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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Na	me DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES	Withdrawer			
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File Folder	ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (3)		FOIA		
			F1640	/3	
Box Number	5		HERS	HBER	G
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restr	ictions
					-
187407 LETTI	ER RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	8/23/1982	B1	
			10/1/1000	D.1	
187408 LETTI	ER RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	12/1/1982	ВІ	
187409 PAPEI	RE. CEAUSESCU [PG. 3 ONLY]	1	ND	В1	В3
	,				
				-	
187410 MEMO		1	5/18/1983	B1	
	RE. LETTERS				
107411 NATZNA4	WILLIAM CLARK TO GEORGE SHULTZ	1	ND	B1	
187411 MEM	RE. LETTERS [COPY OF DOC. 187410 W/NOTATION]	1	ND	ום	

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

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

Ronald Reagan Library

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DOBRI	IANSKY, PAULA: FILES		RB 1/19 W	9/2017		
File Fo	lder		FOIA			
ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (3)			F1640/3 HERSHBERG			
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ID	Document Type	No of	Doc Date	Restric-		
	Document Description	pages		tions		
187407	LETTER	2	8/23/1982	B1		
	RR TO CEAUSESCU					

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Date: 3/24/82

MEMORANDUM FOR: State Secretariat

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: Czausescu, Nicolae

From: President

Date: 8/23/12.

Subject: Thank-now for the crisis in Labanon + Visit in Middle East

	_ Draft reply for:	Pres siquature
		White House Staff
		Other
	Direct raply	Eurnish info copy
\prec	Dispatch	•
	Recommendations/Comments	\$
	Appropriate handling	
	Information (FVI: ONLY)	
	Translation	***
	Other	

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

offichell E. Monton

FOR MICHAEL O. WHEELER

STAFF SECRETARY

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"
teat	en e	

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

August 17, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES %

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_)	Disa	pprove				
41	Par	wc	" Jo	Be	Pigned	by	Dara"

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu

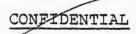
Tab B Incoming letter of June 19

Sec.3.40 Culton is amended
White House Culton is, Copt. 11, 2006
BY NARA V. , DATE 1 (9) 17

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



ACTION

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.

RECOMMENDATION

OK 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

Declassify on: OADR

Sec.3.44 E.O. Marie Sec. Sec. 3.44 E.O. Marie Sec.

TELEGRAM

adv. to No

PAGE-81 BUCHAR 84531 2818272 ACTION SS-25

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BUCHAR 84531 2818272

ENCE OF ALL PEOPLES. END TEXT OF CEAUSESCU MESSAGE.

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CONFIDENTIAL BUCHAREST 4531

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E.O. 12865: RDS-4 6/28/82 (FRY, SAMUEL E.) OR-M
TAGS: PPDC, PEPR, LE, RO
SUBJECT: MESSAGE ABOUT LEBANON FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU 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 CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. ANDREI SPOKE IN ROM-ANIAN FROM A MANDWRITTEN 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 MANDWRITTEN TEXT TO CHARGE.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF CEAUSESCU 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 PRECOCUPATION, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE GRAVE SITUATION CREATED IN

IN THIS SITUATION I CONSIDER THAT IT IS HECESSARY 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 YERY 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 REGOTIATION OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING ENTERING INTO REGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO.

AS IS KNOWN, THERE ARE PALESTINIANS NOT ONLY IN LEBAHON 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 AM AREA THAT ALREADY HAS IN IT SOURCES OF CONFRONTATION AND WAR, I EXPRESS MY CONFIDENCE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR PRESTIGE, AUTHORITY, YOU SPIRIT OF HODERATION AND UNDERSTANDING IN THE INTEREST OF A HUMANITARIAN SOLUTION, IN ORDER NOT TO HUMILIATE A PEOPLE, AND TO CPEATE THE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL LEAD TO A FINAL SOLUTION IN ORDER TO ASSURE CALM, PEACEFUL CDEXISTENCE AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE HIDDLE 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 INDEPEND-

4. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'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, ANDRE! TOLD THE CHARGE THAT CEAUSESCU'S VISIT WAS "FRUITFUL" AND WENT AS HE HAD HOPED. CHARGE NOTICED UPON DEPARTING FROM THE MFA THAT THE ISRAEL! AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN SUMMONED AND WAS APPARENTLY NEXT IN LINE TO RECEIVE A MESSAGE. ANDRE! DEPARTS FOR NEW YORK ON JUNE 21 TO ADDRESS THE SSOO-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. AMOREI DID NOT IMPLY ANY CONNECTION WITH ANYTHING THAT THE IRAGI OR JORDANIAN HOSTS MIGHT HAVE REQUESTED CEAUSESCU TO PASS ON. IN SUM, IT MOST LIKELY REPRESENTS HIS PERSONAL VIEWS AND ASSESSMENT AND IS PROBABLY IN HIS OWN WORDS.

Author State Warver Wells

CONFIDENTIAL

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

DENTIAL/EXDIS

August 10, 1982 A 6 10

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.

Attachment:

As stated.

CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS

DECL:OADR

Heund by Mg

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message of June 19 on the crisis in Lebanon. I appreciate your thoughtful and condid 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 form 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.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver Mulel 19

BY LIVER MARADATE 1/19/17

The tragic situation in Lebanon is part of the larger (in the reput).

Arab-Israeli conflict. If there is to be a just and durable in the part (Middle East peace the conflict's underlying causes must be addressed. The United States remains committed to the Camp sale.

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 ensures the recognises the legitimate rights and just requirements of the Palestinian people, and ensures the security of Israel. We can unit are working with Egypt and Israel to sufficient the next stage of in household the camp David peace process: the establishment of autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.

we will be devoting great attention and energy to these and will be directing our efforts at all concerned parties.

Speechinder OK, by phone

11

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.

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DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver ulle 15

BY AW MARA DATE 1/19/17

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.

Director, S/S-I

Information Management Section

Executive Secretariat

ext. 23836

Dept. of Sta :: 1y 21, 1997

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ID	Document Type	No of	Doc Date	Restric-		
	Document Description	pages		tions		
187408	LETTER	2	12/1/1982	B1		
	RR TO CEAUSESCU					

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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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 BUCHAREST 94Ø1

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PEPR, PPDC, RO, US SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU:

INITIAL RESPONSE

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

- THE AMBASSADOR CONVEYED PERSONALLY PRESIDENT SUMMARY: REAGAN'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AT A 40 MINUTE MEETING ON 6 DECEMBER. AN INTERPRETER TRANSLATED THE ENTIRE LETTER AT THE MEETING AND CEAUSESCU IMMEDIATELY GAVE HIS REACTIONS ORALLY, SAYING THAT HE WOULD ALSO HAVE A WRITTEN RESPONSE. HE REVIEWED BRIEFLY THE BASIS OF .U. S. -ROMANIAN RELATIONS SINCE 1969 AND SAID THAT THE LAW REFERRED TO IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONS, BUT RATHER WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN STATE AND ROMANIAN CITIZENS. HE SAID THAT ROMANIA ALWAYS REJECTED ATTEMPTS FROM ANYWHERE TO INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND TO APPLY CONDITIONS. HE WANTED GOOD U. S. -ROMANIAN RELATIONS TO CONTINUE AND IT WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES IF THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. HE IS READY TO RECEIVE PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PERSONAL ENVOY AND TO CONTINUE THE TALKS ON EMIGRATION QUESTIONS. HE CONCLUDED THE MEETING BY HOPING "THAT WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN OUR RELATIONS OVER THE PAST 14 YEARS WILL NOT BE WASHED AWAY. " END SUMMARY.
- THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU ON 6 DECEMBER AT 4:00 PM AT THE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS, AND PRESENTED THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN AS INSTRUCTED IN REFTEL. WAS ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY HIS INTERPRETER AND A NOTETAKER. THE DCM ACCOMPANIED THE AMBASSADOR. THE
 MEETING LASTED 40 MINUTES. THE 7 DECEMBER ROMANIAN
 MORNING NEWSPAPERS "SCINTEIA" AND "ROMANIA LIBERA"
 REPORTED ON THEIR FRONT PAGES THAT THE AMBASSADOR
 MET WITH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU IN A "CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE" BUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CALL WAS NOT GIVEN. REPORT SAID "FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE."
- AMBASSADOR FUNDERBURK BEGAN BY EXPLAINING TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY PERSONALLY A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN REGARDING THE RECENT ROMANIAN EDUCATIONAL REPAYMENT DECREE AND RELATED ASPECTS OF U. S. -ROMANIAN RELATIONS. THE ROMANIAN INTERPRETER THEN READ THE ENTIRE LETTER

DECLASSIFIED NARA DATE

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CONFLORMITY COUNCIL MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 BUCHAREST 94Ø1

DTG: Ø71457Z DEC 82 PSN: Ø27349

TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU IN ROMANIAN. AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE LETTER, PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU PONDERED HIS RESPONSE FOR ABOUT A MINUTE AND THEN ASKED THE AMBASSADOR IF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HAVE TO PAY FEES OR CHARGES FOR THEIR EDUCATION. HE DID NOT RESPOND TO THE AMBASSADOR'S BRIEF EXPLANATION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOME NON-TUITION PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES AND TUITION-CHARGING PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES.

- 5. CEAUSESCU SAID "I AM SURPRISED BY THE WAY THAT THIS PROBLEM IS APPROACHED." HE CONTINUED THAT IT IS A ROMANIAN ISSUE AND AS SUCH DOES NOT INVOLVE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA; THIS LAW AIMS AT REGULATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN STATE AND ROMANIAN CITIZENS. THE RELATIONS ESTABLISHED SINCE 1969 BY THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA HAVE BEEN BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, INDEPENDENCE, NON-INTERFERENCE, AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. ALL OF THESE PRINCIPLES ARE EMBODIED IN THREE OR FOUR JOINT DOCUMENTS. HE SAID THAT THE DESIRE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BE DEVELOPED ON THESE PRINCIPLES HAS ALSO BEEN REAFFIRMED IN THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND AMERICAN PRESIDENTS.
- 6. CEAUSESCU CONTINUED THAT THE MEASURES CONTAINED IN THE DECREE OF LAW TO WHICH PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER REFERS HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH ROMANIAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, BUT RATHER WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN STATE AND ROMANIAN CITIZENS. THE ISSUE BEGINS WITH THE FACT THAT IN ROMANIA EDUCATION IS FULLY FREE OF CHARGE, BOTH FOR THE SECONDARY LEVEL AS WELL AS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION. ALL ROMANIAN CITIZENS HAVE AN OBLIGATION AFTER THEIR EDUCATION TO GO WHERE THEY ARE ASSIGNED. WHEN PREPARING THIS LEGISLATION

ROMANIA TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE NEED TO "CREATE ORDER" AND TO REGULATE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH RESPECT TO THOSE WHO RECEIVED THEIR EDUCATION IN ROMANIA AND WHO NOW WISH TO WORK IN ANOTHER COUNTRY. CEAUSESCU STRESSED THAT IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, ROMANIA IS IN NO WAY DUDY BOUND BY ANY AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE FOR THE EDUCATION OF EXPERTS AND TRAINING OF SKILLED WORKERS, ONLY TO HAVE THEM THEN LEAVE TO WORK IN FOREIGN COUNTIRIES. HE SAID THAT "WHAT WE MEAN TO DO IS TO HAVE THOSE WHO WISH TO EMIGRATE TO OTHER COUNTRIES PAY BACK THEIR EDUCATIONAL COSTS AT A RATE THAT FOREIGN STUDENTS WOULD PAY FOR THEIR EDUCATION. AS A MATTER OF FACT WE WISH WITH ALL THESE MEASURES TO REGULATE PROCEDURES AND TO DO AWAY WITH MANY RESTRICTIONS" FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE TO WORK IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. HE NOTED THAT ROMANIA DOES NOT, HOWEVER, MEAN TO ENCOURAGE EMIGRATION.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 BUCHAREST 94Ø1 EOB318 ANØ11398 DTG: Ø71457Z DEC 82 PSN: Ø2735Ø TOR: 341/1953Z CSN: HCE351

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 9401

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- 7. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE REMARK IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER REFERRING TO MANY ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES CANNOT BE ACCEPTED AND IN ANY CASE APPEARS TO STEM FROM INCORRECT INFORMATION. IF IT IS A QUESTION OF SOLVING SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, "OUR ECONOMY IS STRONG ENOUGH TO OVERCOME THESE PROBLEMS."
- 8. CEAUSESCU THEN OFFERED THAT "WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT PROBLEMS LIKE THIS BETWEEN CANADA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA" WERE SOLVED IN 1928 BY AN AGREEMENT WHICH IS STILL IN FORCE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE UNITED STATES CHECK WITH THE CANADIANS ABOUT THIS.
- 9. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT ROMANIA IS DEFENDING ITSELF AGAINST THE "POLICY" WHICH IS BEING CARRIED OUT INTERNATIONALLY REGARDING THE DRAWING OF SKILLED HELP FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THAT THE UNGA HAD PASSED A RESOLUTION RECENTLY ON THIS SUBJECT.
- 10. CEAUSESCU THEN SAID THAT HE WAS READY TO RECEIVE A PERSONAL ENVOY FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO TALK THESE MATTERS OVER. HE IS READY TO DO THIS REGARDING A SOLUTION FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE ROMANIA AFTER RECEIVING THEIR EDUCATION. HE WAS SURPRISED BY THE REMARKS IN THE LETTER WITH RESPECT TO THE TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES AND ALSO MFN. HE SAID THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE DEVELOPED QUITE WELL AND THAT HE WOULD WANT THIS TO CONTINUE BUT THAT HE WOULD WANT THIS TO CONTINUE BUT THAT HE WOULD WANT THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ROMANIA. HE SAID ROMANIA HAS ALWAYS REJECTED ATTEMPTS FROM ANYWHERE TO INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND TO APPLY CONDITIONS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER RELATIONS IS TO THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES AND THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. HE SAID "WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT SUCH MEASURES AS ARE REFERRED TO IN THE LETTER WILL NOT TAKE PLACE" BECAUSE IT WOULD MEAN A "DEVALUATION" OF OUR AGREEMENTS AND OUR RELATIONSHIP. IF THIS HAPPENS, "IF SO, IT WILL BE ENTIRELY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES." ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE WITH HER FOREIGN POLICY AND WILL ACT AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY IN THE SPIRIT OF NON-INTERFERENCE AND MUTUAL RESPECT. "ONCE AGAIN I AM READY TO RECEIVE A SPECIAL ENVOY FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN AND I

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DTG: Ø71457Z DEC 82 PSN: Ø27350

AGREE TO THE CONTINUATION OF TALKS BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT." REFERRING BACK TO THE ROMANIAN LAW HE SAID THAT PERHAPS A SOLUTION CAN BE REACHED ALONG THE LINES REACHED SOME 50 YEARS AGO BY CANADA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

- 11. THE AMBASSADOR GOT CONFIRMATION THAT PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU WAS REACTING AFFIRMATIVELY TO THE PROPOSED VISIT OF THE PERSONAL ENVOY AND THAT HE WAS GIVING THE GO AHEAD TO CONVEY THE WORD THAT HE WOULD RECEIVE THE ENVOY. CEAUSESCU AGAIN STATED THAT THE ROMANIAN MFA AND STATE DEPARTMENT COULD CONTINUE THEIR TALKS. HE HOPED WE COULD FIND A SOLUTION TO THESE PROBLEMS PARTICULARLY FOR PEOPLE WHO WISH TO EMIGRATE TO THE UNITED STATES WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY PAY FOR THEIR EDUCATION COSTS. HE SAID THIS NEW LAW IS MEANT TO DO AWAY WITH CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES AND TO SHORTEN PROCEDURES.
- 12. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD SENT THIS LETTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PAST RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA AND THAT THERE WAS NO IMPLICATION OF INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE MESSAGE IS IN PART BASED ON THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES. WE WILL LOOK TO THE SOLVING OF THIS PROBLEM IN THE SPIRIT OF THE RELATIONSHIP. CEAUSESCU, WAVING HIS HAND TO CHANGE THE TOPIC AND SHAKING HIS HEAD, SAID THAT HE REALIZED THE AMBASSADOR WOULD NOT THINK THIS WAS MEANT TO BE INTERFERENCE AND THAT HE WOULD OBVIOUSLY DEFEND HIS PRESIDENT. BUT, CEAUSESCU CONTINUED, "I CANNOT INTERPRET IT IN ANY OTHER WAY." HE SAID THAT HE WOULD BE RESPONDING TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER.
- 13. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT IT WILL BE ROMANIA'S POLICY

NOT TO REQUEST ANY MORE LOANS FROM ANYONE INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID THIS DECISION HAD BEEN MADE TWO YEARS AGO. HE ENDED THE MEETING BY SAYING "LET US HOPE A SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND AND THAT WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN OUR RELATIONS OVER THE PAST 14 YEARS WILL NOT BE WASHED AWAY."

14. COMMENT: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S ORAL RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER, ALTHOUGH IT IS TACTICALLY DEFENSIVE IN TONE, EXPRESSES SURPRISE AT THE APPROACH TAKEN TO THE EDUCATION REPAYMENT ISSUE, AND POINTEDLY REFERS TO SETTING CONDITIONS AND INTERFERING IN ROMANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NEVERTHELESS, INDICATES THAT HE IS NOT READY TO FORECLOSE ON DISCUSSING THE ISSUE AND CONTINUING THE TALKS ON EMIGRATION PROCEDURES. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ENVOY VISIT BUCHAREST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND THAT WE BE ADVISED OF POSSIBLE DATES SO THAT WE CAN ASK FOR A PRESIDENTIAL MEETING. NEITHER WE NOR THE CANADIAN EMBASSY HERE HAVE ANY IDEA WHAT CEAUSESCU WAS REFERRING TO REGARDING A 1928 CANADIAN-CZECH AGREEMENT ALLEGEDLY STILL IN FORCE. THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR IS CHECKING WITH OTTAWA AND WE ARE SEEKING BACKGROUND INFORMATION FROM THE MFA HERE.

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EXDIS

2365: DECL: OADR PEPR, PPDC, RO, US E. O. 12365: TAGS:

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S

LETTER

BUCHAREST 9401

C - ENTIRE TEXT.

- ON DEC 29 FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI DELIVERED TO AMBASSADOR A COPY OF PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S LETTER RESPONDING TO THE LETTER SENT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN (SEE REFTEL). THE TEXT OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLAT-ION OF THE LETTER PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPH 4. THE COPY OF THE LETTER IN THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE WHICH WAS GIVEN TO THE AMBASSADOR WILL BE POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THE ORIGINAL OF THE MESSAGE WOULD BE DE-LIVERED IN WASHINGTON BY ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. MIRCEA MALITA, WHO DEPARTED BUCHAREST ON DEC 28 FOR THAT PURPOSE.
- REMARKS MADE BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF UNDERSECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND OTHER MATTERS FOLLOW BY SEPTEL.
- BEGIN TEXT.

BUCHAREST, DECEMBER 1982

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR PERSONAL LETTER, SUBMITTED TO ME BY THE UNITED STATES' AMBASSADOR IN BUCHAREST AT THE BEGINNING OF DECEMBER.
INDEED, I APPRECIATE AS WELL AS YOU DO, THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAVE A GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.

I WOULD LIKE, ON MY TURN, TO UNDERLINE THE MUTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES FOLLOWING 1969 AND THE NECESSITY TO FUR-THER COOPERATE IN ORDER TO ENSURE THEIR EXPANSION IN THE FUTURE. IS TRUE THAT UNDER CONDITIONS CREATED AFTER 1969 THE AMERICAN EXPORTS TO ROMANIA WERE MUCH LARGER AND THEREFORE THE UNITED STATES COMPANIES WERE FAVOURED. LATELY, WE TOOK A SERIES OF MEASURES TO ENSURE THE CONTINUOUS EXPANSION OF THE ECONOMIC EXCHANGES BUT ON A BALANCED

AT THE SAME TIME, OUR COUNTRIES COOPERATED EXTENSIVELY REGARDING AT THE SAME TIME, OUR COUNTRIES COOPERATED EXTENSIVELY REGARDING INTERNATIONAL MATTERS FOR A SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND, IN GENERAL, FOR SETTLING THE WAR AND CONFLICTUAL SITUATIONS, FOR A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.A. AND OTHER STATES, FOR A POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE, COOPERATION AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AGAINST ANY RESORT TO OR THREAT WITH FORCE.

I THINK THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RO-FOR A

MANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS THE EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, FRUITFULLY CONTINUED WITH YOU AS WELL, PLAYED AN IMPORTANT

IN THIS SPIRIT, I WOULD LIKE FROM THE BEGINNING TO TELL YOU OPENLY

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THAT I HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE WAY YOUR LETTER TACKLES WITH THE MATTER OF THE DECREE OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA REGARDING THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE CITIZENS WHO ASK AND GET APPROVAL TO SETTLE ABROAD TO REPAY THE ROMANIAN STATE THE EXPENSES MADE FOR THEIR EDUCATION.

THIS DECREE RELATES IN NO WAY WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE U.S.A. AND DO NOT REFER TO THE PROBLEM OF EMIGRATION. THE DECREE REGULATES THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN CITIZENS AND THE ROMANIAN STATE AND CONSTITUTES A STRICTLY INTERNAL MATTER FOR ROMANIA.

THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, DEVELOPED ESPECIALLY AFTER 1969, WERE BASED ON EQUALITY IN RIGHTS, RESPECT OF INDEPENDENCE AND NATION-AL SOVEREIGNTY, NON-INTERFERENCE INTO INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

IN THE JOINT DECLARATIONS SIGNED WITH THREE PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S.A., AS WELL AS IN THE MESSAGES EXCHANGED WITH YOU, THE DESIRE TO FURTHER DEVELOP THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES, HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED.

I WISH TO SPECIFY THAT IN ROMANIA EDUCATION IS FREE AND COMPULSORY FOR THE FIRST 10 CLASSES. FURTHER ON, EDUCATION IS FREE BUT NOT COMPULSORY AND ITS ROLE IS TO ENSURE THE TRAINING OF SPECIALISTS DEPENDING ON THE NEEDS FOR THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THE MEASURES FORESEEN IN THE DECREE START FROM THE FACT THAT IN ROMANIA, THE STATE, THE PEOPLE, PAYS FOR ALL EXPENSES FOR EDUCATION AND THE GRADUATES HAVE THE OBLIGATION TO WORK IN THE ENTERPRISES THAT OFFERD THEM GRANTS OR IN OTHER PLACES ALLOTTED TO THEM BY THE STATE.

IT IS, THEREFORE, NORMAL THAT THE PERSONS EDUCATED IN ROMANIA ON THE STATE AND THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE EXPENSES AND WISHING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, TO REIMBURSE THE ROMANIAN STATE, REPAYING THE EXPENSES MADE FOR THEIR EDUCATION AT THE LEVEL PAID BY THE FOREIGN STUDENTS WHO STUDY IN ROMANIA ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT AND DO NOT BENEFIT OF A GRANT OFFERED BY ROMANIA.

OTHERWISE, THERE ARE ALREADY INTERNAL REGULATIONS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES REGARDING THE OBLIGATIONS THAT THE SPECIALISTS HAVE TOWARDS THE STATE OR TOWARDS THE INSTITUTIONS THAT GRANTED THEM SCHOLAR-

SHIPS DURING THEIR STUDIES.

I WISH TO TELL YOU THAT WHEN ROMANIA GETS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD, 5-6, ØØØ DOLLARS MONTHLY HAVE TO BE PAID FOR EVERY FOREIGN SPECIALIST.

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SPECIALISTS TRAINED IN ROMANIA WHO SETTLE ABROYD BRING REVENUES TO THE COMPANIES AND STATES THAT EMPLOY THEM AND IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE CANNOT TRAIN ON ITS OWN ACCOUNT SPECIALISTS TO BRING REVENUES TO OTHER STATES OR COMPANIES.

THE DECREE JOINS THE ACTIONS ADOPTED ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO THE DRAWING OF THESE SPECIALISTS FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND, FIRST OF ALL, FROM THEDEVELOPING COUNTRIES. A FEW DAYS AGO, THE GENERAL ASSEM\$LY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANI-SATION ADOPTED A SPECIAL RESOLUTION IN CONNECTION WITH PUTTING AN END TO THE EXODUS OF SPECIALISTS FROM THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN FACT, ROMANIA HAS NO AGREEMENT NOR AN INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION TOWARDS ANYBODY, INCLUDING THE U.S.A., TO TRAIN ON THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S EXPENSES, SPECIALISTS WHO, AFTERWARDS, WORK IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OR FOR DIFFERENT COMPANIES.

AS I POINTED OUT, / THE MEASURES CONTAINED IN THIS DECREE DO NOT REGARD THE UNITED STATES AND ARE NOT APPLIED ESPECIALLY TO THE ROMANIAN CITIZENS WHO WOULD LIKE TO SETTLE PERMANENTLY IN THE U.S.A. BY THIS DECREE A NUMBER OF PROCEDURES FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE ROMANIA FOR GOOD AND WORK IN ANOTHER COUNTRY ARE SIMPLIFIED AND THE PERIOD FOR SOLVING THEIR REQUEST BECOMES SHORTER.

THE REMARK IN YOUR LETTER CONCERNING THE LINK BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANIA AND THIS DECREE STARTS FROM FALSE INFORMATION, FROM IGNORING THE REALITIES FROM ROMANIA. WE DO NOT INTEND TO ENCOURAGE IN ANY WAY THE EMIGRATION, WE DO NOT WANT AND, AS A MATTER OF FACT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SOLVE IN THIS WAY THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ROMANIA, THE ROMANIAN ECONOMY BEING STRONG ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO SURPASS THE CONSEQUENCES GENERATED BY THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ALL THE STATES OF THE WORLD.

I WAS SURPRISED BY THE REFERENCE IN YOUR LETTER TO THE TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, THAT PROVIDED THE GRANTING OF THE MOST FAVOURED NATION CLAUSE. IT IS TRUE THAT AFTER 1969 THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC EXCHANGES WERE STRONGLY DEVELOPED AND WE WOULD LIKE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THESE RELATIONS, BUT IN THE SPIRIT WRITTEN IN THE TRADE AGREEMENT, NAMELY WITHOUT CONDITIONS AND WITHOUT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL WFFAIRS OF ROMANIA.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND, IN GENERAL, THE REAPPORTS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IS IN THE MUTUAL ADAMNTAGE, IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLICY OF PEACE AND COOPERATION IN THE WORLD. I HOPE THAT SUCH MEASURES THAT WOULD MEAN AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE AGREEMENTS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WILL NOT BE ADOPTED. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN 4HE EVENT OF ADOPTING SUCH

MEASURES, THE RESPONSIBILITY WILL REVERT ON THSE IMPOSING THEM. ROMANIA IS VERY FOND OF HER POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE, HAS REJECTED ANY ATTEMPTS OF INGERENCE IN HER INTERNAL AFFAIRS, IMPOSING POLICITICAL OR ANY OTHER KIND OF CONDITIONS AND WILL NOT ADMIT IN THE FUTURE, TOO, SUCH CONDITIONS FROM ANYBODY. ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE THIS POLICY IN THE FUTURE AS WELL, WILL ACT AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE POLICY OF EQUALITY IN RIGHTS, OF

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INDEPENDENCE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE POLICY OF COOPERATION WITH ALL THE STATES, WE WOULD LIKE TO ENSURE A GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IN THIS RESPECT, WE WOULD LIKE TO FIND A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL LEAD TO THE INTENSIFICATION AND THE BROADENING OF THE POLITICAL CONTACTS, TO THE DEVELOPING OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES AND NOT TO RAISING OBSTACLES ON THE WAY OF THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE TO COOPERATE IN SOLVING VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLICY OF PEACE AND EQUALITY, FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD, FOR A POLICY OF DISARMEMENT, TO STOP THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES IN EUROPE, FOR THE REDUCTION AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EXISTING ONES, FOR UNDERSTANDING, DETENTE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

IN THIS REGARD, I AM READY TO DISCUSS AND REACH A DIRECT SETTLE-MENT FROM THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT AND I AGREE WITH YOUR PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE COMING TO BUCHAREST OF YOUR PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE. I AGREE AS WELL WITH THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE LEVEL DEEMED NECESSARY, RESPECTIVELY THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IN ORDER TO FIND A SOLUTION CONCARNING THE WAY IN WHICH THE SITUATION OF THOSE WISHING TO SETTLE PERMANENTLY IN THE USA IS REGULATED.

ACTING AS WE DID IN THE PAST, WHEN WE DISCUSSED ISSUES EVEN MORE DIFFICULT AND FOUND SUITABLE SOLUTIONS, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS, I HOPE THAT BY JOINT EFFORTS, STARTING FROM THE EQUALITY IN RIGHTS, THE RESPECT OF INDEPENDENCE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, A SOLUTION COULD BE REACHED THIS TIME TOO IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF THE RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FIELDS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF H (#) PPORTS OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-

OPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES.

CONCLUDING, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT WE BEAR THE RESPONSI-BILITY OF COOPERATING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, (FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE MUTUAL ADVANTAGEOUS ECON-

OMIC EXCHANGES, FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE COOPERATION IN SOLVING THE BIG ISSUES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE, TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT, TO IMPLEMENT A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, TO SOLVE ALL THE LITIGIOUS PROBLEMS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THIS WAY WE WILL RESPOND TO AND SERVE THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, THE GENERAL CAUSE OF DETENTE, COOPERATION AND PEACE.

SINCERELY YOURS, NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WHITE HOUSE
END TEXT.
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-CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 10074

EXDIS

E.O. 12365: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PEPR, PPDC, RO, US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S

LETTER

REF: BUCHAREST 9401

- 1. C ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. ON DEC 29 FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI DELIVERED TO AMBASSADOR A COPY OF PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S LETTER RESPONDING TO THE LETTER SENT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN (SEE REFTEL). THE TEXT OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLAT-ION OF THE LETTER PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPH 4. THE COPY OF THE LETTER IN THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE WHICH WAS GIVEN TO THE AMBASSADOR WILL BE POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THE ORIGINAL OF THE MESSAGE WOULD BE DE-LIVERED IN WASHINGTON BY ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. MIRCEA MALITA. WHO DEPARTED BUCHAREST ON DEC 28 FOR THAT PURPOSE.
- 3. REMARKS MADE BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING VISIT

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

OF UNDERSECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND OTHER MATTERS FOLLOW BY SEPTEL.

4. BEGIN TEXT.

BUCHAREST, DECEMBER 1982

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR PERSONAL LETTER, SUBMITTED TO ME BY THE UNITED STATES' AMBASSADOR IN BUCHAREST AT THE BEGINNING OF DECEMBER.

INDEED, I APPRECIATE AS WELL AS YOU DO, THAT THE RELATIONS BET-WEEN ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAVE A GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.

I WOULD LIKE, ON MY TURN, TO UNDERLINE THE MUTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES FOLLOWING 1969 AND THE NECESSITY TO FUR-THER COOPERATE IN ORDER TO ENSURE THEIR EXPANSION IN THE FUTURE. IT IS TRUE THAT UNDER CONDITIONS CREATED AFTER 1969 THE AMERICAN EXPORTS TO ROMANIA WERE MUCH LARGER AND THEREFORE THE UNITED STATES COMPANIES WERE FAVOURED. LATELY, WE TOOK A SERIES OF MEASURES TO ENSURE THE CONTINUOUS EXPANSION OF THE ECONOMIC EXCHANGES BUT ON A BALANCED BASIS.

AT THE SAME TIME, OUR COUNTRIES COOPERATED EXTENSIVELY REGARDING INTERNATIONAL MATTERS FOR A SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND, IN GENERAL, FOR SETTLING THE WAR AND CONFLICTUAL SITUATIONS, FOR A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.A. AND OTHER STATES. FOR A POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE, COOPERATION AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AGAINST ANY RESORT TO OR THREAT WITH FORCE.

I THINK THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RO-MANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS THE EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, FRUITFULLY CONTINUED WITH YOU AS WELL, PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE.

IN THIS SPIRIT, I WOULD LIKE FROM THE BEGINNING TO TELL YOU OPENLY THAT I HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE WAY YOUR LETTER TACKLES WITH THE MATTER OF THE DECREE OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA REGARDING THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE CITIZENS WHO ASK AND GET APPROVAL TO SETTLE ABROAD TO REPAY THE ROMANIAN STATE THE EXPENSES MADE FOR THEIR EDUCATION.

THIS DECREE RELATES IN NO WAY WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE U.S.A. AND DO NOT REFER TO THE PROBLEM OF EMIGRATION.

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DECREE REGULATES THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN CITIZENS AND THE ROMANIAN STATE AND CONSTITUTES A STRICTLY INTERNAL MATTER FOR ROMANIA.

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IN THE JOINT DECLARATIONS SIGNED WITH THREE PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S.A., AS WELL AS IN THE MESSAGES EXCHANGED WITH YOU, THE DESIRE TO FURTHER DEVELOP THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES, HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED.

I WISH TO SPECIFY THAT IN ROMANIA EDUCATION IS FREE AND COMPULSORY FOR THE FIRST 10 CLASSES. FURTHER ON, EDUCATION IS FREE BUT NOT COMPULSORY AND ITS ROLE 1S TO ENSURE THE TRAINING OF SPECIALISTS DEPENDING ON THE NEEDS FOR THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THE MEASURES FORESEEN IN THE DECREE START FROM THE FACT THAT IN ROMANIA, THE STATE, THE PEOPLE, PAYS FOR ALL EXPENSES FOR EDUCATION AND THE GRADUATES HAVE THE OBLIGATION TO WORK IN THE ENTERPRISES THAT OFFERED THEM GRANTS OR IN OTHER PLACES ALLOTTED TO THEM BY THE STATE.

IT IS, THEREFORE, NORMAL THAT THE PERSONS EDUCATED IN ROMANIA ON THE STATE AND THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE EXPENSES AND WISHING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, TO REIMBURSE THE ROMANIAN STATE, REPAYING THE EXPENSES MADE FOR THEIR EDUCATION AT THE LEVEL PAID BY THE FOREIGN STUDENTS WHO STUDY IN ROMANIA ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT AND DO NOT BENEFIT OF A GRANT OFFERED BY ROMANIA.

OTHERWISE, THERE ARE ALREADY INTERNAL REGULATIONS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES REGARDING THE OBLIGATIONS THAT THE SPECIALISTS HAVE TOWARDS THE STATE OR TOWARDS THE INSTITUTIONS THAT GRANTED THEM SCHOLAR-

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THE DECREE JOINS THE ACTIONS ADOPTED ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO THE DRAWING OF THESE SPECIALISTS FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND, FIRST OF ALL, FROM THEDEVELOPING COUNTRIES. A FEW DAYS AGO, THE GENERAL ASSEMSLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANI-SATION ADOPTED A SPECIAL RESOLUTION IN CONNECTION WITH PUTTING AN END TO THE EXODUS OF SPECIALISTS FROM THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN ÆACT, ROMANIA HAS NO AGREEMENT NOR AN INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION TOWARDS ANYBODY, INCLUDING THE U.S.A., TO TRAIN ON THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S EXPENSES, SPECIALISTS WHO, AFTERWARDS, WORK IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OR FOR DIFFERENT COMPANIES.

AS I POINTED OUT, / THE MEASURES CONTAINED IN THIS DECREE DO NOT REGARD THE UNITED STATES AND ARE NOT APPLIED ESPECIALLY TO THE ROMANIAN CITIZENS WHO WOULD LIKE TO SETTLE PERMANENTLY IN THE U.S.A. BY THIS DECREE A NUMBER OF PROCEDURES FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE ROMANIA FOR GOOD AND WORK IN ANOTHER COUNTRY ARE SIMPLIFIED AND THE PERIOD FOR SOLVING THEIR REQUEST BECOMES SHORTER.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 04 " BUCHAREST 0074 - DTG: 2912437 DEC 82 PSN: 056321

THE REMARK IN YOUR LETTER CONCERNING THE LINK BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANIA AND THIS DECREE STARTS FROM FALSE INFORMATION, FROM IGNORING THE REALITIES FROM ROMANIA. WE DO NOT INTEND TO ENCOURAGE IN ANY WAY THE EMIGRATION; WE DO NOT WANT AND, AS A MATTER OF FACT, IT IS NOT PUSSIBLE TO SOLVE IN THIS WAY THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ROMANIA, THE ROMANIAN ECONOMY BEING STRONG ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO SURPASS THE CONSEQUENCES GENERATED BY THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ALL THE STATES OF THE WORLD.

I WAS SURPRISED BY THE REFERENCE IN YOUR LETTER TO THE TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, THAT PROVIDED THE GRANTING OF THE MOST FAVOURED NATION CLAUSE. IT IS TRUE THAT AFTER 1969 THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC EXCHANGES WERE STRONGLY DEVELOPED AND WE WOULD LIKE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THESE RELATIONS, BUT IN THE SPIRIT WRITTEN IN THE TRADE AGREEMENT, NAMELY WITHOUT CONDITIONS AND WITHOUT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL WEFAIRS OF ROMANIA.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND, IN GENERAL, OF THE REAPPORTS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IS IN THE MUTUAL ADAANTAGE, IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLICY OF PEACE AND COOPERATION IN THE WORLD. I HOPE THAT SUCH MEASURES THAT WOULD MEAN AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE AGREEMENTS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WILL NOT BE ADOPTED. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN 4HE EVENT OF ADOPTING SUCH MEASURES. THE RESPONSIBILITY WILL REVERT ON THSE IMPOSING THEM.

ROMANIA IS VERY FOND OF HER POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE, HAS REJECTED ANY ATTEMPTS OF INGERENCE IN HER INTERNAL AFFAIRS, OF IMPOSING POLICITICAL OR ANY OTHER KIND OF CONDITIONS AND WILL NOT ADMIT IN THE FUTURE, TOO, SUCH CONDITIONS FROM ANYBODY. ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE THIS POLICY IN THE FUTURE AS WELL, WILL ACT AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE POLICY OF EQUALITY IN RIGHTS, OF INDEPENDENCE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE POLICY OF COOPERATION WITH ALL THE STATES. WE WOULD LIKE TO ENSURE A GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IN THIS RESPECT, WE WOULD LIKE TO FIND A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL LEAD TO THE INTENSIFICATION AND THE BROADENING OF THE POLITICAL CONTACTS, TO THE DEVELOPING OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES AND NOT TO RAISING OBSTACLES ON THE WAY OF THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE TO COOP-

CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 04 BUCHAREST 0074 DTG: 2912437 DEC 82 PSN: 056321

ERATE IN SOLVING VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN THE INTEREST OF THE POLICY OF PEACE AND EQUALITY, FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD, FOR A POLICY OF DISARM-EMENT, TO STOP THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES IN EUROPE, FOR THE REDUCT-ION AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EXISTING ONES, FOR UNDERSTANDING, DETENTE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

IN THIS REGARD, I AM READY TO DISCUSS AND REACH A DIRECT SETTLE-MENT FROM THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT AND I AGREE WITH YOUR PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE COMING TO BUCHAREST OF YOUR PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE. I AGREE AS WELL WITH THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE LEVEL DEEMED NECESSARY, RESPECTIVELY THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IN ORDER TO FIND A SOLUTION CON-CARNING THE WAY IN WHICH THE SITUATION OF THOSE WISHING TO SETTLE PERMANENTLY IN THE USA IS REGULATED.

ACTING AS WE DID IN THE PAST, WHEN WE DISCUSSED ISSUES EVEN MORE DIFFICULT AND FOUND SUITABLE SOLUTIONS, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. I HOPE THAT BY JOINT EFFORTS, STARTING FROM THE EQUALITY IN RIGHTS, THE RESPECT OF INDEPENDENCE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, A SOLUTION COULD BE REACHED THIS TIME TOO IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF THE RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FIELDS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF H (#)

PPORTS OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-

OPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES.

CONCLUDING, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT WE BEAR THE RESPONSI-BILITY OF COOPERATING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, (FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE MUTUAL ADVANTAGEOUS ECON-

OMIC EXCHANGES, FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE COOPERATION IN SOLVING THE BIG ISSUES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE, TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT, TO IMPLEMENT A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, TO SOLVE ALL THE LITIGIOUS PROBLEMS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THIS WAY WE WILL RESPOND TO AND SERVE THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, THE GENERAL CAUSE OF DETENTE, COOPERATION AND PEACE.

Ø

SINCERELY YOURS, NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

4

PAGE Ø4 OF Ø4 BUCHAREST ØØ74

DTG: 2912437 DEC 82 PSN: 056321

HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WHITE HOUSE
END TEXT.
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Komaiia 554

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 24, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

PAULA DOBRIANSKY

SUBJECT:

Birthday Message to Romanian President

State suggests that a Presidential message be sent to Romanian President Ceausescu on his 65th birthday, January 26, and has forwarded a proposed message attached at Tab I. I concur with this recommendation. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

Attached at Tab II is a memorandum from Wheeler to Bremer informing him that the message has been approved for transmission and advising that there will be no signed original. Bailey concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That the proposed message at Tab I be sent telegraphically to President Ceausescu.

-	·
Annrotto	Darannyotto
Approve	Disapprove
FF-0.0	220FF-0.0

Attachments:

Tab I Suggested text and State's memorandum of

January 21, 1983

Tab II Wheeler to Bremer memorandum for signature

Suggested Presidential Message

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept my greetings and best wishes on the occasion of your 65th birthday. During the years of your leadership, our two governments have greetly expanded their relations in many areas and have developed more useful and constructive ties which have gone far to increase understanding between our peoples.

I hope that these positive trends, to which you have so significantly contributed, will continue and be strengthened in the future, to the benefit of both countries.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency

Nicolae Ceausescu,

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,
Bucharest.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PW



Washington, D.C. 20520

LIMITED OFFICIAL DSE

January 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Birthday Message to President Ceausescu of Romania

President Ceausescu of Romania will be 65 years old on January 26, 1983. The Romanian Embassy here has solicited birthday messages from the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Commerce. Other foreign heads of state and of government are being asked to send messages as well, and many are expected to do so. Our failure to send birthday greetings to Ceausescu would be considered a slight by the Romanians. We therefore recommend that a message be sent in the President's name (suggested text attached). If the President agrees to act on our recommendation, we would not consider it necessary for the Vice President, Secretary of State, or Secretary of Commerce to send messages of their own.

L. Paul Bremer, 1717
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Suggested text for Presidential message.

IMITED UFFICIAL USE

DECL: N/A

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR L.PAUL BREMER, III

Executive Secretary Department of State

SUBJECT:

Birthday Message for Romanian President

The text of the birthday message from the President to Romanian President Ceausescu proposed by the Department of State has been approved for transmittal. There will be no signed original.

> Michael O. Wheeler Staff Secretary

Je Romania DOBRIANSKY 35

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

January 13, 1983

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Nancy and I want to thank you and Mrs. Malitza very much for the thoughtful gifts which you sent us for Christmas. The beautifully crafted remembrances from Romania are truly appreciated and shall be valued especially for the friendship that prompted them.

We are grateful for your kindness and send you our best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency Mircea Malitza
Ambassador of the Socialist Republic
of Romania
Washington, D. C. 20008

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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REFERRAL

DATE: 23 FEB 83

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

DATE: 19 FEB 83

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

HS

CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

SUBJ: CEAUSESCU RESPONSE TO PRES BIRTHDAY MSG

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUEDATE:

COMMENTS:

STAFF SECRETARY

NSC (Fy.)

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BUCHAREST 19 FEBRUARY 1983

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR. PRESIDEN,

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND MESSAGE OF CONGRATUALTIONS AND BEST WISHS CONVEYED ON THE OCCASION OF MY BIRTHDAY.

I AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SYARE YOUR HOPE THAT THE POSITIVE TREND THAN HAS LATELY PREVAILED IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL CONINUE AND BE STRNGTHENED IN HE FUTURE

TOO, IN THE INREST OF BOTH OUR PEOPLES, OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

WITH BEST REGARDS.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIS REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

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

US Proposed Exchange of Assurances

April 22, 1983

Romania and the United States must work together to sustain the important relationship they have developed.

The education repayment decree was not intended to hinder emigration, but to protect Romania from a brain-drain.

The implementation of that decree has resulted in an erroneous perception of Romania's intentions with regard to emigration.

As points of fact, Romania has always permitted emigration and is taking concrete steps to speed up and improve emigration procedures.

The Romanian Government no longer finds it necessary to implement the education repayment decree.

Romania values its relations with the United States and understands the President's intention to work for mutually beneficial relations.

US Proposed Exchange of Assurances

April 22, 1983

The United States values its relationship with Romania and wishes to resolve all outstanding problems in the spirit of mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

With our understanding that the education repayment decree will not be implemented and with progress in the area of emigration procedures assured, the President will recommend to the Congress and support the continuation of MFN for Romania.

Assuming that continued satisfactory progress is made in the area of emigration performance and procedures, the USG might consider at some future date recommending to the Congress that MFN be extended to Romania on a multi-year basis.

The US will, in the context of the Economic Commission and other existing bilateral mechanisms, explore ways to work with Romania to promote increased export earnings, continued economic growth and enhanced industrial and agricultural productivity.

April 27, 1983

- The United States values its relationship with Romania and wishes to resolve in the spirit of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement and of the existing agreements between the two countries all the important questions on the basis of national sovereignty and independence, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs.
- With the understanding that Romania will continue to resolve in its relations with the United States the humanitarian problems like in the past, on the basis of mutual confidence and goodwill, the President will recomend to Congress and will support the extension (continuation) of the most favored nation treatment for Romania.
- Taking into account that Romania will continue to resolve the humanitarian questions and the departure procedures in the spirit of its known policy, the United States Government will recomend to Congress the extension of the most favored nation treatment on a multiyear basis.
- Based on the desire to even more strongly develop the bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states both Sides will encourage the development (increase) of the trade exchanges. The United States will encourage the industrial economic cooperation (i.e. Joint Ventures), will continue to grant export licenses and will support the achievement of investments of American companies (firmes) in Romania, with the observance of the mutual interests and advantages and, in general, will grant facilities to which Romania is entitled as a developing country.
- The two states will not encourage emigration, especially the definitive departure of experts which creates many social and humanitarian problems.

- At the same time, in the interest of strengthening the friendship and confidence between the two peoples, Romania and the United States, acting in a humanitarian spirit and that of international agreements, will not encourage emigration and in general the definitive departure of experts, which create many social and humanitarian problems.
- On the basis of the common desire to even more strongly develop the bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states, both sides will encourage the increase of the trade exchanges and, in this framework, the United States will support the development of industrial cooperations (i.e. Joint Ventures), will continue to grant export licenses, will generally support the development of the Romanian-American economic cooperation.

Romanian Proposed Exchange of Assurances April 27, 1983

- The last 15 years have known the development of the Romanian-American Relations, an outstanding increase of which happened lately.
- In the spirit of the principles written down in the Joint Declaration signed with Fresident Richard Nixon in December 1973 and in the other Romanian-American documents signed at the highest level in 1975 and 1978 and of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement, Romania and the United States will take action for the continous development of the Romanian-American relations, in the interest of the two peoples, of peace and international cooperation.
- -The relations between Romania and the United States are founded on equality of rights, on the observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs.
- The Decree 402 of the Council of State constitutes a strictly internal matter which regulates the relationship between the Romanian State and its citizens and has no connection whatsoever with the emigration policy.
- The Decree is not meant to prevent the definitive departure from Romania of those Romanian citizens who express such a desire but to protect the interests of the Romanian people who needs the experts which were trained by them for the implementation of its programs of economic and social development.
- The Decree.regulates a number of problems of those citizens who depart definitively from Romania and clarifies, before departing, their obligations and duties vis-à-vis the Romanian State.
- -Within the framework of its general policy, Romania will continue to solve the humanitarian questions on the basis of mutual trust and good will.

Proposed US Counter-proposal for Exchange of Assurances

May 2, 1983

The United States values its relationship with Romania and wishes to resolve all important questions in the spirit of existing agreements between the two countries and on the basis of national sovereignty and independence, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

With the understanding that, in its relations with the United States, Romania will continue to resolve emigration and other humanitarian problems on the basis of mutual trust and goodwill, will take concrete steps to improve its emigration procedures, and that there will be no further implementation of Decree 402 for any emigrants from Romania, the President will recommend to Congress and will support the continuation of Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment for Romania.

Taking into account Romania's statement that it will continue to resolve emigration and other humanitarian questions, the United States Government will consider at an appropriate future time recommending to Congress the extension of Most-Favored-Nation treatment on a multi-year basis.

The United States strongly supports the right of free emigration, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international documents. As a general principle, the United States does not seek to influence individuals in their decisions on whether or not to emigrate from the country of their residence.

The United States is prepared to discuss continued economic cooperation with Romania in the context of the next Joint Economic Commission meeting, to take place in the fall of 1983.

Based on the desire to develop bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation even more strongly between the two states, both sides will encourage the expansion of the trade to their mutual benefit. In the spirit of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement and of other existing agreements, the United States will encourage economic cooperation in industry and agriculture, will continue to grant export licenses and will support the achievement of investments of American companies in Romania and facilitate Romanian investments and purchases in the U.S. and, in general, will grant the facilities to which Romania is entitled as a developing country.

Proposed US Counter-proposal for Exchange of Assurances

May 2, 1983

The last 15 years have known the development of Romanian-American relations, an outstanding increase of which happened lately.

In the spirit of the principles set forth in the Joint Declaration signed with President Richard Nixon in December 1973 and in other Romanian-American documents signed at the highest level in 1975 and 1978 and of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement, Romania and the United States will take action for the continuous development of Romanian-American relations, in the interest of the two peoples, of peace and international cooperation.

The relations between Romania and the United Sates are founded on equality of rights, on the observance of the principles of national independence and sovereighty and non-interference in the internal affairs.

Within the framework of its general policy, Romania will continue to resolve humanitarian questions on the basis of mutual trust and goodwill. The Romanian Government no longer finds it necessary to implement Decree 402 and will continue to take concrete steps to improve its emigration procedures.

On the basis of the common desire even more strongly to develop bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states, the Romanian Government understands that both sides will encourage the increase of trade exchanges and, in this framework, that the United States will support the development of industrial cooperation, will continue to grant export licenses, and will generally support the development of the Romanian-American economic cooperation.

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

LETTERS

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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May 18, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

JOHN LENCZOWSKI UL

SUBJECT:

U.S.-Romanian Exchange of Letters

Attached (Tab I) is a memorandum from you to Secretary Shultz expressing the President's agreement in principle with the exchange of letters (Tab II). It refers to several points on which the President would prefer more cautious movement.

Roger Robinson concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum (Tab I) to Secretary Shultz.

3	D:
Approve	Disapprove
ipprove	DIDUPPIO

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to Secretary Shultz
Tab II Shultz memorandum, May 18, 1983.

SECRET Declassify on: OADR



THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

May 18, 1983



MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

George P. Shultz 48

SUBJECT:

Readout on Visit of Romanian Foreign

Minister Andrei May 17

As you know, we have made major progress with the Romanians recently over their decree requiring emigrants to pay for their education. I am pleased to inform you that today we were able to reach agreement with Romanian Foreign Minister Andrei on the texts of an exchange of letters between you and President Ceausescu which stipulate that the Romanian Government will no longer charge emigrants for their education costs. We have worked closely with the NSC and Commerce Department, and have taken Congressional concerns into consideration, in developing the texts of the letters. We believe that they, together with the additional assurances on emigration procedures which we will be receiving from the Romanian Government, will be sufficient to meet Congressional concerns. Jewish and other groups interested in emigration from Romania are already satisfied that the existing relatively high levels of Romanian emigration will be preserved under this understanding. Foreign Minister Andrei leaves Washington Wednesday morning and hopes to have final agreement from President Ceausescu to the texts by then. We plan to give our assent to the texts at that time as well.

Attachments:

Texts of the Exchange of Letters

-CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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Authority State Waive 11/6/15
BY RW MANADATE 1/19/17

U.S LETTER

The United States values its relationship with Romania and wishes to resolve all important bilateral questions in the spirit of existing agreements between the two countries and of the principles set forth in the U.S.-Romanian Joint Declaration of December 1973, and on the basis of national sovereignty and independence, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

The U.S. understands that Romania will continue to resolve all emigration and other humanitarian questions on the basis of mutual trust and good will and that in order for both sides to continue and stimulate the economic relations and industrial cooperation between the two countries, Romania will not require those who receive approval to emigrate to reimburse the State for their education costs, as stipulated in Decree 402. The United States further understands that Romania will not create any economic or procedural barriers to definitive departures. On this basis, the President intends to recommend to Congress and actively to support the continuation of Romania's Most-Favored-Nation tariff status and will consider recommending to Congress at an appropriate future time the extension of Most-Favored-Nation treatment to Romania on a multi-year basis.

The United States supports the right of free emigration, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international documents. As a general principle, however, the United States does not seek to influence individuals in their decisions on whether or not to emigrate from the country of their residence.

Based on the desire further to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states, in the spirit of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement, and for the mutual benefit of both states, it is the understanding of the United States that both governments intend — consistent with their laws and regulations — to encourage trade and economic cooperation in industry and agriculture. In this regard and consistent with its laws and regulations, the US recognizes the importance of processing export licenses as expeditiously as possible, assisting American companies investing in Romania, encouraging Romanian investments and purchases in the United States, and extending the preferential treatment provided by the US Generalized System of Preferences. Overall, the U.S. will endeavor to give a new impetus to U.S.—Romanian economic relations, and notes that Romania will do so as well.

The United States is prepared to discuss continued economic cooperation with Romania in the context of the next Joint Economic Commission meeting, to take place in the fall of 1983.

ROMANIAN LETTER

The last 15 years have experienced the development and the extensive growth of Romanian-American relations, especially in the last period of time.

In the spirit of the principles set forth in the Joint Declaration signed with President Richard Nixon in December 1973 and in other Romanian-American documents signed at the highest level in 1975 and 1978 and of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement, Romania and the United States will take action for the continuous development of Romanian-American relations, in the interest of the two peoples, of peace and international cooperation.

Relations between Romania and the United States are founded on equality of rights, on the observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

Within the framework of its general policy, Romania will continue to resolve emigration and other humanitarian questions on the basis of mutual trust and goodwill. Romania is in full accord with the understandings expressed in President Reagan's letter of , and in order for both sides to continue and

to stimulate economic relations and industrial cooperation,

Romania will not require those who receive approval to emigrate
to reimburse the State for their education costs, as stipulated
in Decree 402. At the same time, while Romania will not create
any economic or procedural barriers to definitive departures,
it wishes to underline that it does not encourage definitive
departures, which in its view create many social and
humanitarian problems.

On the basis of the common desire even more strongly to develop bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states, the Romanian Government understands that both sides will encourage the increase of trade exchanges and, in this framework, that the United States and Romania will -- consistent with their laws and regulations -- encourage the development of industrial cooperation, the flow of imports and exports, and the development of Romanian-American economic cooperation in general. Overall, Romania will endeavor to give a new impetus to Romanian-U.S. economic relations, and notes that the U.S. will do so as well.

Romania is prepared to discuss continued economic cooperation with the United States in the context of the next Joint Economic Commission meeting, to take place in the fall of 1983.

The United States values its relationship with Romania and wishes to resolve all important bilateral questions in the spirit of existing agreements between the two countries and of the principles set forth in the U.S.-Romanian Joint Declaration of December 1973, and on the basis of national sovereignty and independence, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

The U.S. understands that Romania will continue to resolve all emigration and other humanitarian questions on the basis of mutual trust and good will and that in order for both sides to continue and stimulate the economic relations and industrial cooperation between the two countries, Romania will not require those who receive approval to emigrate to reimburse the State for their education costs, as stipulated in Decree 402. The United States further understands that Romania will not create any economic or procedural barriers to definitive departures. On this basis, the President intends to recommend to Congress and actively to support the continuation of Romania's Most-Favored-Nation tariff status and will consider recommending to Congress at an appropriate future time the extension of Most-Favored-Nation treatment to Romania on a multi-year-basis.

...2

The United States supports the right of free emigration, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international documents. As a general principle, however, the United States does not seek to influence individuals in their decisions on whether or not to emigrate from the country of their residence.

Based on the desire further to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states, in the spirit of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement, and for the mutual benefit of both states, it is the understanding of the United States that both governments intend — consistent with their laws and regulations — to encourage trade and economic cooperation in industry and agriculture. In this regard and consistent with its laws and regulations, the US recognizes the importance of processing export licenses as expeditiously as possible, assisting American companies investing in Romania, encouraging Romanian investments and purchases in the United States, and extending the preferential treatment provided by the US Generalized System of Preferences. Overall, the U.S. will endeavor to give a new impetus to U.S.-Romanian economic relations, and notes that Romania will do so as well.

The United States is prepared to discuss continued economic cooperation with Romania in the context of the next Joint Economic Commission meeting, to take place in the fall of 1983.

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WILLIAM CLARK TO GEORGE SHULTZ RE. LETTERS [COPY OF DOC. 187410 W/NOTATION]

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