

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 191313

55

ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SSO-00 ISO-00 /017 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/WE - RDVINE:PAM

APPROVED BY EUR/WE - RDVINE

S/S-O: W.NEWLIN

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

S/S, EUR/WE - VINE ONLY

----- 062181

P 260048Z SEP 73 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 191313

TOSEC 61

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, US

SUBJECT: RUSH-GALLEY CONVERSATION, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25

DELIVER ONLY TO EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN DEPUTY SECRETARY AND FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER GALLEY ON SEPTEMBER 25 WHICH THE SECRETARY MAY FIND HELPFUL FOR HIS LUNCHEON WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT.

2. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY INDICATED THAT WE HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING TO PROMOTE GOOD BILATERAL RAPPORT WITH FRANCE. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT WE WORK WELL TOGETHER IN THE MILITARY AS WELL AS IN THE DIPLOMATIC AREA. WE HAVE EXCELLENT COLLABORATION BETWEEN OUR OFFICERS IN THE FIELD AND THERE IS A CERTAIN COLLABORATION IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD AS WELL. GALLEY READILY AGREED THAT BOTH OUR INTERESTS WERE SERVED BY THE MULTIPLICATION OF CONTACTS.

3. LEON SLOSS NOTED THAT IN THE MOORER-MAURIN TALKS, FURTHER STAFF TALKS HAD BEEN SUGGESTED. WE HOPED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 191313

THESE STAFF TALKS COULD BE FOLLOWED UP.

4. GALLEY SAID THAT WE HAD REACHED A POINT WHERE SUCH TALKS COULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL. THE FRENCH WERE BE-

GINNING TO DEVELOP A SERIOUS TACTICAL NUCLEAR FORCE.
THERE WOULD SOON BE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR

WEAPONS FOR FRENCH FIGHTER AIRCRAFT AND FOR THE FRENCH
GROUND FORCES. THIS INTRODUCTION POSED PROBLEMS OF
COOPERATION THAT HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED FRANKLY.

5. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION
HAD NO INTENTION OF REDUCING OUR FORCES IN EUROPE EXCEPT
AS MIGHT BE AGREED IN MBFR TALKS. THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL
PRESSURES TO REDUCE WERE ENORMOUS HOWEVER. THE MANSFIELD
AMENDMENT WOULD COME TO A VOTE THIS WEEK; WHILE IT WAS
PROBLEMATIC WHETHER IT WOULD PASS THE SENATE IT WOULD
PROBABLY NOT PASS IN THE HOUSE. BURDEN-SHARING WAS ALSO
A FACTOR IN CONGRESSIONAL THINKING; THE NUNN AND JACKSON
AMENDMENTS STIPULATED THAT US TROOPS WERE TO BE REDUCED BY
THE EXTENT THAT A BALANCE OF PAYMENTS GAP EXISTED. WE
HAVE NOW PRETTY WELL CONVINCED THE CONGRESS THAT WE WOULD
NOT SAVE MONEY BY TROOP WITHDRAWALS AND THAT THE KEY
ELEMENT IS NOW SOLELY THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS. SENATOR
MANSFIELD AND OTHERS HAD SHIFTED FROM ARGUMENTS BASED ON
COST-SAVING TO ARGUMENTS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT WE
SHOULD NOT HAVE TROOPS OVERSEAS AND THAT THEIR PRESENCE
IN OTHER COUNTRIES WAS IMPERIALISTIC. WE TRY TO CONVINCED
THE CONGRESS OF THE SPECIOUSNESS OF THIS, THAT WE KEEP OUR
TROOPS IN EUROPE BECAUSE THEY ARE WANTED THERE, BUT THE
OPPOSITION IS WIDESPREAD.

6. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY CONCLUDED THAT, WITH THIS
DOMESTIC BACKGROUD, MBFR WAS IMPORTANT TO US TO ENABLE US
TO RESIST PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL, AND TO MAKE
TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM EUROPE ONLY ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS,
THUS MAINTAINING RELATIVE EQUALITY. MBFR WAS IN NO
WAY A COVER FOR THE US UNILATERALLY TO WITHDRAW.

7. GALLEY RESPONDED THAT WITHOUT REPEATING THE WELL-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 191313

KNOWN FRENCH POSITION, HE WANTED TO MAKE SOME PERSONAL
OBSERVATION ON WHY THE FRENCH OPPOSED OR EXPRESSED
RESERVATIONS ABOUT MBFR. INITIALLY, THE ARGUMENTS OF
THE BRITISH, GERMANS AND OTHERS HAD BEEN THAT IF THE US
REDUCED ITS TROOPS IN EUROPE, THEY WOULD BE REQUIRED TO
INCREASE THEIR FORCE LEVELS. NOW THE PICTURE IS THE
REVERSE; BECAUSE OF THE DETENTE ATMOSPHERE AND POSSIBLE
US REDUCTIONS, THIS WOULD BE A MARVELOUS OCCASION FOR THE
EUROPEANS TO REDUCE THEIR OWN FORCE LEVELS. THIS GENERAL
DEMobilIZATION WOULD CLEARLY BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE EF-
FORTS OF THE ALLIANCE. GALLEY OBSERVED THAT AS THE US
GOES INTO THE MBFR TALKS, THE FRENCH WOULD BE INCREASING
THEIR MILITARY BUDGET BY 12 PER CENT.

8. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AGREED THIS WAS A SOUND ANALYSIS POINTING UP THE GREAT DANGER OF DETENTE. OUR EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN THAT THE USSR WOULD NOT FOLLOW OUR EXAMPLE. WE SET QUANTITATIVE LIMITS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN 1966; THE SOVIETS INCREASED THEIR NUMBER. WE CUT OUR NATO FORCES BY ONE-THIRD; THE USSR INCREASED FROM 27 TO 31 DIVISIONS. WE CUT OUR MILITARY MANPOWER FROM 3.5 TO 2.2 MILLION WHILE THE SOVIETS INCREASED. THE SOVIETS HAVE DOUBLED THEIR MILITARY BUDGET IN 10 YEARS, INTRODUCED NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND SIGNIFICANTLY ENLARGED THEIR TANK FORCES IN EUROPE. THIS IS VERY DANGEROUS SINCE DETENTE CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL IF NEGOTIATED FROM STRENGTH. OUR POSITION IS DIFFERENT FROM THE FRENCH ONLY BECAUSE WE FEEL THAT THE RESULT OF MBFR CAN BE TO BIND THE USSR TO A REDUCTION AS WELL.

9. GALLEY NOTED THAT AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF PEACE IN EUROPE IS THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE AREA OF THE IRON CURTAIN. THERE ARE CURRENTLY 9 AMERICAN DIVISIONS AGAINST 23 SOVIET DIVISIONS. ANY AMERICAN REDUCTION NOW WOULD GO BELOW THE MINIMUM ACCEPTABLE THRESHOLD OF US PRESENCE.

10. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE PROBLEM POSED
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 191313

FOR US, AS A RESULT OF DOMESTIC PRESSURES, WAS HOW TO AVOID UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS AND OBTAIN MUTUAL REDUCTIONS INSTEAD.

11. GALLEY SAID HE WAS NOW EVEN MORE WORRIED. THE FRENCH DID NOT CONSIDER THAT FORCES WERE EQUAL NOW. THE PENTAGON BRIEFING HAD NOT CONVINCED HIM THAT THEY WERE; SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAD SAID THAT THE DIFFERENCES WERE NOT AS GREAT AS MANY MADE OUT, BUT THEY WERE STILL APPRECIABLE. A LINEAR CUT IN US FORCES NOW WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER WEAKNESS. THE CONGRESS SHOULD BE AWARE THAT FURTHER CUTS WOULD LEAD TO THE NEUTRALIZATION OF EUROPE.

12. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT OUR GOALS IN MBFR WOULD INCLUDE A COMMON CEILING; IN ANY CASE WE WOULD NOT COME OUT OF MBFR WITH ANY RESULT WORSE THAN WHEN WE WENT IN.

13. GALLEY SAID THE FRENCH INTUITIVELY CONSIDERED THAT THE SOVIETS, REGARDLESS OF THE PAPER OUTCOME, WOULD SOMEHOW AND SOME WAY, COME OUT OF MBFR WITH A NET ADVANTAGE.

THE FRENCH WERE NOT ABLE APPRECIABLY TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF THEIR ARMED FORCES. THEY WERE THEREFORE ATTEMPTING TO ENHANCE THEIR CAPABILITY THROUGH QUALITATIVE MEANS; E.G. EQUIPPING FIGHTER AIRCRAFT WITH TACTICAL NUCLEAR

WEAPONS, REPLACING ARTILLERY WITH NUCLEAR MISSILES.

14. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED SOME OF OUR OWN CONTEMPLATED QUALITATIVE WEAPONS IMPROVEMENT, BUT CONCLUDED THAT DEMOCRACIES WERE GREATLY HANDICAPPED IN A PERIOD OF DETENTE.

15. GALLEY AGREED OBSERVING HOWEVER THAT AN ERROR IN DETENTE WAS FOR WORSE THAN A SIMPLE ERROR IN ARITHMETIC.

RUSH
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 191313

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE191313
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/WE - RDVINE:PAM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730963/abqceism.tel
Line Count: 179
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <20-Nov-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RUSH-GALLEY CONVERSATION, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25
TAGS: PFOR, FR, US
To: USUN N Y INFO PARIS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005