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National Security Council - African Affairs

Swayne, Mark

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36017	1000003304

Folder Title:

France

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Memorandum	Checklist of Topics...	4	04/27	P1/b1; P5;
002	Report	[Report]	10	04/27/2006	P1/b1;
003	Report	[Report]	2	10/11/2005	P1/b1;
004	Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet] - To: Brian Naranjo	1	08/24/2005	P1/b1;
004a	Memorandum	Summary of Conclusions... - To: J.D. Crouch - From: Peter Rodman	1	08/23/2005	P1/b1; P5;
004b	Memorandum	Summary of Conclusions... - To: Peter Rodman	1	08/18/2005	P1/b1;
004c	Summary of Conclusions	Summary of Conclusions	2	08/04/2005	P1/b1; P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:
National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:
Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:
France

FRC ID:
36017

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
005	Memorandum	French Embassy	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
006	Report	[Report]	2	07/16/2005	P1/b1;
007	Memorandum	Meeting with French	1	04/14/2005	P1/b1; P5;
008	Map	[Map]	2	05/16/2005	P1/b1;
009	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Victoria Nuland - From: Bob Wells	2	12/15/2004	P1/b1; P5;
009b	Map	French Military...	1	N.D.	P1/b1;
010	Report	[Report]	3	12/02/2004	P1/b1;

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010a	Memorandum	...Memorandum	1	12/01/2004	P1/b1;
011	Report	[Report]	2	09/07/2004	P1/b1;
012	Email	[Email] - To: Mark Swayne - From: Cindy Courville	4	09/10/2004	P1/b1; P5;
013	Email	Re: Items... - To: Mark Swayne, et al. - From: Cindy Courville	1	10/19/2004	P5;

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COLLECTION:

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SERIES:

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FRC ID:

36017

OA Num.:

NSC 1780

NARA Num.:**FOIA ID and Segment:**

2019-0082-F

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Report	[Report]	2	10/11/2005	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet] - To: Brian Naranjo	1	08/24/2005	P1/b1;

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4a

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Summary of Conclusions... - To: J.D. Crouch - From: Peter Rodman	1	08/23/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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Summary of Conclusions	Summary of Conclusions	2	08/04/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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Report	[Report]	2	07/16/2005	P1/b1;

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National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

France

FRC ID:

36017

OA Num.:

NSC 1780

NARA Num.:

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2019-0082-F

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Meeting with French	1	04/14/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Map	[Map]	2	05/16/2005	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Victoria Nuland - From: Bob Wells	2	12/15/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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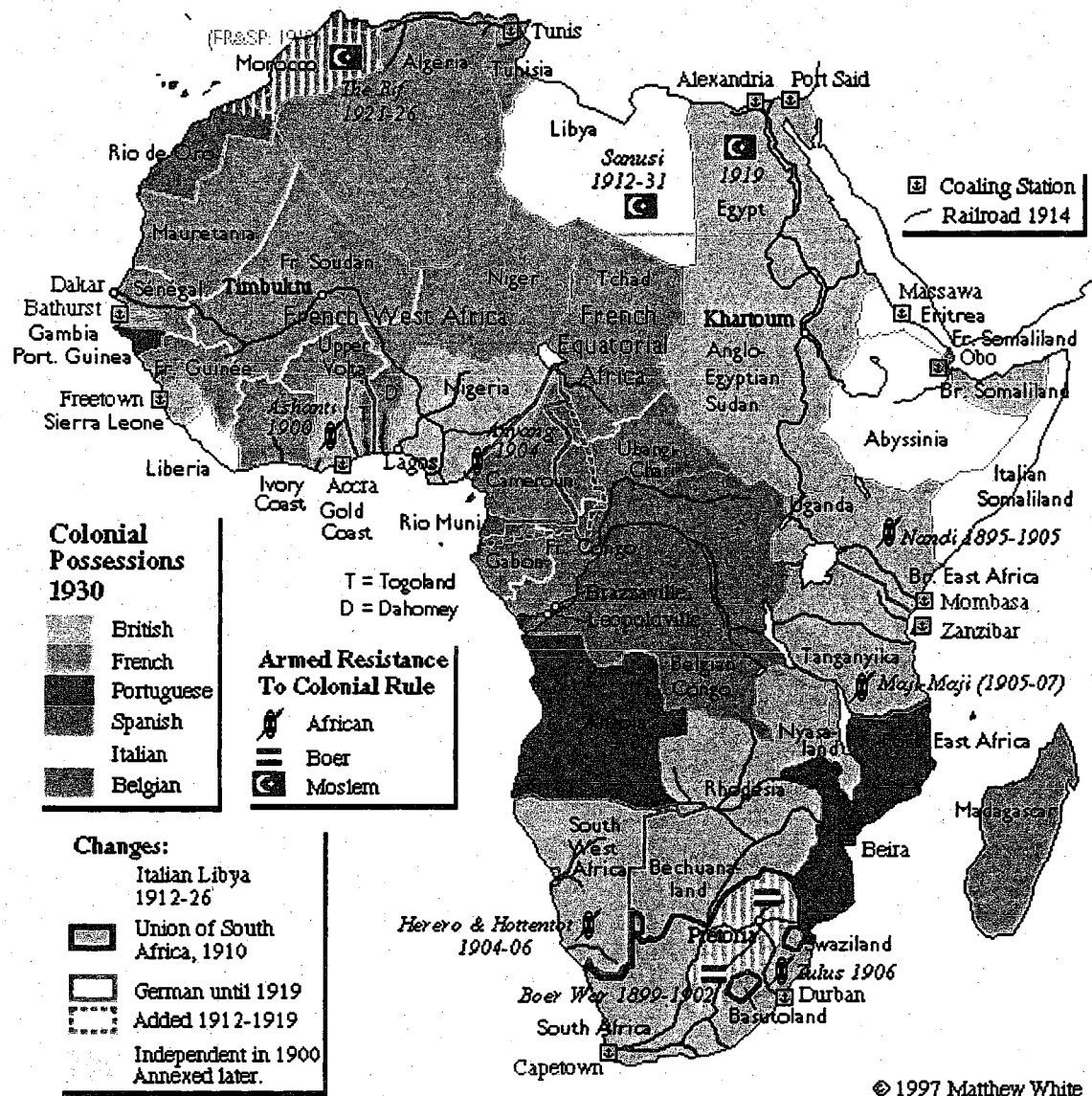
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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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Africa in the Early Twentieth Century



Contemporary Context:



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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	3	12/02/2004	P1/b1;

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10a

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Memorandum	...Memorandum	1	12/01/2004	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	2	09/07/2004	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	[Email] - To: Mark Swayne - From: Cindy Courville	4	09/10/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Re: Items... - To: Mark Swayne, et al. - From: Cindy Courville	1	10/19/2004	P5;

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19/10/2004

LE FIGARO

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A la une	1/8 1/2



Un entretien avec Laurent Gbagbo

Le président ivoirien s'explique
sur le blocage du processus
de réconciliation.

International Page 4

Un entretien avec le président ivoirien, qui s'explique sur les raisons du blocage du processus de réconciliation

Laurent Gbagbo : « Beaucoup de gens n'ont pas intérêt à ce que la paix revienne »

Propos recueillis à Abidjan
par Arnaud de La Grange

LE FIGARO. - Le désarmement prévu le 15 octobre n'a pas eu lieu. Qui bloque ?
LAURENT GBAGBO. - Tout le monde a maintenant compris que le blocage ne venait pas du chef de l'Etat ni du fait de non-sois encore votées. De toute manière, on ne peut mettre sur le même plan un désarmement et le vote de lois : dans le premier cas, il y a entrave physique à l'organisation d'élections. Dans l'autre, non.

Mais, dans l'esprit des accords d'Accra, les réformes devaient être lancées avant le 30 septembre.

Il y a beaucoup d'ignorance et de mauvaise foi. Il n'y a pas de problèmes pour faire passer les lois ordinaires. C'est juste une question de temps. Ce qui pose problème, c'est l'article 35 (voir article ci-dessus). Et là, c'est une grosse blague. Certains ont essayé de faire croire que le président de la République pouvait seul modifier la Constitution. En Côte d'Ivoire, il y a deux étapes à respecter :

1) Le texte doit aller au Parlement mais, pour cela, il faut que l'intégrité territoriale soit rétablie.

2) Le texte doit être voté aux deux tiers des voix. C'est une étape franchie, le président le soumet à référendum.

Des plaisantins ont parlé de l'article 48 qui donne tous les pou-

voirs au président de la République. Vous savez, l'équivalent de votre article 16 qui a fait écrire

à François Mitterrand son fameux Coup d'Etat permanent. Mais avec cet article, on ne peut modifier la Constitution.

N'opposez-vous pas une logique juridique à une logique politique, parfois à privilégier dans un processus de sortie de conflit ?

Écoutez, les rebelles ont tenté un coup d'Etat. Il a échoué. Ils ont ensuite essayé de transformer cela en guerre civile et ils n'ont pas gagné cette guerre. Ils voudraient aujourd'hui avoir les gains politiques d'une victoire qu'ils n'ont pas eue. C'est impossible.

Sans désarmement, comment imaginer que l'intégrité territoriale du pays puisse être rétablie à court terme ?

Les semaines qui viennent diront cela.

L'option militaire - que certains dans votre camp soutiendraient - est sur la table ?

C'est moi qui décide et ce n'est pas dans mes plans. Sinon, croyez-vous que j'aurais passé deux ans à négocier et prévoir des réformes ?

On dit pourtant que vous avez acheté beaucoup d'armes ces derniers mois.

C'est le devoir d'un chef d'Etat qui a été surpris une première fois car son armée n'était pas équipée. Pendant quarante ans, le pays n'a pas eu de véritable ar-

mes.

Considérez-vous aujourd'hui les Forces nouvelles (la dénomination de la rébellion, NDLR) comme un acteur politique ?

Non. De toute manière, toutes les rébellions en Afrique commencent et se terminent de la même façon, en se trahissant, en se criminalisant. Une guérilla gagne en peu de temps ou se désintègre. Regardez la Sierra Leone, l'Angola... Le problème, c'est qu'il y a chez les rebelles des gens qui étaient chauffeurs et qui ont aujourd'hui des millions et des millions sur des comptes dans des pays voisins. Beaucoup de gens n'ont pas intérêt à ce que la paix revienne.

Pour vous, les rebelles ne sont que le bras armé du RDR d'Allassane Ouattara ? C'est clair. Ils n'ont pas caché leur programme.

Ils vous accusent de ne faire aucune concession.

Il y en a eu deux majeures : l'amnistie et leur inclusion dans le gouvernement, alors que nos institutions ne s'étaient pas effondrées. Et la semaine dernière, je viens à nouveau de faire une concession énorme en proposant que la loi sur l'article 35 soit transmise à l'Assemblée nationale dès un début, seulement un début de désarmement. Après, il y aura référendum. Il n'y pas plus démocratique, non ? Je ne comprends pas pourquoi le RDR de M. Ouattara n'est pas plus enthousiaste. Ils ont tellement clamé qu'ils étaient « majori-

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LE FIGARO

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taires ». L'adoption de l'article 35 devrait donc être un jeu d'enfant. Ils devraient vite demander aux rebelles de désarmer pour que l'on aille au référendum...

Selon vous, le soutien du Burkina Faso aux rebelles continue-t-il ?

Le Burkina Faso a été depuis le début la base arrière des rebelles. Et c'est là-bas qu'ils se réunissent encore aujourd'hui. Vous savez, certains me téléphonent, et je vois bien d'où l'appel vient !

Vous avez récemment exprimé à demi-mot votre soutien aux groupes nationalistes des « jeunes patriotes ».

Je n'ai pas dit qu'il s'agissait de gentils petits garçons. En Côte d'Ivoire, 70 % de la population a moins de trente ans et 40 % des jeunes sont au chômage. Une petite partie des jeunes a pris les armes pour attaquer le pays. D'autres ont pris la rue pour défendre la république. Je dis juste que je préfère ceux-là.

Mais comment justifier leur agressivité contre les Français ?

Il y a comme toujours des dérapages et je les rappelle alors à

l'ordre. Mais on ne peut me demander de faire rentrer Guillaume Soro (le jeune chef rebelle, NDLR) au gouvernement et de mettre Charles Blé Goudé (le chef des jeunes patriotes, NDLR) en prison.

En cette période de tension, de nouveaux troubles de leur part sont-ils possibles ? Il est difficile de prévoir les mouvements de foule. Tout cela ne sera vraiment écarté que quand la situation du pays sera redevenue normale.

Comment expliquez-vous vos problèmes de communication avec la France ?

L'Occident est aujourd'hui confronté à un grave, très grave problème avec le monde musulman, qui se cristallise autour de l'Irak et des Etats-Unis. Sans doute parce que les choses n'ont pas été analysées à temps, de part et d'autre. J'ai peur que l'on soit au début d'un tel phénomène, non pas seulement entre la France et l'Afrique, mais entre l'Occident et le monde noir. Attention de ne pas aller à une rupture. Regardez Mugabe au Zimbabwe. Du jour où il a été désavoué par l'Occident, il est devenu un des hommes les plus po-

pulaires d'Afrique. Je ne rentre pas dans le fond du débat, je dis juste que certains types de rapport peuvent finir par monter un bloc contre un autre. Et j'ai peur que la Côte d'Ivoire et les analyses erronées faites autour n'y participent à cela.

Après avoir été très difficiles, vos rapports avec Paris ont cependant l'air meilleurs.

C'est vrai qu'ils ont été très tendus. Cela va mieux car nos analyses se sont rapprochées. Tout le monde est maintenant d'accord pour appeler un rebelle, rebelle. Je ne connais pas de guérillas formées de Robin des Bois. En Occident, on commence à s'en rendre compte. Et puis, on ne peut agir aujourd'hui comme en 1960. Il faut repenser totalement les rapports entre la France et l'Afrique, ~~sortir de la clandestinité, des chuchotements, du règne des gourous...~~ Cela nécessite d'ailleurs des efforts des deux côtés. Nous, Africains, devons apprendre à devenir plus indépendants.

Après l'affaire Julia, vos anciens amis du Parti socialiste ont été durs parfois. François Hollande a dé-

claré récemment que vous étiez « infréquentable ».

Voilà l'illustration de ce que je viens de dire sur les relations entre des pays puissants et riches et d'autres faibles et pauvres. Chez les « grands », on peut se croire autorisé à déverser toute sa haine sur les « petits ». François Hollande se serait-il permis ces mots sur George W. Bush ou Vladimir Poutine ?

Et justement, sur l'affaire Julia...

Pour la Côte d'Ivoire, c'est une tempête dans un verre d'eau. Je ne connais pas les familles des deux journalistes et je n'ai jamais rencontré M. Julia. Un homme de son équipe m'a demandé de les aider. J'ai un certain nombre d'avions et j'en ai prêté un, pour aider. Un point, c'est tout. Et c'est vrai que j'ai pensé que l'Elysée était au courant. Je n'avais pas de raison d'en douter.



REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
A WASHINGTON

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Washington DC, 20007

A l'attention de / To : Mr. Mark SWAYNE
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Date : November 24th, 2004

Nombre de Pages / Number
of pages (This one included) : 1 + 4

OBJET / COMMENTS : Panel on the Sudan Crisis at the Institute of Peace on November 19.

You will find enclosed a copy of the letters sent to both Professor Chester Crocker and Ambassador Richard Williamson.

Sincerely

*Ambassade de France
aux Etats-Unis*

L' Ambassadeur

23 November 2004

N^o 2625

Dear Professor Crocker,

I am writing you in reference to the speech on Sudan that you delivered at the U.S. Institute of Peace on November 19.

Several times, you mentioned my country's role in regrettable terms.

According to you, France is supplying arms to the Khartoum government ("The people who are selling arms to the government of Khartoum. I might just identify them very quickly: they are all the favorite actors that you would recognize: Belarus, Poland, France, Iran, Saudi, China and Russia.") This is very clearly not the case: Arms sales to Sudan are subject to a European Union embargo.

Moreover, you allege that France is playing a negative role at the Security Council, where its sole objective is to oppose the United States for dubious reasons ("These countries between them can marshal a few Security Council vetoes not just because they are interested in the arms. They are interested in more than the arms. They are interested in standing up to an American initiative for reasons of their own.")

*Professor Chester A. CROCKER
813, Intercultural Center
Institute for the Study of Diplomacy
Georgetown University
Washington DC 20057*

Given the gravity of these accusations, I would appreciate it if you could indicate to me the information on which you are basing such remarks.

You sought fit, moreover, to try to ridicule France by inappropriate gestures (waving the V for Victory at the mention of France's supplying American planes in charge of deploying AU contingents in Darfur) or phrases such as "it sounds like le Jour de Gloire est arrivé and let us just leave it there."

Coming from you, such remarks and such behavior are surprising, disappointing, even undignified. They would not merit excessive attention if they hadn't come a few days after French soldiers, participating in a peacekeeping operation in another African country, Côte d'Ivoire, hadn't paid for France's commitment to peace in Africa with their lives.

Contrary to what you suggested, France and the United States are cooperating closely on Sudan, at every level and in the best spirit. I would be open to receiving you at my Residence to discuss this subject with you.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the chairman of the U.S. Institute of Peace, J. Robinson West, and Vice Chair Maria Otero, to ensure that they are aware of the remarks and allegations you chose to make about France on the Institute's premises.

Sincerely,



Jean-David LEVITTE

*Ambassade de France
aux Etats-Unis*

L'Ambassadeur

23 November 2004

N: 2626

Dear Ambassador Williamson,

I am writing you in reference to the speech on Sudan that you delivered at the U.S. Institute of Peace on November 19.

Several times, you mentioned my country's role in regrettable terms.

According to you, France has systematically sought to dilute Security Council draft resolutions on Sudan ("resolutions this summer that were watered down by other Security Council members including the French [...] it was true that three of the permanent members watered down the resolutions substantially and provided a mixed message.")

In your view, this attitude is motivated by the protection of oil interests, which France would place above the need to end the current genocide ("we saw that to some extent this summer when the U.S. pushed strong resolutions and some of the other permanent members had other interests: if it was China and oil, France and oil concessions, Russia. No one forced them to cast their vote, to deal with the moral questions, if they held their economic interest higher than trying to stop genocide...").

*Ambassador Richard S. WILLIAMSON
Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw LLP
190 South LaSalle Street
Chicago IL 60603-3441*

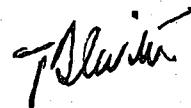
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Jean-David LEVITTE