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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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November 25, 1994

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*Mark (Boo) / try
See my
NWT*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY
ROBERT RUBIN
ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: THE SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS

We're headed into the home stretch of planning for this Summit. As you know, it will take place in Miami over December 9-11 and include 33 other heads of state.

Your schedule in Miami involves a scene setting speech on Friday, December 9, followed by several receptions and a leaders-only dinner. Then, on Saturday, there will be three, separate, leaders-only working sessions each devoted to one of the three Summit themes (economic integration, democracy and sustainable development). There will then be a Kennedy Center-produced gala, followed by a leaders and spouses dinner. On Sunday, there will be a wrap-up plenary session, including your speech, and a press conference.

The substantive agenda is now taking shape. You earlier indicated approval of certain directions, subject to congressional and international consultation. We now want to update you on these consultations and get additional guidance. The final round of consultations with the Summit nations is scheduled for November 28 and 29, although they may well continue on beyond that.

The remainder of this memo concerns the trade agenda. To date, the democracy and sustainable development agendas have progressed smoothly and we are not aware of any organized opposition to those initiatives. We will know more after consultations next week.

The Trade Agenda

The centerpiece of the Summit will be trade. That's what almost all the other nations want; its what we want, and what the media will highlight. All nations understand that the Miami declaration will call for establishing a hemisphere-wide free trade zone. The key questions are how, when and how specific we want to be on these.

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In Miami, there will be two avenues of communicating our vision of an Americas Free Trade Area (AFTA). One is through the declaration of principles and the plan of action, which all the nations will sign. The second is through one of the two speeches which you will give there. One of those opens the Summit and one of them closes it. It is our sense that you will want to go beyond the declaration in your own remarks.

With the prominent exception of Brazil, virtually all the Summit nations want an aggressive approach to an AFTA. Many responded to our latest draft declaration by asking for a more specific approach.

Here are the central issues, as they now stand.

Issue One: NAFTA Accession:

Almost all, except Brazil, would prefer to reach an AFTA through accession to the NAFTA. It is in place, it is far reaching and it covers the dominant economy of the hemisphere (ours). After all, American GDP last year was \$6.0 trillion, and the total GDP of the hemisphere was \$9.5 trillion. In an earlier memorandum you approved pursuing NAFTA accession, subject to congressional consultations. There is agency consensus on it.

There are three primary questions on NAFTA accession. The first is essentially technical. The NAFTA does not spell out the terms and conditions of accession, and the U.S., Canada and Mexico will have to do that in the coming months.

The second involves Brazil and its different vision. Essentially, Brazil would prefer to see expansion of the sub-regional groupings in Latin America, particularly its own Mercosur Group, before there is further, formal integration with the North.

Brazil does not want a confrontation with the U.S., but prefers a vague declaration with no real specifics and no timetable. We do not know the views of President-elect Cardoso on this, although he is considered an independent minded reformer. Many believe that his approach to hemispheric integration will be closer to ours.

Brazil is isolated in its go-slow view. For example, its largest Mercosur partner (Argentina) would like to join NAFTA soon. Nevertheless, we still may conclude a declaration which is less direct on NAFTA accession than we would like. You could then articulate a more specific view in your speeches.

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The third question involves our approach to Congress and labor. You earlier approved NAFTA accession, subject to congressional consultations. There is little opposition to extension of the core NAFTA trade provisions, but Dick Gephardt, labor and other anti-NAFTA allies want labor and environment side agreements that exceed NAFTA standards. The new Republican leadership (particularly in the House) will likely oppose any connection between trade sanctions and labor/environment standards. At this point, it is unclear what standard Congress might accept.

To be sensitive to labor, we have not been using the term NAFTA in our international consultations. Instead, the Miami declaration would speak of an Americas Free Trade Area or an equivalent name. You can also make your own statement on labor and environment standards in your speeches, tailored to a more distinct U.S. position.

Recommendation

In final consultations over trade, the U.S. should continue to articulate its preference for the substance of NAFTA accession, but continuing to use the term Americas Free Trade Area, not NAFTA. If Brazil forced a weaker declaration in this area than we would like, your speeches would make clear our preferences.

Regarding labor and environmental standards, we should reiterate our commitment to improving them, but remain vague on their relationship to trade. If pressed, we should say this issue needs to be worked out with the new Congress in the context of getting fast track authority next year.

Z / ✓ *except I must be clearly in favor of what we demanded*
 Approve *for WTO - and if we get Disapprove*
let, should carefully consider what to go forward - I was not labor
Issue Two: Target Date *but not who stated out this position*

The question is whether the U.S. should propose a specific target date for reaching the hemisphere wide agreements to lead to a free trade area. You earlier indicated that we should not raise this issue in consultations, but should reconsider if Summit nations show real interest.

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A number of Summit nations have indeed asked for a target date. They want the self-imposed pressure of a deadline. And, they are particularly concerned over the conspicuous absence of a date, in comparison to APEC.

Recommendation

Option One

In the final consultations, indicate that the U.S. prefers a target date for reaching the agreements underlying an AFTA (not implementation of them). A possible target would be 2005. This option is supported by NSC, NEC, State, Treasury, Commerce and CEA.

Approve

Disapprove

Option Two

Continue to stay away from a target date. USTR and Labor believe that it could antagonize those in Congress who are reluctant on trade liberalization.

*would like to hear for all on this - also Reich's position has more weight
if others Approve are suggesting a jump Disapprove in the table on labor
union issues -*

Issue Three: Announcement of Negotiations with Chile
Towards Accession to NAFTA

You have previously announced our intention to negotiate a free trade agreement with Chile. And, in an earlier memorandum on this Summit, you indicated support for announcing the commencement of bilateral FTA or NAFTA accession negotiations at the Summit or just beforehand, subject to Chilean and congressional views.

It appears that Chile will agree to this. Mexico and Canada favor and expect it. We also have not uncovered any congressional opposition, but consultations continue. This is not surprising because Chilean labor and environmental standards are high.

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Recommendation

If possible, finalize arrangements with Chile and the NAFTA partners on the commencement of accession negotiations. The announcement probably would be made on the eve of the Summit, or just as it closes, during your final press conference on Sunday, December 10.

_____ ↙
Approve

_____ Disapprove

I think Chile prefers end
of Summit, fearing rift +/or
jealousy if down at outset

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LINEAMIENTOS PARA UNA ESTRATEGIA CONJUNTA DE LOS PAISES
CENTROAMERICANOS CON VISTA A LA CUMBRE HEMISFERICA.

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10/7/94

La región centroamericana depende mucho más que cualquier otra región del continente, del comercio con los Estados Unidos.

La entrada en vigencia del Tratado de Libre Comercio de Norteamérica (NAFTA) ha producido desviación de comercio e inversión para los países beneficiarios de la Iniciativa de la Cuenca del Caribe (CBI). Los efectos negativos de dicho fenómeno son hoy más palpables en el sector textil y de la confección, pero la posición desventajosa se extiende prácticamente a todos los demás sectores, dado el carácter unilateral del CBI. (ver cuadros 1 y 2)

Desde antes de que el NAFTA entrara en vigencia, los países beneficiarios del CBI manifestamos a la Administración estadounidense la necesidad de crear mecanismos que restablecieran nuestra competitividad y que para ello estábamos en disposición de adquirir compromisos acordes con los beneficios recibidos.

Como respuesta a nuestras inquietudes, el Vicepresidente Gore presentó a los países de la región el denominado Programa Interino de Comercio (PIC), mediante el cual se otorgaría a los productos textiles y de la confección un trato similar al otorgado a los productos mexicanos, a cambio de compromisos en las áreas de propiedad intelectual, inversión, derechos laborales y medio

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ambiente.

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Los países centroamericanos asumimos que el compromiso adquirido por el Vicepresidente Gore iba hacerse una realidad con la aprobación de la ley de implementación de los acuerdos de la Ronda Uruguay. Lamentablemente, con sorpresa y decepción^{*} hemos recibido la noticia de que la Administración estadounidense ha decidido retirar el PIC de dicha ley de implementación, atendiendo razones de orden político interno.

Dicho retiro hace difícil que en el corto plazo el Congreso de los Estados Unidos apruebe la ley que contemple el PIC y, en consecuencia, la desventajosa situación comercial de nuestros países permanece y continúa agravándose aceleradamente.

Los países centroamericanos consideramos impostergable que el gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América defina una política comercial para los países de la región y demandamos una posición clara y consecuente que asegure el acceso a los respectivos mercados y sirva de vehículo para la constitución de una zona de libre comercio hemisférica.

El PIC, como su nombre lo indica, fue concebido como una etapa transitoria y resulta por ello necesario que se establezca con claridad cuál es la etapa siguiente, así como las condiciones, requisitos y plazos en que ésta se obtendrá. Para los países centroamericanos resulta esencial que, así como el PIC exige

compromisos de largo plazo de parte nuestra, haya también un claro compromiso de largo plazo por parte del gobierno de los Estados Unidos y una clara definición de su política comercial para con los países de la región.

El acceso preferencial al mercado estadounidense actualmente vigente en virtud del CBI es una concesión unilateralmente otorgada por el Gobierno de ese país. Los países centroamericanos debemos luchar por que el estatus de concesión unilateral se convierta en un derecho plenamente consolidado.

Por ello, a los países centroamericanos, como beneficiarios del CBI, se les debe otorgar un estatus temporal, mediante el cual reciban, por parte de los EE.UU., un trato arancelario y no arancelario exactamente igual al de los otros miembros del NAFTA. Ese estatus temporal se convertiría en uno permanente conforme cada uno de los países cumpla con las condiciones que oportunamente deberán ser negociadas, dentro del plazo que se determine. Obviamente las condiciones de acceso definitivo para cada país podrán diferir en consideración de la situación particular de cada uno de ellos.

La Cumbre Hemisférica, a celebrarse en Miami en diciembre próximo, resulta ser la oportunidad impostergable para que los países centroamericanos oblenamos del gobierno estadounidense ese compromiso dentro del contexto de la definición de la política comercial hacia la región. En consecuencia el tema del comercio

debe, en consecuencia, ser la piedra angular de dicho acontecimiento.

* { En el entretanto, los países centroamericanos debemos aprovechar la próxima visita del Vicepresidente Gore a la ciudad de Managua para expresarle al gobierno de los EE.UU. la posición que la región considera debe adoptarse en materia de comercio. En este sentido, debemos aunar esfuerzos con los países del Caribe, quienes se han visto igualmente afectados por el NAFTA y ^{la} exclusión del PIC, con el fin de exigir la re-introcción de este programa dentro del paquete de la ley de Implementación de Ronda Uruguay; con anterioridad a la celebración de la Cumbre Hemisférica.

A la luz de esta decisión, los países definirán su participación en dicho evento.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1994

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
RICKI SEIDMAN

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CC. MACK

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SUBJECT:

Your Schedule for the Summit of the Americas

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Purpose

To request your approval in principle for a proposed schedule for the Summit of the Americas that you will host in Miami December 9-11, 1994, in order to facilitate planning and to inform the other participants.

Background

The hemisphere's democratic leaders have responded enthusiastically to your invitation to the Summit, and we expect more than 30 heads of government/state to attend. Expectations are high that the Summit will codify the warm post-NAFTA atmosphere in hemispheric relations and establish a rich agenda for the future. We have dispelled initial fears that the Cuban-American community might disrupt the Summit. The Vice President held fruitful consultations about the Summit with the leaders of Bolivia, Argentina and Brazil during his March trip and with Central American leaders during his brief May 24 trip to the region. We also had excellent consultations at the General Assembly of the Organization of American States in Brazil earlier this month. We will continue these consultations throughout the summer. Among the issues we wish to discuss is the proposed Summit schedule (Tab I).

We want to cast the Summit as a unique opportunity for the hemisphere's leaders to hold serious substantive discussions on vital political, economic, social and environmental issues. Following the model of the APEC Summit in Seattle, we propose that the Summit of the Americas allow ample time for private exchanges among the leaders. The schedule is built around three private working sessions for the leaders, each two hours, on strengthening effective democratic government, promoting shared prosperity, and encouraging sustainable development. As host, you will chair the three sessions. We will be consulting intensively with our partners to refine the agenda and will suggest that they select spokespersons to initiate discussion on each subtopic.

We also propose a final plenary attended by all the delegations (perhaps 150 persons) to promulgate the Declaration of Miami and affirm commitment to its accompanying workplans (as previously negotiated and amended as necessary in the working sessions). At the plenary, you and several Latin and Caribbean leaders can deliver brief endorsements of the Summit's

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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results and speak to the Summit's value for your own countries. This will also provide an opportunity for the presidents of the two major regional institutions -- the OAS and the IDB -- to commit their organizations to the Summit's objectives.

The proposed schedule provides for your arrival in Florida on the morning of Friday, December 9 to enable you to give a scene-setting speech and perhaps participate in an event with a local focus. As the conference grows nearer and we flesh out our local goals, we may propose that you arrive in Miami on December 8.

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note

To underscore your interest in involving the private sector and non-governmental organizations in preparing for the Summit and implementing its objectives, we suggest a brief meeting with the leaders of these groups.

We envision a major cultural event on Saturday evening, December 10 and are exploring the possibility of satellite hook-ups linking simultaneous performances of dance and song in Washington and several other cities such as Mexico City, Santiago and Buenos Aires. The performance would be broadcast throughout the hemisphere. The Kennedy Center is investigating the possibility of co-hosting the gala from a performance hall in Miami.

Gloria
Estigarribia

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the schedule for the Summit of the Americas at Tab A.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab A Schedule for the Summit of the Americas

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The Importance of Trade to the Summit: Views from Other Countries

Country	Source	Comment
Antigua and Barbuda	Antigua 323	Trade and investment (NAFTA vs. non-NAFTA) will be obvious priority topics.
Argentina	Buenos Aires 1916	Key areas of interest will include regional economic integration--including membership in NAFTA.
	State 167196	Vice Foreign Minister Petrella said that from the Latin America point of view the trade, investment and development theme is most important.
	Buenos Aires 5746	The Argentines expressed understanding for the absence of concrete proposals on trade in view of U.S. legislative deliberations, but also pressed for assurances that such initiatives would be forthcoming this fall.
Barbados	Barbados 1979	Prime Minister Sandiford says that "the ultimate objective of the Summit should be to create a zone of prosperity extending throughout the hemisphere."
Bolivia	La Paz 3000	Trade/investment expansion drives much of the government of Bolivia's foreign policy.
Brazil	Brasilia 6302	The lack of a U.S. Government proposal on trade would create a partial political vacuum which Brazil could move to fill.
	Brasilia 6870	Brazil believes our initiatives must put more stress on trade and access to technology.
Canada	Ottawa 284	Assistant Deputy Minister for Latin America Gooch proposed a more forward-leaning stance on trade; e.g. explicitly encouraging accession to NAFTA of other countries in the hemisphere.
	Ottawa 1295	There will be considerable pressure from Canada and others to focus the meeting primarily on trade issues.
	Ottawa 3890	The Prime Minister told Vice President Gore that the participating countries from Latin America will come to Miami with one thing in mind, that being accession to NAFTA.
Chile	Bogota 11646	Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs Insulsa said that Chile and others felt very strongly that the U.S. should be prepared to come to the Miami Summit with a clear sense of its trade priorities. Absent this there would be considerable frustration throughout the hemisphere.
	Santiago 4832	Trade issues will be the Government of Chile's main focus of interest at the Summit. If no fast track authority is approved by this Congress, the Chileans will seek a high level reaffirmation of the U.S. commitment to hemispheric free trade. The overwhelming majority of Latin Summit participants see free trade as a key objective for the Summit.
	State 233485	Chilean Ambassador Biehl noted that fast track has become such an indispensable instrument of U.S. foreign policy that he finds it impossible to think of the United States, the world's biggest market, without fast track authority for pursuing further trade liberalization with other countries.
Colombia	State 71204	Colombian Foreign Trade minister Santos said the convergence of regional trade agreements into a hemispheric free trade agreement is an important theme for the upcoming hemispheric Summit.
	Bogota 5991	President Gaviria and other senior Colombian officials have said that they see the eventual expansion of NAFTA to the rest of the region as the most important issue for the Summit.
	Bogota 11544	Absent a U.S. proposal on next steps for free trade in the region, we would expect that the government of Colombia, in tandem with its Rio Group partners, might propose a resolution supporting extension of free trade agreements and benefits throughout the hemisphere.
	Bogota 12466	Vice Minister for the Americas Cardona said that "Colombia, as virtually every other country that would be attending the meeting, was most interested in trade."

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	San Jose 1705	The most important issues are... More specifically, accession to NAFTA and/or parity for CBI countries is at the top of the agenda.
Uruguay	Quito 5793	Government of Ecuador officials will judge the success or failure of the Summit by how substantively it deals with issues such as trade and development.
Guatemala	Guatemala 3324	The success of the Summit will depend on the ability of the U.S. to take the lead with concrete programs in both the trade/investment and democracy themes.
Honduras	Tegucigalpa 5773	The Hondurans see substantive progress in the free trade and investment areas as important elements for a successful Summit.
Jamaica	PM Patterson letter to the President Kingston 5579	"We believe that this conference should address issues of trade and investment flows." Should the Interim Trade Program not be in hand by the time of the Summit, we can expect the issue to be on the top of Jamaica's agenda. Jamaica would see the Summit as an opportunity to lobby further for the ITP and NAFTA accession.
Mexico	Spero memo to Christopher Mexico 20163	Without exception, however, all our interlocutors made it unmistakably clear that the economic agenda and hemispheric integration are <u>the</u> most critical items for Mexico and for most other countries as well. Ex-Foreign minister Sepulveda said "it was a mistake" to omit from the agenda a discussion on a free trade agreement for the western hemisphere.
Paraguay	Asuncion 2582	In the eyes of most countries in the region, the Summit is about trade, period.
Peru	Lima 7319	President Fujimori has three major themes he would like to pursue at the Summit: economic development and trade expansion; regime legitimization; and condemnation of terrorism.
Trinidad and Tobago	Port of Spain 2200	Trinidad and Tobago has positioned itself well for eventual NAFTA access and would hope for a serious discussion of U.S. thinking on next steps at the Summit.