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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

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File Folder ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (4)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 5

HERSHBERG

49

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187412	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN]	2	ND	B1
187413	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	2	6/1/1983	B1
187414	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR	5	8/19/1983	B1
187415	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	3	9/12/1983	B1

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

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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NSC/S PROFILE

CONFIDENTIAL

FICE -

ID 8390671

TO

PRESIDENT

FROM SHULTZ, G

DOCDATE 24 MAY 83

DOBRIANSKY

25 MAY 83

CEAUSCESCU, NICOLAE

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

HS

CEAUSCESCU, NICOLAE

SUBJECT: EXCHANGE OF PRESIDENTIAL LTRS W/ ROMANIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DOBRIANSKY

FVI

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8390647

NSCIFID

(C / B)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

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ACTION REQUIRED

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COPIES TO

- 6/29 Recd Ceausescu Response DO

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

UNCLASSIFIED

2

June 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK

THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Alerting NSC on Presidential Correspondence

An English translation of the attached letter from President Ceausescu of Romania to President Reagan was transmitted by telegram (Bucharest 4818) on June 8. The letter was in response to President Reagan's June 1 letter to President Ceausescu, which had been given to Romanian Ambassador Malitza by Deputy Assistant Secretary Mark Palmer as part of an agreed exchange of letters between the United States and Romania. As such, it requires no response.


Charles Hill
Executive Secretary**UNCLASSIFIED**

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

3

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 109890
EF
Romanian

(Seal)

Bucharest, May , 1983

The President of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Mr. President:

In the last 15 years Romanian-American relations have developed and have greatly expanded, especially in recent times.

In the spirit of the principles inscribed in the Joint Statement signed with President 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 Agreement on Trade Relations, Romania and the U.S.A. will work for the continued development of Romanian-American relations in the interest of the two peoples and of peace and international cooperation.

Relations between Romania and the U.S.A. are based on equality of rights, respect for the principles of independence and national sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs.

In the framework of its general policy Romania will continue to solve humanitarian problems on the basis of reciprocal trust and good will. Romania is completely in agreement with the understanding expressed in your letter that, with a view to continuing

His Excellency
Ronald Reagan,
President of the
United States of America,
White House, Washington, D.C.

and stimulating economic relations and cooperation in production between the two countries, Romania will not require those granted permission to go abroad permanently to reimburse the state for the expenses of their education, as stipulated in Decree 402.

At the same time, although Romania will not create economic or procedural obstacles to permanent departures, it would like to emphasize that it does not encourage the permanent departure of Romanian citizens from their homeland, since that creates many social and humanitarian problems. -

Motivated by the joint desire to develop even stronger bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between the two States, the Romanian Government agrees that both parties will encourage the expansion of trade relations and that, within this framework, the United States and Romania will encourage -- in accordance with their laws and regulations -- the development of cooperation in production, expansion of imports and exports and the development of Romanian-American economic cooperation in general.

In general, Romania will endeavor to give a renewed stimulus to Romanian-American economic relations and notes that the U.S.A. will do likewise.

Romania is prepared to discuss continuation of economic cooperation with the United States in the context of the next meeting of the Joint Economic Commission, which will be held in the fall of 1983.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ N. Ceausescu

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 23, 1983

4349

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Robert M. Kimmitt
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 23, 1983.

Charles L. Jackson Jr., for

Director, S/S-I
Information Management Section
Executive Secretariat
ext. 23836

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. and Romania will endeavor to give a new impetus to U.S.-Romanian economic relations.

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 that in order for both sides to continue

11

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.

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.

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File Romania
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8/12/83 632-4138
EUR/EEY - R. COMBS

S/CPR - JANE A. GUILBAULT
S/S-S(C) - B. HAMBRICK
S/S

EUR - T. NILES
NSC

PA

PRIORITY BUCHAREST

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPDC, RO, US

SUBJECT: NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE.

RC
RK
JAG
TN
BH

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AT APPROPRIATE TIME PRIOR TO AUGUST 23. QUOTE DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: AS ROMANIA MARKS THE ANNIVERSARY OF ITS NATIONAL DAY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE JOIN ME IN SENDING SINCERE BEST WISHES. OVER THE PAST YEAR, ROMANIA AGAIN CONTRIBUTED IMPORTANTLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY IN ENCOURAGING SOLUTIONS TO URGENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. WE GREATLY VALUE THE CONTINUING DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I AM CONFIDENT THAT OUR RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO PROSPER IN THE YEAR AHEAD IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL RESPECT THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN UNQUOTE

2. WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT PLAN RELEASE BUT HAS NO OBJECTION TO RELEASE BY GOR. YYY

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fw
11/9/87



0320022
XR-8325785

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 8, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Response to Romanian President
Ceaurescu's letter to President Reagan

Attached is a proposed response to Romanian President
Ceaurescu's letter on INF and other military issues.

Attachments:

1. Proposed response.
2. Incoming correspondence.

Corey

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

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FILE
INF
Romania
59
MATLOCK
15
Paula

26
11/9/87

Suggested Draft

16

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of August 19. I want to assure you that the American people share the concerns of the Romanian people for effective arms control and increased security in Europe. I wish to stress my personal commitment to the deepest possible reductions in nuclear and conventional forces.

The United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by deterring aggression and by preserving cooperative relations among all states. For more than 30 years NATO has made clear in word and deed that its purposes are purely defensive and that it will maintain only those defensive forces necessary to fulfill its strategy of deterrence. The United States and its Allies have, at the same time, vigorously sought to improve stability and security in Europe through substantial, equitable, and verifiable agreements to limit and reduce military forces.

I thus would like to address the suggestions in your letter for a postponement of the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear (INF) missiles in Europe, a freeze on military spending, and establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe.

The U.S. and its NATO Allies decided in 1979 that it was necessary to address a growing imbalance of military forces in

His Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu,

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Bucharest.

Europe caused by a massive and unwarranted Soviet build-up in longer-range INF missiles aimed at NATO. While NATO made clear its determination to deploy deterrent systems of its own if necessary, the NATO Allies also offered to seek an arms control agreement that would eliminate or at least significantly reduce these systems to equal levels on a global basis. The negotiations began in late 1981.

The United States, in consultation with its Allies, has made far-reaching offers in these negotiations; we have proposed the total elimination of the entire category of U.S. and Soviet land-based longer-range intermediate-range nuclear missiles. As a step toward this goal, the United States has proposed an interim agreement that would achieve equal, substantially reduced levels of such systems on a global basis. The United States and its Allies also have stated repeatedly their willingness to consider any serious alternative proposals that meet the security concerns which prompted their 1979 NATO decision. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has yet to accept either of the U.S. proposals or to advance one of their own that takes into account NATO's security.

It is my most fervent wish that the Geneva INF negotiations make rapid progress toward an equitable and verifiable agreement that would, at a minimum, substantially reduce

nuclear forces in Europe. I am convinced that a delay in NATO deployments would eliminate any possibility of such progress. It would remove any incentive for the Soviet Union to negotiate seriously. Moreover, it would perpetuate the tension arising from the threatening Soviet monopoly in longer-range intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

A freeze on military spending, by itself, would also perpetuate, and perhaps aggravate, military imbalances that undermine collective deterrence. As you know, however, the United States has been working with other states in the United Nations to develop standard guidelines for comparing and reporting military expenditures. We will continue this effort and urge other states which have not done so to join in this endeavor.

The United States has long recognized that nuclear weapons free zones which take account of existing security situations and defensive arrangements may enhance security in certain regions of the world. However, the United States and its Allies have long expressed their concerns that a nuclear weapons free zone in all or part of Europe would not meet these criteria. A nuclear weapons free zone there would not take account of the existing security situation, since it would not constrain the threat to such zones from Soviet nuclear weapons adjacent to it. Indeed, such zones could well undermine rather

- 4 -

than enhance security. I believe that a more practical and effective goal is substantial reductions in the strategic and theater nuclear arsenals of both sides.

Despite the differences in our views on some European security issues, I appreciate your interest and concern about this problem which is of vital interest to all of us. I value the private exchanges of views on this and many other issues which we maintain with you and other members of your government. I believe that the continuation of such diplomatic dialogue is in the interest of both of our countries and peoples. Vice President Bush will be prepared to discuss European security and other issues of mutual interest with you when he visits Bucharest on my behalf later in September.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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NSC/S PROFILE

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FILE
ID 8305962

ROMANIA

RECEIVED 25 AUG 83 08

CONRESP.

DOCDATE 24 AUG 83

25

TO CLARK FROM HILL, C

KEYWORDS ROMANIA

INF

SUBJECT. TEXT OF LETTER FROM CEAUSESCU TO PRES RE INF

ACTION: PENDING STATE DRAFT

DUE: 29 AUG 83 STATUS D FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DOBRIANSKY

ROBINSON

MATLOCK

LINHARD

FORTIER

COMMENTS

REF# 8325785

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*Please note:
Revised routing;
Action pending
with State.
Jan*

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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S/S 8325785

57-2

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

26

August 24, 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Text of Letter on INF from Romanian President
Ceaurescu to President Reagan

Attached is an informal translation of a message from Romanian President Ceaurescu on deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe. We have been advised that it, and an identical letter addressed to Soviet First Secretary Andropov, will be published in Romania on August 22. We will submit a proposed response shortly.

Attachment:
As stated.

Bonnie McKinley
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: OADR

RW

11/19/17

Bucharest, August 19, 1983

Esteemed Mr. President,

The Romanian people, like all European peoples, is profoundly preoccupied at the possibility of beginning the deployment of new intermediate range missiles in Europe, which would create an especially grave situation, in Europe and in the world, would open the way for an intensification of the arms race, would increase the danger of war, and in the first instance nuclear war, and would put in peril all European peoples and the existence of life itself and of human civilization.

Having in mind your commitments and declarations according to which the United States of America is for the reduction and the elimination of nuclear arms in Europe, I consider that it is necessary to do everything to conclude with success this year the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva regarding intermediate range missiles, which would correspond to the interests and burning aspirations of the European peoples and the American people and would have profound positive implications in actual international life.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW 11/9/17

28

Sharing with you my concern with the fact that until now no progress has been registered in the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva, I appreciate that there is still time, through new efforts, through negotiations carried out in a spirit of cooperation and acting with complete responsibility both by one party and the other, to arrive quickly at a suitable agreement which will assure the halting of the deployment of new rockets and the withdrawal and destruction of those existing, as an intermediate measure on the path of freeing the continent of all nuclear arms. As long as the negotiations are in progress and as long as there exists even a small chance of halting the deployment of the new rockets, it is necessary to do everything for the success of the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva.

In the case that one will not arrive at an agreement in the framework of these negotiations until the end of this year, Romania considers that it would be necessary to do everything to arrive at an understanding that the NATO decision regarding the deployment of new intermediate range missiles should be put off at least until the end of 1984 or the beginning of 1985. This would give the possibility of continuing negotiations and concluding them with positive results and would demonstrate the desire not only of the U.S. but also of the USSR of responding

to the expectations and interests of the European peoples and of the peoples of the world and of peace, trust, and security on the continent. In the period of continuing the negotiations, the USSR would give guarantees, in the sense of prior declarations, that it will halt the deployment of new intermediate range missiles and their modernization and will reduce unilaterally a part of those located in the European zone of the USSR.

In circumstances in which an agreement in this regard is not arrived at, Romania considers that it would be possible to have in mind at least that intermediate range missiles not be deployed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, and other states as an intermediate measure, until achieving a final understanding regarding intermediate range missiles in Europe.

Romania considers that until the complete freeing of Europe of any form of nuclear weapons, it would have great significance to create a denuclearization zone on the continent. In this spirit, one is inclined to act in support of efforts to create a denuclearized zone in the Balkans, in Northern Europe and in other parts of the continent as an integral part of the process of achieving disarmament and security on the continent.

30
Romania proposes that the U.S. and the USSR adopt unilateral decisions to freeze military expenditures for the next two years at 1983 levels and in this period to develop negotiations to pass on to reducing military expenditures. Such a measure would have a great political importance, would not affect the security of any of the parts (of Europe), would respond to the interests of the peoples, and would contribute to the climate of international trust and security.

Even in the actual international circumstances, it is still necessary that all times one should show a spirit of initiative and adopt new measures which will lead to the reduction of international tensions, to the halting of the arms race, and in the first instance of nuclear arms, and to the strengthening of policies of peace, detente, and international cooperation.

I express the conviction in the spirit of the appeal that I address to you in the name of the Romanian people and in my own name, sir, that the United States will do everything to conclude successfully the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva, to halt the escalation of nuclear arms in Europe, to arrive at concrete measures for nuclear disarmament on the continent, which represents a vital desire of all European peoples and of all peoples and would contribute to the relaxation and improvement of the climate of international life.

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I use this occasion to express my conviction that acting in the spirit of understandings and documents agreed on at the highest level between our states, the bilateral relations between our two countries and peoples will expand continuously and at the same time, the cooperation in the interest of policies of peace, disarmament, collaboration and respect for the national independence of all peoples will intensify.

With special consideration,

N. Ceausescu

REFERRAL

DATE 12 SEP 83

MEMORANDUM FOR STATE SECRETARIAT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Remain

32

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

TO CLARK

SOURCE HILL, C

DATE 24 AUG 83

KEYWORDS. ROMANIA

INF

HS

SUBJ. TEXT OF LTR FM CEAUSESCU TO PRES RE INF

REQUIRED ACTION FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS

Melanie Rhodes

FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

National Security Council
The White House

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DISPOSITION

Executive Secretary

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John Poindexter

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Bud McFarlane

Jacque Hill

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Judge Clark

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A

John Poindexter

Executive Secretary

5

Review

NSC Secretariat

6

D

Situation Room

I-Information

A-Action

R-Retain

D-Dispatch

N-No further Act

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

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(Date/Time)

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Roxie

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1983 SEP 12 AM 11:33

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5962

37

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 12, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SIGNED

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Response to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter

Romanian President Ceausescu sent you and Andropov identical messages on the deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe. Specifically, his letter (Tab B) poses the following suggestions: a postponement of the deployment of U.S. intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe, a freeze on military spending and the establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe. Your reply (Tab A) reaffirms our policy that (a) it is necessary to offset the growing military imbalance of military forces in Europe caused by the massive and unwarranted Soviet build-up in longer-range INF missiles; (b) a freeze on military spending can exacerbate military imbalances that undermine collective deterrence; and (c) a nuclear weapons free zone would not take account of the existing security situation. Vice President Bush will discuss these European security issues with President Ceausescu when he visits Romania on September 18 - 19.

Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATION

OK No

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

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

Attachments:

Tab A	Proposed letter to President Ceausescu of Romania
Tab B	Incoming letter from Romanian President Ceausescu

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Sec 3.4(h) (1) E.O. 12958, as amended
White House, Sept. 11, 2008
BY NARA rw DATE 11/19/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc Vice President

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 9, 1983

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Response to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter

DECLASSIFIED

Sec. 3. [REDACTED] recommended
White [REDACTED]
BY NAME [REDACTED] *RW* [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Sept. 11, 2008
[REDACTED] 119117



XR-8325785

United States Department of State

39

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 8, 1983

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Response to Romanian President
Ceaurescu's letter to President Reagan

Attached is a proposed response to Romanian President
Ceaurescu's letter on INF and other military issues.

Attachments:

1. Proposed response.
2. Incoming correspondence.

Long

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

RW
11/19/17

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~
Suggested Draft

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of August 19. I want to assure you that the American people share the concerns of the Romanian people for effective arms control and increased security in Europe. I wish to stress my personal commitment to the deepest possible reductions in nuclear and conventional forces.

The United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by deterring aggression and by preserving cooperative relations among all states. For more than 30 years, NATO has made clear in word and deed that its purposes are purely defensive and that it will maintain only those defensive forces necessary to fulfill its strategy of deterrence. The United States and its Allies have, at the same time, vigorously sought to improve stability and security in Europe through substantial, equitable, and verifiable agreements to limit and reduce military forces.

I thus would like to address the suggestions in your letter for a postponement of the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear (INF) missiles in Europe, a freeze on military spending, and establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe.

The U.S. and its NATO Allies decided in 1979 that it was necessary to address a growing imbalance of military forces in

His Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu,

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Bucharest.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

- 2 -

Europe caused by a massive and unwarranted Soviet build-up in longer-range INF missiles aimed at NATO. While NATO made clear its determination to deploy deterrent systems of its own if necessary, the NATO Allies also offered to seek an arms control agreement that would eliminate or at least significantly reduce these systems to equal levels on a global basis. The negotiations began in late 1981.

The United States, in consultation with its Allies, has made far-reaching offers in these negotiations; we have proposed the total elimination of the entire category of U.S. and Soviet land-based longer-range intermediate-range nuclear missiles. As a step toward this goal, the United States has proposed an interim agreement that would achieve equal, substantially reduced levels of such systems on a global basis. The United States and its Allies also have stated repeatedly their willingness to consider any serious alternative proposals that meet the security concerns which prompted their 1979 NATO decision. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has yet to accept either of the U.S. proposals or to advance one of their own that takes into account NATO's security.

It is my most fervent wish that the Geneva INF negotiations make rapid progress toward an equitable and verifiable agreement that would, at a minimum, substantially reduce

- 3 -

nuclear forces in Europe. I am convinced that a delay in NATO deployments would eliminate any possibility of such progress. It would remove any incentive for the Soviet Union to negotiate seriously. Moreover, it would perpetuate the tension arising from the threatening Soviet monopoly in longer-range intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

A freeze on military spending, by itself, would also perpetuate, and perhaps aggravate, military imbalances that undermine collective deterrence. As you know, ~~however~~ the United States has been working with other states in the United Nations to develop standard guidelines for comparing and reporting military expenditures. We will continue this effort and urge other states which have not done so to join ^{us} ~~in this~~ endeavor.

The United States has long recognized that nuclear weapons free zones which take account of existing security situations and defensive arrangements may enhance security in certain regions of the world. However, the United States and its Allies have long expressed their concerns that a nuclear weapons free zone in all or part of Europe would not meet these criteria. A nuclear weapons free zone there would not take account of the existing security situation, since it would not constrain the threat to such zones from Soviet nuclear weapons adjacent to it. Indeed, such zones could well undermine rather

- 4 -

than enhance security. I believe that a more practical and effective goal is substantial ^{and ~~effectively~~ verifiable} reductions in the strategic and theater nuclear arsenals of both sides.

Despite the differences in our views on some European security issues, I appreciate your interest and concern about this problem which is of vital interest to all of us. I value the private exchanges of views on this and many other issues which we maintain with you and other members of your government. I believe that the continuation of such diplomatic dialogue is in the interest of both of our countries and peoples. Vice President Bush will be prepared to discuss European security and other issues of mutual interest with you when he visits Bucharest on my behalf ^{in the near future.} ~~later in September.~~

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Suggested Draft

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of August 19. I want to assure you that the American people share the concerns of the Romanian people for effective arms control and increased security in Europe. I wish to stress my personal commitment to the deepest possible reductions in nuclear and conventional forces.

The United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by deterring aggression and by preserving cooperative relations among all states. For more than 30 years NATO has made clear in word and deed that its purposes are purely defensive and that it will maintain only those defensive forces necessary to fulfill its strategy of deterrence. The United States and its Allies have, at the same time, vigorously sought to improve stability and security in Europe through substantial, equitable, and verifiable agreements to limit and reduce military forces.

I thus would like to address the suggestions in your letter for a postponement of the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear (INF) missiles in Europe, a freeze on military spending, and establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe.

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His Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu,

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Bucharest.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

- 2 -

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The United States, in consultation with its Allies, has made far-reaching offers in these negotiations; we have proposed the total elimination of the entire category of U.S. and Soviet land-based longer-range intermediate-range nuclear missiles. As a step toward this goal, the United States has proposed an interim agreement that would achieve equal, substantially reduced levels of such systems on a global basis. The United States and its Allies also have stated repeatedly their willingness to consider any serious alternative proposals that meet the security concerns which prompted their 1979 NATO decision. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has yet to accept either of the U.S. proposals or to advance one of their own that takes into account NATO's security.

It is my most fervent wish that the Geneva INF negotiations make rapid progress toward an equitable and verifiable agreement that would, at a minimum, substantially reduce

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

- 3 -

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The United States has long recognized that nuclear weapons free zones which take account of existing security situations and defensive arrangements may enhance security in certain regions of the world. However, the United States and its Allies have long expressed their concerns that a nuclear weapons free zone in all or part of Europe would not meet these criteria. A nuclear weapons free zone there would not take account of the existing security situation, since it would not constrain the threat to such zones from Soviet nuclear weapons adjacent to it. Indeed, such zones could well undermine rather

- 4 -

than enhance security. I believe that a more practical and effective goal is substantial reductions in the strategic and theater nuclear arsenals of both sides.

Despite the differences in our views on some European security issues, I appreciate your interest and concern about this problem which is of vital interest to all of us. I value the private exchanges of views on this and many other issues which we maintain with you and other members of your government. I believe that the continuation of such diplomatic dialogue is in the interest of both of our countries and peoples. Vice President Bush will be prepared to discuss European security and other issues of mutual interest with you when he visits Bucharest on my behalf later in September.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Bucharest, August 19, 1983

Esteemed Mr. President,

The Romanian people, like all European peoples, is profoundly preoccupied at the possibility of beginning the deployment of new intermediate range missiles in Europe, which would create an especially grave situation, in Europe and in the world, would open the way for an intensification of the arms race, would increase the danger of war, and in the first instance nuclear war, and would put in peril all European peoples and the existence of life itself and of human civilization.

Having in mind your commitments and declarations according to which the United States of America is for the reduction and the elimination of nuclear arms in Europe, I consider that it is necessary to do everything to conclude with success this year the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva regarding intermediate range missiles, which would correspond to the interests and burning aspirations of the European peoples and the American people and would have profound positive implications in actual international life.

Sharing with you my concern with the fact that until now no progress has been registered in the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva, I appreciate that there is still time, through new efforts, through negotiations carried out in a spirit of cooperation and acting with complete responsibility both by one party and the other, to arrive quickly at a suitable agreement which will assure the halting of the deployment of new rockets and the withdrawal and destruction of those existing, as an intermediate measure on the path of freeing the continent of all nuclear arms. As long as the negotiations are in progress and as long as there exists even a small chance of halting the deployment of the new rockets, it is necessary to do everything for the success of the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva.

In the case that one will not arrive at an agreement in the framework of these negotiations until the end of this year, Romania considers that it would be necessary to do everything to arrive at an understanding that the NATO decision regarding the deployment of new intermediate range missiles should be put off at least until the end of 1984 or the beginning of 1985. This would give the possibility of continuing negotiations and concluding them with positive results and would demonstrate the desire not only of the U.S. but also of the USSR of responding

to the expectations and interests of the European peoples and of the peoples of the world and of peace, trust, and security on the continent. In the period of continuing the negotiations, the USSR would give guarantees, in the sense of prior declarations, that it will halt the deployment of new intermediate range missiles and their modernization and will reduce unilaterally a part of those located in the European zone of the USSR.

In circumstances in which an agreement in this regard is not arrived at, Romania considers that it would be possible to have in mind at least that intermediate range missiles not be deployed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, and other states as an intermediate measure, until achieving a final understanding regarding intermediate range missiles in Europe.

Romania considers that until the complete freeing of Europe of any form of nuclear weapons, it would have great significance to create a denuclearization zone on the continent. In this spirit, one is inclined to act in support of efforts to create a denuclearized zone in the Balkans, in Northern Europe and in other parts of the continent as an integral part of the process of achieving disarmament and security on the continent.

Romania proposes that the U.S. and the USSR adopt unilateral decisions to freeze military expenditures for the next two years at 1983 levels and in this period to develop negotiations to pass on to reducing military expenditures. Such a measure would have a great political importance, would not affect the security of any of the parts (of Europe), would respond to the interests of the peoples, and would contribute to the climate of international trust and security.

Even in the actual international circumstances, it is still necessary that all times one should show a spirit of initiative and adopt new measures which will lead to the reduction of international tensions, to the halting of the arms race, and in the first instance of nuclear arms, and to the strengthening of policies of peace, detente, and international cooperation.

I express the conviction in the spirit of the appeal that I address to you in the name of the Romanian people and in my own name, sir, that the United States will do everything to conclude successfully the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva, to halt the escalation of nuclear arms in Europe, to arrive at concrete measures for nuclear disarmament on the continent, which represents a vital desire of all European peoples and of all peoples and would contribute to the relaxation and improvement of the climate of international life.

I use this occasion to express my conviction that acting in the spirit of understandings and documents agreed on at the highest level between our states, the bilateral relations between our two countries and peoples will expand continuously and at the same time, the cooperation in the interest of policies of peace, disarmament, collaboration and respect for the national independence of all peoples will intensify.

With special consideration,

N. Ceausescu

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 24, 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Text of Letter on INF from Romanian President
Ceaurescu to President Reagan

Attached is an informal translation of a message from Romanian President Ceaurescu on deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe. We have been advised that it, and an identical letter addressed to Soviet First Secretary Andropov, will be published in Romania on August 22. We will submit a proposed response shortly.

Attachment:
As stated.

Barbara McKinley
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: OADR

JFW

11/19/17

Bucharest, August 19, 1983

Esteemed Mr. President,

The Romanian people, like all European peoples, is profoundly preoccupied at the possibility of beginning the deployment of new intermediate range missiles in Europe, which would create an especially grave situation, in Europe and in the world, would open the way for an intensification of the arms race, would increase the danger of war, and in the first instance nuclear war, and would put in peril all European peoples and the existence of life itself and of human civilization.

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With special consideration,

N. Ceausescu