLVE THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS THROUGH WHICH THEIR COUNTRY IS PASSING; TO REACH A STATE OF NORMALIZATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, THE RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE, PROGRESS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, FOR THE INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND AND FOR NATIONAL UNITY.

I BELIEVE THAT THE FRIENDS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL DO WELL TO ACT IN THIS WAY; A WAY WHICH WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, OF THE POLICY OF PEACE AND DETENTE, AND OF THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

AS FOR ROMANIA, STARTING FROM RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF POLAND, OUR COUNTRY WILL CONTINUE TO ACT TO HELP THE POLISH PEOPLE TO OVERCOME THEIR PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND WILL DO EVERYTHING TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS MADE TO RESTORE AND NORMALIZE THE SITUATION IN POLAND.

EVEN IF THERE ARE DIFFERENT OPINIONS REGARDING THE MEASURES ADOPTED IN POLAND, AND IT CANNOT BE EXPECTED THAT THE USA OR OTHER STATES APPROVE THESE MEASURES, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT NOT TO DO ANYTHING WHICH WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES ON THE PATH OF RESTORATION OF CALM AND ORDER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPORTANT ROLE WHICH POLAND HAS AND CAN HAVE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE, AND CONSIDERING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION. I BELIEVE THAT SUCH A WAY OF UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS WOULD SUIT THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF POLAND AND THE POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

IN CLOSING, I EXPRESS ROMANIA'S WISH TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR PEACE, DISARMAMENT, DETENTE AND

SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD AND FOR THE REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS; SO THAT THE DIFFERING POSITIONS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH APPEAR ON THE WORLD SCENE WILL NOT CONSTITUTE A SOURCE OF STRAIN, OF AGGRAVATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND OF ESCALATION OF SUSPICION, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, SO THAT THE EFFORTS OF ALL COUNTRIES MAY BE INTENSIFIED TOWARD SOLVING THEIR OWN PROBLEMS BY POLITICAL MEANS, TOWARD AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE, TOWARD SECURITY, INDEPENDENCE AND THE PROGRESS OF ALL NATIONS.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW YEAR, I WANT TO USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND TO YOU WARM GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS, HEALTH AND PERSONAL HAPPINESS, AND TO OUR FRIENDS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUCH PROSPERITY AND PEACE,

SINCERELY,

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

END TEXT.
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187398	MEMO PAUL BREMER TO JAMES NANCE RE. LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO RR	1	12/30/1981	B1

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
187399	LETTER PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN]	5	12/26/1981	B1

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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21 27 31 36

JANET COLSON _____

BUD NANCE _____

DICK ALLEN _____

IRENE DERUS _____

JANET COLSON _____

BUD NANCE _____

PETER _____

CY TO VP _____

CY TO MEESE _____

CY TO BAKER _____

CY TO DEEVER _____

CY TO BRADY _____

Comments:

To staff for
action
JW?

SHOW CC _____

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SHOW CC _____

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

OK AB Jan 82
January 22, 1982

TO: ARAM BAKSHIAN, JR.

FROM: WILLIAM STEARMAN

Attached is a proposed Presidential
letter to Romanian President
Ceaurescu for your clearance.

Please call 6923 when cleared.

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187400	DRAFT LETTER RR TO CEAUSESCU	4	ND	B1

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

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National Security Council
The White House

Package #

7462

02 23 P 5: 04

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____

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CY To Meese	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Baker	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Deaver	_____	Show CC	_____

Other _____

COMMENTS

National Security Council
The White House

36

Package # 7462

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>m</u>	
Jacque Hill	<u>3</u>	<u>20</u>	
Judge Clark	<u>4</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter	<u>5</u>	<u>96</u>	
Staff Secretary	<u>6</u>		
Sit Room			

I-Information A-Action

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187401	PAPER RE. ROMANIA [PG. 3 ONLY]	1	ND	B1

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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B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

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ROMANIA

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Pres. Ceausescu's

ID 8204386

Letter to

Pres. Reagan)

RECEIVED 23 JUN 82 17

TO PRESIDENT

FROM CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

DOCDATE 20 JUN 82

BREMER

23 JUN 82

38

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

HS

MIDDLE EAST

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES RE HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST

ACTION: PENDING STATE DRAFT

DUE: 30 JUN 82 STATUS D FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 23, 1982

4386

39

W CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS ATTACHMENT

1/17/17

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Michael O. Wheeler
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Alerting NSC on Presidential
Correspondence

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Reagan
from President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania
which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat
Information Management Section on June 22 at 8:32 p.m.

Charles L. Jackson Jr. for
Director, S/S-I
Information Management Section
Executive Secretariat
ext. 23836

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

BUCHAR 04531 201027Z

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Authority State Waiver 11/16/15
BY RW NARA DATE 1/17/17

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ROMANIA

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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PAGE 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 5085 DTG: 091139Z JUL 82 PSN: 053584
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUCHAREST 5085

EXDIS
E.O. 12065: RDS-4 7/9/02 (FUNDERBURK, DAVID B) OR-M
TAGS: PPDS, PEPR, LE, RO
SUBJECT: MESSAGE ABOUT LEBANON FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU
TO PRESIDENT REAGAN
REF: BUCHAREST 4531

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI CALLED ME TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT 11:45 A.M. ON JULY 9 TO DELIVER ORALLY A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN CONCERNING A MESSAGE FROM PLO LEADER ARAFAT TO CEAUSESCU ABOUT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON.

3. ANDREI SAID THAT CEAUSESCU HAD SPOKEN A SHORT TIME BEFORE WITH ARAFAT. ARAFAT ASKED CEAUSESCU TO APPEAL TO PRESIDENT REAGAN TO GET ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS 7-8 KILOMETERS (FROM WHERE THEY ARE), AND REPLACE ISRAELI TROOPS WITH AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE.

ARAFAT AID THE PALESTINIANS ARE READY TO GIVE UP THEIR HEAVY EQUIPMENT TO THE LEBANESE ARMY, BUT DO NOT TRUST ISRAEL NOT TO ATTACK AGAIN. THE SURRENDER OF BEIRUT WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN LEBANON. THE CONTINUATION OF THE CEASE FIRE AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS 7-8 KILOMETERS WOULD PROVIDE THE ALTERNATIVE TO A MILITARY SOLUTION - A DISASTER.

4. ARAFAT SAID THAT PALESTINIANS FAVOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE LEBANON CRISES AND THAT THEY WOULD OBSERVE ALL AGREEMENTS REACHED. PALESTINIANS ARE READY TO ACT IN ORDER TO ATTAIN A TOTAL GLOBAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT (LONG RANGE).

5. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU CONSIDERS THAT IT WOULD BE WELL FOR ISRAEL TO MAKE A GESTURE, TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR DISARMAMENT, SO THE PALESTINIANS CAN GIVE UP HEAVY ARMS AND REACH A WIDE-RANGING AGREEMENT. HE ALSO CONSIDERS THAT THE SITUATION SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FUTURE, NOT ONLY PRESENT, CONCERNS IN THE AREA.

PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE U. S. KNOW THAT ROMANIA HAS LONG STOOD FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, AND WILL RECALL THE OPENING OF THE SADAT-BEGIN DIALOGUE.

6. ON THIS BASIS, CEAUSESCU APPEALS TO REAGAN TO ACT TO AVOID ANY MORE BLOODSHED, ANY NEW MILITARY OPERATIONS IN WEST BEIRUT AND TO DISCOURAGE THOSE CIRCLES WANTING FORCE AND A MILITARY SOLUTION.

IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH

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BY RWS
DATE 11/19/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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PAGE 02 OF 02 - BUCHAREST 5085

DTG: 091139Z JUL 82 PSN: 053584

ARAFAT, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE MODERATE FORCES IN
THE PLO.

ANY REJECTION OF ARAFAT'S PROPOSAL WOULD ENCOURAGE
EXTREMIST/RADICAL ELEMENTS.

7. ANDREI SAID THAT PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU CONCLUDED HIS
MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN BY SAYING THAT "IN THE
SPIRIT OF U. S. -ROMANIAN RELATIONS AND EARLIER
COLLABORATION IN MIDDLE EAST MATTERS, I APPEAL TO YOU
TO SEEK SUCH A SOLUTION."

8. ANDREI ALSO SAID THAT A SIMILAR CEAUSESCU MESSAGE
HAD BEEN PASSED TO BEGIN ONE HOUR EARLIER. CEAUSESCU
HAD WISHED TO DO IT SIMULTANEOUSLY BUT I WAS ABOUT ONE
HOUR AWAY FROM THE MFA WHEN I WAS CONTACTED.
FUNDERBURK
BT

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Romania

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 8336 DTG: 170307Z JUL 82 PSN: 007787
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EXDIS
E. O. 12065: RDS - 3 07/15/02 (LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER)
TAGS: OGEN, RO, US
SUBJ: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU
ON MFN RENEWAL S/S NO. 8220484

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. EMBASSY SHOULD DELIVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU ON THE ISSUE OF MFN RENEWAL FOR ROMANIA. ORIGINAL LETTER, DATED JULY 14, WILL BE POUCHED TO THE POST FOR DELIVERY. TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE IS CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL.

3. BEGIN TEXT QUOTE:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU ARE AWARE, MOST FAVORED NATION (MFN) STATUS RENEWAL FOR ROMANIA WILL SOON BE CONSIDERED BY THE U. S. CONGRESS. I AM REQUIRED BY LAW TO PROVIDE CONGRESS WITH A DETERMINATION WHETHER SUCH STATUS IS TO BE RENEWED. AFTER CAREFULLY REVIEWING THIS ISSUE, I RECOMMENDED MFN RENEWAL FOR ROMANIA IN 1982. MY DECISION WAS PREDICATED ON THE LEVEL OF ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1981, ON THE GOOD POLITICAL RELATIONS AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AND MY DEEP RESPECT FOR ROMANIA'S PURSUIT OF AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY.

DESPITE THESE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS, HOWEVER, I AM GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT CERTAIN ISSUES WHICH HAVE BECOME SERIOUS IRRITANTS IN U. S. - ROMANIAN RELATIONS -- ROMANIA'S POLICY TOWARD EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL AND THE TREATMENT OF MEMBERS OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS, PARTICULARLY PENTECOSTALS AND BAPTISTS, WHO HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO HARSH FINES AND LONG PERIODS OF IMPRISONMENT FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.

SINCE THE EXTENSION OF MFN STATUS TO ROMANIA, THE LEVEL OF JEWISH EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL HAS DECLINED BY SOME 50 PERCENT. FURTHERMORE, NOTWITHSTANDING THE 1979 UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN-JEWISH LEADERS AND THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT, CONSIDERABLE DELAYS IN THE RESOLUTION OF JEWISH EMIGRATION CASES CONTINUE TO OCCUR, RESULTING IN A PERIODIC BACKLOG NUMBERING INTO THE HUNDREDS OF CASES.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 8336

DTG: 170307Z JUL 82 PSN: 007787

IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS, I HAVE RECEIVED NUMEROUS REPORTS OF ROMANIAN CHRISTIANS BEING ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH CRIMINAL OFFENSES BECAUSE THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO DISTRIBUTE BIBLES TO FELLOW BELIEVERS AND TO HAVE CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WEST.

THESE INCIDENTS HAVE STIRRED A STRONG PUBLIC REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES. I HAVE RECEIVED LETTERS OF CONCERN FROM SOME AMERICAN-JEWISH LEADERS AND FROM A LARGE NUMBER OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SUCH AS SENATORS MOYNIHAN, HELMS AND JEPSEN, AND CONGRESSMEN SOLARZ AND DORNAN. GIVEN THE EXISTING PUBLIC SENTIMENT, I EXPECT THAT, UNLESS THERE IS A MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN ROMANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES, PARTICULARLY AS THEY AFFECT RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS, AND EMIGRATION POLICIES FOR THOSE DESIRING TO GO TO ISRAEL, MFN RENEWAL FOR ROMANIA IN 1983 IS LIKELY TO PROVOKE AN EVEN SHARPER DEBATE. YOUR PERSONAL INTERVENTION ON THIS MATTER, I AM CONFIDENT, WOULD HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT AND PRECLUDE SUCH AN UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENT.

BEST WISHES.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED) RONALD REAGAN

HIS EXCELLENCY
NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
BUCHAREST
SHULTZ

BT

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187406	LETTER RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	8/23/1982	B1

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

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B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

47

Date: 8/24/82

MEMORANDUM FOR: State Secretariat

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: Ceausescu, Nicolae

From: President

Date: 8/23/82

Subject: Thank-you for re. crisis in Lebanon & Visit in Middle East

ACTION REQUESTED:

_____ Draft reply for: _____

_____ Pres signature

_____ White House Staff

_____ Other _____

_____ Direct reply

_____ Furnish info copy

X _____ Dispatch

_____ Recommendations/Comments

_____ Appropriate handling

_____ Information (FYI: ONLY)

_____ Translation

_____ Other _____

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

Michael E. Norton

FOR MICHAEL O. WHEELER
STAFF SECRETARY

23 Aug 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

Actions completed on 21 Aug 1982 per
Jacque Hill by Judge Clark in Calif

Log #

5166	WPC signed: William Clark Jacque will mail fm S.B.
5824	WPC signed: Bill Jacque will mail fm S.B.
5752	WPC signed memo to Meese, Stockman, Baker & Deaver.
4386	Per WPC: "To be signed by Sara"

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 17, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *h*

SUBJECT: President's Response to Letter from Ceausescu

For reasons with which I am not familiar, State sent us only on August 10 its draft response to Romanian President Ceausescu's letter to the President, dated June 19. I have made some small changes in it. The response is late but we do owe the Romanian President an answer. The outgoing text at Tab A has been cleared by Speechwriters. A memorandum to the President is at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Per WC, "to be signed by Sara"

Attachments:

Tab I	Memorandum to the President
Tab A	Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu
Tab B	Incoming letter of June 19

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006
BY NARA *FW*, DATE *11/11/17*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONCONFIDENTIALACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Response to June 19 Letter from Romanian President

Attached for your signature at Tab A is a letter to President Ceausescu of Romania responding to his letter of June 19. Although this response is late, I believe a reply is in order.

RECOMMENDATIONOK No

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

Attachment:

Tab A Letter to Romanian President
Tab B Incoming letter of June 19

Prepared by:
Richard Pipes

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Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 13526 as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006
BY NARA RW, DATE 11/21/17

Department of State

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 6/20/02 (FRY, SAMUEL E.) OR-M
TAGS: PPDC, PEPR, LE, RO
SUBJECT: MESSAGE ABOUT LEBANON FROM PRESIDENT CEASESCU TO
PRESIDENT REAGAN

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI CALLED CHARGE TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT 9:15 P.M. ON JUNE 19 TO DELIVER ORALLY A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CEASESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. ANDREI SPOKE IN ROMANIAN FROM A HANDWRITTEN TEXT WHILE AN MFA AIDE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH. THE TEXT OF THE MESSAGE WHICH FOLLOWS IS, THEREFORE, BASED ON THAT TRANSLATION. ANDREI DID NOT SHOW THE HANDWRITTEN TEXT TO CHARGE.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF CEASESCU MESSAGE: TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE FRUITFUL PRACTICE OF EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES AND THOUGHTS BETWEEN US, I WOULD LIKE ON MY RETURN AFTER MY VISIT TO IRAQ AND JORDAN TO PRESENT MY OPINIONS, IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING THE GRAVE SITUATION IN LEBANON AS A CONSEQUENCE OF MILITARY ACTIONS BY ISRAEL. DURING THE CONVERSATIONS I HAD IN IRAQ AND JORDAN, I OBSERVED A GREAT CONCERN AND PRE-OCCUPATION, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE GRAVE SITUATION CREATED IN LEBANON.

IN THIS SITUATION I CONSIDER THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO DO NOTHING TO HUMILIATE THE SYRIANS OR PALESTINIANS BECAUSE SUCH ACTION COULD CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE WHICH COULD COMPLICATE THE SITUATION TO A DEGREE DIFFICULT TO FORESEE AND COULD PRODUCE A STRONG REACTION BY THE PALESTINIANS AND ARABS IN GENERAL WHICH WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO CONTROL AND COULD HAVE VERY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ISRAEL AND FOR PEACE IN THE WHOLE AREA.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN BRINGING ABOUT PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES WITH ISRAEL, I APPEAL TO YOU TO ASK ISRAEL TO CEASE ITS MILITARY ACTIONS AND WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM LEBANON.

I CONSIDER THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND TO ACT FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION THROUGH NEGOTIATION OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING ENTERING INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO.

AS IS KNOWN, THERE ARE PALESTINIANS NOT ONLY IN LEBANON BUT IN OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES AS WELL, PARTICULARLY IN THE PERSIAN GULF STATES WHERE THEY HOLD AN IMPORTANT ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL POSITION. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO USE THIS POSITION TO RESPOND VERY HARSHLY, WHICH COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES.

PROCEEDING FROM A DESIRE NOT TO COMPLICATE PROBLEMS IN AN AREA THAT ALREADY HAS IN IT SOURCES OF CONFRONTATION AND WAR, I EXPRESS MY CONFIDENCE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR PRESTIGE, AUTHORITY, YOUR SPIRIT OF MODERATION AND UNDERSTANDING IN THE INTEREST OF A HUMANITARIAN SOLUTION, IN ORDER NOT TO HUMILIATE A PEOPLE, AND TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL LEAD TO A FINAL SOLUTION IN ORDER TO ASSURE CALM, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, THE EXISTENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ISRAEL, AND THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN STATE.

I ADDRESS YOU, PROCEEDING FROM A DESIRE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE THE PEACE PROCESS BEGUN WITH THE PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

IN CONCLUSION, I SEND TO YOU MY WARM GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES WITH CONFIDENCE THAT WE WILL WORK TOGETHER ALSO IN THE FUTURE FOR A POLICY OF PEACE, COLLABORATION AND RESPECT FOR THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF ALL PEOPLES. END TEXT OF CEASESCU MESSAGE.

ENCE OF ALL PEOPLES. END TEXT OF CEASESCU MESSAGE.

4. PRESIDENT CEASESCU'S MESSAGE OF JUNE 9 TO PRESIDENT REAGAN EXPRESSING HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON WAS FOLLOWED BY A VISIT TO IRAQ ON JUNE 16-17 AND JORDAN ON JUNE 18-19. AT THE MEETING REPORTED ABOVE, ANDREI TOLD THE CHARGE THAT CEASESCU'S VISIT WAS "FRUITFUL" AND WENT AS HE HAD HOPED. CHARGE NOTICED UPON DEPARTING FROM THE MFA THAT THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN SUMMONED AND WAS APPARENTLY NEXT IN LINE TO RECEIVE A MESSAGE. ANDREI DEPARTS FOR NEW YORK ON JUNE 21 TO ADDRESS THE SSOD-11. HE TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON FOR A MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY ON JUNE 24. HE HAS REQUESTED AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT.

5. WE BELIEVE THIS MESSAGE IS A SOLO EFFORT BY THE ROMANIAN PRESIDENT. ANDREI DID NOT IMPLY ANY CONNECTION WITH ANYTHING THAT THE IRAQI OR JORDANIAN HOSTS MIGHT HAVE REQUESTED CEASESCU TO PASS ON. IN SUM, IT MOST LIKELY REPRESENTS HIS PERSONAL VIEWS AND ASSESSMENT AND IS PROBABLY IN HIS OWN WORDS.

FRY

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BY EW DATE 11/19/17

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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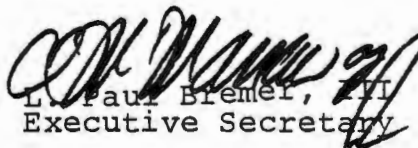
CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Letter From the President to President Ceausescu

The President received a letter, dated June 19, from President Ceausescu of Romania.

Attached is a draft response for the President's signature.


L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS

DECL:OADR

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Dept. of State
BY RW DATE July 21, 1997
1000, DATE 11/9/17

Revised by MP
17 August 82

53

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message of June 19 on the crisis in Lebanon. I appreciate your thoughtful ~~and candid~~ expression^{3/} of concern, following your recent discussions in Iraq and Jordan.

The United States remains fully committed to the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Accordingly, we see three basic goals: the creation of conditions for the restoration of a stable Lebanese government and unified Lebanese army; the removal of all ~~armed forces of all the foreign powers & movements are~~ ~~foreign military forces - Syrian, Israeli, and the armed PLO -~~ ^{from Lebanon} and a secure Lebanese-Israeli border, one which ^{provide} ~~will help assure protection for~~ ^{with protection} Israel against attack from Lebanese territory. To this end, Ambassador Philip Habib has engaged in intense negotiations throughout the crisis.

We are deeply concerned by the tragic human and material losses the ^{current} hostilities have inflicted upon the civilian population in Lebanon. The United States has made \$15 million available for emergency assistance such as food, medicines, medical care, clothing, and shelter. In addition, the President ^{has} approved Congressional authorization of \$50 million for the ~~critical~~ major relief and rehabilitation needs of individuals affected by the conflict. In this effort we are cooperating with the Government of Lebanon and with a variety of international and private voluntary organizations, such as the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

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BY RW NARA DATE 11/11/17

The tragic situation in Lebanon is part of the larger
^{in the region,}
~~Arab-Israeli conflict,~~ ^{need} If there is to be a just and durable ^{in this part}
^{of the} Middle East ~~peace~~ the conflict's underlying causes must be
addressed. The United States remains committed to the Camp
David framework as the ^{sole} ~~only~~ existing workable basis for a
negotiated solution to the conflict. This framework, which
calls for Palestinian participation, seeks a resolution which
~~ensures the security of Israel and acknowledges~~
~~both recognizes~~ the legitimate rights ~~and just requirements~~ of
the Palestinian people, ~~and ensures the security of Israel.~~ We
are working with ^{Israel and} Egypt ~~and Israel~~ to ^{carry out} ~~fulfill~~ the next stage of
the Camp David peace process: the ^{introduction} ~~establishment~~ of ~~state~~
autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.

We will be devoting great attention and energy to these ~~and~~
~~related issues,~~ ^{and hope for a successful outcome.}
~~and will be directing our efforts at all~~
~~concerned parties~~

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message of June 19 on the crisis in Lebanon. I appreciate your thoughtful and candid expression of concern, following your recent discussions in Iraq and Jordan.

The United States remains fully committed to the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Accordingly, we see three basic goals: the creation of conditions for the restoration of a stable Lebanese government and unified Lebanese army; the removal of all foreign military forces - Syrian, Israeli, and the armed PLO - from Lebanon; and a secure Lebanese-Israeli border, one which will help assure protection for Israel against attack from Lebanese territory. To this end, Ambassador Philip Habib has engaged in intense negotiations throughout the crisis.

We are deeply concerned by the tragic human and material losses the hostilities have inflicted upon the civilian population in Lebanon. The United States has made \$15 million available for emergency assistance such as food, medicines, medical care, clothing, and shelter. In addition, the President approved Congressional authorization of \$50 million for the critical major relief and rehabilitation needs of individuals affected by the conflict. In this effort we are cooperating with the Government of Lebanon and with a variety of international and private voluntary organizations, such as the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

State Waiver 11/6/5
R.W. 11/9/71

The tragic situation in Lebanon is part of the larger Arab-Israeli conflict. If there is to be a just and durable Middle East peace the conflict's underlying causes must be addressed. The United States remains committed to the Camp David framework as the only existing workable basis for a negotiated solution to the conflict. This framework, which calls for Palestinian participation, seeks a resolution which both recognizes the legitimate rights and just requirements of the Palestinian people and ensures the security of Israel. We are working with Egypt and Israel to fulfill the next stage of the Camp David peace process: the establishment of full autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.

We will be devoting great attention and energy to these and related issues, and will be directing our efforts at all concerned parties.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 23, 1982

CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS ATTACHMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Michael O. Wheeler
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Alerting NSC on Presidential
Correspondence

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Reagan from President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat Information Management Section on June 22 at 8:32 p.m.

Charles L. Jackson Jr.
Director, S/S-I
Information Management Section
Executive Secretariat
ext. 23836

Dept. of S
BY RW Files, July 21, 1997
NARA, DATE 11/9/17