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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

**Withdrawer**

RBW 1/23/2017

**File Folder** ROMANIA - CORRESPONDENCE (10)

**FOIA**

F1640/3

**Box Number** 5

HERSHBERG

55

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187669	MEMO	PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE. EXTEND JACKSON-VANIK AUTHORITY	2	5/28/1986	B1
187672	MEMO	POINDEXTER TO RR RE. JACKSON-VANIK AUTHORITY	2	ND	B1
187675	LETTER	RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	2	ND	B1
187679	LETTER	DRAFT RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 187675]	2	ND	B1
187681	MEMO	GEORGE SHULTZ TO RR RE. JACKSON-VANIK WIAVER AUTHORITY	3	5/21/1986	B1
187682	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	3	ND	B1

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

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

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187684	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR	3	9/18/1986	B1
187686	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN]	3	9/18/1986	B1
187688	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 187684]	3	9/18/1986	B1
187691	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU	3	10/29/1986	B1
187693	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR [SAME TEXT AS 187688]	3	9/18/1986	B1
187696	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN; COPY OF DOC. 187686]	3	9/18/1986	B1
187699	LETTER	CEAUSESCU TO RR [COPY OF DOC. 187688]	3	9/18/1986	B1

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
187702	LETTER	RR TO CEAUSESCU TO RR [SAME TEXT AS 187682]	4	ND	B1

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187669	MEMO  PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE. EXTEND JACKSON-VANIK AUTHORITY	2	5/28/1986	B1

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187672	MEMO  POINDEXTER TO RR RE. JACKSON-VANIK AUTHORITY	2	ND	B1

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To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit the documents referred to in subsection 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974 with respect to a further 12-month extension of the authority to waive subsection (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act. These documents constitute my decision to continue in effect this waiver authority for a further 12-month period.

I include as part of these documents my determination that further extension of the waiver authority will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. I also include my determination that continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. The attached documents also include my reasons for extension of the waiver authority; and for my determination that continuation of the waivers currently in effect for the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

Ronald Reagan

The White House, 1986.

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Report to Congress Concerning  
Extension of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to subsection 402 (d) (5) of the Trade Act of 1974 (hereinafter "the Act"), I have today determined that further extension of the waiver authority granted by subsection 402 (c) of the Act for twelve months will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 and that continuation of the waivers currently applicable to the People's Republic of China, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Socialist Republic of Romania will also substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. My determination is attached and is incorporated herein.

The general waiver authority conferred by section 402 (c) of the Act is an important means for the strengthening of mutually beneficial relations between the United States and certain countries of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China. The waiver authority has permitted us to conclude and maintain in force bilateral trade agreements with Hungary, Romania, and the People's Republic of China. These agreements continue to be fundamental elements in our political and economic relations with those countries, including important exchanges on human rights and emigration matters. Granting of MFN gives U.S. companies the ability to compete in those markets. Moreover, continuation of the waiver authority might permit future expansion of our bilateral relations with other countries now subject to subsections 402 (a) and (b) of the Act, should circumstances permit. I believe that these considerations clearly warrant this renewal of the general waiver authority.

I continue to believe that extending the current waivers applicable to Hungary, the People's Republic of China, and Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

I note the Romanian Government's continued responsiveness to our concerns about its emigration record, the criterion established by Section 402 for extension and continuation of the waiver authority. I am disappointed, however, by the Romanian Government's very limited response to numerous expressions of strong U.S. public, Congressional, and Administration concern about its performance in areas of human rights and religious issues, and am directing the Secretary of State further to press our concerns in these areas.

Hungary. Hungary has continued to take a relatively positive and constructive approach to emigration matters. Nearly all Hungarians who are eligible to apply to emigrate for purposes of family reunification receive permission to depart. The American Embassy in Budapest issued 103 immigrant visas in 1985, approximately 15 percent more than in 1984. There is one pending divided family case, but a resolution is expected shortly. There are no systematic official sanctions imposed on persons who seek to emigrate.



Romania. Emigration from Romania, both overall and to the United States, has increased substantially in the ten years since the waiver has been in effect. All told, more than 154,000 Romanians have emigrated to the U.S., Israel, and the Federal Republic of Germany during this period. In 1985, over 17,000 Romanians emigrated legally to the FRG, U.S., and Israel. The American Embassy in Bucharest issued visas or other documentation to 2,951 people in 1985 for legal departure from Romania to the United States. This is six times the pre-MFN level. Although the figure reflects a falloff in Romanian passport approvals to individuals qualified for U.S. admissions processing in mid-1985, more than 1,000 recent new approvals and conversations with the Romanian Government suggest that it is taking steps to increase the flow to a level consistent with U.S. immigration and admissions procedures. Ethnic German departures for the Federal Republic of Germany continued apace, with 13,072 in 1985. The 1,327 Romanian Jewish arrivals in Israel were slightly below the average for the last ten years, and emigration to Israel has now reduced the Romanian Jewish community to under 25,000 people.

Although numerous problems remain in the emigration area, the Administration notes that the Romanian Government's substantial implementation of new procedures for emigration from Romania to the United States which were arrived at last year has reduced material and physical hardships for the majority of people departing for the U.S. since the middle of 1985. The Romanian Government has continued to honor its assurances, given in June 1983, that it would not require reimbursement of education costs as a precondition to emigration.

I share the strong concerns manifested among the public and in the Congress regarding the Romanian Government's restrictions on religious liberties. In consequence, we have urged the Romanian Government to adopt a more humane approach by taking steps such as:

- releasing jailed religious activists such as Constantin Sfatcu and Dorel Catarama;
- allowing substantial legal importation or domestic printing of Protestant Bibles and permitting their legal distribution;
- easing administrative restrictions against Nazarenes, "unofficial" Baptists, and other groups which are not officially accepted by the Romanian Government, and
- easing measures which discourage construction or repair of churches and have allowed, in roughly eight cases in recent years, their demolition on grounds of alleged building code violations.

We welcome the freeing of Constantin Sfatcu and Dorel Catarama from prison, but are otherwise disappointed by the Romanian Government's response to our concerns in this area.

My decision to extend the waiver authority for Romania for 1986-87 has been taken with difficulty, following careful deliberation within the Administration. I have concluded that extension of MFN to Romania continues not only substantially to promote the objectives of the Act concerning emigration, but also to enable us to have an impact on human rights concerns and to help to strengthen the extent of religious observance in Romania. The Romanian Government's efforts to discourage religion should not be allowed to overshadow the widespread practice of religion in Romania which, especially among the Protestant denominations, is growing faster than in other countries of Eastern Europe. Romania has some 8,100 functioning Orthodox churches, as well as over 4,000 of other denominations including more than 1,000 functioning Baptist churches. There is extensive training of new ministers. The extension of MFN has facilitated American citizens' access to co-religionists in Romania as well as the flow of several million dollars' worth of material assistance to them each year. In this difficult context, I believe it important that existing access and influence be preserved.

I have instructed the Secretary of State vigorously to pursue our efforts to secure further improvements, and to report to me and to the Congress every six months concerning these matters.

People's Republic of China. China continues to have a relatively open emigration policy. The number of immigrant and non-immigrant visas issued by our Embassy and Consulates in China has increased every year since the U.S. normalized relations with China in 1979. In fiscal year 1985, 13,356 immigrant visas were issued. In addition, 45,000 non-immigrant visas, compared with 24,000 the previous year, were issued to Chinese who wished to study, conduct business, or visit relatives in the United States. It remains true that other Western countries have also experienced increases in Chinese travel and emigration.

For the above reasons, I have determined that continuation of the waivers for Hungary, Romania and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of the Act.

The White House  
Washington, 1986  
Presidential Determination  
No. 86 \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination under subsection 402(d)(5)  
of the Trade Act of 1974 -- Continuation  
of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618), January 3, 1975 (88 Stat. 1978) (hereinafter "the Act"), I determine, pursuant to subsection 402 (d)(5) of the Act, that the further extension of the waiver authority granted by subsection 402 (c) of the Act will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. I further determine that the continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

Ronald Reagan

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187675	LETTER  RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU	2	ND	B1

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ID	Document Type	No of pages	Doc Date	Restric- tions
	Document Description			
187679	LETTER	2	ND	B1
	DRAFT RR TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 187675]			

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Dr. Paula Dobriansky  
Director European and Soviet Affairs  
National Security Council  
Washington, DC 20506

Victor Gaetan  
1717 P st. NW  
Washington, DC 20036

May 29, 1986

Dear Paula :

Enclosed please find copy of Romanian Liberty Institute's proposal now considered by NED.

We strongly believe that the implementation of the proposal's principals (assistance fund, publication fund, and dissemination of information possessed by courageous Romanians and Western governments), will have a positive effect in the continuation of resistance in Romania. This will indeed demonstrate to the Romanian people that the U.S. has not abandoned all hope of freedom for the Romanian people now living under a stalinist regime.

The timing for such an initiative is also a very important factor given the reported condition of health of president Ceausescu and imminent governmental changes to take place in Romania - the third largest Communist country in Eastern Europe. Definitely, the U.S. government and U.S. public opinion can benefit from the centralized information and research done by RLI.

Senators Tribble, Hatch, Simon and Amstrong and Congressmen Hall, Wolf and Smith have given their full support for RLI's proposal.

We would be very grateful if in addition to your pledge of assistance for RLI's future pursuits, will call Mr. Yale Richmond, at NED, 293-9072, before June 6, 1986, to strongly support RLI's proposal.

Thank you for your firm support.

Sincerely yours,

*Victor Gaetan*

Victor Gaetan, Ph. D.  
President - RLI

## ROMANIAN FORCES OF RESISTANCE

### Introduction

Long regarded as one of the most stable Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the Romanian Government has been faced, in the past decade, with a variety of movements aimed at breaking the Communist Party's absolute control over Romanian life. The party's previously unquestioned right to determine the roles of the intellectual, the worker, the Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist churches has come under organized criticism from several newly formed groups which have forced the government to take repressive measures.

In the Czechoslovakian Charter of Human Rights, signed in 1977, many Romanians found their first model to follow, in defiance of President Nicolae Ceausescu. Writers, artists, engineers, miners, teachers and priests signed the declaration. In a public letter sent to Ceausescu and the heads of Western governments, the participants called for the promotion of civil liberties through the reform of the government apparatus. The letter was an embarrassment to the regime, and subsequently some three hundred of the signers were imprisoned. Yet the Proclamation of the Human Rights has continued to draw support.

Shortly after the proclamation, work in the mining district of the Jiu Valley was stopped for several weeks as more than 40,000 miners went on strike for better living and working conditions. The strike was ended with difficulty by the Romanian secret police after the army refused to intervene. Thousands who participated in the work stoppage have since disappeared, have suffered fatal "accidents" or have been forcibly moved to other parts of the country.

In the fall of 1978 workers organized Romania's first nationwide Free Labor Union in defiance of the official union of the Communist Party. According to



dissident circles, the Free Labor Union continues to be active. The alternative union has received international support from seemingly disparate groups. The AFL-CIO publicly expressed concern for the new union and condemned the Romanian government's efforts to crush it. France's Socialist CFDT and Force Cuvrieres have demonstrated for the Free Labor Union, and debate on the subject continues in the press there.

Occurring simultaneously with the labor unrest was the call for an independent church by Christian Orthodox priest Calciu. He was jailed for the first time in 1949 and was not freed until 1964, as part of a general amnesty. As a professor of theology at the University of Bucharest, Father Calciu continued to criticize Romania's official atheism. His teaching chair was removed and other priests and students who protested the act faced reprisals at the university. However, it was the public letter to Pope John Paul II asking him to pray for the "sister churches" which provoked Father Calciu's arrest and sentencing to ten years in prison. (Father Calciu has been released and allowed to leave Romania for the U.S. in September 1985, only after the U.S. Congress's threat to discontinue Romania's most favored nation status.) Shortly thereafter, a Charter Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights composed primarily of Baptists was formed.

The unrelenting promotion of the cult of personality, particularly of the preponderant role of the president's wife who is now the number-two political figure, the cultural stagnation, the dreary clothing available, the paucity of food supply, and the lack of energy in record winter cold are becoming increasingly less palatable to the public. These daily unpleasanties have increased the general dissatisfaction so that the dissent of the intellectuals and the workers has reached unprecedented levels.

There are today many people in Romania ready to speak up and dedicate themselves to the cause of a more democratic Romania. The Romanian Liberty Institute will disseminate material and provide direct assistance to the different internal groups from the Romanian society (including ethnic minority groups), to coordinate and strengthen their resistance in Romania.

We believe that coordination among these groups and material comfort can enhance the success for opening the Romanian society. The NED can indeed help this be done in a centralized and concrete manner.

## THE ROMANIAN LIBERTY INSTITUTE

Romania asserts a certain degree of independence in foreign policy. Yet the plight of the Romanian people is worse than even the Soviet peoples. In the West, the Romanian Government is described in general as "maverick," some time even as "in opposition to the Soviet Union." But can we say that the Romanian Government is more "democratic" than the Soviet Union? Can we describe the Romanian people as being more "free" than any other people living in a communist country? Can we name any "free" and "independent" public institution in Romania today? The answer is: absolutely not.

In fact overwhelming evidence shows that the Romanian regime is the most inhuman, undemocratic, under the rule of a dying despot and totally in tune with the Soviet line. (See U.S. Ambassador to Romania from 1981-85, David Funderburk's remarks in various U.S. newspapers.)

Romania can be described today as a communists regime in deep crisis, controlling a closed country and faced with growing civil resistance. While Romania stifles foreign travel by its citizens, State control over the influx of foreign nationals is encouraged for the purpose of acquiring desperately needed foreign currency. The isolation of Romanian citizens from Western values and principles is appalling and desperate. Our responsibility to this imprisoned population is to nurture help.

The Romanian Liberty Institute proposes specific and substantive actions to expedite intellectual independence and resistance to abject totalitarianism.

- 1) establish open channels of communications between independent people in Romania and the West;

- 2) collect information from independently enclined Romanian citizens and circulate it among the Western media;
- 3) collect declassified information possessed by Western governments and disseminate it in order to illuminate the reality of Romanian social-political-economic life.

This project's implementation will be significantly enhanced by direct application of material support (medicine, food, clothing and money where possible), to prisoners of conscience and their families. Furthermore, prisoners of conscience, their families, and other citizens of Romania who hunger for freedom, will be reanimated by the newly established conduits to the West. (Ethnic minorities in Romania will also benefit from this program.) The first task being of unconditional priority.

#### Romanian Freedom Fund

We know of several dozens dissidents today in Romania. One thousand dollars per person will be sufficient for one year. Romanian Government regulations allow tourists to bring in goods worth up to \$1,500 and spend unlimited money inside the country. An additional \$500 can be spent by each tourist. These goods can easily be sold by the recipient in Romania. We will be in the best position to advise what needs there are and what is best to bring, according to every individual's needs. Considering 45 trips per year to reach 90 persons, we will arrive at a figure of \$90,000 of direct fund. The salary for the coordinator of \$20,000 and office, telephone and postal expenses of \$9,000 will bring the total annual budget for the Romanian Freedom Fund to \$119,000.

## Publication Fund

Currently there exists a steady flow of Romanian scholarly and literary work to the West. The efforts to publish this material can best be described as desultory. Thus, we will organize and centralize the dissemination of these manuscripts. (See the case of writer Dorin Tudoran, who from 1979 till his expulsion from Romania in 1985 has transmitted several texts, on political and literary topics, to the West, had them published and was able to endure the consequences while still in Romania.) Our endeavour will result in the publication of a minimum of five such works per year. We also expect to publish a minimum of 30 scholarly articles in existing Western journals or trade magazines. The decision to publish will be made by the pertinent editorial boards and any remuneration will be returned to the author.

There is a substantial network of light-minded individuals in the U.S., Western and Eastern Europe who will directly participate in this project. This will require prodigious travel and communication among those in the network.

The program's existence will be promoted in Romania with the help of Radio Free Europe, Radio Voice of America, the BBC, etc. A complete list of public organizations who have agreed to cooperate with us by sharing their travelers and information they receive from Romania will be attached to this report.

## THE ROMANIAN LIBERTY INSTITUTE ESTIMATED ANNUAL BUDGET

<u>Romanian Freedom Fund</u>	
Direct Assistance	\$ 90,000
Project Coordinator(s)	20,000
Travel & Office Expenses	9,000
Total	<u>\$119,000</u>

<u>Publication Fund</u>	
Publications	\$ 25,000
Publications Coordinator	20,000
Travel & Office Expenses	12,000
Total	<u>\$ 57,000</u>

Or an estimated budget for Freedom Fund and Publication Fund of:

\$119,000	
57,000	
<u>\$176,000</u>	Total

This budget is necessary to support the two programs described. These two programs are important, feasible and urgent. They will constitute the first such initiative toward Romania.

However, the work of this project can start with even less financial support. We cannot exclude either program, because they are interdependent. But we can decrease the programs proportionately. We can reduce the number of trips and direct material comfort, which will unfortunately reduce the resistance's badly needed subsistence. A certain part of the work can be done voluntarily. Taking into account this alternative we arrive at a minimum budget required to start the Romanian Liberty Institute project of:

<u>Freedom Fund</u>	
Direct Assistance	\$45,000
Project Coordinator	20,000
Travel & Office Expenses	9,000
Total	<u>\$74,000</u>

<u>Publication Fund</u>	
Publications	\$25,000
Publications Coordinator	20,000
Travel & Office Expenses	12,000
Total	<u>\$57,000</u>

Or a total of: \$133,000.

## CONCLUSION

I. different segments of the Romanian people, as described earlier, had the courage and the will to resist and organize, without practically any vehicle of coordination and instrument of communication, we expect an increase in the number of Romanians who will question the role of the Party and who will do so knowing that they can communicate with each other.

Furthermore, the end of the Ceausescu reign (given his health condition, as published in the Western press), will lead, it is hoped, to a re-evaluation of the economic and political state from within the Communist Party. It is, therefore, urgent that the reality of the Romanian situation today, as it is expressed by representatives of all stations of the Romanian society, be presented in Romania, to all Romanians (including the Party), in an organized and coordinated manner. The Romanian Liberty Institute will centralize and help coordinate communications and disseminate information among different groups of resistance.

We can conclude that promoting democratization in Romania under the sponsorship of an American non-governmental organization is possible, provided that the principle activities be directed in two major directions: supporting independent opinion inside Romania and help make Romania more open.

We have determined the necessary budget and identified qualified candidates for the project's implementation.

The Coordinator or Executive Director of the Institute will be responsible for coordinating the two programs. He will also be responsible for maintaining close cooperation with other organizations concerned with similar issues. Only the coordinators of the two programs will be staff members. Scholars and other

researchers, travelers, will be hired on temporary basis. Many aspects of the work involving the two programs will be done voluntarily.

Predetermined evaluation dates with the Romanian Liberty Institute, the National Endowment for Democracy, and specialists in the field will secure fulfillment of the goals set for the project and will allow the Romanian Liberty Institute to adjust the programs to reflect the principles of the sponsor and of the Romanian resistance.



ROUTED -  
7058  
27

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 28, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

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

SUBJECT: Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding a reply to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. Recently, he sent a letter to President Reagan which describes Romania's intention to reduce arms, troops and military expenditures by five percent before the end of the year.

State recommends, and I agree, that the letter should be given by Secretary Weinberger to the Romanian Chief of Defense, General Milea, when the two meet in Washington on October 30.

Speechwriters have cleared the text.

<sup>Don Mahoney</sup>  
Maddock, Linhard, Kraemer, Steiner, Sommer, Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

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

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

Attachments

Tab I	Memo for President
Tab A	Letter to President Ceausescu
Tab B	Letter from President Ceausescu

28

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

7058

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER  
SUBJECT: Letter to President Nicolae Ceausescu

Issue

Response to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

Facts

President Ceausescu sent you a letter (Tab B) which indicates Romania's intention to take the unilateral step of reducing arms, troops and military expenditures by five percent before the end of the year. His letter also suggests that the United States and all European countries should undertake similar unilateral action.

Dicussion

Your letter welcomes his thoughts, notes our efforts to develop a system of standardized reporting of national military budgets, and expresses our readiness to pursue conventional force reductions from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Recommendation

OK

No

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Attachments

Tab A Letter to President Ceausescu  
Tab B Letter from President Ceausescu

Prepared by:  
Paula Dobriansky

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187682	LETTER  RR TO CEAUSESCU	3	ND	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]
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187684	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR	3	9/18/1986	B1

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

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187686	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN]	3	9/18/1986	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]
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187688	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR [SAME TEXT AS DOC. 187684]	3	9/18/1986	B1

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

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

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187691	LETTER  RR TO CEAUSESCU	3	10/29/1986	B1

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

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**The White House**

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Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>A</u>
Rodney McDaniel	<u>2</u>	<u>M</u>	
Rodman/Cockell			
Al Keel			
Paul Thompson	<u>X</u>		
Florence Gantt			
John Poindexter	<u>X</u>		<u>X</u>
Rodney McDaniel			
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>discuss to</u> <u>187</u>
Situation Room		<u>DA</u>	



Letter given to Paula ]  
 Dobriansky for  
 delivery to DoD Please  
 dispatch a copy to  
 State for their  
 information. Thanks



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

7058

46

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Letter to President Nicolae Ceausescu

Issue

Response to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

Facts

President Ceausescu sent you a letter (Tab B) which indicates Romania's intention to take the unilateral step of reducing arms, troops and military expenditures by five percent before the end of the year. His letter also suggests that the United States and all European countries should undertake similar unilateral action.

Dicussion

Your letter welcomes his thoughts, notes our efforts to develop a system of standardized reporting of national military budgets, and expresses our readiness to pursue conventional force reductions from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Recommendation

OK

No

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Attachments

Tab A Letter to President Ceausescu  
Tab B Letter from President Ceausescu

Prepared by:  
Paula Dobriansky

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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October 28, 1986

ACTION**SIGNED**

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*

SUBJECT: Letter to Romanian President Ceausescu

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding a reply to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. Recently, he sent a letter to President Reagan which describes Romania's intention to reduce arms, troops and military expenditures by five percent before the end of the year.

State recommends, and I agree, that the letter should be given by Secretary Weinberger to the Romanian Chief of Defense, General Milea, when the two meet in Washington on October 30.

Speechwriters have cleared the text.

*Qpr* *Don Mahoney*  
Matlock, Linhard, Kraemer, Steiner, Sommer, Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

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

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

## Attachments

Tab I Memo for President  
Tab A Letter to President Ceausescu  
Tab B Letter from President Ceausescu

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187693	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR [SAME TEXT AS 187688]	3	9/18/1986	B1

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

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187696	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR [IN ROMANIAN; COPY OF DOC. 187686]	3	9/18/1986	B1

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

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187699	LETTER  CEAUSESCU TO RR [COPY OF DOC. 187688]	3	9/18/1986	B1

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

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United States Department of State

57

Washington, D.C. 20520

#7058

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

October 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR VADM. JOHN M. POINDEXTER  
THE WHITE HOUSESUBJECT: Response to Letter to the President from  
Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu

This memorandum forwards a suggested response by the President to a letter from President Ceausescu which announced Romania's intention unilaterally to reduce arms, troops and military expenditures by five percent before the end of the year as an example for other nations.

We propose that the President's response to Ceausescu be delivered to the Romanian Chief of Defense, General Milea, by Secretary Weinberger when the two meet in Washington on October 30.

Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

## Attachments:

- TAB A - Suggested response.
- TAB B - President Ceausescu's letter  
of September 18, 1986.

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BY RW NARA DATE 1/23/17

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187702	LETTER  RR TO CEAUSESCU TO RR [SAME TEXT AS 187682]	4	ND	B1

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

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