



G8 Research Group

G8 Country Analysis Part II: Assessment Reports

G8 member performance at the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit

Please see G8 Country Analysis Part I for a review of each G8 member's summit objectives

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About the Assessment Reports

Assessments of each G8 country's performance at the summit in terms of its objectives are compiled in this document. These reports accompany those in Part I of the G8 Country Analysis (**see G8 Country Analysis Part I: Objectives and Data Reports**). Information on the aim and structure of the Objectives and Data Reports is provided in Part I of the Country Analysis.

The following **Assessment Reports** are written by selected members of the G8 Research Group. At the summit, analysts followed national press conferences, media releases issued by officials, individual statements made by the G8 leaders, as well as summit communiqués to determine whether each country achieved its objectives as outlined in the Objectives and Data Reports. Each country is assigned a letter grade to indicate the degree to which the country has met its objectives. Grading criteria is provided in the appendix at the end of this document.

Responsibility for the contents of these reports lies exclusively with the authors.

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Canada: A-

In his final press conference of the 2007 G8 Summit, Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated that though disparities still exist between the major powers on certain issues, much headway had been made in diplomatic relations. As predicted, Harper's summit agenda aligned with the German Presidency's climate change and African development objectives.

Canada circulated no press releases or statements at the summit, but held two press conferences. One closed press briefing was held on 7 June 2007 and an open media conference was held on 8 June 2007. At the latter conference, Harper hailed the Heiligendamm Summit a success. Harper characterized the summit as providing a forum for open and frank discussion on areas of critical concern to Canada's government and citizens.

Objective 1: Climate Change

Days prior to the 2007 G8 Summit, Canada declared its position on climate change to be that of an intermediary between the United States (US) and the German Presidency. As such, Harper sought to successfully facilitate an agreement between the two parties, which would allow Canada to retain the integrity of its own domestically produced climate change legislation and demonstrate its commitment to more long-term emissions caps. Harper also declared his intention to insist on the inclusion of emerging economies in the development of a post-Kyoto climate change agreement.

Harper arrived at the summit with the goal of setting a cap on emissions in the long-term. For the most part, Harper emerged successfully in this respect as Canada, along with the European Union (EU) and Japan, advocated a 50% reduction in emissions by the year 2050.¹ The US and Russia, however, remained wary of a binding commitment, so the final communiqué contained a softer promise to "consider seriously" the emissions cap rather than commit to it fully. The G8 committed to reach a post-2012 framework towards climate change without strict emissions caps in the immediate future.² Thus, this commitment satisfies Harper's goal of allowing substantial leeway for his domestically produced climate change bill with targets created independently from prior international agreements.

Though not included on Harper's agenda, the G8 nations importantly recognized the United Nations (UN) as the most appropriate framework for tackling international climate change issues.³ The G8 discussed short-term and medium-term emission goals which would "contribute to a global agreement under the UNFCCC by 2009."⁴

Harper's pre-summit insistence on the inclusion of emerging economies in the future framework for climate change mitigation was also satisfied. In this respect, the G8 called for an international, long-term solution to climate change.⁵ The G8 explicitly expressed its intention to continue meetings with the Outreach 5 (O5) nations of Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa under

¹ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 49.

² Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 53.

³ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 53.

⁴ Chair's Summary, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.g8.gc.ca/2007-chairs-summary-en.asp> 53.

⁵ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 50.

the auspices of the UN.⁶ According to the final communiqué on climate change, “this dialogue will support the UN climate process,” rendering the dialogue both open and structured.⁷ In a final statement, the G8 and O5 nations agreed to engage in joint negotiations for the purposes of reaching a collective agreement at the December 2007 UNFCCC Conference in Indonesia.⁸ This satisfies Harper’s objective of setting up a structured multilateral dialogue with emerging economies.

Objective 2: African Development

At the summit, Canada looked not to increase the ODA targets, but rather to see the G8 reaffirm its Gleneagles commitment to double aid to Africa by 2010. It must be noted that Harper recently indicated that, “[Although] Africa is obviously going to remain an important target for us [...] Canada’s sole and primary focus is not necessarily Africa.”⁹ Mr. Harper’s officials also disclosed that the aid budget to Africa for 2008-09 will be decreased by CAD700 million from the proposed CAD2.8 billion proposed in the last Liberal budget in 2005. Government Leader Peter Van Loan insisted, however, that Ottawa remained committed to doubling its aid to Africa.¹⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that Harper did not look for an increase in ODA commitments, or a statement against certain practices such as “double-counting” debt relief in ODA amounts. The G8 did, however, state its objective to implement the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.¹¹

At the same time, official development assistance (ODA) was just one of the many means to stimulate economic growth on the continent. In the opening of *Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa*, economic growth is considered critical to meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).¹² As such, economic factors of African development were the focus of this summit. The G8 saw ODA as a resource to help the poorest countries achieve their basic needs, rather than a strategy for creating a democratic and stable economy.¹³

Canada also came to the summit with expectations to reaffirm good governance mechanisms, confident with its compliance with St. Petersburg commitments regarding corruption. Canada has ratified the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and is in the process of ratifying the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC).¹⁴ Within the “Growth and Responsibility”

⁶ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 53.

⁷ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 53.

⁸ Joint Statement by the German G8 Presidency and the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa on the occasion of the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.g8.gc.ca/2007-erklaerung-en.asp>.

⁹ “Harper signals shift from Africa to the Americas,” *The Globe and Mail*, (Toronto), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 9 June 2007.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20070608.wg8africa08/BNStory/Front>

¹⁰ “Harper signals shift from Africa to the Americas,” *The Globe and Mail*, (Toronto), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 9 June 2007.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20070608.wg8africa08/BNStory/Front>

¹¹ Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 20.

¹² Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 1.

¹³ Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 27.

¹⁴ 2006 St. Petersburg Compliance Report, G8 Research Group, (Toronto), 16 February 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2006compliance_interim/index.html.

framework, transparency and accountability in public financial management was identified as a key component to sustainable development and economic growth.¹⁵ At Heiligendamm, G8 urged all member countries to sign, ratify, and support the implementation of the UNCAC.¹⁶ It is evident from these outcomes that Canada met its objectives on African development.

Objective 3: Energy Security

Prior to the St. Petersburg Summit, Harper named Canada one of the world's leading energy suppliers.¹⁷ Although he would have appreciated such a recognition from the other world leaders at the Heiligendamm Summit, this was not the case.

On 4 June 2007, Harper came out of the Canada-EU Summit with a statement that outlined the need for international cooperation in increasing energy efficiency, improving market transparency, and diversifying energy supplies.¹⁸ The G8 acknowledged these exact objectives in Heiligendamm.

Talks on increasing energy efficiency were held within the framework of climate change and environmental issues. The G8 stated that "successfully implemented energy efficiency policies could contribute to 80% of avoided GHG while substantially increasing security of supply."¹⁹ In order to increase energy efficiency, the G8 plans to increase investment in research, as well as implement economic incentives, sound fiscal policies, minimum standards for energy efficiency, energy performance labeling, and information campaigns for consumers and industries.²⁰ Just as Harper announced in the Canada-EU Summit, the G8 recognized the importance of international cooperation in promoting energy efficiency strategies.²¹

With regards to improving market transparency, the G8 acknowledged that free, transparent, and open markets are fundamental to global growth and sustainable development.²² The G8's action plan included compliance to WTO rules and a commitment to free trade principles, especially in the extractive sector.²³

Thirdly, the G8 agreed that to secure energy supplies and promote low-carbon energy, there must be a diversification of energy sources, markets, transportation routes, and types of energy.²⁴ The

¹⁵ Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 9.

¹⁶ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 89.

¹⁷ Harper touts Canada as 'energy superpower' in pre-G8 speech to business crowd, Canadian Press, (London), 15 July 2006. <http://www.canada.com/topics/news/national/story.html?id=f00ea975-9355-4dbc-a908-e9c6f7059863&k=73302>.

¹⁸ 2007 EU-Canada Summit Statement, Prime Minister's Office, (Ottawa), 4 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1683>.

¹⁹ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 62.

²⁰ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 65.

²¹ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 63.

²² Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 81.

²³ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 81.

²⁴ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 75.

G8's action plan includes implementing policy frameworks to support the use of clean fuels, the peaceful use of nuclear energy, the reduction or elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers to environmental goods and services, and the greater use of renewable energy.²⁵

Objective 4: HIV/AIDS

As a historically strong supporter of the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, Canada's objective was to have the G8 acknowledge the extent of the HIV/AIDS epidemic as well as renew pledges to the Global Fund. Canada achieved both these goals.

In *Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa*, the G8 acknowledged the extent of the epidemic with statistics. Approximately 63% of the global population infected with HIV live in Africa, and 72% of these people do not have access to ARV-treatment.²⁶ The G8 reaffirmed a commitment to universal access to HIV/AIDS treatment by 2010.²⁷ The G8 promised to work with other donors to replenish the Global Fund's approximate need of USD6 billion (and potentially US\$8 billion) by 2010.²⁸ A replenishment conference will be held in Berlin, Germany on 24-25 September 2007.²⁹

Objective 5: Regional Security

The G8 released a Statement on Counter Terrorism on 8 June 2007. The document re-affirms the G8 nations' commitment to the promotion of freedom and democracy and condemnation of all terrorist activity. The statement contains a reference to Afghanistan and advocates the promotion of economic growth and good governance in the region "in order to make the population in the regions immune to terrorist propaganda and recruitment."³⁰

Conclusion

Canada's performance in Heiligendamm merits a grade of A- because it met most of its objectives. Harper committed to taking a leadership role in the mitigation of climate change while retaining the integrity of his domestically created climate change bill. Secondly, Canada met its objectives on African development, as the G8 reaffirmed its Gleneagles commitments to double aid to Africa and promote good governance on the continent. Canada's agenda on energy efficiency, as expressed in the Canada-EU statement released on 4 June 2007, was successfully brought to the G8 table. Canada was not acknowledged, however, as an emerging source of energy on the global stage. Fourthly, Canada succeeded in setting G8 replenishment targets for the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Though issues of terrorism and regional security did not feature prominently in summit talks, Afghanistan's security and development was highlighted in the

²⁵ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 76.

²⁶ Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlussserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 46.

²⁷ Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlussserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 48.

²⁸ Declaration of Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlussserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf 49.

²⁹ Action Alert: Support the Global Fund Replenishment Process, World AIDS Campaign, (Amsterdam), 28 February 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.worldaidscampaign.info/index.php/en/campaigns/key_constituencies/faith/action_alert_support_the_global_fund_replenishment_process.

³⁰ G8 Summit Statement on Counter Terrorism- Security in the Era of Globalization, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.g8.gc.ca/pdf/2007-ct-statement-final-property-en.pdf> 9.

G8's Statement on Counter-Terrorism. Overall, Canada has fared quite well at the 2007 G8 Summit. It's performance, except on climate change, however, should be considered within the context of Harper's relatively conservative objectives.

By: Courtney Hood and Sarah Yun

France A-

A number of France's goals for the 2007 G8 Summit were achieved at Heiligendamm. President Sarkozy used his press conferences to affirm an assertive but constructive role for France, and outlined France's priorities on climate change and African development, as well as Iran, Lebanon, and the Darfur region of Sudan.

Sarkozy appeared to have clearly communicated France's position on key issues with an ear to other opinions during bilateral meetings before, during, and directly following the summit. Heiligendamm allowed him to further solidify his relations with United States (US) President George W. Bush and German Chancellor Angela Merkel as well as other G8 leaders. In particular, President Sarkozy looked to build relations with other European leaders, as France will assume the EU Presidency in 2008.

Objective 1: African development through partnership, good governance

African development was one of two main priorities for France at Heiligendamm.³¹ The German Presidency's approach to Africa seemed to fit well with President Sarkozy's position. Sarkozy had noted that one of his major priorities at the summit would be to advance the notion of "partnership for development."³² Prior to the summit, he urged G8 countries to engage in a "frank and equal dialogue" with African leaders—individuals ultimately responsible for leading reforms in Africa.³³ For the most part, France's objectives on African development were met.

The *Growth and Responsibility in Africa* document released at the end of the summit reiterates the G8's support for important existing structures, including the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), and the African Partnership Forum (APF). The document, however, does not include any new financial commitments to these structures and related development initiatives. Instead, the G8 makes it clear that it will continue abiding by its financial commitments made at Gleneagles in 2005.³⁴ The G8 notes the need to accelerate the implementation of these commitments,³⁵ by reaffirming its support for the partnership commitments of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, and by welcoming the leadership of the World Bank and the African Development Bank (AfDB) in establishing a program to improve private sector investment on the continent.³⁶ Although G8 support for the World Bank-AfDB initiative is notable, neither the G8 nor France announced new and concrete partnership agreements with African leaders present at the summit.

On the issue of official development aid (ODA), there is no indication that France took the lead in pushing other countries to increase their commitments. Pressure on this issue, however, would have been welcome in light of slow progress on ODA and debt relief commitments since the Gleneagles Summit in 2005.

³¹ Speech by Nicolas Sarkozy, President of the Republic, at the investiture ceremony, Paris, May 16, 2007. Date of access May 24 2007:

http://www.ambafrance.us.org/news/statmnts/2007/sarkozy_inaugural_speech051607.asp.

³² Ecologie, développement, droits de l'homme : au G8, baptême du feu pour Nicolas Sarkozy, Philippe Ridet et Daniel Vernet, *Le Monde*, 6 June 2007.

³³ Les cent premiers jours, Saïd Mahrane, *Le Point* (Paris) 10 May 2007, pg. 51.

³⁴ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 18, para. 55. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

³⁵ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 18, para. 55. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

³⁶ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 9, para. 32. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

Objective 2: Fighting HIV/AIDS

France has often placed the issue of HIV/AIDS at the forefront of its summit objectives.³⁷ Having spearheaded the UNITAID air travel levy project³⁸ in 2006 as a creative replenishment solution for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, France was well-placed to assert the importance of replenishing the fund this year. Thus, it is a positive outcome for France that in the *Growth and Responsibility in Africa* communiqué, G8 members not only expressly welcome innovative initiatives such as UNITAID, but also commit themselves to:

*"scal[ing] up their efforts to contributing towards the goal of universal access to comprehensive HIV/AIDS prevention programs, treatment and care and support by 2010 for all and to developing and strengthening health systems... We recognize that meeting this goal of universal access as well as realizing the Millennium Development Goals ... will require substantial resources."*³⁹

The G8 commits in the document, to providing at least a projected "USD60 billion over the coming years."⁴⁰ The G8 further recognizes that "the level of demand to the Global Fund...will increase substantially in the future," and that due to this, G8 members pledge to "work with other donors to replenish the GFATM and to provide long-term predictable funding based on ambitious, but realistic demand-driven targets."⁴¹ In addition, a replenishment conference will be held in Germany in September 2007.⁴² Overall, the G8 reaffirmed their strong commitment to the Global Fund and to fighting HIV/AIDS in particular. Thus, France's objective of ensuring that the G8 remained strongly committed to the goals of universal access and the replenishment of the Global Fund has been met.

Objective 3: Climate Change

President Sarkozy cited climate change as one of his main priorities at the summit,⁴³ and insisted that his measure of success would be the adoption of "un objectif chiffré,"⁴⁴ that is, an actual figure in the climate change section of the *Growth and Responsibility* final communiqué. Although it is not a binding target, as noted by President Sarkozy in his first press conference,⁴⁵ the final communiqué states "We will consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at least a halving of global emissions by 2050."⁴⁶ As such, it partially fulfills President Sarkozy's objective.

³⁷ Éléments d'intervention du Président de la République sur les maladies infectieuses, 16 July 2006. Date of access 27 July 2006.

http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/francais/interventions/discours_et_declarations/2006/juillet/elements_d_intervention_du_president_de_la_republique_sur_les_maladies_infectieuses.55952.html.

³⁸ The UNITAID initiative was introduced by France and Brazil among other countries as an initiative to renew the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. See Country Objective Reports: France for the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit.

³⁹ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 16, para 48. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

⁴⁰ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 16, para 48. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

⁴¹ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 16, para. 49. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

⁴² Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, 8 May 2007, pg. 6. Date of Access 8 May 2007: http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-africa.pdf.

⁴³ Les cent premiers jours, Saïd Mahrane, Le Point (Paris) 10 May 2007, pg. 51.

⁴⁴ First French Press Briefing, Heiligendamm Summit, 6 June 2007.

⁴⁵ First French Press Conference, Heiligendamm Summit, 7 June 2007.

⁴⁶ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 10 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

That the US agreed to a UN post-Kyoto framework⁴⁷ and recognized the human causes of climate change,⁴⁸ is a success for France and the G8 as a whole. According to President Sarkozy, there was significant progress at Heiligendamm because "Our starting point was the following: [US President] Bush was saying there is no "climate change" problem; there are no consequences deriving from carbon emissions. It is not a human induced effect."⁴⁹

Although it is uncertain what exact role President Sarkozy played in inducing the US to agree to a UN post-Kyoto framework, Sarkozy did note that he had highlighted the advantages of the UN framework during his meetings with President Bush.⁵⁰ Sarkozy's spokesperson did not rule out the possibility of him playing a limited "mediating role" at the summit,⁵¹ despite his rookie status in the G8 club.

Finally, the G8 statement on nuclear energy within the context of climate change aligns with France's interests. The *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy* communiqué includes a section almost exclusively on nuclear power, highlighting its benefits if developed safely and carefully. The document states:

"[We, the G8] Reaffirm our pledge at former summits regarding the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Those of us who have or are considering plans relating to the use and/or development of safe and secure nuclear energy believe that its development will contribute to global energy security, while simultaneously reducing harmful air pollution and addressing the climate change challenge."⁵²

This can be seen as a positive outcome for France, although there are no specific programs or initiatives proposed in which France's involvement is explicit.

Objective 4: Regional Security: Iran, Lebanon, and Sudan

On regional security issues, France was fairly successful at the summit. Statements of support were adopted to reaffirm prior commitments on non-proliferation in Iran, and peace and order in Lebanon. Most significantly, a separate statement was released that addressed the security situation in the Darfur region of Sudan.

At his first press conference at Heiligendamm, President Sarkozy expressed his concern for the deteriorating situation in Darfur and, in particular, the affects of the conflict on neighbouring Chad. France continues to consider sending a force of up to 12 000 troops to Chad to provide aid to people fleeing from the conflict.⁵³

The fact that the G8 produced a separate document on Darfur is significant. This document urges Kartoum to adopt/allow for a hybrid UN/AU peacekeeping force,⁵⁴ likely its most significant stipulation. It also stresses the need for an improved security situation in order for negotiations to

⁴⁷ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007, pg. 17. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

⁴⁸ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007, pg. 15, para. 48. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

⁴⁹ First French Press Conference, Heiligendamm Summit, 7 June 2007.

⁵⁰ First French Press Conference, Heiligendamm Summit, 7 June 2007.

⁵¹ First French Press Briefing, Heiligendamm Summit, 6 June 2007.

⁵² Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007, para. 76. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

⁵³ France pushes for Relief Force in Darfur, France 24 Online, 2 June 2007. Date of Access: <http://www.france24.com/france24Public/en/news/world/20070602-france-darfur-chad.html>.

⁵⁴ G8 Summit Statement on Sudan/Darfur, Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007. <http://www.g-8.de/Webs/G8/EN/G8Summit/SummitDocuments/summit-documents.html>.

happen. It further asserts that the G8 countries "remain deeply committed to resolv[ing] the Darfur crisis," and will support appropriate action in the Security Council should the Government of Sudan or the rebel movements continue to fail to meet their obligations.⁵⁵ The document, however, does not condone sanctions specifically. President Sarkozy at his first press conference, however, noted that the international community "would be legitimized to introduce sanctions."⁵⁶

France remains committed to hosting a meeting of G8 foreign ministers plus China at the end of June with the purpose of further discussing the conflict. However, the Heiligendamm document did not require, in its language or statements, any significant concessions from Russia (or China as part of the Outreach Five countries), leaving room for Russian and Chinese intransigence in light of proposed UNSC resolutions. Thus, Russia and China may continue to be obstacles to an effective, harmonious agreement on the crisis in Darfur.

Secondly, along with the United Kingdom and Germany, France has been involved throughout the past few years in negotiations with Iran over the development of its nuclear program. Finding a diplomatic solution regarding Iran's enrichment program has been an ongoing challenge over the past few years, one also addressed in the lead up to the Heiligendamm Summit in Potsdam on 30 May 2007 as part of the G8 Foreign Ministers meeting.⁵⁷ At the summit, G8 leaders underlined the international obligations as stipulated by UN resolutions 1696, 1737 and 1747. The language adopted in the communiqué is generally in accordance with the position of the European powers—Germany, Britain and France.⁵⁸ It does not, however, mention possible action within the UN Security Council.

On Lebanon, Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner stated, following the recent escalation of violence, that France wished "to talk to all the leading figures and representatives of groups in favour of Lebanon's unity, autonomy, territorial integrity and the democracy."⁵⁹ As such, the G8's endorsement of the "legitimate and democratic government of Lebanon"⁶⁰ is compliant with French interests.⁶¹

Conclusion

France met many of its goals at the summit. In addition to the projected goals for France at the summit, this author anticipated that President Sarkozy would be interested in building relations with its G8 counterparts, and particularly European nations, as France will be assuming the EU Presidency in 2008. As expected, President Sarkozy met with Prime Minister Blair to discuss the future of the EU constitutional treaty. At his first press conference at the summit, he also mentioned that Gordon Brown, incoming Prime Minister, shared the same opinion. Sarkozy did mention, however, that the G8 framework was probably not the best venue to speak about the matter.⁶²

By: Héloïse Apestéguy-Reux

⁵⁵ G8 Summit Statement on Sudan/Darfur, Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007. <http://www.g-8.de/Webs/G8/EN/G8Summit/SummitDocuments/summit-documents.html>.

⁵⁶ Press conference with French President Nicolas Sarkozy, Heiligendamm, 7 June 2007.

⁵⁷ Statement by M. Bernard Kouchner, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris, 24 May 2007.

⁵⁸ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary. Sec. III.

⁵⁹ Interview given by M. Bernard Kouchner, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, to "Europe 1", (excerpts), Beirut, 25 May 2007. Embassy of France in the United States.

⁶⁰ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary. Sec. III.

⁶¹ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary. Sec. III.

⁶² Press conference with French President Nicolas Sarkozy, Heiligendamm, 7 June 2007.

Germany: A-

The Heiligendamm Summit was an important occasion for Germany. It was the first summit hosted by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who was eager to address a number of key issues, such as African development and climate change. At her final press conference, Chancellor Merkel called Heiligendamm a "huge success."⁶³ Indeed, many of Germany's objectives at the summit were met. Chancellor Merkel managed to have the G8 leaders reaffirm their commitments to Africa, and gained substantial ground on its climate change objectives when the US agreed to seriously consider the plan to reduce carbon emissions by 50% by 2050. Although Chancellor Merkel sought to align summit outcomes with her foreign policy goals, as host, she also looked to mediate divergent positions on several pressing issues. On Iran, for example, it was in Merkel's interests to bridge disagreements between the United States (US) and other G8 members such as Russia on the nature of the nuclear threat from Iran, and how to proceed on the issue through international channels, namely the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). While the statement released on Iran was tempered, it did represent a basic consensus that satisfied most parties. Other areas of concern for Germany, such as UN reform, did not gain attention at the summit.

Objective 1: African Development

Germany's main objective at Heiligendamm was to revive the dialogue on the 2005 Gleneagles Africa commitments, while emphasizing the need for economic responsibility, partnerships, and private investment in Africa. Chancellor Merkel had repeatedly stated prior to the summit, that the G8 "[did] not need to set new goals to help the developing world, [but needed to] keep the promises it [had] already made."⁶⁴ Merkel had also been rather critical of the traditional methods used in dealing with Africa's economic issues, including debt relief and official development assistance (ODA).⁶⁵

The communiqué on Africa, *Growth and Responsibility in Africa*, opens by recalling the efforts of the G8 in Africa in the past: "We stress our firm resolve to implement the commitments on development made, in particular, in Gleneagles."⁶⁶ The document highlights the G8's existing debt forgiveness initiatives, and the Gleneagles promise to provide a USD25 billion increase in ODA over 2004.⁶⁷ While the communiqué notes the importance of ODA for helping Africa reach its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it also states that, "achieving and sustaining the MDGs, and moving beyond them, requires an environment that enables economic activity and encourages broad-based private sector-led growth."⁶⁸ The G8 also expresses through the communiqué, a commitment to supporting specific programs and mechanisms that promote private sector investment and growth (e.g. the *Partnership for Making Finance Work for Africa* initiative headed by the World Bank and African Development Bank) and good financial governance (e.g. the *Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Program*), conditions needed to foster and sustain responsible growth on the continent. It is evident, therefore, that Germany has met its goal of getting the G8 to reaffirm

⁶³ Angela Merkel final press conference (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007.

⁶⁴ Merkel Pledges to Keep Africa on International Agenda, Deutsche Welle, (Berlin), 24 April 2007. Date of Access: 5 June 2007.

⁶⁵ Growth and Responsibility - Leitmotif for Germany's G8 Presidency. Bundesregierung. January 2007. Date of Access: 15 May 2007. <http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2007/03/Anlagen/2007-03-01-g8-schlaglichter-en,property=publicationFile.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf. Para 2.

⁶⁷ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf. Para 2.

⁶⁸ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf. Para 2.

its commitments made at Gleneagles, as well as agree to the principles of private investment and partnerships that foster responsible economic growth on the continent.

Objective 2: Climate Change

Germany has largely met its objective on climate change. That the G8 has succeeded in making advances towards a post-Kyoto climate agreement can be considered an important success for Germany.

Before the summit, the US officially acknowledged climate change as a reality, but did not give any support to the Kyoto agreement. This threatened to undermine Germany's goal of reaching a collective announcement on climate change. However, Germany nonetheless secured significant concessions from the US on climate change. The *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy* document points out, for instance, that the G8 member states will consider seriously, the halving of global emissions by 2050. The G8 also recognizes the UN as being the appropriate forum for negotiating a post-2012 climate change framework.⁶⁹

Although Germany and its allies, Japan and the European Union (EU), did not secure commitments from the US to a binding GHG emissions cap, it is clear that Germany moved much closer to meeting its climate change objectives than originally anticipated.

Objective 3: Growth and Responsibility

In declaring "Growth and Responsibility" as one of the twin focuses of the Heiligendamm Summit, Chancellor Merkel directed the focus of the G8 towards the problems presented by a rapidly globalizing world economy.⁷⁰ Germany was successful in its initial goal to send a clear signal in support of a liberal and open global economic system, as seen in the summit communiqué, *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*.⁷¹

However, Chancellor Merkel's attempt to create financial transparency so as to prevent potential financial crises, protect investors, and maintain market integrity, met with limited success. The G8 refrained from agreeing to tougher controls on hedge funds. The statement on hedge funds, however, noted that Germany would continue to pursue the issue of hedge funds in October of this year.⁷²

Objective 4: Regional Security

Germany has repeatedly expressed great concern over the issue of non-proliferation, particularly with regards to Iran's uranium enrichment program, which the West believes could be used to build a nuclear weapon. As such, Germany has taken a leading role through its position on the EU-3, alongside the United Kingdom and France, to curb Iran's nuclear ambitions.⁷³ As a result, Germany put Iran on the Heiligendamm agenda.

As noted previously, however, it was in Chancellor Merkel's interests to mediate divergent views on the issue in order to reach a consensus. The resulting statement on Iran was broad and

⁶⁹ Growth and responsibility in the world economy (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 11 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng

⁷⁰ Growth and Responsibility - Leitmotif for Germany's G8 Presidency. Bundesregierung. January 2007. Date of Access: 15 May 2007. <http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2007/03/Anlagen/2007-03-01-g8-schlaglichter-en,property=publicationFile.pdf>

⁷¹ Growth and responsibility in the world economy (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 11 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng

⁷² Germany talks down chances of hedge funds accord at G8 finance meeting, Associated Press, (Washington DC), 18 May 2007. Date of Access: 19 May 2007.

<http://www.canada.com/topics/news/world/story.html?id=59866da5-2325-41c9-b59c-1f3f593eed29&k=14546>.

⁷³ Timeline: Iran Nuclear Crisis, Fox News Online, 31 August 2006. Date of Access: 25 May 2007.

<http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,211517,00.html>.

conciliatory, yet quick to deplore Iran's defiance of UNSC resolutions. There was no mention of possible UNSC-imposed sanctions, language that would only enflame certain G8 members such as Russia. It must be noted here, that Merkel's success at achieving German foreign policy goals with respect to Iran must be considered within the context of its role as summit host.

Objective 5: UN Reform

This objective was not met at the summit. The issue was not discussed at all at Heiligendamm. Germany did not raise the issue of UN reform, although it has been actively involved in advocating for UNSC reforms.

Conclusion

Overall, Germany has met many of its objectives on climate change and African development. Credit for the notable compromises on climate change, and the relative consensus on issues such as nuclear proliferation in Iran can be attributed in part to the diplomacy of Chancellor Merkel. On African development, Germany achieved its goal of getting the G8 to reaffirm its Gleneagles commitments as well as recognize the need to foster investment on the continent rather than rely solely on debt relief and ODA schemes.⁷⁴ On climate change, that Chancellor Merkel and other supportive G8 leaders managed to secure concessions from the US, is a notable achievement.⁷⁵ On the other hand, as expected, the discussion on hedge funds in Heiligendamm fell short of Germany's earlier ambitions for improving transparency in financial markets. Germany achieved less notable gains on the issue of Iran and UN reform, although a tempered consensus was reached on the former. In sum, the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit has been a success for Germany, as well as a personal achievement for Chancellor Angela Merkel, who has shown an aptitude for uniting the sometimes-divergent views of G8 member states.

By: Sandro Gianella and Susan Khazaeli

⁷⁴ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf. Para 2.

⁷⁵ Climate change: breakthrough at G8 summit, Energy Business Review, (New York) 11 June 2007. Date of Access: 11 June 2007. http://www.energy-business-review.com/article_feature.asp?guid=F915D018-0F24-482D-8BA1-C62721EFF5E1

Italy: B+

Introduction

The three objectives for Italy at the Heiligendamm Summit were to (1) call attention to the Middle East Peace Process and the escalating situation in Lebanon; (2) align with the EU on the missile defense issue involving Russia, the United States (US), and the European continent; and (3) seek a middle ground between the divergent views on climate change. Prime Minister Prodi touched on each of these during his press conference at the conclusion of the summit.⁷⁶ In general, Italy met many of its objectives, in part because Prime Minister Prodi did not enter the summit with ambitious foreign policy goals in mind.

Objective 1: Middle East

As a whole, the G8 reaffirmed its commitment to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution in the Middle East, in concert with Prime Minister Prodi's policies. Specifically, Chancellor Merkel in her final summary highlighted the situation in Lebanon, and noted that the G8 recognized the Lebanese government and deplored the human rights abuses committed against the Lebanese people.⁷⁷ That the G8 discussed the situation in Lebanon is in line with Prime Minister Prodi's interests, as Italy has been heavily involved in the country, having provided leadership to the peacekeeping forces in southern Lebanon. The consensus articulated in the final summary, however, does not mention the need for Middle Eastern partners to participate in the mitigation of conflict in the country. It is uncertain whether Italy played a large role in negotiating the terms of the commitments on the Middle East.

Objective 2: Russia

While Italy had intended to act in concert with the EU on the missile defense issue concerning Europe, Russia, and the US, the EU did not articulate a unified stance on the issue.⁷⁸ While tensions were discussed, no concrete outcome was achieved in regards to a multilateral solution to the escalating situation. At his final press conference on Friday, Putin revealed that he did not understand the need for a missile shield.⁷⁹ Conversely, Bush insisted that the missile shield is necessary and a legitimate response to real threats coming from a possibly armed Iran.⁸⁰ While the issue was discussed, there was no resolution and upon departure, UK Prime Minister Tony Blair went so far as to say that during discussion of the issue, "the atmosphere was on a personal level, perfectly cordial but [the issue] is not going to be resolved anytime soon."⁸¹

⁷⁶ Italian Prime Minister optimistic on Lebanon peacekeeping, realistic on energy prices, Civil G8, 17 July 2007. Date of Access: 17 July 2007. <http://en.civilg8.ru/2174.php>.

⁷⁷ Chair's Summary, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary.

⁷⁸ Address by Minister Massimo D'Alema at the Workshop 2007 of the Council for Relations between Italy and the United States, Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (Venice), 28 May 2007. Date of Access: 23 May 2007. http://www.esteri.it/eng/6_38_227_01.asp?id=3032&mod=3&min=1.

⁷⁹ Russia's Putin says Iranian missiles 'don't exist in reality', AFX News Limited, (London), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.forbes.com/business/feeds/afx/2007/06/08/afx3802949.html>.

⁸⁰ Bush says Russia not a threat to Europe, Reuters News, (London), 6 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.swissinfo.org/eng/international/ticker/detail/Bush_says_Russia_not_a_threat_to_Europe.html?siteSect=143&sid=7898759&cKey=1181160555000.

⁸¹ Britain's Blair sees no quick end to Russia tension, Reuters News, (London) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://investing.reuters.co.uk/news/articleinvesting.aspx?type=allBreakingNews&storyID=2007-06-08T163121Z_01_L08832802_RTRIDST_0_G8-SUMMIT-BRITAIN-RUSSIA-PICTURE.XML.

Objective 3: Climate Change

While not their primary priority, Italy aimed for convergence on the issue of climate change and energy security at the Heiligendamm Summit.⁸² More specifically, Minister D'Alema voiced a preference that the US should adopt a more open stance on climate change.⁸³ It was expected that Italy would seek a shared commitment on climate change and work towards finding a middle ground between the US and EU proposals. Indeed, climate change was the lead topic for Prime Minister Prodi's press conference on the last day of the summit. He acknowledged that it was a big, serious and urgent problem that had to be dealt with internationally. He attributed success of the Kyoto Protocol to Russia's involvement and conceded that with all its technical limits, Kyoto had a clear message that global change had to be sold through a global agreement. That being said, the media reported that Italy, along with Canada, moved to block key language and numbers from the declaration on climate change. However, Reuters noted that Prodi had softened his stance and would drop his resistance.⁸⁴ The ultimate outcome on the climate change file resulted in a declaration containing progressive language but lacking any meaningful numbers and targets. Overall, it was considered a success by most, given the G8's previous lack of acknowledgement of movement on the issue. For Italy, the outcome was favourable, in that it aligned with the EU's intentions of seeing a post-2012 agreement negotiated within the UN framework, but lacked the solid targets or timelines.

Conclusion

Italy has met most of its objectives. On the Middle East, the G8 agreed to continue supporting the Middle East Peace Process and the democratic government of Lebanon. These outcomes meet Italy's objectives of ensuring that support is given to partners in the Middle East. The outcome on climate change also aligned with Prime Minister Prodi's goal of seeking a middle ground between the US and EU. On the other hand, Italy failed to see a multilateral solution to the concerns over the US' plans for a missile defense shield, in large part because the issue will need to be discussed further beyond the summit.

Addendum

According to media reports, Prime Minister Prodi shone in discussions on aid. While others were difficult on the topic and resisted additional commitments, Prime Minister Prodi was noted as being 'encouraging' and 'positive' on the issue.⁸⁵ Furthermore, one of the Senegalese singers who accompanied celebrities Bono and Geldof to a meeting with the G8 leaders said that talks with Prime Minister Prodi had been 'very interesting' and was optimistic that they could go a lot further with Italy.⁸⁶ Italy pledged to "pay up money it owed to the Global Fund and also pay \$200 million per year for the next two years"⁸⁷ in the same meeting with Bono and Geldof.

By: Kathryn Kinley

⁸² Address by Minister Massimo D'Alema at the Workshop 2007 of the Council for Relations between Italy and the United States, Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (Venice), 28 May 2007. Date of Access: 23 May 2007. http://www.esteri.it/eng/6_38_227_01.asp?id=3032&mod=3&min=1.

⁸³ Address by Minister Massimo D'Alema at the Workshop 2007 of the Council for Relations between Italy and the United States, Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (Venice), 28 May 2007. Date of Access: 23 May 2007. http://www.esteri.it/eng/6_38_227_01.asp?id=3032&mod=3&min=1.

⁸⁴ Rock stars in last-ditch Africa plea to G8 leaders, Reuters, (London), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007). <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L07765583.htm>.

⁸⁵ Bono and Geldof find aid for Africa lacking, Antara News, (Indonesia), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.antara.co.id/en/arc/2007/6/7/bono-and-geldof-find-g8-aid-for-afrika-lacking/>.

⁸⁶ Bono and Geldof find aid for Africa lacking, Antara News, (Indonesia), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.antara.co.id/en/arc/2007/6/7/bono-and-geldof-find-g8-aid-for-afrika-lacking/>.

⁸⁷ Rock stars in last-ditch Africa plea to G8 leaders, Reuters, (London), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007). <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L07765583.htm>.

Japan: A-

Since assuming office on 26 September 2006, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has made significant strides in placing a number of issues at the fore of Japanese domestic and foreign policy. Some of these objectives, notably, climate change, energy security, North Korea, and African development, were integrated into Japan's agenda at this year's G8 Summit in Heiligendamm. Japan's overall performance in achieving these goals was markedly high.

Climate change emerged as one of the most important issues at the summit. Japan's proposal to establish a post-Kyoto G8 climate change agreement with stipulations of halving greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 2050 and including other major non-G8 emitters such as China and India, met with greater success during summit talks than originally anticipated. Japan also met its related energy security objectives. On issues relating to North Korea, Japan's hard line position was well received and resulted in the G8 condemning North Korea's recent actions and failure to heed to UNSC resolutions and the terms of the February 2007 Six-Part Talks agreement.⁸⁸ African development was another prominent issue that dominated the Heiligendamm agenda, reflected in the communiqué, *Growth and Responsibility in Africa*. In accordance with German, UK and Japanese aims to address development and aid in Africa, Heiligendamm saw a renewal of political interest in meeting the targets set at Gleneagles.⁸⁹ Overall, Japan's performance at this year's summit in promoting dialogue and brokering agreements of the aforementioned objectives was highly successful and warrants a score of A-.

Objective 1: Climate Change

Climate change was one of the most important and contentious issues addressed by G8 leaders at the Heiligendamm Summit. Leading up to the summit, the idea of establishing an agreement that would meet the expectations of all G8 participants appeared increasingly dubious following a leaked internal document released containing edits by the United States (US). According to the text, the White House had "serious, fundamental concerns about this [G8 Summit Declarations] draft statement" and it was "fundamentally opposed" to many of the European objectives.⁹⁰

In spite of divisive pre-summit rhetoric, the G8 agreed in the final communiqué, *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*, to work towards a post-Kyoto climate change agreement within the United Nations (UN) framework.⁹¹ G8 members also stated: "We will consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at least a halving of global emissions by 2050."⁹² That G8 members, particularly the US, will consider these targets, as well as work within the UN to address the issue of climate change, is a significant step forward.

Although Japan was highly successful in having its emissions target considered, there remain some important issues that still need to be addressed in upcoming climate change negotiations, notably,

⁸⁸ Working Lunch Briefing by Japanese Government Official, 2007 G8 Heiligendamm Summit, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007.

⁸⁹ Growth and Responsibility in Africa: Summit Declaration, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/AbschlusserkI_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en.

⁹⁰ Leaked U.S.G8 Heiligendamm Draft Summit Declarations Edition, Greenpeace, (New York), 2007 February. Date of Access: 14 June 2007.

<http://weblog.greenpeace.org/makingwaves/G8%20Summit%20Declaration%20-%20US%20comments%20May%2014-1.pdf>.

⁹¹ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 10 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

⁹² Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 11 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

the establishment of benchmarks that are more comprehensive in targeting GHG reductions, as well binding commitments that incorporate non-G8 emitters such as China and India.

Objective 2: Energy Security

Amid increasing oil prices, an increasingly competitive global energy market led by China and India, and concerns of climate change, an important energy security objective for Japan heading into this year's summit was to build consensus among G8 leaders on promoting clean and efficient energy technologies and alternative fuels to reduce reliance on traditional energy commodities such as natural gas and oil, thus making a link between climate protection with energy security. At Heiligendamm, this objective was met.

Notably, the communiqué, *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*, satisfies Japan's interest in seeing energy security connected with climate change. Indeed, the G8 agreed to implement approaches that "optimally combine effective climate protection with energy security." Japan's more specific concern about developing clean technologies and alternative fuels is given more attention in the document's sections on energy efficiency and diversification, yet also directly linked to energy security. It is noted in the document that energy insecurity can be countered by ensuring market transparency, enhancing energy efficiency, diversifying energy supplies, and developing and implementing new and "transformational technologies."⁹³ It is thus evident that Japan's energy security objectives have been met.

Objective 3: North Korea

Japan's main objective concerning North Korea was to have the G8 demonstrate its strong concern for North Korea's non-compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and issue a statement urging North Korea to halt its nuclear program and begin the process of denuclearization.

Following bilateral meetings on 6 June 2007 with President Bush and President Sarkozy, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe orchestrated a strong showing of support in opposing North Korea's nuclear program.⁹⁴ On 7 June 2007 during a working lunch, Prime Minister Abe took a hard line against North Korea's nuclear development program, using assertive language to urge the G8 to "coordinate and take firm action on the issues" to send a "clear message to North Korea."⁹⁵ It was reported from the meeting that G8 leaders strongly supported Prime Minister Abe's call for action, citing North Korea's behaviour as "totally unacceptable" and that the G8 was fully prepared to take affirmative action in addressing North Korea's nuclear program.⁹⁶ In the *Heiligendamm Statement on Non-Proliferation*, the G8 reiterated this position, directly urging North Korea to "abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs as well as Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and ballistic missile programs" in compliance with the February 2007 Six-Party Talks agreement and UN Security Council resolutions 1695 and 1718.⁹⁷ The G8's endorsement of Prime Minister Abe's proposal warrants a high score for Japan's performance on this objective at the summit.

⁹³ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 10 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

⁹⁴ Briefing by Japanese Government Official on Japan-U.S Bilateral Summit and Japan-France Bilateral Summit, 2007 G8 Heiligendamm Summit, (Heiligendamm), 6 June 2007.

⁹⁵ Working Lunch Briefing by Japanese Government Official, 2007 G8 Heiligendamm Summit, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007.

⁹⁶ Working Lunch Briefing by Japanese Government Official, 2007 G8 Heiligendamm Summit, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007.

⁹⁷ Heiligendamm Statement On Non-Proliferation, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-non-proliferation,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/heiligendamm-statement-on-non-proliferation.

Objective 4: Aid to Africa

Japan entered the Heiligendamm Summit with ambitions similar to those of the German Presidency on the issue of African development. Yet, Japan also had more specific objectives of its own going into the summit. These authors noted that if Japan were to meet its varied objectives for Africa, the G8 would need to demonstrate its commitment to debt cancellation in Liberia, express concern over Chinese actions in Darfur, and advocate for free and fair investment in Africa according to the rule of law. Commitments that would support an increase in ODA contributions and debt relief would also align with Japanese interests.

While there was no specific mention of the Liberian debt relief plan, or condemnation of China's economic activities in Africa, the communiqué, *Growth and Responsibility in Africa*, released on 8 June 2007 underscored the G8's commitment to the rule of law, a necessary ingredient for good governance and sustainable economic development. The G8 also declared: "We stress our firm resolve to implement the commitments on [African] development made, in particular, in Gleneagles. These include the historic multilateral debt relief of up to USD60 billion...[and] increasing ODA to Africa by USD25 billion a year by 2010."⁹⁸ The agreements reached at Heiligendamm, specifically relating to African debt relief and ODA aid flows, is in line with Japan's policies on Africa. It should also be mentioned that during a press conference on 8 June 2007, a senior Japanese official announced Japan's intention to use future opportunities at the 4th Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in the spring of 2008 and the upcoming Hokkaido G8 Summit in 2008, to continue talks between OECD and African countries to further enhance the objectives of the G8-African partnership.⁹⁹

By: James Meers and Miho Takaya

⁹⁸ Growth and Responsibility in Africa: Summit Declaration, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/AbschlusserkI_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en.

⁹⁹ Japanese Press Conference, Senior Japanese Official, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

Russia: B

Russia's desire to demonstrate its full membership in the G8 likely affected its performance on both economic and political issues at the summit. Specifically Russia was concerned with endorsing the recommendations delineated in the 2006 Global Energy Security Action Plan produced at the St. Petersburg Summit. Russia's objectives furthermore included working out a plan for aid to Africa, and maintaining its interests in the determination of Kosovo's future. Russia also entered the summit in the midst of heightened tensions with the United States (US) over the US plan to construct an anti-ballistic missile system in the Czech Republic and Poland. Consequently, Russia held significant bilateral meetings with the US in order to diffuse tensions that appeared to escalate during the weeks preceding the summit.

Objective 1: Energy Security

Russia aimed for a reiteration of commitments delineated in the 2006 St. Petersburg Global Energy Security Action Plan. These commitments included: ensuring the security of energy supply and transparency in energy markets; furthering efforts to diversify energy sources; promoting energy efficiency; and securing nuclear materials for the purposes of peaceful nuclear development. Russia also looked to promote an expanded dialogue with major energy consumers and producers, and affirm its role as a secure and trustworthy source of energy products. Russia met most of its energy security goals as many of the St. Petersburg energy principles were reiterated at Heiligendamm.

Through the *Joint Statement by the German G8 Presidency and the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa*, Russia met its objective of procuring an agreement for "regional and international cooperation in the energy sector, especially in ensuring secure and affordable supplies of energy."¹⁰⁰

At the summit, the G8 also called for "increased transparency in the extractive sector" in the document, *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*.¹⁰¹ Continuing cooperation with the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI), the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Global Reporting Initiative will open energy markets and bring them to global standards thereby improving security of supply and responsible environmental practices. Although Russia demonstrated its commitment to ensuring transparency in global energy markets, it was not able to secure a statement from the G8 recognizing the country as a reliable source of energy resources.¹⁰²

Regarding energy diversification, the G8 asserted in the same document, its commitment to integrate renewable energy sources into the power grid through cooperation with the "Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century, the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Program, the Global Bio-Energy Partnership, and the Mediterranean Renewable Energy Partnership."¹⁰³ The

¹⁰⁰ Joint Statement by the German G8 Presidency and the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa on the Occasion of the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, Germany, 8 June 2007, (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/o5-erklaerung-en,property=publicationFile.pdf

¹⁰¹ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁰² See Lapin, A., and Muravska J., "The Russian Federation" in "Country Analysis I," pg. 35 para. 2. The G8 Research Group, (Toronto), June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

¹⁰³ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

G8 committed to promoting research on alternative energy sources and to sharing such technologies with the developing world in order to increase energy efficiency.¹⁰⁴

Discussions on the diversification of the energy sector also included the responsible use and sharing of nuclear energy through such the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership, the Russian initiative on multinational centres to provide nuclear fuel cycle services, as well as through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).¹⁰⁵

Further expanding on commitments made regarding the nuclear sector, Russia hoped to promote civilian access to nuclear technology for peaceful energy production. At the summit, Russia thus committed through the *Heiligendamm Statement on Non-Proliferation* to "continue discussions by the Nuclear Suppliers Group on mechanisms to strengthen controls on transfers of enrichment and reprocessing equipment, facilities and technology."¹⁰⁶ This statement also reaffirmed Russia's commitment to prevent the proliferation of nuclear technologies and the unsafe use of nuclear energy technology. The G8 furthermore appreciated the Russian suggestion to establish "multinational centres [that will] provide nuclear fuel cycle services"¹⁰⁷ to countries exploring nuclear energy production.

Russia's objective of increasing the participation in discussions related to energy security was also fruitfully addressed. The G8 committed to assisting African countries in accessing energy resources, adding that the Clean Energy Investment Framework and the participation of African countries in procuring clean energy investments would help reach these ends.¹⁰⁸ Despite this expanded dialogue, Russia was unable to procure the participation of interested states from Central Asia and the South Caucasian republics.

Objective 2: Africa

It was not predicted that Russia would assume a leadership role on the issues of African development at the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm. Rather, the Russian objectives in this area centred on promoting political and financial stability in Africa, namely through aiding peacekeeping operations, reducing debt, and augmenting bilateral trade relations.

In the area of debt reduction in particular, it was predicted that Russia would encourage debt relief efforts to consolidate statements initially made by Foreign Minister Lavrov in late May. It was also noted, however, that Russia would not readily increase its development aid to Africa, in light of Russia's relatively small aid budget. Russia's response to President Bush suggestion that a new USD60 billion aid package be partly financed by the G8 members, thus came as no surprise. Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Storchak emphasized that the Russian budget did not at the time permit compliance with the initiative.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁰⁵ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁰⁶ Heiligendamm Statement on Non-Proliferation, G8 Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-non-proliferation,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁰⁷ Heiligendamm Statement on Non-Proliferation, G8 Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/heiligendamm-statement-on-non-proliferation,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁰⁸ Summary of G8 Africa Personal Representatives' Joint Progress report on the G8 Africa Partnership, G8 Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlussrkl_C3_A4rungen/wv-afrika-annex-en,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁰⁹ Press Conference with the Russian Deputy Finance Minister Sergy Storchak, the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 7 June 2007.

Nevertheless, Russia did participate constructively in G8 discussion on Africa. In particular, the contribution to the political and financial stabilization of the continent was documented in the summit's *Chair's Summary* as well as *Growth and Responsibility in Africa* and the *Summary of G8 Africa Personal Representatives' Joint Progress Report on the G8 Africa Partnership*. In the context of discussing the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in Africa with African representatives, the G8 leaders agreed on a core set of economic and financial development principles. The discussions also reaffirmed the continued compliance with the relevant commitments made at the Gleneagles Summit.¹¹⁰

In addition, Russia, in concert with other G8 members, stressed its desire to foster domestic and international entrepreneurship and investment in Africa, through the promotion of market integration and support for regional economic communities.¹¹¹ Furthermore, investment and economic growth figured prominently in the *Growth and Responsibility in Africa* document, as a goal which the G8 members, including Russia, committed to support.¹¹² Also, the G8 leaders pledged to provide assistance to "African countries that are taking credible action against corruption and increasing transparency and accountability,"¹¹³ helping address the Russian objective of promoting financial stability. However, a specific mechanism of achieving these goals was not announced, and benchmarks for progress were given, meaning that Russia—through the vehicle of concerted G8 discussions—had only partly addressed the objectives on which it had earlier placed emphasis.

In addition, the G8 members enumerated specific measures, which will be taken to aid African integration into the world trade system, and the promotion of trade as a mechanism to foster economic development and combat poverty.¹¹⁴ Specifically, these measures included promoting simplified Rules of Origin, especially for Least Developed Countries (LDCs), and providing "duty-free and quota-free market access for products originating from the LDCs."¹¹⁵

Regarding the promotion of political stability in Africa, Russia, together with the rest of the G8 members, indicated that G8 support in strengthening the civilian component of the African Standby Force (ASF) would be continued. The G8 furthermore committed to assisting the AU in its efforts to combat the proliferation of small arms and illicit exploitation of natural resources.¹¹⁶ In order to strengthen the peacekeeping undertakings on the African continent, the G8 reiterated its support for the creation of the ASF in the areas of logistics, communications, and civilian operations.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ Chair's Summary, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary

¹¹¹ Chair's Summary, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary

¹¹² "Growth and Responsibility in Africa"—Summit Declaration, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en

¹¹³ "Growth and Responsibility in Africa"—Summit Declaration, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en

¹¹⁴ "Growth and Responsibility in Africa"—Summit Declaration, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en

¹¹⁵ "Growth and Responsibility in Africa"—Summit Declaration, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en

¹¹⁶ Chair's Summary, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary

¹¹⁷ Summary of G8 Africa Personal Representatives' Joint Progress Report on the G8 Africa Partnership, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.g->

More importantly, they stated that, "assisting in developing long-term strategies and reliable funding mechanisms is an important next step."¹¹⁸ Moreover, in addition to re-emphasizing their support for the construction of the ASF, the G8 leaders stressed that greater attention will be devoted to conflict prevention, as well as "stabilization, reconstruction, reconciliation, and development in post-conflict countries."¹¹⁹

Objective 3: Independence of Kosovo

Russia's objectives concerning the independence of Kosovo have been largely met. These authors noted that in order for Russia to have met its objectives on the matter, a G8 agreement on the issue could not endorse the ratification of the current UNSC independence scheme. Furthermore, such a statement should recognize the need to protect the Serbian minority in Kosovo. It was also explained that it would not be in Russia's interest to be seen as an authoritarian power on the issue.

As exhibited by the *Chair's Summary*, Russia was successful on almost every account. In particular, the G8 leaders' negotiations on the future status of Kosovo yielded neither a consensus nor a compromise. The summary merely stated that while there continue to be different views on the substance of Ahtisaari's proposal and the way forward, the G8 remains engaged in the issue.¹²⁰ President Putin further noted in his final press conference on 8 June 2007 that he had not moved from his position on the issue, seeing the Russian position as grounded in the international legal concept of territorial integrity of sovereign states, as well as UNSC Resolution 1244.¹²¹ The issue of Kosovo was not ignored, but given only limited attention. It is thus not surprising that the G8 did not agree to further details such as recognizing the protection needs of the Serbian minority in Kosovo.

Chancellor Merkel also stated in her concluding press conference on 8 June 2007, that no agreement had been reached on a proposal by the French President Nicolas Sarkozy to delay any UN vote for six months in order to find a compromise.¹²² Although the G8 members stated that they will remain engaged in the process of settling the dispute over the future of Kosovo,¹²³ Russia succeeded in meeting its foremost objective of maintaining its position on the issue.

Conclusion

Russia has received an overall grade of a B for its performance at the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, Germany. All of the Russian objectives were addressed at Heiligendamm, although they were only partially met. In the area of energy security, Russia's objectives were addressed extensively by the G8. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note, that Russia was not able to realize its objectives fully. Namely, Russia did not secure acknowledgment from the G8 that it is a reliable energy supplier. Russia more readily met its objectives in the area of African development. Russia met its underlying objective of resisting the pressure to increase development aid to Africa.

8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/wv-afrika-annex-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/wv-afrika-annex-en

¹¹⁸ Summary of G8 Africa Personal Representatives Joint Progress Report on the G8 Africa Partnership, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/wv-afrika-annex-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/wv-afrika-annex-en

¹¹⁹ "Growth and Responsibility in Africa"—Summit Declaration, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserk1_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/WV-afrika-en

¹²⁰ Chair's Summary, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary

¹²¹ Concluding Press Conference by President Putin, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007.

¹²² Concluding Press Conference by Chancellor Angela Merkel, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007.

¹²³ Chair's Summary, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary

The area in which Russia was perhaps most successful was the future of Kosovo. In particular, President Putin succeeded in preserving his firm position of opposing Marti Ahtisaari's scheme of independence under international control, endorsed by the United States and the European Union. At the same time, Russia narrowly avoided being viewed as an obstructor of justice and progress on the issue.

Addendum

These authors underestimated the magnitude of the much-publicized US-Russia dispute over the American plan to construct an anti-ballistic missile system in the Czech Republic and Poland.¹²⁴ In fact, this topic largely dominated the final press conference given by President Putin on 8 June 2007. In spite of consistent US assurances that the system will not be directed against Russia and that the purpose of it is to deter a potential threat from Iran,¹²⁵ Moscow continues to view the American scheme as a national security threat, which, as President Putin stated in his official concluding press conference, threatens the Russian Federation and its citizens.¹²⁶

In order to resolve this dispute, however, Moscow unveiled a proposal at the summit to utilize a radar system located in Azerbaijan, which, under joint American and Russian control, would provide any relevant missile data to the United States and its ships in real time.¹²⁷ The United States National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley indicated that his government was receptive to the Russian desire to cooperate on this crucial issue, and that this was a positive development for both sides. However, as both Hadley and the Kremlin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov indicated, arrangements had been made to continue discussions in a round-table format with Russian and American experts.¹²⁸ A number of specifics have not yet been agreed upon, and outstanding issues remain such as determining a suitable location for the US interceptors.¹²⁹ Moscow, in turn, believes that the Azerbaijan proposal is an optimal alternative to placing the missile system in the Czech Republic and the missile interceptors in Poland, since this would preserve the strategic balance in the international system, while fully protecting the European continent from any attack. This would thus effectively eliminate the need to place missiles in Eastern Europe.¹³⁰ During his concluding press conference, in addition to reiterating this proposal, President Putin emphasized the suitability of the Russian proposal, while justifying the high level of Russian concern over the original US plan.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the President expressed his willingness to cooperate further with this American counterpart on this issue, and endorsed the future round-table expert discussions.¹³² It is expected that the Azerbaijan proposal will figure prominently in the upcoming Bush-Putin talks in Maine on 12 July 2007.¹³³

By: Alex Lapin and Julia Muravska

¹²⁴ Before Bush's visit, Czechs Torn over U.S. Missile Defense Plans, Associated Press/Boston Herald, (Boston), 4 May 2007. Date of Access: 4 May 2007.

<http://news.bostonherald.com/international/europe/view.bg?articleid=1004742>

¹²⁵ Before Bush's visit, Czechs Torn over U.S. Missile Defense Plans, Associated Press/Boston Herald, (Boston), 4 May 2007. Date of Access: 4 May 2007.

<http://news.bostonherald.com/international/europe/view.bg?articleid=1004742>

¹²⁶ Concluding Press Conference by President Putin, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, 8 June 2007.

¹²⁷ Dial-in Press Briefing by US National Security Advisor Stephen Hadey, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 7 June 2007.

¹²⁸ Dial-in Press Briefing by Kremlin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 7 June 2007.

¹²⁹ Dial-in Press Briefing by Kremlin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 7 June 2007.

¹³⁰ Dial-in Press Briefing by Kremlin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 7 June 2007.

¹³¹ Concluding Press Conference with President Putin, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

¹³² Concluding Press Conference with President Putin, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

¹³³ Dial-in Press Briefing by Kremlin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov, G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 7 June 2007.

United Kingdom: A-

A veteran of G8 Summits, the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit presented an opportunity for Prime Minister Tony Blair to cement his legacy after a decade as leader of the United Kingdom (UK). As such, it was expected that he would persuade G8 countries to fulfill commitments on African development and climate change—themes tackled at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit. At the summit, the UK aimed to: 1) seek a strong declaration on climate change; 2) ensure that the G8 reaffirm its commitment to fulfilling Official Development Assistance (ODA) goals; and 3) seek a recommitment by the G8 to furthering the cause of African development through existing and new partnerships and programs.

The UK successfully achieved consensus on two of its three objectives. Despite being one of the key themes of the Heiligendamm Summit, the UK in partnership with Germany failed to persuade the United States to agree on a firm stance on climate change which would consist of leveling world temperatures to no more than two degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, and cutting greenhouse gas emissions by 50% below 1990 levels by 2050. Conversely, the UK successfully persuaded G8 members to reaffirm their commitment to meet ODA targets set at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit. Finally, African development was a key theme discussed at Heiligendamm with considerable focus on HIV/AIDS, good governance, and the Education for All agenda.

Objective 1: Climate Change

The UK pushed for a strong declaration that involved some of the world's greatest polluters. Prime Minister Tony Blair was expected to persuade the United States to sign a declaration that aimed to stabilize world temperatures to no more than two degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, and cut greenhouse gas emissions by 50% below 1990 levels by 2050.¹³⁴

While the G8 addressed climate change at Heiligendamm, they failed to unite in a strong agreement to tackle the challenge and set key targets. The G8 recognized their collective responsibility to address climate change,¹³⁵ but did not establish a strong consensus that included stabilizing world temperatures to no more than two degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in the final *Chair's Summary* that all major emitters present at the summit "will consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at least a halving of global emissions by 2050."¹³⁶ They further agreed that a comprehensive post-2012 agreement was needed and would actively participate in the upcoming December 2007 UN Climate Change conference in Indonesia with a long-term view of achieving an agreement.¹³⁷ The UK falls short in achieving its objective on climate change.

Objective 2: Fulfillment of Overseas Development Assistance Pledges

The UK is an ardent supporter of achieving ODA commitments, especially those set at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit. As such, Prime Minister Blair ensured that this objective was addressed at the Heiligendamm Summit. Under the *Growth and Responsibility in Africa* document released on 8 June 2007, the G8 assured their commitment to achieving the Gleneagles Summit commitments. Chancellor Angela Merkel made a vital connection between the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and ODA stating in the final *Chair's Summary*, "we need ODA as an

¹³⁴ New Global Climate Plan to Tie in Worst Polluters, Mail and Guardian Online, 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 17 May 2007. http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=308372&area=/breaking_news/breaking_news__international_news/.

¹³⁵ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-summary.html>.

¹³⁶ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-summary.html>.

¹³⁷ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-summary.html>.

important catalyst for reaching the MDGs.¹³⁸ At Heiligendamm, G8 leaders reaffirmed their commitment to meet ODA targets to Africa by US\$25 billion a year by 2010 and recognized that the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) estimates the global increase of ODA to be US\$50 billion by 2010.¹³⁹ For critics, a simple reaffirmation of Gleneagles commitments is inadequate, yet Blair's objective was to seek another statement of support from the G8 for previous ODA commitments.

Objective 3: African Development

At Heiligendamm, the UK looked to focus discussions on African development within the context of the MDGs. Specifically, the UK's interests were to see the G8 reaffirm its commitment to combating HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases; continue its strong support for fostering good governance in Africa; and demonstrate its commitment to the goals of the Education for All agenda. The United Kingdom was successful in meeting its objectives on African development since these goals were addressed in the final document, *Growth and Development in Africa*.

The G8 took a strong stance on the HIV/AIDS crisis by reaffirming its commitment to achieving universal access to prevention programs, treatment, and care and support for all by 2010.¹⁴⁰ They also recognized the growing feminization of HIV/AIDS and the need to strengthen health systems in Africa.¹⁴¹ G8 leaders also committed to support the 2008-2010 replenishment period for the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria in order to meet the expected demand as predicted by the Board of the Global Fund.¹⁴² The G8 further committed to encourage bilateral, multilateral and private donor initiatives that tackle malaria in developing countries.¹⁴³

Another aspect of development in Africa is the need for good governance in order to tackle and mitigate rising economic, health, political, environmental and social challenges. Historically the G8 has supported this particular goal through initiatives like the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the Africa Action Plan, which outline important steps towards the achievement of good governance.¹⁴⁴ At Heiligendamm, the G8 stated, "Good governance in Africa is vital to peace, stability, sustainable development and growth. Without good governance, all other reforms will have limited impacts."¹⁴⁵ As such, the G8 committed their continued support for mechanisms that strengthen good governance such as the Africa Peer Review Mechanism and Action Plan for Good Financial Governance.¹⁴⁶

Finally, G8 leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the 2015 Millennium Development Goal of ensuring universal access to primary education. Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in her final *Chair's Summary*, "We reiterated our commitment to accelerate the delivery of universal primary education as a key instrument for sustainable development in Africa."¹⁴⁷ G8 leaders once again stressed the critical need to achieve the Education for All and Fast Track Initiative (FTI) at the

¹³⁸ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹³⁹ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴⁰ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴¹ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴² Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴³ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴⁴ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴⁵ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴⁷ Chair's Summary, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heilgendamm/g8-2007-summary.html>.

Heiligendamm Summit.¹⁴⁸ Importantly, the G8 recognized its role in working with partners and donors to meet funding shortfalls in all FTI endorsed countries, an estimated USD500 million for 2007.¹⁴⁹

Despite NGO comments on the lack of progress, as well as the absence of a concrete roadmap for achieving Gleneagles goals, Blair noted that “immense progress” had been made in Germany. Indeed, according to Blair, although G8 reasserted Gleneagles goals, “the important thing is [that the G8] set out how [it would] do them.”¹⁵⁰

By: Sadia Rafiquddin

¹⁴⁸ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heiligidamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Growth and Responsibility in Africa, Heiligendamm Summit, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 June 2007, pg. 12, para. 38. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2007heiligidamm/g8-2007-africa.html>.

¹⁵⁰ “G8 leaders reach \$60bn Aids deal,” BBC News (London), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 15 June 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6732945.stm>.

United States of America: B-

The primary objectives for the United States (US) at Heiligendamm included advocating for greater G8 involvement in peace and security initiatives in both the Middle East and Darfur, as well as lobbying the G8 to take greater action towards stemming the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the materials and means used to produce such weapons. In addition, the US was very much concerned with refocusing the G8 climate change agenda away from post-2012 emissions caps, so as to adopt the language of technological innovation as a means towards reducing greenhouse gases emissions.

All of the US priorities received significant attention at Heiligendamm, although the position of the Bush administration did not prevail in most cases, particularly with respect to climate change. The US also did not fully meet its objective of levying sanctions against Iran for its continued enrichment of uranium and in securing the support of the G8 for a stronger UN resolution on Darfur.

Objective 1: Middle East

The US garnered notable success at Heiligendamm with respect to its Middle East agenda. Success with respect to this objective rested on the issuance of statements of support for a two-state solution in Israel/Palestine, as well as support from the G8 for democracy and security in Afghanistan and Iraq.

As per the US agenda, the G8 both supported and advocated for a two-state solution in Israel, which would culminate in the establishment of a Palestinian state. In the lead-up to Heiligendamm, President Bush stressed his desire that the G8 address the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people and the need to stem conditions of poverty and humiliation in Gaza and the West Bank.¹⁵¹ The G8 consequently noted its "concern over the severe economic and humanitarian situation in the Palestinian Territories and call[ed] on Israel to resume the transfer of the withheld Palestinian tax and customs revenues."¹⁵²

The US also received indirect support from the G8 with respect to Afghanistan and Iraq, in that the statements emerging from Heiligendamm affirmed the commitment of the G8 to security and sovereignty in both states. The statements, however, were constructed in such a manner so as not to explicitly endorse the US military presence in Iraq or Afghanistan. Beyond direct reference to Afghanistan and Iraq, the G8 Summit Statement on Counter Terrorism, which was released at Heiligendamm, also lends indirect support to the US operations in the Middle East.¹⁵³

Objective 2: Africa

Given that the Bush administration's African peace and security agenda centres on the crisis in Darfur, success on this issue serves as a key determinant of how the Bush administration fared at Heiligendamm with respect to its overall objectives for Africa.

In a joint press conference with Prime Minister Blair on 17 May 2007, the president underscored the need for more concrete action in Darfur. He stated that he was "frustrated at the inability for

¹⁵¹ President Bush Participates in Joint Press Availability with United Kingdom Prime Minister Blair, Office of the Press Secretary, (Washington DC), 17 May 2007. Date of Access: 19 May 2007. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/05/20070517.html>.

¹⁵² Chair's Summary, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary.

¹⁵³ G8 Summit Statement on Counter Terrorism – Security in the Era of Globalization, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/ct-statement-final,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/ct-statement-final.

the international community to react with consequence in Darfur."¹⁵⁴ The president also advocated a "strategy of moving forward with sanctions, and hopefully a new, stronger United Nations resolution."¹⁵⁵ He thus set out the US agenda on Darfur for Heiligendamm, which included strengthening the sanctions regime against Khartoum and seeking consensus around a new UN resolution regarding Darfur.

The US failed to achieve a statement of support from the G8 on either of the goals laid out by President Bush in the lead-up to Heiligendamm. In a summit statement on Sudan/Darfur, the G8 expressed its concern over the humanitarian situation in Darfur, appealed to the Sudanese government to take action, and supported the UN mission in the region. The statement concluded by noting that the G8 member states "remain deeply committed to resolve the Darfur crisis"¹⁵⁶ and that "if the government of Sudan or the rebel movements continue to fail to meet their obligations, [the G8] will support appropriate action in the Security Council."¹⁵⁷ Despite the possible interpretations that might arise from this statement, the language is too weak to be considered a success for the US in its African summit objective.

Objective 3: Climate Change

The issue of climate change represents the Bush administration's most significant about-face at Heiligendamm. The Bush administration staunchly abrogated any discussion over emissions caps or carbon trading markets, opting instead for public spending on environmental technologies. That the statements emerging from Heiligendamm around climate change contained language—albeit extremely weak—advocating consideration of halving global greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 represents a notable concession by the US.

At a UN-hosted climate change meeting held on 17 May 2007 in Bonn, Germany, the chief US climate negotiator, Harlan Watson, stated that the United States would continue to reject emissions targets or plans to cap greenhouse gas emissions, stating "We don't believe targets and timetables are important, or a global cap and trade system."¹⁵⁸ This sentiment was re-iterated in a leaked version of the US response to the G8 draft declaration on climate change. The US revisions to the German presidency's draft declarations on climate change remove any reference to the implementation of measures aimed at cutting emissions, noting that the "treatment of climate change [by the German Presidency] runs counter to [the Bush administration's] overall position and crosses multiple 'red lines' in terms of what we simply cannot agree to."¹⁵⁹

Despite its resistance, the US agreed to a statement at Heiligendamm that stated that the G8 will "consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at

¹⁵⁴ President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address, Office of the Press Secretary, (Washington DC), 23 January 2007. Date of Access: 19 May 2007. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070123-2.html>.

¹⁵⁵ President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address, Office of the Press Secretary, (Washington DC), 23 January 2007. Date of Access: 19 May 2007. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070123-2.html>.

¹⁵⁶ G8 Statement on Sudan/Darfur, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/g8-summit-statement-on-sudan-darfur,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/g8-summit-statement-on-sudan-darfur.

¹⁵⁷ G8 Statement on Sudan/Darfur, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/g8-summit-statement-on-sudan-darfur,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/g8-summit-statement-on-sudan-darfur.

¹⁵⁸ Take firmer G8 climate stance, Democrats urge Bush, Reuters, (Washington DC), 19 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. http://in.today.reuters.com/news/newsArticle.aspx?type=worldNews&storyID=2007-05-19T082203Z_01_NOOTR_RTRJONC_0_India-298958-1.xml.

¹⁵⁹ US Review of G8 Draft Statement on Climate Change and Energy Efficiency, G8 2007 Summit Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 25 May 2007. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. <http://weblog.greenpeace.org/makingwaves/G8%20Summit%20Declaration%20-%20US%20comments%20May%2014-1.pdf>.

least a halving of global emissions by 2050.”¹⁶⁰ Although this statement is incredibly weak, it signifies a paradigmatic shift from the entrenched US position against setting long-term targets for greenhouse gas emissions.

Objective 4: Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Nuclear safety and security was featured prominently at Heiligendamm, with over half of the summit documents released pertaining to the issue in some fashion. The key issue areas for the US on the matter of non-proliferation centred on Iran, North Korea and quelling tensions with Russia over the missile defence shield in Europe. All of these issues received significant attention at the summit, but the US clearly did not meet its goals for the summit, particularly with respect to Iran and Russia.

On 9 May 2007, US Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns said at the G8 political directors meeting in Berlin that if Tehran had not moved to suspend enrichment by the opening of the Heiligendamm Summit, it “would be time to increase sanctions.”¹⁶¹ This set a clear and identifiable goal for the US at Heiligendamm; however, it was one that the US failed to meet. The G8 did release a statement urging Iran to “comply with its international obligations and UNSCR 1696, 1737 and 1747, in particular its obligation to suspend all enrichment related activities.”¹⁶² In the same statement, the G8 warned that, “should Iran continue not to heed the call of the Security Council, we shall support further appropriate measures as agreed in UNSCR 1747.”¹⁶³ However, despite admissions from Chancellor Merkel that sanctions against Iran were discussed at Heiligendamm, no firm action was taken on the matter.

The US also failed to make progress in quelling Russian tensions over its proposed missile defence shield, which would see American interceptor missiles situated in Poland and monitoring stations in the Czech Republic as a means of destroying intercontinental ballistic missiles aimed at the US or its allies. On 4 June 2007, at a meeting with journalists from G8 member states, President Putin warned that Russia would target Europe if the US continued to expand its nuclear potential across Europe.¹⁶⁴ President Bush and President Putin participated at a bilateral meeting during the Heiligendamm Summit to discuss the matter, at which point President Putin recommended an alternative model for missile defence in which the US would be granted access to radar site information from a monitoring centre in Azerbaijan. President Putin noted that the data could be fed in real-time to US naval vessels, which could use their on-board interceptors to disable any incoming threat. The US demonstrated notable hesitation with respect to this recommendation. President Bush maintained that he felt the US proposal remained the best course of action, a sentiment echoed by his top advisors, including National Security Advisor Steve Hadley and the American G8 Sherpa, David McCormick.¹⁶⁵ The stalemate will be addressed once again at a meeting between US and Russian experts to be held before the end of the year; however, the US accomplished very little on the matter at Heiligendamm, and perhaps even lost ground given the alternate plan put forward by President Putin.

¹⁶⁰ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy: G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm Summit Declaration, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf.

¹⁶¹ Six world powers meet over Iran's nuclear defiance, Reuters News, (Washington DC), 10 May 2007. Date of Access: 12 May 2007. <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L10612399.htm>.

¹⁶² Chair's Summary, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary.

¹⁶³ Chair's Summary, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary.

¹⁶⁴ Russia will target Europe if US defences expand: Putin, ABC News, (New York), 4 June 2007. Date of Access: 5 June 2007. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200706/s1941186.htm>.

¹⁶⁵ Based on the joint press conference given by President Bush and President Putin directly following their bilateral meeting at Heiligendamm (7 June 2007) as well as teleconference interviews with Secretary Hadley and Secretary McCormick later that same day.

Also high on the US agenda for nuclear non-proliferation was the issuance of unified statement from the G8, which calls on North Korea to continue on the course towards disarmament and disassembly of its nuclear program. The G8 did release a communiqué at Heiligendamm which called on North Korea "to return to full compliance with its obligations under the NPT and, in accordance with the Joint Statement of 19 September 2005 and UNSC-Resolutions 1695 and 1718, to abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs as well as ballistic missile programs."¹⁶⁶ This is ostensibly the most significant success for the US with respect to its non-proliferation agenda.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding moderate successes in several key areas of its agenda, the net outcome of Heiligendamm was not particularly favourable to the United States. President Bush lost significant ground in his hard-line stance against setting firm caps on global emissions, although his concessions can perhaps be understood as securing the political capital necessary to take the lead on the post-Kyoto framework. Furthermore, although the G8 committed to "support further appropriate measures as agreed in UNSCR 1747"¹⁶⁷ if Iran were to continue its uranium-enrichment program, no new sanctions were advocated at Heiligendamm, despite US intentions to use the summit as a deadline for Iran to cease its operations or face further sanctions. On the matter of Darfur, the summit statement released at Heiligendamm did not mention sanctions nor did it call for a stronger UN resolution on Darfur, despite these criteria figuring prominently into the African peace and security agenda outlined by President Bush in the lead-up to Heiligendamm.

By: Cliff Vanderlinden

¹⁶⁶ Chair's Summary, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary.

¹⁶⁷ Chair's Summary, G8 Heiligendamm Summit 2007, (Heiligendamm), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 19 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/__g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary.

European Union: B+

The European Union can be confident that it has achieved a significant number of its goals. Importantly, the shared objectives of the European Commission, the German G8/EU presidency, and EU members France, Italy and the United Kingdom, have secured important commitments on climate change. All of the EU's objectives, however, are not represented in the final communiqués. For instance, the EU did not secure a GHG emissions target, or an international agreement on energy efficiency. On Africa, the EU came short of securing a straightforward consensus on the provision of official development assistance (ODA).

Objective 1: Climate Change

German Chancellor Angela Merkel placed climate change at the top of the G8 "Growth and Responsibility" agenda. At Heiligendamm, the EU secured significant concessions from a previously divergent US position on climate change, but it did not achieve its goal of having the G8 commit to GHG emissions cuts or a target global temperature rise.

Going into the summit, the EU had three key goals in this issue area, which included seeking G8 statements of support for (1) a UNFCCC-based, post-2012 international climate change regime that (2) sets ambitious GHG emissions reduction targets which will (3) specify a maximum target global temperature rise over some period of time.¹⁶⁸

On the first and goal, the EU secured a significant victory. The US had been reticent to accept the UNFCCC as a forum for negotiations on a new, post-2012 climate treaty. In Heiligendamm, EU leaders secured an important commitment to the UN process by naming it as "the appropriate forum" for future negotiations:

*"We acknowledge that the UN climate process is the appropriate forum for negotiating future global action on climate change. We are committed to moving forward in that forum and call on all parties to actively and constructively participate in the UN Climate Change Conference in Indonesia in December 2007 with a view to achieving a comprehensive post 2012-agreement (post Kyoto-agreement) that should include all major emitters."*¹⁶⁹

Furthermore, the G8 agreed to reach a global agreement by 2009. The leaders wrote that "it is vital that major economies ... agree on a detailed contribution for a new global framework by the end of 2008 which would contribute to a global agreement under the UNFCCC by 2009".¹⁷⁰

The EU was less successful in meeting its second goal on climate change. The G8 was not able to agree on specific targets for all members. Instead, G8 members stated: "We will consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at least a halving of global emissions by 2050". This 50% by 2050 target was an important one for the EU, as it was the goal previously agreed upon by its Member States in March 2007.¹⁷¹ European Commission President José Manuel Barroso highlighted, however, that the language achieved in the

¹⁶⁸ Kolenda and Mildenerger, European Union, 2007 Heiligendamm Country Objectives Report, G8 Research Group, (Toronto), 6 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.

<http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2007heilgendamm/2007objectives.pdf>; Remarks to reporters by Jose Manuel Barroso, Heiligendamm, Germany, 6 June 2007.

¹⁶⁹ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf Para 52.

¹⁷⁰ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf 49

¹⁷¹ EU agrees renewable energy target, BBC News, (London), 9 March 2007. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6433503.stm>

communiqué is a significant step forward in terms of where the discussions had been previously.¹⁷² Even though the communiqué does not mention a target date for the benchmark of emissions reduction, the fact that the US and Russia will consider seriously the EU's goals can be seen as a partial victory for the EU.

On the third objective, the EU would have like to have secured stronger language demonstrating a commitment to the science of climate change. The climate change section of the *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy* communiqué begins "We take note of and are concerned about the recent UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports."¹⁷³ The EU would have preferred a significant commitment acknowledging the details of the report and emphasizing particularly that a 2 degree Celsius rise would lead to unacceptable risk of catastrophic human impacts.¹⁷⁴ However, in referencing the IPCC report, the communiqué implicitly acknowledges this.

On the whole, the EU can be seen to have fulfilled about two thirds of its climate change goals at Heiligendamm.

Objective 2: Africa

Africa was another one of the key issues up for discussion at the G8 Summit. This was clearly an issue of priority for the German G8 Presidency and "energy, governance and HIV/AIDS" were first articulated as major EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) objectives in the German EU Presidency Work Plan.¹⁷⁵ Ahead of the summit, European Commission sources confirmed that the EU would like to see G8 members "reiterate their very strong financial and political support for development in Africa."¹⁷⁶ However, the EU has not achieved all of its relatively limited goals in this issue area at Heiligendamm.

EU representatives were seeking a number of key objectives in this portfolio. In particular, the EU wanted (1) commitments to fulfill existing ODA and debt reduction targets for African nations, and (2) continued funding of initiatives such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.

It is worth noting that just ahead of the G8 Summit, the European Commission announced a significant \$400 million contribution to the Global Fund, signaling its desire for its G8 partners to make similar commitments.¹⁷⁷

The EU has fulfilled both goals in this issue area to a great extent. The main communiqué, *Growth and Responsibility in Africa*, opens by recalling the efforts of the G8 in Africa in the past: "Today we underline once again our strong interest in a stable, democratic, and prosperous Africa."¹⁷⁸ The document highlights the G8's existing debt forgiveness initiatives, and the Gleneagles promise to

¹⁷² Remarks to reporters by Jose Manuel Barroso, Heiligendamm, Germany, 6 June 2007.

¹⁷³ Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf Para 48.

¹⁷⁴ José Manuel Durão Barroso, The EU: ending the doubts on energy and climate change, IFRI energy programme, European Union, (Brussels), 24 May 2007. Date of Access: 25 May 2007. <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/07/332&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

¹⁷⁵ Europe – succeeding together: Presidency Programme 1 January to 30 June 2007, German Federal Government, (Berlin). Date of Access: 1-2 June 2007. http://www.eu2007.de/includes/Downloads/Praesidentschaftsprogramm/EU_Presidency_Programme_final.pdf

¹⁷⁶ European Commission expectations for the Heiligendamm summit, Agence France Presse, (Paris), 1 June 2007. Date of Access (through Factiva): 3 June 2007.

¹⁷⁷ The Global Fund Welcomes Multi-Year Contribution from European Commission Ahead of G8 Meeting, Global Fund, 30 May 2007, (Geneva), Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/media_center/press/pr_070531.asp

¹⁷⁸ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf Para 2.

provide a USD25 billion increase in ODA over 2004.¹⁷⁹ It must be noted that while the EU was not seeking new development assistance to be delivered at Heiligendamm, Barroso did insist that debt forgiveness should not be 'double-counted' in ODA levels. In a letter to Merkel, Barroso criticized European nations like Germany who counted debt relief in order to meet aid targets.¹⁸⁰ The Heiligendamm statement does not, however, address this issue.

On the second goal, the EU has fared better. The G8, however, did not outline exactly how much new money would be committed to the Global Fund. Indeed, the main USD60 billion 'commitment' in the communiqué that has been highlighted by the German Development Minister, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul,¹⁸¹ is not a commitment to increase annual aid levels, but is really one that is likely to include existing annual funding amounts: "We will continue our efforts towards these goals to provide at least a projected US\$60 billion over the coming years, and invite other donors to contribute as well."¹⁸² This does not specify new or old money, shares, a timeline or even whether the G8 countries would meet this goal themselves. This is not a totally bleak picture, however, since the EU did secure a statement that recognized the Global Fund's funding gap of USD6-8 billion and a promise that "G8 members pledge to work with other donors to replenish the GFATM and [that] ... A replenishment conference will be held in Germany in September 2007."¹⁸³ On this second objective then, the EU's goals have been largely met.

Objective 3: Energy Security

The EU had a number of energy security related objectives coming into the Heiligendamm Summit, notably (1) the endorsement of a proposed international agreement on energy efficiency; (2) an agreement to create energy efficiency labels on new cars; (3) targeted support for carbon sequestration efforts; and (4) a number of measures associated with increased transparency of energy supply. The EU only partially achieved these goals.

First, the EU had very publicly proposed that the G8 endorse an EU-initiated international agreement on energy efficiency, including "regulatory cooperation; information exchange on energy saving strategies; methods of measurement; and research cooperation on energy efficient technologies."¹⁸⁴ While, energy security discussions for Heiligendamm did focus on the topic of energy efficiency, the *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy* communiqué did not adopt the EU proposal. Instead, in Paragraph 63, it simply "note[s] the EU's proposal for an international agreement on energy efficiency and ask[s] the Gleneagles Dialogue on Climate Change, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development and the IEA to explore the most effective means to promote energy efficiency internationally."¹⁸⁵ Having said this, the communiqué does incorporate diluted

¹⁷⁹ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf Para 2.

¹⁸⁰ EU urged to respect development aid promises, EU Business, (Richmond UK), 24 May 2007. Date of Access: 29 May 2007. http://www.eubusiness.com/news_live/1180026003.45

¹⁸¹ 60 billion dollars aid to Africa from G8, Turkish Weekly, (Ankara), 8 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. <http://www.turkishweekly.net/aboutus.php?id=17>

¹⁸² Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf Para 48

¹⁸³ Declaration Growth and Responsibility in Africa, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/DE/Artikel/G8Gipfel/Anlage/Abschlusserkl_C3_A4rungen/WV-afrika-en,property=publicationFile.pdf Para 49

¹⁸⁴ IEA Ministerial meeting: Andris Piebalgs calls for an International Agreement on Energy Efficiency, European Union, (Brussels), 15 May 2007, Date of Access: 25 May 2007. <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/671&type=HTML>.

¹⁸⁵ See the text, for example, on pg. 21 of the communiqué. Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf

elements of the EU proposal, emphasizing the importance of international cooperation in energy efficiency.¹⁸⁶

Second, paragraph 68 of this same communiqué includes an explicit commitment to “introduce energy efficiency labels for new cars along the lines of those already on some white goods.”¹⁸⁷ This satisfies the EU’s pre-summit objective in its entirety.

Third, prior to the summit, the EU was seeking support for “national and international efforts in the field of carbon capture and storage...with a view to ensuring security of storage and the provision of the necessary legal framework.”¹⁸⁸ Paragraph 72 of the communiqué addresses in detail the issue of carbon sequestration, including support for security of storage and the “necessary legal frameworks to ensure a stable investment climate.”¹⁸⁹ Again, the EU’s objective on carbon sequestration has been entirely satisfied.

Fourth, the energy security measures developed at earlier summits, including the 2006 Summit in St. Petersburg, Russia, are discussed in *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy* communiqué. The communiqué also includes efforts to engage emerging countries in the G8 energy security framework.¹⁹⁰ However, the G8 did not explicitly reaffirm principles relating to energy access or market competitiveness, two areas of energy security that the EU has advocated for recently.

President Barroso did not address any energy security issues in remarks to reporters. Similarly, while he described his relationship with Vladimir Putin as honest and constructive,¹⁹¹ there was no indication that the EU and Russia had made any progress on the larger energy supply issues that had partially contributed to increased EU-Russian tensions in the pre-summit period.¹⁹²

Overall, discussions on energy security were overshadowed by the negotiated agreement on climate change. While the EU met with some success on a number of objectives, its success on its signature energy efficiency framework was more qualified.

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¹⁸⁶ Here, for instance: “We will develop and implement national energy efficiency programmes and advance international cooperation on energy efficiency, notably on efficiency standards” *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf. Paragraph 63.

¹⁸⁷ *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf Para. 68

¹⁸⁸ José Manuel Durão Barroso, *The EU: ending the doubts on energy and climate change*, IFRI energy programme, European Union, (Brussels), 24 May 2007. Date of Access: 25 May 2007. <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/07/332&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

¹⁸⁹ *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf Para. 72

¹⁹⁰ See the text, for example, on pg. 15 of the communiqué. *Growth and Responsibility in the World Economy*, G8 Presidency, German Federal Government, (Berlin), 7 June 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007. http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/2007-06-07-gipfeldokument-wirtschaft-eng,property=publicationFile.pdf

¹⁹¹ Remarks to reporters by Jose Manuel Barroso, Heiligendamm, Germany, 6 June 2007.

¹⁹² For example, the EU refused on 1 June 2007 to sign the joint energy policy statement between Russia and UNESCO.

Appendix: Grading Criteria

A: 100% of objectives have been met

If any objective called for the allocation of funding, it was pledged.

If any objective called for acknowledgment of a problem, it was acknowledged.

If any objective called for an agreement, it was made.

ETC...

A-/B+: Most (80-99%) of objectives have been met

50-60% of objectives must have been **fully** met (A level). (e.g. If five objectives were stated, **three** should have been fully met and **two** partially met.)

Depending on the nature of the commitments and how countries met them, an A- or B+ may be given.*

No objectives should have been ignored in the Communiqué or Leader's Statements (A & B levels).

B: Most (75%) of objectives have been met

At least one objective must have been **fully** met.

No objectives should have been ignored in the Communiqué or Leader's Statements.

C: Some (around 35-50%) objectives were met/partially met

Some/most objectives should have been acknowledged in the Communiqué/Leader's Statements.

One objective could have been ignored.

D: Almost no objectives were met and all were inadequately addressed in the Communiqué or Leader's Statements.

F: Objectives were ignored and perhaps retracted upon.

Commitments were made that backtrack on prior progress in the issue area.

*A success in one or two objectives could significantly outweigh failure in others and vice versa. Adding + or - to the grades is discretionary.