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# FOIA MARKER

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13657  
**Folder ID Number:** 13657-007

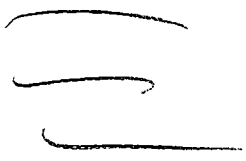
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**Folder Title:**  
Mitterand Toast 2/23/89 [OA 6853]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>

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SUGGESTED REMARKS  
FOR PRESIDENT BUSH  
MITTERRAND TOAST  
FEBRUARY 23, 1989

Mr. President, Honored Guests: It is a pleasure for me to be able to meet with you in Japan, although we are here on a solemn occasion, marking the passing of an era.

This is our first meeting of 1989, Mr. President. This year France--and the United States--celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. These events of the late Eighteenth Century cemented a unique partnership between our two countries, one based on shared traditions, values, and history.

In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and our own Bill of Rights inspired the citizens of our two democracies. And for 200 years they have inspired countless individuals and nations fighting for their political and civil rights.

We know that there are still millions of people who are denied the benefits of government by popular consent and respect for the rights of the individual. We must remain for them Beacons of Liberty, committed to the defense of those basic principles

which bind our two countries together.

By our own enlightened defense of human dignity and democratic values, we who have fought together to defend those principles will continue to light the paths of those yet not free.

This 200-year-old commitment to freedom is the true genius of France, and its greatness as a people. For liberty begets free expression; it touches the deepest recesses of the heart. Think of Camus, Cezanne, Pasteur, Bizet. Remember Moliere, de Gaulle, and Victor Hugo. They made our world a better, more ennobling place.

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need La Coeur de France--uniting the continent, upholding its democratic ideals, and enriching East-West relations.

As you do, America will join you. Let us enlarge our own economies<sup>ies</sup>, and expand the world's economy. Let us further ties in the political, cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

In speaking of America, the Marquis de Lafayette once said, "What charms me most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, you are our brethren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterrand, and to the long and treasured friendship between our nations.

Vive la France.

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY  
AND  
RESEARCH CENTER

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TO: Christina

ROOM 111 1/2 DATE 2/21/89

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Per Your Request

FYI

Message:

From: Martha Brown

PN4305  
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v.6  
WHRC

2, **COMPLETE SPEAKER'S**  
**AND**  
**TOASTMASTER'S LIBRARY**  
**Proverbs, Epigrams, Aphorisms,**  
**Sayings, and Bon Mots**

by **Jacob M. Braude**

1965  
**PRENTICE-HALL, INC.**  
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

## FUTURE, THE

**253.** You can hardly make a friend in a year, but you can easily offend one in an hour.

—Chinese

**254.** Just as tall trees are known by their shadows, so are good men known by their enemies.

—Chinese

**255.** An act by which we make one friend and one enemy is a losing game, because revenge is more active than gratitude.

## Future, The

**256.** He that will not look forward must look behind.

—Gaelic

**257.** To worry about tomorrow is to be unhappy today.

**258.** One generation plants the trees . . . another gets the shade.

—Chinese

## G

### Gambling

**259.** Losing comes of winning money.

—Chinese

**260.** There is no better gambling than not to gamble.

—German

### Genius

**261.** Oddities and singularities of behavior may attend genius, but they are its blemishes.

### Gentleman

**262.** When two men quarrel, he who is first silent, is the greater gentleman.

## Gift—Gifts

**263.** Gifts sho

**264.** What is

## Giving

**265.** A shrou

**266.** No man

**267.** A gift lo

**268.** Much is

**269.** Ask thy

**270.** He who

**271.** When t

**272.** If every

**273.** A bit o  
roses.

**274.** They v  
nothing.

**275.** What l

FINAL

(Smith)  
February 17, 1989  
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MITTERRAND TOAST  
TOKYO, JAPAN  
FEBRUARY 23, 1989

Mr. President, honored guests: It is a pleasure for me to be able to meet with you in Japan, although we are here on a solemn occasion, marking the passing of an era.

This is our first meeting of 1989, Mr. President. This year France and the United States celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. These events of the late Eighteenth Century cemented a unique partnership between our two countries, one based on shared traditions, values, and history.

In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and our own Bill of Rights inspired the citizens of our two democracies. And for 200 years, they have inspired countless individuals and nations fighting for their political and civil rights.

We know that there are still millions of people who are denied the benefits of government by popular consent and respect for the rights of the individual. We must remain for them beacons of liberty, committed to the defense of those basic principles that bind our two countries together.

By our own enlightened defense of human dignity and democratic values, we who have fought together to defend those

principles will continue to light the paths of those yet not free.

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need La Coeur de France -- upholding its democratic ideals.

As you do, America will join you. Let us enlarge our own economies, and expand the world's economy. Let us develop further ties in the political, cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

In speaking of America, the Marquis de Lafayette once said, "What charms me most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, the people of France are our brethren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterrand, and to the long and treasured friendship between our nations.

Vive la France!

Christina's

(Smith)  
February 16, 1989  
7:00 p.m.

SUGGESTED REMARKS  
MITTERAND TOAST  
FEBRUARY 23, 1989

Mr. President, honored guests: It is a pleasure for me to be able to meet with you in Japan, although we are here on a solemn occasion, marking the passing of an era.

This is our first meeting of 1989, Mr. President. This year France and the United States celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. These events of the late Eighteenth Century cemented a unique partnership between our two countries, one based on shared traditions, values, and history.

In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and our own Bill of Rights inspired the citizens of our two democracies. And for 200 years, they have inspired countless individuals and nations fighting for their political and civil rights.

We know that there are still millions of people who are denied the benefits of government by popular consent and respect for the rights of the individual. We must remain for them beacons of liberty, committed to the defense of those basic principles that bind our two countries together.

By our own enlightened defense of human dignity and democratic values, we who have fought together to defend those

principles will continue to light the paths of those yet not free.

This 200-year-old commitment to freedom is the true genius of France, and its greatness as a people. For liberty betets free expression; it touches the deepest recesses of the heart. Think of Camus, Cezanne, Pasteur, Bizet. Remember Moliere, de Gaulle, and Victor Hugo. They made our world a better, more ennobling place.

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need  
\*La Coeur de France -- uniting the continent, upholding its democratic ideals, and enriching East-West relations.

As you do, America will join you. Let us enlarge our own economies, and expand the world's economy. Let us further ties in the political, cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

In speaking of America, the Marquis de Lafayette once said,  
\* "What charms me most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, you are our bretheren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterand, and to the long and treasured friendship between our nations.

\*Vive la France!

5  
~~Two hundred year old commitment to freedom~~

This is the true genius of France, and its greatness as a people. For liberty begets free expression; it touches the deepest recesses of the heart. Think of Camus, Cezanne, Pasteur, Bizet. Remember Moliere, de Gaulle, and Victor Hugo. ~~They were French, and buoyed all of Europe.~~ They made our world a better, more ennobling place.

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need La Coeur de France. ~~Mr. President, you can help unite~~ <sup>wg</sup> the continent, ~~You can uphold~~ <sup>wg</sup> its democratic principles, and enrich East-West relations. And, ~~in this, the 40th anniversary of NATO, you can~~ preserve it as an instrument of peace.

As you do, America will join you. ~~Let us~~ <sup>continue</sup> increase bilateral ~~relations and mutual interdependence.~~ Let us enlarge our own economies, and expand the world <sup>1</sup> economy, ~~at large.~~ Let us further ties in the political, cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

~~Mr. President, I have known you, now, for many years. I have seen you lead a nation--wisely, valiantly. This is our first meeting of 1989. We will meet again, and soon.~~

~~I look forward to that occasion, and let me close with these words of the~~ <sup>the</sup> Marquis de Lafayette. <sup>once said</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>in</sup> Speaking of America, ~~he said:~~

"What charms me most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, you are our brethren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterrand, and to <sup>the long and treasured</sup> all of our friends from <sup>friendship between our nations.</sup> France and the United States. Please join me in raising our glasses to the President of the Republic of France.

Vive la France.

(Smith)  
February 17, 1989  
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MITTERRAND TOAST  
TOKYO, JAPAN  
FEBRUARY 23, 1989

Mr. President, honored guests: It is a pleasure for me to be able to meet with you in Japan, although we are here on a solemn occasion, marking the passing of an era.

This is our first meeting of 1989, Mr. President. This year France and the United States celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. These events of the late Eighteenth Century cemented a unique partnership between our two countries, one based on shared traditions, values, and history.

In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and our own Bill of Rights inspired the citizens of our two democracies. And for 200 years, they have inspired countless individuals and nations fighting for their political and civil rights.

We know that there are still millions of people who are denied the benefits of government by popular consent and respect for the rights of the individual. We must remain for them beacons of liberty, committed to the defense of those basic principles that bind our two countries together.

By our own enlightened defense of human dignity and democratic values, we who have fought together to defend those

principles will continue to light the paths of those yet not free.

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need La Coeur de France -- upholding its democratic ideals.

As you do, America will join you. Let us enlarge our own economies, and expand the world's economy. Let us develop further ties in the political, cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

In speaking of America, the Marquis de Lafayette once said, "What charms me most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, the people of France are our brethren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterrand, and to the long and treasured friendship between our nations.

Vive la France!

PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S LUNCH  
WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND  
FEBRUARY 23, 1989

① Mr. President, Honored Guests: It is a pleasure for me to be able to meet with you in Japan, although we are here on a solemn occasion, marking the passing of an era.

② This is our first meeting of 1989, Mr. President. This year France -- and the United States -- celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. These events of the late eighteenth century cemented a unique partnership between our two countries, one based on shared traditions, values and history.

③ ~~In 1789,~~  
The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen is a ~~key historical event of that period.~~ ~~This Declaration, which~~ ~~was followed almost simultaneously by our own Bill of Rights,~~ ~~inspired the Citizens of two great~~ ~~democracies~~  
700. 200 years, they have  
has inspired countless individuals and nations fighting for their political and civil rights.

④ ~~Today~~ ~~We~~ ~~remember~~ ~~that~~ ~~there~~ ~~are~~ ~~still~~ ~~millions~~ ~~of~~ ~~people~~ ~~who~~ ~~are~~ ~~denied~~ ~~the~~ ~~benefits~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~government~~ ~~by~~ ~~popular~~ ~~consent~~ ~~and~~ ~~respect~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~rights~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~individual.~~ ~~We~~ ~~must~~ ~~remain~~ ~~for~~ ~~them~~ ~~Beacons~~ ~~of~~ ~~Liberty,~~ ~~committed~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~defense~~ ~~of~~ ~~those~~

basic principles which have bound our two countries together, ~~for more than two hundred years.~~ By our own enlightened defense of human dignity and democratic values, we who have fought together to defend these principles will continue to illuminate the paths of those not yet free.

(5)

~~So I ask all of you to join with me and raise a glass to our long and treasured friendship, and to our common goals.~~

Vive La France!

Suggested Remarks  
for President Bush  
Mitterand Toast  
February 23, 1989

Mr. President and our very distinguished guests from France and the United States:

We gather here in sadness--but also in Thanksgiving. We mourn the death of Emperor Hirohito--but we are grateful for his life.

~~Like you, Mr. President, I knew him as a friend and colleague, and was struck by several things.~~

He was gentle and self-effacing. He believed in faith, family, and the dignity of work. <sup>He</sup> The late Emperor knew that what we are matters more than what we have. And he welcomed the emerging breeze of freedom and democracy.

Two hundred years ago, Mr. President, we, too, inherited that wind. For it was in 1789 that France celebrated the French Revolution and the Rights of Man, and that America authored the Bill of Rights: Events which lit the world, ~~ennobled man~~, and forged our Franco-American alliance.

Today, we salute that past, one based on shared tradition, values, and history. We are friends, and will endure so. But it is the future which lures us, always, into the sun-lit frontiers of discovery. Our goal is peace, and must remain so: Peace in Europe, peace in the Pacific, peace among the children of the globe. <sup>also</sup>

You know, Mr. President, I'll let you in on a secret: This is one Texan who loves French food. Yet ~~that's not our only inheritance.~~ America loves French music, commerce, culture, art. And lest we forget: Without the help that a young America received from France, we might not be here today. For our greatest debt ~~to you~~ is liberty: To ~~hate oppression~~, to enhance government by popular consent, and to ensure the rights of the individual. <sup>not words</sup>

This is the true genius of France, and its greatness as a Nation. For liberty begets free expression; it touches the deepest recesses of the heart. Think of Camus, Cezanne, Pasteur, Bizet. Remember Moliere, de Gaulle, and Victor Hugo. They were French, and enriched all of Europe. They made our world a better, fairer, ~~richer~~ place. <sup>enrich</sup>

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need La Coeur de France. Mr. President, you can help unite the continent, and uphold its ~~human dignity and democratic principles.~~ You can <sup>denote</sup> uplift East-West relations, and, in this, the 40th anniversary of NATO, ~~bind that council's irrevocable ties.~~

And as you do, America will join you. Let us increase bilateral relations and mutual interdependence. Let us enlarge our own economics, and expand the world economy at large. ~~Let us~~ <sup>time</sup> ~~buy~~ the environment and ~~explore the outer reaches of outer space~~ And let us further ~~ties~~ in the political, cultural, ~~economic~~, scientific, and ~~technological fields.~~ <sup>time</sup>

Mr. President, I have known you, now, for many years. I have seen you lead a Nation--wisely, valiantly, and with ~~character~~ and courage. This is our first meeting of 1989. We will meet again, and soon.

I look forward to that occasion, and let me leave you with these words of the Marquis de Lafayette. Speaking of America, he said: "What charms we most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, you are our brethren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterand, and to all of our friends from France and the United States. Please join me in raising your glasses to the President of the Republic of France.

*Allen*

*preserve*

*as a memory piece*

*Remember me to*  
*gentle and self-effacing*

*Prudes*  
Mr. Prime Minister and our very distinguished guests from Japan and the United States:

*most guests fall*  
We gather here in sadness--but also in *gratitude*. ~~Yes~~, we mourn the passing of Emperor Hirohito--but on ~~both sides of the Atlantic~~, we are grateful for his life.

Your leader reigned for 62 years, and became their embodiment: the symbol of a people.

I knew him as a friend and colleague, and was struck by several things. He was gentle and self-effacing. He believed in faith, family, and the dignity of work. He knew that what we are matters more than what we have. And he oversaw a tidal change in Japanese-American relations: from enmity to amity; from conflict to cooperation.

Let us today, then, build on his beginnings. For Emperor Hirohito knew, ~~as we must also~~, that we are allies, and must endure so. Our goal is peace, and must remain so.

Can we succeed? Of course, we can.

Can we erect not merely peace in our time, but for generations yet unborn? Of course, we must, and will.

~~Having tasks to meet, let us meet them.~~

Let us increase bilateral relations and mutual interdependence. Let us enlarge our own economies, and expand the world economy at large.

Let us enrich the environment, create free trade that is fair trade, and explore the outer reaches of outer space. And let us further ties in the political, cultural, economic, scientific, and technological fields: ties based on more than 100 years of association, and whose foundation ~~is~~ resides on ~~based on~~ trust.

And as we do, let us recall that what divides us--language; a vast ocean; old hostilities receding into ~~dark~~--mean nothing--are history--compared with that unites us: Civility, self-discipline, the rule of law, and belief in an Almighty far mightier than ourselves.

Japan is a land of myth and lyric poetry. So is the United States.

Japanese believe--believe deeply--in neighborhood, tradition, and the sanctity of the individual. So do Americans.

Both peoples love literature and animals and that obsession called television. Each, to keep priorities straight, reveres baseball as the national pastime.

But above all, perhaps, both Japan and America find greatness--genius--in their good, quiet, decent people: People who ask government not to subsidize their lives, only to go their own way--kindly, charitably--with the self-respect and dignity they deserve.

This, your Emperor knew in life--that people, even more than rulers, make a Nation capable of the most soaring and uncommon deeds. And this, even now, proclaims in death: That dreams can become reality; and that we must uphold the canons of freedom and democracy.

A Japanese proverb observes, "Life without endeavor is like entering a jewel-mine and coming out with empty hands."

Mr. Prime Minister, Endeavor is our means. Our end is a better, fairer, richer world. Let us use our hands to reach that end; for while as allies, we have begun well, we have only begun. Yes, we have done much, but there remains--will always be--much more left to do.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of Prime Minister Tekeshka, and to all of our Japanese friends, and our American friends--and moreover, to that bond between our peoples to which your Prime Minister has so eloquently referred.

*Mr. Reiner:*  
*Thank you for the*  
*you 65th anniversary.*

*who celebrates 65th anniversary.*

*Let us toast*

*And enjoy it during the*  
*space 2 days, I*  
*what and let us go to*  
*suppose that's*

DRAFT

Jim Kelly

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH TO JAPANFEBRUARY 22 - 25, 1989Wednesday, February 22, 1989

6:30 am Depart Andrews AFB en route Elmendorf AFB,  
Anchorage, Alaska  
(Flying Time: 7 Hours 30 Minutes)  
(Time Change: Back 4 Hours)

10:00 am Arrive Elmendorf AFB, Anchorage, Alaska  
(2:00 pm EST)  
(Refuel: 1 Hour 30 Minutes)

11:30 am Depart Elmendorf AFB en route Tokyo, Japan  
(Flying Time: 7 Hours 40 Minutes)  
(Time Change: Ahead 18 Hours)

(CROSS INTERNATIONAL DATELINE)Thursday, February 23, 1989

1:10 pm Arrive Haneda Airport, Tokyo, Japan  
(11:10 pm on  
2/22/89 EST)

1:20 pm Depart Haneda Airport en route Hotel Okura

1:35 pm Arrive Hotel Okura

2:00 pm Participate in Luncheon with President Mitterand

3:30 pm Conclude Luncheon

3:45 pm Depart Hotel Okura en route Akasaka Palace

3:55 pm Arrive Akasaka Palace for Call on Prime Minister  
Takeshita

4:35 pm Depart Akasaka Palace en route Hotel Okura

4:45 pm Arrive Hotel Okura

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 15 MINUTES)

6:00 pm Participate in Bilaterals

9:00 pm Conclude Bilaterals

*Evans - give guests*

RON

*abany*

Friday, February 24, 1989

(PERSONAL STAFF TIME)

*trans-mitted  
1 hr*

9:45 am Depart Hotel Okura en route Shinjuku Park

10:00 am Arrive Shinjuku Park for Funeral Ceremony

10:10 am Ceremony of Imperial House begins

11:45 am Ceremony concludes

11:55 am Ceremony of State begins

12:50 pm Depart Shinjuku Park en route Hotel Okura

1:05 pm Arrive Hotel Okura

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 55 MINUTES)

3:00 pm Participate in Bilaterals

6:00 pm Conclude Bilaterals

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR)

7:00 pm Depart Hotel Okura en route Akasaka Palace

7:15 pm Arrive Akasaka Palace for Prime Minister's Reception

7:45 pm Depart Akasaka Palace en route Hotel Okura

8:00 pm Arrive Hotel Okura for RON

Saturday, February 25, 1989

9:45 am Depart Hotel Okura en route Imperial Palace

9:55 am Arrive Imperial Palace for Audience with Emperor

10:15 am Depart Imperial Palace en route Hotel Okura

10:25 am Arrive Hotel Okura

(PRIVATE TIME: 35 MINUTES)

11:00 am Participate in Bilaterals  
12:00 noon Conclude Bilaterals  
12:15 pm Depart Hotel Okura en route Haneda Airport  
12:30 pm Arrive Haneda Airport  
12:45 pm Depart Tokyo, Japan en route Beijing, China  
(10:45 pm  
on 2/24/89 EST) (Flying Time: 4 Hours 15 Minutes)  
(Interchange: 30 Minutes)  
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)  
(Food Service: )

**PRIVATE SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH**

**FOR**

**BEIJING, CHINA**

**FEBRUARY 25 - 27, 1989**

4:30 pm Arrive Beijing International Airport, Beijing,  
(3:30 am EST) China

4:45 pm Depart Beijing International Airport en route  
Diaoyutai State Guest House

5:15 pm Arrive Diaoyutai State Guest House

Note: Brief Greeting with official host-  
expected

(PRIVATE TIME: 45 MINUTES)

6:00 pm Depart Diaoyutai State Guest House en route  
Great Hall of the People

6:15 pm Arrive Great Hall of the People for Meeting and  
Banquet with President Yang Shangkun

6:20 pm Meeting begins

7:05 pm Banquet begins

9:00 pm Depart Great Hall of the People en route Diaoyutai  
State Guest House

9:15 pm Arrive Diaoyutai State Guest House for ROM

**Sunday, February 26, 1989**

7:45 am Depart Diaoyutai State Guest House en route  
Chongwamen Protestant Church

8:00 am Arrive Chongwamen Protestant Church for Service

9:15 am Depart Chongwamen Protestant Church en route  
Great Hall of the People

9:30 am Arrive Great Hall of the People and proceed to  
TBD Hall for Bilateral Meeting with  
Premier Li Peng

10:45 am Conclude Meeting, depart TBD Hall, and proceed to Fujian Hall.

10:48 am Arrive Fujian Hall for Meeting and Banquet with Chairman Deng Xiaoping

10:50 am Meeting begins

11:50 am Luncheon begins

1:15 pm Depart Great Hall of the People en route International Club

1:25 pm Arrive International Club for Drop-By

1:40 pm Depart International Club en route Ambassador Lord's Residence

1:45 pm Arrive Ambassador Lord's Residence for Embassy Community Greeting

2:20 pm Depart Ambassador Lord's Residence en route Diaoyutai State Guest House

2:35 pm Arrive Diaoyutai State Guest House

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 30 MINUTES)

4:05 pm Depart Diaoyutai State Guest House en route Great Hall of the People

4:20 pm Arrive Great Hall of the People for Bilateral Meeting with Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang

5:30 pm Depart Great Hall of the People en route Diaoyutai State Guest House

5:45 pm Arrive Diaoyutai State Guest House for Private Time

(PRIVATE TIME: 45 MINUTES)

6:30 pm Depart Diaoyutai State Guest House en route The Great Wall Sheraton Hotel

6:50 pm Arrive The Great Wall Sheraton Hotel for Dinner hosted by President Bush

9:00 pm Depart The Great Wall Sheraton Hotel en route Diaoyutai State Guest House

9:20 pm Arrive Diaoyutai State Guest House for RON

*Host*

Monday, July 27, 1989

7:00 am Depart Diaoyutai State Guest House en route  
Beijing International Airport

7:30 am Arrive Beijing International Airport

7:45 am Depart Beijing, China en route Seoul, Korea

(Flying Time: 2 Hours 45 Minutes)  
(Interchange: 30 Minutes)  
(Time Change: Ahead 1 Hour)  
(Food Service:

REVISION

**TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH**

**FOR**

**SEOUL, KOREA**

**FEBRUARY 27, 1989**

- 12:15 pm Arrive K-16 Airport, Seoul, Korea.  
(10:15 pm  
on 2/26 EST)
- 12:25 pm Depart K-16 Airport via Marine One en route  
Blue House.  
  
(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)
- 12:45 pm Arrive Blue House for Meeting and Luncheon with  
President Roh Tae Woo.
- 12:50 pm Meeting begins.
- 1:15 pm Luncheon begins.
- 2:30 pm Depart Blue House via Marine One en route  
National Assembly.  
  
(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)
- 2:45 pm Arrive National Assembly for Speech and Greetings  
with Party Leaders. *\*  
may speed*
- 3:30 pm Depart National Assembly via Marine One en route  
Ambassador's Residence.  
  
(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)
- 3:40 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for American  
Community Greeting.

4:20 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence via Marine One en route K-16 Airport.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

4:35 pm Arrive K-16 Airport.

4:45 pm Depart Seoul, Korea en route Elmendorf, AFB, Anchorage, Alaska

(2:45 am EST)

(Flying Time: 7 Hours 30 Minutes)

(Interchange: 30 Minutes)

(Time Change: Back 18 Hours)

(Food Service: )

6:45 am Arrive Elmendorf AFB, Anchorage, Alaska  
(10:45 am EST)

(Refuel: 1 Hour 15 Minutes)

8:00 am Depart Anchorage, Alaska en route Andrews AFB  
(12:00 pm EST)

(Flying Time: 6 Hours 30 Minutes)

(Interchange: None)

(Time Change: Ahead 4 Hours)

(Food Service: )

6:30 pm Arrive Andrews AFB

6:35 pm Depart Andrews AFB en route White House

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

6:45 pm Arrive White House

cc: S. Studdert  
J. Keller  
G. Fendler

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 10, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR The Chief of Staff  
Brent Scowcroft  
David Bates  
Richard Breeden  
Andrew Card  
James Cicconi  
David Demarest  
Marlin Fitzwater  
Boyden Gray  
Fred McClure  
Bonnie Newman  
Roger Porter  
Steve Studdert  
Chase Untermeyer

Joe Hagin  
Ed Rogers  
Robert Guttman  
Susan Porter Rose  
Patty Presock  
Tim McBride  
Laurie Firestone  
Tony Lopez  
David Valdez  
Jean Lamb  
Speechwriting Office  
USSS/PPD  
WHCA Audio/Visual  
WHCA Operations

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. *JKL*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE FAR EAST

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a tentative outline schedule for the Trip of the President to the Far East. As you will see, departure is Wednesday, February 22, at 6:30 a.m., from Andrews Air Force Base. Please keep in mind that the following information has not been finally approved.

Attachments

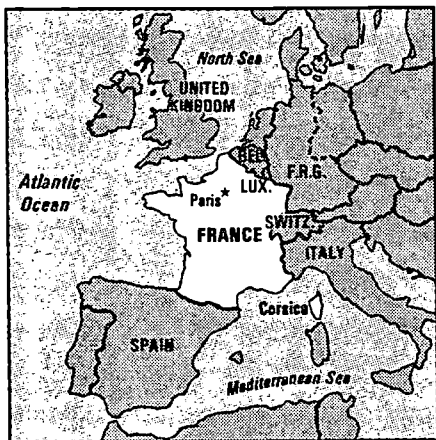
# background notes

# France



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

September 1987



**Official Name: French Republic**

## PROFILE

### Geography

**Area:** 551,670 sq. km. (220,668 sq. mi.); largest West European country, about four-fifths the size of Texas. **Cities:** *Capital*—Paris. *Other cities*—Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse, Strasbourg, Nice, Bordeaux. **Terrain:** Varied. **Climate:** Temperate; similar to that of eastern US.

### People

**Nationality:** *Noun*—Frenchman(men); *adjective*—French. **Population:** (1986 est.): 55,493,000. **Annual growth rate** (1986 est.): 0.4%. **Ethnic groups:** Celtic and Latin with Teutonic, Slavic, North African, Indochinese, and Basque minorities. **Religion:** Roman Catholic 90%. **Language:** French. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—10. *Literacy*—99%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—8.2/1,000. **Work force** (23.8 million, 1986): *Agriculture*—8.3%. *Industry and commerce*—45.2%. *Services*—46.5%. **Unemployment rate** (1986): 10.7%.

### Government

**Type:** Republic. **Constitution:** September 28, 1958.

**Branches:** *Executive*—president (chief of state); prime minister (head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral Parliament (577-member National Assembly, 315-member Senate). *Judicial*—Court of Cassation (civil and criminal law), Council of State (administrative court), Constitutional Council (constitutional law).

**Subdivisions:** 22 administrative regions containing 95 departments (metropolitan France). Five overseas departments (Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, Reunion, and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon); five overseas territories (New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna

Islands, and French Southern and Antarctic Territories); and one special-status territory (Mayotte).

**Political parties:** Socialist Party (PS), Rally for the Republic (RPR—Gaullists/Conservatives), Union for French Democracy (UDF—Center-Right), Communist Party (PCF), National Front (FN), various minor parties. **Suffrage:** Universal over 18.

**Defense** (1987): 16.1% of central government budget.

**Flag:** Three vertical stripes of blue, white, and red.

### Economy

**GDP** (1986): \$724 billion. **Avg. annual growth rate** (1986): 2.0%. **Per capita income** (1986): \$13,046. **Avg. inflation rate** (1986): 2.5%.

**Natural resources:** Coal, iron ore, bauxite, fish, forests.

**Agriculture:** *Products*—beef, dairy products, cereals, sugar beets, potatoes, wine grapes.

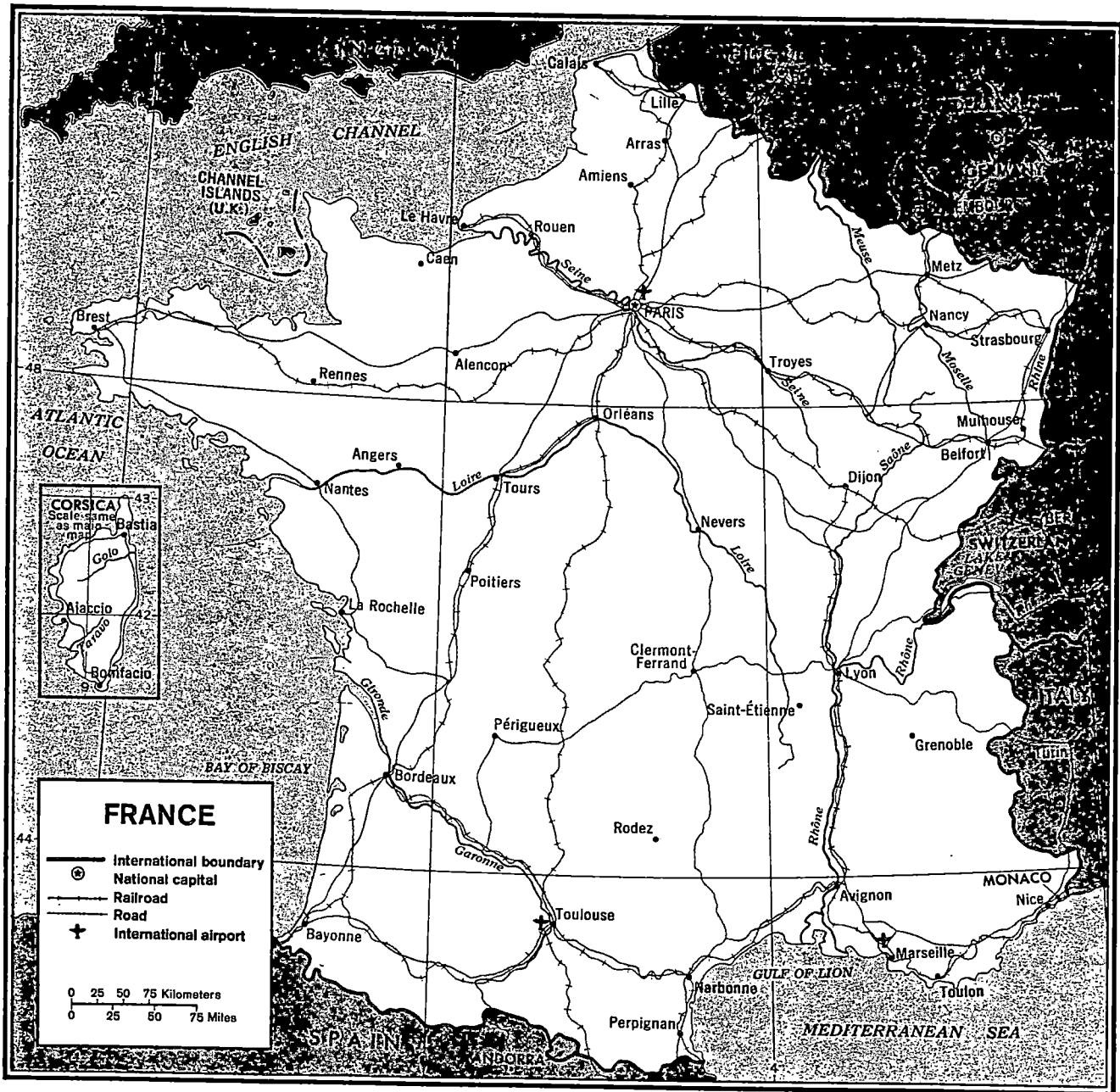
**Industry:** *Types*—steel, machinery, textiles and clothing, chemicals, food processing, aircraft, electronics.

**Trade** (1986): *Exports*—(f.o.b.) \$125 billion: machinery, foodstuffs, chemicals, iron, steel, textiles. *Imports*—(f.o.b.) \$125 billion: crude petroleum, machinery, chemicals, iron and steel, textiles. *Partners*—FRG, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, US, UK, Netherlands, Japan.

**Official exchange rate** (1986 avg.): 6.93 francs = US\$1; Jan.-June 1987, 6.07 francs = US\$1.

### Membership in International Organizations

UN and most of its specialized and related agencies, NATO, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Western European Union, European Communities (EC), INTELSAT.



## GEOGRAPHY

France, the largest West European nation, is two-thirds flat plains or gently rolling hills and one-third mountainous. A broad plain covers most of northern and western France from the Belgian border in the northeast to Bayonne in the southwest and rises to uplands in Normandy, Brittany, and the east. This large plain is bounded on the south by the steeply rising ridges of the Pyrenees; on the southeast by the mountainous plateau of the Massif Central; and on the east by the rugged Alps, the low ridges of the Jura, and the rounded summits of the densely

forested Vosges. The principal rivers are the Rhone in the south, the Loire and the Garonne in the west, the Seine in the north, and the Rhine, which forms part of France's border with the Federal Republic of Germany, in the east.

Northern and western France generally have cool winters and mild summers. Southern France has a Mediterranean climate, with hot summers and mild winters.

## PEOPLE

Since prehistoric times, France has been a crossroads of trade, travel, and invasion. Three basic European stocks—Celtic, Latin, and Teutonic—

have blended over the centuries to make up its present population.

France's birth rate was among the highest in Europe from 1945 until the late 1960s, when it began to decline. The annual net increase of births over deaths stood at 250,000–350,000 until 1974. Because of this growth and immigration, the population increased from 41 million in 1946 to 53 million in 1977. In the past few years, the birth rate has continued to fall but remains higher than that of most other West European countries.

Traditionally, France has had a high level of immigration. About 3 million people entered the country between the two World Wars. After Algeria gained independence in 1962, about 1 million French citizens moved to France. Most resident aliens are South Europeans (52% of total) and North Africans (26% of total), the two principal nationalities being Portuguese and Algerian.

About 90% of the people are baptized Roman Catholic, less than 2% are Protestant, and about 1% are Jewish. Over 1 million Muslims immigrated in the 1960s and early 1970s from North Africa, especially Algeria.

### Education

Education is free beginning at age 3 and mandatory between ages 6 and 16. The public education system is highly centralized and has a budget amounting to about 4.4% of the gross domestic product. Private education is primarily Roman Catholic.

Higher education in France, which began with the founding of the University of Paris in 1150, enrolls about 1 million students in 69 universities in continental France and an additional 60,000 in special schools, such as the *Grandes Ecoles* and technical colleges.

### Language

The French language is descended from the vernacular Latin spoken by the Romans in Gaul. Although French includes many Celtic and Germanic words, its structure and most of its words derive from Latin. Since the early Middle Ages, French has been an international language.

Spoken around the world today, French is a common second language and, like English, is an official language at the United Nations. In Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the West Indies, the French language has been a unifying factor, particularly in those countries where it serves as the only common language among a variety of indigenous languages and dialects.

### Cultural Achievements

Since the time of the Roman Empire, France's achievements in literature, the arts, and science have influenced Western culture. In architecture, the Romanesque basilicas, soaring Gothic cathedrals, the formal gardens of Versailles, the imperial design of Parisian boulevards and squares, and the modern designs of masters like Le Corbusier attest to France's influence.

French painting has spanned the centuries in greatness and includes such names as Watteau (1684-1721), who depicted the polished, elegant society of his time; David (1748-1825), the neoclassical artist of the Revolution and Empire; Delacroix (1798-1863) the romantic; the naturalists and realists Corot (1796-1875), Millet (1814-75), and Courbet (1819-77), who painted realistic landscapes and scenes from rural life; and the impressionists, including Monet (1840-1926) and Renoir (1841-1919), who explored light on canvas, and Cezanne (1839-1906), whose ideas about the treatment of space and dimension are at the base of 20th century modern art. Other famous artists, such as Van Gogh and Picasso, were drawn to France from other countries.

In music, Berlioz (1803-69) in the romantic period was followed by Debussy (1862-1918) and Faure (1845-1924), who were inspired by the impressionist movement in painting. In the 19th century, Bizet (1838-75) wrote the opera *Carmen*, and Gounod (1818-93) wrote *Faust* and *Romeo and Juliette*. Chopin (1810-49), though born in Poland, spent his adult life in Paris.

France has played a leading role in the advancement of science. Descartes (1596-1650) contributed to mathematics and to the modern scientific method; Lavoisier (1743-94) laid the fundamentals of modern chemistry and physics; Becquerel (1854-1912) and the Curies jointly discovered radium and the principle of radioactivity; and Pasteur (1822-95) developed theories of germs and vaccinations. Several important French inventors were Daguerre (1789-1851), a theatrical scenery painter who invented the daguerrotype, an early photograph; Braille (1809-52), a blind teacher of the blind, after whom is named the system of raised lettering enabling the blind to read; and Bertillon (1853-1914), an anthropologist and criminologist who organized the fingerprint system of identification. In the 20th century, French scientists have won a number of Nobel Prizes.

French literature is renowned from the medieval romances of Marie de France and Chretien de Troyes and the poetry in Old French of Francois Villon to the 20th century novelists Colette, Proust, Sartre, and Camus. Over the intervening centuries were the Renaissance writers Rabelais (fiction), Ronsard (poetry), and Montaigne (essays); the 17th century classical dramatists Corneille, Racine, and Moliere; the 18th century philosophers

Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau; the romantics Germain de Stael, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas (father and son), and Alphonse de Lamartine; 19th century novelists Stendhal, George Sand, and Balzac; realist Flaubert; naturalists Zola and Baudelaire; and 19th century poets Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Valery.

French filmmakers from Jean Renoir to Francois Truffaut have won acclaim over the past decades.

### HISTORY

France was one of the earliest countries to progress from feudalism into the era of the nation-state. Its monarchs surrounded themselves with capable ministers, and French armies were among the most disciplined and professional of their day. During the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715), France was the preeminent power in Europe. But Louis' and his successors' overly ambitious projects and military campaigns, led to chronic financial problems for the government in the 18th century. Deteriorating economic conditions and popular resentment against the complicated system of privileges granted the nobility and other favored groups were principal causes of the French Revolution (1789-94).

Although the revolution established republican and egalitarian principles of government, France reverted to forms of absolute rule or constitutional monarchy four times—the Empire of Napoleon, the Restoration of Louis XVIII, the reign of Louis-Philippe, and the Second Empire of Napoleon III. After the Franco-Prussian War (1870), the Third Republic was established and lasted until the military defeat of 1940.

World War I brought great losses of troops and materiel. In the 1920s, France established an elaborate system of border defenses (the Maginot Line) and alliances to offset resurgent German strength. France was defeated, however, and occupied in 1940. Following 4 years of occupation and strife, Allied forces liberated France in 1944. The nation emerged exhausted from World War II and faced a series of new problems.

After a short period of provisional government, initially led by General Charles de Gaulle, the Fourth Republic was established under a new constitution with a parliamentary form of government controlled by a series of coalitions. The heterogeneous nature of the coalitions and the lack of agreement on measures for dealing with Indochina

and Algeria caused successive cabinet crises and changes of government. The government structure finally collapsed over the Algerian question on May 13, 1958. A threatened coup led Parliament to call on General de Gaulle to head the government and prevent civil war. He became prime minister in June (at the beginning of the Fifth Republic) and was elected president in December.

On December 5, 1965, for the first time in this century, the French people went to the polls to elect a president by direct ballot. General de Gaulle defeated Francois Mitterrand with 55% of the vote.

Student dissatisfaction and unrest triggered major disturbances and nationwide strikes in May 1968. Students took over university buildings and battled police in Paris and other large cities, and workers occupied factories throughout the country. The economy was grinding to a halt, and France seemed on the brink of chaos. President de Gaulle dissolved the National Assembly, called for national elections, and announced his intention to pursue a policy of sweeping reform, based on the principle of "participation." The voters, fearing disorder and a possible communist takeover, voted an overwhelming Gaullist majority into the National Assembly.

In April 1969, President de Gaulle's government conducted a national referendum on the creation of 21 regions with limited political powers. On April 27, the government's proposals were defeated (48% in favor, 52% opposed), and President de Gaulle resigned.

In 1969, a number of candidates presented themselves in the election for a new president. Georges Pompidou, a prime minister under de Gaulle, was supported not only by the Gaullists but also by their Independent Republic allies and some Centrists and was elected with a 58% majority of the votes.

In 1971, Francois Mitterrand assembled various socialist groups into a new unified Socialist Party. The socialists, led by Mitterrand, the Communist Party (PCF), headed by Georges Marchais, and a faction of the Radical Party reached agreement on a joint program on which to base their campaign for the March 1973 legislative elections. The union of the left more than doubled its assembly representation, and Mitterrand emerged from the campaign as the left's chief spokesman.

President Pompidou died in office on April 2, 1974, and the race to succeed him split the ruling Gaullist coalition. The UDR (Gaullist) Party selected former Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas as its candidate, but he was eliminated in the first round of voting. Valery Giscard d'Estaing, finance minister in the Pompidou government and head of the Gaullist-aligned Independent Republicans, narrowly defeated Francois Mitterrand, who ran as the only candidate of the left. On assuming office, Giscard d'Estaing became the first non-Gaullist president of the Fifth Republic. He appointed Gaullist Jacques Chirac as prime minister to head a government of Gaullists, Independent Republicans, Centrists, and nonparty technicians.

Policy differences between President Giscard d'Estaing and Chirac led to the latter's resignation in August 1976, although the Gaullist Party continued to support Chirac's successor, prominent international economist Raymond Barre. Barre's appointment marked the first time under the Fifth Republic that neither the chief of state nor the head of government was a member of the Gaullist Party.

A communist-socialist coalition intended to confront the parties of the governing majority in the legislative elections of March 1978. The communists, a minority within this union of the left, broke with the socialists by demanding the right to receive key ministries should the left win and by calling for extensive nationalization of industries. The breakup of the common front contributed to the left's defeat in the March 1978 elections, with the Giscard d'Estaing coalition winning 50.49% of the popular vote and electing 291 deputies to the National Assembly compared to the left's 200.

In November 1980, Francois Mitterrand, after fending off a challenge to his leadership, captured the nomination as the Socialist Party's presidential candidate. A bruising campaign, focusing on the theme of rising unemployment, pitted four principal candidates against each other: Giscard d'Estaing, Jacques Chirac, Francois Mitterrand, and Communist Party chief Georges Marchais. Giscard and Mitterrand emerged as the finalists after a primary round on April 26, 1981, which also saw the Communist Party's electoral strength reduced to 15% from the PCF's traditional 20% of the vote. On May 18, 1981, Francois Mitterrand defeated Giscard d'Estaing and was elected president with 51.75% of the vote.

On assuming office on May 21, 1981, President Mitterrand named long-time Socialist Party leader Pierre Mauroy as his prime minister and immediately dissolved the National Assembly. New legislative elections were held in June 1981, and Socialist Party candidates and their allies captured 285 of the 491 parliamentary seats, giving them absolute majority control of the National Assembly. Communists kept 44 of the 86 seats they had held before the June elections. Four communist ministers were appointed to the government.

During the first year of his presidency, Mitterrand enjoyed high public opinion ratings. As economic difficulties mounted, however, Mitterrand's popularity, along with that of the left in general, declined precipitously to historic lows of less than 30% approval. In an attempt to reverse the economic downswing, Mitterrand embarked in the spring of 1982 with a stringent austerity program. Opposition in the government to plans for further industrial restructuring aimed at expanding France's high technology base, while streamlining and reducing the subsidy-ridden "sunset" industries, led in July 1984 to a government reshuffle in which Laurent Fabius replaced Mauroy as prime minister, and the communists withdrew in protest.

The French people went to the polls on March 16, 1986, in legislative elections. The two major center-right groups, the UDF and Chirac's RPR, captured a slim majority of seats in the expanded 577-member National Assembly. Mitterrand quickly named Chirac his prime minister. A president and a government of opposing political views is unprecedented in the Fifth Republic. The period before the 1988 presidential election will represent a new departure in French government.

## GOVERNMENT

The constitution of the Fifth Republic was approved by public referendum on September 28, 1958. It greatly strengthened the authority of the executive in relation to Parliament. Under the constitution, the president is elected directly for a 7-year term. Presidential arbitration assures regular functioning of the public powers and the continuity of the state. The president names the prime minister, presides over the Cabinet, commands the armed forces, and concludes treaties. The president

may submit questions to a national referendum and can dissolve the National Assembly. In certain emergency situations, the president may assume full powers. The president is thus the dominant element in the constitutional system.

Parliament meets in regular session twice annually for a maximum of 3 months on each occasion. Special sessions are common. Although parliamentary powers are diminished from those existing under the Fourth Republic, the National Assembly can still cause a government to fall if an absolute majority of the total Assembly membership votes a censure motion.

The National Assembly is the principal legislative body. Its deputies are directly elected to 5-year terms, and all seats are voted on in each election. Senators are chosen by an electoral college for 9-year terms, and one-third of the Senate is renewed every 3 years. The Senate's legislative powers are limited, as the National Assembly has the last word in the event of a disagreement between the two houses. The government has a strong influence in shaping the agenda of Parliament. The government can also link its life to any legislative text, and unless a motion of censure is introduced and voted, the text is considered adopted without a vote.

The most distinctive feature of the French judicial system is that it is divided into two categories: a regular court system and a court system that deals specifically with legal problems of the French administration and its relation to the French citizen. The Court of Cassation is the supreme court of appeals in the regular court system; at the top of the administrative courts is the powerful Council of State.

Traditionally, decisionmaking in France has been highly centralized, with each of France's departments headed by a prefect appointed by the central government. In 1982, the national government passed legislation to decentralize authority by giving a wide range of administrative and fiscal powers to local elected officials. In March 1986, regional councils were directly elected for the first time.

#### Principal Government Officials

President—Francois Mitterrand  
 Prime Minister—Jacques Chirac  
 Minister-Delegate for Public Service and Planning—Herve De Charette  
 Secretary of State for Human Rights—Claude Malhuret  
 Secretary of State for Youth and Sport—Christian Bergelin

President of the National Assembly—Jacques Chaban-Delmas  
 President of the Senate—Alain Poher

#### Minister of State

Economy, Finance, and Privatization—Edouard Balladur  
 Minister-Delegate for the Budget—Alain Juppe  
 Minister-Delegate for Foreign Trade—Michel Noir  
 Minister-Delegate for Administrative Reform—Camille Cabana  
 Minister-Delegate for Commerce and Crafts—George Chavanes  
 Secretary of State for Competition and Consumer Affairs—Jean Arthuis

#### Ministers

Justice—Albin Chalandon  
 Defense—Andre Giraud  
 Culture and Communication—Francois Leotard  
 Foreign Affairs—Jean-Bernard Raimond  
 Secretary of State—Didier Bariani  
 Secretary of State for European Affairs—Bernard Bosson  
 Interior—Charles Pasqua  
 Minister-Delegate for Security—Robert Pandraud  
 Secretary of State for Local Collectivities—Yves Galland  
 Equipment, Housing, Regional Development, and Transport—Pierre Mehaignerie  
 Minister-Delegate for Transport—Jacques Douffiagues  
 Minister-Delegate for Environment—Alain Carignon  
 Overseas Departments and Territories—Bernard Pons  
 Secretary of State for Southern Pacific Problems—Gaston Flosse  
 National Education—Rene Monory  
 Minister-Delegate for Scientific Research and Higher Education—Jacques Valade  
 Secretary of State for Education—Michele Alliot-Marie  
 Secretary of State for Vocational Training—Nicole Cathala  
 Social Affairs and Employment—Philippe Seguin  
 Secretary of State for Social Security—Adrien Zeller  
 Industry, Posts and Telecommunications, and Tourism—Alain Madelin  
 Secretary of State for Posts and Telecommunications—Gerard Longuet  
 Secretary of State for Tourism—Jean-Jacques Descamps

Agriculture—Francois Guillaume  
 Cooperation—Michel Aurillac  
 Relations with Parliament—Andre Rossinot  
 Minister-Delegate for Health—Michele Barzach  
 Secretary of State for War Veterans—Georges Fontes  
 Secretary of State for Repatriates—Andre Santini  
 Secretary of State for the Sea—Ambroise Guellec  
 Government Spokesman—Alain Juppe  
 Secretary-General of the Government (Senior Civil Servant)—Renaud Denoix de Saint Marc  
 Ambassador to the United States—Emmanuel de Margerie  
 Ambassador to the United Nations—Pierre Louis Blanc

France maintains an embassy in the United States at 4101 Reservoir Road NW., Washington, D.C. 20007 (tel. 202-944-6000). Consulates are located at Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Four political groups dominate. In the National Assembly, the RPR-UDF coalition has 286 seats, and allied center-right independents hold 6 additional seats, bringing the government's total to 292. The Socialist Party holds 209 seats, and 7 center-left deputies are affiliated with the socialists. The Communist Party holds 35 and the extreme-right National Front 34 seats. The Cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Chirac, is composed of 41 ministers, minister-delegates, and state secretaries.

#### ECONOMY

France is one of the world's foremost industrial and agricultural countries. It has substantial agricultural resources, a diversified modern industrial system, and a highly skilled labor force.

Between 1959 and 1973, the economy grew in real terms at an average annual rate of 5.5%. In late 1974, following the energy crisis, the economy experienced a steep downturn accompanied by accelerated inflation, rising unemployment, and large balance-of-payments deficits. Real growth since 1973 has averaged 2.4%. In 1981, the election of a socialist president and the ensuing parliamentary

West Germany. However, for France to recoup its market share, more investment is needed to modernize technology, reorient production toward more promising markets, and improve sales and service networks.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

A charter member of the United Nations, France holds one of the permanent seats in the Security Council and is a member of most of its specialized and related agencies, including the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the World Health Organization (WHO).

### Europe

France is a leader in Western Europe because of its size, location, strong economy, membership in European organizations, strong military posture, and energetic diplomacy. France has worked to strengthen Europe's economy in general, in the framework of the EC. France also attaches great importance to its role in common European defense, and views Franco-German cooperation as the foundation of efforts to enhance European security. As a major player on the world scene, France maintains contacts with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in the context of its commitments to the Western alliance.

### Middle East

France supports the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and Israel's right to exist within secure boundaries. It also believes in the necessity for a comprehensive Middle Eastern peace settlement that would include Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian homeland. France continues its active role in efforts to bring stability to the Middle East, including a participation in the Sinai Multinational Force and Observers. In the summer of 1982, France cooperated with the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy in putting a multinational force into Beirut following the Israeli invasion. In framing its policy in the Middle East, France takes account of interests in ensuring oil supplies and access to markets.

France is currently deploying a carrier battle group, including mine-sweepers and support vessels, as part of its contribution to guaranteeing freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf.

## Travel Notes

**Customs:** All US citizens visiting France need a visa. No vaccination is required. Travelers must declare goods carried in hand or in baggage and pass through customs inspection.

**Clothing:** Clothing needs are similar to those in Washington, DC.

**Health:** No special precautions are needed. Standards of medical care are usually acceptable. The American Hospital of Paris is located at 63 Boulevard Victor-Hugo, 9200 Neuilly sur Seine (tel. 4747-5300).

**Telecommunications:** Domestic and international telephone, telegraph, and cable communications are good. Paris is 6 hours ahead

of eastern standard time. As of October 1985, all telephone numbers in Paris were expanded to eight digits by adding a "4" to the front of the number.

**Transportation:** Streetcars and buses offer good transportation in all large French cities. Paris has an excellent subway system and local rail services. Taxis are available at moderate rates in all cities. Good air and railway service is available to all parts of France and other European capitals.

**Holidays and closing hours:** July 14, Bastille Day, is the national holiday. Shops and other businesses close from 1:00 to 3:00 pm daily. Many businesses close in August.

### Africa

France plays a significant role in Africa, especially in its former colonies, through extensive aid programs, commercial activities, military agreements, and cultural leadership. Key advisory positions are staffed by French nationals in many African countries. In those former colonies where French presence remains important, France contributes to political, military, and social stability. France sent a large military force to Chad in August 1983 to assist the Government of Chad in halting an invasion by Libyan and Chadian rebel forces. In early 1986, France again assisted the Chadian Government in resisting armed incursions by Libyan-backed rebels.

Despite reluctance to support Chadian President Hissein Habre's reconquest of the Aozou Strip, France remains committed to supporting Chadian territorial integrity.

### Asia

France has extensive commercial relations with Asian countries, including Japan, Korea, Indonesia, and China. However, Japanese competition in automobiles, electronics, and machine tools is a major economic problem. France is making a large contribution to resettling Indochinese refugees and is seeking to broaden its influence with Vietnam and Laos. Private French groups play a leading role in humanitarian assistance to the Afghanistan resistance.

### Latin America

France and the United States agree on the need for strengthening democratic institutions in Latin America, despite differences on certain issues. There are large Latin American exile communities

in France, notably from Argentina and Chile. French economic interests in the region are growing but remain only a small portion of France's worldwide economic activities.

## DEFENSE

France is a charter signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty and a member of the North Atlantic Council. Since 1966, it has been outside the NATO integrated military structure, although it remains a member of some alliance military or quasi-military bodies. In addition, France maintains liaison missions with the major NATO commands. It is represented in NATO political bodies, notably the North Atlantic Council and its subordinate institutions.

French military doctrine is based on the concept of national independence. Its armed forces are subject to national command, and any decision to cooperate with France's allies is subject to the sovereign decision of the French president. The French Army maintains one corps in the Federal Republic of Germany, in addition to two corps stationed in France near its eastern and northern borders.

France is linked to its European neighbors through the 1948 Treaty of Brussels and the 1954 Paris accords. It is a member of the Western European Union and has a close bilateral security relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany based on the 1963 Elysee Treaty.

The French maintain a strategic nuclear triad of manned bombers, land-based IRBMs (intermediate-range ballistic missiles), and nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs). It

is modernizing its nuclear forces, and a seventh SSBN will be launched in the late 1990s.

France has also reorganized its army. Five divisions were regrouped into a rapid action force designed to intervene rapidly in a conflict in Europe or overseas if necessary. Its navy is the largest in Western Europe, and its air force has about 450 aircraft in operational units.

France participates in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and in the Conference on Security and Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. France is not a signatory to the Limited Test Ban Treaty. It conducts nuclear testing underground at its South Pacific test

site. France has not adhered to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty but conducts itself in accordance with the terms of the treaty. The French Government endorsed the SALT II Treaty. The French strongly support the process of U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control, but they object to inclusion of any French forces in these negotiations, and are wary of any moves toward the denuclearization of Europe.

## U.S.-FRENCH RELATIONS

Relations between the United States and France are active and cordial. Since Francois Mitterrand's presidential victory, he has met with President Reagan

on numerous occasions. Bilateral contact at the vice presidential and Cabinet level is frequent.

France and the United States are allies who share common values and have parallel policies on many political, economic, and security issues. Differences are discussed frankly when they develop and have not been allowed to impair the pattern of close cooperation that characterizes relations between the two countries.

## Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Joe M. Rodgers  
Deputy Chief of Mission—Mark Lissfelt  
Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs—William Edgar  
Counselor for Political Affairs—Peter Semler  
Consul General—Robert E. Ezelle  
Financial Attache—James H. Fall, III  
Counselor for Public Affairs—Charles Courtney  
Counselor for Commercial Affairs—James A. Moorhouse  
Counselor for Economic Affairs—Ann R. Berry  
Counselor for Administrative Affairs—Bruce Clark  
Counselor for Labor Affairs—Jack Muth  
Defense Attache—Brig. Gen. Roland Lajoie, USA

## Consular Posts

Consul General, Marseille—Edmund Van Gilder  
Consul General, Bordeaux—Edward W. Lollis  
Consul General, Lyon—Stanislaus R.P. Valerga  
Consul General, Strasbourg—Victor D. Comras  
Consul, Martinique—Mary Dell Palazzolo

The U.S. Embassy in France is located at 2 Avenue Gabriel, Paris 8 (tel. 4296-1202). The United States is also represented in Paris by its mission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. ■

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Editor: Juanita Adams

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## Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of material published on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

### General Reading

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June 28, 1987, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

NAME: Francois Mitterrand

CATEGORY: Politics and Government (Foreign)

SECTION: Section 7; Page 18, Column 2; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 1233 words

HEADLINE: THE MITTERRAND MYSTERY

BYLINE: By ROBERT O. PAXTON; Robert O. Paxton is a professor of history at Columbia University and has written several books on Vichy France.

BODY:

THE BLACK AND THE RED

Francois Mitterrand: The Story of an Ambition. By Catherine Nay. Translated by Alan Sheridan. 404 pp. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$19.95.

AFTER an unhappy experience with their first elected president in 1848 (he used the office to prepare a coup d'etat and made himself Emperor Napoleon III), the French avoided popularly elected presidents for more than a century. Even General de Gaulle's Fifth Republic of 1958 at first continued the tradition of a president elected by the two houses of Parliament. Only since 1962 have the French elected their president by direct popular vote. Since then that powerful office has become the focus of political ambitions, and presidential elections have reshaped political activity. President-watching has become a major journalistic pastime.

Catherine Nay, a journalist for the private radio station Europe No. 1 and for the newsweekly L'Express, has written "The Black and the Red," a book whose popularity in France owes much to its barbs (some of which will be lost on American readers) and its hints of scandalous revelations. They are not, in fact, deeply scandalous. Francois Mitterrand's long career of political maneuvering, his late arrival at Socialism, his carefully cultivated ambiguities are well known.

More original is the author's attempt to uncover Mr. Mitterrand's early links to the far right. It is a fact that the young Mitterrand received the francisque, Marshal Petain's personal decoration, in 1943 while serving in the Vichy Government agency that dealt with returned prisoners of war. By that time Mr. Mitterrand was already active in the Resistance - in fact, he was in London when the award was announced - but Ms. Nay suggests that Mr. Mitterrand's francisque signified deep involvement in Vichy rather than just a resister's "cover." He also retained early friendships with members of rightist groups such as Action Francaise, the Croix-de-Feu and the Cagoule. Ms. Nay has found no real smoking gun, however. The most authentic version of his life still seems to be that of the pious Roman Catholic from the Charente who abandoned active religious practice as a young man while remaining deeply marked by the Christian social ferment of the 1930's. That was not a rare itinerary to the contemporary French left.

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Nor has Ms. Nay made major discoveries about other murky points in Mr. Mitterrand's life. The notorious Observatoire affair of 1959, when Mr. Mitterrand claimed to have narrowly escaped assassination by French Algerian fanatics by leaping over a city park fence, remains full of mystery. He had met his assailants beforehand, but the accusation that he had concocted the whole scheme for publicity is still unproved. Ms. Nay also wonders how he wound up owning the apartment that a Catholic charity had had to vacate. She wrote before the current investigations of fraud in the Socialist Government's African-development funds, but no one has ever linked Mr. Mitterrand to financial scandals on the scale of Valery Giscard d'Estaing's acceptance of diamonds from the former Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Republic, or the real-estate speculation that altered Paris during the Pompidou presidency.

The allusion to Stendhal in Ms. Nay's title means to convey not only the Catholic-Socialist tension in Mr. Mitterrand's life, but an accusation of all-consuming ambition. Francois Mitterrand never made any secret of his desire for the highest office. First, he wanted to be prime minister of the Fourth Republic, but though he was 11 times a minister (starting at a precocious 30 in 1947), he never headed a government. Perhaps this was lucky for him, for an even higher destiny awaited him - but not before spending long years in obstinate opposition to the very idea of Gaullist presidentialism after 1958, in a way that suggests more stubbornness than opportunism.

Perhaps his ambition sets him apart less than the skill, daring and luck with which he has repeatedly positioned himself in the political game. In 1965, seasoned politicians were happy to let the young Mitterrand run for president against the unbeatable de Gaulle; his 32 percent in the first round, a total that would have embarrassed a leader, turned this neophyte into a national figure. Thereafter Mr. Mitterrand built his political network on the left, becoming head of a new Socialist Party in 1971. Whereas most traditional Socialists had exhausted themselves trying to rally the center against the Gaullists while excluding the Communists, Mr. Mitterrand moved resolutely into a Socialist-Communist alliance. His united-left strategy made skillful use of the bipartisanism emerging around presidential elections. It also coincided with the historic decline of French Communism, and helped it along. Thus by vigorously occupying the far left terrain himself, Mr. Mitterrand moved the French political system toward the center and drowned the Communists in a mass catchall left. MR. MITTERRAND'S political life has been full of such paradoxes, and Ms. Nay pounces on each one. A man of the center (if not of the right) who became the first Socialist president of France in 1981 and conducted the most radical domestic experiment since the Popular Front of the mid-30's and the liberation. A man who spent 20 years denouncing the presidential system as a "permanent coup d'etat," only to wind up skillfully maintaining and even enhancing presidential power. An anti-Communist who brought the Communist Party back into the Government for the first time since 1947, the head of a Socialist-Communist coalition who conducted the most firmly Atlanticist foreign policy since the 50's and who emerged as Ronald Reagan's chief Continental ally in the crisis over placing American missiles in Europe. But most French voters like their presidents crafty, and Mr. Mitterrand's roller-coaster career is far from over.

After a euphoric 74 percent popularity rating in the opinion polls in the opening days of his presidency, Mr. Mitterrand's rating later fell to the lowest in the history of the Fifth Republic, when his Government's economic policies produced inflation and unemployment and when a disastrous effort to weaken the autonomy of Catholic schools produced the most massive street demonstrations

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since 1968. The election of a hostile parliamentary majority in March 1986, far from ending Mr. Mitterrand's career, revived his popularity as the Socialist president showed himself much more adroit than his conservative prime minister, Jacques Chirac. The most interesting challenges lie ahead. Will Mr. Mitterrand run again? Will he continue the normal term to May 1988, sparring all the way with a prime minister of the opposite side? Will presidential prerogative emerge enhanced or enfeebled by that experience?

Ms. Nay's breezy and witty French posed problems for the translator. Literal-minded translation is particularly unhelpful with political terms. English-speaking readers will guess what the secretary of state at air is, and may even know that the 'keeper of the seals' is the Minister of Justice. And opaque passages often turn out to be wild misconstructions. For clear information, an American reader would do well to use the English journalist Denis MacShane's solid 1982 biography. Catherine Nay is a little more current, though, and she does have more verve.

TYPE: Review

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 27, 1981, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

NAME: Danielle Mitterrand

CATEGORY: Politics and Government (Foreign)

SECTION: Section 1; Part 2; Page 61, Column 1; Style Desk

LENGTH: 1130 words

HEADLINE: DANIELLE MITTERRAND: QUIET ACTIVIST

BYLINE: Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: PARIS

BODY:

-When Francois Mitterrand ran unsuccessfully for President in 1965 and 1974, his wife, Danielle, was presented as the dutiful housewife, surrounded by floppy-eared dogs and wide-eyed children.

Since Mr. Mitterrand was elected earlier this year, Mrs. Mitterrand has been viewed by close observers and the French press as an influential foreign policy pipeline to her husband. Each day, she works at Socialist Party headquarters as the director of Solidarite Salvador et Amerique Latine a part organization that, among other causes, supports the guerrillas in El Salvador politically. From Official Biography The question now puzzling Mitterrand watchers is : Which is the real Danielle? And just how influential is she?

"Danielle Mitterrand has been a political activist at her husband's side for 37 years," states her official biography issued by the French Government.

Mrs. Mitterrand was reported in the French press to be a major influence in convincing her husband to initiate a French-Mexican resolution last August to support the El Salvador guerrillas, a move that severely strained relations between the Reagan Administration and the new Mitterrand regime. "El Salvador has been her baby for many years," says a longtime Mitterrand supporter. "She is also extremely close with Regis Debray," among the most radical Mitterrand intimates and an influential unofficial foreign policy adviser. The rightist daily Minute dubbed her "Danielle, La Pasionaria de l'Elysee."

Although an American diplomat said he found this impression "exaggerated," he said Mrs. Mitterrand nevertheless shares the views of the most leftist members of her husband's inner circle.

Le Point, a news weekly basically sympathetic to the Mitterrand Government, described the behind-the-scenes efforts of Veronique Neiertz, a Socialist Party official and a French delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, to push the El Salvador resolution through the French Foreign Ministry via Mrs. Mitterrand. "She had a weighty ally in her enterprise: Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of the President," the magazine reported.

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"Very militant in third-world affairs and, notably, president of the solidarity committee with the people of El Salvador."

Mrs. Mitterrand herself points to El Salvador as her pet cause. She sent this letter, which was made public, to Maureen Reagan after the shooting of President Reagan in March:

"I was very moved by your reaction that led you to denounce publicly this absurd violence, with all the indignation of a daughter trembling for the life of her father. But permit me to bring your attention to the numerous assassinations perpetrated by your neighbor, El Salvador, by men supported, equipped and armed by your nation."

Mrs. Mitterrand's politics were honored in the fervor of the French Resistance movement of World War II, whose members included many Communists. Born in 1924 in Verdun and raised in Burgundy, she was one of three children whose parents were educators. During the war their house was a refuge for Resistance members. Mrs. Mitterrand herself worked as a nurse in the Resistance and received the Medal of the Resistance when she was 20, one of the youngest so honored. Another Resistance hero was Francois Mitterrand.

'I'm Going to Marry Her'

Mrs. Mitterrand's sister, Christine Gouze, now a film producer, was a friend of Francois Mitterrand. In February 1944, he visited her Paris apartment and saw a photograph of her sister, Danielle, then 19. After asking who she was, Mr. Mitterrand declared, "I'm going to marry her."

They met under the pressure of war and occupation and, six months later, married in the exhilaration of freedom and liberation. "We didn't waste our time--it was precious," she recalls in Franz-Olivier Geisbert's authorized biography, "Francois Mitterrand." "When death hovers above you, your feelings multiply quickly." The couple have two sons, the older a journalist and the younger a politician. A third child died as an infant.

After 37 years of marriage Mrs. Mitterrand has hardly changed physically. A petite brunette with huge eyes, she resembles Leslie Caron and Oona Chaplin.

But she has changed visibly in the image she seeks to convey, and in her willingness to share the spotlight with her husband. In 1965 she refused to give an interview without consulting him. "I don't do anything without his O.K.," she said. In 1974, she said in an interview, "I've been sure to make life easy for Francois." Now, she refuses interviews, except with a handful of favored writers, and frequently eschewed the campaign trail to devote herself to the El Salvador cause. She has practically removed herself from the public eye since the election.

"She doesn't want to be La Presidente," reports Le Matin, referring to the French custom whereby presidential wives are entitled "Mrs. President." Thus far, she has avoided elaborate state receptions and most of the stiffly formal occasions that fill the lives of French Government officials. Unlike her predecessors she does not frequent the haute couture, preferring a distinctly unchic wardrobe.

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A private, dignified woman, she is surrounded by fiercely loyal friends reluctant to discuss her. "She's a remarkable woman," says one intimate, who declined to be named. "Intelligent, fervent, well-read, politically involved." "When you live for 35 years near someone as committed as Francois, you can only follow the same path," Mrs. Mitterrand herself said in a rare newspaper interview following the election.

Yet the couple are believed to have lived essentially separate lives for some years. "Celibates united by the act of marriage," Mr. Giesbert says in his authorized biography. Prior to the presidential campaign, Mrs. Mitterrand was rumored to be seeking a divorce; it is said that she relented on the eve of this year's contest.

#### Bookbinding a Hobby

Today they share a restored 17th-century house on rue de Bievre on the Left Bank. The family retreat at Latche is a 15-acre property in Les Landes, in southwestern France. Here, Mrs. Mitterrand, an accomplished bookbinder, works in her studio while the President romps with two Labrador retrievers. "Since Francois was elected, Latche is much calmer," she says in a recent interview in a French magazine. "Perhaps power isolates one."

"She is not just reticent to talk," states an experienced Mitterrand observer. "She's playing a role that could be more important than Rosalynn Carter's, or any activist First Lady."

"Francois Mitterrand's reluctance to lift the veil on his private life prevents the precise measurement of the political influence his wife may have exerted during 30 years," Mr. Giesbert concludes. "Without doubt, this influence is not negligible."

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: Photo of Francois and Danielle Mitterrand Photo of Danielle Mitterrand

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March 2, 1986, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

NAME: Francois Mitterrand

CATEGORY: Politics and Government (Foreign)

SECTION: Section 6; Page 26, Column 1; Magazine Desk

LENGTH: 4944 words

HEADLINE: MITTERRAND SOCIALISM UNDER SIEGE

BYLINE: By Richard Bernstein; Richard Bernstein is chief of The Times's Paris bureau.

BODY:

FANCOIS MIT-terrand stood the other evening at the end of a red carpet stretching a quarter-mile through a vast exhibition hall in Lille, a depressed industrial city that is in the spiritual heartland of French Socialism. Spotlights glared harshly through the smoky air of the hall, illuminating filigrees of electrical wiring and webs of metallic scaffolding. An agitated whispering swept over the audience of 20,000 and then died away like a wind disappearing, to be replaced by a loudspeaker version of the Marseillaise.

Then, Mr. Mitterrand appeared like a kind of priest in the middle of a vast temple. A row of pillars, each wrapped in red, white and blue cloth, stretched between him and the front of the hall, resembling the poplars in the Monet painting. The President of France stood immobile for a long minute, allowing the collective eye of the republic to rest on him, and then, permitting one of the most austere faces of political Europe to break into the slightest of smiles, he strode entirely alone past the tricolored pillars, between the unbroken rows of cheering admirers, across the entire quarter-mile length of the cavernous great hall to a spacious podium at the other end.

Mr. Mitterrand's appearance, part of the campaign for legislative elections scheduled for March 16, was carefully crafted in the favored images of the French Presidency: aloofness, tranquillity and the solitude of power. But in fact, his very presence in Lille told a different story - that of a veteran political leader fighting to keep his party from being rejected by the French people. Most immediately, the legislative elections will determine whether the Socialists can keep their majority in the French Parliament. But even more important, they will be seen as a referendum on Mr. Mitterrand himself, and on the beleaguered cause that he has represented for decades - the persistent dream of French Socialism.

For much of recent French history, Francois Mitterrand and the Socialist Party have represented the allure of the path not taken, the daring and visionary other way that had never really been followed in this country. For 23 long years, Mr. Mitterrand remained in the opposition, promising great reforms, a restructuring of French society, a break with what he portrayed as the dead hand of rightist rule. Then, five years ago, just as the other major Western nations were embracing conservative doctrines, the French electorate chose to

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give the Socialists their chance. They swept into power triumphant and exulting, proclaiming, as Minister of Culture Jack Lang put it, that after all those decades of struggle, 'the light' was about to replace 'the darkness.'

As new elections approach, this image has been put under generally unfavorable scrutiny. And if the vast majority of opinion polls are to be believed, Francois Mitterrand, the only Socialist President in French history, has for most of his term in office been the most unpopular chief of state his country has had in a quarter-century. Mr. Mitterrand's rightist opposition - which, according to the President and his allies, is a rich, reactionary and privileged caste - seems destined to break the absolute majority in Parliament that the Socialist Party won in the wake of Mr. Mitterrand's rise to power. If it does, Mr. Mitterrand's ability to exercise the enormous constitutional power of the French Presidency during the remaining two years of his term will be deeply affected. In addition, a conservative victory would cast serious doubt on the ability of an 81-year-old dream - the French Socialist Party was established more or less in its current form in 1905 - to survive in any recognizable form.

Even if the Socialists lose their majority in Parliament, they will probably remain the single largest political party in France - larger than either of the two major rightist opposition groups, the Rally for the Republic or the Union for French Democracy. But the first five years of what is called Mitterrandism have shown that the original Socialist doctrine has been shaken, and so has the governing party's confidence in itself. Mr. Mitterrand has found himself and his policies under political siege. His party has veered between implementing its traditional visionary program and seeking some new formula that many would find not very socialist at all - a formula including austerity, budgetary tightfistedness, and a style of governing strikingly like that of the late Gen. Charles de Gaulle, the Socialists' inveterate enemy.

The last five years have seen a steady series of adjustments, a shedding of one element after another of the original Socialist program so that, in the end, it is possible to ask: Just what is left of the Socialist ideal? Will the classic left disappear as a genuine political alternative in one of Europe's oldest nations?

HERE IS A paradox in the sight of the French Socialists fighting an uphill struggle to remain in power, if only because it is difficult to think of Mr. Mitterrand and his Socialist Government as having done very badly during the last five years.

Imagine, in fact, a visitor to France who had heard of the election of Mr. Mitterrand in 1981 - a visitor who knew and perhaps shared some of the deep foreboding that the left's coming to power in France created then - but who had not been back in the country to see for himself until the past few months. He would remember that France, in choosing a leftist Government in 1981, seemed peculiarly out of step with the rest of the world. It was a Government, moreover, that came to power in alliance with the Communists - the French variety being the most sclerotic and Stalinist in Europe - and that had long been committed to redistributing wealth, increasing the role of the state in the economy, nationalizing industries and banks, reducing the role of private enterprise. It was possible to imagine that the youthful idealists of the 1960's who produced such an upheaval in this country were coming to power and that they would be dreamers, not realists. Washington worried that the new French regime would be soft-hearted toward the third world, sympathetic to Fidel Castro, the

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Sandinistas and other revolutionaries, inclined toward pacifism and complacent about the threat from the Soviet Union.

In fact, the visitor today would find very little to remind him of those fears. Under Mr. Mitterrand, France is governed by a group of steely-eyed, ambitious young technocrats who bear no resemblance whatsoever to the throngs of students who ruled in the streets during the disorders of the 1960's. Indeed, it is not difficult to argue that the Socialist Government has been better, and not very much more 'leftist,' than the conservative Government of Valery Giscard d'Estaing that preceded it. In foreign policy, one of Mr. Mitterrand's important decisions was to declare himself in favor of the installation of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe in 1982, a time when Socialists in West Germany and Britain were holding mass demonstrations against the missiles.

Mr. Mitterrand's intervention - part of a broader commitment to a strong defense - was important in swaying European public opinion toward the new missiles, and serves to obscure other aspects of his foreign policy that represent the residues of the classic left: his frequent, if nonspecific, calls for a better distribution of wealth between the rich countries and the poor countries and, more important, his opposition to American policy in Central America. French foreign policy has long contained a streak of prideful anti-Americanism, and the French like to speak about 'Anglo-American hegemonism' as one of the great dangers in the world. But under the Socialists, France's relations with its allies, particularly the United States, are arguably better than they have been in decades.

Similarly, in domestic policy, the technocrats who run France these days have not done so badly. The country is as vigorously free as ever, arguably freer than during the reign of Mr. Mitterrand's predecessor, as Socialist policies have made a start at decentralizing the great Jacobin French state, putting more power in the hands of local government.

Free enterprise has clearly survived. It is true that unemployment is at a record high, but even this great stain on the economy has faded slightly in recent months. Meanwhile, in the face of rightist predictions that Socialism would lead to runaway inflation, that disease is slowly being cured. The stock market has reached record highs, foreign trade is more favorable, the franc is regaining strength, and French technology is winning new respect around the world.

Most important of all, perhaps, under the Socialists the country is enjoying as great a period of domestic peace - or, at least, an absence of violent conflict - as at any time in this century. There are troubles, of course, particularly involving the rise of sentiments against North African immigrants. But, there are no savage strikes as there are in Britain; no race riots, no major divisions in public opinion over nuclear power, foreign policy, military spending.

HE MAN WHO has presided over this creditable record of government is an elusive and complex figure about whom little is known compared to other major Western leaders. But there is almost no doubt that one of Francois Mitterrand's assets is his ability to surround himself not with the classic symbols of the left, but with the traditional grandeur of the French Presidency itself.

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For the president of a major Western democracy, Mr. Mitterrand is seen remarkably little in public. He is apparently an austere and private man, more comfortable reading history or philosophy - advisers say he recently finished Ernest Renan's five-volume history of the Jews - than making speeches or rubbing shoulders with crowds. Mr. Mitterrand still lives in the Left Bank apartment that he bought in the early 1960's, rather than in the ornate and more public Elysee Palace. He is subjected to very little of the daily, intrusive, obsessive sort of attention given, for example, to an American President. In recent months, he has had time to edit and publish a collection of his speeches and statements on foreign policy that included a new 135-page introductory essay, written in his characteristically elegant style.

Mr. Mitterrand explains his policies to the general public infrequently, giving two or three television interviews a year, an occasional speech and a small number of press conferences, usually on the occasion of a visit from another head of state. Much of the rest of the time, the press and the public are not aware of exactly where he is or what he is doing.

The mix of the traditional aloofness and apparent tranquility of the Presidency with a Socialist rhetoric seems confusing to many. On one hand, it could be said that Mr. Mitterrand's style helps explain his success in winning office in the first place. He is well within the traditions of any President of the Fifth Republic, and to American eyes seems far more French than leftist. But aspects of his personality and of his doctrine have combined to Mr. Mitterrand's decided disadvantage, and help to explain his persistent unpopularity.

An old French adage has it that a Frenchman's heart is on the left but his pocketbook is on the right. It might be said of Francois Mitterrand that his rhetoric is Socialist but his style of governing is impeccably Gaullist. Anyone who has entered the Elysee Palace and viewed the vast, gilded reception rooms and offices cloaked in what might be called faded monarchical splendor, will realize that France, whether Socialist or not, retains much of the heritage of its former kings, and this Mr. Mitterrand has done nothing to change.

A few of Mr. Mitterrand's ministers show some of the casualness and informality that might be expected of children of the 1960's. Some of them appear without ties, with fashionably longish hair, and they often use the familiar tu form of address instead of the more formal vous. But they are in the minority, and Mr. Mitterrand is certainly not among them. He is familiar with virtually no one. He dresses impeccably and conservatively; he is a master of the French language, and his speeches, delivered in a stirring voice, descend directly from the orations of the 18th century. Mr. Mitterrand is a man of the left, as they say in France, but traces of Louis XIV are visible in his public style.

Pierre Nora, an editor at the famed Gallimard publishing house, identifies three specific characteristics - all of them traditionalist and conservative - that contribute to Mr. Mitterrand's presidential qualities. "First of all, he has a taste for literature in the style of people like de Gaulle and Malraux," Mr. Nora points out. "He's not just a master of a kind of 18th-century rhetoric, but of a music of history to which the French are very sensitive. Secondly, he has a deep sense of history. He has an ability to utter the grand themes of France as nobody else in this country can. And, finally, he identifies himself with the rural roots of France, his love for the soil, for the forest, for nature. These are chords that he never fails to strike."

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Mr. Mitterrand benefits from his reputation as a shrewd political tactician. But, like most elements of Mr. Mitterrand's character, his political skills also carry seeds of difficulty. An important case in point was the controversial alliance with the French Communist Party that helped bring the Socialists to power. It is probably a sign of Mr. Mitterrand's tactical brilliance that the Communists have lost half of their electoral support since the alliance was created, something the President, as early as 1974, had predicted would happen. Nonetheless, to many Frenchmen, Mr. Mitterrand's marriage of convenience has always seemed a pact with the devil for which he has not been forgiven. That feeling combines with what can only be called a distrust of Mr. Mitterrand's motives, a constant odor of political opportunism.

'There is an important personal factor in Mitterrand's lack of general popularity,' Alain Richard, a Socialist legislator from suburban Paris, said. 'The French say to themselves: 'From the point of view of political skill, he is the best; but if he is so skillful, then he couldn't be sincere.' '

THE POLITICAL TASK that lay before Mr. Mitterrand when he took office was defined by simple electoral arithmetic. The Socialist Party could not have hoped to gain power in 1981 without the support of the Communists, who, though rapidly declining, still control an estimated 10 percent of the vote. Their entry into rhetorically bitter opposition in 1984 - in an attempt to disassociate themselves from the Socialists' austerity program - means that new support must come from someplace else.

Polls show that the Socialists have returned to what might be seen as their traditional level of support. The strong Socialist showing in the 1981 elections benefited from Mr. Mitterrand's victory in the Presidential race several weeks earlier, and was a departure from normal French voting patterns. Only three years before, in the 1978 parliamentary elections, the Socialists received just 28 percent of the vote. Thus, if they get 30 percent of the vote in the coming legislative elections, they will be seen to have done rather better than expected. Their ambition, of course, has been to expand their base, to prove in governing the country that they deserve to become a majority party, and their apparent failure to do this seems to stem from two principal weaknesses.

The first is stylistic. The Socialist Government has been prone to frequent mistakes, hesitations and embarrassments that have made even some of the government's achievements appear to the electorate like errors of judgment.

The second, perhaps more important problem, relates to the failure of the left in power to overcome one of the deep, abiding elements of French political culture: the belief that the conservatives have a kind of natural vocation to govern, while the left makes little more than occasional intrusions onto the political stage. 'In the depths of their historic unconscious,' said Max Gallo, editor of the pro-Socialist Le Matin newspaper, 'the French believe that a President of the right is more legitimate than a President of the left.'

The comparison is often made with Leon Blum, the Socialist Prime Minister of France in the troubled days of 1936, who, like Mr. Mitterrand, came to power with the help of other leftist parties, including the Communists. Mr. Blum, an intellectual, a speaker and thinker of great force, eloquence and humanity, presided over some of the basic social reforms that are now accepted by virtually all the French, both left and right, including the 40-hour workweek and the annual two-week vacation.

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Unlike Mr. Mitterrand, Mr. Blum kept the Communists out of the Government, even though he needed their support in Parliament and at the end of his brief period as Prime Minister was struggling to end the crippling, insurrectional strikes called by Communist unions. But despite Mr. Blum's moderation, there is no question that he was hated by large segments of the French public, in part because many in this country incorrectly saw Socialism as an opening wedge to Communism, to immorality, to the destruction of traditional values.

In France, where a short memory is regarded as a fatal intellectual deficiency, the Blum years were being vividly remembered when Francois Mitterrand came to power in 1981. The comparison can be overdrawn. The passage of the years, after all, has dimmed much of the public fear of the left; other Socialists - Pierre Mendes-France, the Prime Minister from 1954-55, is the most obvious example - had served the French state in the meantime. And, certainly, since Mr. Mitterrand came to office there has been no hint of the social disorder that plagued Leon Blum.

Yet, there are similarities. Like Mr. Blum, the Socialists under Mr. Mitterrand pressed quickly for changes, giving the impression that it was their doctrine, more than a quest for good management of the country, that was of main importance to them. Mr. Mitterrand's party, believing no doubt that after 23 years in opposition its arrival in power should be marked by some dramatic moves, nationalized 11 sectors of the French economy, including all the remaining major private banks. It reduced the workweek to 39 hours without increasing productivity. It fixed retirement at 60 years of age instead of 65. It increased the rights of tenants so that a landlord cannot evict a tenant who is unemployed.

These moves, which are called "structural reforms" in the Socialists' vocabulary, came at the wrong time in French history, when the economy was shrinking because of the effects of the oil price rise of 1978-79 and continued high American interest rates. After about a year - during which time the franc fell dramatically, the trade deficit increased and the battle against inflation was clearly being lost - the Socialists, like the conservatives in power elsewhere in the West, turned to austerity. They cut government spending, held down wages and made the hard decision to let outmoded industries, particularly steel and mining, close down, even though that meant increased unemployment.

Some ranking officials in the government argue that the Socialists' apparent about-face did not contradict their party's ideals. Jacques Attali, a senior adviser to Mr. Mitterrand, contends that the austerity program could not have been carried out by a rightist government precisely because it would not have made the social reforms that made austerity acceptable to the public.

Moreover, Mr. Attali denies the conventional wisdom that the second phase of the Socialist program was an implicit acknowledgment that the first phase was a mistake. "The turn in question was not a turn away from structural reform," he said. "We didn't give up anything. We would have admitted a mistake if we had said, for example, 'My God, those nationalizations are leading us into trouble. We have to get rid of them.' We didn't say that."

Yet it seems clear in retrospect that, particularly in the early days, the Socialists alienated some of those voters whose support for Mr. Mitterrand's Government was less a matter of conviction than of fatigue with the right. At the same time, the Government's behavior did not erase the profound suspicion

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of Socialism that is a part of the political culture of many in this country.

Despite Francois Mitterrand's attempt to appeal to the 'tranquil village,' the tranquil village remains a conservative place where the small artisan, the notary public and the members of the village bourgeoisie harbor a powerful distrust of the 'left.' They have a deep-rooted fear that the left is permissive, erosive of traditional values. And nothing that the Socialists have done, neither Mr. Mitterrand's Gaullist style nor his turn to austerity, has changed this basic attitude. A visitor to a small village in Normandy or the Champagne country will be struck by the political language that treats Mr. Mitterrand as a kind of enemy by definition.

This attitude has fed on a series of crises, all of which badly tarnished the reputation of the Socialists, giving them and Mr. Mitterrand an image of inexplicable ineptitude. The most recent was the so-called Greenpeace affair, when the Government first denied that its agents had sunk a ship belonging to the Greenpeace environmentalist group in Auckland, New Zealand, and then had to suffer the ignominy of admitting responsibility for the act. The electorate seemed to support the Government's decision to sink the boat, which was to have led an environmentalist protest against French nuclear weapons testing in the South Pacific. But the Government appeared weak, unresolved, and secretive in its handling of the issue. Throughout the affair, Mr. Mitterrand, giving a splendid example of the aloofness of the French Presidency, never once publicly answered questions about it.

The Greenpeace matter was the most spectacular of a series of imbroglios that have chipped away at the Socialists' reputation and made them seem strangely accident-prone.

In 1984, Mr. Mitterrand gave the appearance of being duped by Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi, whom he met on the island of Crete even though the Libyan had clearly reneged on an agreement with France for a mutual withdrawal of troops from Chad. In so doing, Mr. Mitterrand transformed what was in fact a considerable success - preventing the Libyans from occupying all of Chad - into something that many Frenchmen saw as a national humiliation.

Before that, to give another example, was the 'affair of the private schools' in 1984, when the Socialists, true to one of their campaign promises, tried to pass legislation that would have reduced the independence of church-run schools in France. This was probably the only time during the Socialists' time in power when large numbers of French people really felt that their liberties were being threatened and took, peacefully, to the streets in some of the largest demonstrations France has witnessed since World War II. Mr. Mitterrand, heeding the expressions of public opinion, backed down, but only after he had further alienated voters of the center-right.

'What is in the end rather comic is that there had never been a lobby for a new law,' Alain Richard, the legislator from suburban Paris, said of the debacle. 'No groups had come forward demanding greater control over the private schools. If we had thought it would have consolidated a couple of million votes for us, then we could have said, 'O.K., in politics you have to make some hard choices.' But that wasn't the issue. It was simply that we had said we were going to do something.'

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THE RIGHT HAS NOT been slow to capitalize on the tactical mistakes of the Socialists. Indeed, one of the striking characteristics of the political life of this country is how virtually nothing escapes the polemical daggers of the opposition - just as nothing escaped the attention of Mr. Mitterrand during his own long years of opposition.

But beneath the habitual polemics, some new forms of French political life are taking shape. Specifically, both the parties of the left and the right are changing, and, while it would be difficult to tell from the ferocity of mutual accusations and recriminations, the cooler analysts here see a general drift toward the center of the political spectrum. Doctrinal differences remain. But this is a country that for decades and even centuries has considered itself divided into two irreconcilable camps - monarchists versus republicans, clerics versus laity, capitalists versus workers. What seems likely is that the Socialists and the rightist parties will come increasingly to resemble the Republicans and the Democrats in the United States - one party slightly to the right of center, the other to the left, each capable of taking power without frightening the electorate into thinking that the France of living memory will disappear as a result.

The word of the day on the right side of the spectrum is "liberalism," used in its 19th-century sense to mean a more unrestricted capitalism than statist France has ever had before. Its most prominent advocate inside the opposition is Jacques Chirac, the Mayor of Paris who was Prime Minister under Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Mr. Chirac is the head of the largest rightist political formation in France, the Rally for the Republic. The party considers itself the spiritual heir of Charles de Gaulle, but it has, at least in its formal program, departed from what is called dirigisme, the tradition of centralized government that dates back to the time of the monarchy. Another major opposition figure is Raymond Barre, a highly popular political maverick who was also a Prime Minister under Mr. Giscard d'Estaing.

If the right does get a majority in Parliament on March 16, Mr. Mitterrand might feel forced to call on Mr. Chirac or Mr. Giscard d'Estaing to become Prime Minister and name a government. Mr. Barre, in a move that has divided the opposition, has said that he would not serve in any government unless Mr. Mitterrand steps down first, something the President has refused to consider publicly. Another possibility for Mr. Mitterrand, particularly if the rightist majority is slim, would be to name a compromise candidate as Prime Minister, a figure acceptable to the right but less likely to challenge his authority as President. A likely possibility is Jacques Chaban-Delmas, another former Prime Minister who is now the Mayor of Bordeaux.

Meanwhile, among the Socialists, the drift to the center, away from classic doctrine, is equally striking, if only because the left has been more visible these last five years. And here, there is a suggestion of a profound change in the very nature of French society, one that also helps to explain why the Socialists have apparently been unable to build majority support.

Why, it could be asked, did somebody become a Socialist in decades past, when, for example, the party was formed in 1905, or when Leon Blum came to power at the head of the Popular Front in 1936? Jean Touchard, in a history of the French left, answers that a Socialist "was a man who believed that the social order was profoundly unjust and who wanted to replace capitalist property with collective property."

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Today, a Frenchman usually becomes a Socialist out of family tradition, or a conviction that a margin of additional social protection is needed, perhaps even a belief that the rich are too rich. But few believe any more that French society is profoundly unjust. Political passions have cooled. A recent poll here showed that fully 64 percent of the population believes that the coming election will have no real impact on the quality of daily life. The classic Socialist dream was built on a longing for great change, but those changes have already been accomplished - not by Francois Mitterrand, but by the complex workings of history itself.

And so, the very scene of Mr. Mitterrand crying the old Socialist verities, demanding "justice" for the poor and for the oppressed, has an old-fashioned, anachronistic ring to it. In Lille the other night, he listed the "great reforms" of the last five years, such as the 39-hour workweek, retirement at 60, better social security benefits. No doubt these reforms are meaningful, well within the tradition of Leon Blum. But they are far from revolutionary; they have rather built on what was already happening in the last quarter-century, when the classic "dirigiste" right was in power.

Ultimately, it is a question of necessity, of pragmatism. In a book about the last five years, Serge July, editor of the daily newspaper Liberation, argues that Mr. Mitterrand will be remembered for an achievement that he did not intend - what Mr. July calls the "normalization" of France. The country has become more open, more a part of the rest of the world, less an entity proudly and defiantly going its own way. Whatever happens in this country in the next two years of his Presidential tenure, Mr. Mitterrand is likely to be remembered as a good President, not because of an ideological revolution that took place under his guidance but because of his impressive moral and intellectual qualities and because France, under this avowed man of the left, has moved closer to the rest of the world.

GRAPHIC: Photo of Francois Mitterrand (Granveaud/Collectif/J. B. Pictures); Photo of Mitterrand and Muammar el Qaddafi with Andreas Papandreu (28); Photo of a military drill aboard the aircraft carrier Clemenceau (Foulon/Sipa-Special Features, 28); Photo of Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Jacques Chirac and Raymond Barre (Rebours/Sipa-Special Features, 30); Photo of the recovered Rainbow Warrior (Sydney Fre

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LENGTH: 956 words

HEADLINE: MITTERAND WINS PRESIDENCY BUT MISCALCULATES IN CALLING NAT'L  
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

BODY:

In the post-presidential election euphoria, President Francois Mitterand, master of the political landscape, miscalculated in too quickly dissolving the National Assembly in the hope of securing a working majority for the Socialist party. Until then, Mitterand's agenda was unfolding according to plan: he easily finished first in the initial round of the presidential election (April 24) and went on to defeat his preferred conservative candidate, Jacques Chirac, on May 8th polling an impressive 54.5 percent of the vote. So far so good.

- \* One of Mitterand's election campaign promises was that the next government would not be entirely Socialist and that some form of an accommodation with moderate conservatives was possible. This was done, in part, to avoid scaring off moderate voters in the second presidential round. True to his word, Mitterand appoints Michel Rocard who leads opinion polls as the politician with the broadest national appeal, as prime minister. Rocard attempted to form a minority government, including non-Socialists, to gain a working majority. Only four days later (May 14), Rocard returned to Mitterand claiming, to be unable to gain sufficient support from conservatives in the National Assembly. Early elections were called. While Rocard and Mitterand blame the failure on the conservatives for not joining in immediately, many saw it as political opportunism by the president.
- \* With every opinion poll predicting a Socialist majority (one even forecast over 400 seats--289 are needed for a majority in the 577-seat Assembly) and the conservatives in disarray, Mitterand publicly stated that an overwhelming Socialist victory would not be good for the country and newspapers discussed the "dangers" of a landslide. However, in the first round vote on June 5th, the Socialists appear set to win only 310-330 seats and despite some frantic action by the party to get the vote out, the Socialists slipped again in the second round (June 12) to end up with 276 seats, an improvement of 70 over 1986, but 13 short of an absolute majority. The situation has left Michel Rocard forced to work out an agreement with moderate elements of the conservative deputies in the Assembly rather than negotiating from a position of greater strength with a working majority already in place. Although there is a sufficient number of Communist seats (27) to form a majority, the political obstacles to such a deal are considerable (see item 4 below). It would also run against Mitterand's public declarations and contrary to the public mood in France after 78 percent cast votes in favor of the mainstream political parties.

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- \* Mitterand's miscalculation was one of mistaking his popularity for that of the Socialist party. His presidential campaign was notable for its lack of any reference to socialism, while his personal rating always significantly outstrip that of the party as a whole. Although he did well in the second round, in the first round he came in with a somewhat disappointing 34.1 percent. In addition, with polls erroneously predicting a massive Socialist win and "voter fatigue" setting in (four national votes in only seven weeks), almost 30 percent of those eligible did not vote, the highest since the founding of the Fifth Republic. This certainly damaged the Socialists more than it did the conservatives.
- \* Rocard will be able to muster enough cooperation from deputies within the Union pour la Democratie Francaise (UDF) to form a government (see item 2 below) and the upcoming summer recess will enable him to work out the political deals necessary to ensure some stability and formulate a budget for the autumn. The reality is that according to the constitution a new election cannot be called for a year. Therefore, the National Assembly "deck" can be reshuffled any number of ways and it still comes down to the Socialists running the show because no other combination of parties is viable. The advantages and perks of office will probably be enough to keep the limited number of conservatives needed in line for the time being.
- \* Despite the failure to attain a working majority, the movement of the Socialists back into a position of control in the National Assembly brings the French political system back to the traditional division of power after the awkward (but reasonably successful) cohabitation of 1986-88. The competition between Chirac and Mitterand for political dominance will be replaced by a return to a more clear-cut ascendancy of the president on defense and foreign policy and the responsibility of the prime minister for the economy and domestic affairs.
- \* What this means for the governing of France is that there will unlikely be any significant shifts away from current orthodox economic policy (a wealth tax is likely, and a slowdown of privatizations). The only "foreign" issue facing a change of strategy is New Caledonia, where the likelihood of a negotiated agreement will increase.

SUBJECT: Politics, Profiles Of Political Players

COUNTRY: Europe, France

(Smith)  
February 17, 1989  
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MITTERRAND TOAST  
TOKYO, JAPAN  
FEBRUARY 23, 1989

Mr. President, honored guests: It is a pleasure for me to be able to meet with you in Japan, although we are here on a solemn occasion, marking the passing of an era.

This is our first meeting of 1989, Mr. President. This year France and the United States celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man. These events of the late Eighteenth Century cemented a unique partnership between our two countries, one based on shared traditions, values, and history.

In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and our own Bill of Rights inspired the citizens of our two democracies. And for 200 years, they have inspired countless individuals and nations fighting for their political and civil rights.

We know that there are still millions of people who are denied the benefits of government by popular consent and respect for the rights of the individual. We must remain for them beacons of liberty, committed to the defense of those basic principles that bind our two countries together.

By our own enlightened defense of human dignity and democratic values, we who have fought together to defend those

principles will continue to light the paths of those yet not free.

In coming years, more than ever, that world will need La Coeur de France -- upholding its democratic ideals.

As you do, America will join you. Let us enlarge our own economies, and expand the world's economy. Let us develop further ties in the political, cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

In speaking of America, the Marquis de Lafayette once said, "What charms me most is, all the citizens are brethren."

Mr. President, the people of France are our brethren, just as we are yours.

In that spirit, I ask all of you to join in a toast to the health of President Mitterrand, and to the long and treasured friendship between our nations.

Vive la France!