

HD/TRED

HD/EESD

NAD

HD/PLANNING STAFF

HD/ECD(E)

PS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/PUS

MR EVANS

MR THOMAS

RESIDENT CLERK

MR GOODALL CABINET OFFICE

ELASH

CONFIDENTIAL

FM PARIS 131150Z NOV 82

TO FLASH FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1080 OF 13 NOVEMBER 1982

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BONN, ROME, MOSCOW, COPENHAGEN,

UKDEL NATO, UKDEL OECD (PASSED BY PARIS),

INFO ROUTINE TOKYO, OTTAWA, BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE

INFO SAYING TO ATHENS, DUBLIN, LUXEMBOURG.

WASHINGTON TELNO 3681: GAS PIPELINE

FOLLOWING CONFIRMS MY TELECONS WITH THOMAS AND GOWLLAND.

SUMMARY

1. AT OFFICIAL LEVEL THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO OPPOSE PUBLICATION OF THE NON - PAPER. THE QUESTION WILL NOW BE REFERRED TO CHEYSSON IN KUWAIT AND TO MITTERRAND. ONLY A DIRECT INTERVENTION WITH ONE OR BOTH NOW OFFERS A CHANCE OF SHIFTING THE FRENCH POSITION.

DETAIL

2. I PUT THE ARGUMENTS FOR PUBLICATION TO ANDREANI, POLITICAL DIRECTOR IN THE QUAI, LAST NIGHT. HE DID NOT REACT, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THE MATTER WOULD HAVE TO GO TO THE PRESIDENT WHOSE STRONG PERSONAL VIEWS HAD MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE QUAI TO HANDLE THE PIPELINE QUESTION THROUGHOUT ALL THE DISCUSSIONS.

3. I SPOKE TO ANDREANI AGAIN THIS MORNING. HE WAS JUST EMERGING FROM A MEETING WITH GUTMANN IN WHICH THEY HAD AGREED ON THE ADVICE TO BE SUBMITTED TO CHEYSSON IN KUWAIT AND THEN, SUBJECT TO HIS VIEWS, TO THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID THIS ADVICE WOULD BE TO CONTINUE TO REJECT PUBLICATION. THE TEXT HAD NOT BEEN INTENDED FOR PUBLICATION. IF THIS HAD BEEN ENVISAGED IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DRAFTED DIFFERENTLY IN CERTAIN PLACES. MOREOVER IF THE TEXT WERE PUBLISHED THE SIDE - LETTER WOULD HAVE TO BE PUBLISHED TOO. PUBLICATION WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT FULL AGREEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY AND THIS WOULD RAISE THE WELL - KNOWN DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GREEKS AND IRISH.

4. I REMINDED ANDREANI AGAIN OF THE RISK OF LEAKS AND OF THE

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4. I REMINDED ANDREANI AGAIN OF THE RISK OF LEAKS AND OF THE DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES WHICH COULD FOLLOW. HE SAID THAT THE ONLY PLACE IN WHICH THE DOCUMENT MIGHT LEAK WAS WASHINGTON AND THAT IT WAS A FRENCH PRINCIPLE NOT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE TURPITUDE OF OTHERS. THEY WOULD NOT YIELD ON THE MATTER OF PUBLICATION BECAUSE THE AMERICANS WERE INCAPABLE OF MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY. I WARNED THAT EVEN AT THIS LATE STAGE THERE WAS A RISK OF THE WHOLE PACKAGE COMING UNSTUCK. ANDREANI SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THERE WAS NO URGENCY IN REACHING A CONCLUSION. THE MATTER HAD DRAGGED ON FOR MONTHS AND COULD CONTINUE FOR A FEW MORE DAYS OR EVEN ANOTHER MONTH. THERE WAS PLENTY OF TIME. IN THE FRENCH VIEW THE AMERICANS WERE NOW DESPERATELY EAGER TO RAISE SANCTIONS IN ORDER TO MAKE A GESTURE TO ANDROPOV. THEY WOULD TAKE THEIR OWN DECISION ON THIS WHETHER THE EUROPEANS MADE FURTHER CONCESSIONS OR NOT.

5. AFTER SOME FURTHER ARGUMENT ANDREANI CONCLUDED THAT IN THE FRENCH VIEW THE BEST SOLUTION WOULD BE FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN TO MAKE HIS OWN DECLARATION. IF THIS CONTAINED UNACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS THE OTHERS WOULD BE ABLE TO COMMENT ON IT AS THEY SAW FIT. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY CONSEQUENT DISAGREEMENT WOULD REST WITH THE AMERICANS.

COMMENT.

6. I SEE NO POSSIBILITY OF SHIFTING THE FRENCH HERE BY FURTHER ARGUMENT AT OFFICIAL LEVEL. IT WOULD BE WORTH TRYING AN APPROACH TO CHEYSSON IN KUWAIT IF HE COULD BE REACHED OR FAILING THAT A MESSAGE TO MITTERRAND. IT WOULD ALSO BE WORTH GETTING THE GERMANS TO WEIGH IN.

7. FOR THE FRENCH THIS IS ESSENTIALLY A MATTER OF FACE. REAGAN MUST BE SEEN TO CLIMB DOWN WITHOUT IT APPEARING THAT HE HAS NEGOTIATED ANYTHING OUT OF MITTERRAND IN RETURN. PUBLICATION OF AN AGREED TEXT WOULD MAKE IT APPEAR THAT A PRICE HAS BEEN PAID.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAYING TO ATHENS, DUBLIN, LUXEMBOURG

FRETWELL.

FLASH