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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name ~~MENAMARA, THOMAS E. FILES~~
Counterterrorism and Narcotics

Withdrawer

DLB 3/6/2008

File Folder FRANCE II (12/01/1987-12/17/1987)

FOIA

F97-082-3

Box Number 92299 RAC BOYS

WILLS, DAVID

8

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
51995	CABLE	#021828Z DEC 87	6	12/2/1987	B1
51996	CABLE	#011928Z DEC 87	10	12/1/1987	B1
51997	CABLE	#080729Z DEC 87 - PAGE 1 ONLY, PARTIAL	1	12/8/1987	B1
51998	CABLE	#091919Z DEC 87	2	12/9/1987	B1
51999	CABLE	#091918Z DEC 87	2	12/9/1987	B1
52000	CABLE	#111338Z DEC 87	7	12/11/1987	B1
52001	CABLE	NO CABLE NUMBER/RE: MIDDLE EAST & FRANCE	2	12/16/1987	B1

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]
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51997	CABLE #080729Z DEC 87 - PAGE 1 ONLY, PARTIAL	1	12/8/1987	B1

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AGO--JEAN-LOUIS NORMANDIN AND ROGER AUQUE. A FURTHER THREE MILLION DOLLARS HAS BEEN PROMISED TO THE FAMILIES OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS KILLED IN A FRENCH RETALIATORY BOMBING ATTACK ON THE LEBANESE TOWN OF BAALBEK FOUR YEARS AGO.

8. FINAL AGREEMENT CAME AFTER TWO MONTHS OF DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING FRENCH, SYRIAN, AND IRANIAN OFFICIALS.

9. THE TALKS, AS PIECED TOGETHER BY THE OBSERVER, STARTED IN OCTOBER AFTER PARIS HAD ASKED DAMASCUS TO ASSIST IN THE RELEASE OF ITS NATIONALS HELD HOSTAGE IN LEBANON, AND TO HELP RESOLVE THE DEADLOCK IN WHICH IRAN HAD SURROUNDED FRANCE'S EMBASSY IN TEHRAN IN RETALIATION FOR FRENCH INSISTENCE THAT IRAN GIVE UP AN OFFICIAL IN PARIS WANTED FOR QUESTIONING ON TERRORIST CHARGES.

10. AS A RESULT OF THESE INITIAL TALKS, TEHRAN DECIDED TO SEND ONE OF ITS MOST SENIOR OFFICIALS, MR. ALI REZA MOAYERI, A DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FORMER AMBASSADOR IN PARIS, TO DAMASCUS TO TALK DIRECTLY TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

11. AFTER THIS MEETING, IRAN ASKED THE FRENCH FIRST TO RELEASE WAHID GORDJI, THE EMPLOYEE AT THEIR EMBASSY IN PARIS WANTED FOR QUESTIONING ABOUT TERRORIST BOMBINGS IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL; SECOND, TO PROMISE THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT SUPPLY ARMS TO IRAQ; THIRD, TO REPAY IN FULL THE 1.3 BILLION DOLLARS LOANED TO FRANCE BY THE SHAH'S GOVERNMENT; AND FOURTH, TO HALT POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN FRANCE BY IRANIANS OPPOSED TO THE TEHRAN GOVERNMENT.

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 26487

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MRN 26487 VICE 26478)

TERREP

BONN AND COPENHAGEN FOR AMBASSADOR BREMER

E.O.12356: N/A

TAGS: PTER, FR, LE, UK

SUBJECT: "OBSERVER" ARTICLE ON FRENCH HOSTAGE DEAL

12. AFTER THAT MEETING, THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, JEAN-BERNARD RAIMOND, MET SADEGH TABATABAEI, A BIOCHEMIST AND BROTHER-IN-LAW OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI'S SON AHMAD. TABATABAEI MADE ADDITIONAL DEMANDS: THE WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH NAVAL FORCES FROM THE GULF, AND PAYMENT OF FIVE MILLION DOLLARS.

13. LAST MONTH, TABATABAEI WAS INVITED TO PARIS, AND IS REPORTED TO HAVE MET THE QUAI D'ORSAY'S (FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY'S) EXPERT ON ISLAMIC AFFAIRS, SERGE BOISDEVAUX, WHO BECAME AMBASSADOR TO BONN LAST JULY BUT WAS ON LEAVE IN PARIS ON 8 AND 9 NOVEMBER. HIS SECRETARY IN BONN, WHEN ASKED WHETHER HE HAD MET TABATABAEI, SAID: "IT IS NOT UP TO ME TO MAKE A FORMAL DENIAL."

14. HASSAN HABIBI, IRAN'S JUSTICE MINISTER, REPORTEDLY TRAVELLED WITH TABATABAEI AND MET AN OFFICIAL FROM THE FRENCH MINISTRY OF JUSTICE REGARDING THE FILE ON WAHID GORDJI.

15. AFTER THESE MEETINGS, FRANCE AGREED TO PAY THREE MILLION DOLLARS TO THE FAMILIES OF 55 IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS WHO DIED IN BAALBEK, AND TWO MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE KEEPING OF THEIR NATIONALS TO THE KIDNAPPERS.

16. THE FRENCH HAVE, APPARENTLY, ALSO PROMISED THE

IRANIANS THEY WILL POSTPONE THE DELIVERY OF 20 ADVANCED
FIGHTER PLANE TO IRAQ, DUE IN JANUARY NEXT YEAR; THAT
THEY WILL REPAY IRAN'S LOAN IN FULL WITH THE FIRST
INSTALLMENT DUE EARLY NEXT YEAR; AND WILL GRADUALLY
PULL OUT THEIR NAVAL FORCES FROM THE GULF. THEY HAVE
REFUSED, HOWEVER, TO STOP ALL ARMS SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ ON
THE GROUNDS THAT THESE ARE ALREADY CONTRACTED FOR.

17. THE IRANIANS HAVE PROMISED THAT FRENCH VESSELS IN
THE GULF WILL NOT COME UNDER FIRE, AND THEY WILL STOP
ASSISTING TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS BASED IN FRANCE.

18. IRAN WILL OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE REMAINING
THREE HOSTAGES IF FRANCE COMPLETES ITS PART OF THE
BARGAIN.

END TEXT OF OBSERVER ARTICLE.

19. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

PRICE

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02<SSN> 6487<STOR> 871219021111 MSG000188187071

<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02<SSN> 6487<STOR> 871219024459 MSG000188189099

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<DIST>RT: RTT
ZIT: 004 HONAHANA POTTEN WODNAM VAN WANSOUM

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<UJ> SUBJECT: INTERIOR MINISTER PASQUA'S MEETING WITH
- /CT AMBASSADOR WODNAM, DECEMBER 9

<TEXT>

S F C D T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 53250
NOBIS
C O N F I D E N T I A L (CHANGED TO NOBIS, PL DESTROY ALL OTHERS)
R.O. 1975A: SECL: OADR
TAGS: RT, FR, L, T, AERC, US
SUBJECT: INTERIOR MINISTER PASQUA'S MEETING WITH
- /CT AMBASSADOR WODNAM, DECEMBER 9
REF: PARIS 53250

1. SECRET WODNAM - ANTI TTYT.

"BRIEF SUMMARY"
SUMMARY

2. INTERIOR MINISTER PASQUA STRONGLY DEFENDED HIS
HOSTAGE DEAL WITH IRAN DURING A DISCUSSION WITH
AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM PREMIEU ON
DECEMBER 9. PASQUA REITERATED HIS DISPLEASURE OVER
WHAT HE SEES AS HARSH US CRITICISM FOLLOWING THE
RECENT RELEASE OF TWO FRENCH HOSTAGES, INSISTING THAT
NO CONCESSIONS WERE MADE TO TERRORISTS. HE DESCRIBED
AS ENTIRELY JUSTIFIABLE THE LIFTING OF THE SIEGE OF
THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN PARIS AND THE FRENCH DECISION
TO PROGRESS TOWARD "NORMALIZATION" OF RELATIONS WITH
IRAN. PASQUA PROVIDED FIRM ASSURANCES THAT
"ABSOLUTELY NOTHING MORE" HAS OR WILL BE CONCEDED IN
ORDER TO SECURE THE FREEDOM OF THE REMAINING THREE
FRENCH HOSTAGES IN IRAN. HE SPECIFICALLY DENIED THAT
THE NEGOTIATORS WOULD EVEN DISCUSS FRENCH SUPPORT TO
IRAQ, ARMS TO IRAN, THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE IN
THE GULF, OR THE STATUS OF PRO-IRANIAN TERRORIST
NASCACHE. PASQUA HYPOTHESIZED THAT THE FRENCH
NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEEDED WITHOUT CONCESSIONS BECAUSE
IRANIAN LEADERS FEEL ISOLATED AND ARE IN A POSITION OF
WEAKNESS.

3. PREMIEU POINTED TO AN ALARMING TREND TOWARD RANSOM
PAYMENTS OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER IN RETURN FOR HOSTAGES
IN LEJANON, CITING THE SAUDI, KOREAN, AND WEST GERMAN
HOSTAGE RELEASES THIS YEAR. PREMIEU ARGUED THAT THE
SERIES OF EVENTS THAT HAVE FOLLOWED THE FRENCH HOSTAGE
RELEASE CREATE A STRONG "PERCEPTION" THAT THE
TERRORISTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS ARE BEING REWARDED.
PASQUA ADMITTED THAT THE GUF ARRANGEMENT WITH TEHRAN
MIGHT "COMPLICATE" US EFFORTS, BUT HE INSISTED THAT
THE TOP PRIORITY FOR THE FRENCH WILL REMAIN THE
LIBERATION OF HOSTAGES. CONSIDERING THAT THERE ARE NO
SPECIFIC DEMANDS FOR THE RELEASE OF THE OTHER THREE
FRENCH HOSTAGES, THE INTERIOR MINISTER DOES NOT FEEL

OPTIMISTIC OVER THE CHANCES OF GETTING THEM OUT.

4. DESPITE THE FIRMNESS OF HIS DENIALS, PASQUA'S EXPLANATION STILL SEEMS CONTRADICTORY AND DISINGENUOUS. HE FAILED TO RESPOND TO BREWER'S POINTS ABOUT THE ROF'S WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW ITS CONSUL IN TEHRAN TO APPEAR BEFORE A REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL, AND HE REFUSED TO COMMENT ON THE RECENT GOF DECISION TO EXPEL ANTI-KHOMENI OPPOSITION ACTIVISTS. PASQUA ADMITS THAT THE IRANIAN SECRET SERVICES ARE "RUNNING" THE HOSTAGE OPERATION, BUT MAINTAINS THAT THE FRENCH NEGOTIATIONS WERE LEGITIMATE BECAUSE THEY WERE CONDUCTED NOT WITH THE HTZ ALLIAM TERRORISTS BUT WITH A STATE THAT HAS INFLUENCE OVER THEM. IN ANY CASE, PASQUA'S FIRM ASSURANCES WILL PROVIDE THE USG WITH AMMUNITION IN THE EVENT THAT ADDITIONAL CONCESSIONS---SUCH AS THE "PRIVATE" ARMS TRANSFERS WIDELY REPORTED IN THE PRESS---BECOME KNOWN AND THE USG FINDS IT NECESSARY TO REACT. END SUMMARY.
"END SUMMARY"

PASQUA EXPLAINS

5. PASQUA BRANDS THE ROOM-LONG MEETING BY REITERATING HIS "SHOCK" AND "YECEN" OVER THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S COMMENTS CONCERNING THE FRENCH HOSTAGE RELEASE. PASQUA STATED THAT HE WAS SURPRISED BY SUCH "HASTY" CRITICISM OF HIS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE A PROBLEM THAT BOTH OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS FACE.

6. BREWER RESPONDED THAT THE SPOKESMAN'S COMMENTS HAD BEEN CAREFULLY DRAFTED TO EXPRESS USG OPPOSITION IN PRINCIPLE TO ACTIONS THAT REWARD HOSTAGE-TAKING, BUT THE SPOKESMAN MADE NO DIRECT ACCUSATIONS CONCERNING THE FRENCH DEAL. BREWER OPINED THAT THE FRENCH PRESS HAD MISCONSTRUED AND EXAGGERATED THE SPOKESMAN'S REMARKS, PARTLY BECAUSE OF NUANCES IN THE TRANSLATION. BREWER ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE DEPARTMENT WAITED FOUR DAYS BEFORE MAKING ANY COMMENT WHATSOEVER.

7. PASQUA THEN REITERATED IN STRONG TERMS HIS DEFENSE (PREVIOUSLY REPORTED IN REPTFL) OF FRENCH ACTIONS THAT LED TO THE HOSTAGE RELEASE. FIRST OF ALL, PASQUA'S PRESCARIPS DEALT ONLY ON A STATE-TO-STATE BASIS WITH

S I E E R O T SECTION 02 OF 05 PARIS 53260
MODIS
C O R R E C T I O N C O P Y FOR CAPTION
E.O. 12958: DECLASS: OADR
TAGS: PTER, FR, LG, TR, APCR, US
SUBJECT: INTERIOR MINISTER PASQUA'S MEETING WITH
- /CT AMBASSADOR BREWER, DECEMBER 9
REF: PARIS 53260
IRAN, NOT WITH THE LEVANTESE MIJZALLAH TERRORISTS THEMSELVES. SECONDLY, THE MINISTER AGAIN STRENUOUSLY DENIED THAT ANY HANCOFF WHATSOEVER WAS PAID OR THAT ANY CONCESSIONS WERE MADE ON FRENCH SUPPORT FOR TRAL, ARMS TO IRAN, FRENCH MILITARY POSTURE IN THE GULF, OR THE RELEASE OF PRO-IRANIAN TERRORISTS TO FRENCH JAILS.

8. PASQUA INSISTED THAT THE GDF HAD DONE NOTHING WRONG IN LETTING IRANIAN EMBASSY OFFICIAL WAHID GORJI GO. THE GOSSIP WAS "EMPTY", AND THE MINISTER Doubted THAT HE HAD AIDED WITHIN THE LAW WHEN HE HAD TURNED THE IRANIAN DIPLOMATS INTO HOSTAGES BY ORDERING THE STAFF OF THE IRANIAN EMBASSY IN THE FIRST PLACE. PASQUA STATED THAT "V. V. SOME LAUGHED AT THE IDEA THAT GORJI WAS AN IMPORTANT IRANIAN TERRORIST LEADER IN EUROPE"---AN INVENTION OF THE "LEFTIST PRESS"---BUT ALL GORJI HAD WERE SOME INJUDICIOUS CONTACTS. THE ONLY REASON WHY TEHRAN HAD WANTED SO BADLY TO GET GORJI BACK WAS THAT HE IS THE SON OF KHOMEINI'S DOCTOR.

9. THE GDF POSITION THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS, ACCORDING TO PASQUA, WAS SIMPLY THAT "NORMALIZATION" OF FRENCH-IRANIAN RELATIONS COULD TAKE PLACE AFTER THE IRANIANS HAD MADE THE GOVERNMENT PROMISE OF SECURING THE FREEDOM OF ALL FRENCH HOSTAGES IN LEBANON. NORMALIZATION OF COURSE INCLUDED THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN DEBT. NOTHING ELSE WAS CONCEDED.

BENEFITTING FROM TEHRAN'S WEAKNESS

10. PASQUA ARTICULATED HIS HYPOTHESIS THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE FRENCH EFFORT WAS THE RESULT OF IRANIAN WEAKNESS AT THIS TIME. IRANIAN LEADERS ARE CURRENTLY WILLING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS BECAUSE THEY FEEL MORE ISOLATED THAN EVER BEFORE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT SIGNS THAT KNOWLEDGE IS SLOWLY DYING ARE DESTABILIZING THE REGIME. IN PASQUA'S VIEW, THIS DESTABILIZATION OFFERS OPPORTUNITIES TO THE WEST TO OBTAIN PREVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE CONCESSIONS FROM TEHRAN, SUCH AS THE RELEASE OF HOSTAGES. "WE NEED TO WATCH VERY CAREFULLY THE EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN TEHRAN."

11. THE MINISTER SAID THAT HIS EMISARIES HAVE IDENTIFIED TWO KEY FACTIONS WITHIN THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT, A MUSAVI-MONTAZERI FACTION AND A RAFSANJANI-RAFIQDUST FACTION. PASQUA DESCRIBED THE MUSAVI-MONTAZERI GROUP AS THE LESS RADICAL OF THE TWO FACTIONS, PRIMARILY INVOLVED IN CONSOLIDATING THE POWER OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION INSIDE IRAN. THE RAFSANJANI-RAFIQDUST GROUP, ON THE OTHER HAND, REPRESENTS THE HARDLINE IDEOLOGICAL POSITION THAT SEEKS TO EXPORT THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION TO OTHER COUNTRIES. PASQUA LINKED THE FORMER TO THE STALINISTS AND THE LATTER TO THE TROTSKYITES.

12. IN THE MINISTER'S VIEW, THE MUSAVI-MONTAZERI FACTION WANTS TO DISPOSE OF EXTERNAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS WESTERN HOSTAGES, WHILE THE RAFSANJANI-RAFIQDUST PEOPLE SEE CONTINUOUS UTILITY IN THE HOSTAGES. IN FACT, PASQUA POINTED OUT, IT IS THE "IRANIAN SECRET SERVICES", DIRECTLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE RAFSANJANI-RAFIQDUST FACTION, WHO ARE ACTUALLY RUNNING THE ENTIRE HOSTAGE-HOLDING OPERATION. THE LEBANESE HIZBALLAH GROUPS---MOTIVATED BY RELIGIOUS FANATICISM RATHER THAN MONEY---ARE MERELY PROFESSIONAL TERRORISTS WORKING FOR THE IRANIAN SECRET SERVICES. HE ADDED THAT THE FRENCH WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO SAY COMPLETELY

THAT THE IRANIAN SPECIAL SERVICES ARE RUNNING THE HOSTAGE OPERATION BECAUSE MANY PEOPLE WOULD WANT TO "DISCLOSE WAY" ON IRAN.

THE "PERCEPTION" THAT TERRORISM PAYS

13. AMBASSADOR BREWER ASSURED PASQUA THAT THE USG IS NOT SEEKING A DISPUT WITH FRANCE OVER THIS ISSUE. THE USG IS GRATEFUL FOR THE CHIRAC GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS IN COMBATING TERRORISM, INCLUDING THE CONFERENCE THAT PASQUA HOSTED LAST MAY OF MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM. BREWER CONGRATULATED PASQUA ON THE SUCCESSSES HE HAS SCORED OVER THE PAST YEAR, INCLUDING THE ARRESTS OF KEY IRAQI, LIBYAN, AND ACTION DIRECTE TERRORIST LEADERS, AS WELL AS THE FRENCH INTERCEPTION OF A HUGE SHIPMENT OF LIBYAN ARMS FOR THE I.R.A. LAST MONTH. BREWER EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE USG AND GOF WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE CLOSELY IN THIS AREA.

14. NONETHELESS, BREWER STATED THAT THE USG IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED BY THE "TREND" THAT IS DEVELOPING IN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE CITIZENS HELD HOSTAGE IN LEBANON. THIS TREND---ILLUSTRATED BY THE CASES OF THE SAUDI, KOREAN, AND WEST GERMANY HOSTAGES RELEASED THIS YEAR---SANCTIONS "PAYING" FOR HOSTAGES IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. IN EACH OF THESE THREE CASES, A SUBSTANTIAL RANSOM WAS PAID TO THE TERRORISTS. THIS TREND SERIOUSLY WEAKENS OUR COLLECTIVE EFFORTS TO DISCOURAGE FURTHER HOSTAGE-TAKING.

15. IN THE FRENCH CASE, BREWER ARGUED, THE SERIES OF GOF ACTIONS THAT HAVE FOLLOWED THE HOSTAGE RELEASE HAVE GENERATED A STRONG "PERCEPTION" THAT HOSTAGE-HOLDING WAS REWARDED. FOR EXAMPLE, BREWER POINTED TO THE GOF DECISION TO EXPEL AT THIS TIME A GROUP OF ANTI-KOMMUNIST OPPOSITION ACTIVISTS, MANY OF WHOM HAD LONG BEEN LEGAL RESIDENTS OF FRANCE. HE RECALLED THAT MUJAHEDIN LEADER MASSOUD RAJAVI HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM FRANCE IN JUNE 1986, JUST PRIOR TO THE RELEASE OF TWO FRENCH HOSTAGES.

16. BREWER ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE TIMING OF THE EURODIF REPAYMENT---COINCIDING WITH THE RELEASE OF HOSTAGES---SUGGESTS A RANSOM FOR HOSTAGES. HERE TOO BREWER NOTED THAT THE LAST REPAYMENT OF THE EURODIF LOAN IN DECEMBER 1986 HAD COINCIDED WITH THE LIBERATION OF FRENCH HOSTAGES. ANOTHER EVENT WHICH CONCERNS THE USG IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A SHIFT IN THE FRENCH MILITARY DEPLOYMENT IN THE GULF, INCLUDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CLINTONIAN.

17. BREWER ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE TIMING OF THE EURODIF REPAYMENT---COINCIDING WITH THE RELEASE OF HOSTAGES---SUGGESTS A RANSOM FOR HOSTAGES. HERE TOO BREWER NOTED THAT THE LAST REPAYMENT OF THE EURODIF LOAN IN DECEMBER 1986 HAD COINCIDED WITH THE LIBERATION OF FRENCH HOSTAGES. ANOTHER EVENT WHICH CONCERNS THE USG IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A SHIFT IN THE FRENCH MILITARY DEPLOYMENT IN THE GULF, INCLUDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CLINTONIAN.

17. WRENER ASKED THAT ONE OF THE MOST DISTURBING DEVELOPMENTS WAS THE GOF'S WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW FRENCH CONSUL PAUL TORRI---A REAL DIPLOMAT---TO SUBMIT TO A TRUMPED-UP SUMMONS BEFORE A REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL. THIS WAS A CONCESSION THAT GOF OFFICIALS HAD CONSISTENTLY SAID FRANCE WOULD NEVER MAKE. THIS DECISION CREATED A FALSE MORAL EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN GORJI AND TORRI AND SET A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT IN THE AREA OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY.

18. ALL OF THESE FRENCH ACTIONS TAKEN TOGETHER, WRENER EXPLAINED, CONTRIBUTE TO THE PERCEPTION THAT THE FRANKS WERE REWARDED FOR THE HOSTAGE-TAKING THAT THEY HAVE SUPPORTED FROM THE BEGINNING. THIS PERCEPTION CAN ONLY COMPLICATE THE USG'S ABILITY TO DEAL WITH OUR OWN HOSTAGE PROBLEM.

19. PASQUA ADMITTED THAT THIS SERIES OF FRENCH ACTIONS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE "PERCEPTION" THAT BREWER HAD DESCRIBED, AND HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CONDITIONS OF THE FRENCH HOSTAGE RELEASE MIGHT INDIRECTLY HAVE "COMPLICATED" THE USG'S HOSTAGE PROBLEM. NONETHELESS, HE INSISTED THAT HIS EMISSARIES MADE NO CONCESSIONS TO TERRORIST DEMANDS. THE EURODIF LOAN IS AN "HONORABLE DEBT" THAT THE PREVIOUS FRENCH GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS HIS OWN WERE COMMITTED TO REPAYING. THERE HAS BEEN NO WEAKENING OF THE FRENCH MILITARY POSITION IN THE GULF, ACCORDING TO PASQUA, AND THE CLEMENCEAU'S WITHDRAWAL WAS ROUTINE. FINALLY, THE MINISTER DENIED THAT THE GOE HAD EVER AGREED TO TORRI'S APPEARANCE BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL. HE CLAIMED THAT THE FRANKS REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS HAD "AT THE LAST MINUTE" FORCED TORRI TO APPEAR.

"ABSOLUTELY NOTHING MORE WILL BE GIVEN"

20. IN RESPONSE TO WRENER'S QUESTION ABOUT THE REMAINING THREE FRENCH HOSTAGES, PASQUA STATED THAT THERE ARE NO SPECIFIC DEMANDS FOR THEIR RELEASE. PASQUA FIRMLY DENIED THAT THE CASE OF THE 17 DA'WA PRISONERS IN KUWAIT HAD BEEN RAISED AS A DEMAND DURING ANY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR. THE MINISTER STATED THAT THE IRANIANS "COULD NOT CARE LESS" ABOUT THE DA'WA PRISONERS.

21. WRENER ASKED WHAT WAS UNDERSTOOD BY CONTINUING THE "PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION" WITH IRAN. WHAT SPECIFICALLY WAS FRANCE PREPARED TO DO? WRENER NOTED THAT THE USG WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT NOT TO COMMENT PUBLICLY IF THERE WERE MORE FRENCH GESTURES TOWARD IRAN. PASQUA SAID THAT "ABSOLUTELY NOTHING MORE" WOULD BE GIVEN TO THE IRANIANS IN RETURN FOR THE REMAINING HOSTAGES.

22. ASKED ABOUT THE STATUS OF PRO-IRANIAN TERRORIST ANIS NACCACHE, THE MINISTER DECLARED "OUT OF THE QUESTION" ANY NEGOTIATION OF A PARDON. PASQUA

SECRET SECTION 04 OF 05 PARIS 53260

M O B T E

E D W R I E C T O D C O R R E Y FOR CAPTION

P. 1. 13154: UNCL: DASH
TAGS: AT, FC, LT, IR, ASEC, UT
SUBJECT: INTERIOR MINISTER PASQUA'S MEETING WITH
- /CT AMBASSADOR BREWER, DECEMBER 3
REF: WAFIP 93249

REMINDED BREWER THAT MASCACHE'S TEAM HAD KILLED ONE
FRENCH POLICEMAN AND CRIPPLED ANOTHER. BREWER
INQUIRED WHETHER THE FRENCH WOULD LIFT THEIR EMBARGO
OF IRANIAN OIL PRODUCTS, AND THE MINISTER SAID IT WAS
NOT PLANNED FOR THE TIME BEING. PASQUA REPEATED
SEVERAL TIMES THAT NO CONCESSION ON RANSOM PAYMENTS,
FRENCH SUPPORT TO IRAQ, ARMS TO IRAN, OR FRENCH
MILITARY POLICY IN THE GULF WOULD EVEN BE CONSIDERED.

23. PASQUA AGREED WITH BREWER THAT THIS SITUATION
DOES NOT ENCOURAGE OPTIMISM OVER THE FATE OF THE
REMAINING FRENCH HOSTAGES. THE MINISTER CLAIMED,
HOWEVER, THAT HIS AGENTS' "PENETRATION" OF THE IRANIAN
SECRET SERVICES IN BEHUT HAD GIVEN THE GOF MUCH MORE
ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE ON THE SOUTHERN BEHUT LOCATIONS
WHERE THE HOSTAGES ARE BEING HELD. PASQUA CONFIDED
THAT THE ACCURACY THIS INFORMATION PROMPTED HIM AT
SOME POINT IN THE RECENT PAST TO CONSIDER A
PARAMILITARY OPERATION TO RESCUE HOSTAGES.

INTERESTING

24. DEVELOPMENTS IN RECENT DAYS, HOWEVER, ARE
WORRYING PASQUA. HE HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT THE
PRESENCE OF IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS IN BEHUT WAS
REINFORCED BY SEVERAL HUNDRED IN THE PAST WEEK. HIS
EMISSARIES EXPECT NEW CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN THESE
IRANIAN GUARDSMEN AND SYRIAN/ARAB FORCES SOON.
ACCORDING TO THE MINISTER'S INFORMATION, ONE FRENCH
HOSTAGE HAS BEEN MOVED TO THE BEKAA VALLEY, PROBABLY A
MANEUVER OF THE RAFSANJANI-PAFIODUST FACTION. PASQUA
SHOWS BREWER A SECRET REPORT ATTESTING THAT TWO
AMERICAN HOSTAGES AND ONE CAPTIVE ISRAELI PILOT WERE
MOVED TO THE SHAYKH ABDALLAH BARRACKS IN BAALABAKK ON
DECEMBER 5. ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT, ISRAELI
OFFICIALS ARE TALKING TO THE HIZBALLAH ABOUT
EXCHANGING THE PILOT AND THE TWO AMERICAN HOSTAGES FOR
SIXTY PRISONERS HELD IN ISRAEL.

25. FINALLY, PASQUA DECLARED THAT HIS EMISSARIES WILL
DO WHATEVER THEY CAN FOR THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES. HIS
FIRST PRIORITY, HOWEVER, IS SECURING THE FREEDOM OF
THE FRENCH HOSTAGES. PASQUA OFFERED THAT, ONCE THE
FRENCH HOSTAGE PROBLEM IS RESOLVED, HE WILL INSTRUCT
HIS EMISSARIES TO TELL US EVERYTHING AND EVEN TO USE
THEIR CONTACTS TO WORK FOR THE USG, IF WE SO DESIRE.
BREWER REITERATED THE POINT THAT GETTING THE AMERICANS
RELEASED IS A TOP PRIORITY FOR THE USG ALSO, BUT NOT
AT THE COST OF MAKING CONCESSIONS THAT BEHIND THE
TECHNICISTS OR THEIR SPONSORS.

COMMENT

26. PASQUA'S BISH TONE IN DENYING THAT "HIDDEN"
CONCESSIONS WERE MADE IS STRIKING. HE APPEARS WILLING
TO COMMIT HIS PERSONAL REPUTATION WITH THE USG TO THE
GUARANTEE THAT NO DEAL WAS OR WILL BE MADE INVOLVING

FRENCH SUPPORT FOR TRAY, ARMS TO IRAN, MILITARY
POSTURE IN THE MIDDLE OF A PARDOON OF HACCACHE.

27. NONETHELESS, PASQUA'S REASONING REMAINS
CONTRADICTORY AND DISINGENUOUS IN MANY AREAS. ON THE
ONE HAND, HE CONFIRMS THAT THE IRANIAN SECRET SERVICES
ARE "RUNNING" THE HOSTAGE SITUATION, YET HE JUSTIFIES
THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE GROUNDS THAT HE IS NOT DEALING
WITH TERRORISTS BUT RATHER WITH A STATE THAT HAS
TOLUENCE OVER THEM. HE SKIRTS THE ISSUE OF GOF
GUARANTEES TO TEHRAN THAT GORJI WOULD NOT BE
INDICTED, AND HIS EXPLANATION OF TORJI'S APPEARANCE
BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL---"FORCED" AT THE
LAST MINUTE BY THE PASQUA---IS THIN. HE PROVIDED NO
RESPONSE WHATSOEVER TO IRANIAN'S QUESTION ABOUT THE GOF
DECISION TO EXPEL ANTI-KHOMAYNI IRANIAN DISSIDENTS.

28. FURTHERMORE, WELL-INFORMED JOURNALISTS AND EVEN
SOME GOF OFFICIALS ARE CONFIDING THAT THERE MAY BE
MORE TO THIS DEAL THAN MEETS THE EYE. REPORTS OF
CLANDESTINE FRENCH ARMS TRANSFERS TO IRAN---THROUGH
"PRIVATE" CHANNELS---ARE MULTIPLYING. AT A MINIMUM,
WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE THAT THE IRANIANS WILL
RELEASE ADDITIONAL FRENCH HOSTAGES UNLESS THE GOF
MAKES EVEN MORE SERIOUS CONCESSIONS THAN THESE ALREADY
REVEALED PUBLICLY.

29. AMEMBASSY VIEWS GORJI'S VISIT AS A SUCCESS, BOTH
IN TERMS OF MAKING OUR CONCERNS CLEARLY KNOWN TO
PASQUA AND IN TERMS OF FORESTALLING ANY BREAKDOWN IN
OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION. PASQUA'S FIRM
ASSURANCES---HIS PERSONAL PROMISE THAT NO OTHER
CONCESSIONS HAVE OR WILL BE MADE---WILL PROVIDE US
S I C I T SECTION 03 OF 05 PARIS 53260
N O O T E

E.O. 12958: DECL: OADR
TAGS: RT, FV, LI, IS, ASEC, US
SUBJECT: INTERIOR MINISTER PASQUA'S MEETING WITH
S/CT AMBASSADOR BREMER, DECEMBER 9
REF: RAPIE 53269
WITH AMBASSADOR IN THE EVENT THAT OTHER ELEMENTS OF
THE DEAL BECOME PUBLIC AND THE USG FINDS IT NECESSARY
TO REACT.

30. THIS PARL WAS CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR BREMER.
#000001

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 05<SEN> 3260<TOR> 71211202009 MSG000187561209
<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 05<SEN> 3260<TOR> 71211202059 MSG000187561259
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<SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 05<SEN> 3260<TOR> 71211202333 MSG000187561353
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52001	CABLE NO CABLE NUMBER/RE: MIDDLE EAST & FRANCE	2	12/16/1987	B1

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