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INFO SAVING UKDEL NATO, ATHENS, ROME, BONN, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN

INFO SAVING DUBLIN, LISBON, LUXEMBOURG, MADRID, THE HAGUE

MITTERRAND'S SPEECH AT CHATHAM HOUSE: 15 JANUARY.

SUMMARY

1. IN A MAJOR SPEECH AT CHATHAM HOUSE, MITTERRAND AIMED TO PRESENT HIS VISION OF FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION WITHOUT LOSING TOUCH WITH CURRENT REALITIES. DOMESTICALLY, THE SPEECH IS SEEN AS REAFFIRMING MITTERRAND'S ABILITY TO SPEAK FOR FRANCE AND HIS EUROPEAN CREDENTIALS. SUMMARY BELOW. COMMENT IN MIFT.

DETAIL

2. MITTERRAND'S CENTRAL THEME WAS THE NEED FOR POLITICAL WILL IN ORDER TO REVERSE THE DECLINE OF EUROPE AND PROMOTE GREATER INTEGRATION BOTH IN NEW AREAS AND IN AREAS WHERE COMMON POLICIES WERE ALREADY BEING DEVELOPED. HIS MESSAGE TO HIS COMPATRIOTS WAS: QUOTE FRANCE IS OUR COUNTRY AND EUROPE OUR FUTURE UNQUOTE.

3. AFTER OUTLINING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY SO FAR, HE TURNED TO THE CRISES WHICH IT CURRENTLY FACED, THE CRISES OF GROWTH AFTER SUCCESSIVE ENLARGEMENTS:-

- ON THE CAP, HE CALLED FOR A GREAT DEBATE INVOLVING NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE 12 BUT ALSO THE AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATIONS. THEY SHOULD TACKLE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER EUROPEAN AGRICULTURE SHOULD BE PURELY INDUSTRIAL OR WHETHER IT SHOULD CONTINUE IN ITS TRADITIONAL FORM. ONE COULD NOT IGNORE TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, BUT HE HIMSELF THOUGHT IT WOULD BE A BIG MISTAKE TO ELIMINATE THE FARMERS AND PEASANTS AND QUOTE A CERTAIN FORM OF RURAL CIVILISATION UNQUOTE.

- THE INCREASES DEMANDED IN THE BUDGET SEEMED LARGE IN RELATION TO ITS PRESENT SIZE, BUT WERE TINY IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY GDP.

- IF THE EMS FAILED, EUROPE COULD NOT DEVELOP. COUNTRIES HAD TO DECIDE WHETHER TO REINFORCE IT OR NOT. THE ABSENCE OF THE POUND CONSTITUTED AN IMPORTANT QUESTION MARK.

- RESEARCH DID NOT RECEIVE AN ADEQUATE SHARE OF THE COMMUNITY BUDGET. TO COMPETE WITH THE US AND JAPAN, EUROPE NEEDED TO DEVOTE NEW RESOURCES TO AMBITIOUS PROGRAMMES.

- TO CREATE THE INTERNAL MARKET, POLITICAL WILL WAS REQUIRED. IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO HARMONISE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, TRAINING AND MONETARY POLICIES. IF ANY ONE OF THESE ELEMENTS WAS MISSING THE INTERNAL MARKET WOULD FAIL.

4. THIS LED MITTERRAND ON TO NEW AREAS FOR THE FUTURE:-

- SOCIAL. HARMONISING CONDITIONS OF WORK AND EMPLOYMENT.
- ECONOMIC GROWTH, IN ORDER TO OVERCOME UNEMPLOYMENT. WE WOULD NEED GREAT PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS OF WHICH THE CHANNEL TUNNEL WAS AN EXAMPLE. THE WHOLE OF EUROPE SHOULD BE LINKED BY MOTORWAYS AND HIGHSPEED TRAINS.
- COMMUNICATIONS. THIS MEANT NOT ONLY TRANSPORT BUT TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND THE AUDIO-VISUAL SECTOR. THIS LAST WAS VITAL FOR THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF EUROPE.
- SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, INCLUDING SPACE EXPLORATION.
- HEALTH. CO-OPERATION HAD ALREADY BEGUN ON CANCER AND AIDS BUT COULD GO MUCH FURTHER. WHY NOT DECIDE AT THE BRUSSELS SUMMIT ON JOINT ACTION AGAINST AIDS SIMILAR TO THAT AGAINST CANCER? EUROPE SHOULD BE A CENTRE OF MEDICAL RESEARCH AND INNOVATION.
- EDUCATION. THERE SHOULD BE MORE EXCHANGES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS THROUGHOUT EUROPE, COMPARABLE WITH THOSE EXISTING BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY. A SPECIAL EFFORT WAS NEEDED FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING, SINCE NO ONE LANGUAGE COULD CLAIM TO BE UNIVERSAL.
- SECURITY. CO-OPERATION BETWEEN POLICE FORCES SHOULD BE FURTHER DEVELOPED, WITHOUT INTERVENING IN OTHER COUNTRIES' JUDICIAL SYSTEMS.

5. ON DEFENCE, MITTERRAND DESCRIBED THE CO-OPERATION ACHIEVED BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY ON THE BASIS OF THE ELYSEE TREATY. DISCUSSIONS TOOK PLACE WITH OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ALSO, INCLUDING BRITAIN. BUT MITTERRAND CALLED FOR MORE EXCHANGES, MORE MEETINGS AND FINALLY MORE AGREEMENTS. FRANCE AND BRITAIN POSSESSED NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHEREAS GERMANY, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD IMPORTANT CONVENTIONAL FORCES. IF ONE CO-ORDINATED THE WHOLE OF THESE FORCES, ONE COULD ACHIEVE A PRECISE AND NOT MERELY VERBAL IDEA OF A SORT OF EUROPEAN DEFENCE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH WEU. WHILE RECOGNISING THE DIFFICULTIES AND NOT WISHING TO EXCLUDE CO-OPERATION WITH THE AMERICANS, MITTERRAND CALLED FOR CLOSER EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION ON ARMAMENTS PRODUCTION AND SUGGESTED MEETINGS BETWEEN MINISTERS OF DEFENCE AND OF INDUSTRY, EITHER SEPARATELY OR TOGETHER, IN ORDER TO LOOK AT THE POSSIBILITIES. THERE WAS SCOPE FOR VARIABLE GEOMETRY IN THESE INDUSTRIAL VENTURES.

6. ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, MITTERRAND EXPLAINED IN TRADITIONAL TERMS WHY FRANCE WAS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN NEGOTIATIONS NOW, AND IN PARTICULAR WHY SHE HAD REJECTED THE SOVIET DEMAND FOR HER FORCES TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE INF NEGOTIATIONS. FRENCH FORCES WERE NOT INTERMEDIATE, AND TO ESTABLISH A CEILING FOR FRENCH, AMERICAN /AND

AND BRITISH FORCES WOULD BE TO FORCE FRANCE BACK INTO NATO INTEGRATION. THE FIRST PRIORITY WAS TO REDUCE THE EXCESSIVE ARSENALS OF THE TWO SUPER POWERS. MITTERRAND INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE EUROPEANS MUST BE CONSULTED ABOUT THE US/SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS, AND NOT MERELY BY LETTERS FROM REAGAN WHICH ARRIVED AFTER THE PRESS AGENCY REPORTS. HE RECOGNISED, HOWEVER, THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO EUROPE, AND DESCRIBED THE ALLIANCE AND FRANCE'S DETERRENT AS THE TWO LEGS OF FRENCH SECURITY.

7. FINALLY HE SAID THAT HE WAS NOT OPPOSED TO THE PROPOSAL FOR A PRESIDENT OF EUROPE, ALTHOUGH THE IDEA NEEDED TO BE BETTER DEFINED. THE PRESENT SIX-MONTH ROTATION DID NOT GIVE EACH PRESIDENT ENOUGH TIME TO DO WHAT HE OR SHE WANTED. THE PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SHOULD PERHAPS LAST ONE OR TWO YEARS OR EVEN LONGER.

8. COPIES OF FULL TEXT BY BAG TO ECD(1), DEFENCE DEPARTMENT AND UKREP BRUSSELS.

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(COLLAR)

MIPT: MITTERRAND'S SPEECH AT CHATHAM HOUSE: COMMENT

1. THE LEFT-WING PRESS RAN PREVIEWS OF THIS SPEECH, AND IT HAS BEEN WIDELY REPORTED IN THE PRESS AND TELEVISION. MOST COMMENTATORS CONCENTRATE ON ITS DOMESTIC POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE. AT A TIME WHEN CHIRAC HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY A SERIES OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS, MITTERRAND HAS REASSERTED HIS AUTHORITY AS THE VOICE OF FRANCE, AND IN A DOMAIN WHERE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES OVERLAP. WE HAVE BEEN HEARING SINCE APRIL FROM ELYSEE SOURCES THAT MITTERRAND WAS UNHAPPY WITH CHIRAC'S MINIMALIST APPROACH TO THE COMMUNITY AND WOULD SOONER OR LATER MAKE THIS PLAIN. CHIRAC ATTEMPTED TO SEIZE THE HIGH GROUND ON EUROPEAN DEFENCE AT THE WEU ON 2 DECEMBER, BARRE HAS RECENTLY MADE AN IMPORTANT SPEECH ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WITH A STRONGLY EUROPEAN TINGE, AND GISCARD HAS BEEN DEVELOPING THE EUROPEAN THEME AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY (ESPECIALLY THE IDEA OF A PRESIDENCY OF EUROPE). MITTERRAND'S WIDE-RANGING PRESENTATION, WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON POLITICAL WILL, PUTS HIM AGAIN AT THE FOREFRONT OF THIS GAME. CHIRAC MAY SOON TRY TO RESPOND. LE FIGARO REPORTS THAT HE WILL SPEAK ON EUROPEAN ISSUES AT THE END OF THIS MONTH AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

2. ON THE SUBSTANCE, THERE IS LITTLE WHICH MITTERRAND HAS NOT SAID BEFORE OR WHICH DOES NOT AT LEAST DEVELOP EARLIER IDEAS. THIS IS REGRETTED BY TODAY'S LE MONDE, WHICH DOES HOWEVER WELCOME THE QUOTE PEDAGOGIC UNQUOTE VALUE OF THE SPEECH. ELYSEE OFFICIALS SAY THAT MITTERRAND WAS CONSCIOUS OF THE DILEMMA THAT HE NEEDED TO PRESENT AN AMBITIOUS VISION AND AT THE SAME TIME NOT TO BE SO DIVORCED FROM CURRENT REALITY AS TO SEEM DREAMY. THE SPEECH IS A MIXTURE OF GRAND DESIGNS AND BALANCING ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS OF THE DIFFICULTIES OR THE (MODEST) STEPS ALREADY TAKEN. MITTERRAND DID NOT PRESENT ANY VERY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR NEW ACTION. THE QUOTE GREAT DEBATE UNQUOTE ON THE CAP IS A NEW PRESENTATION, BUT IT IS NOT DEFINED WITH ANY PRECISION, AND ITS RESULTS ARE PRE-JUDGED. THE PROPOSAL FOR DEFENCE

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AND INDUSTRY MINISTERS TO LOOK FOR COMMON PROJECTS IS A VARIANT ON MITTERRAND'S PROPOSAL OF END 1985 FOR CO-OPERATION ON ASSESSING FUTURE NEEDS FOR MILITARY AIRCRAFT. THE CALL FOR CLOSER CONSULTATION ON DEFENCE ISSUES IS A GENERAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO DO MORE RATHER THAN A SPECIFIC NEW INITIATIVE. ELYSEE OFFICIALS TODAY DID NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE PLANNING SPECIFIC FOLLOW-UP. IN ANY CASE THEIR ABILITY TO DO SO WOULD BE SEVERELY LIMITED BY THE PRACTICE OF COHABITATION.

3. ACCORDING TO THE ELYSEE, THEIR FIRST DRAFTS OF THE SPEECH CONTAINED MORE EXTENSIVE MATERIAL ON DEFENCE ISSUES, BUT MITTERRAND DECIDED TO PUT THE MAIN ACCENT ON HIS VISION FOR THE COMMUNITY. NEVERTHELESS, HE RECALLED AT LENGTH, IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS, FRANCE'S POSITION ON POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS AND HER DETERMINATION TO RETAIN NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN SPITE OF THE EMPHASIS ON CLOSER CO-OPERATION WITH GERMANY, THE UK AND OTHER ALLIES, THERE IS ONLY A PASSING REFERENCE TO WEU AND NONE AT ALL TO CHIRAC'S CHARTER.

4. MITTERRAND IS SAID TO HAVE THOROUGHLY ENJOYED THE RECEPTION HE WAS GIVEN BY CHATHAM HOUSE AND THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE QUESTION-TIME. NEWS REPORTS SPEAK OF THE QUOTE PRESTIGE UNQUOTE OF CHATHAM HOUSE, WHOSE STANDING IN FRANCE HAS CLEARLY BENEFITTED.

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