

## Message Text

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S E C R E T PARIS 26207

EXDIS

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TAGS: PFOR, FR, NATO, MCAP, US

SUBJ: GALLEY VISIT

DEFENSE FOR SECRETARY SCHLESINGER

1. SUMMARY: GALLEY'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR, SEILLIERE, GAVE US HIS IMPRESSION OF GALLEY'S RECENT VISIT TO US. HE EMPHASIZED CANDID AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP THAT HE SEES DEVELOPING BETWEEN GALLEY AND SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. HE REPEATED WELL-KNOWN FRENCH FEARS CONCERNING THE EFFECT OF US-SOVIET BILATERALISM ON EUROPEAN SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

2. GOF-US RELATIONS - MINISTER GALLEY WAS VERY PLEASED WITH HIS RECEPTION IN WASHINGTON AND IN CHARLESTON. SEILLIERE SAID THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAD SPOKEN IN A CANDID AND FORTHRIGHT FASHION WHICH WAS EXACTLY WHAT GALLEY WAS LOOKING FOR. AS A RESULT, SEILLIERE FEELS THAT GALLEY AND SCHLESINGER HAVE ESTABLISHED A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. SEILLIERE NOTED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE IN WASHINGTON REGARDING FRENCH DEFENSE POLICY SEEMS TO HAVE IMPROVED. HE SAID THAT WASHINGTON OFFICIALS SEEM TO ACCEPT THE INDEPENDENT FRENCH DEFENSE POLICY AND APPEAR INTERESTED IN BUILDING ON AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST RATHER THAN IN PRESSING THE FRENCH TO RETURN TO THE  
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PRE-1966-67 SITUATION. SEILLIERE SAID HE THOUGHT THIS NEW ATMOSPHERE WOULD BE CONDUCIVE TO A GROWING SENSE OF COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

3. US-SOVIET BILATERALISM - SEILLIERE NOTED THAT SOME ASPECTS OF US-USSR BILATERAL RELATIONS RAISED ANXIETIES IN PARIS. SALT, MBFR AND US/SOVIET SUMMITS SEEM TO BE AIMED AT ASSURING THAT NEITHER HOMELAND BECOMES THE TARGET OF NUCLEAR ATTACKS. HE POINTED TO THE JUNE 22 AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AS A PARTICULARLY CLEAR EXAMPLE OF THE BILATERAL US-SOVIET MOVES THAT CAUSE CONCERN TO THE FRENCH. EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT MOST EUROPEANS WELCOMED THE IMPROVED SECURITY ENVIRONMENT THAT WAS ALREADY THE RESULT OF SALT AND COULD BE A PRODUCT OF MBFR. ON THE JUNE 22 AGREEMENT, EMBOFF SAID THAT HIS COULD PROVIDE AN ELEMENT OF STABILITY IN A PERIOD OF POTENTIAL HOSTILITIES WHEN TENSIONS MIGHT DEVELOP A MOMENTUM OF THEIR OWN. MOREOVER, OUR NATO ALLIES SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR BECOMES INOPERATIVE IF HOSTILITIES BEGIN. THEREFORE, IT STRENGTHENS DETERRENCE AND ADDS TO THE SECURITY OF BOTH SIDES. SEILLIERE REMAINED SKEPTICAL, ADDING THAT DEVELOPMENTS UN US-SOVIET RELATIONS SEEM TO SUGGEST DECOUPLING OF US STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES FROM THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, DOOMING WESTERN EUROPE TO RELIVE THE DESTRUCTION OF WORLD II IF ANOTHER WAR SHOULD OCCUR.

4. CONVENTIONAL BALANCE IN EUROPE - SEILLIERE NOTED THAT SECRETARY SCHLIESINGER'S BRIEFING ON THE MILITARY BALANCE WAS VERY INTERESTING, BUT IT APPEARED TO LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE US BELIEVES THE ALLIANCE COULD, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, WAGE A CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE FOR 30, 60 OR MORE DAYS. TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH HIS EARLIER POINT CONCERNING US/USSR EFFORTS TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR, SEILLIERE SAID THAT THE OVERALL IMPRESSION HE TOOK AWAY FROM WASHINGTON WAS THAT THE US NUCLEAR GUARANTEE WAS BECOMING LESS AND LESS RELIABLE, AND THAT THE US WAS SEEKING TO PREPARE NATO FOR A PROLONGED CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE, A CONCEPT THAT RAISES SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE  
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FRENCH.

5. COMMENT: SEILLIERE'S COMMENTS IN PARA 2 ABOVE, SUGGEST THAT GALLEY MEETINGS WITH USG OFFICIALS HAVE MOVED US FORWARD IN BUILDING THE ATMOSPHERE OF FRANKNESS AND COMMON INTEREST THAT IS CRITICAL TO PROGRESS ON THE SPECIFICS OF OUR MUTUAL SECURITY. WHILE WE DO NOT EXPECT A SUDDEN MOVEMENT OF GOF POLICIES TOWARD US VIEWS (E.G. PARAS 3-4 ABOVE), WE BELIEVE AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN TOWARD US-GOF DISCUSSIONS THAT COULD LEAD TO PROGRESS ON A NUMBER OF POLITICAL- MILITARY SUBJECTS THAT HAVE PROVEN INTRACTABLE IN THE PAST.  
IRWIN

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