

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 24957

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY-DESIGNATE KISSINGER AND ACTING SECRETARY RUSH
FROM AMBASSADOR

DEFENSE FOR SECRETARY SCHLESINGER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, MILI

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH FRENCH MINISTER OF ARMED FORCES GALLEY

1. SUMMARY. IN TOUR D'HORIZON WITH MINISTER OF THE ARMED FORCES GALLEY PRIOR TO HIS TRIP TO THE US, GALLEY EXPRESSED HIS GREAT PLEASURE OVER THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND ACTING SECRETARY RUSH. HE SAID HE EXPECTED TO HAVE A RESPONSE FOR SECRETARY SCHLESINGER ON FRELOC. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE WAR-TIME LOC ACROSS FRANCE, BURDEN SHARING, TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND GALLEY'S RECENT TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA. I WAS IMPRESSED BY GALLEY'S CANDOR AND HIS APPARENT INTENTION TO TAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO US-GOF DEFENSE RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. I CALLED ON MINISTER OF THE ARMED FORCES GALLEY THIS MORNING PRIMARILY FOR A TOUR D'HORIZON PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE US ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23. AT THE OUTSET, I SAID THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND ACTING SECRETARY RUSH WERE LOOKING FORWARD TO THE MINISTER'S VISIT AND THAT I WAS PARTICULARLY HAPPY THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON.

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3. MINISTER GALLEY SAID HE WAS DELIGHTED TO VISIT THE US FOR MANY REASONS. FIRST, HE HAD PLEASANT MEMORIES OF THE PERIOD WHEN HE SERVED UNDER GENERAL PATTON DURING WORLD WAR II. AS A RESULT OF THIS EXPERIENCE, HE HAS A VERY HIGH REGARD FOR THE

QUALITY OF AMERICAN MILITARY LEADERS. SECOND, THE VISIT TO THE US LAST YEAR BY DEFENSE MINISTER DEBRE WAS EXTREMELY SIGNIFICANT IN DEVELOPING DEFENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND FRANCE. GALLEY NOTED HE FELT IT IMPORTANT TO ESTABLISH A CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. THIRD, NOTHING CAN BE DONE SERIOUSLY IN FRANCE OR EUROPE IN THE AREA OF SECURITY WITHOUT EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SCHLESINGER. AS AN EXAMPLE OF HIS LAST POINT, MINISTER GALLEY NOTED THAT THE FRENCH AIR FORCE HAD RECEIVED TACTICAL NUCLEAR BOMBS SOME TIME AGO AND THAT THE FRENCH ARMY WAS SCHEDULED TO RECEIVE THE PLUTON TACTICAL NUCLEAR MISSILE SYSTEM IN MAY, 1974. THESE DEVELOPMENTS REQUIRE THAT THE US AND FRANCE DISCUSS THE NEW SITUATION BECAUSE FRANCE NOW FINDS ITSELF, LIKE THE NATO FORCES, WITH A BROAD TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. NATURALLY, GALLEY CONTINUED, THE FRANCH CAN DISCUSS THESE THINGS WITH GENERAL GOODPASTER. BUT THE FIRST STEP MUST BE BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH SECRETARY SCHLESINGER IN ORDER TO BEGIN THIS PROCESS OF CONSULATIONS. MINISTER GALLEY ADDED THAT HE EXPECTS THIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO BE THE FIRST IN A LONG SERIES OF BILATERAL CONTACTS.

4. I EXPLAINED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S EXTENSIVE BACKGROUND IN DEFENSE AFFAIRS, PARTICULARLY ASPECTS PERTAINING TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TO THE COSTS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, GALLEY DREW ATTENTION TO THE EXPERIENCE HE SHARES WITH SECRETARY SCHLESINGER REGARDING NUCLEAR MATTERS. I SUGGESTED TO GALLEY THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER WOULD APPRECIATE A FRANK AND THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE DEFENSE MATTERS DURING THE FORTHCOMING VISIT. GALLEY REPLIED THAT THIS IS PRECISELY THE WAY HE VIEWS THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP, SAYING THAT HE EXPECTS TO FOCUS ON THE PROBLEM AREAS IN DEFENSE MATTERS.

5. GALLEY REMARKED WITH A REQUEST FOR CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIETS TO PAY AN EARLY VISIT TO THE USSR. HE HAS DECIDED TO MAKE A VISIT IN DECEMBER. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT HE IS VISITING THE US "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" AND THAT HE WILL VISIT THE SOVIET UNION "AS LATE
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AS POSSIBLE."

6. JOKINGLY, GALLEY REMARKED THAT HE "LOOKED FORWARD" TO TALKING ABOUT BURDEN SHARING WITH SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. IN A MORE SERIOUS VEIN, HE SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT THAT ANY EUROPEAN DEFENSE MINISTER WOULD VOLUNTEER ANYTHING WITH REGARD TO BURDEN SHARING. COMMENT: WHILE I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF BURDEN SHARING WITH GALLEY, I SUGGEST THAT EMPHASIS BE PLACED ON THE US DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND BUDGETARY PROBLEMS THAT BURDEN SHARING IS DESIGNED TO MEET. BASED ON GALLEY'S ATTITUDE DURING TODAY'S MEETING, I WOULD NOT EXPECT HIM TO BE RESPONSIVE TO SUGGESTION THAT FRANCE PARTICIPATE IN NATO

BURDEN SHARING EFFORT, BUT THAT EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE.

7. I SUGGESTED THAT GALLEY'S WASHINGTON AUDIENCE WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO DISCUSS WITH HIM HOW EACH OF US SEES THE POLICIES AND THE STRATEGIES FOR THE TWO NATIONS' DEFENSES OVER THE COMING YEARS, INCLUDING THE FRENCH VIEW OF POSSIBLE FUTURE ANGLO-FRENCH NUCLEAR COOPERATION AND HOW IT MIGHT RELATE TO NATO IN GENERAL, TO THE FRG IN PARTICULAR, AND TO MILITARY STRATEGY. I ALSO SUGGESTED THAT WASHINGTON WOULD BE INTERESTED IN GALLEY'S VIEWS ON MBFR, PARTICULARLY THE EFFECT OF CREATING A SPECIAL ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

8. I STRESSED THAT FRELOC IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE TO HAVE CLEARED OUT OF THE WAY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. GALLEY ACKNOWLEDGED THE US CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEM, AND SAID THAT HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER LATER TODAY (SEPT. 21) ON THE SUBJECT OF FRELOC AND, AS A RESULT OF THAT MEETING, EXPECTS TO BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE A RESPONSE TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER IN THE COURSE OF HIS VISIT. RECALLING MY EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH JOBERT (PARIS 21022, PARA 3), I SAID THAT, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, I THOUGHT THERE WERE PROS AND CONS TO THE IDEA OF A QUICK GOF DOWN PAYMENT THAT WOULD LEAVE FOR LATER FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A FINAL SETTLEMENT. IN MY OPINION, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO GET THE ENTIRE CLAIMS ISSUE OUT OF THE WAY EXPEDITIOUSLY, ONCE AND FOR ALL. I SAID WE WANTED TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION IN THE US CONGRESS THAT A FRANCH INITIAL DOWN PAYMENT WOULD, IN FACT, TURN INTO A MODEST TOTAL PAYMENT. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION I SAID I THOUGHT A DOWN PAYMENT WITH A
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FIXED SCHEDULE FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE TOTAL PAYMENT MIGHT OFFER SOME PROMISE.

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9. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY ON A CONTINGENCY WARTIME US LOC ACROSS FRANCE, GALLEY SAID THAT THE PROBLEM ON THE LOC IS ESSENTIALLY A PROBLEM OF TRUST. IF WE ARE ALLIES, AS IS THE CASE TODAY, THE US WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM IN USING THE US DONGES-METZ PIPELINE IN CASE OF WAR. HE IMPLIED THAT THE SAME WOULD BE TRUE OF OTHER LOC FACILITIES ACROSS FRANCE. HIS COMMENTS DEMONSTRATED, HOWEVER, SENSITIVITY TO BUILDING IN PEACETIME AN LOC SYSTEM THAT WOULD BE EXTENSIVE AND THEREFORE VISIBLE. HE NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY UNFORTUNATE IF "US GO HOME" SIGNS STARTED TO APPEAR ON FRENCH WALLS AS A RESULT OF A RENEWED US MILITARY PRESENCE IN FRANCE. DEFATT GENERAL DONALDSON RECALLED THE DEBRE-LAIRD DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT AND CLARIFIED THAT THE US IS NOT INTERESTED IN PUTTING US TROOPS IN FRANCE IN PEACETIME FOR AN LOC, BUT THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO DISCUSS WITH THE FRENCH CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR A WARTIME LOC ACROSS FRANCE. AT THE END OF THE LOC DISCUSSION, GALLEY REMARKED "YOU SEE HOW IMPORTANT IT IS FOR ME TO GO TO THE US."

10. GALLEY DISCUSSED IN GENERAL TERMS HIS RECENT VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA. ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT GET INTO THE SPECIFICS OF THE RUMORED GOF-SAUDI ARMS DEAL, GALLEY REMARKED THAT THE PRIMARY PURPOSE FOR HIS TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA WAS TO SELL AS MUCH FRENCH WEAPONRY AS POSSIBLE. IT WAS CLEAR FROM HIS COMMENTS THAT HE IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT CONTINUED ACCESS TO OIL SOURCES. HE SAID THAT, DURING THE RECENT VISIT TO PARIS OF GENERAL KOULIKOV, SOVIET VICE DEFENSE MINISTER, HE HAD TOLD KOULIKOV THAT "IF YOU WANT TO HAVE
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WAR, JUST CUT OFF THE OIL FROM THE MIDDLE EAST."

11. WITH RESPECT TO HIS COMMENT ON ARMS SALES, I NOTED THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF WAYS TO LOOK AT THE PROBLEM: IN STRAIGHT ECONOMIC TERMS, IN POLITICAL AND ENERGY TERMS, AND IN TERMS OF THE DANGER THAT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS POSES TO THE REGIONAL SECURITY BALANCE. GALLEY CHARACTERIZED SAUDI ARABIA AS A "PASSIVE" COUNTRY. HE WAS IMPRESSED BY THE EFFORTS OF THE JAPANESE IN SAUDI ARABIA TO ENSURE THAT THEIR OIL SOURCES WERE PROTECTED.

12. GALLEY NOTED THAT HE INTENDED TO RETURN TO FRANCE ON SEPTEMBER 26 ABOARD THE CONCORDE. HE SAID HE WAS TRYING TO FIND A WAY TO GIVE THE TRIP MORE VISIBILITY AND HE HAD IN MIND INVITING CHARLES LINDBERGH OR FRANK BORMAN TO RIDE BACK TO FRANCE. IN THE ENSUING DISCUSSION IT WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT GALLEY KNOWS AND HAS THE VERY HIGHEST ADMIRATION FOR FRANK BORMAN.
COMMENT: I WOULD SUGGEST THAT, IF POSSIBLE, BORMAN BE INCLUDED IN SOME FUNCTION PERHAPS IN SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S LUNCH, SEPTEMBER 25.

13. GENERAL COMMENTS: GALLEY SEEMS TO BE A MAN WITH WHOM WE CAN HAVE FRANK DISCUSSIONS ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF DEFENSE ISSUES. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT GALLEY DOES NOT CARRY THE SAME POLITICAL AUTHORITY THAT DEBRE DID, I

BELIEVE THAT GALLEY WANTS TO EXPLORE CLOSER MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE US. AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, HE WILL BE PREPARED TO TALK ABOUT THE WARTIME LOC ACROSS FRANCE, FRELOC, THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE GROWING FRENCH TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, AS WELL AS OTHER DEFENSE SUBJECTS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

14. GALLEY HAS IN MIND THE IDEA OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER VISITING PARIS, AND HE MAY EXTEND A FORMAL INVITATION IN THE COURSE OF HIS VISIT TO THE US. IF SUCH AN INVITATION SHOULD BE EXTENDED, I RECOMMEND THAT IT BE ACCEPTED AND THAT WE WORK OUT MUTUALLY AGREEABLE DATES (FOR EXAMPLE, DURING ONE OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S TRIPS TO EUROPE IN CONNECTION WITH THE DPC/NPG MINISTERIAL MEETINGS).

IRWIN

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