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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187546	LETTER	NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND ANDREAS PAPANDREOU TO DONALD REAGAN	3	12/29/1983	B1

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ROMANIAN INF
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BY RW DATE 11/20/17

TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE 0000

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 262095

E O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS PARM, RO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S
LETTER

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO
PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S LETTER OF AUGUST 19 ON INF. POST
SHOULD DELIVER AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY PRIOR TO THE
VICE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL. A COPY SHOULD BE MADE
AVAILABLE TO THE VICE PRESIDENT'S STAFF UPON ARRIVAL IN
BUCHAREST. ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED. DATE OF PRESIDENT'S
LETTER IS SEPTEMBER 12.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER.

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. AT THE SAME TIME,
THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES HAVE VIGOROUSLY SOUGHT
TO IMPROVE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE THROUGH
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 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,
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.

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 THAN ENHANCE
SECURITY. I BELIEVE THAT A MORE PRACTICAL AND
EFFECTIVE GOAL IS SUBSTANTIAL AND 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

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CONTINUATION OF SUCH DIPLOMATIC DIALOGUE IS IN THE
INTEREST OF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. VICE
PRESIDENTEUCH WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS EUROPEAN
SECURITY AND OTHER ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST WITH YOU
DURING HIS VISIT TO BUCHAREST ON SEPTEMBER 18 - 19.

SINCERELY,

RONALD REAGAN

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

END OF TEXT.
SHULTZ
BT

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ROMANIA -
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Do we have correct
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 11767

EXDIS
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM PREL RO USUR GE
SUBJ: NEW CEAUSESCU LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THIS MORNING, NOVEMBER 3, FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI PRESENTED THE AMBASSADOR WITH ANOTHER LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN REGARDING INF AND ONGOING US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT CEAUSESCU IS ALSO SENDING A MESSAGE TO ANDROPOV. THESE MESSAGES HE SAID WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED. MUCH OF WHAT CEAUSESCU WRITES IS OLD AND SUPPORTIVE OF SOVIET POSITIONS, BUT THERE APPEAR TO BE SOME NEW POINTS IN THIS LETTER. CEAUSESCU SUGGESTED A PHASED APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH A HALT IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF US MISSILES AND THE WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL OR MOST OF THE SOVIET MISSILES BEING AGREED UPON IN PHASE I AND OTHER ASPECTS -- INCLUDING THE MATTER OF FRENCH AND BRITISH MISSILES AND OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS--BEING RESOLVED IN LATER PHASES IN WHICH FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN WOULD PARTICIPATE. CEAUSESCU CONSIDERS THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES IN SOME COUNTRIES OF WESTERN AND EASTERN (NOTE EASTERN) EUROPE A VIOLATION OF THE NPT THAT WILL STIMULATE OTHER COUNTRIES (NOTE) AS WELL TO ACT TO OBTAIN THE DEPLOYMENT ON THEIR TERRITORY OF SIMILAR WEAPONS. HE NOTES WITH CONCERN THE INSTALLATION OF THESE MISSILES ON GERMAN TERRITORY WHERE TWO WORLD WARS BEGAN. CIRCUMSTANCES SUGGEST THAT THE LETTER MAY HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, BUT WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT ITS SUBSTANCE HAS ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THE SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 3 FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI SUMMONED THE AMBASSADOR TO THE MINISTRY TO PRESENT HIM WITH A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN REGARDING INF AND THE GENEVA INF NEGOTIATIONS. THE MEETING LASTED ONLY A FEW MINUTES. AFTER HANDING THE LETTER TO THE AMBASSADOR, ANDREI ASKED HIM TO CONVEY HIS REGARDS TO SECRETARY SHULTZ AND TO TELL THE SECRETARY THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE SPOKEN WITH HIM IN NEW YORK. ANDREI SAID THAT HE HAS PASSED ALONG TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO ALL OF THE POINTS THE SECRETARY HAD REQUESTED AND THAT GROMYKO HAD SEEMED PLEASED. (ANDREI MET WITH GROMYKO

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IN SOFIA ON OCTOBER 13 AND 14.)
SUBSEQUENTLY, ANDREI INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT PRESIDENT
CEAUSESCU WAS SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO FIRST SECRETARY
ANDROPOV AND THAT NEITHER LETTER WOULD BE PUBLICIZED,
AS WERE CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST LETTERS.

4. THE ORIGINAL OF CEAUSESCU'S LETTER AND AN OFFICIAL
MFA TRANSLATION WILL BE POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT (EUR/EEY)
BY CLASSIFIED POUCH DEPARTING BUCHAREST ON NOVEMBER 7.

5. THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER (WHICH WE
THINK FITS THE AMERICAN IDIOM A BIT BETTER THAN THE FOREIGN
MINISTER'S USAGE) FOLLOWS:

"MR. RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO YOU AGAIN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PLANS FOR
THE FORTHCOMING DEPLOYMENT IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
OF THE NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE AMERICAN MISSILES AND THE
PRESENT AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS HELD AT GENEVA.
DEEPLY PREOCCUPIED BY THE PROSPECTS OF THE ESCALATION OF
THE ARMS RACE AND OF GROWING THREATS OF WAR, THE ROMANIAN
PEOPLE, AND OTHER EUROPEAN PEOPLES, BY THE LARGE DEMONSTRATIONS
THAT TOOK PLACE AND ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN EUROPE AND
OTHER CONTINENTS, REQUEST MORE AND MORE FIRMLY THAT
EVERYTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO REACHING AN ADEQUATE
AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A HALT TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF
NEW MISSILES AND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF
EXISTING ONES.

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 6642

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 11767

EXDIS

I CONSIDER THAT AT PRESENT IT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE,
AND ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN, TO
REACH AN ADEQUATE AGREEMENT AT THE AMERICAN-SOVIET
NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA.

THE PROPOSALS EXTENDED BY THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA AS WELL AS THE PROPOSALS EXTENDED BY THE SOVIET
UNION INCLUDING THOSE MENTIONED IN THE INTERVIEW
OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U. S. S. R.
PUBLISHED IN "PRAVDA", OCTOBER 27, 1983, OFFER
A GOOD BASIS FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT AT THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS.

IN FACT, BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZE THAT NUCLEAR ARMS POSE
A SERIOUS THREAT TO MANKIND AND PRONOUNCE THEMSELVES IN ONE
WAY OR ANOTHER FOR HALTING NUCLEAR ARMS AND STARTING
THE REDUCTION OF THESE ARMS, CONTINUE THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS, THUS PROVING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE, BY MEANS
OF JOINT EFFORTS, TO REACH AN AGREEMENT AT THE AMERICAN-
SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

EVEN IF ALL THE PROBLEMS ARE NOT SOLVED AT THIS
STAGE, EVEN IF SOME SOLUTIONS ARE NOT PERFECT, IT
IS ESSENTIAL TO REACH AN AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A HALT
TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW AMERICAN MISSILES AND FOR THE
WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION--IN TOTALITY OR IN THE
GREATEST PART--OF SOVIET MISSILES, LEAVING OTHER ASPECTS
TO BE SETTLED AT OTHER STAGES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
OF AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE GENERAL RELATION (RATIO) OF
FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. THUS, IT COULD BE AGREED
THAT FRENCH AND BRITISH MISSILES AND ALL NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND MEANS OF DELIVERY BE TAKEN INTO CALCULATION IN
THE GENERAL RATIO OF FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND BE
MADE THE OBJECT OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH FRANCE
AND GREAT BRITAIN WILL ALSO PARTICIPATE.

I AM TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT THE FACT
THAT IN THE TREATY FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR
ARMS THE PARTIES PLEDGED THEMSELVES "TO PREVENT THE
SPREADING OF NUCLEAR ARMS" AND "NOT TO TRANSFER (THEM)
TO ANYONE", THAT IS "NOT TO ACCEPT THE
DIRECT OR INDIRECT TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR ARMS OR DEVICES BY ANYONE".
CONSEQUENTLY, THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES IN SOME
COUNTRIES OF WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE MEANS A VIOLATION
OF THE TREATY FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS,
CREATING AN ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS PRECEDENT AND
STIMULATING ALSO OTHER COUNTRIES TO ACT TO OBTAIN THE
DEPLOYMENT OF SUCH WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORY.
MOREOVER, THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE NEW MISSILES ON
GERMAN TERRITORY, WHERE TWO WORLD WARS BEGAN, WILL

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LEAD TOWARD THE TRANSFORMATION OF THIS TERRITORY INTO
A POWERFUL ARSENAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT COULD BECOME
A THREAT FOR THE PEACE AND LIFE OF PEOPLES ON THE CONTINENT.

IN CONSIDERATION OF THESE REASONS AND IN THE SPIRIT
OF THE MESSAGE I SENT TO YOU ON AUGUST 22, 1983,
I REPEAT NOW MY APPEAL THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DO EVERYTHING TO COME UP WITH AN AGREEMENT LEADING TO
THE HALT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE
MISSILES OR AT LEAST TO A POSTPONEMENT OF THEIR
DEPLOYMENT UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR 1984 OR THE
BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1985 AND CONSEQUENTLY, DURING THIS
TIME OF THE AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS, IT WOULD FOLLOW
THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT DEPLOY NEW MISSILES AND,
IN CONFORMITY WITH ITS DECLARATIONS, WOULD REDUCE A NUMBER
OF EXISTING MISSILES.

BY FORWARDING THESE PROPOSALS ON BEHALF OF THE
ROMANIAN PEOPLE AND IN MY OWN NAME, I EXPRESS THE CON-
VICTION THAT YOU, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WILL
WORK AT THE GENEVA NEGOTTIATIONS IN FAVOR OF AN AGREEMENT
LEADING TO A HALT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES, OF ACHIEVING
A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE
LEVEL. BY THE REDUCTION, NOT THE ESCALATION, OF NUCLEAR
ARMS STOCKPILES ON THE CONTINENT. THIS
WOULD ANSWER THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF EUROPEAN
PEOPLES, OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HELP TO
STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD
AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.
WITH MY HIGH REGARDS
NICOLAE CEAUSESCU NOVEMBER 2, 1983" FUNDERBURK
BT

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Romania
Pres.
(CORRESP.)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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BONN/ROME PLEASE PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY BURT
E.O. 12356 DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM, PREL, NATO, RO, GE
SUBJECT: NEW CEAUSESCU LETTERS

REF: A. STATE 266331
B. BUCHAREST 11767 (NOTAL)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. REFTEL A PROVIDED TEXT OF "PRIVATE" LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 2 TO PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU REGARDING THE INF NEGOTIATIONS AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. LRINF MISSILES TO EUROPE. THE ROMANIANS INDICATED THAT THEY ARE SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO SOVIETS. FRG EMBASSY HERE INFORMED US ON NOVEMBER 7 THAT CEAUSESCU ALSO SENT A LETTER WITH A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT TEXT TO KOHL AND THAT FRG PERMREP INTENDS TO RAISE THE SUBJECT AT PERMREPS' LUNCH ON NOVEMBER 8.

3. THE CEAUSESCU LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THE U.S. SHOULD DELAY LRINF DEPLOYMENTS TO EUROPE UNTIL LATE 1984 OR EARLY 1985 AND THE SOVIETS SHOULD START UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR

MISSILES.

-- UK/FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, POSSIBLY IN SUBSEQUENT MULTI-LATERAL NEGOTIATIONS INCLUDING FRENCH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS.

-- SUGGESTION THAT U.S. DEPLOYMENTS OR SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS TO EASTERN EUROPE WOULD BE VIOLATIONS OF NPT.

4. THE LETTER TO KOHL REPORTEDLY CONTAINS THE SAME POINTS AS THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN WITH THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONS:

-- A CALL FOR A COMBINED MEETING OF THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO TO DISCUSS INF.

-- A CALL FOR A U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT MEETING.

-- THERE ARE MINOR SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES REGARDING U.S. AND GERMAN TEXTS THAT RELATE TO EXTENT OF SOVIET DESTRUCTION OF SS-20 FORCE; THESE ARE PROBABLY DUE TO TRANSLATION DIFFERENCES.

5. REFTEL A OUTLINED SUBSTANCE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REPLY TO CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST 22 LETTER. IF THE FRG PERMREP RAISES CEAUSESCU LETTER TO KOHL, YOU MAY CONFIRM RECEIPT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN, INDICATING THAT WE ARE PREPARING A REPLY, AND DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS FOR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION:

-- POSTPONEMENT OF DEPLOYMENTS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES

-- PROPER FORUM FOR NEGOTIATING AN INF AGREEMENT IS U.S.-SOVIET INF TALKS, NOT PACT-TO-ALLIANCE MEETING

-- SOVIET WALKOUT WILL FURTHER UNDERMINE CREDIBILITY OF SOVIETS WITH EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT

-- U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT UNLIKELY UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS

-- ALLIES SHOULD DISCOURAGE PUBLICITY FOR CEAUSESCU LETTERS AND DOWNPLAY IMPORTANCE OF INITIATIVE

6. FOR BURT: FRG EMBASSY INDICATED THAT BONN WISHES CEAUSESCU LETTER BE DISCUSSED AT NOVEMBER 10 SCG

MEETING IN ROME IN ADDITION TO PERMREPS' LUNCH DISCUSSION ON NOVEMBER 8. WE WILL PREPARE ANALYSIS/TALKING POINTS.

SHULTZ
BT

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

November 17, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ²⁷

SUBJECT: Response to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter

Romanian President Ceausescu sent the President another message (Tab B) on the deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe. A similar letter was also forwarded to Andropov. Much of what Ceausescu writes is old and supportive of Soviet positions; yet, several new points are raised. Specifically, Ceausescu suggests a phased approach to the negotiations with a halt in the deployment of U.S. missiles and the withdrawal and destruction of most of the Soviet missiles being agreed upon in phase one, and the matter of British and French missiles being resolved in a later phase.

The President's reply (Tab A) reaffirms a) our interest in an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate intermediate-range missiles; b) our willingness to cancel the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles; and c) our view that given the lack of concrete results in Geneva, there is no justification for postponing planned U.S. deployments. The response also notes Ceausescu's suggestion on British and French forces, but reiterates our position that their missiles not be included in the INF negotiations. Your memorandum to the President is attached at Tab I.

Speechwriters have cleared the text. Ron Lehman, Bob Linhard, Jack Matlock and Peter Sommer concur. ^{Ron Bob}

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Proposed response to Romanian President Ceausescu
- Tab B Incoming letter, dated November 2, 1983

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SUBJECT: Response to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter

Romanian President Ceausescu sent you and Andropov another message on the deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe (Tab B). Much of what Ceausescu writes is old and supportive of Soviet positions; yet, several new points are mentioned. Specifically, Ceausescu suggests a phased approach to the negotiations with a halt in the deployment of U.S. missiles and the withdrawal and destruction of most Soviet missiles being agreed upon in phase one, and the matter of British and French missiles being resolved in a later phase. Your reply (Tab A) reaffirms our interest in an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate longer-range INF missiles, our willingness to cancel the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles, and our view that presently, there is no justification for postponing planned U.S. deployments. Your response also notes Ceausescu's proposal regarding British and French missiles, but reiterates our position that these missiles not be included in the INF negotiations.

State concurs; Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATIONOK No

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

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

Attachments:

Tab A Proposed response to Romanian President
Tab B Incoming letter, dated November 2, 1983~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

AN NYS Waives 8/6/10
11/7/17

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of November 2. I appreciate your continuing interest in U.S. efforts to reach an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate longer-range INF missiles. Subsequent to my last letter, I outlined at the United Nations General Assembly on September 26 three new INF initiatives designed to meet expressed Soviet concerns. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union rejected these proposals soon afterward. ~~Chairman~~ President Andropov presented new INF proposals on October 26, and although there were some positive aspects, they failed to address adequately legitimate Western security concerns. The Soviet Union in the Geneva negotiations continues to demand compensation for British and French independent nuclear forces and to insist on the maintenance of their monopoly of LRINF missiles.

As I noted in my September 12 letter, the United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by maintaining cooperative relations among all states and by deterring aggression. Yet, during the two years that we have negotiated in good faith with the Soviet Union in Geneva, they have deployed about 100 additional SS-20 missiles.

The primary Soviet objective in the negotiations continues to be to prevent the deployment of any U.S. LRINF missiles and to maintain a monopoly of these weapons. Since we have not been able to

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Authority NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY RW NARA DATE 11/20/17

achieve, despite our sincere efforts, concrete results in Geneva, there is no justification for postponing planned U.S. deployments. We, of course, remain willing to cancel the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles. This zero/zero result would be the ideal arms control outcome.

We read with interest your comments on British and French forces. However, as you know the United States and its Allies cannot accept Soviet demands that British and French forces be included in the INF negotiations. British and French forces are minimum national nuclear deterrents. Both Prime Minister Thatcher and President Mitterrand have emphasized the independent nature of these forces and have rejected any suggestion that they be included in the negotiations. The Soviet demand to be accorded the right to maintain nuclear forces as large as all other nations of the world combined is not an acceptable basis for arms control and can never lead to agreement between the United States and Soviet Union. The British and French governments have, however, indicated their willingness to reexamine their attitude toward arms control limitations on their nuclear forces under conditions of substantially reduced U.S. and Soviet forces.

I sincerely share your concern regarding the spread of nuclear arms. We are determined to maintain a credible deterrent at the lowest possible level of nuclear forces. In this regard, the NATO Defense Ministers recently announced in Canada that we will withdraw from the NATO nuclear stockpile an additional 1,400 warheads, beyond the 1,000 warheads unilaterally withdrawn from the NATO stockpile in 1980. Moreover, the planned deployment of new U.S. LRINF missiles to Europe will not mean an increase in warhead numbers since one warhead will be withdrawn for every new missile deployed. Conversely, the Soviet Union has indicated no inclination to match NATO's reductions. In fact, the Soviet Union continues to deploy nuclear armed SS-20 missiles and has begun to deploy additional nuclear capable short-range missiles to Eastern Europe.

Let me reiterate that I will continue rigorously to pursue every reasonable means to reduce and limit nuclear weapons, including effective implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. As you rightly point out, these are issues of the greatest importance for the entire world. I deeply regret that the Soviet Union is threatening to disrupt the INF negotiations in Geneva. The United States is prepared to continue these talks as long as necessary to obtain a mutually acceptable agreement.

Sincerely,

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



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 7, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS ATTACHMENT

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 Ceausescu of Romania
which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat
Information Management Section on November 4, 1983.

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

- RW

1/20/87

8333980

CONFIDENTIAL

Department of State

p/c
L8
adv. to NSC
RB
GRS/S-0
INCOMINPAGE 01 BUCAR 11767 01 OF 02 031542Z 7778 005268 SS09556
-----03/1646Z

ACTION OFFICE EUR-02

INFO MR-01 SSO-01 SSS-01 SSI-02 SS-01 S-02 D-01 P-02 T-01
C-01 INR-02 L-01 PH-01 SP-02 SKP-01 ACDA-01 OCT-01
/024 A6 LJN

OCT PASS DOD INR CIA NSA NSC

-----03/1551Z

INFO EUR-01 X-01 /002 A2 CGS

ACTION SS-00

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /027 W
-----343730 031547Z /41O 031500Z NOV 83
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4485
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 11767

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PARM PREL RO USUR GE

SUBJ: NEW CEAUSESCU LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THIS MORNING, NOVEMBER 3, FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI PRESENTED THE AMBASSADOR WITH ANOTHER LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN REGARDING INF AND ONGOING US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT CEAUSESCU IS ALSO SENDING A MESSAGE TO ANDROPOV. THESE MESSAGES HE SAID WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED. MUCH OF WHAT CEAUSESCU WRITES IS OLD AND SUPPORTIVE OF SOVIET POSITIONS, BUT THERE APPEAR TO BE SOME NEW POINTS IN THIS LETTER. CEAUSESCU SUGGESTED A PHASED APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH A HALT IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF US MISSILES AND THE WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL OR MOST OF THE SOVIET MISSILES BEING AGREED UPON IN PHASE I AND OTHER ASPECTS -- INCLUDING THE MATTER OF FRENCH AND BRITISH MISSILES AND OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS--BEING RESOLVED IN LATER PHASES IN WHICH FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN WOULD PARTICIPATE. CEAUSESCU CONSIDERS THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES IN SOME COUNTRIES OF WESTERN AND EASTERN (NOTE EASTERN) EUROPE A VIOLATION OF THE NPT THAT WILL STIMULATE OTHER COUNTRIES (NOTE) AS WELL TO ACT TO OBTAIN THE DEPLOYMENT ON THEIR TERRITORY OF SIMILAR WEAPONS. HE NOTES WITH CONCERN THE INSTALLATION OF THESE MISSILES ON GERMAN TERRITORY WHERE TWO WORLD WARS BEGAN. CIRCUMSTANCES SUGGEST THAT THE LETTER MAY HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, BUT WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT ITS SUBSTANCE HAS ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THE SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 3 FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI SUMMONED THE AMBASSADOR TO THE MINISTRY TO PRESENT HIM WITH A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN REGARDING INF AND THE GENEVA INF NEGOTIATIONS. THE MEETING LASTED ONLY A FEW MINUTES. AFTER HANDING THE LETTER TO THE AMBASSADOR, ANDREI ASKED HIM TO CONVEY HIS REGARDS TO SECRETARY SHULTZ AND TO TELL THE SECRETARY THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE SPOKEN WITH HIM IN NEW YORK. ANDREI SAID THAT HE HAS PASSED ALONG TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO ALL OF THE POINTS THE SECRETARY HAD REQUESTED AND THAT GROMYKO HAD SEEMED PLEASED. (ANDREI MET WITH GROMYKO IN SOFIA ON OCTOBER 13 AND 14.) SUBSEQUENTLY, ANDREI INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT PRESIDENT

PAGE 01 BUCAR 11767 01 OF 02 031542Z 7778 005268 SS09556
CEAUSESCU WAS SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO FIRST SECRETARY ANDROPOV AND THAT NEITHER LETTER WOULD BE PUBLICIZED, AS WERE CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST LETTERS.

4. THE ORIGINAL OF CEAUSESCU'S LETTER AND AN OFFICIAL MFA TRANSLATION WILL BE POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT (EUR/EEY) BY CLASSIFIED POUCH DEPARTING BUCHAREST ON NOVEMBER 7.

5. THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER (WHICH WE THINK FITS THE AMERICAN IDIOM A BIT BETTER THAN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S USAGE) FOLLOWS:

*MR. RONALD REAGAN

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO YOU AGAIN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PLANS FOR THE FORTHCOMING DEPLOYMENT IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF THE NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE AMERICAN MISSILES AND THE PRESENT AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS HELD AT GENEVA. DEEPLY PREOCCUPIED BY THE PROSPECTS OF THE ESCALATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND OF GROWING THREATS OF WAR, THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE, AND OTHER EUROPEAN PEOPLES, BY THE LARGE DEMONSTRATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE AND ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN EUROPE AND OTHER CONTINENTS, REQUEST MORE AND MORE FIRMLY THAT EVERYTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO REACHING AN ADEQUATE AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A HALT TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES AND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF EXISTING ONES.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW DATE 1/20/17

ifd

CONFIDENTIAL

Department of State

S/S-O 15
INCOMING

PAGE 01 BUCHAR 11767 02 OF 02 031558Z 7871 005270 SS09505
-----03/1649Z

ACTION OFFICE EUR-02

INFO MR-01 SSO-01 SSS-01 SSI-02 SS-01 S-02 D-01 P-02 T-01
C-01 INR-02 L-01 PH-01 SP-02 SNP-01 ACDA-01 OCT-01
/024 AG LJM
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INFO EUR-01 X-01 /002 A2 CGS

ACTION SS-00

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSD-00 /027 W
-----345037 031610Z /42

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4486
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 11767

EXDIS

I CONSIDER THAT AT PRESENT IT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE,
AND ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN, TO
REACH AN ADEQUATE AGREEMENT AT THE AMERICAN-SOVIET
NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA.

THE PROPOSALS EXTENDED BY THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA AS WELL AS THE PROPOSALS EXTENDED BY THE SOVIET
UNION INCLUDING THOSE MENTIONED IN THE INTERVIEW
OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.
PUBLISHED IN "PRAVDA", OCTOBER 27, 1983, OFFER
A GOOD BASIS FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT AT THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS.

IN FACT, BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZE THAT NUCLEAR ARMS POSE
A SERIOUS THREAT TO MANKIND AND PRONOUNCE THEMSELVES IN ONE
WAY OR ANOTHER FOR HALTING NUCLEAR ARMS AND STARTING
THE REDUCTION OF THESE ARMS, CONTINUE THE GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS, THUS PROVING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE, BY MEANS
OF JOINT EFFORTS, TO REACH AN AGREEMENT AT THE AMERICAN-
SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

EVEN IF ALL THE PROBLEMS ARE NOT SOLVED AT THIS
STAGE, EVEN IF SOME SOLUTIONS ARE NOT PERFECT, IT
IS ESSENTIAL TO REACH AN AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A HALT
TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW AMERICAN MISSILES AND FOR THE
WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION--IN TOTALITY OR IN THE
GREATEST PART--OF SOVIET MISSILES, LEAVING OTHER ASPECTS
TO BE SETTLED AT OTHER STAGES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
OF AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE GENERAL RELATION (RATIO) OF
FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. THUS, IT COULD BE AGREED
THAT FRENCH AND BRITISH MISSILES AND ALL NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND MEANS OF DELIVERY BE TAKEN INTO CALCULATION IN
THE GENERAL RATIO OF FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND BE
MADE THE OBJECT OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH FRANCE
AND GREAT BRITAIN WILL ALSO PARTICIPATE.

I AM TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT THE FACT
THAT IN THE TREATY FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR
ARMS THE PARTIES PLEDGED THEMSELVES "TO PREVENT THE
SPREADING OF NUCLEAR ARMS" AND "NOT TO TRANSFER (THEM)
TO ANYONE", THAT IS "NOT TO ACCEPT THE
DIRECT OR INDIRECT TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR ARMS OR DEVICES BY ANYONE".
CONSEQUENTLY, THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES IN SOME
COUNTRIES OF WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE MEANS A VIOLATION
OF THE TREATY FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS,

PAGE 01 BUCHAR 11767 02 OF 02 031558Z 7871 005270 SS09505
CREATING AS ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS PRECEDENT AND
STIMULATING ALSO OTHER COUNTRIES TO ACT TO OBTAIN THE
DEPLOYMENT OF SUCH WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORY.
MOREOVER, THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE NEW MISSILES ON
GERMAN TERRITORY, WHERE TWO WORLD WARS BEGAN, WILL
LEAD TOWARD THE TRANSFORMATION OF THIS TERRITORY INTO
A POWERFUL ARSENAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT COULD BECOME
A THREAT FOR THE PEACE AND LIFE OF PEOPLES ON THE CONTINENT.

IN CONSIDERATION OF THESE REASONS AND IN THE SPIRIT
OF THE MESSAGE I SENT TO YOU ON AUGUST 22, 1983,
I REPEAT NOW MY APPEAL THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DO EVERYTHING TO COME UP WITH AN AGREEMENT LEADING TO
THE HALT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE
MISSILES OR AT LEAST TO A POSTPONEMENT OF THEIR
DEPLOYMENT UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR 1984 OR THE
BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1985 AND CONSEQUENTLY, DURING THIS
TIME OF THE AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS, IT WOULD FOLLOW
THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT DEPLOY NEW MISSILES AND,
IN CONFORMITY WITH ITS DECLARATIONS, WOULD REDUCE A NUMBER
OF EXISTING MISSILES.

BY FORWARDING THESE PROPOSALS ON BEHALF OF THE
ROMANIAN PEOPLE AND IN MY OWN NAME, I EXPRESS THE CON-
VICTION THAT YOU, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WILL
WORK AT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS IN FAVOR OF AN AGREEMENT
LEADING TO A HALT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES, OF ACHIEVING
A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE
LEVEL, BY THE REDUCTION, NOT THE ESCALATION, OF NUCLEAR
ARMS STOCKPILES ON THE CONTINENT. THIS
WOULD ANSWER THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF EUROPEAN
PEOPLES, OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HELP TO
STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD
AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

WITH MY HIGH REGARDS
NICOLAE CEAUDESCU NOVEMBER 2, 1983 FUNDERBURN

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 21, 1983

TO: ROBERT M. KIMMITT
FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ⁷⁷
SUBJECT: Letter to Ceausescu

1. Over time, three titles have been used to identify Andropov -- General Secretary (ref his party capacity), President (used honorifically), and Chairman (most accurate and general). All three titles can be used.* Presently, the preferred choice is Chairman.

2. Rigorously is the word we want to use to mean "scrupulously accurate," "precise."

^{JEM}
Jack Matlock concurs.

*But "General Secretary" should be avoided now that Andropov is Chief of State, since President should not address him in his Party capacity if he has a more appropriate title -- which he has had since June.

AEW

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Rolmansky
ID 8308077

REFERRAL

DATE: 22 NOV 83

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 22 NOV 83

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

INF

USSR

HS

SUBJ: INF

FILE 17
Romania
Correspondence

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

Melanie Rhodes
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

11/22

OK to
dispatch!

Rosie

cc

National Security Council
The White House

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System # I
Package # 8077

85 NOV 21 12:18

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Wilma Hall	<u>3</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>4</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary	<u>5</u>		<u>A</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>		<u>D</u>
Situation Room			
Executive Secretary			

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

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

83 NOV 18 P 8: 17

System # I
Package # 8077
RA

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			
Executive Secretary			

Dobrowinsky 2 A

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

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

See queries at page
1 and 3 of Tot A

8077

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 21, 1983

TO: ROBERT M. KIMMITT
FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ^{TV}
SUBJECT: Letter to Ceausescu

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^{J&M}
Jack Matlock concurs.

*But "General Secretary" should be avoided now that Andropov is Chief of State, since President should not address him in his Party capacity if he has a more appropriate title -- which he has had since June

^{J&M}

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1983

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of November 2. I appreciate your continuing interest in U.S. efforts to reach an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate longer-range INF missiles. Subsequent to my last letter, I outlined at the United Nations General Assembly on September 26 three new INF initiatives designed to meet expressed Soviet concerns. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union rejected these proposals soon afterward. Chairman Andropov presented new INF proposals on October 26, and although there were some positive aspects, they failed to address adequately legitimate Western security concerns. The Soviet Union in the Geneva negotiations continues to demand compensation for British and French independent nuclear forces and to insist on the maintenance of their monopoly of LRINF missiles.

As I noted in my September 12 letter, the United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by maintaining cooperative relations among all states and by deterring aggression. Yet, during the two years that we have negotiated in good faith with the Soviet Union in Geneva, they have deployed about 100 additional SS-20 missiles.

The primary Soviet objective in the negotiations continues to be to prevent the deployment of any U.S. LRINF missiles and to maintain a monopoly of these weapons. Since we have not been able to

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AUTHORITY NSC Waiver 511610
BY *RW* DATE 11/20/17

achieve, despite our sincere efforts, concrete results in Geneva, there is no justification for postponing planned U.S. deployments. We, of course, remain willing to cancel the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles. This zero/zero result would be the ideal arms control outcome.

We read with interest your comments on British and French forces. However, as you know the United States and its Allies cannot accept Soviet demands that British and French forces be included in the INF negotiations. British and French forces are minimum national nuclear deterrents. Both Prime Minister Thatcher and President Mitterrand have emphasized the independent nature of these forces and have rejected any suggestion that they be included in the negotiations. The Soviet demand to be accorded the right to maintain nuclear forces as large as all other nations of the world combined is not an acceptable basis for arms control and can never lead to agreement between the United States and Soviet Union. The British and French governments have, however, indicated their willingness to reexamine their attitude toward arms control limitations on their nuclear forces under conditions of substantially reduced U.S. and Soviet forces.

I sincerely share your concern regarding the spread of nuclear arms. We are determined to maintain a credible deterrent at the lowest possible level of nuclear forces. In this regard, the NATO Defense Ministers recently announced in Canada that we will withdraw from the NATO nuclear stockpile an additional 1,400 warheads, beyond the 1,000 warheads unilaterally withdrawn from the NATO stockpile in 1980. Moreover, the planned deployment of new U.S. LRINF missiles to Europe will not mean an increase in warhead numbers since one warhead will be withdrawn for every new missile deployed. Conversely, the Soviet Union has indicated no inclination to match NATO's reductions. In fact, the Soviet Union continues to deploy nuclear armed SS-20 missiles and has begun to deploy additional nuclear capable short-range missiles to Eastern Europe.

Let me reiterate that I will continue rigorously to pursue every reasonable means to reduce and limit nuclear weapons, including effective implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. As you rightly point out, these are issues of the greatest importance for the entire world. I deeply regret that the Soviet Union is threatening to disrupt the INF negotiations in Geneva. The United States is prepared to continue these talks as long as necessary to obtain a mutually acceptable agreement.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The President has seen _____

8077

1983 NOV 21 PM 6:10

25

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 21, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SIGNED

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*
SUBJECT: Response to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter

Romanian President Ceausescu sent you and Andropov another message on the deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe (Tab B). Much of what Ceausescu writes is old and supportive of Soviet positions; yet, several new points are mentioned. Specifically, Ceausescu suggests a phased approach to the negotiations with a halt in the deployment of U.S. missiles and the withdrawal and destruction of most Soviet missiles being agreed upon in phase one, and the matter of British and French missiles being resolved in a later phase. Your reply (Tab A) reaffirms our interest in an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate longer-range INF missiles, our willingness to cancel the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles, and our view that presently, there is no justification for postponing planned U.S. deployments. Your response also notes Ceausescu's proposal regarding British and French missiles, but reiterates our position that these missiles not be included in the INF negotiations.

State concurs; Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATION

OK No

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

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

Attachments:

Tab A Proposed response to Romanian President
Tab B Incoming letter, dated November 2, 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: NSC Waiver 8/6/10
BY: *RW* DATE: 1/20/17

cc Vice President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 17, 1983

ACTION**SIGNED**

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY RD

SUBJECT: Response to Romanian President Ceausescu's Letter

Romanian President Ceausescu sent the President another message (Tab B) on the deployment of the new intermediate range missiles in Europe. A similar letter was also forwarded to Andropov. Much of what Ceausescu writes is old and supportive of Soviet positions; yet, several new points are raised. Specifically, Ceausescu suggests a phased approach to the negotiations with a halt in the deployment of U.S. missiles and the withdrawal and destruction of most of the Soviet missiles being agreed upon in phase one, and the matter of British and French missiles being resolved in a later phase.

The President's reply (Tab A) reaffirms a) our interest in an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate intermediate-range missiles; b) our willingness to cancel the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles; and c) our view that given the lack of concrete results in Geneva, there is no justification for postponing planned U.S. deployments. The response also notes Ceausescu's suggestion on British and French forces, but reiterates our position that their missiles not be included in the INF negotiations. Your memorandum to the President is attached at Tab I.

Speechwriters have cleared the text. Ron Lehman, Bob Linhard, Jack Matlock and Peter Sommer concur. ^{Ron} ^{Bob}

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Proposed response to Romanian President Ceausescu

Tab B Incoming letter, dated November 2, 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority, NSC Waiver 8/6/10
 BY RW NARA DATE 1/20/17

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of November 2. I appreciate your continuing interest in U.S. efforts to reach an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and ultimately eliminate longer-range INF missiles. Subsequent to my last letter, I outlined at the United Nations General Assembly on September 26 three new INF initiatives designed to meet expressed Soviet concerns. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union rejected these proposals soon afterward. President Andropov presented new INF proposals although there were some possibilities. I failed to address adequately security concerns. The Soviet negotiations continues to demand British and French independence to insist on the maintenance of LRINF missiles.

General Secretariat(?)
That is the term we most often use. I thought we sought to avoid the use of President

As I noted in my September 12 letter, the United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by maintaining cooperative relations among all states and by deterring aggression. Yet, during the two years that we have negotiated in good faith with the Soviet Union in Geneva, they have deployed about 100 additional SS-20 missiles.

The primary Soviet objective in the negotiations continues to be to prevent the deployment of any U.S. LRINF missiles and to maintain a monopoly of these weapons. Since we have not been able to

NSC Waiver 8/6/10
RW 1/20/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(With EXDIS Attachment)

November 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Draft Reply to President Ceausescu's Letter

Attached is a proposed draft for a Presidential reply to President Ceausescu's November 2 letter.

to *McKinley*
Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

1. Proposed draft.
2. President Ceausescu's November 2 letter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

*RW**1/20/87*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of November 2. I appreciate your continuing interest in U.S. efforts to reach an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement that would reduce and limit longer-range intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Subsequent to my last letter, I outlined at the United Nations General Assembly on September 26 three new INF initiatives designed to meet Soviet concerns expressed in the talks in Geneva. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union rejected these proposals soon afterward. President Andropov presented new INF proposals on October 26, and although there were some positive aspects, they failed adequately to address legitimate Western security concerns. The Soviet Union continues to demand compensation for British and French independent nuclear forces and to insist on the maintenance of their monopoly of LRINF missiles.

As I noted in my September 12 letter, the United States and its Allies seek to preserve and strengthen peace in Europe by deterring aggression and by maintaining cooperative relations among all states. The United States has sought for two years to reach a mutually acceptable and verifiable INF

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW NARA DATE 1/20/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~- 2 -~~

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agreement with the Soviet Union. During that time, we have negotiated seriously, even though the Soviet Union concurrently deployed over 100 SS-20 missiles. Absent concrete results in the INF negotiations, and consistent with NATO's 1979 decision, the United States will begin to deploy Pershing II and ground launched cruise missiles by the end of this year.

The primary Soviet objective in the negotiations continues to be to prevent the deployment of U.S. LRINF missiles and maintain their own monopoly of these weapons. Since there have been no concrete results in Geneva, there is no justification for postponing the U.S. deployments. The cancellation of the entire U.S. deployment in exchange for the dismantling of all Soviet LRINF missiles is of course the essence of my zero/zero proposal of November 1981. We still consider such a result to be the ideal arms control outcome.

The United States and its Allies cannot accept Soviet demands that British and French forces be included in the INF negotiations. British and French forces are minimum national nuclear deterrents. Both Prime Minister Thatcher and President Mitterrand have emphasized the independent nature of these forces and have rejected any suggestion that they be included

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3 -

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in the negotiations. The Soviet demand to be accorded the right to maintain nuclear forces as large as all other nations of the world combined is not an acceptable basis for arms control and can never lead to agreement between the United States and Soviet Union. The British and French governments have, however, indicated their willingness to reexamine their attitude toward arms control limitations on their nuclear forces under conditions of substantially reduced U.S. and Soviet forces.

I sincerely share your concern regarding the spread of nuclear arms. Our objective continues to be to maintain a credible deterrent at the lowest possible level of nuclear forces. We are working, in the START talks, to achieve substantial cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. In the INF talks we continue to seek significant reductions, and ideally the total elimination, of LRINF missiles. As you know, the NATO Defense Ministers recently announced in Canada that we will withdraw from the NATO nuclear stockpile an additional 1,400 warheads, beyond the 1,000 warheads unilaterally withdrawn from the NATO stockpile in 1980. Moreover, the planned deployment of new U.S. LRINF missiles to Europe will

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~~- 4 -~~

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not mean an increase in warhead numbers since one warhead will be withdrawn for every new missile deployed. Conversely, the Soviet Union has indicated no inclination to make a comparable gesture to match NATO's reductions. In fact, Soviet deployments of nuclear armed SS-20 missiles are continuing and they are threatening to deploy additional nuclear capable short-range missiles to Eastern Europe.

I assure you that I will continue rigorously to pursue every reasonable means to reduce and limit nuclear weapons, including through effective implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. As you rightly point out, these are issues of the greatest importance for the entire world. I deeply regret that the Soviet Union is threatening to disrupt the INF negotiations in Geneva. The United States is prepared to continue these talks as long as necessary to obtain a mutually acceptable agreement.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 7, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS ATTACHMENT

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 Ceausescu of Romania
which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat
Information Management Section on November 4, 1983.

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

Dept. of State
BY RW DATE 1/20/97

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of State

PIC
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GRS/S-O
INCOMINGPAGE 01 BUCHAR 11767 01 OF 02 031542Z 7778 005268 SS09556
-----03/1646Z

ACTION OFFICE EUR-02

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C-01 INR-02 L-01 PH-01 SP-02 SKP-01 ACDA-01 OCT-01
/024 A6 LJN

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ACTION SS-00

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /027 W
-----343730 031547Z /41

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4485

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

PAGE 01 BUCHAR 11767 01 OF 02 031542Z 7778 005268 SS09556
CEAUSCESCU WAS SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO FIRST SECRETARY
ANDROPOV AND THAT NEITHER LETTER WOULD BE PUBLICIZED,
AS WERE CEAUSCESCU'S AUGUST LETTERS. 344. THE ORIGINAL OF CEAUSCESCU'S LETTER AND AN OFFICIAL
MFA TRANSLATION WILL BE POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT (EUR/EEY)
BY CLASSIFIED POUCH DEPARTING BUCHAREST ON NOVEMBER 7.5. THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER (WHICH WE
THINK FITS THE AMERICAN IDIOM A BIT BETTER THAN THE FOREIGN
MINISTER'S USAGE) FOLLOWS:

"MR. RONALD REAGAN

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO YOU AGAIN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PLANS FOR
THE FORTHCOMING DEPLOYMENT IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
OF THE NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE AMERICAN MISSILES AND THE
PRESENT AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS HELD AT GENEVA.
DEEPLY PREOCCUPIED BY THE PROSPECTS OF THE ESCALATION OF
THE ARMS RACE AND OF GROWING THREATS OF WAR, THE ROMANIAN
PEOPLE, AND OTHER EUROPEAN PEOPLES, BY THE LARGE DEMONSTRATIONS
THAT TOOK PLACE AND ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN EUROPE AND
OTHER CONTINENTS, REQUEST MORE AND MORE FIRMLY THAT
EVERYTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO REACHING AN ADEQUATE
AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A HALT TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF
NEW MISSILES AND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF
EXISTING ONES.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 11767

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PARM PREL RO USUR GE

SUBJ: NEW CEAUSCESCU LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THIS MORNING, NOVEMBER 3, FOREIGN MINISTER
STEFAN ANDREI PRESENTED THE AMBASSADOR WITH ANOTHER LETTER
FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSCESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN REGARDING INF
AND ONGOING US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER
SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT CEAUSCESCU IS ALSO SENDING A MESSAGE
TO ANDROPOV. THESE MESSAGES HE SAID WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED.
MUCH OF WHAT CEAUSCESCU WRITES IS OLD AND SUPPORTIVE OF SOVIET
POSITIONS, BUT THERE APPEAR TO BE SOME NEW POINTS IN THIS LETTER.
CEAUSCESCU SUGGESTED A PHASED APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS
WITH A HALT IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF US MISSILES AND THE
WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL OR MOST OF THE SOVIET
MISSILES BEING AGREED UPON IN PHASE I AND
OTHER ASPECTS -- INCLUDING THE MATTER OF FRENCH AND BRITISH
MISSILES AND OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS--BEING
RESOLVED IN LATER PHASES IN WHICH FRANCE AND GREAT
BRITAIN WOULD PARTICIPATE. CEAUSCESCU CONSIDERS THE
DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES IN SOME COUNTRIES OF
WESTERN AND EASTERN (NOTE EASTERN) EUROPE A VIOLATION
OF THE NPT THAT WILL STIMULATE OTHER COUNTRIES (NOTE) AS WELL
TO ACT TO OBTAIN THE DEPLOYMENT ON THEIR TERRITORY
OF SIMILAR WEAPONS. HE NOTES WITH CONCERN THE
INSTALLATION OF THESE MISSILES ON GERMAN TERRITORY WHERE
TWO WORLD WARS BEGAN.
CIRCUMSTANCES SUGGEST THAT THE LETTER MAY HAVE BEEN
WRITTEN IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, BUT WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE
POSSIBILITY THAT ITS SUBSTANCE HAS ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED
WITH THE SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

3. ON NOVEMBER 3 FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI SUMMONED
THE AMBASSADOR TO THE MINISTRY TO PRESENT HIM WITH A
LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CEAUSCESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN
REGARDING INF AND THE GENEVA INF NEGOTIATIONS. THE
MEETING LASTED ONLY A FEW MINUTES. AFTER
HANDING THE LETTER TO THE AMBASSADOR, ANDREI ASKED HIM TO
CONVEY HIS REGARDS TO SECRETARY SHULTZ AND TO TELL THE
SECRETARY THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE
SPOKEN WITH HIM IN NEW YORK. ANDREI SAID THAT HE HAS
PASSED ALONG TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO ALL OF THE
POINTS THE SECRETARY HAD REQUESTED AND THAT
GROMYKO HAD SEEMED PLEASED. (ANDREI MET WITH GROMYKO
IN SOFIA ON OCTOBER 13 AND 14.)
SUBSEQUENTLY, ANDREI INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 116615
BY RWR NARA DATE 11/20/17

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of State

S/S-O
INCOMING

PAGE 01 BUCAR 11767 02 OF 02 031558Z 7871 005270 SS09585

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INFO MR-01 SSO-01 SSS-01 SSI-02 SS-01 S-02 D-01 P-02 T-01
C-01 INR-02 L-01 PM-01 SP-02 SNP-01 ACDA-01 OCT-01
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INFO EUR-01 X-01 /002 A2 CGS

ACTION SS-00

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /027 W
-----345037 031610Z /42

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4486
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 11767

EXDIS

I CONSIDER THAT AT PRESENT IT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE, AND ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN, TO REACH AN ADEQUATE AGREEMENT AT THE AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA.

THE PROPOSALS EXTENDED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS WELL AS THE PROPOSALS EXTENDED BY THE SOVIET UNION INCLUDING THOSE MENTIONED IN THE INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. PUBLISHED IN "PRAVDA", OCTOBER 27, 1983, OFFER A GOOD BASIS FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT AT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS.

IN FACT, BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZE THAT NUCLEAR ARMS POSE A SERIOUS THREAT TO MANKIND AND PRONOUNCE THEMSELVES IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER FOR HALTING NUCLEAR ARMS AND STARTING THE REDUCTION OF THESE ARMS, CONTINUE THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, THUS PROVING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE, BY MEANS OF JOINT EFFORTS, TO REACH AN AGREEMENT AT THE AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

EVEN IF ALL THE PROBLEMS ARE NOT SOLVED AT THIS STAGE, EVEN IF SOME SOLUTIONS ARE NOT PERFECT, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO REACH AN AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A HALT TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW AMERICAN MISSILES AND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL AND DESTRUCTION--IN TOTALITY OR IN THE GREATEST PART--OF SOVIET MISSILES, LEAVING OTHER ASPECTS TO BE SETTLED AT OTHER STAGES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE GENERAL RELATION (RATIO) OF FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. THUS, IT COULD BE AGREED THAT FRENCH AND BRITISH MISSILES AND ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND MEANS OF DELIVERY BE TAKEN INTO CALCULATION IN THE GENERAL RATIO OF FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND BE MADE THE OBJECT OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN WILL ALSO PARTICIPATE.

I AM TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT THE FACT THAT IN THE TREATY FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS THE PARTIES PLEDGED THEMSELVES "TO PREVENT THE SPREADING OF NUCLEAR ARMS" AND "NOT TO TRANSFER (THEM) TO ANYONE", THAT IS "NOT TO ACCEPT THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR ARMS OR DEVICES BY ANYONE". CONSEQUENTLY, THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES IN SOME COUNTRIES OF WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE MEANS A VIOLATION OF THE TREATY FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS,

PAGE 01 BUCAR 11767 02 OF 02 031558Z 7871 005270 SS0958

CREATING AS ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS PRECEDENT AND STIMULATING ALSO OTHER COUNTRIES TO ACT TO OBTAIN THE DEPLOYMENT OF SUCH WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORY. MOREOVER, THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE NEW MISSILES ON GERMAN TERRITORY, WHERE TWO WORLD WARS BEGAN, WILL LEAD TOWARD THE TRANSFORMATION OF THIS TERRITORY INTO A POWERFUL ARSENAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT COULD BECOME A THREAT FOR THE PEACE AND LIFE OF PEOPLES ON THE CONTINENT.

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IN CONSIDERATION OF THESE REASONS AND IN THE SPIRIT OF THE MESSAGE I SENT TO YOU ON AUGUST 22, 1983, I REPEAT NOW MY APPEAL THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DO EVERYTHING TO COME UP WITH AN AGREEMENT LEADING TO THE HALT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES OR AT LEAST TO A POSTPONEMENT OF THEIR DEPLOYMENT UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR 1984 OR THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1985 AND CONSEQUENTLY, DURING THIS TIME OF THE AMERICAN-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS, IT WOULD FOLLOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT DEPLOY NEW MISSILES AND, IN CONFORMITY WITH ITS DECLARATIONS, WOULD REDUCE A NUMBER OF EXISTING MISSILES.

BY FORWARDING THESE PROPOSALS ON BEHALF OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE AND IN MY OWN NAME, I EXPRESS THE CONVICTION THAT YOU, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WILL WORK AT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS IN FAVOR OF AN AGREEMENT LEADING TO A HALT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES, OF ACHIEVING A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL, BY THE REDUCTION, NOT THE ESCALATION, OF NUCLEAR ARMS STOCKPILES ON THE CONTINENT. THIS WOULD ANSWER THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES, OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HELP TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

WITH MY HIGH REGARDS
NICOLAE CEAUDESCU NOVEMBER 2, 1983" FUNDERBURN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

36

PAGE 01 OF 03 SECSTATE WASHDC 6567
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TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE 0000

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 336567EXDIS
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM, PREL, RO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REPLY TO NEW CEAUSESCU LETTER
REF: (A) BUCHAREST 11977
(B) BUCHAREST 122241. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT2. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REPLY
TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S NOVEMBER 2 LETTER (REFTEL A).
DEPARTMENT PROVIDING SEPTTEL RESPONSE TO REFTEL B. -
PLEASE DELIVER PRESIDENT'S LETTER AS SOON AS
PRACTICAL. SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL BE POUCHED.

BEGIN TEXT:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOVEMBER 22, 1983

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 2. I APPRECIATE

YOUR CONTINUING INTEREST IN U. S. EFFORTS TO REACH AN
EQUITABLE AND VERIFIABLE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT THAT
WOULD REDUCE AND ULTIMATELY ELIMINATE LONGER-RANGE INF
MISSILES. SUBSEQUENT TO MY LAST LETTER, I-OUTLINED AT
THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 26
THREE NEW INF INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO MEET EXPRESSED
SOVIET CONCERNS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE SOVIET UNION
REJECTED THESE PROPOSALS SOON AFTERWARD. CHAIRMAN
ANDROPOV PRESENTED NEW INF PROPOSALS ON OCTOBER 26, AND
ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS, THEY FAILED
TO ADDRESS ADEQUATELY LEGITIMATE WESTERN SECURITY
CONCERNS. THE SOVIET UNION IN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS
CONTINUES TO DEMAND COMPENSATION FOR BRITISH AND FRENCH
INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR FORCES AND TO INSIST ON THE
MAINTENANCE OF THEIR MONOPOLY OF LRINF MISSILES.AS I NOTED IN MY SEPTEMBER 12 LETTER, THE UNITED STATES
AND ITS ALLIES SEEK TO PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN PEACE IN
EUROPE BY MAINTAINING COOPERATIVE RELATIONS AMONG ALL
STATES AND BY DETERRING AGGRESSION. YET, DURING THE
TWO YEARS THAT WE HAVE NEGOTIATED IN GOOD FAITH WITHDECLASSIFIED
Authority: State Waiver 11/6/15
BY: RW NARA DATE 11/20/17~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE 02 OF 03 SECSTATE WASHDC 6567

DTG: 260234Z NOV 83 PSN: 049259

THE SOVIET UNION IN GENEVA, THEY HAVE DEPLOYED ABOUT
100 ADDITIONAL SS-20 MISSILES.

THE PRIMARY SOVIET OBJECTIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS
CONTINUES TO BE TO PREVENT THE DEPLOYMENT OF ANY U.S.
LRINF MISSILES AND TO MAINTAIN A MONOPOLY OF THESE
WEAPONS. SINCE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE,
DESPITE OUR SINCERE EFFORTS, CONCRETE RESULTS IN
GENEVA. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR POSTPONING
PLANNED U.S. DEPLOYMENTS. WE, OF COURSE, REMAIN
WILLING TO CANCEL THE ENTIRE U.S. DEPLOYMENT IN
EXCHANGE FOR THE DISMANTLING OF ALL SOVIET LRINF
MISSILES. THIS ZERO/ZERO RESULT WOULD BE THE IDEAL
ARMS CONTROL OUTCOME.

WE READ WITH INTEREST YOUR COMMENTS ON BRITISH AND
FRENCH FORCES. HOWEVER, AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES
AND ITS ALLIES CANNOT ACCEPT SOVIET DEMANDS THAT
BRITISH AND FRENCH FORCES BE INCLUDED IN THE INF
NEGOTIATIONS. BRITISH AND FRENCH FORCES ARE MINIMUM
NATIONAL NUCLEAR DETERRENTS. -BOTH PRIME MINISTER
THATCHER AND PRESIDENT MITTERRAND HAVE EMPHASIZED THE
INDEPENDENT NATURE OF THESE FORCES AND HAVE REJECTED
ANY SUGGESTION THAT THEY BE INCLUDED IN THE
NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET DEMAND TO BE ACCORDED THE
RIGHT TO MAINTAIN NUCLEAR FORCES S LARGE AS ALL OTHER
NATIONS OF THE WORLD COMBINED IS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE
BASIS FOR ARMS CONTROL AND CAN NEVER LEAD TO AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION. THE
BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS HAVE, HOWEVER, INDICATED
THEIR WILLINGNESS TO REEXAMINE THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD
ARMS CONTROL LIMITATIONS ON THEIR NUCLEAR FORCES UNDER
CONDITIONS OF SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED U.S. AND SOVIET
FORCES.

I SINCERELY SHARE YOUR CONCERN REGARDING THE SPREAD OF
NUCLEAR ARMS. WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE
DETERRENT AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF NUCLEAR
FORCES. IN THIS REGARD, THE NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS
RECENTLY ANNOUNCED IN CANADA THAT WE WILL WITHDRAW FROM
THE NATO NUCLEAR STOCKPILE AN ADDITIONAL 1,400
WARHEADS, BEYOND THE 1,000 WARHEADS UNILATERALLY
WITHDRAWN FROM THE NATO STOCKPILE IN 1980. MOREOVER,
THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT OF NEW U.S. LRINF MISSILES TO
EUROPE WILL NOT MEAN AN INCREASE IN WARHEAD NUMBERS
SINCE ONE WARHEAD WILL BE WITHDRAWN FOR EVERY NEW
MISSILE DEPLOYED. CONVERSELY, THE SOVIET UNION HAS
INDICATED NO INCLINATION TO MTCH NATO'S REDUCTIONS.
IN FACT, THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO DEPLOY NUCLEAR
ARMED SS-20 MISSILES AND HAS BEGUN TO
DEPLOY ADDITIONAL NUCLEAR CAPABLE SHORT-RANGE MISSILES
TO EASTERN EUROPE.

LET ME REITERATE THAT I WILL CONTINUE RIGOROUSLY TO
PURSUE EVERY REASONABLE MEANS TO REDUCE AND LIMIT
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, INCLUDING EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. AS YOU RIGHTLY
POINT OUT, THESE ARE ISSUES OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE
FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD. I DEEPLY REGRET THAT THE SOVIET
UNION IS THREATENING TO DISRUPT THE INF NEGOTIATIONS IN
GENEVA. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE
THESE TALKS AS LONG AS NECESSARY TO OBTAIN A MUTUALLY
ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT.

SINCERELY,

RONALD REAGAN

HIS EXCELLENCY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ROMANIA
INF

ID 8400229

RECEIVED 10 JAN 84 16

TO PRESIDENT

FROM CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE

DOC DATE 29 DEC 83

PAPANDREOU, ANDREAS

38

PAPOULIAS, GEORGE

29 DEC 83

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

GREECE

ARMS CONTROL

HS

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM ROMANIAN PRES & GREEK PM RE ARMS CONTROL

ACTION: PENDING STATE RECOMS / DRAFT DUE: 17 JAN 84 STATUS D FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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DOBRIANSKY

KRAEMER

LEHMAN, R

FORTIER

SOMMER

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 9, 1984

39

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 Greek PM. Papandreu and Greek President Ceausescu which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat Information Management Section on 1/9/84.

Charles H. Stange

for

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

EMBASSY OF GREECE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

40

December 29th, 1983

Dear Mr. President,

I have the honor to forward to you, herewith enclosed, the text of a letter addressed to you jointly by H.E. Andreas Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece and H.E. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The same text is being conveyed today to Mr. Yuri Andropov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by the Romanian Ambassador in Moscow.

I may add that the two leaders have agreed not to make public the contents of these two letters.

Please accept Mr. President the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely yours,

George Papoulias

George D. Papoulias
Ambassador

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

12-29-83

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
187546	LETTER NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND ANDREAS PAPANDREOU TO DONALD REAGAN	3	12/29/1983	B1

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

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

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

NSC/S PROFILE

(CORRESP.)
UNCLASSIFIEDROMANIA
ID 8403545

RECEIVED 03 MAY 84 11

TO KIMMITT

FROM GREGG, D

DOCDATE 27 APR 84

DORAN, W

27 APR 84

HILL, C

19 APR 84

44

KEYWORDS: INF

ROMANIA

CONGRESSIONAL

CANADA

HOLD

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR VP RESPONSE TO ROMANIAN PARLIAMENTARY INITIATIVE ON INF

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR KIMMITTDUE: 06 MAY 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

LINHARD

MATLOCK

SESTANOVICH

SOMMER

LEHMAN, R

DOBRIANSKY

THOMPSON

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

45

April 27, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT
Executive Secretary
National Security CouncilFROM: Don Gregg 
Walt Doran 

SUBJECT: Romanian Parliamentary Initiative on INF

The Romanian Grand National Assembly has issued an appeal to the U.S. Congress, the Supreme Soviet, and the European and Canadian Parliaments concerning INF issues. The attached copy of the document has been provided to the Vice President in his role of President of the U.S. Senate. The Romanian Government has requested a formal reply to this appeal.

We would appreciate the NSC Staff reviewing the Romanian proposal and providing a draft response for the Vice President to sign.

Attachment



Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

April 19, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DONALD P. GREGG
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Romanian Parliamentary Initiative on INF

The Romanian Grand National Assembly has issued an appeal to the U.S. Congress, the Supreme Soviet, and European and Canadian Parliaments concerning INF issues. The Romanian Ambassador has provided the attached copy of the document for Vice President Bush in his role as President of the U.S. Senate. The Romanian Ambassador has also given a copy of this document to House Speaker O'Neill.

The Romanian parliament proposes in this document that the U.S. halt LRINF deployments to Europe, that the Soviet Union stop INF countermeasures in Eastern Europe, and that the Soviets and the U.S. resume arms control negotiations leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe. Further, the Romanians propose that representatives from the U.S., Soviet, European, and Canadian parliaments meet to discuss means to implement these steps.

The proposal to stop U.S. deployments in exchange for a halt in Soviet countermeasures would reverse NATO's 1979 decision that only concrete negotiating results would affect its INF deployment program. In effect, the Soviets would gain a reduction in U.S. missile levels with no reduction in SS-20 missiles under the Romanian current proposal. The U.S. is ready to return to the INF and START negotiations at any time without preconditions, but the President has stated that the U.S. should not make concessions to induce the Soviets to return to the talks.

The Romanian Government has requested a formal reply to this appeal from the U.S. Congress.

for Donckmley
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
As stated.

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A P P E A L
OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR, US CONGRESS,
THE PARLIAMENTS OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
IN WHOSE TERRITORIES MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR
MISSILES ARE BEING EMPLACED, THE PARLIAMENTS
OF OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND CANADA

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, profoundly worried about the unprecedented worsening of the international situation, consequent to the beginning of the emplacement in Europe of new nuclear missiles, fully backs the calls addressed at the March 21—22, 1984 Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP, by the country's President Nicolae Ceaușescu to heads of state and government, politicians and all peoples of the world to rally their energies and work ever more closely for seeking out, before it is too late, the best ways to prevent the international situation from deteriorating, to stop the dangerous arms race and rescue mankind from nuclear catastrophe, to entrench a climate of peace, collaboration, confidence and understanding in Europe and the world over.

A new stage of the nuclear arms race began with the emplacement by the United States of medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European states. That has brought about nuclear countermeasures by the Soviet Union.

Consequent to these actions, a new stage of nuclear arming started in Europe which leads to a drastic worsening of the situation on this continent and a growing nuclear war threat.

The intensification of nuclear arming considerably enhances the danger of a world war which, under the current circumstances, will turn inevitably into a nuclear war leading to annihilation of life on our planet. The gravity of the current international situation resides in the intensification of the nuclear arms race which is the greatest threat since, unlike the most sophisticated conventional weapons, nuclear weapons if used will lead to the destruction not only of a tremendous number of human lives and socioeconomic objectives, but also of the whole of mankind, of the conditions of life on our planet. Account should be taken of the very severe warning of scientists, Soviet and American ones included, who have shown that the use only of a small part of the huge nuclear arsenals of the US and USSR will bring about a nuclear winter, lead to the destruction of life on Earth.

Starting from this grave danger, we consider that by no means can be accepted the justification that the production and siting of new nuclear weapons may be a way of strengthening peoples' security and peace; on the contrary, any new nuclear weapon can only increase the peoples' insecurity, the danger of destruction of human civilization, of humankind, of the very conditions of existence,

of life on the planet. The deployment of nuclear weapons affects those who will resort to these weapons and other states as well. Nobody will be able to stay away from the effects of the use of nuclear weapons. Therefore, in the event of a nuclear war, there will be neither vanquished nor vanquisher ; the normal, natural course of mankind, of the whole life on our planet will be broken. That is why we consider that the cardinal issues of our age are the cessation of the nuclear arms race, the elimination of the war threat, the safeguarding and consolidation of peace. Everything possible should be done to defend the people's foremost right to peace, freedom, independence, existence, life !.

Setting out from the parliaments' supreme responsibility before peoples, for the cause of peace and life of all the nations of the world, we must do our best to stop the emplacement of nuclear medium-range missiles, pass to the elimination of all nuclear weapons from our continent and, eventually, to general disarmament, to the building of a world of peace and collaboration, free from weapons and wars !

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania calls on the Congress of the United States of America to work for an end to be put to the emplacement of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in West European countries and for no more nuclear weapons to be located on the European continent, for a passage to negotiations and the elimination of medium-range nuclear weaponry from Europe.

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania also calls on the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to take measures and stop the announced nuclear countermeasures from taking effect concomitantly with the cessation of the location of American medium-range missiles.

We call on the US Congress and on the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to consider their own interests, the interests of peace in Europe and throughout the world and act — after measures to halt the location of American medium-range nuclear missiles are adopted and the Soviet Union stops the application of the announced nuclear countermeasures — for the resumption of negotiations between the Soviet and the United States of America, to reach proper accords and agreements on halting the location and deployment of nuclear missiles on the continent, withdrawing the ones in place and freeing the continent from all nuclear weapons.

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania calls on the parliaments of the European countries where nuclear medium-range missiles have started being located to resolutely act for the halting of the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in consideration of their responsibility to their peoples, for peace in Europe and all over the world and to stop the dispatch of new nuclear weapons to their territories until a proper accord is reached.

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania also calls on the parliaments of other European countries and of Canada to join their efforts and work for stopping the location of American medium-range nuclear missiles and the application of the nuclear countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union, for the undelayed resumption of Soviet-American negotiations.

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania considers that negotiations — conducted in a spirit of confidence and high responsibility — can result in accords apt to eliminate the danger of a devastating nuclear war. The proposals made in this respect by socialist countries, as well as those made by various states and heads of state and government, by politicians are prerequisites for a passage to constructive negotiations to reach adequate understandings.

As the siting of nuclear missiles affects life, the existence of all European peoples, all the states of the continent have to commit themselves and participate actively to implement the agreements and understandings concerning the elimination of missiles from Europe and halting the course towards nuclear catastrophe. In this sense we believe that in the Soviet-American talks also the countries in the two military blocs, should participate in one way or another, as well as other European states, in order to make their contribution to reaching agreement, adequate understandings.

Setting out from the great responsibility of parliaments before their own peoples — as representatives of their will — the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania proposes the organization of a meeting of representatives of parliaments of European countries as well as of the USA and Canada, in order to debate the very grave situation existing in our continent and to work out and propose new, adequate ways and means to stop the emplacement of American nuclear missiles in certain West European countries as well as the application of the countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union, help a resumption of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the USA in view of reaching agreements and understandings on the cessation of the nuclear arms race, apt to pave the way for the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons from this continent.

We are urging all parliaments and all parliamentarians to take action now before it is too late and fulfill the peoples' aspirations, their confidence, their wish of peace, freedom, disarmament, security and independence, to halt the dangerous course towards the nuclear precipice, to ensure the triumph of peace and collaboration on our planet.

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania believes that all governments will take into account the aspirations and wish of peoples that demonstrated their firm resolve to live and collaborate in a climate of peace, security and collaboration, in a better and more just world free of nuclear weapons, of any weapons, of wars.

Being so convinced, we the deputies of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, reassert our resolve to implement unflinchingly the policy of peace and collaboration promoted by socialist Romania, and call on all parliaments and parliamentarians of European countries, the USA and Canada to join their efforts and work together in order to contribute to diminishing international tension, halting the nuclear arms race, and achieving understandings that open the way to a complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the continent and of the threat of a devastating nuclear war.

Setting out from the great responsibility we have before our peoples, let us put the foremost interests of safeguarding the peoples' life, the human civilization above all. let us work and do our utmost to build a world of peace and collaboration !

This Appeal has been unanimously adopted by the Grand National Assembly in its meeting of march 24, 1984.

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*Marea Adunare Națională
a
Republicii Socialiste România*

A P E L U L

MARII ADUNĂRI NAȚIONALE A REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE
ROMÂNIA ADRESAT SOVIETULUI SUPREM AL U.R.S.S.,
CONGRESULUI S.U.A., PARLAMENTELOR DIN ȚĂRILE
EUROPENE PE TERITORIUL CĂRORA SE AMPLASEAZĂ
RACHETE NUCLEARE CU RAZĂ MEDIE DE ACȚIUNE,
PARLAMENTELOR DIN CELELALTE ȚĂRI EUROPENE
ȘI DIN CANADA

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România, profund îngrijorată de agravarea fără precedent a situației internaționale, ca urmare a trecerii la amplasarea de noi rachete nucleare pe continentul european, susține pe deplin chemările adresate la plenara C.C. al P.C.R. din 21—22 martie 1984 de președintele țării, tovarășul Nicolae Ceaușescu, conducătorilor de state și guverne, oamenilor politici și tuturor popoarelor lumii de a-și uni eforturile și de a conlucra tot mai strâns pentru găsirea — pînă nu e prea tîrziu — a celor mai bune căi pentru oprirea agravării situației internaționale, încetarea cursei periculoase a înarmărilor și salvarea omenirii de la o catastrofă nucleară, pentru instaurarea unui climat de pace, colaborare, încredere și înțelegere în Europa și în lume.

Începerea amplasării de către Statele Unite ale Americii a rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie de acțiune în unele state din vestul Europei constituie o nouă fază a cursei înarmărilor nucleare. Aceasta a determinat Uniunea Sovietică să adopte contramăsuri nucleare.

În urma acestor acțiuni, în Europa s-a deschis o nouă etapă a înarmărilor nucleare care duce la agravarea deosebită a situației pe continent și la creșterea pericolului unui război nuclear.

Intensificarea înarmărilor nucleare sporește considerabil pericolul unui război mondial, care, în condițiile actuale, se va transforma inevitabil într-un război nuclear ce va duce la distrugerea vieții pe planeta noastră. Gravitatea situației internaționale actuale constă în aceea că acum are loc o intensificare a înarmă-

rilor nucleare, care reprezintă cel mai mare pericol, deoarece, spre deosebire de orice arme clasice, chiar și cele mai sofisticate, folosirea armelor nucleare va duce nu numai la distrugerea unui număr uriaș de vieți omenești sau de obiective economico-sociale, ci la distrugerea întregii omeniri, a înseși condițiilor vieții pe planeta noastră. Este necesar să se țină seama de avertismentul foarte sever al oamenilor de știință — inclusiv al oamenilor de știință sovietici și americani — care au arătat că folosirea doar a unei mici părți a uriașelor arsenale nucleare deținute de S.U.A. și U.R.S.S. va declanșa o „iarnă nucleară“, va duce la dispariția vieții pe Pământ.

Pornind de la această gravă primejdie, considerăm că nu poate fi acceptată în nici un fel justificarea că producerea și amplasarea de noi arme nucleare pot constitui un mijloc de întărire a securității și păcii popoarelor : dimpotrivă, orice nouă armă nucleară nu poate decât să sporească și mai mult gradul de insecuritate a popoarelor, să mărească pericolul distrugerii civilizației umane, a omenirii, a înseși condițiilor existenței vieții pe planetă. Folosirea armelor nucleare afectează deopotrivă atât pe cei care vor recurge la aceste arme, cât și celelalte state. Nimeni nu va putea rămâne în afara efectelor folosirii armelor nucleare. De aceea, în cazul unui război nuclear nu vor exista nici învinși, nici învingători ; va fi curmat firul legic, firesc al omenirii, al întregii vieți pe planeta noastră. Iată de ce considerăm că problema fundamentală a epocii noastre o constituie oprirea cursei înarmărilor nucleare, înlăturarea pericolului de război, asigurarea și întărirea păcii. Trebuie făcut totul pentru apărarea dreptului suprem al oamenilor, al popoarelor la pace, la libertate și independență, la existență, la viață !

Pornind de la răspunderea supremă pe care noi, parlamentele o avem în fața popoarelor, față de cauza păcii și vieții tuturor națiunilor lumii, să facem totul pentru a opri amplasarea rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie de acțiune, pentru a se trece la eliminarea tuturor armelor nucleare de pe continentul european și, apoi, la dezarmarea generală, la făurirea unei lumi a păcii și colaborării, fără arme și fără războaie !

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România adresează Congresului Statelor Unite ale Americii apelul de a acționa pentru oprirea amplasării de noi rachete nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune pe teritoriul unor țări din vestul Europei și pentru a nu se mai instala noi arme nucleare pe continentul european, pentru trecerea la negocieri în vederea eliminării rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie și a altor arme nucleare din Europa.

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România se adresează, totodată, Sovietului Suprem al Uniunii Republicilor Sovietice Socialiste cu apelul de a acționa în vederea întreprinderii de măsuri ca, odată cu oprirea instalării rachetelor americane cu rază medie de acțiune, să fie oprită și aplicarea contramăsurilor nucleare anunțate de Uniunea Sovietică.

Ne adresăm Congresului Statelor Unite ale Americii și Sovietului Suprem al Uniunii Republicilor Sovietice Socialiste ca, pornind de la interesele propriilor popoare, ale păcii în Europa și în lume să acționeze — după adoptarea măsurilor de

oprire a amplasării rachetelor nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune și aplicării contramăsurilor nucleare anunțate de Uniunea Sovietică — pentru reluarea negocierilor dintre Uniunea Sovietică și Statele Unite ale Americii, în vederea realizării unor acorduri și înțelegeri corespunzătoare privind oprirea instalării și desfășurării de rachete nucleare pe continent, retragerea celor existente și eliberarea continentului de orice arme nucleare.

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România se adresează parlamentelor țărilor europene pe teritoriul cărora s-a început amplasarea rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie de acțiune cu chemarea ca, pornind de la răspunderea care, o au față de soarta popoarelor lor, a păcii în Europa și în lume, să acționeze cu hotărâre pentru oprirea instalării rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie de acțiune, iar pînă la realizarea unui acord corespunzător să se oprească aducerea pe teritoriul lor de noi arme nucleare.

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România se adresează, de asemenea, parlamentelor celorlalte țări europene și al Canadei de a-și uni eforturile și de a acționa pentru a determina oprirea amplasării rachetelor nucleare americane cu rază medie de acțiune și a aplicării contramăsurilor nucleare anunțate de Uniunea Sovietică, pentru reluarea neîntîrziată a negocierilor sovieto-americane.

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România consideră că prin negocieri — desfășurate într-un spirit de încredere și înaltă responsabilitate — este posibil să se ajungă la înțelegeri menite să înlăture primejdia unui război atomo-nuclear cu consecințe nimicitoare. Propunerile făcute în această privință de țările socialiste, precum și cele formulate de diferite state și conducători de state și guverne, de oameni politici, oferă o bază pentru a se trece la negocieri constructive și pentru a se ajunge la înțelegeri corespunzătoare.

Deoarece instalarea rachetelor nucleare privește viața și existența tuturor popoarelor europene, este necesar ca toate statele continentului să se angajeze și să participe activ la realizarea acordurilor și înțelegerilor privind eliminarea rachetelor din Europa, oprirea drumului spre o catastrofă nucleară. În acest spirit considerăm că la negocierile sovieto-americane trebuie să participe, sub o formă sau alta, și țările din cele două blocuri militare, precum și alte state europene, care să-și aducă contribuția la realizarea unui acord, a unor înțelegeri corespunzătoare.

Pornind de la marea răspundere pe care parlamentele o au în fața propriilor popoare — ca reprezentante ale voinței acestora — Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România propune organizarea unei întâlniri a reprezentanților parlamentelor din țările Europei, precum și din Statele Unite ale Americii și Canada, pentru a dezbate situația extrem de gravă care s-a creat pe continent și pentru a formula și propune căi și soluții corespunzătoare care să ducă la oprirea amplasării rachetelor nucleare americane în unele țări vest-europene și a aplicării contramăsurilor anunțate de Uniunea Sovietică, la reluarea negocierilor dintre Uniunea Sovietică și Statele Unite ale Americii în vederea ajungerii la acorduri și înțelegeri privind oprirea cursei înarmărilor nucleare, care să deschidă calea eliberării continentului de orice fel de arme nucleare.

Ne adresăm tuturor parlamentelor, tuturor parlamentarilor să acționăm acum, pînă nu este prea tîrziu, pentru a răspunde năzuințelor și încrederii popoarelor, dorinței lor de pace, libertate, dezarmare, securitate și independență, de a opri cursul periculos spre prăpastia nucleară, de a asigura triumful păcii și colaborării pe planeta noastră.

Marea Adunare Națională a Republicii Socialiste România își exprimă convingerea că toate guvernele vor ține seama de aspirațiile și voința popoarelor care prin mari manifestații își exprimă hotărîrea fermă de a trăi și conlucra într-un climat de pace, securitate și colaborare, într-o lume mai bună și mai dreaptă, fără arme nucleare, fără nici un fel de arme și fără războaie.

Cu această convingere, noi, deputații Marii Adunări Naționale a Republicii Socialiste România, reafirmîndu-ne încă o dată hotărîrea noastră de a înfăptui neabătut politica de pace și colaborare a României socialiste, adresăm tuturor parlamentelor și parlamentarilor din țările Europei, din Statele Unite ale Americii și Canada chemarea de a ne uni eforturile și de a acționa împreună pentru a contribui la diminuarea încordării internaționale, la oprirea cursei înarmărilor nucleare, la realizarea unor înțelegeri care să deschidă perspectiva eliminării totale a armelor nucleare de pe continent, a pericolului unui război nuclear nimicitor.

Pornind de la marea răspundere pe care o avem față de popoarele noastre, să punem mai presus de orice interesele supreme ale apărării vieții popoarelor, ale civilizației umane, să acționăm și să facem totul pentru făurirea unei lumi a păcii și colaborării internaționale !

Acest apel a fost adoptat de Marea Adunare Națională în ședința din 24 martie 1984, cu unanimitate de voturi.

PREȘEDINTELE
MARII ADUNĂRI NAȚIONALE
NICOLAE GIOSAN

București, 24 martie 1984.