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TO: The Secretary

FROM: S/PA - Peter Tarnoff ↑
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SUBJECT: Scope Paper - Your Participation in the Denver Summit

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The Denver Summit will serve our two broad goals of pursuing global integration through cooperative efforts with our key democratic partners while simultaneously and visibly demonstrating to the American public how U.S. foreign policy initiatives serve their basic interests. The Summit will show how the world's key democracies are preparing our people and our economies for the global challenges we will face in the next century. Returning once again to your home town will supercharge the impact of our message while making the delivery more meaningful and personal. The Summit will also give you and the President the opportunity to consult further with key partners as we approach the turnover of Hong Kong and NATO's Madrid Summit.

With broader Russian participation and unrivaled U.S. leadership, the Eight are proactively shaping the global agenda. Yeltsin's participation is still a sensitive point for the Japanese, and Russia's role in future Summits remains undecided. (The British are looking to retain the Denver structure next year in Birmingham.) There is general agreement that the deal the President brokered in Helsinki will serve to build support for Russia's integration into the world system. Still, you and the President will want to reassure your Japanese counterparts that while we strongly support an expanded role for Russia, the G-7 structure will remain to deal with most economic and financial issues.

In Denver, the Eight will confirm that they are "pursuing a strategy of global integration to create a more secure and stable international community." To that end, the Summit will launch two U.S. initiatives. The first is a joint commitment by the Eight to strengthen democracy where it has taken hold and extend its reach where it has not. The Eight will endorse creation of a Working Group on Democracy and Human Rights. With the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights next year, the Working Group -- with John Shattuck in the chair through the end of 1997 -- will report its recommendations to the Birmingham Summit next year.

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Classified by Political Director Peter Tarnoff
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The second initiative is a strategy to reverse Africa's marginalization, promote its integration into the global economy, and strengthen indigenous African peacekeeping and conflict resolution capacities. The strategy encourages Africa's economic integration into the world, including trade preferences to countries which have instituted necessary internal reforms. While our Summit partners support most of the economic elements of the initiative, some have reservations about conditioning aid or trade preferences on market reforms. You and the President will need to press your counterparts to take concrete steps to help those who have demonstrated the will to help themselves. Differences also remain on whether the Eight should support the creation of a UN forum on African peacekeeping, including a joint coordinating body. France and the UK have withheld agreement pending consultations with the OAU and African leaders, and Germany believes such an initiative is premature. We have proposed bridging language in the communiqué that may be sufficient until talks with the Africans are further advanced.

The environment may be one of the more contentious topics in Denver. The leaders of most of the Eight will attend the opening of the July 23-27 UNGA Special Session on Environment and Development in New York. Some of them may demand "deliverables" from Denver that we and others are unwilling to provide. In particular, the Germans and the EU will press hard on climate change, forests, and creation of a new World Environmental Organization. You and the President will want to urge the Germans and the EU to leave the details to the climate change negotiations. The Eight should state the need for meaningful, but realistic emission targets. On forests, you should resist any German or EU push for an international convention, noting that we believe it would end up as a "lowest common denominator" document and of little value. Regarding the World Environmental Organization, the U.S. believes the timing is poor; we should give the recent United Nations Environmental Program reforms a chance.

Your and Strobe's dinner with Foreign Minister Primakov and Deputy Foreign Minister Mamedov will continue your regular series of exchanges. The Madrid Summit is high on our agenda, and you will want to press Primakov for a definitive sense on whether Yeltsin will attend day two of that event, which could include the first NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council session. This meeting will serve as a scenerunner for the President's meeting with Yeltsin the following day. It also will allow you to preview the Summit issues to be discussed "at Eight," directly engaging Primakov on Russian concerns over communiqué language on Iran, as needed. Finally, you can express your pleasure at Russia's increasing integration into the Summit process, but resist any Russian effort to eliminate the G-7.

This will be your first meeting with Foreign Minister Vedrine since he took office following the Socialists' election victory. While we can expect Chirac to retain a considerable role in guiding foreign policy, you will want to probe Vedrine's agenda and mandate while

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getting the measure of your new counterpart. The French may be feeling bruised on NATO issues in the aftermath of the President's decision on new membership as well as the French spin on Secretary Cohen's remarks on AFSOUTH. You will want to keep them focused on an overall upbeat political message for Madrid, including a robust open door for future Romanian accession and continued building of ESDI within the Alliance. We should actively seek opportunities for enhanced dialogue on these and other issues. Vedrine can also be warned that while we hope to avoid a clash on investment in Iran, action there by Total could force us to respond.

Your meeting with Foreign Minister Ikeda will be especially important in easing increasing Japanese angst over perceived strains in the bilateral relationship in the wake of the signing of the NATO-Russia Founding Act. The Japanese are worried that the U.S. focus on Russia and European security signals a diminution of U.S. interest in Asia. Their worry is exacerbated by the expanded role of Russia at the Summit. You will want to reassure Ikeda of the continuing strength of the U.S.-Japan relationship which is based on a strong and enduring U.S. role in Asia, as well as exchange views on Hong Kong and China. You should also state our concern about Japan's rising current account surplus and indicate we want to negotiate liberal aviation agreements. Ikeda will also want to hear your reassurance that the G-7 remains a separate and vital forum.

You will no doubt meet each of your other counterparts for discussions during the course of the Summit. With your NATO colleagues, you will want to build support in favor of inviting three new members to join the Alliance and, no less important, push for a robust "Open Door" commitment at Madrid for future members. Securing German, British, Dutch and Canadian agreement on three will be critical to blunting French and Italian persistence in openly pushing for Romania and Slovenia. With Canada's Axworthy, you may also wish to discuss the necessity of keeping our Pacific salmon dispute from disrupting bilateral relations, including on the defense-related issue of the Nanoose Bay test range. When speaking to your Dutch and EU counterparts, you can also express your pleasure over the successful completion of MRA negotiations.

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