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TO WHITE HOUSE

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TO: DR HENRY A. KISSINGER, THE WHITE HOUSE.

FROM: AMBASSADOR IRWIN, PARIS 254

I MET WITH JOBERT THIS MORNING, SEPTEMBER 7. AS USUAL I FOUND CHARMING BUT SOMEWHAT ELUSIVE.

JOBERT CONFIRMED THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD GO TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN COPENHAGEN NEXT WEEK, ABOUT WHICH THERE HAD BEEN SOME DOUBT. PER GENERAL SCOWCROFT'S TELEPHONE CALL TO ME, I SAID YOU WERE DISAPPOINTED AT JOBERT'S LACK OF RESPONSE TO DISCUSSIONS YOU HAD HAD AND TO THE DRAFT MADE AVAILABLE TO HIM. HE SAID HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS THE SPECIFICS OF THE FRENCH POSITION UNTIL AFTER THE NINE HAD REACHED A COMMON POSITION IN COPENHAGEN. HE THEN MADE ONE OF HIS CRYPTIC COMMENTS, IN THIS CASE ABOUT PRELIMINARY INOPPORTUNE CONTACTS BEING MADE WITH THE NINE BEFORE THEIR COMMON POSITION WAS ESTABLISHED. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN CONCERNED TO HEAR THAT YOU HAD TOLD THE BRITISH, WHO NATURALLY PASSED IT ON TO THEIR EUROPEAN PARTNERS, THAT YOU OBJECTED TO THE NINE MEETING TO ARRIVE AT SUCH A COMMON POSITION. IF US WERE IN FAVOR OF THE NINE, AS WE OFTEN CLAIMED, WE SHOULD NOT OBJECT TO MEETINGS OF THE NINE TO ARRIVE AT COMMON POSITIONS. NOR COULD WE EXPECT THE NINE TO ESTABLISH THEIR POSITIONS WITH TEN (E.E. THE US).

IN ANY CASE HE SAID THE NINE EXISTED, AND THERE WOULD BE MANY SUCH MEETINGS. HE WANTED TO SUGGEST IN THE SPIRIT OF FRIENDLY COUNSEL THAT WE NOT PUT OURSELVES IN THE POSITION OF SEEMING TO OBJECT TO THESE MEETINGS. HE REPEATED THIS THOUGHT SEVERAL TIMES IN THE CONVERSATION. EVEN IF OUR OBJECTIONS WERE ONLY FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES, AS HE SAID HE SUSPECTED, HE THOUGHT THE TACTICS WERE BAD. SUCH OBJECTIONS COULD ONLY RESULT IN THE EC DEFINING ITSELF MORE AND MORE BY OPPOSITION TO THE UNITED STATES. HE IMPLIED HE DID NOT WANT THIS ANY MORE THAN WE PRESUMABLY WOULD.

I DO NOT KNOW WHAT EXACTLY WAS SAID TO THE BRITISH OR WHETHER JOBERT IS INTERPRETING IT CORRECTLY. IF HE WAS REFERRING TO WHAT SIR BURKE TREND WAS TOLD, AS REPORTED IN STATE 158268, JOBERT HAS EITHER MISUNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION OR IS CHOOSING

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

HAK, SCOWCROFT, RODMAN, HOWE, MCFARLANE

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PSN:022572

PAGE 01

TOR:250/21:14Z

DTG:071908Z SEP 73

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TO MISINTERPRET IT. IN EITHER CASE WOULD YOU LIKE ME TO PASS HIM ANY MESSAGE FROM YOU TO CORRECT THE RECORD BEFORE HE LEAVES FOR COPENHAGEN?

I SAID THERE COULD BE NO GROUND FOR DOUBTING OUR SUPPORT FOR THE EC NOR DID WE OBJECT TO THE NINE MEETING. WHAT WE HOPED TO AVOID, HOWEVER, WAS BEING FACED WITH A 'FAIT ACCOMPLI', A JOINT POSITION OF THE NINE ON THE DECLARATION ON WHICH WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO EXCHANGE IDEAS UNTIL IT WAS TOO LATE BECAUSE THE EC POSITION WOULD HAVE HARDENED AND NO ONE ON THEIR SIDE WOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO CARRY ON A BROAD AND GENERAL DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE CHANGES. JOBERT DENIED WE COULD BE PRESENTED WITH A 'FAIT ACCOMPLI', IMPLYING THAT AFTER THE NINE REACHED A COMMON POSITION IT COULD CERTAINLY BE DISCUSSED WITH US. THE QUESTION HOW SUCH DISCUSSION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT HE SAID WAS PREMATURE; IT WOULD BE ADDRESSED IN COPENHAGEN.

JOBERT SAID HE FORESAW CLEARLY HOW THIS PROCESS WOULD END. SINCE WE WANTED A PAPER (I.E. A WRITTEN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES), THERE WOULD BE A PAPER TO WHICH EVERYONE, WE AND THE EUROPEANS, COULD AGREE. HE RECOGNIZED THAT WE WOULD PREFER A PAPER WITH SOME SUBSTANCE IN IT BUT IMPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT WE WOULD SETTLE FOR THE PAPER FOR ITS OWN SAKE. THE NINE DID NOT PARTICULARLY LIKE THE DRAFT DECLARATION WE HAD CIRCULATED, JOBERT SAID, WHICH HE REFERRED TO AS THE "SONNENFELD PAPER." HE SAID THE FRENCH WOULD PREFER TWO PAPERS, ONE FOR THE NINE AND ANOTHER FOR THE FIFTEEN COUNTRIES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. THIS WOULD HELP TO GET AWAY FROM THE "PACKAGE DEAL" ASPECT OF A SINGLE PAPER WHICH THE FRENCH DO NOT LIKE. IF THERE WERE ONLY ONE PAPER, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE WITH THE FIFTEEN, JOBERT SAID, OR POSSIBLY THE FIFTEEN PLUS ONE. THIS WOULD PROVE THAT THE NINE COULD NOT AGREE ON A PAPER, WHICH WOULD BE A PITY, THOUGH NOT A EARTH-SHAKING CATASTROPHE. HE SPOKE OF AN UNCERTAINTY AS TO OUR VIEWS AS TO WHETHER THE DECLARATION SHOULD BE WITH THE NINE, THE FIFTEEN, THE FIFTEEN PLUS ONE OR SOME OTHER COMBINATION.

JOBERT HOPES ENOUGH PROGRESS WILL BE MADE IN COPENHAGEN SO THAT YOU AND HE CAN HAVE A USEFUL MEETING WHEN HE COMES TO NEW YORK FOR THE UNGA THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 24. I SAID I THOUGHT YOU WERE PLANNING TO BE IN NEW YORK FOR AT LEAST A BRIEF TIME AND THAT I WAS SURE YOU WOULD LIKE TO MEET WITH HIM EITHER THERE OR IN WASHINGTON.

IN SPITE OF JOBERT'S VIEW THAT THE LAUNCHING OF THE YEAR OF EUROPE IDEA TOOK PLACE WITHOUT SUFFICIENT PRIOR CONSULTATION OR WARNING TO OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES, HE SAYS HE IS NOT TRYING TO FIGHT THE PAST, THAT HE WELCOMES BILATERAL TALKS WITH YOU AT ANY TIME, AND THAT HE WILL DO WHAT HE CAN TO HELP REACH ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP. HE RECOGNIZES THAT CONTINUING BILATERAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE US AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE THE ESSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC LIFE; HIS EFFORTS TO PROTECT THAT GROWING PERSONALITY OF THE NINE ARE NOT INTENDED TO PRECLUDE SUCH BILATERAL CONTACTS.

AM SENDING A SNAITIZED VERSION OF THIS MESSAGE THROUGH

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PAGE 02

PSN:022572

TDR:250/21:14Z

DTG:071908Z SEP 73

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NORMAL CHANNELS TO INFORM OTHERS IN THE DEPARTMENT AND APPROPRIATE
AMBASSADORS OF GIST OF JOBERT'S POSITION.

ALL GOOD WISHES FOR YOUR CONFIRMATION HEARINGS AND WARMEST
REGARDS, IRWIN

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PAGE 03

OF 03

TDR:250/21:14Z

DTG:071908Z SEP 73