

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5110

S E C R E T PARIS 30642

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL FROM CHARGE

LIMDIS - NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, US

SUBJECT: FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

REF: A) PARIS 26352; B) STATE 231853

1. AFTER REVIEWING OUR TELEGRAM OF OCTOBER 9 (PARIS 26352) IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS THESE PAST TWO MONTHS, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE BASIC ANALYSIS STILL STANDS. INDEED, RECENT EVENTS AND FRENCH REACTIONS THERETO HAVE ACCENTUATED THE TRENDS DESCRIBED IN THAT MESSAGE.

2. CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TWO DECLARATIONS OF PRINCIPLES DEMONSTRATE THE THRUST OF FRENCH POLICY; I.E., THAT FRANCE REGARDS US AS A PARTNER IN DEFENSE ONLY, WHILE IN ALL OTHER MATTERS THE EC AND THE US ARE TO INTERACT AS SEPARATE, INDEPENDENT ENTITIES. THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN STIFFENING EC RESISTANCE TO US ENTREATIES FOR EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO PARTNERSHIP, INTERDEPENDENCE AND PRIOR CONSULTATION, IN PART BECAUSE THE POSITIVE TONE

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OF THEIR NATO DECLARATION DRAFT ASSUAGED THEIR ALLIES'S

LATENT FEARS THAT DAMAGE MIGHT BE DONE TO THE ESSENTIAL DEFENSE LINK WITH THE US. EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE US MANAGEMENT OF THEM HAVE ALSO PLAYED INTO FRENCH HANDS.

3.

3. AS A RESULT OF THE WAY THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS UNFOLDED, THE FRENCH WERE ABLE TO POINT TO THE LACK OF TIMELY, SENSITIVE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE AND INDICATIONS OF US INTENTIONS TO ARGUE WITH THEIR EUROPEAN PARTNERS THAT THE US WILL NOT CONSULT ITS NATO ALLIES IN A MEANINGFUL WAY WHEN ITS OWN VITAL INTERESTS ARE THREATENED. INSTEAD, THE FRENCH SAY US BEHAVIOR IN THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS PROVED THE VALIDITY OF THEIR ASSERTIONS ABOUT THE PROCLIVITY OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION TO SETTLE IMPORTANT MATTERS BETWEEN THEMSELVES. DURING THIS PROCESS--E.G. US-SOVIET CO-SPONSORSHIP OF THE UNSC CEASEFIRE RESOLUTION--THE FRENCH SAY EUROPE WAS "HUMILIATED". LATER, WHEN DETENTE WAS THREATENED, THE US EXPECTED ITS ALLIES TO FALL INTO FORMATION.

4. EXPLOITING ALLIED DISSATISFACTION WITH US BEHAVIOR DURING THE WAR, AS WELL AS THE EUROPEAN ENERGY CRISIS AND RELATED ECONOMIC CONCERNS, PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EC SUMMITS WAS DESIGNED TO SPUR EUROPEAN CONSCIOUSNESS, INDEPENDENCE FROM AMERICAN "HEGEMONY" AND COMMUNITY COALESCENCE AROUND FRENCH LEADERSHIP. RESPONDING TO FRENCH INITIATIVES, THE NINE SUBSEQUENTLY SEPARATED THEMSELVES FROM US ON MID-EASTERN POLICY WITH THEIR NOVEMBER 6 DECLARATION, ARE PURSUING SEPARATE CONTACTS WITH JAPAN ON AN EC-GOJ DECLARATION AND HAVE SCHEDULED AN EXCLUSIVELY EC SUMMIT IN MID-DECEMBER.

5. DESPITE RECENT INDICATIONS THAT THE FRENCH ARE NUDGING THEIR ALLIES TO CONSIDER EUROPEAN DEFENSE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NINE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, WE BELIEVE IT IS INCORRECT TO CONCLUDE THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS PURSUING AN INDEPENDENT SECURITY COURSE FOR THE COMMUNITY. PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, PRIME MINISTER MESSMER, FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT AND ARMED FORCES MINISTER GALLEY ARE FAR TOO REALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT ANY FORESEEABLE EUROPEAN STRATEGIC OR CONVENTIONAL

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DEFENSE COULD BE A MATCH FOR SOVIET FORCES. FREQUENT APPEALS FOR CONTINUED US TROOP PRESENCE AND NUCLEAR PROTECTION BY FRENCH LEADERS, EVEN WHEN ACCOMPANIED IN THE SAME SPEECH BY HYPERCRITICISM OF US-SOVIET BILATERALISM, REVEAL FRANCE'S UNDERLYING SENSE OF INSECURITY. FRENCH LEADERS ARE PROFOUNDLY SUSPICIOUS OF RUSSIAN INTENTIONS, HAVE NOTED RECENT SOVIET NUCLEAR AND NAVAL INCREASES AND WILL REMAIN FUNDAMENTALLY ATTACHED TO THE US DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP FOR THE FORESEEABLE

FUTURE. HOWEVER, THEY ARE BEGINNING TO SEEK WAS TO HEDGE THEIR BETS, CONSCIOUS THAT OTHER EUROPEANS ARE IN A SIMILAR FRAME OF MIND. THIS WILL PROBABLY ENTAIL AN INCREASING EXAMINATION OF DEFENSE ISSUES AMONG THE NINE, POSTULATED AS A EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION TO ALLIANCE DETERRENCE, BUT WITH THE OPTION LEFT OPEN FOR EVENTUAL AUTONOMY.

6. IN OUR VIEW, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO BUILD ON THE FRENCH DRAFT OF THE NATO DECLARATION, TO STRENGTHEN OUR CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS ALONG LINES OF AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S EXCELLENT SUGGESTIONS IN USNATO 5677 AND TO NURTURE THE IMPORTANT RESIDUAL AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN LONDON, BONN AND OTHER NATO CAPITALS IN ORDER TO HOLD THE ALLIANCE TOGETHER AT A TIME WHEN CENTRIFUGAL FORCES--SUCH AS EUROPEAN DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OIL--ARE BECOMING STRONGER. AS WE SAID IN OUR OCTOBER MESSAGE, IN THE PROCESS, WE MUST ADVANCE OUR VIEWS PATIENTLY BUT FIRMLY WITH THE FRENCH, CONSULTING CLOSELY AND WHERE POSSIBLE IN ADVANCE. IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD GIVE OUR ALLIES TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT WE ATTACH PRIMORDIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE, NOT ONLY FOR THE REASONS SUGGESTED, BUT TO DEPRIVE THE FRENCH OF ARGUMENTS THEY HAVE USED SO SKILLFULLY TO ADVANCE THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST. WE MUST AVOID ACTIONS (OR LACK THEREOF IN SOME CASES) WHICH ARM THE FRENCH IN THEIR EFFORTS TOWARDS A "DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN INDEPENDENCE" AND WHICH DISARM OUR FRIENDS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN A CLOSE US RELATIONSHIP WHILE DEFINING A EUROPEAN IDENTITY.

7. AMBASSADOR IRWIN HAS NOT SEEN THIS MESSAGE.
STONE

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NNN

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