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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

**Withdrawer**

RBW 1/23/2017

**File Folder** ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (6)

**FOIA**

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**Box Number** 5

HERSHBERG

51

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
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187597	LETTER	NICOLAE CEAUSESCU TO RR	3	12/1/1984	B1
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The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 21, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY <sup>79</sup>

SUBJECT: Proposed Letter from President Reagan to Romanian President on Olympic Participation

State has forwarded a draft message (Tab A) to be sent from President Reagan to Romanian President Ceausescu. It is intended to encourage Romanian Olympic participation, in part, by stressing the progress achieved in many areas of our bilateral relations over the past year. Presently, Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country that has not boycotted the Olympics. It is, however, under strong Soviet pressure to join the rest of the Warsaw Pact in the boycott.

The proposed message would not be unprecedented. Letters have been exchanged between the two Presidents over the last three years.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding the draft message to be cabled to Bucharest (with no signed original). A decision is needed as soon as possible. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

<sup>De</sup>DeGraffenreid, <sup>SR</sup>Fortier, <sup>JS</sup>Matlock and <sup>RR</sup>Robinson concur.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

Tab I      Memorandum to the President  
Tab A      Proposed message to Romanian President Ceausescu  
Tab II     State's memorandum, May 18, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec. 3.1(a) (1) (2) recommended  
BY: <sup>11</sup>11, 2008  
12317

Dear Mr. President:

I have found our correspondence over the past few years useful and would like to discuss several matters of interest to both of our countries, including Romania's participation in the summer Olympic games.

The state of U.S.-Romanian relations is good. The 1983 visits of Vice President Bush and Secretary of Commerce Baldrige to Romania, as well as the visits of Foreign Minister Andrei and Minister Necula to the United States this year are recent examples of the frequent and constructive exchanges we enjoy.

Our bilateral trade relations have also expanded significantly this year, and we expect that expansion to continue. In this connection, I wish to inform you that shortly I will submit to Congress my determination of the extension of Romania's Most-Favored-Nation tariff status for another year. Moreover, this summer we will again be extending for three years the bilateral commercial agreement which has served the interests of both our countries.

Our governments have consulted regularly on important multilateral issues such as various problems at the United Nations, the CDE conference in Stockholm, INF, the Middle East, and Southern Africa. We have also kept your able representative in Washington, Ambassador Malitza, informed on our continuing efforts to improve relations with the new leadership of the

Soviet Union. We believe it is essential to the maintenance of peace and security that we remain in close contact with the Soviet leadership, and that the important negotiations in which we were engaged, especially on INF and START, be resumed. We welcome Romania's support for these negotiations and hope that they can be resumed soon and without preconditions.

Regarding the Olympics we are hosting in Los Angeles this summer, I wish to inform you that Soviet concerns about the safety of their athletes and other participants are groundless. As you may know, I have personally assured the International Olympic Committee that the U.S. will live up to the Olympic Charter. The Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, in close coordination with local, state and federal authorities, is working with the utmost diligence to ensure that all legitimate requirements for the comfort and safety of visiting athletes are fully met. It is our hope that the Romanian Olympic Committee will concur in this and that the Romanian Olympic team will have the opportunity to participate in the games this summer.

Sincerely,

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Proposed Letter to Romanian President on Olympic  
Participation

State has forwarded a draft message from you to Romanian President Ceausescu (Tab A). The letter is designed to encourage Romanian Olympic participation by stressing, in part, the progress achieved in various areas of our bilateral relations over the past year. Presently, Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country that has not boycotted the summer Olympics. It is, however, under strong Soviet pressure to join the rest of the Warsaw Pact in the boycott.

The message would be sent telegraphically with no signed original. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATIONOK    No

—    —    That you approve the text at Tab A.

Prepared by:  
Paula Dobriansky

## Attachments:

Tab A    Proposed text of a message to Romanian President  
CeausescuCONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

fuj

1/23/77

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

4065

May 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Subject: Proposed Letter from President Reagan to  
Romanian President on Olympic Participation

Attached is the text of a proposed message from President Reagan to President Ceausescu of Romania on the Olympics. Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country that is at all likely to go against the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Summer Olympics. However, Romania certainly is under strong Soviet pressure to join the rest of the Warsaw Pact in the boycott. That pressure will increase when Ceausescu makes his expected visit to Moscow to meet with Chernenko this month and then again for the CEMA Summit in mid June.

The proposed message, which, in view of the past exchanges of letters between the President and President Ceausescu, would not set a precedent, is designed to encourage Romanian Olympic participation in part by stressing the progress achieved in many areas of our bilateral relations over the past year.

An urgent decision is needed since we do not know when the Romanians may make their decision on Olympic participation or when this month Ceausescu will make his expected trip to Moscow. We propose that there be no signed original.

Attachment:  
As stated.

*Charles Hill*

Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: State Waiver 11/6/15  
BY: RWJ NARA DATE 1/23/17

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

C

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'84 MAY 23 P3:01

RECEIVED

MESSAGE NO. 957 CLASSIFICATION UNCLAS PAGES 2  
 FROM R. KIMATT  
 (NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION LTR TO PRESIDENT CERUDESCU

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
<u>BRAYO</u>	<u>CHARLES HILL</u>		

REMARKS FOR IMMEDIATE DISPATCH TO EMBASSY  
BUCHAREST.



PROPOSED TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE

7

Dear Mr. President:

I have found our correspondence over the past few years useful and would like to discuss several matters of interest to both of our countries, including Romania's participation in the summer Olympic games.

The state of U.S.-Romanian relations is good. The 1983 visits of Vice President Bush and Secretary of Commerce Baldrige to Romania, as well as the visits of Foreign Minister Andrei and Minister Necula to the United States this year, are recent examples of the frequent and constructive exchanges we enjoy.

Our bilateral trade relations have also expanded significantly this year, and we expect that expansion to continue. In this connection, I wish to inform you that shortly I will submit to Congress my determination of the extension of Romania's Most-Favored-Nation tariff status for another year. Moreover, this summer we will again be extending for three years the bilateral commercial agreement which has served the interests of both our countries.

Our governments have consulted regularly on important multilateral issues such as various problems at the United Nations, the CDE conference in Stockholm, INF, the Middle East, and Southern Africa. We have also kept your able representative in Washington, Ambassador Malitza, informed on our continuing efforts to improve relations with the new leadership of the

Soviet Union. We believe it is essential to the maintenance of peace and security that we remain in close contact with the Soviet leadership, and that the important negotiations in which we were engaged, especially on INF and START, be resumed. We welcome Romania's support for these negotiations and hope that they can be resumed soon and without preconditions.

Regarding the Olympics we are hosting in Los Angeles this summer, I wish to inform you that Soviet concerns about the safety of their athletes and other participants are groundless. As you may know, I have personally assured the International Olympic Committee that the U.S. will live up to the Olympic Charter. The Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, in close coordination with local, state and federal authorities, is working with the utmost diligence to ensure that all legitimate requirements for the comfort and safety of visiting athletes are fully met. It is our hope that the Romanian Olympic Committee will concur in this and that the Romanian Olympic team will have the opportunity to participate in the games this summer.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ronald Reagan". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Ronald" and last name "Reagan" clearly distinguishable.

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

MEMORANDUM

101 MAY 20 AM 3:52

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4065

9

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*

SUBJECT: Proposed Letter to Romanian President on Olympic Participation

State has forwarded a draft message from you to Romanian President Ceausescu (Tab A). The letter is designed to encourage Romanian Olympic participation by stressing, in part, the progress achieved in various areas of our bilateral relations over the past year. Presently, Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country that has not boycotted the summer Olympics. It is, however, under strong Soviet pressure to join the rest of the Warsaw Pact in the boycott.

The message would be sent telegraphically with no signed original. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATION

OK No

*RCM* — That you approve the text at Tab A.

Prepared by:  
Paula Dobriansky

Attachments:

Tab A Proposed text of a message to Romanian President Ceausescu

cc; Vice President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED  
1988, as amended  
DATE 11/23/06  
BY [signature]

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 21, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY <sup>79</sup>

SUBJECT: Proposed Letter from President Reagan to Romanian President on Olympic Participation

State has forwarded a draft message (Tab A) to be sent from President Reagan to Romanian President Ceausescu. It is intended to encourage Romanian Olympic participation, in part, by stressing the progress achieved in many areas of our bilateral relations over the past year. Presently, Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country that has not boycotted the Olympics. It is, however, under strong Soviet pressure to join the rest of the Warsaw Pact in the boycott.

The proposed message would not be unprecedented. Letters have been exchanged between the two Presidents over the last three years.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding the draft message to be cabled to Bucharest (with no signed original). A decision is needed as soon as possible. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

<sup>79</sup>DeGraffenreid, <sup>RSR</sup>Fortier, <sup>JS</sup>Matlock and <sup>RR</sup>Robinson concur.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve ✓

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Proposed message to Romanian President Ceausescu

Tab II State's memorandum, May 18, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008  
BY NARA RIN, DATE 11/23/17

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

4065

May 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE**CONFIDENTIAL**

Subject: Proposed Letter from President Reagan to  
Romanian President on Olympic Participation

Attached is the text of a proposed message from President Reagan to President Ceausescu of Romania on the Olympics. Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country that is at all likely to go against the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Summer Olympics. However, Romania certainly is under strong Soviet pressure to join the rest of the Warsaw Pact in the boycott. That pressure will increase when Ceausescu makes his expected visit to Moscow to meet with Chernenko this month and then again for the CEMA Summit in mid June.

The proposed message, which, in view of the past exchanges of letters between the President and President Ceausescu, would not set a precedent, is designed to encourage Romanian Olympic participation in part by stressing the progress achieved in many areas of our bilateral relations over the past year.

An urgent decision is needed since we do not know when the Romanians may make their decision on Olympic participation or when this month Ceausescu will make his expected trip to Moscow. We propose that there be no signed original.

Attachment:  
As stated.

*Charles Hill*

Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

**CONFIDENTIAL**

DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: State Waiver 11/16/15  
BY: RWJ  
DATE: 1/23/17

Dear Mr. President:

I wish to take this opportunity to discuss with you several matters of interest to both of our countries. The correspondence which we have carried on over the past few years has been helpful to me in clarifying certain important issues.

The state of U.S.-Romanian relations, in my opinion, is good and is improving steadily. Your government and ours have maintained a positive dialogue, especially over the past year. The visits of Vice President Bush, Secretary of Commerce Baldrige, and the delegation headed by Congressman Gibbons to Romania in the latter part of last year as well as the visits of Foreign Minister Andrei and Minister Nacula to the United States this year are recent examples of the frequent and constructive exchanges we enjoy.

There are signs now that our bilateral trade relations are expanding significantly this year, and we expect that expansion to continue to grow in both directions. In this connection, I wish to inform you that shortly I will be submitting to the Congress my determination on the extension of Romania's most-favored-nation tariff status for another year. In view of Romania's improved emigration performance over the past year,

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

we do not anticipate significant opposition to that extension on the part of the Congress. Progress is being made in the cooperative efforts between our governments in the areas of productivity and tourism expansion. Moreover, this summer we will again be extending for another three years the bilateral commercial agreement which has served the interests of both our countries well over the years.

In addition to trade and other bilateral matters, I should mention the useful exchanges we have had with senior representatives of your government on important multilateral issues such as various problems at the UN, the CDE conference in Stockholm, INF, the Middle East, Southern Africa and others. We welcome Romania's views on all these questions and want to maintain a continuing dialogue with you on them.

We have been keeping your excellent representative in Washington, Ambassador Malitza, informed on the continuing efforts of my Administration to develop improved, more productive relations with the new leadership of the Soviet Union. Although they have not brought significant results yet, those efforts are extensive and sincere. We believe it is essential to the continued maintenance of peace and security that we remain in close contact with the Soviet leadership and that ways be found to resume the important negotiations in which we were engaged with them, especially on INF and START.

14

We welcome Romania's support for the resumption of those negotiations and hope that they can be resumed as soon as possible, without preconditions.

On the question of the Los Angeles Olympics this summer, I wish to inform you that the Soviet concerns about the safety of athletes and other participants there are groundless. As you may know, I have personally assured the International Olympic Committee that the U.S. will live up to the Olympic Charter. The Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, in close coordination with local, state and federal authorities, is working with the utmost diligence to ensure that all legitimate requirements for the comfort and safety of visiting athletes are fully met. It is our hope that the Romanian Olympic Committee will concur in that assessment and that the Romanian Olympic team will participate in the games this summer.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan



CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
SECRETARIAT

romania

15

PAGE 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 4163  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUCHAREST 04163

NODIS  
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PEPR, PARM, ETRD, US, UR, RO  
SUBJECT: CESUSESCU'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S  
LETTER OF MAY 24

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THIS EVENING (JUNE 26) FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI SUMMONED THE DCM TO THE MINISTRY (THE AMBASSADOR BEING IN CONSTANTA WITH THE COMMANDER OF THE SIXTH FLEET) TO REQUEST THAT THE EMBASSY TRANSMIT THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM CEAUSESCU TO PRESIDENT REAGAN IN RESPONSE TO A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT DATED MAY 24. ANDREI SAID THAT ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITZA WOULD BE DELIVERING THE ORIGINAL SIGNED COPY TO THE DEPARTMENT UPON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON EARLY NEXT WEEK, BUT ADDED "HIS PRESIDENT" WANTED THE TEXT SENT NOW.

3. ANDREI ASKED THAT PARTICULAR ATTENTION BE PAID TO THE WORDING--THE FORMULATION-- OF THAT PORTION OF THE LETTER WHICH DEALS WITH CEAUSESCU'S CONVERSATIONS IN MOSCOW WITH CHERNENKO CONCERNING CONDITIONS FOR RESUMING THE GENEVA INF TALKS.

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TRANSLATION OF THE ROMANIAN TEXT (WHICH WE HAVE CHECKED AGAINST THE ROMANIAN TEXT AND ADJUSTED AS REQUIRED) FOLLOWS:

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

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE CONVEYED TO ME ON 24TH OF MAY, 1984 AND, FOR MY PART, I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE AND USEFULNESS OF OUR CONTINUING EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES IN RECENT YEARS.

I CONSIDER, AS WOULD YOU, THAT THE STATE OF THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS GOOD. INDEED, IN THE SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDINGS CONVENED BETWEEN US, EXCHANGES OF MINISTERIAL-LEVEL VISITS HAVE CONTINUED, ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAVE BEEN POSITIVELY DEVELOPED, AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS REGARDING THE MAIN ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE HAVE INTENSIFIED. I APPRECIATE, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE STILL MANY POSSIBILITIES WHICH SHOULD BE EXPLOITED FOR EXPANDING ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND,

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: State Waiver 116615  
BY: [Signature] NARA DATE 1/23/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
SECRETARIAT

16

PAGE 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 4163

DTG: 262130Z JUN 84 PSN: 064447

ESPECIALLY, FOR PRODUCTION AND TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION. THEREFORE, I CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO FIND WAYS FOR ENCOURAGING THE AMERICAN FIRMS AND COMPANIES TO COOPERATE WITH ROMANIA AND TO FACILITATE LICENSING AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF TECHNOLOGY THAT WOULD ENABLE ROMANIAN PRODUCTS, INCLUDING THOSE DESTINED FOR EXPORT TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO BE AT A HIGHER TECHNICAL LEVEL.

I AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY PROFOUND CONCERN IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXTREMELY GRAVE TENSION REACHED IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE. THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMS RACE. ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR ARMS, HAS LED TO AN INCREASE OF THE DANGER OF A WORLD WAR WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME A NUCLEAR WAR, ENDANGERING THE VERY CONDITIONS OF LIFE ON OUR PLANET. OF ESPECIAL GRAVITY IS THE SITUATION CREATED IN EUROPE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE BEGINNING OF THE DEPLOYMENT BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OF MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE BEGINNING OF THE APPLICATION OF ANNOUNCED NUCLEAR COUNTER-MEASURES BY THE SOVIET UNION.

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, I REGARD WITH SATISFACTION THE IMPORTANCE YOU PAY TO THE MAINTAINING CLOSE CONTACTS WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE RESUMING OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA. INDEED, THE ONLY RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE TO THIS DANGEROUS COURSE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND TO THE POLICY OF CONFRONTATION AND ARMAMENT IS DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS.

FOLLOWING THE TALKS I HAVE RECENTLY HAD IN MOSCOW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR K. U. CHERNENKO, I AM LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION DESIRES TO RESUME (LIT.: ARRIVE AT A RESUMPTION) THE DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA FOR COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING

ON A SUITABLE SOLUTION. THEREFORE, I CONSIDER IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL THAT THE UNITED STATES TAKE AN INITIATIVE THAT WOULD PERMIT OVERCOMING THE PRESENT SITUATION. IN THIS RESPECT ONE COULD HAVE IN MIND THAT THE USA WOULD STOP DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND THE USSR WOULD STOP APPLYING NUCLEAR COUNTER-MEASURES AND, ON THIS BASIS, THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE USA BE RESUMED WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES AND THEN OF ALL NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD.

AS IN THE PAST, ROMANIA WISHES TO COLLABORATE WITH THE USA AND WITH THE OTHER STATES FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT AT STOCKHOLM, FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT VIENNA, FOR THE ADOPTING OF EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT MEASURES AT THE CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, AND FOR PUTTING A STOP TO THE ARMS RACE AND BEGINNING DISARMAMENT, AND, FIRST OF ALL, NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
SECRETARIAT

17

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUCHAREST 04163

NODIS

UNDER PRESENT INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NECESSARY TO ACT MORE ACTIVELY FOR A DURABLE AND JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I CONSIDER THAT THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION THAT COULD BRING A GLOBAL SETTLEMENT OF THIS CONFLICT SHOULD BE THE CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE.

SIMILARLY, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER TO SOME INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE GRAVE SITUATION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE INCREASE OF THEIR FOREIGN DEBTS AND TO THE DEEPENING GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES. I REGARD AS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THE RESUMING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS AND FOR SETTING UP A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, BASED ON EQUALITY AND EQUITY, AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

FIRST, I CONSIDER THAT THERE BE A GLOBAL AND NOT A SELECTIVE SOLUTION, AS A NEW APPROACH, REGARDING THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN DEBTS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THAT WOULD ASSURE THE CANCELLATION OF THESE DEBTS FOR THE POOREST COUNTRIES, THE REDUCING OF AN IMPORTANT PROPORTION FOR OTHER COUNTRIES, RESCHEDULING OF DEBTS ON A LONG TERM WITHOUT INTEREST OR WITH LOW, SYMBOLIC INTEREST AND PROVIDING NEW CREDITS UNDER FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HELP THEIR EFFORTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN THIS REGARD A SPECIAL DIALOGUE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED AT LEAST BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES REGARDING DEALING WITH THE FOREIGN DEBTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND, PROCEEDING ON THIS BASIS, TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS FOR EACH COUNTRY. IN MY VIEW, THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD CONSIDER PROVIDING 10-15 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL VALUE OF THEIR EXPORTS FOR PAYING FOREIGN DEBTS, INCLUDING INTEREST AND, IN THIS WAY, TO RETAIN THE NECESSARY MEANS FOR THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOR SOLVING SOME OF THEIR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

I EXPRESS MY CONVICTION THAT WE WILL ALSO ACT IN THE FUTURE TO EXPAND ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, TO PROMOTE A POLICY OF PEACE, DETENTE, DISARMAMENT AND COLLABORATION OF RESPECT FOR THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF ALL PEOPLES.

SINCERELY,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

18

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
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PAGE 02 OF 02    BUCHAREST 4163

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NICOLAE CEAUSESCU  
UNQUOTE

5. EMBASSY COMMENT: ON THE SURFACE--AND PROBABLY BELOW IT AS WELL--MOST OF THE LETTER IS VINTAGE CEAUSESCU. THE POINTS HAVING BEEN MADE BEFORE IN NUMEROUS SPEECHES. ANDREI, HOWEVER, MADE A POINT OF CALLING ATTENTION TO THE LANGUAGE USED BY CEAUSESCU WHEN SUGGESTING HOW INF TALKS MIGHT BE RESUMED ("ONE COULD HAVE IN MIND THAT THE U. S. HALT THE DEPLOYMENT OF MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES..."). THIS LANGUAGE INDEED IS DIFFERENT THAN CEAUSESCU'S--AND, FOR THAT MATTER, SOVIET--DEMANDS THAT THE U. S. HALT INF DEPLOYMENT (AND WITHDRAW MISSILES ALREADY DEPLOYED) AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF INF TALKS AND SUGGEST OTHER PROPOSALS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED. THIS MAY BE MERELY TYPICAL CEAUSESCU. HE COULD BE READING MORE INTO SOVIET THINKING THAN IS MERITED. HE COULD BE FABRICATING. HE MAY ALSO BE TRYING TO ADD SOME LUSTER TO HIS OWN CREDENTIALS AS A USEFUL GO-BETWEEN. NEVERTHELESS, ON THE CHANCE THAT THERE MAY BE SOMETHING THERE WE SUGGEST THAT UNDER SECRETARY ARMACOST--WHO, WE UNDERSTAND, IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR MALITZA JULY 5 (NOTE: MFA INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT MALITZA WILL BE THERE)--D EXPLORE THIS WITH MALITZA THOROUGHLY.  
FUNDERBURK  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 14, 1984

Dear Mr. Gheorghiu:

Enclosed are the biographic  
data you requested on the  
Vice President, Mr. McFarlane  
and Mr. Niskanen.

*Mauresca B. Lapinski*

Secretary to  
Ms. Dobriansky

For Immediate Release

March 28, 1981

The President today announced his intention to nominate William A. Niskanen, Jr., to be a Member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

Robert C. McFarlane of Graham, Texas became Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, in October 1983 leaving his previous post as the President's Personal Representative in the Middle East where he had served since July 1983. He also served as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from January 1983.

BIOGRAPHY OF  
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

George Herbert Walker Bush was born June 12, 1924. He graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy in June 1942, and served in the Navy. At age 18, he was the youngest member of the United States Olympic team at that time.

He served from August 1942 to August 1945 as a cadet and carrier pilot, and received two air medals and the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Returning home, he entered Yale University where he received a degree in 1948, graduating Phi Kappa Phi member of the baseball team.

After graduation, Mr. Bush worked for the Federal Reserve Bank of New York as a trainee and then as a supply

PDobriansky  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Mr. Alexandru Gheorghiu  
Minister-Counselor  
Embassy of the Socialist Republic  
of Romania  
1607 - 23rd Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8418292

Date October 9, 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Council  
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: President Ceausescu

Date: June 25, 1984 Subject: Response to May 24 letter  
from President Reagan

WH Referral Dated: \_\_\_\_\_ NSC ID# \_\_\_\_\_  
(if any)

☒ The attached item was sent directly to the  
Department of State.

Action Taken:

- ☐ A draft reply is attached.
- ☐ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- ☐ A translation is attached.
- ☐ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- ☒ We believe no response is necessary for the reason  
cited below.
- ☐ The Department of State has no objection to the  
proposed travel.
- ☐ Other.

Remarks: The attached letter to President Reagan from President Ceausescu of Romania was transmitted by cable from Bucharest (Bucharest 4163), and the original was presented to Undersecretary Armacost by Ambassador Malitza June 5. The Department does not believe a reply is currently necessary or appropriate, although reference will be made to the letter in President Reagan's next substantive message to Ceausescu.

*Molly O'Hara*  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
(Classification)  
DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority State Univer 11/6/15  
BY FW NARA DATE 1/23/17

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO.

113370  
CT/ADS  
Romanian

Wang No. 0042s

President  
of the  
Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucarest, June 25, 1984.

Dear Mr. President

I have received your letter of May 24, 1984, and I also wish to emphasize the importance and usefulness of this exchange of messages established between us in recent years.

I consider, as you do, that the present stage in Romanian-American relations is good. Indeed, in the spirit of the understanding reached between us, exchanges of visits at the ministerial level have continued, economic relations have developed positively, and consultations between the two Governments concerning important international problems have been intensified. I believe that many possibilities still exist which should be explored to increase economic cooperation, especially in production, technology and science. It may be necessary to find ways in which to encourage American firms and companies to cooperate with Romania and facilitate the granting of licenses in technological fields. This would enable Romanian products, including those to be exported to the United States, to attain the highest technical level.

RW State Waiver 11/6/15  
11/23/17



I also wish to express my deep anxiety in connection with the exceptionally serious tension in the world today. The intensification of the arms race, especially of nuclear arms, has led to the increasing danger of a world war, endangering the very conditions of life on our planet. The exceptionally serious situation created in Europe as a result of the deployment of US nuclear intermediate-range missiles in some of the West European countries and the development by the Soviet Union of counter-measures against this deployment .

Under these conditions I have noted with satisfaction the importance you attach to maintaining certain close contacts with the Government of the Soviet Union and the resuming of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva. Indeed dialogue and negotiations are the only reasonable alternatives to this dangerous course in the international scene and the policy of confrontation and rearmament.

As a result of the talks I recently had in Moscow with the President of the Supreme Soviet, K.V. Chernenko, I have been left with the impression that possibilities exist and that the Soviet Union wishes to resume the dialogue with the United States and the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva in order to reach possible solutions. That is why I consider that it is essential for the United States to take an initiative which would allow the present situation to improve. In this sense we

could think in terms of having the USA stop the deployment of nuclear intermediate-range missiles and having the Soviet Union stop developing anti-nuclear countermeasures. On this basis, the Soviet Union and the United States could resume negotiations which would lead to the total elimination of intermediate range missiles and subsequently of all nuclear arms in Europe and the world.

As in the past, Romania wants to cooperate with the United States and the other nations for a successful conclusion of the Conference for mutual measures and disarmament in Stockholm, for an agreement in the Vienna negotiations, for the adoption of effective disarmament measures at the Geneva Conference, for a halt to the arms race and for disarmament, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

In the present international atmosphere, it is necessary to take even more active measures to bring about a fair and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. I believe that the only real solution which may lead to a global settlement of the conflict is to organize an international conference, under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I also should like to refer to certain international economic problems, particularly to the serious situation in the

developing countries as a result of increasing foreign debts and to lessen the difference between the rich and poor countries. I deem that it is of special importance to resume as early as possible the global negotiations at the UN for the solution of these problems, establishing a new international economic order based on equality and equity, essential conditions for economic and political stability. I consider that first of all a new global and not a selective solution is required to solve the problems of foreign debts of the developing countries, which should guarantee the cancelling of these debts for the poorest countries, a proportional reduction in the quota of other countries, a long-term scheduling of payments without interest or with a small symbolic interest, and the granting of new credits in advantageous conditions to the developing countries in view of supporting the efforts made for their economic and social development.

In connection with this, a special dialogue should be opened between the developed and developing countries, in order to solve these problems separately for each country. In my opinion it should be kept in mind that the developing countries would have to allocate from 10 to 15 per cent of the total value of their exports for the payment of foreign debts, including interest, so that they should be left with the necessary

funds for their own economic development and the solution of a number of problems pertaining to their social order.

I wish to express my belief that in the future too we will act together to expand Romanian-American relations in order to promote a policy of peace, detente, disarmament and cooperation, and respect for the national independence of all nations.

Sincerely

[s] N. Ceausescu



27

*Președintele  
Republicii Socialiste România*

București, 25 iunie 1984

STIMATE DOMNULE PRESEDINTE,

Am primit mesajul pe care mi l-ați adresat la 24 mai a.c. și, la rîndul meu, doresc să subliniez importanța și utilitatea schimbului de mesaje statornicit între noi în ultimii ani.

Ca și Dumneavoastră, consider că stadiul relațiilor româno-americane este bun. Intr-adevăr, în spiritul înțelegerilor convenite între noi, au continuat schimburile de vizite la nivel ministerial, s-au dezvoltat pozitiv raporturile economice, s-au intensificat consultările între cele două guverne cu privire la principalele probleme ale vieții internaționale. Apreciez însă că există încă multe posibilități care trebuie folosite pentru amplificarea raporturilor economice și, îndeosebi, a cooperării în producție și tehnico-științifice. De aceea, consider că ar fi necesar să se găsească modalitatea de a fi încurajate firmele și companiile americane în cooperarea cu România și să se faciliteze acordarea de licențe în domeniul tehnologiei care să permită ca produsele românești, inclusiv cele destinate exportului în S.U.A., să fie la nivel tehnic cît mai înalt.

Doresc și cu acest prilej să vă exprim îngrijorarea mea profundă în legătură cu încordarea deosebit de gravă la care s-a ajuns în viața internațională. Intensificarea cursei înarmărilor, și în special a înarmărilor nucleare, a dus la creșterea pericolului unui război mondial, care s-ar transforma inevitabil

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EXCELENTEI SALE  
DOMNULUI RONALD REAGAN  
PRESEDINTELE STATELOR UNITE ALE AMERICII

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority State Wainwright 11/6/15  
BY EW NARA DATE 11/23/17

într-un război nuclear, punînd în primejdie înseşi condiţiile de viaţă pe planeta noastră. De o deosebită gravitate este situaţia creată în Europa ca urmare a trecerii la amplasarea de către S.U.A. a rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie de acţiune în unele ţări vest-europene şi a trecerii de către Uniunea Sovietică la aplicarea contramăsurilor nucleare anunţate.

În aceste condiţii, constat cu satisfacţie importanţa pe care o acordaţi menţinerii unor contacte strînse cu conducerea Uniunii Sovietice şi reluării negocierilor sovieto-americane de la Geneva. Într-adevăr, singura alternativă raţională la acest curs periculos din viaţa internaţională, la politica de confruntare şi înarmare o constituie dialogul, negocierile.

În urma convorbirilor pe care le-am avut recent la Moscova cu preşedintele Sovietului Suprem al U.R.S.S., K.U.Cernenko, am rămas cu impresia că există posibilităţi şi că Uniunea Sovietică doreşte să se ajungă la reluarea dialogului cu Statele Unite şi a negocierilor sovieto-americane de la Geneva pentru a se conveni o soluţie corespunzătoare. De aceea, consider că s-ar impune ca S.U.A. să ia o iniţiativă care să permită depăşirea actualei situaţii. În acest sens s-ar putea avea în vedere ca S.U.A. să oprească amplasarea în Europa a rachetelor nucleare cu rază medie de acţiune iar U.R.S.S. să oprească aplicarea contramăsurilor nucleare şi, pe această bază, să fie reluate negocierile dintre Uniunea Sovietică şi S.U.A. care să ducă la eliminarea totală a rachetelor cu rază medie de acţiune şi apoi a oricăror arme nucleare din Europa şi din lume.

Ca şi în trecut, România doreşte să conlucreze cu S.U.A. şi cu celelalte state pentru încheierea cu succes a Conferinţei pentru măsuri de încredere şi dezarmare de la Stockholm, pentru ajungerea la un acord la negocierile de la Viena, pentru adoptarea de măsuri efective de dezarmare la Conferinţa de la Geneva, pentru oprirea cursei înarmărilor şi trecerea la dezarmare şi, în primul rînd, la dezarmare nucleară.

In actualele circumstanțe internaționale se impune să se acționeze și mai activ pentru reglementarea trainică și justă a conflictului din Orientul Apropiat. Consider că singura soluție reală care poate duce la reglementarea globală a conflictului o constituie organizarea unei conferințe internaționale, sub egida Organizației Națiunilor Unite, cu participarea tuturor părților interesate, inclusiv a Organizației pentru Eliberarea Palestinei.

Aș dori, de asemenea, să mă refer la unele probleme economice internaționale și, îndeosebi, la situația gravă a țărilor în curs de dezvoltare ca urmare a creșterii datoriilor lor externe, la adâncirea decalajului dintre țările bogate și țările sărace. Apreciez ca fiind deosebit de importantă reluarea cât mai repede posibil a negocierilor globale în cadrul O.N.U., în vederea soluționării acestor probleme, a instaurării unei noi ordini economice internaționale bazate pe egalitate și echitate, condiție esențială a stabilității economice și politice mondiale. Consider că, în primul rând, este necesară o soluționare globală și nu selectivă, într-un mod nou, a problemei datoriilor externe ale țărilor în curs de dezvoltare, care să asigure anularea acestor datorii pentru țările cele mai sărace, reducerea într-o proporție importantă pentru alte țări, reeșalonarea pe termen lung a datoriilor, fără dobândă sau cu dobânzi mici, simbolice și acordarea de noi credite în condiții avantajoase pentru țările în curs de dezvoltare, în vederea sprijinirii eforturilor acestora consacrate dezvoltării economice și sociale.

In legătură cu aceasta ar trebui organizat un dialog special, cel puțin între țările dezvoltate și țările în curs de dezvoltare pentru a se ajunge la un aranjament de principii generale privind reglementarea datoriilor externe ale țărilor în curs de dezvoltare, urmînd ca pe această bază să se soluționeze problemele pentru fiecare țară în parte. După părerea mea, ar



- 4 -

trebui să se aibă în vedere ca țările în curs de dezvoltare să aloce 10 - 15 la sută din valoarea totală a exporturilor pentru plata datoriilor externe, inclusiv a dobânzilor, și în felul acesta să le rămână mijloacele necesare dezvoltării economice proprii și soluționării unei serii de probleme de ordin social.

Imi exprim convingerea că vom acționa și în viitor împreună pentru amplificarea relațiilor româno-americane, pentru promovarea unei politici de pace, destindere, dezarmare și colaborare, de respect al independenței naționale a tuturor popoarelor.

Cu sinceritate,



# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

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187597	LETTER  NICOLAE CEAUSESCU TO RR	3	12/1/1984	B1

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

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



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Review*  
*PD*  
*Concerned 12/6/84*  
*Called Suzanne Karsten*  
*n*

35

December 6, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB KIMMITT, NSC

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to  
Romanian-U.S. Economic Council

Please review the attached request and advise on handling. A draft from the Commerce Department is also attached. We will need a response by COB Thursday, December 6th -- please call.

(for) Doug Badger *WDB*  
ANNE HIGGINS  
18-OEOB/Ext. 2941

WDB:smc



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
Office of Public Affairs  
Washington, D.C. 20230

Dec. 7

Assign to: \_\_\_\_\_ 36

December 5, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAUDIA KORTE

FROM: Gus Knowles *71*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Members of the Romanian-U.S.  
Economic Council

I discussed the attached with Laura today and would much appreciate receiving a signed message by Friday, if at all possible, since the affair opens on Monday, December 10. If you will call we will send right over for the message.

Thanks.

I am pleased to welcome members of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council to Washington for your Tenth Plenary Session.

In this anniversary year, I want to commend the Council for its contribution to the development of strong commercial relations between the United States and Romania.

Last week the Tenth Session of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission met in Washington. Secretary Baldrige and Minister Pungan agreed to seek ways to increase further our bilateral commercial exchanges in the second decade of normalized trade relations. Your Council, in bringing together industrial leaders from the United States and Romania, will continue to play a leading role as we strive to reach the full potential of our trade.

This year, the growth of Romanian exports to the United States has far outpaced that of U.S. exports to Romania. I hope your discussions will facilitate the recovery of U.S. exports to Romania next year, which I believe will benefit the economies of both countries.

I extend best wishes for every success.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

TO UNKNOWN FROM PRESIDENT

DOCDATE 07 DEC 84

38

KEYWORDS: ROMANIA

EAST WEST ECONOMICS

SUBJECT: PRES MSG TO ROMANIAN - US ECONOMIC COUN 10TH PLENARY SESSION

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

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(C)

December 7, 1984

I am pleased to welcome members of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council to Washington for your Tenth Plenary Session.

In this anniversary year, I want to commend the Council for its contribution to the development of strong commercial relations between the United States and Romania.

Last week the Tenth Session of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission met in Washington. Secretary Baldrige and Minister Pungan agreed to seek ways to increase our bilateral commercial exchanges in the second decade of normalized trade relations. Your Council, in bringing together industrial leaders from the United States and Romania, will continue to play a leading role as we strive to reach the full potential of our trade.

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I extend best wishes for every success.

RONALD REAGAN

SENT TO:

Call Sue Solomon-Commerce for pick-up  
377-3263

RR:SRH:WDB:AVH:plr PM&  
cc: K.Osborne/B.Kimmitt/C.Korte/S.Herring/ CF  
EVENT: Dec. 10  
DUE: Dec. 7  
12/7 Romanian-US Economy

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15  
BY FW DATE 1/23/17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

S/S # 8435150

40

Date January 12, 1985

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

*Dobermanly :*

*Fyi*

FOR: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Council  
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan  
DATE: Undated (delivered  
to Dept 12/21/84)

FROM: Nicu Ceausescu, Romanian  
1st Secretary of the Union of  
Communist Youth  
SUBJECT: International Youth  
Year 1985

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: \_\_\_\_\_ NSC # \_\_\_\_\_  
(if any)

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- \_\_\_\_\_ A draft reply is attached.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A translation is attached.
- X \_\_\_\_\_ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Department of State has no objection to travel proposed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other

REMARKS

IO/CU concurs with EUR/EEY that the attached reply signed by Mr. Wright responds at the appropriate level to the letter of Mr. Ceausescu, Romanian First Secretary of the Union of Communist Youth and Minister for Youth Problems. A reply at a higher level would be unwise because of our uncertainty about the context in which our reply will be used by the Romanians, whose views on the observance of International Youth Year 1985 differ greatly from those of the United States.

*Nicholas Platt*  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary



United States Department of State

41

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 8, 1985

Mr. Nicu Ceausescu  
First Secretary, Union of Communist Youth  
and Minister for Youth Problems  
Calea Victoriei 120  
70179 Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mr. Minister:

I have been asked to respond to your November 9, 1984, letter to President Reagan concerning an international survey that your government intends to publish in observance of International Youth Year 1985.

As you know, U.S. policy places emphasis upon the domestic observance of International Youth Year by individual member states. The U.S. has maintained this policy since 1979, when we joined the UN General Assembly consensus for the designation of that year. The U.S. observance of IYY 1985 will stress the achievements of American youth and their contributions to American society.

In response to your questionnaire, I attach the United States International Youth Year Commission definition of the three themes for that year.

We look forward to future cooperation with Romania and the other members of the United Nations' Advisory Committee for International Youth Year at the Committee's fourth and final meeting in early 1985.

Sincerely,

Lacy A. Wright, Jr.  
Director  
Office of Communications  
and UNESCO Affairs



March 1982

## INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR COMMISSION

### DEFINITION OF THEMES

The United Nations have adopted three themes for International Youth Year 1985. They are Participation, Development, and Peace. Although these values are everywhere admired, their exact meaning is often obscured, particularly across cultural barriers. It is important, therefore, to consider the real meaning of these three themes.

Peace, participation, and development are related. It is difficult to imagine how one can prosper without the others. So when each is considered separately, it should be remembered that each concept is really part of a system. The system will be strengthened by programs and activities before, during, and after IYY. The purpose of USYC's International Youth Year Commission is the development and implementation of these programs for IYY.

### PARTICIPATION

Participation in the life of a nation is important for all, and especially important for the young. If they are to help form the society in which they will live their adult lives, young people need a voice first in youth organizations and later in national life.

Youth is a period of nurturing talents and exploring possibilities. Especially in the early years, such nurture is normally and ideally undertaken within a family unit. Just as youth has the ability to make up their own minds as they mature, parents must have the opportunity to explain and teach their values to their children without political recrimination. Education and information from a wide range of sources and perspectives are necessary to the exploration of future possibilities. It is therefore crucial that youth have access to a variety of books, periodicals and other sources of information, and that they be allowed the possibility to travel across political borders to study and to explore further their interests.

Young people can participate in the political, economic, and social life of their nation only if they have the freedom to create and participate in organizations devoted to promoting their interests. Examples include: community youth and service groups, young workers' organizations, student governments at secondary schools and universities, the youth organizations of various religions, and sports and cultural groups for youth. These organizations can successfully serve and speak for youth only if they are free of external domination. There must be freedom from control by those forces holding governing power in the society. Thus, true "participation" in youth groups does not mean simply the right to join an organization. It means the right to a voice in determining the leadership and the direction of the organization as well as the right and ability to form another organization if necessary.

In addition to participating in such youth organizations, young people must also have the right and ability, at an appropriate age, to participate effectively in determining the overall policies and direction of their society. A system that merely serves as a conduit for orders from the top does not allow such participation. Participation is not merely the ability to "rubber stamp" national policies, but rather involvement in the creation of those policies as well as the freedom to oppose them peacefully if necessary. Where young people are denied any participation in their national political process, their resulting frustration often furthers extremism, violence, and destruction, rather than peace and development.

Systems that provide the procedures which will allow young people to control their own independent organizations and to have an effective voice in national politics are to be supported. Such systems are based on a network of guaranteed political rights and civil liberties. In both law and practice, young people must be allowed the freedom to criticize their government, to organize freely, and to assemble peacefully.

To participate effectively in society, young people must understand the political process and know how to use it to their advantage. Young people should have the opportunity to take part in civic education campaigns so that votes are not sold, or bartered for personal favors to candidates who do not really care about the voters' interests. Youth participation in civic education is crucial to its success.

Youth groups themselves, even those with no political functions, give their young members practical experience in running meetings, speaking in public, and organizing, which is very useful in preparing young people to participate later in the decision-making processes of their nations.

Unfortunately, however, in many parts of the world freedom to participate is narrowly restricted. Small groups deny others the right to participate in important decisions. Whether these rulers justify their control in the name of religion, sex, Party, color, or "the masses", they all fear independent groups and genuine participation. Therefore, they usually seek to dominate and control youth groups of all types. Young people do not need these self-appointed leaders to determine their future. Young people need the freedoms to determine their own destiny. They want the opportunity to organize, to oppose, to support, and to reach their own conclusions.

Young people should realize that they will be able to have a just share of the economic and social benefits of their society only when they live in a society that permits the genuine participation of all citizens, regardless of race, sex, creed, or ideology.

#### DEVELOPMENT

World youth has a vital stake in development. Both the more and the less developed societies need to increase their growth to improve the lives of their citizens. Moreover, with the world's population growing, we will have to increase productivity or face a crisis. This means that all must share in the modernization of

production in order that consumption does not outstrip production. If major groups in any society are left out of the development process, they are likely to face poverty, misery, and despair.

A development process which can lead to a viable world economy during the adult lives of today's youth will have to change certain negative phenomena in today's world economy, such as:

- "dual economies", in which a modern sector is growing well, but a stagnating traditional sector is falling ever deeper into poverty;
- the economic casualties of fast development, such as those who are attracted to towns but fail to find employment in the new industries and finish up as virtual scavengers on the fringes of newly developed zones;
- unemployed youth, who reach working age only to find the labor market saturated and their society with no plan for what to do with the excess;
- restriction of development opportunities to the children of privileged, powerful elites who direct positions in government and in corporate or state economic enterprises;

- industrial growth achieved by a state or corporate minority exploiting the poor majority of workers and farmers;
- frequent instances of discrimination against members of particular races or religions, denying their members equal access to employment and education, thus denying them full opportunity for personal and economic development;
- forcibly imposed economic systems, which deny free choice patterns;
- rapid growth for certain countries, while others remain dependent on them, functioning mainly to service the needs of the richer nations.

Such distortions of the development process can be avoided only when all people have political and economic influence through which they can advance their interests. Hence the importance of participation in political, social, and economic processes. Where people lack power and are subject to the domination of others, we find workers exploited, minorities suffering discrimination, elites privileged, and the unemployed and poor ignored. The resulting resentment and apathy diminish productivity and thus hamper economic growth.

Freedom to participate leads to the creation of autonomous institutions such as trade unions, cooperatives, community associations, and private businesses. Experience with development over recent decades has shown that growth is most equitable and rapid where people have been able to control and finance such organizations themselves, free from the domination of government ministries or the "leading role" of dictatorial political parties. Autonomous organizations best harness the initiative and energies of their members, and also voice the members' demands and defend their accomplishments.

To produce a future world which can support the youth of today, we need development for all.

#### PEACE

Peace is a prerequisite for implementing the other themes of the International Youth Year. Youth, which throughout history has borne the brunt of fighting in war, has a special interest in promoting peace.

It is recognized that peace has two definitions, one negative and one positive. The negative definition of peace is simply the absence of war during a particular period of time. While this is by far the most common "peace" found in history and is desirable, a positive peace, where the conditions which might lead to war are not present, is the sort of peace which we hope ultimately to attain. As the positive forces promoting a true peace grow stronger, weapons to deter war will be less necessary, and under such conditions a

genuine, balanced and global program of disarmament can go forward.

However, until a positive plan can come about we recognize that the gravest threat to peace is a global war of mass destruction, involving nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, which would kill hundreds of millions of people and leave great areas of the globe uninhabitable. Fear of this type of conflict is ever-present and is especially acute for young people in whom anxieties can undermine confidence in the future and the desire to build a better world.

Obviously, disarmament and arms control would help alleviate this danger. We must strive to achieve these goals. But to genuinely reduce the risk of war, disarmament and arms control must be mutual and balanced. Otherwise they can increase tension and create incentives for violence.

Until suitable agreements have been implemented, weapons of mass destruction will continue to exist and will be necessary for defense. Their use, however, is best prevented by sensible policies of deterrence. Dangers multiply whenever a government that is dissatisfied with the political and military status quo accumulates a superior capability, whether of quantity or technological quality. When this happens, this government could well be tempted to use its superiority to alter the global or regional balance of



power or to impose its will on other states. To prevent this, peace-loving states must ensure that they have the strategy and sufficient military forces to deter aggression by demonstrating that they cannot be defeated.

But nuclear wars are not the only threat to mankind. Modern technology has vastly enhanced the destructive power of many weapons, and regional wars pose very serious dangers. The United Nations sometimes has played an important role in mediating disputes. Regional security organizations also can strengthen world security by accepting greater responsibility in this field, even to the point of regional policing. The advanced industrial nations should agree not to supply certain highly sophisticated weapons at all, and to reduce the transfer of other weapons. Exchange programs should be encouraged so that ordinary people will be free to discover mutual interests and bonds. Such exchanges must be free from governmental control to be effective, and all governments should open their frontiers to news and opinions, as well as to people, so that their populations do not develop paranoid fears and misconceptions. Youth should take the lead in breaking down national prejudices and barriers.

Less destructive physically than conventional warfare, breaches of the peace through insurgency and guerilla war can often produce the most bitter fratricide. The result is often a vicious circle of atrocity and reprisal, frequently fueled by the frustration of politically conscious young people denied participation in their dictatorial political systems by either indigenous elites or imperial

rulers in far away capitals.

Sometimes violent insurgency is the only way to end foreign domination or domestic tyranny. However, the world today sees guerilla insurgencies even against democratic governments which could be changed through free elections. Even though there is no political need for such insurgencies, they are taking hundreds of young lives, and are supported with money, training, and arms by outside powers. Concerted action and international agreement is needed to implement collective sanctions against nations supporting insurgencies against incumbent democratic political systems.

Smallest in scale, but often the most frightening in terms of personal vulnerability, is breach of the peace through terrorism. Indiscriminate terrorist attacks against random civil targets, usually unarmed non-combatants including women and infants, are not justified in any circumstance. Consequently international agreement also is needed to implement collective sanctions against nations and groups training, equipping, harboring, or supporting those who engage in terrorism.

While it will not be easy to achieve world peace and disarmament, there is an overwhelming need to try. So far this objective has eluded every single generation. The desire for peace also has been exploited throughout history by those seeking to increase their own strength and to disarm and weaken opponents. Nevertheless we must rededicate ourselves to the quest for peace which is so related to our other objectives of development and participation.

- 11 -

From this attempt a new generation may emerge more capable than its predecessors of overcoming the obstacles to human happiness.

Survey on the International Youth Year

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. As is known, starting from a Romanian initiative, the International Youth Year, will be observed in 1985 on the theme "Participation, Development, Peace"; which are, in your opinion, the significance and importance of this ample event ?
2. How do you appreciate the current stage of approaching, at the world level, the issues of the younger generation; which would be the directions in which you think it necessary that action be taken at the national, regional and international levels, in order that, by its character, content and participation, the International Youth Year should effectively meet the legitimate aspirations of the younger generation, the objectives concerning the improvement of its economic, social and cultural condition ?
3. Which would be the most significant ways of actively involving youth and of increasing its specific contribution to maintaining peace, resuming the course towards détente, achieving disarmament and first of all nuclear disarmament, in order to build a world free of weapons and wars, a world of international understanding and cooperation ?
4. What is the role of cooperation between states in solving the major issues of the contemporary world; in this respect please refer to the current stage and the prospects of the relations between Romania and your country.

## **C H E S T I O N A R**

### **pentru ancheta consacrată Anului Internațional al Tineretului**

1. După cum se cunoaște, pe baza unei inițiative a României, în 1985 va fi marcat Anul Internațional al Tineretului sub deviza „Participare, Dezvoltare, Pace” ; care sînt, în opinia Dumneavoastră, semnificația și importanța acestei ample manifestări ?

2. Cum apreciați stadiul actual al abordării, la nivel mondial, a problematicii tinerei generații : care ar fi direcțiile în care considerați că trebuie să se acționeze, la nivel național, regional și internațional, pentru ca, prin caracter, conținut și participare, Anul Internațional al Tineretului să răspundă efectiv aspirațiilor legitime ale tinerei generații, obiectivelor privind îmbunătățirea condiției sale economice, sociale și culturale ?

3. Care ar fi cele mai semnificative modalități de implicare activă a tineretului și creșterea contribuției sale specifice la menținerea păcii, reluarea cursului spre destindere, înfăptuirea dezarmării și, în primul rînd a dezarmării nucleare, pentru edificarea unei lumi fără arme și războaie, a înțelegerii și cooperării internaționale ?

4. Ce rol are cooperarea între state în soluționarea marilor probleme ale lumii contemporane : în acest context, vă rugăm să vă referiți la stadiul actual și perspectivele relațiilor dintre România și țara Dumneavoastră.

Excellency,

In the perspective of observing in 1985 the International Youth Year on the theme "Participation, Development, Peace", the Romanian National Committee for IYY has initiated a wide international survey in which outstanding personalities of the international political life would take part. The aim of the survey is to point out the legitimate aspirations of the younger generation everywhere to live in a world of peace and co-operation between peoples, as well as the concern of governments and states with securing conditions which should offer youth multiple opportunities for plenary development and self-assertion.

The answers we shall receive will be first published in the Romanian youth press and then will be gathered in a volume entitled "The Year of the Younger Generation - An International View", issued by the Romanian National Committee for the International Youth Year.

We should be honoured if Your Excellency would consider it possible and would find the necessary time to participate in this international survey; in this regard, we should like to submit to your attention four questions on which you are kindly asked to communicate your opinions to us.

In the hope that You will give a favourable course to our invitation, please receive the expression of our highest regard.

NICU CEAUSESCU

Chairman of the Romanian National Committee  
for the International Youth Year

COMITETUL NAȚIONAL ROMÂN  
PENTRU ANUL INTERNAȚIONAL AL TINERETULUI  
ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
FOR THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR  
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POUR L'ANNEE INTERNATIONALE DE LA JEUNESSE

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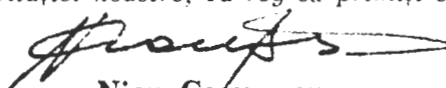
Excelență,

*În perspectiva marcării, în 1985, a Anului Internațional al Tineretului, sub deviza „Participare, Dezvoltare, Pace”, Comitetul Național Român pentru A.I.T., a inițiat o largă anchetă internațională, la care să participe personalități de seamă ale vieții politice internaționale. Obiectul anchetei îl constituie relevarea aspirațiilor legitime ale tinerei generații de pretutindeni de a trăi într-o lume a păcii și colaborării între popoare, a preocupărilor guvernelor și statelor în vederea asigurării condițiilor care să ofere tineretului multiple posibilități de dezvoltare și afirmare plenară.*

*Răspunsurile primite vor fi publicate, inițial, în presa română de tineret, iar, ulterior, vor fi reunite într-un volum intitulat „Anul tinerei generații — o viziune internațională”, editat de Comitetul Național Român pentru Anul Internațional al Tineretului.*

*Am fi onorați dacă Excelența voastră ar considera posibil și ar găsi timpul necesar să participe la această anchetă internațională; în acest sens, vă supunem atenției patru întrebări pe baza cărora vă rugăm să aveți amabilitatea să ne comunicați opiniile Dumneavoastră.*

*În speranța că veți da curs favorabil invitației noastre, vă rog să primiți expresia celei mai înalte considerațiuni.*



Nicu Ceaușescu

Președintele Comitetului Național Român  
pentru Anul Internațional al Tineretului