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TEXT
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EUR/WE FOR CAHILL
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, FR
SUBJECT: MITTERRAND'S KEY FOREIGN POLICY ADVISORS
1. (C ENTIRE TEXT)
2. SUMMARY. THERE HAVE BEEN FEW CHANGES IN THE ELYSEE STAFF SINCE THE MID-1982 REPLACEMENTS OF CLOSE MITTERRAND ASSOCIATES BEREGOVY AND ROUSSELET BY THE MUCH YOUNGER JEAN-LOUIS BIANCO AND JEAN-CLAUDE COLLIARD AS ELYSEE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CABINET DIRECTOR RESPECTIVELY. THE FALL 1982 TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNICATIONS SNAFU OVER THE PIPELINE CAN TO SOME EXTENT BE TRACED TO THE NEWNESS OF THIS ELYSEE TEAM BUT SINCE THAT TIME BIANCO HAS BY ALL ACCOUNTS SUCCEEDED IN WHIPPING THE STAFF INTO SHAPE AND HAS BEGUN TO EXERCISE HIS OWN INFLUENCE, INCLUDING ON FOREIGN POLICY. THE RELATIVELY SMOOTH FUNCTIONING OF THE STAFF OVER THE PAST YEAR HAS ENABLED US TO IDENTIFY MORE CLEARLY THE KEY PLAYERS ON ISSUES CRUCIAL TO US. ONE CONSTANT AT THE ELYSEE IS THE STRONG INFLUENCE OF JACQUES ATTALI WHO REMAINS PERSONALLY VERY CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT DESPITE AN OCCASIONAL STORM AND IN SPITE OF THE INCREASING STATURE OF BIANCO. END SUMMARY.

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THE MITTERRAND STYLE

3. EVEN MITTERRAND'S ADMIRERS HAVE CALLED HIS DECISION-MAKING STYLE "SPHINXLIKE" AND "FLORENTINE". HIS DETRACTORS ACCUSE HIM OF INDECISION. TO PUT INTO PERSPECTIVE THE PORTRAITS WHICH FOLLOW ON HIS KEY FOREIGN POLICY ADVISORS, WE SET OUT A NUMBER OF THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MITTERRAND STYLE OF MAKING DECISIONS:

-- MITTERRAND CASTS HIS DECISIONS IN THE LONG TERM. HE THINKS IN TERMS OF HIS FOUR MORE YEARS IN THE ELYSEE AND BEYOND THIS TO THE FUTURE OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE AND TO HIS ROLE IN FRENCH HISTORY.

-- HE RARELY MAKES QUICK OR SPOT DECISIONS. HE PREFERS TO CONSULT WIDELY, BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE ELYSEE, AND TO PONDER ADVICE. THUS, HESITATION IS FREQUENT (CHAD, THE FIRST FRANC DEVALUATION, ADDPTION OF AUSTERITY MEASURES IN MARCH 1983, ETC.).

-- HE DISLIKES MEETINGS OR BRAINSTORMING SESSIONS WITH LARGE GROUPS. IN HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS, HE PREFERS THE SMALLEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS AND OFTEN INSISTS ON PRIVATE TETE-A-TETE MEETINGS WITH VISITING HEADS OF STATE. HE CONSULTS IN A SIMILAR MANNER AND FAVORS A FEW JOURNALISTS WITH ONE-ON-ONE BACKGROUNDERS. A MAJOR DECISION-MAKING TOOL IS THE SMALL INFORMAL ELYSEE LUNCH OR BREAKFAST. FOR EXAMPLE, THE TOP THREE OR FOUR LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY BREAKFAST WITH MITTERRAND EVERY TUESDAY; MAUROY, ATTALI, BIANCO AND JOSPIN LUNCH WITH MITTERRAND WEDNESDAYS FOLLOWING THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

-- MITTERRAND DISLIKES PROTOCOL AND CEREMONY FOR ITS OWN SAKE PREFERRING THE INFORMAL. HE STILL SLEEPS IN HIS SMALL PRIVATE LEFT BANK APARTMENT WHERE HE ENTERTAINS SMALL GROUPS OF OLD FRIENDS AT DINNER. HE IS SOMETIMES SEEN IN NEIGHBORHOOD RESTAURANTS AND HAS INVITED VISITING DIGNITARIES TO HIS PRIVATE COUNTRY RETREAT IN THE SOUTH-WEST (SEN. LAXALT, FOR EXAMPLE).

-- ALTHOUGH HIMSELF A PROLIFIC WRITER, MITTERRAND INSISTS THAT BRIEFING MEMORANDA NOT EXCEED TWO PAGES. FREQUENTLY HE TRANSMITS DECISIONS IN MARGINAL NOTES.

-- MITTERRAND BELIEVES IN SPECIAL EMISSARIES. HE HAS ASKED TRUSTED FRIENDS (DUMAS, GROSSOUVRE) OR POLS (POPEREN, ESTIER) TO UNDERTAKE DELICATE DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS OUTSIDE THE NORMAL SPHERES OF THEIR COMPETENCE AND QUAI CHANNELS. HE DOES THE SAME THING DOMESTICALLY, AND WE ARE TOLD DOES NOT HESITATE TO ASK TWO LIEUTENANTS TO UNDERTAKE THE SAME MISSION SIMULTANEOUSLY UNBEKNOWNST TO EACH OTHER. THE ONE WHOSE REPORT DOES NOT PLEASE THE PRESIDENT FALLS FROM GRACE AND, AS ONE ELYSEE INSIDER MENTED, MAKES HIMSELF SCARCE UNTIL THE PRESIDENT SPECIFICALLY SENDS FOR HIM AGAIN.

THE ELYSEE TEAM

4. IN CHOOSING HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS, MITTERRAND VALUES LOYALTY, HIGH INTELLIGENCE, IMAGINATION AND YOUTH. OF ALL THE KEY PEOPLE DESCRIBED BELOW, ONLY BIANCO HAS NOT BEEN WITH THE PRESIDENT FOR AT LEAST TEN YEARS. MANY ARE IN THEIR THIRTIES OR EARLY FORTIES.
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THE TOP THREE

5. JACQUES ATTALI, SPECIAL ADVISOR. THE PERVERSIVE ROLE OF ATTALI IS ONE OF THE CONSTANTS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE MITTERRAND PRESIDENCY. WITH THE DEPARTURE OF OLD MITTERRAND FRIENDS BEREGOVY AND ROUSSELET FROM THE ELYSEE IN MID-82 ATTALI'S POWER AND INFLUENCE WERE ENHANCED. IT WAS ATTALI WHO BROUGHT IN BIANCO AND ALTHOUGH THE LATTER HAS SINCE CARVED OUT HIS OWN FIEFDOM, THE TWO REPORTEDLY WORK HARMONIOUSLY TOGETHER. ATTALI IS ERRATIC AND TENDS TO BITE OFF MORE THAN HE CAN CHEW. SOME OF HIS IDEAS (E.G. THE EUROPEAN SPACE STATION) HAVE NOT BEEN STAFFED OUT BEFORE BEING AIRED BY THE PRESIDENT, WITH RESULTING PROBLEMS. ATTALI WAS RECENTLY DISCREDITED BY PUBLIC ACCUSATIONS OF PLAGIARISM IN HIS BOOKS; SINCE THEN HE HAS PLAYED A MUCH MORE LOW-PROFILE ROLE, PROBABLY BECAUSE HE WAS REPRIMANDED. MITTERRAND NONETHELESS CONSIDERS ATTALI SOMETHING OF AN INTELLECTUAL SON, HIS IDEA MAN. "HE HAS AN IDEA A DAY," MITTERRAND ONCE SAID, "BUT I ONLY ACCEPT ONE A MONTH." SITTING IN AN OFFICE WHICH ONE MUST CROSS TO REACH MITTERRAND, ATTALI IS LITERALLY PRIVY TO ALMOST EVERYTHING. BUT WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THE FOLLOWING AREAS WHERE HIS INFLUENCE IS GREATEST:

-- ECONOMIC SUMMITS. WITH HIS ABLE DEPUTY (CAREER DIPLOMAT PIERRE MOREL) ATTALI PREPARES THE ECONOMIC SUMMITS AS THE FRENCH SHERPA. AS SUCH, HE HAS A SPECIAL WATCHING BRIEF ON FRENCH BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH EACH OF THE SUMMIT COUNTRIES.

-- RELATIONS WITH THE US. ATTALI HAS TOLD US THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED HIM TO BE THE ELYSEE CONTACT FOR RELATIONS WITH THE US. HEETI RECEIVES A STEADY STREAM OF OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL US VISITORS AND CHAIRS THE LITTLE ELYSEE GROUP (WITH SALZMAN, MOREL AND ALAIN BOUBLIL) WHICH WORRIES ABOUT RELATIONS WITH THE US PRIVATE SECTOR.

-- ECONOMIC POLICY. ASSISTED BY ELYSEE DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL CHRISTIAN SAUTTER, ATTALI ALSO FOLLOWS THE THE ECONOMIC DOSSIER FOR THE PRESIDENT. HE FIRST BECAME MITTERRAND'S ECONOMIC ADVISOR IN 1973. ATTALI'S FIRM OPPOSITION TO PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES FROM INSIDE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS CREDITED WITH HAVING SWAYED MITTERRAND AWAY FROM HIS EARLY WILLINGNESS TO PULL THE FRANC OUT OF THE EMS.

-- EEC. WITH THE CENTRALIZATION OF EC AFFAIRS IN THE ELYSEE DURING THE FRENCH PRESIDENCY ATTALI SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN THE UPPER HAND HERE AS WELL. HE IS ABLY AIDED BY MOREL. THE LIMITS OF ATTALI'S SPAN OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL MAY HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATED AT ATHENS WHERE THE ALLEGED INADEQUACY OF HIS BRIEFINGS FOR MITTERRAND CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONFUSION WHICH LED TO THE COUNCIL'S FAILURE. BUT HE CONTINUES TO HAVE A STRONG INFLUENCE.

6. JEAN-LOUIS BIANCO, SECRETARY-GENERAL (CHIEF OF

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STAFF). AS HEAD OF THE ENTIRE ELYSEE STAFF, BIANCO HAS HIS HAND IN ALMOST EVERYTHING. HE MEETS WITH THE PRESIDENT SEVERAL TIMES DAILY. DEFERRING TO ATTALI IN THE EARLY DAYS, BIANCO HAS NOW BECOME A POWER IN HIS OWN RIGHT TO THE EXTENT THAT HE IS NOW CONSIDERED A LIKELY FUTURE MINISTER. SOME WAGS HAVE EVEN SUGGESTED HE WOULD MAKE A GOOD PRIME MINISTER. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE WEEKLY COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ARE HIS MAJOR PREOCCUPATION. BIANCO HAS LIMITED TIME FOR FOREIGN POLICY BUT HE IS BEGINNING TO PLAY A ROLE. WE HAVE FOUND HIM ACTIVE ON LEBANON, CHAD AND IN RELATIONS WITH THE US, PARTICULARLY ON CENTRAL AMERICA (A ROLE WHICH HIS PREDECESSOR BEREGOVY PLAYED IN THE PAST). BIANCO HAS OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FRENCH INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND WAS ALSO THE SECRET FRENCH NEGOTIATOR FOR THE RETURN OF NAZI WAR CRIMINAL **KLAUS BARBIE**.

7. JEAN-CLAUDE COLLIARD, CABINET DIRECTOR. ATTALI AND BIANCO CONTROL THE FLOW OF PAPER AND IDEAS TO THE PRESIDENT. COLLIARD EMPTIES THE OUT-BOX. AT 39, COLLIARD HAS BEEN CLOSE TO MITTERRAND FOR OVER TEN YEARS. IN ADDITION TO HIS OPERATIONAL FOLLOW-UP MANDATE, HE HAS A SPECIAL ROLE AS MITTERRAND'S "POLITICAL" EYES AND EARS INSIDE THE PARTY AND TO KEEP TRACK OF APPOINTMENTS IN THE BUREAUCRACY. AS HE HAS TOLD US, HE IS ALSO CHARGED WITH MONITORING COMMUNIST ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE THE EUR/WE FOR CAHILL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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SUBJECT: MITTERRAND'S KEY FOREIGN POLICY ADVISORS STATE. WHILE COLLIARD HAS NO DIRECT FOREIGN POLICY RESPONSIBILITIES, HE, ATTALI AND BIANCO ARE THE ONLY THREE SUBSTANTIVE ELYSEE STAFFERS WHO SEE MITTERRAND DAILY.

THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY PLEIAD

8. GUY PENNE. RESPONSIBLE FOR OVERSEEING RELATIONS WITH MOST OF AFRICA (NOT JUST FRANCOPHONE). THIS RESPONSIBILITY IS SHARED WITH THE QUAI AND THE MINISTRY OF COOPERATION IN ONLY A STRICTLY FORMAL SENSE. MITTERRAND IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN MANY AFRICAN ISSUES AND MAKES MANY DECISIONS HIMSELF. THE OTHER AFRICAN DECISIONS ARE PENNE'S. IN THE TRADITION OF HIS GAULLIST PREDECESSORS, PENNE HAS FORMED A PERSONAL NETWORK OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH MANY AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE WHICH BYPASSES QUAI AND COOPERATION CHANNELS. HE TALKS FREQUENTLY BY PHONE WITH SEVERAL AFRICAN LEADERS, NOTABLY HOUPHOUET, SEKOU TOURE, KOUNTCHE, EYADEMA, ETC. IN THEORY PENNE ALSO HAS A WATCHING BRIEF ON THE DOM/TOM'S BUT THIS IS NOT A MAJOR ISSUE FOR HIM. CEMENTING HIS CLOSE TIES TO MITTERRAND IS THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SON JEAN-CHRISTOPHE IS PENNE'S DEPUTY.

9. GENERAL JEAN SAULNIER. THE ELYSEE MILITARY CHIEF OF STAFF TO WHOM MITTERRAND TURNS FIRST FOR MILITARY ASSESSMENTS AND WHOSE ADVICE IS SOUGHT AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THAT PROVIDED BY THE MOD AND GENERAL STAFF ON ISSUES

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ACROSS THE SECURITY SPECTRUM. HIS ROLE ON CHAD AND LEBANON HAS BEEN CRUCIAL. A CAREER AIR FORCE OFFICER, SAULNIER WAS AN INFORMAL ADVISOR TO MITTERRAND PRIOR TO THE LATTER'S ELECTION. A PILLAR OF DISCRETION, HE IS NOT INVOLVED IN SOCIALIST POLITICS AND SHUNS THE LIME-LIGHT AND OFTEN DECLINES TO RECEIVE FOREIGN VISITORS. HE CONCENTRATES ON THE VERY FEW DOSSIERS WHICH ARE OF INTEREST TO MITTERRAND AT ANY MOMENT, AND WILL ONLY SEE FOREIGNERS WHO ARE IDENTIFIED INTERLOCUTORS ON THOSE ISSUES.

10. FRANCOIS DE GROSSOUVRE. HE HAS KNOWN, ADVISED (AND FINANCED) MITTERRAND FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS AND THEY ARE THOUGHT TO BE CLOSE FRIENDS. AN EMISSARY FOR DISCREET MISSIONS, MITTERRAND HAS USED HIM TO FOLLOW THE LEBANESE SITUATION WHERE GROSSOUVRE HAS TIES TO THE GEMAYEL FAMILY. HE SEEMS TO HAVE SOME OF THE ACTION ON KOREA AS WELL AND HAS TRIED TO MEDIATE THE FRANCO-GABONESE DISPUTE. HE SAYS HE HAS A SPECIAL ROLE ON MATTERS RELATING TO YUGOSLAVIA AND TO A LESSER EXTENT TO MOROCCO. THE EXACT NATURE OF HIS MANDATE ON ANY OF THESE MATTERS IS UNCLEAR. IN THE EARLY DAYS, GROSSOUVRE CLAIMED TO HAVE THE ELYSEE OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FRENCH INTELLIGENCE CHIEFS BUT WE BELIEVE BIANCO IS THE PRINCIPAL ELYSEE CHANNEL FOR THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

. LESS WELL KNOWN THAN THE OTHERS, SALZMAN TOO HAS KNOWN MITTERRAND FOR ALMOST TWENTY YEARS. AT THE ELYSEE HE OFFICIALLY IS THE PRESIDENT'S "IMAGE" MAN AND HE HAS ALSO TOLD US THIS MEANS HE IS IN CHARGE OF THE PRESIDENT'S "AMERICAN IMAGE". HIS MS FROM COLUMBIA AND FREQUENT US BUSINESS TRIPS (TWO TO THREE PER YEAR PRIOR TO THE ELYSEE ASSIGNMENT) HAVE GIVEN HIM MANY US BUSINESS CONTACTS. JUST RECENTLY, COLLIARD TOLD US THE TWO KEY PEOPLE AT THE ELYSEE ON US-FRENCH RELATIONS ARE ATTALI AND SALZMAN.

12. HUBERT VEDRINE/JEAN-MICHEL GAILLARD. THE ELYSEE'S "DIPLOMATIC CELL" CONSISTS OF ONLY TWO YOUNG (LATE THIRTIES) CIVIL SERVANTS: VEDRINE, WHO IS THE PRESIDENT'S GODSON, AND CAREER DIPLOMAT GAILLARD. WORKING AS ALTER EGOS THEY HANDLE THE NON-CRISIS ELYSEE RELATIONS WITH THE QUAI AND FOREIGN EMBASSIES EXCEPT ON AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE PRESIDENT'S INTERNATIONAL TRAVELS ARE ALSO PLANNED AND STAFFED BY THESE TWO EXTREMELY BUSY PEOPLE. THEY PREPARE SOME DRAFTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECHES (AS DOES ATTALI) BUT THE PRESIDENT IS ESSENTIALLY HIS OWN SPEECHWRITER. WE HAVE FOUND BOTH VEDRINE AND GAILLARD, DESPITE THE FORMER'S LACK OF MUCH PRIOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERIENCE, TO BE EXTREMELY WELL VERSED, LEVEL HEADED AND PRECISE.

13. REGIS DEBRAY. CHE GUEVARA'S OLD FRIEND IS STILL AT THE ELYSEE ALTHOUGH THE COOLER HEAD OF GAILLARD IS NOW OFFICIALLY CHARGED WITH HANDLING LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS FOR THE PRESIDENT AND ANTOINE BLANCA FULFILLS DEBRAY'S PREVIOUS ROLE OF ROVING AMBASSADOR TO THE EUR/WE FOR CAHILL

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REGION. NONETHELESS, DEBRAY DOES MAINTAIN AN INTEREST
AND CONTACTS IN THE REGION. WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED HE NO
LONGER HAS INFLUENCE ON POLICY. RECENTLY DEBRAY HAS
BEEN VISITING SOUTHEAST ASIA AND SEEMS TO HAVE THE
PRESIDENT'S EAR ON REFUGEE MATTERS. BUT BY ALL ACCOUNTS
MITTERRAND KEEPS HIM ON FOR SENTIMENTAL REASONS AND HIS
ROLE IS MINOR. HE DOES HAVE SOME INFLUENCE WITH MADAME
MITTERRAND, WHO HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, LAUNCHED A PROJECT TO
HELP SCHOOLCHILDREN IN AFGHANISTAN AND EL SALVADOR.
THE MINISTERS WHO COUNT

14. WITHOUT TRYING TO GIVE A RUN DOWN ON ALL THE KEY
MINISTERS IN THE MITTERRAND GOVERNMENT, THERE ARE FIVE
MEN WHOSE LONG ASSOCIATION WITH MNTERRAND GIVE THEM
SPECIAL DIRECT ACCESS TO THE PRESIDENT INDEPENDENT OF
THEIR MINISTERIAL FUNCTIONS: HERNU, FABIUS, BEREGOVY,
DUMAS AND BADINTER. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE AT TIMES SEEN
THE INFLUENCE OF HERNU ON CHAD AND LEBANON WHERE THE
POLICIES EVENTUALLY ADOPTED BY MITTERRAND WERE MORE
CONSONANT WITH HIS VIEWS THAN THOSE OF CHEYSSON. CHEYSSON,
ALONG WITH MAUROY, DELORS, DEFFERRE AND OTHER KEY MINIS-
TERS, SEE THE PRESIDENT FREQUENTLY IN THEIR MINISTERIAL
CAPACITIES AND EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE -- CHEYS-
SON PARTICULARLY BY VIRTUE OF HIS INSTITUTINAL ROLE.
NONETHELESS, THEY LACK THE BONDS OF CLOSE FRIENDSHIP AND
TRUST SO IMPORTANT TO MITTERRAND IN THE CHOICE OF HIS
KEY ADVISORS. FOR THE HARD DECISIONS, MITTERRAND ULTI-
MATELY TURNS TO HIS INNER CIRCLE.
THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL CIRCLE

15. THREE MEN, ALL LONG-TIME MITTERRAND ASSOCIATES, ADVISE
THE PRESIDENT FREQUENTLY ON ECONOMIC MATTERS. ANDRE
ROUSSELET WAS NAMED PRESIDENT OF HAVAS, THE GOVERNMENT-
OWNED GIANT OF FRENCH ADVERTISING AFTER LEAVING THE ELY-
SEE IN 1982. ROUSSELET IS A FREQUENT VISITOR TO THE
PRESIDENT'S LEFT-BANK APARTMENT AND IS CONSIDERED TO BE
MITTERRAND'S PRINCIPAL LIAISON WITH FRENCH BUSINESS.
OTHER OLD MITTERRAND FRIENDS WHO ALSO ARE LINKS WITH THE
PRIVATE SECTOR ARE SCHLUMBERGER PRESIDENT JEAN RIBOUD
(CONSIDERED TO HAVE PROTECTIONIST VIEWS) AND RETIRED
INDOSUEZ PRESIDENT GEORGES PLESCOFF. GALBRAITH
NNNN
NNDD