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File Folder

FRANCE (1/18/82-1/28/82)

FOIA

S2007-081

NOUZILLE

Box Number 13

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ID Doc Type	Doo	cument Description	n		Doc Date	Restrictions
				Pages		
47264 CABLE	1822	58Z JAN 82		2	1/18/1982	B1
	R	5/6/2010	NLRRM07-081			
47265 CABLE	1917	55Z JAN 82		6	1/19/1982	B1
	R	5/6/2010	NLRRM07-081			
47266 MEMO		TSCHLER TO CLAR H GALBRAITH	K RE MEETING	1	1/20/1982	B1
	R	5/6/2010	NLRRM07-081			
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47269 CABLE	22222	28Z JAN 82		2	1/22/1982	B1
	R	5/6/2010	NLRRM07-081			
47270 CABLE	25170	09Z JAN 82		1	1/25/1982	B1
	R	5/6/2010	NLRRM07-081			
47271 CABLE	25173	31Z JAN 82		1	1/25/1982	B1
	R	5/6/2010	NLRRM07-081			
47282 CABLE	28104	40Z JAN 82		4	1/28/1982	B1
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520



January 18, 1982

982 BY

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Assassination of Col. Richard R. Ray, Assistant Military Attache in Paris

Attached is a draft statement for the President's use on the assassination of Col. Ray, Assistant Military Attache in Paris.

L. Paul Bremer, III Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Draft statement.

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am both saddened and angered by the cowardly murder of Colonel Ray. We intend to cooperate fully with French authorities in their efforts to find the assassin and to prevent further such attacks. Terrorism is one of the serious international problems of our times, and all nations have a common interest in eliminating terrorism in any form.



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Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFED

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4

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1/8/82 COMMENT'S
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a statement around noon today.

DISPATCH

CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

47264

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR MO7-081 #47764

BY W NARA DATE 5/6/10

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 2332 DTG: 182258Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø37272 SIT678 DATE Ø1/20/82 TOR: Ø19/1430Z SIT678 DATE Ø1/20/82

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

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WHSR COMMENT: GREGG FOR ACTION

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

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TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 6830 IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 2997

INFO AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 5574

AMEMBASSY LONDON 8905

AMEMBASSY OSLO 5099

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN ØØ28

AMEMBASSY BONN 5199

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 8070

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USMISSION USNATO 6988

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 012332 PARIS FOR USDEL TO COCOM HIGH LEVEL MEETING E. O. 12065: RDS-1 - 01/18/2012 (COCOM-DERIVED CLASS)

TAGS: ESTS, COCOM, JA

SUBJECT: COCOM HIGH-LEVEL MEETING - JAPANESE RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S LETTER

REF: STATE ØØ8632 (NOTAL)

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

- 1. (e) ENTIRE TEXT.
- THE JAPANESE EMBASSY HAS DELIVERED A REPONSE FROM PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER-ON THE COCOM HIGH LEVEL MEETING. TEXT OF SUZUKI'S LETTER -FOLLOWS:

QUOTE:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

- I ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF YOUR LETTER DATED JANUARY 13,
- I HIGHLY APPRECIATE THAT THE COCOM HIGH-LEVEL MEETING

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 2332

DTG: 182258Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø37272

HAS NOW BEEN CONVENED TO FOLLOW UP OUR EXCHANGE-OF; VIEWS ON THE EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS AT THE SUMMIT MEETING IN OTTAWA. IT IS MEANINGFUL, I BELIEVE, THAT IN THAT

MEETING THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WILL ACTIVELY DISCUSS THE COMPLEX INTERRELATIONS AMONG THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SECURITY ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST TRADE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPLICATIONS THESE ISSUES CARRY FOR THE SECURITY OF THE WEST, AND WILL DEEPEN THEIR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THESE ISSUES.

THE JAPANESE DELEGATION WILL BE HEADED BY MR. NOBUO MATSUNAGA, DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHOM I HAVE PERSONALLY INSTRUCTED TO KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACTS WITH YOUR DELEGATION AS WELL AS OTHERS, IN ORDER TO SECURE THE SUCCESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS.

SINCERELY, ZENKO SUZUKI.

UNQUOTE. HAIG

. . .

SECSTATE WASHDC 2332

DTG: 182258Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø37272

SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

47265

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 PARIS 1980 SIT67Ø DATE Ø1/20/82 DTG: 191755Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø37578

TOR: Ø19/2ØØ5Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUFHFR #1980/01 0191759
O 191755Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8205

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 3757
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 4592
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY 4886
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 6067
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY 0222
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY 0079
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY 0240
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY 0263
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY 0263
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY 0205
USMISSION USNATO 1159
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SECRET SECTION Ø1 OF Ø3 PARIS Ø198Ø

EXDIS

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DEPT PASS EUCOM FOR POLAD, PRIORITY

DEPT PASS ALL NATO CAPITALS, PRIORITY

E. O. 12Ø65: RDS-1 Ø1/19/12 (GALBRAITH, EVAN G.) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, ETRD, UR, PL, FR, NU, GW

SUBJECT: (S) AMBASSADOR'S LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT

MITTERRAND, JANUARY 18, 1982

REFS: A) STATE 11264 (NOTAL): B) STATE 11732 (NOTAL)

- 1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY: DCM CHAPMAN AND I HAD LUNCH ON JANUARY 18

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS CHEYSSON, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ELYSEE BEREGOVOY AND ELYSEE ADVISOR ATTALI. ALTHOUGH THE ASSASSINATION THAT MORNING CAST A SHADOW, THE LUNCHEON WAS VERY CORDIAL AND PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A GOOD DISCUSSION OF IMPORTANT ISSUES: EMBASSY SECURITY, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY, THE FRENCH ECONOMY, POLAND (BRIEFLY), THE SOVIET UNION, THE MIDDLE EAST, CENTRAL AMERICA, AND ANGOLA. PRESIDENT MITTERRAND WOULD LIKE TO VISIT WASHINGTON FOR "POLITICAL DISUSSIONS".

3. AMBASSADOR HAD EXCEPTIONALLY CORDIAL LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, OVERSHADOWED BY THE TRAGEDY OF COLONEL RAY'S ASSASSINATION THAT MORNING. PRESENT WERE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS CHEYSSON, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ELYSEE BEREGOVOY, PRESIDENT ADVISOR

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NLRR M67-181 7-17205 (1) NARA DATE 50/10 PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 PARIS 198Ø

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ATTALI. AND DCM CHAPMAN.

- 4. ALL THE FRENCH EXPRESSED GENUINE SYMPATHY OVER THE TRAGEDY, AND PRESIDENT HIMSELF ASSURED AMBASSADOR OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FULL COOPERATION TO INSURE THE EMBASSY'S SECURITY. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT WE HAD A FEW IDEAS AND HOPED WE COULD MEET VERY QUICKLY WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS TO REVIEW THE WHOLE PROBLEM. THE PRESIDENT REPEATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S OFFER OF FULL COOPERATION.
- 5. GERMANY. PRESIDENT OPENED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS BY EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER SITUATION IN GERMANY. SCHMIDT HAS FELT UNDER GREAT DOMESTIC PRESSURES AND MITTERRAND CONSIDERED THAT UNDER THE WAVE OF NEUTRALISM WAS A RESURGENT NATIONALISM WHICH WAS FRUSTRATED BY THE FRG'S SENSE OF RELATIVE POWERLESSNESS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN EUROPE, A SENSE WHICH WAS COMPOUNDED BY DETERIORATING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. HE AND BEREGOVOY NOTED WITH ALMOST GLEE THAT FRG, CONFRONTED BY RISING UNEMPLOYMENT, WAS BEGINNING TO TAKE THE SAME COURSE AS THE FRENCH SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT BY STIMULATING THE ECONOMY THROUGH PUBLIC WORKS EVEN AT THE RISK OF INCREAS-ING INFLATION.
- 6. FRENCH ECONOMY. THIS POINT GAVE THE PRESIDENT AN OPENING TO EXPRESS EVIDENT SATISFACTION OVER THE RECENT TRENDS OF THE FRENCH ECONOMY. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE INFLATION FIGURES FOR THE LAST THREE MONTHS HAD BEEN

PARIS 1980

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MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

ENCOURAGING DESPITE EARLIER FEARS THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S STIMULATION PROGRAM, WHICH HAD SO FAR COST 33 BILLION FRANCS, WOULD BE INFLATIONARY. IN FACT, MITTERRAND SAID, THE PRESENT RATE WAS NO HIGHER THAT WHAT IT WAS DURING THE LAST MONTHS OF THE BARRE GOVERNMENT DESPITE THE FACT THAT THIS GOVERNMENT HAD MADE THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION ITS ONE AND ONLY OBJECTIVE.

- 7. POLAND. SURPRISINGLY, MITTERRAND DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT AT GREAT LENGTH. CHEYSSON SIMPLY COMMENTED THAT "WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN SANCTIONS." THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ALL OF THE EASTERN BLOC WAS BAD AND THAT WE SHOULD AIM AT REDUCING THE MEANS THE SOVIETS HAVE TO OBTAIN FOREIGN EXCHANGE. HE FLOATED THE IDEA OF PREVENTING PRIVATE BANKS FROM EXTENDING LONG TERM CREDITS TO THE SOVIET UNION. THIS PROHIBITION NEED NOT APPLY TO SHORT TERM COMMERCIAL CREDITS (LESS THAN ONE YEAR). THE FRENCH SEEMED TO PICK UP THIS IDEA WITH SOME INTEREST.
- 8. USSR. THE PRESIDENT FOLLOWED UP THE AMBASSADOR'S

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TOR: Ø2Ø/Ø224Z

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EOB:

WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

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DE RUFHFR #1980/02 0191801
O 1.91755Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8206

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 3758
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 4593
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY 4887
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 6068
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY 0223
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY 0280
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY 0241
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY 0264
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY 0264
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY 0206
USMISSION USNATO 1160

S E C R 5 T SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 01980

COMMENT AND DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH THE SITUATION FACING THE SOVIET UNION. IT HAD GREAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND WERE TREMENDOUS BURDENS. ROMANIA WAS ON THE BRINK OF BANKRUPTCY. THE ONLY FIELD IN WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD HAD ANY SUCCESS WAS IN BUILDING THEIR MILITARY FORCES. HE THEN MENTIONED THAT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AT LUNCH LAST WEEK HAD PROVIDED HIM WITH COMPARATIVE TABLES OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS, WHICH SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT THERE WAS A ROUGH BALANCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. MITTERRAND WASEVIDENTLY PUZZLED ON THIS ISSUE. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED BY SAYING ALL THE EXPERTS, INCLUDING THE FRENCH, WERE IN AGREEMENT

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ON THE ISSUE OF THE BALANCE OF FORCES: THEY ALL AGREED THAT IT WAS CLEARLY IN THE SOVIET UNION'S FAVOR AT THIS TIME. THE SOVIET TABLES DID NOT REALLY STAND ANALYSIS. THE AMBASSADOR TOOK THIS OPENING TO SAY THAT DOD HAD PUT TOGETHER A VERY IMPRESSIVE BRIEFING ON SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH WHICH HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE HERNU DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON. WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO OFFER THIS SAME BRIEFING TO THE PRESIDENT IF HE WOULD FIND IT OF INTEREST. MITTERRAND ANSWERED THAT YES, HE WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE HEARING IT. (WE SHALL PURSUE BOTH SUBJECTS OF THE BALANCEOF FORCES AND OF A BRIEFING WITH THE PRESIDENT'S MILITARY AIDE GENERAL SAULNIER ON FRIDAY.)

9. MIDDLE EAST. THE PRESIDENT THEN ASKED HOW THINGS WERE GOING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE AMBASSADOR INFORMED

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HIM THAT THE SECRETARY HAD PRESSED THE EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS HARD AND HAD OBTAINED THEIR AGREEMENT TO RELAUNCH NEGOTIATIONS ON AUTONOMY. THE SECRETARY CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. CHEYSSON RECALLED HIS CONVERSATION IN BRUSSELS WITH THE SECRETARY ON THIS SUBJECT CONFIRMING THAT THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS WERE ALONG THESE LINES. MITTERRAND SIMPLY COMMENTED THAT WE WILL HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME WITH BEGIN, AND HE WOULD BE GOING TO ISRAEL MARCH 4 AND 5.

10. CENTRAL AMERICA. THE AMBASSADOR TOOK UP THE SUBJECT OF CENTRAL AMERICA BY NOTING HOW MUCH THE FRENCH DELIVERY OF ARMS HAD DISTURBED AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, PARTICULAR-LY AMONG INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS. CHEYSSON CHIMED IN TO SAY THE SECRETARY HAD ALSO MENTIONED THIS SUBJECT AND DESCRIBED THE FRENCH SALES AS "PEANUTS". THE AMBASSADOR COMMENTED IT WAS ENOUGH TO AROUSE STRONG REACTION BUT NOT ENOUGH TO WEAN THE NICARAGUANS AWAY FROM THE SOVIETS, ONE OF THE AVOWED FRENCH PURPOSES. MITTERRAND THEN WENT INTO A LONG EXPOSITION ON THE SITUATION. HE CONSIDERED THAT BY FRUS-TRATING PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE WE ONLY HELPED TO RADICALIZE THE SITUATION AND PROMOTE COM-MUNISM. HE RECALLED HIS OWN EXPERIENCE AS MINISTER OF COLONIES WHEN HOUPHET BOIGNY HAD HAD TO GO INTO HIDING BECAUSE HE WAS CONSIDERED A COMMUNIST AND A DEATH WARRANT WAS ISSUED AGAINST HIM. HE HIMSELF WAS AT THE TIME ACCUSED OF COMMUNISM WHEN HE MADE OPENINGS TO AFRICAN

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

LEADERS SUCH AS HOUPHET. MITTERRAND ALSO RECALLED THE VISIT OF HO CHI MINH TO FRANCE IN 1946 WHEN HO HAD SPENT THREE WEEKS TRYING TO MEET A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRENCH MITTERRAND HAD MET HIM AND A COLLEAGUE OF GOVERNMENT MITTERRAND'S, D'ARCY HAD BEEN HO'S ESCORT OFFICER DURING THE ENTIRE VISIT. MITTERRAND RECOGNIZED THAT HO WAS A COMMUNIST, BUT MITTERRAND REMAINS CONVINCED THAT TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT COULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED AT THE TIME WHICH TEN YEARS LATER WOULD HAVE APPEARED BEYOND ALL EX-PECTATIONS. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED BY RECALLING THE EFFORTS WE HAD MADE TO PROMOTE LAND REFORM IN EL SALVADOR. AND TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. MITTERRAND RECOGNIZED THAT WE HAD A DIFFERENT ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AND THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR OUR EXPERTS TO BE ABLE TO SIT DOWN AND COMPARE NOTES ON THE FACTS. AMBASSADOR TOOK THIS OPENING AND SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE BEST VENUE WOULD BE MANAGUA, WHICH IS WHERE BOTH FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES WERE SENDING NEW AMBASSADORS. (NOTE: WE PLAN TO PURSUE THIS WITH ANTHONY QUAINTON.) THE AMBASSADOR AND THE DCM ALSO RECALLED THE RECENT VISIT TO NICARAGUA BY THE SPANISH SOCIALIST FELIPE WHO HAD TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT HE WAS MUCH CONCERNED BY THE TREND OF EVENTS IN NICARAGUA. CHEYSSON READILY ADMITTED GONZALEZ' SEEMED "DECU" AND EXPRESSED HIS OWN CONCERN REGARDING THIS EVOLUTION.

PARIS 1980

DTG: 191755Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø38Ø19

SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 PARIS 198Ø SIT667 DATE Ø1/20/82 DTG: 191755Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø38Ø21

TOR: Ø2Ø/Ø226Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: WPC NAN COL JP VP EOB SIT EOB:

WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUFHFR #1980/03 0191804
O 191755Z JAN 82
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8207

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 3759
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 4594
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY 4888
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 6069
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY 0224
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY 0081
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY 0242
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY 0265
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY 0265
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY 0207
USMISSION USNATO 1161

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 01980 EXDIS

-- IN A SIDE CONVERSATION AFTER LUNCHEON, THE DCM TACKLED CHEYSSON, ASKING HIM HOW THE FRENCH PLANNED TO EXPLOIT THEIR ABILITY OF MAINTAINING A DIALOGUE WITH THE SANDINISTAS BY SELLING THEM ARMS. HE REPLIED THEY WERE INDEED MAINTAINING A DIALOGUE WITH THE SANDINISTA LEADER-SHIP, WHICH HE THOUGHT IMPORTANT TO HAVE, POINTING OUT NICARAGUA HAD HAD A DIFFERENT HISTORY FROM THAT OF THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO HELP NICARAGUA DEVELOP BETTER AND MORE CONFIDENT RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES, NOTABLY WITH HONDURAS.

11. ANGOLA. MITTERRAND NOTED THAT WE HAD HAD MEETING

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

WITH THE ANGOLANS IN PARIS THIS WEEK. CHEYSSON COMMENTED THAT HE HIMSELF HAD MET WITH ALMEIDA LATER AND FOUND ALMEIDA VERY PLEASED WITH THIS MEETING. BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND CHEYSSON REACTED POSITIVELY TO A DIALOGUE BEING ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ANGOLA AND THE UNITED STATES. MITTERRAND MENTIONED HE HAD THAT VERY MORNING RECEIVED A LETTER FROM DOS SANTOS ITHOUT, HOWEVER, REVEALING ITS CONTENTS. CHEYSSON COMMENTED THAT WHILE DIALOGUE WAS GOOD, ALMEIDA WAS NOT THE BEST INTERLOCUTOR BECAUSE HE HAD LONG BEEN IN THE RESISTANCE AND REMAINED VERY BITTER. HE HAD DEALT WITH HIM EXTENSIVELY WHEN ALMEIDA WAS AMBASSADOR TO THE COMMUNITY IN BRUSSELS. CHEYSSON CONSIDERED JORGE TO BE THE BEST INTERMEDIARY BUT EVENTUALLY WE HAD TO REACH SANTOS PERSONALLY.

12. VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. IN THE MIDDLE OF

PAGE 02 OF 02 PARIS 1980

DTG: 191755Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø38Ø21

LUNCHEON, CHEYSSON THREW A SOFT BALL TO MITTERRAND WHICH HE HIT SQUARELY, SAYING YES, HE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO MAKE A VISIT TO WASHINGTON FOR "POLITICAL" (COMMENT: IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION, DISCUSSIONS. BEREGOVOY TOLD DCM MITTERRAND WOULD VISIT CAPITALS OF ALL SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING IN JUNE. IDEALLY MITTERRAND WOULD ALSO LIKE TO GO TO WASHINGTON, BUT IF NECESSARY HE COULD SETTLE FOR A DAY OF PRIVATE BIL-ATERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN JUST BEFORE THE MEETING. IN RESPONSE TO DCM'S COMMENT THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADVISERS WERE TRYING TO ORGANIZE HIS COMPLICATED SCHEDULE INVOLVING THE TRIP TO EUROPE BEREGOVOY ANSWERED HE UNDERSTOOD THE COMPLICATIONS, WE SHOULD KNOW MITTERRAND WOULD NOT AGREE TO A SUMMIT AT NATO. HE DID NOT OFFER ANY CLEAR EXPLANATION, BUDCM'S IMPRESSION WAS THAT MITTERRAND WOULD VIEW SUCH BUT A MEETING AS DETRACTING FROM THE OTHER.

13. GENERAL COMMENT: THE CONVERSATION THROUGHOUT WAS FRIENDLY. WHILE WE COVERED A LARGE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS, THERE WAS NEVER ANY ACERBITY IN THE COMMENTS, EVEN ON ISSUES WHERE WE DIFFERED, AND AT THE END THE PRESIDENT INVITED MY WIFE AND ME FOR A PRIVATE DINNER, WITH JUST HIMSELF AND MRS. MITTERRAND, AT HIS APARTMENT, WHERE HE CONTINUED TO LIVE. MITTERRAND APPEARED PALER AND DRAWN THAN WHEN I HAD SEEN HIM PREVIOUSLY. HE TOOK ESSENTIALLY THE SAME COURSES AS WE OF TRUFFLES AND LOBSTER ST. JACQUES, BUT IN SPECIAL, SEPARATE SERVINGS AND INSTEAD OF SHERBET.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

TOOK PLAIN FRUIT. HE DRANK VERY LITTLE. GALBRAITH

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

January 20, 1982

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

JAMES M. RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT:

Your Meeting with Van Galbraith (Thursday, January 21 - 1:30 p.m.)

Ambassador Galbraith has returned briefly to the U.S. to accompany the remains of Lt. Col. Charles Ray, murdered by a terrorist gunman in Paris earlier this week. You may wish to touch upon the following points when you see Van tomorrow:

- -- Terrorism/Security. What needs to be done in the wake of the Ray killing to tighten up security for U.S. Embassy personnel? Are the French fully cooperating? Anything we in Washington can do to help?
- -- <u>Mitterrand Lunch</u>. Among the topics which Van reported from his Monday lunch with Mitterrand in the Elysée (Paris 1980 summary attached), the following are worth some emphasis:
 - -- <u>Poland</u>. Why was Mitterrand so reticent on this issue? Any change in French attitudes?
 - NATO Summit. Chris Chapman's side exchange with Beregovoy suggested that France would not agree to a NATO Summit, a point which State is now clarifying. Ask Van for his view; could Mitterrand be persuaded to attend, perhaps by a personal phone call from the President? Is Prime Minister Mauroy the highest we can hope for if such a Summit were scheduled?
 - does Mitterrand have in mind? Does he want to come to Washington before the Economic Summit?
- -- Franco-American Relationship. After two months on the job, it would be useful to have Van's general assessment of our bilateral relationship, with particular reference to our differences on Central America and possibly the sanctions issue.

CONFIDENTIAL Review on 1/20/88

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NLRR MY TO81 # 47766

BY AL NARA DATE 5/6/10

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PARIS 1980 ANØ10707

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E. O. 12065: RDS-1 01/19/12 (GALBRAITH, EVAN G.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, MASS, ETRD, UR, PL, FR, NU, GW
SUBJECT: (S) AMBASSADOR'S LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT
MITTERRAND, JANUARY 18, 1982
REFS: A) STATE 11264 (NOŢAL); B) STATE 11732 (NOTAL)

- 1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.
- DCM CHAPMAN AND I HAD LUNCH ON JANUARY 18 WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS CHEYSSON, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ELYSEE BEREGOVOY AND ELYSEE ADVISOR ATTALI. ALTHOUGH THE ASSASSINATION THAT MORNING CAST A SHADOW, THE LUNCHEON WAS VERY CORD-THAT MORNING CAST A SHADOW, THE LUNCHEON WAS VERY CORDIAL AND PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A GOOD DISCUSSION
 OF IMPORTANT ISSUES: EMBASSY SECURITY, THE POLITICAL
 SITUATION IN GERMANY, THE FRENCH ECONOMY, POLAND (BRIEFLY), THE SOVIET UNION, THE MIDDLE EAST, CENTRAL AMERICA,
 AND ANGOLA. PRESIDENT MITTERRADO WOULD LIKE TO VISIT WASHINGTON FOR "POLITICAL DISUSSIONS"
- AMBASSADOR HAD EXCEPTIONALLY CORDIAL LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, OVERSHADOWED BY THE TRAGEDY OF COLONEL RAY'S ASSASSINATION THAT MORNING. PRESENT WERE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS CHEYSSON, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ELYSEE BEREGOVOY, PRESIDENT ADVISOR ATTALI, AND DCM CHAPMAN.
- ALL THE FRENCH EXPRESSED GENUINE SYMPATHY OVER THE TRAGEDY. AND PRESIDENT HIMSELF ASSURED AMBASSADOR OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FULL COOPERATION TO INSURE THE EMBASSY'S SECURITY. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT WE HAD A FEW IDEAS AND

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HOPED WE COULD MEET VERY QUICKLY WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS TO REVIEW THE WHOLE PROBLEM. THE PRESIDENT REPEATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S OFFER OF FULL COOPERATION.

- 5. GERMANY. PRESIDENT OPENED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS BY EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER SITUATION IN GERMANY. SCHMIDT HAS FELT UNDER GREAT DOMESTIC PRESSURES AND MITTERRAND CONSIDERED THAT UNDER THE WAVE OF NEUTRALISM WAS A RESURGENT NATIONALISM WHICH WAS FRUSTRATED BY THE FRG'S SENSE OF RELATIVE POWERLESSNESS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN EUROPE, A SENSE WHICH WAS COMPOUNDED BY DETERIORATING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. HE AND BEREGOVOY NOTED WITH ALMOST GLEE THAT FRG, CONFRONTED BY RISING UNEMPLOYMENT, WAS BEGINNING TO TAKE THE SAME COURSE AS THE FRENCH SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT BY STIMULATING THE ECONOMY THROUGH PUBLIC WORKS EVEN AT THE RISK OF INCREASING INFLATION.
- 6. FRENCH ECONOMY. THIS POINT GAVE THE PRESIDENT AN OPENING TO EXPRESS EVIDENT SATISFACTION OVER THE RECENT TRENDS OF THE FRENCH ECONOMY. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE INFLATION FIGURES FOR THE LAST THREE MONTHS HAD BEEN ENCOURAGING DESPITE EARLIER FEARS THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S STIMULATION PROGRAM, WHICH HAD SO FAR COST 33 BILLION FRANCS, WOULD BE INFLATIONARY. IN FACT, MITTERRAND SAID, THE PRESENT RATE WAS NO HIGHER THAT WHAT IT WAS DURING THE LAST MONTHS OF THE BARRE GOVERNMENT DESPITE THE FACT THAT THIS GOVERNMENT HAD MADE THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION ITS ONE AND ONLY OBJECTIVE.
- 7. POLAND. SURPRISINGLY, MITTERRAND DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT AT GREAT LENGTH. CHEYSON SIMPLY COMMENTED THAT "WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN SANCTIONS." THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ALL OF THE EASTERN BLOC WAS BAD AND THAT WE SHOULD AIM AT REDUCING THE MEANS THE SOVIETS HAVE TO OBTAIN FOREIGN EXCHANGE. HE FLOATED THE IDEA OF PREVENTING PRIVATE BANKS FROM EXTENDING LONG TERM CREDITS TO THE SOVIET UNION. THIS PROHIBITION NEED NOT APPLY TO SHORT TERM COMMERCIAL CREDITS (LESS THAN ONE YEAR). THE FRENCH SEEMED TO PICK UP THIS IDEA WITH SOME INTEREST.
- 8. USSR. THE PRESIDENT FOLLOWED UP THE AMBASSADOR'S BT

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COMMENT AND DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH THE SITUATION FACING THE SOVIET UNION. IT HAD GREAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
PROBLEMS. AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND WERE TREMENDOUS BURDENS. ROMANIA WAS ON THE BRINK OF BANKRUPTCY. THE ONLY
FIELD IN WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD HAD ANY SUCCESS WAS IN
BUILDING THEIR MILITARY FORCES. HE THEN MENTIONED THAT
THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AT LUNCH LAST WEEK HAD PROVIDED
HIM WITH COMPARATIVE TABLES OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS, WHICH
SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT THERE WAS A ROUGH BALANCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. MITTERRAND WASEVIDENTLY PUZZLED
ON THIS ISSUE. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED BY SAYING ALL
THE EXPERTS, INCLUDING THE FRENCH, WERE IN AGREEMENT
ON THE ISSUE OF THE BALANCE OF FORCES: THEY ALL AGREED
THAT IT WAS CLEARLY IN THE SOVIET UNION'S FAVOR AT THIS
TIME. THE SOVIET TABLES DID NOT REALLY STAND ANALYSIS.
THE AMBASSADOR TOOK THIS OPENING TO SAY THAT DOD HAD
PUT TOGETHER A VERY IMPRESSIVE BRIEFING ON SOVIET
MILITARY STRENGTH WHICH HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO THE
MINISTER OF DEFENSE HERNU DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO
WASHINGTON. WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO OFFER THIS SAME BRIEFING TO THE PRESIDENT IF HE WOULD FIND IT OF INTEREST.
MITTERRAND ANSWERED THAT YES, HE WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE HEARING IT. (WE SHALL PURSUE BOTH SUBJECTS OF THE
BALANCEOF FORCES AND OF A BRIEFING WITH THE PRESIDENT'S
MILITARY AIDE GENERAL SAULNIER ON FRIDAY.)

9. MIDDLE EAST. THE PRESIDENT THEN ASKED HOW THINGS WERE GOING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE AMBASSADOR INFORMED HIM THAT THE SECRETARY HAD PRESSED THE EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS HARD AND HAD OBTAINED THEIR AGREEMENT TO RELAUNCH NEGOTIATIONS ON AUTONOMY. THE SECRETARY CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. CHEYSSON RECALLED HIS CONVERSATION IN BRUSSELS WITH THE SECRETARY ON THIS SUBJECT CONFIRMING THAT THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS WERE ALONG THESE LINES. MITTERRAND SIMPLY COMMENTED THAT

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WE WILL HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME WITH BEGIN, AND HE WOULD BE GOING TO ISRAEL MARCH 4 AND 5.

10. CENTRAL AMERICA. THE AMBASSADOR TOOK UP THE SUBJECT OF CENTRAL AMERICA BY NOTING HOW MUCH THE FRENCH DELIVERY THE AMBASSADOR TOOK UP THE SUBJECT OF ARMS HAD DISTURBED AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, PARTICULAR-LY AMONG INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS. CHEYSSON CHIMED IN TO SAY THE SECRETARY HAD ALSO MENTIONED THIS SUBJECT AND DESCRIBED THE FRENCH SALES AS "PEANUTS". THE AMBASSADOR COMMENTED IT WAS ENOUGH TO AROUSE STRONG REACTION BUT NOT ENOUGH TO WEAN THE NICARAGUANS AWAY FROM THE SOVIETS, ONE OF THE AVOWED FRENCH PURPOSES. MITTERRAND THEN WENT INTO A LONG EXPOSITION ON THE SITUATION. HE CONSIDERED THAT BY FRUSTRATING PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE WE ONLY HELPED TO RADICALIZE THE SITUATION AND PROMOTE COM-MUNISM. HE RECALLED HIS OWN EXPERIENCE AS MINISTER OF COLONIES WHEN HOUPHET BOIGNY HAD HAD TO GO INTO HIDING BECAUSE HE WAS CONSIDERED A COMMUNIST AND A DEATH WARRANT WAS ISSUED AGAINST HIM. HE HIMSELF WAS AT THE TIME ACCUSED OF COMMUNISM WHEN HE MADE OPENINGS TO AFRICAN LEADERS SUCH AS HOUPHET. MITTERRAND ALSO RECALLED THE LEADERS SUCH AS HOUPHET. MITTERRAND ALSO RECALLED THE VISIT OF HO CHI MINH TO FRANCE IN 1946 WHEN HO HAD SPENT THREE WEEKS TRYING TO MEET A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRENCH MITTERRAND HAD MET HIM AND A COLLEAGUE OF GOVERNMENT. MITTERRAND'S, D'ARCY HAD BEEN HO'S ESCORT OFFICER DURING THE ENTIRE VISIT. MITTERRAND RECOGNIZED THAT HO WAS A COMMUNIST, BUT MITTERRAND REMAINS CONVINCED THAT TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT COULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED AT THE TIME WHICH TEN YEARS LATER WOULD HAVE APPEARED BEYOND ALL EX-PECTATIONS. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED BY RECALLING THE EFFORTS WE HAD MADE TO PROMOTE LAND REFORM IN EL SALVADOR, AND TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. MITTERRAND RECOGNIZED THAT WE HAD A DIFFERENT ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AND THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR OUR EXPERTS TO BE ABLE TO SIT DOWN AND COMPARE NOTES ON THE FACTS. THE AMBASSADOR TOOK THIS OPENING AND SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE BEST VENUE WOULD BE MANAGUA, WHICH IS WHERE BOTH FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES WERE SENDING NEW AMBASSADORS. (NOTE: WE PLAN TO PURSUE THIS WITH ANTHONY QUAINTON.) THE AMBASSADOR AND THE DCM ALSO RECALLED THE RECENT VISIT TO NICARAGUA BY THE SPANISH SOCIALIST FELIPE GONZALEZ, WHO HAD TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT HE WAS MUCH CONCERNED BY THE TREND OF EVENTS IN NICARAGUA. CHEYSSON READILY ADMITTED GONZALEZ' SEEMED "DECU" AND EXPRESSED HIS OWN CONCERN REGARDING THIS EVOLUTION.

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TACKLED CHEYSSON, ASKING HIM HOW THE FRENCH PLANNED TO EXPLOIT THEIR ABILITY OF MAINTAINING A DIALOGUE WITH THE SANDINISTAS BY SELLING THEM ARMS. HE REPLIED THEY WERE INDEED MAINTAINING A DIALOGUE WITH THE SANDINISTA LEADERSHIP, WHICH HE THOUGHT IMPORTANT TO HAVE, POINTING OUT NICARAGUA HAD HAD A DIFFERENT HISTORY FROM THAT OF THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO HELP NICARAGUA DEVELOP BETTER AND MORE CONFIDENT RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES, NOTABLY WITH HONDURAS.

- 11. ANGOLA. MITTERRAND NOTED THAT WE HAD HAD MEETING WITH THE ANGOLANS IN PARIS THIS WEEK. CHEYSON COMMENTED THAT HE HIMSELF HAD MET WITH ALMEIDA LATER AND FOUND ALMEIDA VERY PLEASED WITH THIS MEETING. BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND CHEYSSON REACTED POSITIVELY TO A DIALOGUE BEING ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ANGOLA AND THE UNITED STATES. MITTERRAND MENTIONED HE HAD THAT VERY MORNING RECEIVED A LETTER FROM DOS SANTOS ITHOUT, HOWEVER, REVEALING ITS CONTENTS. CHEYSSON COMMENTED THAT WHILE DIALOGUE WAS GOOD, ALMEIDA WAS NOT THE BEST INTERLOCUTOR BECAUSE HE HAD LONG BEEN IN THE RESISTANCE AND REMAINED VERY BITTER. HE HAD DEALT WITH HIM EXTENSIVELY WHEN ALMEIDA WAS AMBASSADOR TO THE COMMUNITY IN BRUSSELS. CHEYSSON CONSIDERED JORGE TO BE THE BEST INTERMEDIARY BUT EVENTUALLY WE HAD TO REACH SANTOS PERSONALLY.
- 12. VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. IN THE MIDDLE OF LUNCHEON, CHEYSSON THREW A SOFT BALL TO MITTERRAND WHICH HE HIT SQUARELY, SAYING YES, HE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO MAKE A VISIT TO WASHINGTON FOR "POLITICAL" DISCUSSIONS. (COMMENT: IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION, BEREGOVOY TOLD DCM MITTERRAND WOULD VISIT CAPITALS OF ALL SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING IN JUNE. IDEALLY MITTERRAND WOULD ALSO LIKE TO GO TO WASHINGTON, BUT IF NECESSARY HE COULD SETTLE FOR A DAY OF PRIVATE

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DTG: 191755Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø38Ø21

BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN JUST BEFORE THE MEETING. IN RESPONSE TO DCM'S COMMENT THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADVISERS WERE TRYING TO ORGANIZE HIS COMPLICATED SCHEDULE INVOLVING THE TRIP TO EUROPE, BEREGOVOY ANSWERED HE UNDERSTOOD THE COMPLICATIONS, BUT WE SHOULD KNOW MITTERRAND WOULD NOT AGREE TO A SUMMIT AT NATO. HE DID NOT OFFER ANY CLEAR EXPLANATION, BUT DCM'S IMPRESSION WAS THAT MITTERRAND WOULD VIEW SUCH A MEETING AS DETRACTING FROM THE OTHER.

13. GENERAL COMMENT: THE CONVERSATION THROUGHOUT WAS FRIENDLY. WHILE WE COVERED A LARGE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS, THERE WAS NEVER ANY ACERBITY IN THE COMMENTS, EVEN ON ISSUES WHERE WE DIFFERED, AND AT THE END THE PRESIDENT INVITED MY WIFE AND ME FOR A PRIVATE DINNER, WITH JUST HIMSELF AND MRS. MITTERRAND, AT HIS APARTMENT, WHERE HE CONTINUED TO LIVE. MITTERRAND APPEARED PALER AND DRAWN THAN WHEN I HAD SEEN HIM PREVIOUSLY. HE TOOK ESSENTIALLY THE SAME COURSES AS WE OF TRUFFLES AND LOBSTER ST. JACQUES, BUT IN SPECIAL, SEPARATE SERVINGS AND INSTEAD OF SHERBET, TOOK PLAIN FRUIT. HE DRANK VERY LITTLE. GALBRAITH

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DOCDATE 20 JAN 82

KEYWORDS	FRANCE

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RAY, CHARLES

GALBRAITH, VAN

SUBJECT: TALKERS FOR CLARK 21 JAN MTG W/ AMB GALBRA	SUBJECT:	TALKERS	FOR	CLARK	21	JAN	MTG	W/	AMB	GALBRA
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-SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 PARIS 2325 SIT733 DATE Ø1/25/82

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IMMEDIATE DE RUFHFR #2325 Ø2118Ø1 O 2118Ø1Z JAN 82 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8358

E C R E T PARIS 02325

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 1/21/02 (CHAPMAN, CHRISTIAN A.) OR-M TAGS: NATO, FR F. O.

SUBJECT: FRENCH POSITION ON NATO SUMMIT

REF: STATE 15158

- 1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.
- I CALLED THIS AFTERNOON ON PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR JACQUES ATTALI, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF SUMMITS. I TOLD HIM THAT CONCERN HAD ARISEN IN WASHINGTON REGARDING POSSIBLE MISCOMMUNICATION WITH RE-GARD TO THE POSSIBLE ORGANIZATION OF A NATO SUMMIT MEET-I SAID THAT THE SECRETARY HAD UNDERSTOOD FROM MINISTER CHEYSSON IN BRUSSELS THAT THE FRENCH WOULD NOT OBJECT TO SUCH A MEETING. HOWEVER, I HAD JUST THIS WEEK UNDERSTOOD FROM BEREGOVOY THAT PRESIDENT MITTERRAND WOULD NOT ATTEND A NATO SUMMIT. THIS RAISED IN WASHINGTON THE QUESTION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PARTICIPATION AT VER-SAILLES.
- ATTALI CONFIRMED WHAT BEREGOVOY HAD TOLD ME, AND EX-PRESSED CONSIDERABLE PUZZLEMENT. HE NOTED THEY HAD HAD SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN ARRIVING AT THE JUNE 5-6 DATES FOR THE SEVEN-NATION SUMMIT. JUNE 3 AND 4 WERE AN ITAL-IAN NATIONAL DAY AND SCHMIDT AND THE CANADIAN REPRESENTA-

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

TIVE HAD DECIDED TO BE IN NEW YORK ON MONDAY, JUNE 7 TO ATTEND THE OPENING OF THE U.N. DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. THE SEVEN-NATION SUMMIT COULD NOT BE DEFERRED BECAUSE VERSAILLES WAS BOOKED SOLID THEREAFTER. UNDER THE CIR-CUMSTANCES ATTALI DID NOT SEE HOW A NATO MEETING COULD BE ORGANIZED.

I ANSWERED THAT THE EMBASSY DID NOT HAVE THE PAR-TICULARS OF THE PLANNING FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP, BUT MANIFESTLY IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY VERY DIFFICULT FOR ANY AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO COME TO EUROPE AT A TIME OF THE MOST SERIOUS CRISIS FACED BY THE WEST SINCE 1968 AND NOT VISIT NATO. IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO OVER 35 YEARS HAD COME TO CONSIDER NATO AS THE CENTRAL COORDINATING MECHANISM OF THE ALLIANCE PRECISELY AT A TIME OF CRISIS.

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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THEN TO SEE PRESIDENT MITTERRAND ON AN URGENT BASIS AND CONCLUDED THAT ALL I COULD REPORT WAS TO CONFIRM BEREGOVOY'S STATEMENT THAT THE FRENCH PRESIDENT WOULD NOT ATTEND A NATO SUMMIT. NO FURTHER CONSIDERATION HAS EVIDENTLY BEEN GIVEN TO THE MATTER, BUT AS A LAST POINT, WATTALI AFFIRMED THAT FRANCE HAD NEVER BEEN REPRESENTED AT SUCH A MEETING ABOVE THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN MINISTER.

6. COMMENT: ATTALI WAS CLEARLY TAKEN ABACK AND INDI-CATED HE WAS NOT AT ALL SURE HOW MITTERRAND WOULD REACT. CHAPMAN

SECRET WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DE RUEHC #7773 Ø2223Ø8
O 222228Z JAN 82 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7218

INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7062 BT

SECRET STATE Ø17773

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E. O. 12065: RDS-1 (1/21/02) (CROCKER, CHESTER A.)

TAGS: PEPR, AO, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PAULO JORGE

1. (S ENTIRE TEXT.)

- 2. PLEASE PASS TO ANGOLAN AMBASSADOR DE ALMEIDA THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER TO ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE.
- 3. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR MR. MINISTER: IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION WHICH CHARACTERIZED OUR VERY CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS, I WANTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOU ABOUT A SPATE OF PRESS REPORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN APPEARING ABOUT MATTERS ANGOLAN. YOU WILL HAVE NOTED REPORTS IN THE EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN PRESS ABOUT THE PRISONER EXCHANGE AND OUR DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS AND COMMENTS BY SAVIMBI. WE HAVE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THESE ARTICLES AND ARE SCRUPULOUSLY ADHERING TO THE PRESS GUIDELINES WHICH WE DISCUSSED IN PARIS BY REFUSING TO COMMENT. LASTLY.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

MR. MINISTER, WE NEED TO FIRM UP OUR PLANS FOR A NEXT MEETING. I MUST BE IN BONN ON JANUARY 25 FOR A CONTACT GROUP REUNION AND THEN MUST MEET WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS SOON THEREAFTER. THUS, FROM MY PERSPECTIVE AND IN THE LIGHT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON TIMING, WE SHOULD HOLD THE

NEXT ANGOLAN-U.S. TALKS IN THE FIRST WEEK OF FEBRUARY. WILL YOUR SCHEDULE PERMIT THIS? I AM FLEXIBLE AS TO VENUE. END TEXT. HAIG

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SECSTATE WASHDC 7773 DTG: 222228Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø42296

PAGE Ø1 SIT991

DAAT PARIS FR 7001 DATE Ø2/Ø4/82

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IMMEDIATE DE RUEOGGA #7001 0230626 O 230200Z JAN 82 FM DAAT PARIS FR

TO WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT WASH DC RUEKJCS OSD FOR THE SECRETARY WASH DC RUEHC STATE DEP FOR THE SECRETARY WASH DC JCS FOR THE CHAIRMAN WASH DC RUEADWD DEP OF THE ARMY FOR CSA WASH DC RUSNNOA USEUCOM FOR THE CINC VAIHINGEN GE DIA FOR THE DIRECTOR WASH DC CDR MIL DIST WASH DC CDR 89TH MAW (SAM) ANDREWS AFB MD 1776ABW CDR ANDREWS AFB MD BT

UNCLAS

SUBJ: FUNERAL SERVICES LTC CHARLES RAY

- 1. I COULD NOT RETURN TO PARIS WITHOUT THANKING ALL OF YOUR FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, SO THIS IS BEING SENT FROM OUR PLANE AS WE HEAD FOR FRANCE.
- 2. MRS RAY, JULIE AND MARK, THE AMBASSADOR AND I WERE ALL EXTREMELY IMPRESSED AND DEEPLY TOUCHED BY ALL OF THE ARRANGEMENTS
 FOR CHARLE'S FUNERAL. FROM OUR DEPARTURE AT LEBOURGET TO THE FINAL SOUND OF TAPS, EVERYTHING WAS DONE WITH WARMTH AND DIGNITY. WE WILL BE WRITING INDIVIDUAL LETTERS, BUT THE FAMILY WANTED TO EXPRESS THEIR GRATITUDE FOR THE EFFORTS OF ALL CONCERNED. A HERATY THANKS AND WELL DONE. 3. SIGNED BRIG GEN CHRISTIAN PATTE, DEFENSE ATTACHE, PARIS FR

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE Ø1 SIT688 PARIS 12669 DATE Ø1/25/82 DTG: 251709Z JAN 82 PSN: 045356

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUFHFR #2669 Ø25171Ø
O 2517Ø9Z JAN 82 ZFF
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8551

S E C R E T PARIS 02669 NODIS E.O. 12065: RDS 1, 3 1/25/02 (CHAPMAN, CHRISTIAN) OR-P TAGS: PEPR, USAO SUBJECT: US-ANGOLA MEETING REF: STATE 17773

- 1. (S ENTIRE TEXT.)
- 2. MESSAGE DELIVERED TO AMBASSADOR DE ALMEIDA JANUARY
- 23. HE THOUGHT HE WOULD HAVE A REPLY BY JANUARY 26 OR
- 27. DE ALMEIDA WAS PLANNING TO RECOMMEND LONDON AS VENUE. HOWEVER, AFTER DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFF HE WILL ALSO POSE QUESTION AGAIN OF USING U.S. EMBASSY AS SITE, BUT BECAUSE OF HIS IDEA OF THE NEED FOR RECIPROCITY IN MEETINGS THAT WOULD MEAN EITHER PARIS OR LISBON WHERE ANGOLANS MAINTAIN AN EMBASSY.
- 3. EMBOFF PASSED ALONG "PERSONAL" VIEWS ON WHY THESE TALKS NEEDED TO SUCCEED AND PROBED DE ALMEIDA FOR REACTIONS. INITIALLY DE ALMEIDA MAINTAINED THE LINE THAT OUR CONTINUED DE FACTO PRECONDITIONS OF A CUBAN WITHDRAWAL RAN COUNTER TO ANGOLA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ACCEPT THE ANGOLANS' WORD. SUBSEQUENTLY IN CONVERSATION HE ADMITTED THAT A GUARANTEE OF A SOUTH

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

AFRICAN CEASEFIRE MIGHT BE AN ACCEPTABLE COUNTER STEP TO CUBAN WITHDRAWAL. DE ALMEIDA NOTED THAT CUBA'S MILITARY PRESENCE WAS COSTING ANGOLA DEARLY. "WE DO NOT SAY HOW MUCH, BUT BELIEVE ME IT COSTS US DEARLY" SAID DE ALMEIDA. THIS COUPLED WITH DOLLAR PAYMENTS TO THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR ARMS COST HALF THE ANGOLAN BUDGET.

4. COMMENTING ON THE ANGOLAN MISSION TO MOSCOW LED BY POLITBURO NUMBER TWO LUCIO LARA, DE ALMEIDA DENIED THE SOVIETS WARNED AGAINST THESE TALKS, BUT SAID THEY DID WARN THAT THE U.S. WAS ORGANIZING A COUP AGAINST ANGOLA (WITH DE ALMEIDA ADDING AS AN ASIDE "THAT THAT IS OF COURSE TRUE"). EMBOFF AGAIN POINTED TO THE FACT THAT WE ARE TRYING TO NEGOTIATE OUR DIFFERENCES ITH ANGOLA. GALBRAITH

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8553

S E C R E T PARIS Ø2675 NODIS E.O. 12065: RDS-3 1/25/02 (CHAPMAN, CHRISTIAN) OR-A TAGS: PEPR, AO, US SUBJECT: MEETING WITH ANGOLANS

- 1. S- ENTIRE TEXT.
- DE ALMEIDA HAS RECEIVED REPLY FROM LUANDA SUGGESTING THAT MEETING TAKE PLACE IN PARIS OR LONDON DURING PERIOD FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE SAYS THAT HE IS MARCH 1-4. TIED UP WITH RECEIVING VISITOR IN LUANDA, TRAVEL TO BRAZIL AND AN OAU MEETING DURING FEBRUARY.
- EMBOFF SUGGESTED THAT MARCH 1-4 WAS RATHER LATE AND ASKED IF MINISTER WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET IN BRAZIL. BRAZIL TRIP IS SCHEDULED FOR SOME TIME AROUND FEBRUARY 9 (DE ALMEIDA SAID HE WAS NOT SURE OF EXACT DATE). DE ALMEIDA AGREED TO PUT QUESTION TO JORGE IF WE ARE CERTAIN ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER IS SURE HE CAN ARRANGE TO BE THERE. EMBOFF TOLD DE ALMEIDA THAT HE WOULD CONFIRM, BUT URGED THAT HE POSE QUESTION WITHOUT DELAY.
- NOTE DE ALMEIDA IS TRAVELLING TO BONN ON WEDNESDAY AND HAS OFFERED TO MEET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROCKER THERE IF LATTER WISHES.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO BONN. GALBRAITH

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PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 PARIS 3123 SIT776 DATE Ø1/29/82

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AMEMBASSY OSLO 7373
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 3809
USMISSION USNATO 1240
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SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 03123 EXDIS USEC E. O. 12065: XDS-1 1/28/02 (GALBRAITH, E. G.) OR-M TAGS: PEPR, PINS, ENRG, FR, UR, PL, UK SUBJ: CALL ON PRIME MINISTER MAUROY

1. (SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: I CALLED ON THE PRIME MINISTER EVENING OF JANUARY 27. I THANKED HIM FOR GOF COOPERATION IN PROVIDING SECURITY. HE IS FOLLOWING TERRORIST ACTIVITY PERSONALLY. OUR EXCHANGE OVER THE SOVIET GAS PIPELINE COVERED NO NEW GROUND EXCEPT THAT I SHOOK HIM A LITTLE WHEN I TOLD HIM THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT INTEND TO CO-OPERATE IN ITS CONSTRUCTION. I FOUND HIM DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE CRISIS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WHICH HE ATTRIBUTES ENTIRELY TO BRITISH INTRANSIGENCE. HE IS FLYING TO BONN THIS WEEKEND FOR DISCUSSION WITH CHANCELLOR

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

SCHMIDT MAINLY ON COMMUNITY PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

- 3. I CALLED ON PM MAUROY AT THE MATIGNON JANUARY 27TH ACCOMPANIED BY ECONOMIC MINISTER ELY. MAUROY WAS ACCOMPAINED BY STAFFER VAILLANT AND SENATEUR PONTILLON. IN THE OPENING EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES WE SPOKE OF OUR ALLIANCE. MAUROY REFERRED PLEASANTLY TO AMBASSADOR HARTMAN'S VISITS TO LILLE AND URGED ME TO TRAVEL IN FRANCE.
- 4. TERRORISTS: MAUROY SPOKE EXTENSIVELY OF HIS DEEP REGRET OVER THE MURDER OF COLONEL RAY AND IS TAKING A PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE SECURITY SITUATION. HE SAID HE IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ABILITY OF TERRORISTS TO OPERATE IN EUROPE BY SLIPPING OVER BORDERS FROM ONE COUNTRY TO THE OTHER. WHILE HE FEELS THE SITUATION IS

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BAD IN FRANCE HE THINKS THAT IT IS WORSE IN ITALY AND USED TO BE WORSE IN GERMANY. WHEN I REMARKED OUR SUSPICIONS REST HEAVILY ON THE LIBYANS EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE NO PROOF, MAUROY COMMENTED THAT FRENCH INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ARE SHOWING EXTRAORDINARY LIBYAN COVERT ACTIVITY ALL OVER AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN CHAD BUT ALSO ELSEWHERE SUCH AS NIGER AND GHANA. HE OBSERVED THAT AT ONE TIME THE FRENCH INTELLIGENCE SERVICES UNDER FOCCART HAD AN EXTENSIVE NETWORK IN AFRICA AND HE THINKS THAT MAY WELL BE NECESSARY AGAIN TO STRENGTHEN FRENCH INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES THERE.

- 5. I THANKED THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION WE HAVE BEEN RECEIVING FROM THE FRENCH POLICE AND HE PLEDGED TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH US.
- 6. SOVIET GAS PIPELINE: MAUROY RAISED THE SUBJECT HIMSELF, EMPHASIZING THAT THE PIPELINE IS FOR FRANCE A RESPONSE TO THE NEED TO DIVERSIFY ENERGY SOURCES. FRENCH ENERGY POLICY HAS BEEN A DISASTER, HE SAID, CONCENTRATING SUCCESSIVELY ON COAL, PETROLEUM AND NUCLEAR ENERGY AND HE CONCLUDED FRANCE MUST DIVERSIFY. HE WENT THROUGH THE USUAL STORY OF HOW SIGNATURE OF THE CONTRACT IN NO WAY SIGNALS ANY REDUCTION IN FRENCH CONCERN OVER POLAND AND OF HOW FRANCE DOES NOT BELIEVE IN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WHICH ARE EITHER INEFFECTIVE OR THE LAST STEP BEFORE AN ARMED CONFLICT. MAUROY WILL MAKE A MAJOR STATEMENT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TOMORROW TO LAY OUT THE GOVERNMENT'S

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MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

POSITION. HE MAKES A MAJOR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE EXISTING SITUATION IN POLAND WHERE THE POLISH ARMY IS ENGAGED IN REPRESSION OF POLES AND THE SITUATION WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM A SOVIET INVASION, WHEN THE FRENCH POSITION ON SANCTIONS WOULD SURELY CHANGE AND ALL ECONOMIC TRANSACTION WOULD BE CALLED INTO QUESTION. IN REPLYING TO MY SUGGESTION OF NORWAY AS AN ALTERNATIVE SOURCE OF GAZ, HE WINKED AND SAID THE SOVIET GAS WILL BE MUCH CHEAPER.

- 7. AFTER EMPHASIZING TO MAUROY THE NEED FOR ALLIED ACTIONS THAT GO BEYOND WORDS, I TOLD HIM THAT AS FAR AS I WAS CONCERNED THE EUROPEAN DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PIPELINE WAS THEIR OWN BUT THEY SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY AMERICAN COOPERATION AND IF THIS MEANS DELAYS IN THE PIPELINE, THAT IS THE WAY THINGS HAVE TO BE. THIS REMARK GAVE HIM PAUSE BUT HE EVENTUALLY SHRUGGED AND SMILED.
- 8. I HAD THE IMPRESSION HE HAD NOT HEARD THE ARGUMENT AGAINST THE PIPELINE I SET FORTH, NAMELY, (A) THESE EUROPEAN GAS PURCHASES ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO BUILD A

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PIPELINE WHICH THEY COULD NOT OTHERWISE HAVE BUILT FOR , THUS BRINGING GAS TO THE SOVIET INDUSTRIAL HEART-(A LARGE PORTION OF THE TRANSPORTED GAS REMAINS IN YEARS, RUSSIA) AND (B) THE PIPELINE WILL ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO EARN BADLY NEEDED FOREIGN CURRENCY.

- 9. I ALSO RAISED WITH HIM THE IDEA OF A COOPERATIVE POSITION BY EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN BANKS TO BLOCK SOVIET ACCESS TO EUROCURRENCY LOANS, POINTING OUT THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION MIGHT BE EASY, THAT THE CREDITS ARE NOT TIED TO EXPORTS, AND THAT IT WOULD SERIOUSLY INCONVENIENCE THE USSR. PONTILLON SEEMED INTERESTED BUT MAUROY SEEMED UNABLE TO JUDGE.
- 10. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND U.K.: MAUROY, ALMOST ALOUD, SAID THAT THE GOF IS DEEPLY PREOCCUPIED AND ALMOST THINKING TROUBLED BY THE CRISIS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. LAID VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE BLAME ON THE UNITED KINGDOM. HE INSISTED THAT BRITISH BEHAVIOR VIOLATES THE FUNDAMENTAL RULES THAT UNDERLIE MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY AND THREATENS THE FOUNDATION OF ITS EXISTENCE. THE TIME, SAID, IS NO LONGER FOR DISCUSSIONS OF DETAILS BUT FOR SOME FUNDAMENTAL THINKING. HE WONDERS IF THE BRITISH REALLY OUGHT TO BE MEMBERS. HE IS FLYING TO BONN THIS WEEKEND TO TALK TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. MAUROY DID NOT SAY SO DIRECTLY BUT I GOT THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HIS TRIP IS PRIMARILY RELATED TO THE COMMUNITY CRISIS. HE COMMENTED IN PASSING THAT WHILE THE FRENCH NEED THE GERMANS ECONOMICALY THE GERMANS NEED THE FRENCH POLITICAL-I COMMENTED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS UNDER DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE TO GAIN SOME POSITIVE RESULTS FROM THE EEC BUDGET DISCUSSIONS.
- I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE DISCUSSION OF EUROPEAN MATTERS TO RAISE U.S. CONCERNS OVER THE POSSIBILITIES OF A U.S.-EC CONFRONTATION OVER AGRICULTURE. I WILL REPORT THIS CONVERSATION SEPARATELY.
- I FOUND MAUROY ENGAGING AND OPEN. COMMENT: NERVOUS AT FIRST BUT SEEMED PLEASED AND RELAXED AS THE MEETING DEVELOPED. I ENJOYED OUR MEETING, MOST OF WHICH WAS PREDICTABLE. FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS NOT HIS FORTE BUT HE IS PLUGGING AWAY AT IT. THE ONE UNEXPECTED ASPECT WAS MAUROY'S OBVIOUSLY DEEP AND SINCERE CONCERN OVER THE IMPASSE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND HIS TOTAL BLAME OF THE BRITISH. I WONDER IF THIS COULD SIGNAL SOME

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FRENCH INITIATIVE AIMED AT FORCING THE BRITISH EITHER TO ACCEPT THE FRENCH DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY RULES OR FACE FRENCH PRESSURE TO WITHDRAW. I REFRAINED FROM RAISING NICARAGUA WITH THE PRIME MINISTER HAVING JUST DONE SO IN EXTENSO DURING MY CALL ON MINISTER OF COOPERATION COT NINETY MINUTES EARLIER. I AM DINING WITH MAUROY PRIVATELY, WITH WIVES, ON FEBRUARY 22. GALBRAITH BT

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