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Unofficial Translation

PRES NOTED SUMMARY

Dear George,

As you know, I have met with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on May 25. The meeting was originally set up for the 5th but Mr. Gorbachev had asked me to postpone it. Our discussions went on for around five hours.

The majority of this time was devoted to the problems which will arise as a result of German unification, a matter which is clearly of great concern to him.

His hostility to the participation of an unified Germany into NATO does not appear to me as being either fake or tactical. On this subject, he is both firm and determined. He even gives an indication that should he have to face a 'fait accompli', he would be compelled to alter his behavior on many issues, particularly on disarmament in Europe. His commentary aims at rejecting beforehand on the Western powers the responsibility of the imbalance of forces which would ensue, and as a result of tensions to come.

I have argued that it was not reasonable to think of another solution than the one of Germany's participation in the Atlantic Alliance, and I indicated that, on the Western side, we would certainly not refuse to detail the guarantees that he would have a right to expect for his country's security. I then mentioned some of the possible guarantees that I deem important after the conclusion of a peace settlement in International law. Mr. Gorbachev was paying a great deal of attention to my presentation.

I think that we must try to dispel Mr. Gorbachev's worries. I will present to you and to our partners a number of proposals when we meet.

Mr. Gorbachev and I also talked about Lithuania. Mr. Gorbachev is open to a dialogue, but is not ready to give up on fundamentals. He keeps on insisting that the Lithuanians renounce their vote of independence. It seems to me that he does not rule out a negotiation, but it would have to take place after a certain delay.

In brief, my impression is that Mikhail Gorbachev does not have much of a margin of maneuver left when it comes to the question of nationalities (Baltic states) or of the consequences of German unity. Regarding this last point the calendar contemplated by Helmut Kohl will encounter, in my opinion, serious obstacles. I assume that your conversation with the Soviet president will be essentially on this subject. The usual course of diplomacy will not prevent a difficult climate in the summer and in the fall.

Mr. Gorbachev appeared however to be well aware of the difficulties of all kinds that he will have to expect, particularly in terms of economy, but at the same time confident in his approach. I believe that he is truly hoping for an agreement, but within the limit of his power.

I look forward, My Dear President, to the prospect of seeing you soon in Great Britain, and later in Houston. In the meantime, you will have met with Mr. Gorbachev. We will have the opportunity to talk about it.

I don't forget either the extreme interest and the pleasure I had in meeting you in Key Largo, and I thank you for your hospitality.

François Mitterrand

COMME VOUS LE SAVEZ J'AI RENCONTRE MIKHAIL GORBATCHEV A MOSCOU LE 25 MAI DERNIER, RENDEZ-VOUS FIXE POUR LE 5 ET QUE M. GORBATCHEV M'AVAIT DEMANDE DE REPORTER. J'AI EU AVEC LUI DES ENTRETIENS QUI ONT DURE ENVIRON CINQ HEURES.

UNE GRANDE PARTIE DE CE TEMPS A ETE CONSACREE AUX PROBLEMES DEVANT RESULTER DE L'UNIFICATION ALLEMANDE, QUI SE TROUVE VISIBLEMENT AU COEUR DE SES PREOCCUPATIONS.

SON HOSTILITE A LA PRESENCE DE L'ALLEMAGNE UNIFIEE DANS L'OTAN NE ME PARAIT ETRE NI FEINTE NI TACTIQUE. IL EST SUR CE SUJET FERME ET DETERMINE. IL LAISSE MEME ENTENDRE QUE, MIS DEVANT LE FAIT ACCOMPLI, IL SERAIT CONTRAINT DE MODIFIER SON ATTITUDE DANS DE NOMBREUX DOMAINES NOTAMMENT SUR LE DESARMEMENT EN EUROPE. SON COMMENTAIRE VISE A REJETER PAR AVANCE SUR LES OCCIDENTAUX LA RESPONSABILITE DU DESEQUILIBRE DES FORCES QUI S'EN SUIVRAIT ET DONC DES TENSIONS A VENIR.

J'AI FAIT VALOIR QU'IL N'ETAIT PAS RAISONNABLE DE SONGER A UNE SOLUTION AUTRE QUE CELLE DE LA PARTICIPATION DE L'ALLEMAGNE A L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE ET J'AI INDIQUE QUE, DU COTE OCCIDENTAL, ON NE SE REFUSERAIT CERTAINEMENT PAS A METTRE AU NET LES GARANTIES QU'IL SERAIT EN DROIT D'ATTENDRE POUR LA SECURITE DE SON PAYS. J'AI INDIQUE QUELQUES UNES DE CES GARANTIES EVENTUELLES IMPORTANTES A MES YEUX A PARTIR DE LA CONCLUSION D'UN REGLEMENT DE PAIX DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL. M. GORBATCHEV S'EST MONTRE 'ATTENTIF' A MON EXPOSE.

JE PENSE QUE NOUS DEVRONS CHERCHER A DESAMORCER LES INQUIETUDES DE M. GORBATCHEV. JE VOUS FERAI, AINSI QU'A NOS PARTENAIRES, DES PROPOSITIONS QUAND NOUS NOUS RENCONTRERONS.

M. GORBATCHEV ET MOI AVONS EGALEMENT PARLE DE LA LITUANIE. M. GORBATCHEV EST OUVERT AU DIALOGUE SANS ETRE PRET A CEDER SUR LE FOND. IL CONTINUE D'EXIGER LA RENONCIATION PAR LES LITUANIENS A LEUR VOTE D'INDEPENDANCE. IL N'EXCLUT PAS, ME SEMBLE-T-IL, UNE NEGOCIATION MAIS APRES UN CERTAIN DELAI.

BREF IL M'APPARAIT QUE MIKHAIL GORBATCHEV N'A PLUS GUERE DE MARGE DE MANOEUVRE AUSSI BIEN SUR LE PROBLEME DES NATIONALITES (PAYS BALTES) QUE SUR CELUI DES CONSEQUENCES DE L'UNITE ALLEMANDE. LE CALENDRIER ENVISAGE SUR CE DERNIER POINT PAR HELMUT KOHL RENCONTRERA, JE LE PENSE, DE SERIEUX OBSTACLES. JE SUPPOSE QUE VOTRE CONVERSATION AVEC LE PRESIDENT SOVIETIQUE SERA ESSENTIELLEMENT CONSACREE A CETTE AFFAIRE. LES CHEMINS HABITUELS DE LA DIPLOMATIE NE NOUS EVITERONT PAS UN ETE ET UN AUTOMNE AU CLIMAT DIFFICILE.

CELA DIT M. GORBATCHEV M'EST APPARU TOUT A FAIT CONSCIENT DES DIFFICULTES DE TOUS ORDRES QU'IL RENCONTRE NOTAMMENT DANS LE DOMAINE ECONOMIQUE, MAIS CONFIANT DANS SA DEMARCHE. JE LE CROIS AU FOND DESIREUX D'UN ACCORD, MAIS A LA LIMITE DE SON POUVOIR.

JE ME REJOUIS, MON CHER PRESIDENT A L'IDEE DE VOUS RETROUVER BIENTOT EN GRANDE-BRETAGNE PUIS A HOUSTON. ENTRE TEMPS VOUS AUREZ RENCONTRE M. GORBATCHEV. NOUS AURONS L'OCCASION D'EN PARLER.

JE N'OUBLIE PAS NON PLUS L'EXTREME INTERET ET LE PLAISIR QUE J'AI EU A VOUS RENCONTRER A KEY LARGO ET VOUS REMERCIE DE VOTRE HOSPITALITE.

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