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OF 131109Z OCTOBER 88  
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SHEVARDNADZE VISIT TO PARIS, 10-12 OCTOBER

SUMMARY

1. SHEVARDNADZE'S VISIT MARKS VISIBLE WARMING UP OF FRANCO/SOVIET RELATIONS WILLED BY BOTH SIDES. FRENCH MOTIVES: MITTERRAND'S DESIRE TO GET BACK INTO THE ACT EARLY IN HIS SECOND TERM, WITH VISIT TO MOSCOW AND BAIKONUR ON 25/26 NOVEMBER AND GORBACHEV VISIT TO PARIS IN FIRST HALF OF 1989. FRENCH AGREEMENT NOT TO OPPOSE MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE PRICE THEY ARE WILLING TO PAY FOR THIS, AND TO REMOVE WHAT THEY BELIEVE COULD BE OBSTACLE TO OPENING OF CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS.

DETAIL

2. SHEVARDNADZE MADE A THREE DAY VISIT TO PARIS ON 10-12 OCTOBER AND HELD TALKS WITH MITTERRAND (75 MINUTES), ROCARD (WORKING LUNCH), AND DUMAS (THREE SESSIONS). THE FINANCE, INDUSTRY AND TRADE MINISTERS WERE ALSO INVOLVED IN AN INFORMAL DISCUSION OF FRANCO/SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS FOLLOWING DUMAS'S DINNER FOR SHEVARDNADZE. AS WELL AS THE PLENARIES, THERE WERE MEETINGS OF WORKING GROUPS AT OFFICIAL LEVEL ON (1) DISARMAMENT (D'ABOVILLE/KARPOV), (2) REGIONAL PROBLEMS, (3) CULTURAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION, (4) HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS, AND (5) BILATERAL QUESTIONS.

3. AT A COMMUNITY BRIEFING, BLOT (DIRECTOR FOR EUROPE) PRESENTED SHEVARDNADZE'S VISIT AS IMPORTANT AND SYMBOLIC AND SET IT IN THE CONTEXT OF A GENERAL REVITALISATION OF FRANCE'S RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. IT WAS THE FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT OF A SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SINCE 1980, A CONTRAST WITH THE RHYTHM OF THE GISCARD AND POMPIDOU YEARS. THE FRENCH WANTED TO SET THE BROAD LINES FOR POLICY TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION FOR MITTERRAND'S SECOND SEPTENNAT. THE RUSSIANS NO DOUBT SAW VALUE IN ESTABLISHING SOLID RELATIONS WITH A TEAM WHOM THEY COULD EXPECT TO LAST SOME YEARS.

4. THE MAIN POINTS ARISING FROM BLOT'S BRIEFING WERE:

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(A) MITTERRAND WOULD SPEND THE FIRST DAY OF HIS 25-26 NOVEMBER VISIT (ANNOUNCED DURING SHEVARDNADZE'S VISIT) IN MOSCOW, TALKING TO GORBACHEV. ON 26 NOVEMBER HE WOULD ATTEND THE LAUNCH OF A MANNED SPACE FLIGHT, WITH FRENCH COSMONAUT, AT BAIKONUR.

(B) GORBACHEV WOULD VISIT PARIS IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1989, DATES NOT YET FIXED. (THE ELYSEE HAVE TOLD US IT COULD BE APRIL/MAY.)

(C) ARMS CONTROL. SHEVARDNADZE WARMLY SUPPORTED THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON THE 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL WHICH THE FRENCH NOW EXPECT TO HOST IN JANUARY 1989. THERE WAS DISCUSSION ON HOW THIS SHOULD RELATE TO THE GENEVA CW NEGOTIATIONS.

(D) NO ATTEMPT BY SHEVARDNADZE TO PROPOSE A THIRD ZERO OPTION. NO NEW INSIGHTS FROM SHEVARDNADZE'S BRIEFING ON START AND SPACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

(E) CST. SHEVARDNADZE AND THE FRENCH AGREED ON THE NEED TO FINISH THE VIENNA MEETING QUICKLY AND GET CST AND CSBM NEGOTIATIONS STARTED LATE THIS YEAR OR EARLY NEXT YEAR.

(F) CSCE. SHEVARDNADZE LAID GREAT STRESS ON THE SECOND BASKET AND GRUMBLED ABOUT UNITED STATES ATTITUDES TO THIS. HE MADE CLEAR THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD BUY ALL THE INTER-SESSIONAL MEETINGS UNDER DISCUSSION, AND THAT SOME MUST BE HOSTED BY THE EAST.

(F) CSCE/CDH. BLOT EXPLAINED DEFENSIVELY THAT THE FRENCH POSITION HAD ''SOMEWHAT CHANGED'', WITH MITTERRAND'S TELLING SHEVARDNADZE THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO HOLDING A HUMAN RIGHTS MEETING IN MOSCOW. THIS FOLLOWED THE CLEAR SIGNS OF A SHIFT IN THE AMERICAN APPROACH. PREVIOUSLY THE FRENCH HAD TOLD THE RUSSIANS THAT THEY WERE NOT IN PRINCIPLE AGAINST HOLDING A CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, PROVIDED IT WERE AFTER HELSINKI FOLLOW UP MEETING IN 1992. (THIS WOULD ALLOW FOR CONTINUING REVIEW OF THE SOVIET RECORD, AND A DECISION AT HELSINKI ON WHETHER TO PROCEED.) NOW THE FRENCH WERE NO LONGER INSISTING THAT ANY MOSCOW MEETING MUST BE AFTER HELSINKI. IT SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE VIENNA NEGOTIATORS TO FIND A CONSENSUS ON TIMING, WHICH MIGHT BE BEFORE OR AFTER HELSINKI: MITTERRAND HAD NOT DISCUSSED TIMING WITH SHEVARDNADZE. DUMAS IN HIS TOAST HAD GONE FURTHER IN SAYING THAT FRANCE WOULD AGREE TO A THREE PHASE CDH WITH MEETINGS AT PARIS, COPENHAGEN AND MOSCOW (BUT AGAIN ACCORDING TO BLOT WITHOUT SPECIFYING TIMING): I.E. GENEVA AS AN OPTION FOR THE THIRD MEETING HAD NOW BEEN DROPPED BY FRANCE. BLOT REACTED DEFENSIVELY TO OUR QUESTIONS WHETHER DUMAS'S FORMULATION DID NOT IN EFFECT CONCEDE THAT HE NOW ENVISAGED A MOSCOW CONFERENCE BEFORE HELSINKI.

5. BLOT ADDED THAT, IN LOOKING FOR AN APPROACH WHICH COULD RALLY THE 12 AROUND THE IDEA OF A MOSCOW MEETING, DUMAS HAD SUGGESTED TO SHEVARDNADZE THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES EXPLORE PROGRESS TOWARDS COMMON

EUROPEAN LEGAL NORMS IN HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. (BLOT DESCRIBED THIS AS AN ''ETAT DE DROIT EUROPEEN''). FRENCH IDEAS ON THIS ARE TENTATIVE AND OBSCURE. BUT THEY HAVE IN MIND BACKING UP EXISTING CONTACTS ON HUMANITARIAN CASES BY EXCHANGES BETWEEN JURISTS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE THE EVOLUTION OF THE RULE OF LAW IN THE SOVIET UNION: IE TO HELP TO ENTRENCH OTHERWISE REVERSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS. THE FRENCH HAVE NOT WORKED OUT THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THIS IDEA AND A MOSCOW CONFERENCE.

6. BLOT SAID THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO NEGOTIATE A CULTURAL AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR CULTURAL CENTRES IN MOSCOW AND PARIS. IN NEGOTIATING TO SECURE FREE ACCESS BY SOVIET CITIZENS THE FRENCH WOULD BUILD ON THE CLAUSE ON ACCESS IN THE ANGLO/SOVIET MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING AGREED DURING MRS THATCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, AS DEVELOPED SUBSEQUENTLY WHEN CHIRAC WENT TO MOSCOW.

7. BLOT SAID LITTLE ABOUT THE REGIONAL DISCUSSIONS, WHICH COVERED IRAN-IRAQ, ARAB/ISRAEL, LEBANON, AND CAMBODIA. (MARTIN CHAIRED THE WORKING GROUP WHICH DISCUSSED ASIAN QUESTIONS INCLUDING CAMBODIA AND WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE MCLAREN AN ACCOUNT ON 14 OCTOBER.)

#### COMMENT

8. THE FRENCH ROLLED OUT THE CARPET AT SHORT NOTICE (THE VISIT WAS ADVANCED FROM LATE OCTOBER, LEAVING ONLY A WEEK TO PREPARE). ATMOSPHERICS WERE GOOD. THE VISIT WAS CONSCIOUSLY DESIGNED TO RELAUNCH FRANCO/SOVIET RELATIONS, WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MITTERRAND/GORBACHEV VISITS AS THE KEY. MITTERRAND'S STRONG DESIRE TO PRESS FORWARD WITH CST, AND THE RECENT EVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH CW POLICIES SIGNALLLED IN HIS UNITED NATIONS SPEECH HAVE MADE FOR A MORE SUBSTANTIAL DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON ARMS CONTROL. DUMAS AND SHEVARDNADZE IN SEPARATE PRESS CONFERENCES CONGRATULATED THEMSELVES ON A SUCCESS.

9. AS TO THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE, MITTERRAND'S GESTURE TO THE RUSSIANS WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH PARTNERS WILL HAVE COMPLICATED THE VIENNA END GAME AND PLEASED THE RUSSIANS. IT IS CLEAR THAT MITTERRAND IS NOT BOTHERED WITH THE TIMING QUESTION (BEFORE OR AFTER HELSINKI). HE JUDGED THAT A GESTURE WAS NECESSARY AS PART OF A PACKAGE INVOLVING THE TOP LEVEL VISITS. IT WILL NOW BE FOR THE NEGOTIATORS TO SORT OUT THE DETAILS. THE LINE TAKEN BY BLOT GIVES US A LEVER TO PRESS, IF WE WISH, FOR REVERSION TO THE EARLIER FRENCH POSITION AS A COMPROMISE AROUND WHICH TO BUILD A CONSENSUS IN VIENNA.

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10. I EXPECT THAT DUMAS WILL GIVE AN ACCOUNT AT IOANNINA, PUTTING THE NEW PHASE IN FRANCO/SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF DEVELOPING NEW AND STRONGER CONTACTS BETWEEN EC COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE EUROPE OF POST-1992.

11. MITTERRAND WILL BE ABLE TO BRIEF KOHL BEFORE THE LATTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW WHEN THEY MEET AT VEZELAY ON 14 OCTOBER.

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