

SUBJECT.



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

14 April 1981

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 65/81

Your Excellency,

Thank you for your message about the CSCE Review Meeting in Madrid which was passed to me by Ambassador Gliga on 1 April.

I fully share your conviction that everything must be done to ensure peace. This must be the overriding priority for all governments. In our view, a sound East/West relationship must be based on a stable balance of forces and on the exercise of restraint by all states in Europe and in the wider world arena. Only against this background will it be possible to create the necessary climate for arms control and reductions in military spending, both of which are of vital importance.

We shall continue to do all we can to work for an improvement in East/West relations, but the obstacles are not of our making. There is a pressing need for a solution to the problem of Afghanistan in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, which would provide for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the freedom of the Afghan people to have a government of their own choosing. There can be no doubt that progress on Afghanistan would be of immediate benefit to East/West relations. Another issue which is in the forefront of our concerns is the situation in and around Poland. It is of the utmost importance that the Polish people should be left to solve their problems without any outside

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Romania: Visit of PM Verdet:
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interference.

Against this background, I agree with you that there is a requirement to reduce tension in Europe and to build confidence in the field of military security. That is why we have supported the French proposal for a Conference on Disarmament in Europe, to negotiate militarily significant, binding and verifiable confidence building measures which apply to the whole of Europe. In this connection, I welcome President Brezhnev's acceptance of the principle that CBMs should apply to the whole of the European part of the Soviet Union. I hope that the Soviet Union will also be ready to accept the other equally important criteria in the French proposal, which we believe to be essential if CBMs are to make a genuine contribution to enhancing security in Europe. I see no reason why we should not proceed on this basis to the proposed conference. If that can be agreed, we shall of course be ready to play a full part in whatever preparatory work proves necessary.

You mentioned also President Brezhnev's proposal for a quantitative and qualitative freezing of medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. We and our Allies see this as an attempt to contractualise the serious imbalance in theatre nuclear forces in favour of the Soviet Union which has resulted from the recent and continuing large-scale deployment of SS20 missiles. It is, as such, unacceptable to us. We remain committed to the double decision which we took with our Allies in December 1979. This provides both for the deployment of American theatre nuclear forces in Europe and for negotiations on this vitally important subject. We believe that any agreed limitation on these systems should be consistent with the principle of parity. That is the only basis for long-term stability.

/Turning now

Turning now to the Madrid Meeting itself, I too consider that we should be working for a balanced final document which will register agreement on the wide range of issues contained in the Helsinki Final Act. As you will know, we and our partners and Allies have tabled a balanced package of new proposals to further improve the implementation of the Final Act. These proposals cover areas which are of direct interest to us in the fields of military security, human rights, contacts and information. I hope that it will be possible to reach agreement on them, and on proposals which have been put forward by other participants. If, at the end of the day, it proves impossible to go as far, we must at least ensure the continuity of the CSCE process itself. I am sure that you will agree with me on that.

I am grateful for your Government's offer to host the next Review Meeting in Bucharest. If a consensus to this effect could be reached at Madrid, we should have no difficulty in joining it. There is, however, another candidate in the field and the decision will no doubt have to be taken towards the end of the Madrid Conference. In the meantime, I hope that our delegations will continue to work closely together to bring the Meeting to a successful close.

I am looking forward to my meeting with Mr. Verdet and to the opportunity of pursuing these and other important questions in our talks.

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His Excellency Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu.

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13 April 1981

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 10 April and has approved the draft enclosed with it. I should be grateful if you could arrange for its immediate despatch.

MDDBA

Francis Rihaards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

10 April 1981

*After Verdet - it is
very routine, but so was
Ceaurescu's message.*

*After
me.*

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Dear Michael,

Thank you for your letter of 1 April about the message from President Ceaurescu which the Romanian Ambassador delivered to the Prime Minister on 1 April. I enclose a draft reply which might usefully be sent before the Romanian Prime Minister arrives on 13 April. If this proves impracticable, we should think it best for the Prime Minister to tell Verdet that she was glad to receive Ceaurescu's message and that she will be replying before the resumption of the Madrid meeting after the Easter break. We could then amend the draft to the extent necessary to take account of the talks with Verdet.

All NATO member states have received a similar message from the Romanians.

I am sending you this draft now to avoid delay, although it has not been seen by Lord Carrington. A copy is in his weekend box.

Yours ever,

F N Richards

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing St

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU

Thank you for your message about the CSCE Review Meeting in Madrid which was passed to me by Ambassador Gliga on 1 April.

I fully share your conviction that everything must be done to ensure peace. This must be the over-riding priority for all governments. In our view, a sound East/West relationship must be based on a stable balance of forces and on the exercise ^{of} ^{by all states} restraint in Europe and in the wider world arena. Only against this background will it be possible to create the necessary climate for arms control and reductions in military spending, both of which are of vital importance.

We shall continue to do all we can to work for an improvement in East/West relations, but the obstacles are not of our making. There is a pressing need for a solution to the problem of Afghanistan in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, which would provide for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the freedom of the Afghan people to have a government of their own choosing. There can be no doubt that progress on Afghanistan would be of immediate benefit to East/West relations. Another issue which is in the forefront of our concerns is the situation in and around Poland. It is of the utmost importance that the Polish people should be left to solve their problems without any outside interference.

Against this background, I agree with you that there is a requirement to reduce tension in Europe and to build confidence in the field of military security. That is why we have supported the French proposal for a Conference on Disarmament

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in Europe, to negotiate, ~~initially~~, militarily significant, binding and verifiable confidence building measures which apply to the whole of Europe. In this connection, I welcome President Brezhnev's acceptance of the principle that CBMs should apply to the whole of the European part of the Soviet Union. I hope that the Soviet Union will also be ready to accept the other equally important criteria on the French proposal, which we believe to be essential if CBMs are to make a genuine contribution to enhancing security in Europe; ~~and~~ I see no reason why we should not proceed on this basis to the proposed conference. If that can be agreed, we shall of course be ready to play a full part in whatever preparatory work proves necessary.

You mentioned also President Brezhnev's proposal for a quantitative and qualitative freezing of medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. We and our Allies see this as an attempt to contractualise the serious imbalance in theatre nuclear forces in favour of the Soviet Union which has resulted from the recent and continuing large-scale deployment of SS20 missiles. It is, as such, unacceptable to us. We remain committed to the double decision which we took with our Allies in December 1979. This provides both for the deployment of American theatre nuclear forces in Europe and for negotiations on this vitally important subject. We believe that any agreed limitation on these systems should be consistent with the principle of parity. That is the only basis for long term stability.

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To be redrafted
 I am looking forward to my meeting with Mr Verdej ~~next week~~ and to the opportunity of pursuing these and other important questions in our talks. *mf*

mf.

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FILE

Romania

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

1 April 1981

Message from President Ceausescu

The Romanian Ambassador called on the Prime Minister this morning to deliver a message from President Ceausescu of Romania about the CSCE meeting in Madrid. I enclose copies of the texts handed over by the Ambassador. I understand that the signed original will follow later.

The only point made by the Ambassador which is not covered in the text of the message was that co-operation between the United Kingdom and Romanian delegations in Madrid is excellent and that the Romanians hope this will continue.

The Prime Minister told the Ambassador that President Ceausescu's message would be studied carefully and that a considered reply would be sent in due course. She said that as regards the Conference on Confidence Building Measures in Disarmament, the British Government had supported the approach of the French Government. We were of course aware of President Brezhnev's proposals and were trying to elucidate them. As regards medium-range missiles, the British Government were bound by the NATO decision and would continue to observe this. The Prime Minister concluded by saying that she had taken note of the Romanians' willingness to host the next CSCE meeting in Bucharest. She would respond on this point in her written reply.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

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Francis Richards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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