

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Plenary Session
1992 Munich Economic Summit (U)

PARTICIPANTS: George Bush, President of the
United States of America
James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State
Robert Zoellick, Under Secretary of State
for Economic and Agricultural Affairs

Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal
Republic of Germany
Klaus Kinkel, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Horst Köhler, State Secretary, Minister of
Finance

Francois Mitterrand, President of the French
Republic
Roland Dumas, Minister of State for Foreign
Affairs
Anne Lauvergeon, Deputy Secretary General,
Office of the President

Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada
Barbara McDougall, Secretary of State
for External Affairs
Derek Burney, Ambassador to the United States

Guiliano Amato, Prime Minister of the
Italian Republic
Gianni De Michelis, Minister of Foreign
Affairs
Umberto Vattani, Diplomatic Counsellor

John Major, Prime Minister of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern
Ireland
Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs
Andrew Turnbull, Deputy Secretary, Treasury

Kiichi Miyazawa, Prime Minister of Japan
Nobuo Matsunaga, Adviser to the Foreign
Ministry
Koichiro Matsuura, Deputy Minister for
Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

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Jacques Delors, President of the
Commission of the European Communities
Frans Andriessen, Vice President of the
Commission of the European Communities
Pascal Lamy, Chief of Staff to the President
of the EC Commission

DATE, TIME Tuesday, July 7, 1992, 9:40 a.m.-10:10 a.m.
AND PLACE: Residenz - Room 111
Munich, Federal Republic of Germany

Chancellor Kohl: Welcome. We will receive the report of our foreign ministers and adopt the Political Declaration and a statement on Yugoslavia. We want to make this public today, and will release the texts after we adopt them. Then we'll go to the next room for a discussion among Heads on the former Soviet Union, especially the issue of nuclear safety. (U)

Foreign Minister Kinkel: We have 3 papers: (1) the Political Declaration; (2) a special statement on Yugoslavia; and (3) the Chairman's statement. (U)

We've agreed on a political statement. It's more concise than in the past. It covers 3 main topics: (1) Central & Eastern Europe and the FSU; (2) weapons of mass destruction; and (3) the UN. We'll also comment on other topics, e.g., regional issues. (U)

(1) We see the Chairman's statement as a complement to the Political Declaration. It also fits with the Economic Declaration. Our motto is: Shaping the New Partnership. This is a partnership with Central and Eastern Europe and the new nations of the FSU, as well as the LDCs. It's a partnership of equality. We need to realize this partnership. (U)

(2) Next we have the Chairman's statement. (POTUS asked for copies. The Germans handed out the Chairman's paper and the Political Declaration.) (U)

(3) Next we have the statement on Yugoslavia. It begins with concern about the ongoing crisis and violence. We stress Lord Carrington's efforts and call on all parties to resume negotiations. We call for the parties not to endanger relief operations. We don't exclude the use of military means. The issue of Kosovo autonomy is discussed. (U)

President Mitterrand: I have two points. (Interruption)
Second, the reference to Lord Carrington's conference is OK as far as it goes. But I think if we could decide on a means to protect minorities through arbitration, it would be useful to do so. Our means are too limited. The EC conference is not enough. We need a broader international conference under the UN -- like the U.S. conference on the Middle East or Cambodia. The EC conference is too slender and has exhausted its possibilities. We're not trying to launch broad-based discussions; the G-7 is not for that purpose. I won't press this, but would like some modification in the text. (Ø)

Prime Minister Mulroney: I endorse President Mitterrand's suggestion. We should expand a conference to include minorities. (Ø)

Chancellor Kohl: We had a discussion last night. I got an instructive report. We discussed the international conference. I'm sympathetic. Let's accept the text in principle, but ask our foreign ministers to draft a few sentences. They would come after the second section. Let's not draft this here, but just agree in principle. (Ø)

Prime Minister Major: Let me flesh this out. There may be scope for an international conference and arbitration. But what if arbitration isn't accepted. Should it be imposed? If so, how? Sanctions? But we're doing this now. Or is it through military intervention, about which we all have reservations. So I'm cautious on arbitration. On an international conference, this may be the right way. But you need the will of those concerned for this to succeed, and we don't have this. I'm worried that we haven't had any discussions on this yet with Carrington, the UN, and the Russians. We're not yet clear on these points. The draft declaration has a concept of cooperation between the EC and the UN in the second paragraph. Perhaps we can build on this without saying what we'll do in advance. (Ø)

Chancellor Kohl: It's possible to find a common line. President Mitterrand proposes that arbitration might result from an international conference. So let's ask our foreign ministers to add a couple of sentences on an international conference. If they can agree, they need not come back to us. Agreed. (Ø)

-- End of Meeting --

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