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MEMORANDUM

V

No.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

<sup>2506</sup> **C.F.** 33/944

F6006-12

March 30, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH WHITTLESEY

FROM:

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE uc

SUBJECT:

Possible Presidential Meeting with Mr. Delamuraz of Switzerland

Thank you so much for passing on the request from Ambassador Jacobi to arrange a meeting for Mr. Delamuraz with the President. Indeed, we agree that meetings with key foreigners like Mr. Delamuraz are important. However, next week, and April 2 in particular, is a difficult period for arranging additional Presidential meetings with foreigners. For example, on April 2 the President is already meeting with Prime Minister Ozal of Turkey and FRG President von Weizsaecker. Therefore, I do not believe it would be feasible to arrange this meeting.

N5C#8502502

MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

#### CONFIDENTIAL

March 28, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

TYRUS COBB

FROM:

SUBJECT: Faith Whittlesey's Request for Presidential Photo Op for Swiss Councillor

Faith has received a request from Ambassador Jacobi to arrange a photo opportunity or brief meeting with the President for one of the seven Swiss Federal Councillors, Mr. Jean Pascal Delamuraz. She has asked you to assist in arranging a five-minute meeting (Tab II).

While I understand that Faith likes to go out of her way to help her Swiss friends, if we agree to this meeting we risk opening the door to the other six Councillors, and to a host of other European Cabinet-level officers. Further we should not be overly responsive to a request made by the Swiss through this conduit, as opposed to State-NSC channels. Moreover, the President already has two major NSC events (Ozal and McCloy) on Tuesday, April 2.

Your response to Faith (Tab I) acknowledges the importance of Mr. Delamuraz, but cites the press of the President's calendar as preventing this meeting.

Peter Sommer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the proposed memorandum at Tab I to Faith Whittlesey.

Approve

Disapprove

Attachments:

Tab IProposed Memo to Ambassador WhittleseyTab IIIncoming Memo, March 27

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR DECLARCIFIED Sec.3.4(3), (24) (1950, 33 amendad White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006 SY NARA\_01\_\_\_\_\_CATE\_11\_72

2506

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

25 10 27 2112 27

March 27, 1985

#### MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT MCFARLANE

FROM: FAITH WHITTLESEY  $\exists R \omega$ 

SUBJECT: Visit of Swiss Federal Councillor Jean Pascal Delamuraz

As you may know, one of the seven Federal Councillors of Switzerland will be visiting Washington April 2 and April 3. Would it be possible for him to see the President briefly at any time on Tuesday, April 2?

As the attached note from Swiss Ambassador Jacobi points out, Mr. Delamuraz is a new member of the Federal Council. In accordance with the governing rules of the Federal Council, Mr. Delamuraz will be elected Federal President in two years. Mr. Delamuraz's portfolio is defense. As you know, the Swiss are among the largest arms purchasers from the United States in Europe. In defense policy the Swiss share the President's commitment to peace through strength.

Among the neutral countries, the Swiss have been as supportive as any. In view of Mr. Delamuraz's defense portfolio, a five minute meeting would certainly be helpful and consistent with the President's stated policy of providing incentives to friendly countries to expand cooperation.

A brief summary of Mr. Delamuraz's background is attached.

2861 8 8 AAM

The Ambassador of Switzerland

Washington, D.C. March 25, 1985

PROFILE OF FEDERAL COUNCILLOR JEAN PASCAL DELAMURAZ

Mr. Delamuraz is the senior cabinet member of the Radical-Democratic Party which has the highest number of representatives in the Swiss Parliament.

Thanks to his political experience on community, state and federal level, he is an emerging leader on the political scene in Switzerland.

As one of the seven cabinet members of the Federal Council, Mr. Delamuraz' importance is based on two essential portfolios, Defense and Foreign Affairs. On one hand he is the head of the Federal Military Department and on the other he acts as alternate for the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Together with the head of the Foreign Affairs Department and the Federal President, he is also member of the executive Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In accordance with the governing rules of the Federal Council, Mr. Delamuraz will be elected Federal President in two years.

(Klaus Jacobi)

#### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA



#### Jean-Pascal Delamuraz

#### Federal Councillor Head of the Federal Military Department

Federal Councillor Delamuraz was elected member of the Swiss Federal Council in December 1983, by the Swiss Parliament. Mr. Delamuraz became Head of the Federal Military Department on January 1, 1984.

Jean-Pascal Delamuraz was born in Paudex/Lausanne on April 1, 1936. He earned a degree in political science from the University of Lausanne in 1960. The same year he started his professional career as deputy to the administrative director of the National Exposition 1964 in Lausanne.

In 1965 he became general secretary of the radical political party of the Canton of Vaud. The same year he was elected member of the local Parliament of the town of Lausanne.

In 1970 he became member of the local government of Lausanne. He was head of the public construction department. In 1974 he became Mayor of Lausanne.

In 1975 he was elected member of the Federal Parliament (National council).

In 1981 he was elected member of the cantonal government of the Canton of Vaud. In this function he headed the Department of agriculture, industry and commerce.

As a member of the National council he took a very active part in political life. During the eight years in the Federal Parliament he was member of several committees.

Mr. Delamuraz always gives his full attention to the problems raised by adequate armament and equipment of a militia army.

Mr. Delamuraz is married to the former Catherine Reymond. They have a son and a daughter.

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S/S 8405696



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520 May 7, 1984

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FG006-12

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Robert M. Kimmitt National Security Council

SUBJECT:

Alerting NSC on Presidential Correspondence

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Reagan from Mr. Schlumpf and Buser of Switzerland which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat Information Management Section on May 4, 1984.

harles I. Jackson

Director, S/S-I Information Management Section Executive Secretariat ext. 23836

Change of ambandon NSC# 8403656

3656

#### SUMMARY TRANSLATION

Notifying that Swiss Ambassador Anton Hegner has been called upon to undertake new duties, thereby ending his tour.

8405696



COPIE

# LE CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL SUISSE

à

Son Excellence Monsieur Ronald Reagan Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique

Monsieur le Président,

Monsieur Anton Hegner,

qui remplissait auprès de Votre Excellence les hautes fonctions d'Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire, ayant été appelé à de nouvelles fonctions, nous avons mis fin à sa mission et l'avons autorisé à prendre congé de Votre Excellence.

Nous ne doutons pas que, durant son séjour, il n'ait omis aucune occasion de Vous exprimer sa reconnaissance pour les marques de bienveillance dont Votre Excellence l'a honoré et qu'il n'ait été le fidèle interprète de nos sentiments de haute estime et des voeux sincères que nous formons pour la prospérité des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Sur quoi, nous recommandons Votre Excellence, avec nous, à la protection du Tout-Puissant.

Berne, le 24 février 1984

### AU NOM DU CONSEIL FEDERAL SUISSE: Le Président de la Confédération, Schlumpf

Le Chancelier de la Confédération, Buser SUMMARY TRANSLATION

Notifying of Swiss decision to accredit Klaus Jacobi as new Ambassador to the United States.

\* ·

8405697



## LE CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL SUISSE

à

Son Excellence Monsieur Ronald Reagan Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique

Monsieur le Président,

COPIE

Désireux de maintenir et de resserrer les liens d'amitié qui existent si heureusement entre la Confédération Suisse et

les Etats-Unis d'Amérique,

nous avons décidé d'accréditer auprès de Votre Excellence

Monsieur Klaus Jacobi

en qualité d'Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire.

Les qualités personnelles de

Monsieur Klaus Jacobi,

son expérience et les services qu'il a déjà rendus à son pays nous sont de sûrs garants du soin qu'il mettra à s'acquitter de la haute mission qui lui est confiée.

C'est dans cette conviction que nous Vous prions de vouloir bien l'accueillir favorablement, lui accorder Votre bienveillance et ajouter foi et créance entière à toute communication qu'il Vous adressera de notre part, surtout lorsqu'il Vous exprimera les sentiments de notre très haute estime et les vœux que nous formons pour la prospérité des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Sur quoi, nous recommandons Votre Excellence, avec nous, à la protection du Tout-Puissant.

Berne, le 24 février 1984

AU NOM DU CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL SUISSE: Le Président de la Confédération,

Schlumpf

Le Chancelier de la Confédération, Buser

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WASHINGTON

THE-WHITE HOUSE

June 21, 1984

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Dear Ambassador Lodge:

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Thanks so much for passing on the laudatory letter from Ambassador Raymond Probst. It is certainly heartening to hear from such influential European figures as Mr. Probst that our efforts to improve relations with the Swiss and all Europeans are bearing fruit. You should be pleased with the personal contribution you have made to the improvement of our transatlantic ties.

Sincerely,

Hyperlane

The Honorable John Davis Lodge Ambassador Embassy of the United States Bern

NSQ# 8404428

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

June 12, 1984

MEMORANDUM			MCFARLANE	
FROM:	TYRUS	w.	COBB	
SUBJECT:	Reply	to	Ambassador Lodge	

Ambassador Lodge has written to you (Tab A) forwarding a letter he received (Tab B) from retiring Swiss Foreign Affairs State Secretary Raymond Probst, proclaiming that Swiss-American relations are excellent today.

At Tab I is a letter from you to Lodge thanking him for his note.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Lodge at Tab I. Approve

Disapprove

Attachments Tab I - Letter to Lodge Tab A - Incoming from Lodge Tab B - Probst Letter



EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA Bern, Switzerland

-7 Staffe MAY 2 5 1984

May 4, 1984

Honorable Robert C. McFarlane National Security Advisor The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

**N8** 

Dear Ambassador McFarlane:

Enclosed is a splendid letter which I received from former Foreign Affairs State Secretary Raymond Probst in reply to my letter to him on the occasion of his recent retirement. His comments about the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Switzerland are certainly encouraging.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely, dy,

John Davis Lodge Ambassador

Letter addressed to Ambassador John Davis Lodge, American Ambassador to Switzerland, from Mr. Raymond Probst, Former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Adelboden, April 20, 1984

#### Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am writing you from some days of urgently needed relaxation in the sun and snow of Adelboden in the Bernese Oberland to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kind and warm personal wishes on the occasion of my leaving the official service of the Swiss Confederation. I am really touched by your words of appreciation for what I tried to achieve in our mutual relations. Indeed, my whole diplomatic career has been closely interwoven with your own country, the United States of America, where I spent nine years of my professional life, as a First Secretary of Embassy to begin with in the fifties, and then for almost five years as Ambassador to your great country before returning to Berne for my last official function.

You know how much my wife and I are attached to America. We were happy there, we love your country, and your countrymen and we are deeply aware of how much we all, In Europe, are indebted to the United States. So let us continue to stay together in the defense of our Western heritage.

My wife joins me in extending to your lady and yourself our best wishes and warm personal regards. It will be a pleasure to see you again.

Sincerely,

/sgd/

Raymond Probst

ID 8404428

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

#### REFERRAL

DATE: 21 JUN 84

#### MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: MCFARLANE

SOURCE. LODGE, JOHN DAVIS

DATE: 04 MAY 84

KEYWORDS: SWITZERLAND

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## <u>COPIE</u> LE CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL SUISSE

à

Son Excellence Monsieur Ronald Reagan Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique

Monsieur le Président,

Monsieur Anton Hegner,

qui remplissait auprès de Votre Excellence les hautes fonctions d'Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire, ayant été appelé à de nouvelles fonctions, nous avons mis fin à sa mission et l'avons autorisé à prendre congé de Votre Excellence.

Nous ne doutons pas que, durant son séjour, il n'ait omis aucune occasion de Vous exprimer sa reconnaissance pour les marques de bienveillance dont Votre Excellence l'a honoré et qu'il n'ait été le fidèle interprète de nos sentiments de haute estime et des voeux sincères que nous formons pour la prospérité des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Sur quoi, nous recommandons Votre Excellence, avec nous, à la protection du Tout-Puissant.

Berne, le 24 février 1984

### AU NOM DU CONSEIL FEDERAL SUISSE: Le Président de la Confédération, Schlumpf

Le Chancelier de la Confédération, Buser MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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F-G006-12

June 21, 1984

ACTION

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MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

TY COBB FROM:

SUBJECT:

Swiss Visit

The new Swiss Ambassador, Klaus Jacobi, called to see if he could meet with you to discuss political aspects of the Summit and to pay a courtesy call. Given your preference that Ambassadors deal directly with State, or your staff, I recommend you politely pass on this one.

**RECOMMENDATION:** 

That you authorize me to tell the Embassy that you regret but you will not be able to see Ambassador Jacobi, but that you suggested he get together with Ambassador Matlock and me.

Approve ACM

Disapprove

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TO

MCFARLANE

FROM COBB

KEYWORDS SWITZERLAND AM

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SUBJECT: SWISS VISIT Appt Request w/ mcFarlane for Swiss amb on

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	Date July 19, 1984
	For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane National Security Council The White House
	Reference:
	To: President Reagan From: Swiss Ambassador Umm Requi
	Date: May 7, 1984 Subject: Letter of recall from
	Swiss Ambassador
	WH Referral Dated: NSC ID# (if any)
	The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.
	Action Taken:
	A draft reply is attached.
	A draft reply will be forwarded.
	A translation is attached.
	An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
	X We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
	The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
٠	Other.
	Remarks: Letter is a standard format notice of Swiss Ambassador's recall. The President has already accepted the letter in person during the accreditation ceremony of the new Swiss Ambassador, Klaus Jacobi.

NSC#8403656

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UNCLASSIFIED (Classification)

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

#### (TRANSLATION)

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> The Swiss Federal Council to His Excellency, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America

Mr. President:

#### Mr. Anton Hegner,

who has lately served Your Excellency in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, having been called elsewhere to provide his services, we have terminated his mission and have authorized him to take leave of Your Excellency.

We doubt not that, during his stay, he missed no opportunity to express to you his appreciation for the welcome Your Excellency afforded him and that he has accurately interpreted our feelings of high esteem and sincere wishes for the prosperity of the United States of America.

And so we commend you, together with us, to the protection of the Almighty.

Berne, February 24, 1984 On behalf of the Swiss Federal Council: Schlumpf President of the Confederation

Buser Chancellor of the Confederation

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#### "Portentous Currents of Change"

by JOHN DAVIS LODGE JV United States Ambassador to Switzerland Delivered at the Swiss-American Society of Ber Bern, Switzerland Wednesday, October 24, 1984

277582

President von Stokar, distinguished guests, Swiss friends of the United States, fellow Americans, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a special pleasure and a significant honor for me to be here and I thank you, President von Stokar and Mr. Moser, for your gracious invitation and for all the efforts which you and your society have made to advance Swiss-American relations over the years. It was at a gathering of the Swiss-American Society in May 1983, where you first welcomed me to Bern. It is kind of you indeed to ask me to return today and to address you on a subject that is of extreme importance to Western Europe and to the United States.

Through an unfortunate concatenation of circumstance, there is at present a convergence of currents which create difficult problems for the Western Alliance.

There is the relentless fact that the industrial productivity of Western Europe has become non-competitive in many fields. This has caused the economies of Western European nations to suffer serious setbacks. The causes are not hard to identify: protectionism, always in the end counterproductive; and subsidies which enable uneconomical industries to survive when they should be allowed to make room for modern technology. The Western European nations have not kept pace with the U.S., with Japan and with nations of the Pacific Basin in robotology, in plant renewal and in innovation. The dead hand of socialism has inhibited the natural forward thrust of free incentive based competitive economies. As a result, while during the period 1973 to 1983, NSC SHOS22/ Europe lost 3 million jobs, the U.S. added 15.8 million to the payrolls. In 1983 alone some 3,800,000 new jobs were created in the U.S. The ratio of employment to working age population is 66 percent higher in the U.S. than in all of Western Europe, except Sweden. The rate is rising in the U.S. and falling in Europe as more women participate in the U.S. labor force. We, under President Reagan's imaginative leadership, have dismantled burdensome regulations and lowered taxes so that market forces can work effectively. In many European countries, fragmented markets, government intervention and the rigid high cost of labor block economic growth.

Billions of dollars more are spent in Europe on subsidies of agriculture and outmoded industries than on basic research and development. In 1983, Western European nations spent 18 billion dollars on farm subsidies and only \$200,000,000 on new equipment.

The military significance of high technology is inestimable. The recent Falklands war demonstrated some of the uses which can be made of satellite intelligence and sophisticated information technology, in the attempts of one side's chips and software to outwit and destroy the chips and software of the other. Mastery of and leadership in the strategic technologies is essential to the achievement of military and political power. Democracy is not a passport to power. China's centuries of historical culture were useless in technological competition with European powers in the Nineteenth Century. Europe must heed this caveat, if it is to survive as a dominant economic, political, cultural and military center.

The self-defeating devices of subsidies and protectionism must be overcome in order to restore the natural vitality of Europe's economies. I am proud to say, that President Reagan's policy is one of free trade as opposed to protectionism. We in the United States have, since the reciprocal trade acts of the 1930's, generally avoided the stultifying policies of

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protectionism. We have advanced the concept of deregulation and tax changes to create a climate conducive to the development of new industries and new jobs. Thus, in spite of serious protectionist trends in Europe, the volume of our two-way trade with Europe continues to grow over \$10 billion annually. Our balance on current account with the European Community has improved from a 36 billion dollar deficit in 1980 to a three billion dollar surplus in 1983.

A consequence of European decline is that the value of freight going to the Orient from the U.S. is now 65 billion U.S. dollars, whereas the amount going to Europe is 60 billion U.S. dollars. Since 1978 more U.S. trade has moved across the Pacific than the Atlantic. In 1983 our two way trade across the Pacific totalled 137 billion dollars - some 30 billion dollars more than our two way trade across the Atlantic. Some say the Far East has become America's Near West. Asian economies have prospered while those of Europe have stagnated. Growth in Europe over the past decade has averaged only about two percent annually, while the newly industrialized countries of Asia have grown at a seven percent annual rate. Additionally, their manufacturing exports have increased at an 18 percent annual rate.

These economic changes in the world have reflected geographic shifts within the United States. Economic power and influence -as well as people -- have migrated south and west. U.S. exports reflect this shift. Recent statistics show that California and Texas are the country's top two exporters of manufactured goods.

We are a continental nation. We look East and West. The State of California has a budget, the 7th in size among the nations of the world. It is natural that the millions of people on the West Coast should look at the Pacific Basin: at Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia, rather than at the nations of Western Europe. These nations have not resorted, as much as have the nations of Europe, to protectionism and subsidies as a means of bolstering sagging economies. They have placed their faith in the crucible of the market place. As a result, their economies are resurgent, prospering. President Reagan has promoted positive political, economic and cultural relations with many Asian countries, particularly China, Japan and Korea as exemplified by his successful visit to China.

Nevertheless, strengthened relations with Asia need not diminish our strong traditional ties to Europe.

As a result of this decline, nations of the Western Alliance have in many cases been unable or unwilling to shoulder their share of the military burden in defense of Western Europe.

This has placed an additional financial and military burden on the U.S. at a time when some European leaders have expressed concern regarding the U.S. hard line position. Some of them think that the Russian menace is not as great as we believe it to be. They think that the ills which plague the Russian economy, plus problems of dependability with their satellites, diminish the Russian threat. We, on the other hand, are convinced that President Reagan is exactly right; that the Soviet threat is implacable, it's continuing onslaughts inexorable and that we must be strong and firm in order to succeed in negotiations with the Russians. We are convinced, as I have said many times, that peace is a product of strength; that war is a derivative of weakness and that appeasement merely multiplies the hazards of war.

The Russian propaganda juggernaut has also, by disinformation and other deceits, spread the word that America is not a dependable ally. They point to our failure to support our friends in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Laos; how we let the Shah of Persia down; how we abandoned Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Having, through proxies, created the problem and the threat in Central America they then point out that we allowed the

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Sandinistas to take over in Nicaragua and that we will not prevail in El Salvador because we are unwilling to give the necessary support to the rebels in Nicaragua. They taunt us with our vacillation, our lack of determination in dealing with menaces which they launched and which they supply and support. They try to make us appear like a paper tiger and with respect to Grenada they spread the canard that we invaded Grenada as they themselves invaded Afghanistan. They broadcast the assertion that we are unable to defend our small and close neighbors; that we are unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to help our friends in an area near and vital to us. Therefore, how can we be depended on to support our allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? How can Europe trust us? Would it not be prudent to seek an accommodation with the Soviets while there is still time? This is barefaced and cynical. But it is also having it's effect and we must learn to deal with it.

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on April 4, 1949 when I was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. After more than 35 years the Atlantic Treaty is still firm and strong. It constitutes a bulwark for the defense of Europe. It is most certainly a deterrent element. If it were not effective, the Russians would not be trying so hard to destroy it, principally by attempting to sow discord and division between us and our allies. The Russians understand that Europe recovered with the help of the Marshall plan and behind the protective shield of NATO.

The inability or unwillingness of the NATO nations to contribute their fair share in their own defense has generated a feeling against NATO in the U.S. So it was that Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia proposed a resolution providing that over a period of 5 years our U.S. forces would be reduced by 90,000 men, unless the European member nations provided a certain increase of military support. It was defeated after much gnashing of teeth. It will probably he tried again and the next time it may well succeed,

because of the growing feeling that we are contributing more than our fair share. In all fairness, it should be pointed out that European nations and Germany in particular, are contributing more than is realized to common defense efforts, because of the invaluable real estate being tied up for military purposes.

The constant daily drumbeat of attacks and criticism of President Reagan and the United States through the media of Western Europe is having a lamentable effect in the U.S. For, while we Americans are accustomed to American media attacks on our President and indeed on our nation from our own TV, Radio and Press, when it comes from outside and from people whom we are trying, at considerable expense, to help, it is particularly galling. We are tempted to reduce our involvement, even to contemplate withdrawal.

In point of fact, we cannot withdraw. We cannot cede to the enemy the immense industrial plant of Western Europe. We cannot afford to dispense with the enormous pool of skilled European labor. We cannot tolerate a situation in which 300 million people and all their impedimenta would be hitched to the Russian chariot wheels. We cannot, in sober truth, desert our friends and allies and abandon them to the tender mercies of the Red fascist marauders. We cannot capitulate out of pique. Our survival depends eventually on European survival. In this world contracted by science, their destiny will, I am convinced, be our destiny.

Those who believe that they can achieve accommodation are deluding themselves. We Swiss and Americans who love freedom should call to mind the old Swiss tradition confirmed at Grandson and Murten. You are divided by language, by religion, even by geography and yet you are unmistakably Swiss and you are wonderfully unified. Hitler dared not attack you. You had set the price too high.

With Swiss courage, determination and steadfastness we can contain the conquering drive of the predatory Russian colossus. There is, in fact, no constructive alternative. Accomodation with Russia means domination by the Soviet Union with all the regimentation, the obscene torture chambers, the absence of freedom, all the dreadful paraphernalia of tyranny which this comports. We need only look at the Berlin Wall, the Iron Curtain, the savage destruction of the South Korean Airliner with the cold-blooded murder of 269 innocent people, to understand the horror, the nightmare which would descend on Western Europe if it were absorbed into the Soviet hegemony. Life would hardly be worth living. It would constitute a return to barbarism, to the jungle.

We Americans used to regard Europeans as more sophisticated than we. That period has ended. Europeans remained silent when the Russian missiles were installed during the Carter Administration and then demonstrated violently and vociferously when, during the Reagan Administration, American missiles are being installed in response to the request of, and in defense of, the Europeans. They were brainwashed by the Russians. Hardly an exercise in sophistication.

And I would remind those Europeans who still think of us as unsophisticated that, in the 21 years (1918-1939) between two World Wars the U.S. was relatively inactive in World affairs whereas since World War II the U.S. has been very active and we have had almost 40 years of global peace, interrupted, of course, by some local wars.

It occurs to me that, in general, Europeans are preoccupied with what they think of us and not with what 235 million Americans are thinking. And yet our Government is apt eventually to reflect what the American people are thinking, and the people of Europe are affected in many ways by decisions taken by the U.S. Government. Those in Europe who naively think of us as on the one

hand naive, disingenuous and incapable of coping with sophisticated international problems, or on the other hand as a two gun, shoot from the hip John Wayne character, should revise their thinking. For the way the Europeans think of us is having an adverse effect on American public opinion with consequences which could be very unpleasant for Europe. Indeed, it could be said that the very survival of Western Europe as a region of independent sovereign states may well depend on the ability of the European people to cast off provincial prejudice, separatism and parochial attitudes and raise their sights so as to comprehend that in a struggle of such epic proportions the help, the leadership of America may well be decisive as it has been twice before.

We are in a position to provide that leadership. We have a great leader. Ronald Reagan understands the challenge; he knows the nature of the menace. Our President by his sound judgment, his courage and his contagious optimism has restored our national self-respect, our self-confidence, our optimism regarding the future. He has turned our country around. We are once again proud to be Americans as the Olympics in Los Angeles demonstrated in an exciting way. The American people have come to believe with President Reagan that we must be strong. Indeed, we are getting stronger every day. Doubt generates weakness. Weakness and indecisiveness jeopardize peace. Our President is decisive. He is criticized for this admirable trait by the effete and the fainthearted. Some call him simplistic, because he takes action while the critics debate the pros and cons. Theodore Roosevelt said: "it isn't the critic who counts. It's the man in the arena". Our President is in the arena. Our President has restored love of America in the hearts of the American people. Ronald Reagan is right for our time. Make no mistake about it: America is on the move. Americans are living their lives with joy and gusto and taking little account of the carping criticisims, the nagging ill-natured attacks from at home and abroad. They are determined to support the man at the helm in his highly successful domestic and foreign policies. You Europeans can count on us, Americans.

The call on President Reagan of Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, is evidence that the Russian stone wall attitude has developed a crack. Gromyko's visit to the White House was tactical; essentially defensive. The very fact of the visit suggests a profound change of perspective. We welcome it. It gives the lie to those who, for partisan reasons, attacked the President for not sitting down with the Russians. It resumes contact, although we were never the ones who broke off conversations. It was always the Russians who walked out. President Reagan did not go, hat in hand, to Moscow. Foreign Minister Gromyko came to the White House. This constitutes hard evidence that the Russians have become worried. They are coming to talk to us. They are looking for a way out of the problems which beset them. Perhaps they are backing up only in order to jump further. But they have backed up a bit and that gives the West more time to put its own house in order if we will take advantage of it. While we may say that because of President Reagan's leadership, the Soviets are now on the defensive, we must also realize that they are militarily strong and they are not on the verge of political or economic collapse.

We Americans, under our clear-headed and courageous leader, have shown that we can lead; we have shown also that we will fight. The U.S. move to abort the Cuban invasion of Grenada pretty well demolished the Vietnam syndrome from which we Americans had been suffering. Let us recall Winston Churchill's memorable clarion call: "Still, if you will not fight when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory can be sure and not too costly, there may come a time when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and you have only a precarious chance for survival. There may even be a worse case; you may have to fight when there is no hope of victory because it is better to perish than to live as slaves".

After all the shouting has died down, the fact remains that we did fight for the island of Grenada: we suffered casualties and we prevailed. We removed a dagger aimed at the heart of America. We lanced a boil which was poisoning the entire Caribbean area. We excised a cancer which might have consumed us. We did it, moreover at the behest of the British appointed Governor General and the organization of Eastern Caribbean States, and also because the British were not in a position to defend their own interests. In doing so we protected our own hemisphere from unfriendly elements from abroad; we implemented the Monroe Doctrine; we exorcised the ghosts of Vietnam and we proved that we are qualified and equipped to lead the free world out of the quagmire of fear, self-doubt and indecisiveness and onto the dry high ground of strength, self-confidence and hope.

Our world seems to be coming apart. Terrorism, crime, drugs, riots and disorders are the order of the day all over the world. Timeless truths which we took for granted are held up to the light for reexamination and attack. In the immortal words of William Butler Yeats:

> "Things fall apart; The center can not hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world; The blood dimmed tide is loosed; And everywhere the ceremony of innocence is drowned; The best have no conviction; And the worst are full of passionate intensity Surely some revelation is at hand."

Much of our Western civilization has become a jungle of anarchy and corruption fomented in great part by those who seek our destruction. As Winston Churchill said: "We cannot fail or falter for it is truly the light of Western civilization that is at stake". Yet, we can take heart from the exhilirating fact that our opportunity for useful service to mankind is equal to the enormity of the threat.

The Soviet Union has its problems: in Eastern Europe, one notes the trend from East Germany to Hungary, Poland and Romania. Soviet satellites are trying to assert their independence. In Western Europe, voters in Britain, France, Italy and West Germany have all ignored Soviet threats while NATO deployment of nuclear missiles proceeds. In Latin America, we have noted Western success and communist failure, communist rule in Grenada was ended, Columbia has overcome its communist rebels; anti-communist forces are growing stronger in Nicaragua. Cuba's economy deteriorates daily, resulting in weakened influence in Latin America and increasing subsidy needs from the Soviet Union. In Africa, Marxist appeal is steadily diminishing with only Ethiopia turning toward Moscow, while previous candidates for communist conversion of Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Guinea and Somalia all are becoming disenchanted with the appeal of the Soviet Goliath. The Soviet bandwagon is slowing down. In Afghanistan, Soviet forces are mired in a guerrilla war of attrition. Substantial Soviet subsidies to Vietnam reduce domestic Soviet resources. Attempted efforts to improve Soviet ties with China and Japan have not been successful and in the area of world opinion, Asia included, the Soviet image has suffered severely following the brutal destruction of the KAL airliner. In the Middle East, the Soviet Union supplied Syrian army was defeated in its 1982 war with Israel. Soviet efforts to take the peace initiative from the U.S. have not been successful. With these failures abroad, the Soviet Union finds itself faced at home with crop failures, economic stagnation, loss of needed hard currencies, leadership problems and increasingly restive minorities.

This does not mean that the military force of the Soviets is not powerful. In spite of Russian reverses elsewhere, perhaps even because of what might appear to them to be defensive encirclement, the Soviet Union could be considered most dangerous. Yet, the balance is tilting in our favor. Our President has, by his domestic policies, led the United States out of inflation, unemployment and a threatening depression. He will now inspire our country to lead the free world out of the dark clouds of oppression which threaten us and into the sunlight of a secure peace with freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, you Swiss and we Americans will, I know, be equal to the formidable challenge which we confront in this trembling hour of destiny in which all the precious culture and notable achievements of Western civilization are in jeopardy. I am confident that 200 years from now, when our descendants look back on our ordeal, our Gethsemane, they will say of us that, like our ancestors, we understood the challenge, we stood our ground and we emerged victorious.

It is almost midnight in Europe. This is no time to grow tired. There is no place to hide. This is the time for resolute action. The future is now! This is the time for greatness.

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37 With the Compliments of John Davis Lodge Ambassador of the United States of America NSC Thursday, October 25 1984 93 Jubiläumsstrasse 3005 Bern, Switzerland Tel. 031 43 70 11 37 With the Compliments of John Davis Lodge Ambassador of the United States of America NSC Thursday, October 25 1984 93 Jubiläumsstrasse 3005 Bern, Switzerland Tel. 031 43 70 11

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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November 5, 1984

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Dear Mr. Brunner:

Thank you for your kind letter highlighting the very positive discussions we had in Washington earlier this month. MThese reviews of bilateral and multilateral national security issues serve to stimulate our thinking on these vital questions and to provide fresh perspectives on many problems.

I agree with the stress you placed on the questions of Soviet compliance with agreements concerning the promotion of basic human rights. As you note, we should expect some Soviet gesture in this field, and the CSCE meeting next spring does present an excellent opportunity to test their sincerity. I would like also to assure you that President Reagan is sparing no effort to improve the overall relationship with the USSR, with a special emphasis on bringing the Soviets back to the nuclear negotiating tables.

Again, many thanks for coming to the White House, and we do appreciate your perceptive comments and useful advice.

Sincerely, Robert **McFarlane** 

His Excellency Edouard Brunner State Secretary for the Federal Department for Foreign Affairs Bern, Switzerland

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

## REFERRAL

ID 8407624

DATE: 05 NOV 84

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: BRUNNER, EDOUARD

SOURCE: MCFARLANE

DATE: 05 NOV 84

KEYWORDS: SWITZERLAND

SUBJ: LTR FM MCFARLANE TO SWISS STATE SEC BRUNNER RE THANKS

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUEDATE:

COMMENTS:

FOR ROBERT KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MEMORANDUM

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

October 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: TYRUS W. COBB

SUBJECT: Reply to Swiss State Secretary Brunner

Swiss State Secretary Brunner has written a note of appreciation to you (Tab A) for your discussions earlier this month. Your reply is at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Brunner at Tab I.

Approve 🗸

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments Tab I Letter to Brunner Tab A - Incoming from Brunner 1

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DÉPARTEMENT FÉDÉRAL DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

LE SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT

Source Washington, D.C. October 5, 1984

Dear Mr. McFarlane,

Before leaving Washington, I wish to thank you for your very kind reception.

I believe we had a very open and stimulating discussion, and I wish to state once more the importance we attach to the fact we feel the problems of human rights are basic in our relations with the Soviet Union and that armament and disarmament are only the symptoms rather than the cause of the difficult East-West relations.

This is why we should expect from the Soviet Union some gesture in the field of human rights, and a good opportunity should present itself to them during the next meeting in April/May, 1985 at Ottawa within the framework of the CSCE.

Again, thank you for your kindness, and let us keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,

E. Brunner

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

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\* ID 8407624

RECEIVED 10 OCT 84 10

TO

MCFARLANE

FROM BRUNNER, EDOUARD

DOCDATE 05 OCT 84

**KEYWORDS: SWITZERLAND** 

SUBJECT: LTR FM SWISS STATE SEC BRUNNER TO MCFARLANE RE THANK YOU

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