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TO THE WHITE HOUSE
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TO THE WHITE HOUSE, EYES ONLY DR. HENRY KISSINGER
IN CONNECTION WITH PARIS 1830 SENT NOVEMBER 6,
AMBASSADOR WATSON ASKED THAT FOLLOWING CABLE BE TRANS-
MITTED AND HELD FOR HIS DISCUSSIONS
WITH DR. KISSINGER:

"1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE IS TO EXPRESS FOR THE RECORD
MY PERSONAL CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE ADVERSE EFFECTS IN
EUROPE STEMMING FROM OUR APPARENT WASTE TO GET MBFR INI-
TIATIVES UNDER WAY. FULLY AWARE OF OUR NEED TO RESPOND
TO DOMESTIC PRESSURES FOR TROOP CUTBACKS AND CONVINCED
OF THE SOUNDNESS OF TRYING TO MOVE FROM CONFRONTATION TO
NEGOTIATION IN EUROPE, I QUESTION ONLY THE TIMING OF OUR
MBFR MOVES -- WHICH OBVIOUSLY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO UPSET
THE EAST-WEST BALANCE IN EUROPE. DESPITE THE PRESIDENT'S
POSITION AGAINST US FORCE REDUCTIONS WITHOUT MUTUAL AND
BALANCED CUTS BY THE SOVIETS, MANY WEST EUROPEANS ARE
INCREASINGLY CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS LESSENING
ITS ROLE IN EUROPE, AS THE SOVIETS GAIN INFLUENCE AND, IN
FACT, ENGAGE IN AN UNPRECEDENTED ARMS BUILDUP. I THUS
THINK WE WOULD DO WELL TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY PRESIDENT
POMPIDOU'S VIEW THAT MUCH REMAINS TO BE WORKED OUT WITH
MOSCOW BEFORE THE WEST ACHIEVES A SOLID FOUNDATION OF
DETENTE ON WHICH FORCE REDUCTIONS MIGHT THEN BE CONSIDERED.
END SUMMARY.

"2. IMAGE OF US ISOLATIONISM. FROM PARIS, I NOTE
DAILY WARNINGS BY THE WEST EUROPEAN PRESS AND OUR ALLIES
(E.G., FRG STATE SECRETARY FRANK'S COMMENTS TO AMBASSADOR
RUSH IN BOMB'S 13556 -- NOT TO MENTION REPEATED BRITISH
AND FRENCH CONCERN) OF DANGERS INHERENT IN INCREASING US
ISOLATIONISM. ACROSS BACKDROP OF STEADY US WITH-
DRAWAL FROM VIETNAM, OUR NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, SENATE ACTIONS
ON FOREIGN AID, SENATOR MANSFIELD'S CAMPAIGN FOR TROOP RE-
DUCTIONS, AND GROWING US PREOCCUPATION WITH DOMESTIC
PROBLEMS, EUROPEANS -- ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH -- SEEM CON-
VINCED US ISOLATIONISM WILL INEVITABLY INTENSIFY AND MAY
EVEN RESULT IN UNILATERAL TROOP CUTS IN EUROPE. THUS, THEY
MUST INCREASINGLY LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES AS THEY CONFRONT
THEIR WELL-ARMED NEIGHBORS TO THE EAST.

Sent to HAK per 1746

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FLY No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/07/15 : LOC-HAK-139-4-85-0

WITH BRIEFINGS EMPHASIZING EXTENT OF SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-
UP AT HOME AND ON SEAS SURROUNDING EUROPE -- AT VERY TIME
US ATTENTION IS ON FORCE REDUCTIONS. IN VIEW OF THIS UN-
PRECEDENTED SOVIET ARMS' DRIVE, I PERSONALLY WONDER JUST HOW
MUCH DETENTE WE HAVE ACTUALLY ACHIEVED WITH MOSCOW.
SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY DEALING FROM POSITION OF INCREASING
MILITARY AND POLITICAL STRENGTH IN EUROPE, WHILE ADVANCING
AN ALLEGED 'PEACE OFFENSIVE,' WHICH PRESENTLY FINDS EAST-
WEST RELATIONS IN GREATER STATE OF FLUX THAN AT ANY TIME
SINCE WORLD WAR II.

"4. WEST EUROPEAN UNCERTAINTY. IN CONTEXT OF FAST-
MOVING CHANGES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, WE PROPERLY EMPHASIZE
TO OUR ALLIES THE NEED FOR CLOSE COORDINATION, WHICH NATURALLY
MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET. ON WBFR, VIRTUALLY ALL OUR WEST
EUROPEAN FRIENDS EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF CAUTION --
OBVIOUSLY IN PART BECAUSE THEY ARE RELUCTANT TO TAKE ON
INCREASED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. BUT I BELIEVE THEY ALSO
RECOGNIZE THEIR DEFENSE IS, REALISTICALLY SPEAKING,
DEPENDENT ON US, AND THEY ARE GENUINELY WORRIED OVER IMPACT
OF WBFR ON OVERALL WESTERN SECURITY.

"5. FRENCH MAY BE RIGHT. I THINK WE SHOULD, THEREFORE,
CAREFULLY CONSIDER PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S STRESS THAT PRE-
MATURE SLACKENING OF WESTERN FORCE LEVELS COULD LEAD TO A
SOVIET 'TRIP' WHICH COULD TEND TO NEUTRALIZE WESTERN EUROPE.
THIS IS THE LANGUAGE OF A SUSPICIOUS, PROVINCIAL FRENCHMAN,
WHO STILL REGARDS GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION -- IN THAT
ORDER -- AS FRANCE'S PRINCIPAL FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS.
POMPIDOU EMPHASIZES THAT ATTENTION AT PRESENT SHOULD BE ON
SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF BERLIN NEGOTIATIONS, ERG RATIFICATION
OF TREATIES WITH USSR AND POLAND, FURTHER PROGRESS IN BRANDT'S
OSTPOLITIK -- ESPECIALLY NORMALIZATION WITH GDR -- AND,
ABOVE ALL, RELAXATION OF A CES, BEFORE WE JUDGE MOSCOW'S
TRUE ATTITUDE ON EUROPEAN DETENTE. ALL THESE ISSUES REMAIN
TO BE SETTLED, IN POMPIDOU'S OPINION, BEFORE WE CAN ASSUME
EXISTENCE OF A VIABLE DETENTE ON WHICH TO BASE POSSIBLE
TROOP CUTS. IN OTHER WORDS, MUCH MORE POLITICAL GROUNDWORK
IS NEEDED BEFORE WE CAN SAFELY TURN TO MILITARY FORCE REDUC-
TIONS. HIS POSITION IS LOGICAL AND NOT, IT SEEMS TO ME,
INIMICAL TO OUR OWN INTERESTS. I AM CONCERNED THAT IF THE
DESIRE TO REPORT PROGRESS BY BROGIO IS FOLLOWED BY ANY
EARLY CONCRETE MOVES TO ACTUAL WBFR NEGOTIATIONS, SUCH MOVES
AT THIS STAGE COULD BE DANGEROUSLY UNSETTLING THROUGHOUT
WESTERN EUROPE."

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