

UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

15-Feb-1991 17:57 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM: (WHSR_ROUTER@WHSR)

SUBJECT: TFKUOI - TROUBLE BREWING WITH FRANCE OVER

<DIST>
PRT: BOOK
SIT: BASORA RICE CHARLES HAASS WHSR_IRAQ SANNER VAX WELCH

<PREC>
PRIORITY

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1772
INFO RUEHKK/EC COLLECTIVE
RUEHWW/GULF WAR COLLECTIVE
RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN 4544
RUEHAS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 9794

<SUBJ>
TFKUOI - TROUBLE BREWING WITH FRANCE OVER
- POST-WAR SETTLEMENTD

<TEXT>
BT
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 04332

EXDIS
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, IZ, KU, UR, UK, IR, FR, IS, PLO
SUBJECT: TFKUOI - TROUBLE BREWING WITH FRANCE OVER
- POST-WAR SETTLEMENTD

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
~BEGIN SUMMARY~

2. SUMMARY: WE SEE TROUBLE AHEAD WITH FRANCE OVER OUR
RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO POST-WAR ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 12958
JGP, 11/8/99
Case No. 98-0099-F

GULF AND THE ARAB/ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS. PROBLEMS ARE LIKELY TO ARISE OVER BOTH PARTICIPATION AND SUBSTANCE. PARTICIPATION: THERE IS GROWING CONCERN HERE THAT THE U.S. WILL SEEK TO SHUT OUT FRANCE (AND THE REST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY) FROM A POST-WAR SETTLEMENT. HENCE, THE GOF HAS BEGUN CONSULTATIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS IT BELIEVES HAVE A SIMILAR STAKE IN ACTIVE AND ENHANCED PEACE-MAKING ROLES. THE SOVIET UNION, BRITAIN AND IRAN HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS TARGETS.

SUBSTANCE: THE GOF INSISTS THAT PEACEMAKING MUST OCCUR
~END SUMMARY~

IN THE CONTEXT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE(S), UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES. THE GOF IS APPREHENSIVE THAT THE U.S. WILL SEEK TO FOCUS ON ISRAEL'S STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS AND NOT DEAL EARLY AND EARNESTLY WITH THE CORE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. THE GOF ALSO CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THE PALESTINIANS MUST BE ACTIVELY AND CREDIBLY REPRESENTED IN ANY NEGOTIATION -- THIS MEANS PLO PARTICIPATION FROM THE OUTSET. FRANCE HOLDS THAT A PALESTINIAN STATE MUST BE PART OF ANY SOLUTION. ON THE GULF, THE FRENCH ARE OPPOSED TO A PERMANENT MILITARY PRESENCE OF ANY SIZE FOR THE U.S. (OR EUROPE). ALL ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE INTERNATIONAL OR REGIONAL IN CHARACTER, WITH NO SPECIAL ROLE ASSUMED BY THE U.S. END SUMMARY.

3. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THOSE IN THE OLITICAL CLASS AND PRESS WHO INFLUENCE ITS DECISIONS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY PREOCCUPIED WITH ISSUES PERTAINING TO A POST-WAR SETTLEMENT. TALK OF IRAQI WITHDRAWAL INCREASES THAT PREOCCUPATION. IN RECENT WEEKS FRANCE HAS CLOSED RANKS WITH THE U.S. ON THE OPERATION OF THE WAR. PUBLIC OPINION HAS HELD FIRM, AND FRANCE HAS NOT FAVORED A CEASEFIRE OR A PAUSE. FRANCE'S SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED FIGHTING COULD WAVER, HOWEVER, SHOULD THE MAJORITY OF FRENCHMEN BE PERSUADED THAT SADDAM IS IN EARNEST ABOUT AN INTENTION TO WITHDRAW.

4. JUST WHEN FRANCE CLOSED RANKS WITH US IN THE WAR, A DEBATE OPENED HERE ON THE POST-WAR AGENDA -- WHO SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN SETTING IT AND WHAT IT SHOULD LOOK LIKE. THIS IS NOT COINCIDENTAL, AND THE TIMING AND INCREASINGLY ANTAGONISTIC TENOR OF THE DEBATE ARE NOT SURPRISING. THE FRENCH ARE PROFOUNDLY UNCOMFORTABLE IN THEIR ROLE AS JUNIOR PARTNER. BOTH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AND FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS HAVE EXPLICITLY DESCRIBED FRANCE'S GAMBLE: A LEADING ROLE IN THE COALITION IN THE WAR WILL TRANSLATE INTO A ROLE IN THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT. MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, FRANCE SEEKS ALSO TO PROTECT ITS SEAT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- EVEN AT THE RISK OF ALIENATING ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLICS.

5. A LEADING SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL SPOKE FOR MANY HERE THIS WEEK WHEN HE SAID "THERE ARE TWO PEACES POSSIBLE, A U.S. PEACE OR A UN PEACE." WHILE FEW PUT

THE THOUGHT SO TERSELY, THERE IS A GROWING CONSENSUS
HERE THAT FRANCE SHOULD BEGIN EARLY -- NOW -- TO FLESH
OUT ITS CONCEPT OF A POST-WAR SETTLEMENT. FRANCE MUST
DO THIS BECAUSE LEFT ON ITS OWN, THE U.S. WILL IMPOSE
ITS WILL ON THE REGION. THIS IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF
THE REGION OR FRANCE. THE U.S. DOES NOT FULLY
UNDERSTAND THE REGION, IT TENDS TO EQUATE SECURITY WITH
MILITARY PRESENCE, IT WILL BE EXCESSIVELY INFLUENCED BY
ISRAELI DESIDERATA. MORE TO THE POINT, THE U.S. WILL
SEEK TO EXCLUDE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE FRANCE AND THE
REST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN WHOSE NAME THE
GULF WAR IS BEING WAGED.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 04332

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6. SPECIFICALLY, THE FRENCH ARE (VARIOUSLY)

APPREHENSIVE THAT THE U.S. WILL SEEK TO:

-- CREATE A SECURITY STRUCTURE IN THE GULF WHICH
INCLUDES ONLY THE U.S. AND SELECTED REGIONAL OR ARAB
ALLIES;

-- ACQUIESCE IN THE DISMEMBERMENT OF IRAQ;

-- MAINTAIN A MASSIVE, PERMANENT MILITARY PRESENCE IN
THE GULF;

-- SEEK TO ADDRESS THE ARAB/ISRAELI CONFLICT,
EXCLUSIVELY, OR PREDOMINANTLY IN STATE/STATE TERMS,
NEGLECTING THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF PALESTINIAN
SELF-DETERMINATION;

-- LEAVE FRANCE (AND THE UN) OUT OF AN ARAB/ISRAELI
PEACE PROCESS.

6. FRANCE'S CLAIM TO A POST-WAR ROLE IS BASED ON ITS
STATUS AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNSC AND ITS
SELF-PERCEIVED ROLE AS HAVING A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP
WITH KEY REGIONAL PLAYERS. IT IS MOTIVATED BY A
POWERFUL IMPULSE TO PRESERVE THIS STANDING AS A
REGIONAL POWER, WITH IMPORTANT ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND
POLITICAL INTERESTS EXTENDING FROM THE MAGHREB TO
IRAN. IT SEEKS TO HOLD ON AT ALL COSTS TO ITS GREAT
POWER, TO PRESERVE ITS PRIVILEGED POSITION IN NORTH
AFRICA, AND ITS "SPECIAL RELATIONS" WITH MUCH OF THE
REST OF THE ARAB WORLD.

7. IN HIS FEBRUARY 7 INTERVIEW WITH REPORTERS (ONLY HIS
SECOND ADDRESS TO THE NATION SINCE THE WAR BEGAN)
MITTERRAND ADDRESSED HIMSELF DIRECTLY TO THE U.S., IN
WHAT APPEARED TO BE A RESPONSE TO SECRETARY BAKER'S
HFAC TESTIMONY. THE WAR, HE SAID, IS BEING WAGED IN
THE NAME OF THE UN, SO THE PEACE MUST BE CONSTRUCTED
UNDER UN AUSPICES.

8. THIS IS ONLY THE CLEAREST OF MANY WARNINGS

CONCERNING FRANCE'S INTENTION TO BE INVOLVED. OF COURSE, "UN INVOLVEMENT" IS CODE FOR FRENCH INVOLVEMENT. IT IS ALSO THE REFUSAL TO COUNTENANCE A U.S. MONOPOLY ON THE POST-WAR DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL SCENE. FRANCE CANNOT ALONE FIGHT OFF U.S. "HEGEMONIC" TENDENCIES, HOWEVER. IT SEEKS TO NOURISH FEARS OF U.S. UNILATERALISM AMONG OTHERS WHOM IT BELIEVES ARE ALSO SEEKING AN ACTIVE ROLE. FRANCE SEEMS TO BE CONCENTRATING IN PARTICULAR ON THE SOVIETS, BRITISH AND IRANIANS. INTERESTINGLY, THE FRENCH SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT THE UK FEARS BEING SHUT OUT AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING A JOINT APPROACH.

9. THUS, FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS HAS MET TWICE WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY HURD IN RECENT WEEKS, AND HE HAS SPOKEN PUBLICLY ABOUT JOINT WORKING GROUPS TO ADDRESS POST-WAR QUESTIONS; THE BRITISH HAVE SPOKEN, MORE MODESTLY, ABOUT CONTINUING CONTACTS. AFTER HIS MEETINGS IN MOSCOW EARLIER THIS WEEK, DUMAS TOLD REPORTERS THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND FRANCE HAVE CLOSE TO IDENTICAL VIEWS ON POST-WAR REQUIREMENTS. FINALLY, IRANIAN GOVERNMENT PRONOUNCEMENTS WHICH CAME CLOSE TO PREDICTING A TEHRAN-MOSCOW-PARIS ENTENTE FOR THE POST-WAR WERE NOT OFFICIALLY REBUFFED HERE (ALTHOUGH, TO BE FAIR, THE GOF MAY HAVE SOUGHT SIMPLY TO CALL AS LITTLE ATTENTION AS POSSIBLE TO STATEMENTS THAT WENT EMBARRASSINGLY FAR).

10. WHILE IT IS TOO EARLY TO ASCRIBE SPECIFICS TO WHAT IS THUS FAR A LARGELY RHETORICAL GOF APPROACH, WE EXPECT THAT FRANCE WILL BE WORKING HARD TO DEVELOP A MORE DETAILED POSITION ON GULF AND ARAB/ISRAELI

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PEACEMAKING. WE BELIEVE THAT FRANCE WILL WORK BOTH BILATERALLY WITH SELECTED PROSPECTIVE PARTNERS AND ALSO WITHIN THE EC. AT THIS POINT, WE LIMIT OURSELVES TO SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF FRANCE'S DEVELOPING POSITION REGARDING ARAB/ISRAELI PEACEMAKING:

-- THE GOF WILL CONCENTRATE ON THE ARAB/ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS. IT IS CONVINCED THAT IF IT DOES NOT SECURE A ROLE AS A REWARD FOR ITS WAR EFFORT, IT WILL BE SHUT OUT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

-- IT MAY SEEK TO BECOME THE PALESTINIANS' EXTRA-REGIONAL CHAMPION. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT WHILE THE GERMANS AND DUTCH ARE SENDING EQUIPMENT TO ISRAEL AND HAVE PUSHED EC ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL, THE FRENCH HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY, FOR THEIR PART, WOULD

BE SENDING GAS MASKS TO THE RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

-- IT IS UNLIKELY THE FRENCH WILL ABANDON THE PLO.
-- THEY WILL HOLD FAST ON THEIR POSITION THAT THE PLO MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY PROCESS LEADING TO A SETTLEMENT (DESPITE SOME VOICES HERE QUESTIONING THE PLO'S ROLE AS "SOLE REPRESENTATIVE" OF THE PALESTINIANS.

-- THE FRENCH WILL OPPOSE AN APPROACH THAT DOES NOT SEEK TO ADDRESS THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE FROM THE START AND WHICH DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE AS AN OUTCOME.

-- FINALLY, THE FRENCH WILL CONTINUE TO ADVOCATE ADDRESSING ALL ISSUES THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. MITTERRAND HAS SPOKEN OF ONE OR MORE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES DEALING WITH DIFFERENT REGIONAL ISSUES. THE FRENCH FREELY ADMIT THAT THEIR APPROACH IS VAGUE, AND IT WILL HAVE TO BE TRANSLATED INTO CONCRETE TERMS WHEN THE POST-WAR CIRCUMSTANCES BECOME EVIDENT.

11. AMMAN AND ALGIERS MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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