

**April 19, 1975**

**State Department telegram 90533 to US Embassy  
Paris, 'Exploratory Meeting of Nuclear Suppliers'**

**Citation:**

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**Summary:**

Kissinger met with the French ambassador and provided the necessary assurances. Agreements would be based on consensus, decisions would not be retroactive, and the suppliers meetings would be "informal and confidential." This arrangement assured that the suppliers' group would operate on a lowest-common-denominator basis, but there was no choice because French participation was vital.

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**Original Language:**

English

**Contents:**

Original Scan

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY PM/NPO:GGOPLINGER

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C: HSONNENFELDT

PM: GVEST

S/S:JMEALUM

S: MR. BREMER

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TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 090533

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: EXPLORATORY MEETING OF NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS

REF: STATE 81856

1. SECRETARY SAW AMBASSADOR KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET APRIL 18 AND DISCUSSED WITH HIM SAUVAGNARGUES' MESSAGE OF APRIL 7 REGARDING EXPLORATORY MEETING OF NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS. SECRETARY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN AN EXPLORATORY MEETING, AND SAID WITH REGARD TO THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN SAUVAGNARGUES' MESSAGE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM. SECRETARY GAVE AMBASSADOR WRITTEN REPLY WHICH AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD TRANSMIT IMMEDIATELY TO PARIS AND HOPED FOR RAPID CONFIRMATION OF FRENCH ATTENDANCE AT APRIL 23 MEETING IN LONDON.

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2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECRETARY'S LETTER TO SAUVAGNARGUES

: QUOTE DEAR MR. MINISTER:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR DETAILED LETTER OF APRIL 7. I AM MOST PLEASED TO LEARN OF FRANCE'S READINESS TO JOIN US IN URGENT AND IMPORTANT EFFORTS TO COORDINATE NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS, AS INDICATED IN YOUR WILLINGNESS TO ATTEND AN EARLY EXPLORATORY MULTILATERAL MEETING TO THIS END. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS NOW AGREED TO HOST SUCH A MEETING IN LONDON ON APRIL 23, AND WE WILL LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH FRANCE, CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, JAPAN, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THIS MEETING, AND TOWARD AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE WHICH MIGHT BE HELD WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

I WISH TO REITERATE THE ASSURANCES EXPRESSED IN OUR MEETINGS WITH MESSRS. GOLDSCHMIDT AND DE NAZELLE AND IN MY PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE WITH YOU ON THIS SUBJECT. I AGREE THAT THE PURPOSE OF FUTURE MEETINGS OF NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS IS TO SEEK UNDERSTANDINGS BY COMMON AGREEMENT, AND THAT THESE MEETINGS SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL AND INFORMAL IN CHARACTER. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT ENVISAGE A FORMAL INSTITUTION TO ENFORCE CONFERENCE DECISIONS, AND WE BELIEVE THERE COULD BE APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS FOR EXCEPTIONS TO OR RELEASE FROM COMMITMENTS MADE BY THE NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS. FURTHERMORE, THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE DIFFICULTIES OF RETROACTIVE CHANGES IN EXPORT POLICY AND AGREES THAT AS A GENERAL RULE OUR DECISIONS SHOULD NOT BE RETROACTIVE. HOWEVER, THERE COULD BE SPECIFIC SITUATIONS WHICH MIGHT WARRANT SPECIAL CONSIDERATION, AND THIS QUESTION MIGHT WELL ARISE AT SOME POINT IN OUR DELIBERATIONS. IN THAT EVENT, I BELIEVE WE COULD EXPLORE THIS MATTER AND CONSIDER THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER SUPPLIERS, SUBJECT OF COURSE TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF COMMON AGREEMENT IN REACHING DECISIONS.

I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE WILL TAKE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT WHAT YOU HAVE SAID ABOUT THE LIMIT OF POSSIBILITIES FOR THE COMMITMENTS FRANCE WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE IN AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE. WE WILL, OF COURSE, WISH TO PRESENT OUR OWN VIEWS FOR CONSIDERATION BY ALL SEVEN PARTICIPANTS, AND WE WOULD EXPECT OTHERS TO HAVE THE SAME DESIRE. BUT, LIKE

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YOU, WE ARE CONVICTED THAT ANY DECISIONS MUST BE REACHED BY MUTUAL ACCORD, NOT BY EXERTING PRESSURES ON INDIVIDUAL SUPPLIERS, AND WE HAVE MADE THIS VIEW KNOWN TO THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS.

WE FULLY ACCEPT YOUR POINT ON NONDISCRIMINATION BY OTHER NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS VIS-A-VIS FRANCE BECAUSE OF FRANCE'S NONADHERENCE TO THE NPT. I AM ALSO PREPARED TO CONSIDER

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YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT US NUCLEAR LICENSING ARRANGEMENTS AND  
COCOM POLICIES. AS YOU SUGGESTED, WE WOULD ADDRESS THESE  
QUESTIONS BILATERALLY.

I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT WE BOTH  
APPEAR TO HAVE ATTACHED, AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS, TO THE  
SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THESE NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS EFFORTS.  
WARM REGARDS, UNQUOTE KISSINGER

SECRET

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