



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 February 1983

CEAU
ROMANIA

Dear Mr. Maxwell

Thank you for your letter of 28 January and for the book on President Ceausescu.

I was interested to hear of your meeting with the President and grateful to you for passing on his message of goodwill, which I warmly reciprocate. The particular suggestions about visits at various levels relate to proposals about which we have been in touch with the Romanian Authorities through other channels. As we pursue these matters it will be helpful to have in mind the points in the message from President Ceausescu.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Storer

Robert Maxwell, Esq., M.C.



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Dear Mr. Maxwell,

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I was interested to hear of your meeting with President Zhivkov and grateful to you for passing on his message of goodwill, which I warmly reciprocate. The particular suggestions about visits at various levels relate to proposals about which we have been in touch with the Bulgarian authorities through other channels. As we pursue these matters it will be helpful to have in mind the points in the message from President Zhivkov.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Butler

Robert Maxwell, Esq., M.C.

PRIME MINISTER

You will recall that I had to fend off Robert Maxwell who very much wanted to come to see you and hand over "messages" from the Presidents of Bulgaria and Romania. He was extremely persistent. In the end, rather than cause offence, I invited him to write to you enclosing his messages and said that we would send a suitable letter in return. Typically, he then asked for two letters, which he will doubtless use to promote his own cause in Bulgaria and Romania.

Would you be prepared to sign the two attached letters? I think they are utterly harmless. If you strongly object, I could send a Private Secretary letter but I have no doubt that he will bridle if I do so.

A. J. C.

1 February 1983

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 January 1983

Dear John,

Robert Maxwell

In your letter of 28 January you asked for advice on Mr Maxwell's request for two letters which he could pass on to the Presidents of Bulgaria and Romania in response to personal messages conveyed by Mr Maxwell to the Prime Minister on behalf of the two Presidents.

We would advise against sending written messages to the two Presidents through Mr Maxwell. The 'personal messages' which he conveyed to the Prime Minister on their behalf seem to have been oral. In asking for replies he may have in mind the promotion of his business interests as much as Anglo/Romanian/Bulgarian relations. Both messages refer to a wish for a raising of the level of political contacts. In the Bulgarian case this means a visit by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, and in the Romanian case a State Visit by HM The Queen and a visit by the Prime Minister. We think it inadvisable to encourage these hopes.

Mr Maxwell mentions the biographies of Presidents Ceausescu Zhivkov with which his firm is involved. If the book on Ludmila Zhivkova follows the style of the uncritical life of her father which Pergamon Press published last year, it is something with which the Prime Minister might prefer not to be associated. The book on President Ceausescu similarly reads like a translation of official Romanian propaganda.

/ I enclose a draft reply which the Prime Minister may care to send to Mr Maxwell.

Yours ever
J E Holmes
(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

DSK 11 (Revised)

LETTER
DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

Robert Maxwell Esq MC
Headington Hill Hall
Oxford
OX3 OBB

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

Thank you for your letter of 28 January and for the books on Ludmila Zhivkova and ~~President Ceausescu~~.

I was interested to hear of your meetings with President Zhivkov and ~~President Ceausescu~~ and grateful to you for passing on ^{his} ~~their~~ messages of goodwill, which I warmly reciprocate. The particular suggestions about visits at various levels relate to proposals about which we have been in touch with the Bulgarian and Romanian authorities through other channels, and at this stage I would not like to be precise as to how matters may turn out. ~~I am not able to~~ but we shall have in mind. As we pursue these matters it will be helpful to have in mind the points in ~~the~~ ~~letter~~ message from President Zhivkov and ~~President Ceausescu~~.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

Very
could this be for
your Monday
file



10 DOWNING STREET

Robert MAXWELL

31/1

From the Private Secretary

28 January 1983

31/1/83
ADJ
28/1

Robert Maxwell

We spoke yesterday about the above's request that he might call on the Prime Minister to deliver personal messages from the Presidents of Bulgaria and Romania.

It was not possible to arrange a call on the Prime Minister for Mr. Maxwell. When I spoke to him he expressed considerable disappointment about this and asked whether, if he transmitted the contents of the messages in writing, it would be possible for him to receive a suitable reply. I said that I would try to arrange this.

B/K
I now enclose a copy of his letter, together with copies of a personal letter and enclosures which he has sent to the Prime Minister. You will note that he seeks two letters in return which he can pass on to the Presidents of Bulgaria and Romania. I should be grateful if you could suggest brief and non-committal drafts which might meet the purpose and which I could submit to the Prime Minister. It would be very helpful if these could reach me by close of play on Monday.

A. J. COLES

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Robert Maxwell MC
Headington Hill Hall
Oxford OX3 0BB
OXFORD (0865) 64881

28 January 1983

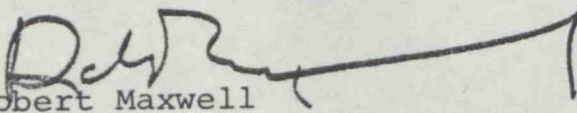
A J Coles, Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister (Overseas Affairs)
No. 10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Mr Coles

I enclose herewith a letter to the Prime Minister with the enclosures, and thank you in advance for your kind help in bringing them to the Prime Minister's notice.

I hope it will be possible for the Prime Minister to let me have suitable replies to the two personal messages.

Yours sincerely


Robert Maxwell

Robert Maxwell MC
Headington Hill Hall
Oxford OX3 0BB
OXFORD (0865) 64881
28 January 1983

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP
The Prime Minister
No. 10 Downing Street
London SW1

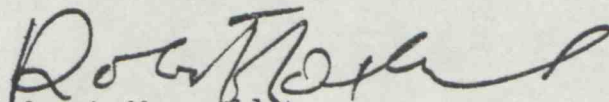
Dear Mrs Thatcher

I enclose herewith:

- a) A copy of the book which Pergamon Press will be publishing shortly on Ludmila Zhivkova, the tragically deceased only daughter of President Zhivkov of Bulgaria.
- b) A copy of the book on President Nicolae Ceausescu which I published on the occasion of his 65th birthday on the 26th of this month.
- c) An Aide Memoire relating to a personal message I have been asked to give you by President Zhivkov.
- d) An Aide Memoire relating to a personal message I have been asked to give you by President Ceausescu. These Aide Memoires are self-explanatory and I hope will be of some interest and value to you.

I understand from Mr Cole that it may be possible for you to send me a constructive reply relating to each message which I could pass on to President Zhivkov and President Ceausescu.

Yours sincerely


Robert Maxwell

AIDE MEMOIRE

President Todor Zhivkov

- 1 As you may know, we shall be celebrating, at a Reception at the Bulgarian Embassy, the publication of Ludmila Zhivkova's book on 3 February, a copy of which I am pleased to present to you. Ludmila Zhivkova, the only daughter of President Zhivkov, died suddenly last year before she was 40. She was a full member of the Politbureau, former Minister of Culture and a person with original ideas in politics, culture and aesthetics.
- 2 When I recently presented an advance copy of this book to President Zhivkov in Sofia, where I was accompanied by the Bulgarian Ambassador to the Court of St James, Mr Kiril Shterev, the President showed his keen interest in improving the political level and the commercial contacts between Bulgaria and the UK. I had the impression that he was rather concerned that both the British Government and British industry are under-estimating our opportunities for profitable bilateral and unilateral trade with the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
- 3 President Zhivkov asked me to transmit to you a personal message:
 - a) His very best wishes
 - b) His best wishes to the people of Great Britain for their prosperity and success in 1983
 - c) He would strongly welcome the raising of the level of political contact and improvement of relations between the two countries. He sees especially considerable opportunities for improving bilateral and multilateral trade and economic relations.
 - d) He asked me to tell you how much pleasure he derived from your visit to Bulgaria in 1967 and how much he hopes that one day it will be possible for you to repeat that visit and that in the meantime better higher level political contact could be maintained to discuss items of mutual interest, not only those relating to trade but matters of international political importance, especially matters concerned with Europe and the Balkans.

AIDE MEMOIRE

President Nicolae Ceausescu

- 1 At a Reception at the Romanian Embassy on 17 February we shall be publishing in the UK the book on Ceausescu containing an extensive interview that the President has granted me on some important national and international affairs. You might be interested to read the answer to my question to President Ceausescu on the SS20 Missiles - Zero Option, which you will find attached as an addendum to this Aide Memoire.
- 2 On the occasion of my visit to Bucharest last week President Ceausescu asked me to transmit to you a personal message:
 - a) His best wishes
 - b) He remembers vividly the talk he had with you when you visited Bucharest when you held the post of Minister of Education. He also remembers warmly his meeting with you when you were Leader of the Opposition.
 - c) He is very strongly of the opinion that there are great opportunities of mutual benefit to the UK and Romania in expanding trade and economic relations both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.
 - d) He asked me to remind you how much he is looking forward to hearing as to when HM The Queen will be able to return the State Visit to the People's Republic of Romania. He would strongly welcome a visit by you if you could spare the time, and/or by Mr Pym.
 - e) He went on to say that he feels sure you are well aware of Romania's independent political stance relating to international affairs and that higher political contacts could be valuable to both sides.

SS20 MISSILES - ZERO OPTION

ROBERT MAXWELL:

Mr President, the "zero option" is one that asks for the dismantling of the SS-20 missiles targeted on Europe. In the opinion of many Europeans, if the Soviet side seriously wishes to prevent the European installation of American Cruise and Pershing missiles on our soil then they should agree to dismantle the SS-20s targeted on Europe. Everybody agrees that the use of these missiles by either side would be suicide for all of us in Europe. Does President Ceausescu agree that this question is a European problem not just a Soviet-American one, and have you any suggestions of what we in Europe could do to help avoid this calamity?

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU:

I agree that a full solution must be found to both the American and the Soviet missiles, but it should also cover vectors of nuclear weapons and of medium-range nuclear arms. Certainly, it would be normal to reach the withdrawal of all Soviet missiles - but that should be properly matched by measures for the nuclear-weapon carriers on the part of the NATO countries.

I think that this is how the Soviet Union sees the problem and that she is ready for an agreement. We have discussed the matter, and we understand that neither side can unilaterally solve the problems, that both of them discuss these problems frankly and preserve an equilibrium. The best equilibrium, to be sure, would be to completely give up all nuclear arms. The installation of new missiles and the development of Soviet ones enhance nobody's security - to the contrary, this heightens the risk of destruction in Europe. Neither the Western nor the Eastern countries will remain, in effect, beyond the range of missiles. That is why every effort must be made to reach an agreement. In this sense we have already made the recommendation, and we insist on it, that the European countries do not stay out of the negotiations but directly involve themselves, in parallel, in the negotiations dealing with the medium-range missiles to solve the problems, since this question concerns all the European countries - it is not only a Soviet-American problem.

Extracted from interview given by President Ceausescu to Robert Maxwell and published in "Ceausescu - Builder of Modern Romania" (Pergamon Press)