

From Gleneagles to St. Petersburg: The Continued Involvement of the G5

**G5 actions and initiatives on the 2005 Gleneagles Summit priorities
and prospects for involvement at the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit**

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**G8 RESEARCH GROUP
CIVIL SOCIETY AND EXPANDED DIALOGUE UNIT**

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Preface

The G8 Research Group (G8RG) is an independent organization based at the University of Toronto. Founded in 1987, it is an international network of scholars, professionals and students interested in the activities of the Group of Eight (G8). To date it is the largest source of independent research and analysis on the G8, its member states, and related institutions in the world. The G8RG also oversees the G8 Information Centre, which publishes, free of charge, academic analyses and reports on the G8 and makes available, official documents issued by the G8. Virtually all G8 documents referred to in this report are available on the G8RG website (www.g8.utoronto.ca) without cost.

This report was compiled by the Civil Society and Expanded Dialogue (CS-ED) Unit of the G8 Research Group under the leadership of Janet Chow and Adrian Morson. The CS-ED Unit conducts research and analysis on the G8's ongoing relationship with major external stakeholders, including emerging economies and civil society. The group also publishes thematic reports on the G8's past and present involvement in issues that will be discussed at the upcoming summit. In addition to this report, the CS-ED has worked throughout the 2005/2006 academic year to produce: (1) *The G8 and Russian Initiatives: Energy Security, Global Health, and Education*; (2) *Russia and the G8: An overview of Russia's integration into the G8*; (3) *Assessing the Relationship between Civil Society and the G8 – Russia and Civil Society*; and (4) *Post-Gleneagles Civil Society Action on Climate Change*. All of these documents are available free of charge on the G8RG website as of July 2006.

The G8 Research Group also hosts the G8RG Analysis Unit, which releases two reports per year detailing the G8's compliance with commitments made across a number of issue areas in the interim year between summits. These parallel reports contain further analysis on issues pertaining to the priorities determined by the Russian Presidency as well as other issue areas of G8 activity defined more broadly. The G8RG Analysis Unit also releases a pre-summit report detailing prospects for the upcoming leaders' meeting according to country and issue area. These are available under "Analytical and Compliance Studies" on the G8RG website.

The G8 Research Group and CS-ED Unit welcome responses to this report. Any comments or questions should be directed to g8@utoronto.ca. Responsibility for the report's contents lies exclusively with the authors.

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The Group of Eight (G8)

The Group of Eight (G8) is comprised of the eight leading industrialized democracies in the world: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Together, these eight states account for 48% of the global economy and 49% of global trade, hold four of the United Nations' five Permanent Security Council seats, and boast majority shareholder control over the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The G6 (Canada and Russia excluded) originally met in Rambouillet, France in 1975 to discuss the economic impact of the OPEC oil crisis and the end of the US-dollar gold standard regime. In 1976, they were joined by Canada, with Russia gaining membership in 1998.

Each year, the leaders of these states meet at an annual summit in what is the most powerful and intimate meeting of global leaders anywhere in the world. Unlike other multilateral meetings, leaders at the G8 Summit meet privately behind closed-doors; there are no aides or intermediaries and there are few scripts or protocols. For some, the G8 is a concert of powers operating the most relevant centre for global governance, with its flexibility and dynamism making it far more effective than the post-1945 institutions, namely the United Nations (UN). For others, the G8 is an unelected 'committee that runs the world,' an epicenter of global capitalism and neo-colonialism. In the past, the G8 has discussed and made joint commitments on a variety of issue areas that relate to the international economy, nuclear counter-proliferation and disarmament, peacekeeping, terrorism, energy, global health, education, climate change, and regional security.

While there are disagreements over its intentions, few deny the reach and scope of the G8's influence and control. While originally conceived as an economic gathering, the G8 Summit has now become a major arena for international action on HIV/AIDS, weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), terrorism and global trade. Past G8 Summits have produced such landmark agreements as the 1995 reform of the World Bank and IMF, the 1999 Enhanced HIPC Initiative for debt relief, and the 2001 Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis.

Since the 2001 Summit in Genoa, however, alternative-globalization advocates have made the G8 Summit a central focus in their debates over the economic and environmental responsibilities of the North to the South. Their concerns have also raised bold new questions concerning issues of accountability and transparency in globalization and have succeeded in shifting the G8's attention towards global poverty, fighting infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, and the Millennium Development Goals. The agenda for the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit, dominated by the priority subjects of International Energy Security, Global Health (i.e. infectious diseases), and Education are indicative of the institution's widened scope and its recognition of the issues that challenge the world today.

Unlike many of the traditional multilateral organizations, such as the United Nations or the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), there is no permanent secretariat, staff or headquarters for the G8. Instead, the Group is maintained through the cooperation and coordination of national bureaucrats primarily in the foreign affairs and finance ministries of member-states. The Presidency of the G8 rotates on an annual basis. This year the Russian Federation holds the G8 Presidency for the first time, followed by Germany in 2007 and Japan in 2008.

Executive Summary

A common criticism of the Group of Eight (G8) is the exclusivity of its membership. The eight states comprising the group are the leading industrialized democracies in the world and thus control an overwhelming amount of global trade, commerce, and finance. As such, states, non-governmental organizations, and other actors have called for greater transparency as well as influence in the G8 decision-making process. Emerging economies and relevant industrialized countries including Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa (also known as the G5 or 'plus 5') which account for 40% of the world's population and constitute a combined \$4 trillion annual gross product, are not members of the G8.

The G8, however, has attempted to address this issue through the inclusion of other stakeholders in their processes. At the Genoa Summit in 2001, leaders from particular African countries were invited to participate in relevant discussions. At Kananaskis in 2002, leaders of African countries were again invited to participate in short talks with G8 leaders. This trend expanded in 2003 when French President Jacques Chirac invited South Africa and the leaders of the four largest emerging economies: Brazil, China, India and Mexico. At Gleneagles in 2005 British Prime Minister Tony Blair continued to extend invitations once again to the four emerging economies along with South Africa. It was at this Summit that the G5 leaders issued a joint statement on the priorities of the developing world including poverty reduction, climate change, as well as energy security and use. In addition to inviting heads of state, the leaders of international institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations have also participated in summit discussions since the 1996 Lyon Summit in France.

This year, the Russian Presidency will invite non-G8 member stakeholders to participate in an outreach session during the Summit. While it is unlikely that the G8 will expand to include additional permanent members in the near future, the G5 countries play a significant, albeit limited role in summit and post-summit deliberations. Following Gleneagles, G5 countries maintained their involvement in the areas of climate change and development in Africa, the two predominant agenda items at last year's summit. They are also the emerging powers most relevant to issues of energy security and governance and are essential partners in the fight against infectious disease, priorities that are slated for discussion at the St. Petersburg Summit. They will also have continued to advocate for greater international support and cooperation on the issues of poverty reduction in the developing world.

Looking ahead to the St. Petersburg Summit, China, India, and Brazil in particular, will be involved in discussions on energy security, due to their patterns of energy consumption and their future energy needs. Mexico will likely be included in the energy security dialogue as well, as the world's ninth largest oil-exporter and neighbour to an increasingly energy-vulnerable United States. Discussions on infectious diseases will affect all five countries, especially India and South Africa due to their alarming rates of HIV/AIDS, and China, which has been a major site of Avian Influenza and SARS concerns. All five will also be relevant to G8 deliberations on the issues of education, trade, development, and poverty reduction.

While there have been efforts to engage in dialogue with civil society including non-governmental organizations, this report focuses on the continued involvement of the G5 countries in summit and post-summit dialogue with G8 countries. In addition, although Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa are not the only countries that will be involved in extended discussions with G8 leaders at St. Petersburg, they have recently maintained a mutual stance on several important issues and have garnered some clout in one of the most exclusive international forums in the world. It remains to be seen whether they will accompany G8 leaders in making progress on the St. Petersburg Summit's priorities, and more broadly, whether there will be more substantial collaboration between the G8 and these countries in the future.

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Brazil

Brazil has come to occupy a prominent place in Latin America and, increasingly, the world. Brazil was first invited to the 2003 Evian Summit, and its attendance at G8 Summits since then signals that Brazil is recognized by other G8 members as a partner in addressing important issues, such as energy security, climate change, and the spread of infectious diseases. While it is unlikely that the country will join the G8 as a permanent member in the immediate future, Brazil can continue to play an important role in articulating the needs of developing countries while forging meaningful relationships in a key international forum.

Brazil's Place in the World

Economic development

At US\$1.556 trillion, Brazil's GDP is the third largest in the G5, significantly behind China and India.¹ Brazil also ranks third by per capita GDP. At US\$8400, it falls slightly behind South Africa and Mexico.² Similarly, Brazil follows China and Mexico in poverty measurements, with 17.4% of its population living below the national poverty line.³ It leads the G5 in income inequality, with a GINI index score of 59.3.⁴

While its major industries are steel, iron ore, motor vehicle parts, and other machinery and equipment,⁵ Brazil is building a comparative advantage in agriculture. Spurred by new and locally developed technological advances and improved world trade conditions, Brazil's agricultural sector is growing at an exceptional pace.⁶ However, Brazil's GDP growth rate has averaged a mediocre 2.6% over the last four years.⁷

In trade, Brazil pursues a neoliberal economic agenda and assumes prominent roles in regional trading blocs such as the South American Community of Nations and Mercosur. Brasilia occupies an influential position in the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a vocal representative of the developing world. Recently, it joined forces with G20 nations at the 2005 WTO Ministerial in Hong Kong, to lobby against farm export subsidies and domestic supports provided in the United States, European Union and Japan.⁸

In addition to calling for more equitable trading conditions, Brazil forged closer ties with diverse trading partners, such as China.⁹ Trade with China is increasing, having grown six-fold since 2000.¹⁰ Brazil's export levels, however, are dwarfed by China's and the G8 average. At US\$136 billion, Brazilian exports are more than four times smaller than the average value of exports in G8 countries.¹¹

1 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/br.html>.

2 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/br.html>.

3 "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

4 "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

5 "Samba school; Steel," The Economist, (London), 16 Oct 2004. Vol. 373, Iss. 8397; pg. 80.

6 "The harnessing of nature's bounty - Brazilian agriculture," The Economist, (London), 5 November 2005. Vol. 377, Iss. 8451; pg. 96. "Brazil's growing power," Newsweek International, 23 February 2006. Date of Access: 4 January 2006. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/4402548/site/newsweek/>.

7 "WDI data query, World Development Indicators Online, The World Bank Group, 2005. Date of Access: 23 December 2005. <http://devdata.worldbank.org/data-query/>.

8 "WTO: G20 gains clout in Hong Kong by agreeing to disagree, Global Information Networks, (New York), 13 December 2005, pg. 1.

9 "Brazil looks at its neighbours," BBC News, (Brazil), 30 May 2005. Date of Access: 23 December 2005. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4586855.stm>.

10 "Brazil looks at its neighbours," BBC News, (Brazil), 30 May 2005. Date of Access: 23 December 2005. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4586855.stm>.

11 "WDI data query, World Development Indicators Online, The World Bank Group, 2005. Date of Access: 23 December 2005. <http://devdata.worldbank.org/data-query/>.

Government and politics

Brazil's government under President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva has recently been plagued by corruption scandals and pressures from the opposition. The government remains strong, however, retaining a 60% popularity rating.¹² Since coming into office in January 2003, Lula da Silva's government has been credited for tightening fiscal policy which has reduced the strain on public debt.¹³ However, the government has also been increasingly pressured into instituting land reform, since only 1% of Brazilians own half of all fertile land.¹⁴ Although the Brazilian government is not without its troubles, it has been commended for its commitment to the democratic process.¹⁵

Brazil and International Institutions

The United Nations

On the international stage, President Lula da Silva has been actively calling for United Nations (UN) reform, which involves securing for Brazil a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.¹⁶ Brazil is pushing for correcting the imbalance in the composition of the body in order to increase its relevance and broaden its legitimacy.¹⁷ As the tenth largest contributor to the UN's regular budget, and the largest among developing nations, Brazil feels that it deserves a seat.¹⁸ Currently, Brazil's campaign for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council is supported by the African bloc.¹⁹ However, its aspirations are challenged by another G5 member and Latin American country, Mexico.²⁰

G20

The main purpose of the G20 is to create an opportunity for dialogue to discuss issues related to the international economy. It involves some of the leading developing countries, including Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. At times, blocs have formed within the G20 against industrialized nations, with most advocating for the eradication of farm subsidies. As one of the largest countries in the G20, Brazil has taken the lead in G20 efforts to counter the agendas of wealthy countries in various WTO trade talks, most recently in Hong Kong.²¹ Despite the differences within the group, the G20 member countries have agreed on a common platform of refusing to lower their tariffs for manufactured goods, most of which are above US and EU levels, insisting that the EU cut their farm subsidies first.²²

The Kyoto Protocol

At the 2005 UN Conference on Climate Change in Montreal, Brazil's Environment Minister reaffirmed Brazil's commitment to the Kyoto Protocol.²³ For an emerging developing country, Brazil uses a notable share of renewable energy sources (30%).²⁴ The Brazilian government has also supported ethanol fuel cars through laws and subsidies. Nearly two-thirds of the Brazilian automobile market consists of "flex

12 "Falling from grace in Lulaland; Brazil's corruption scandal," *The Economist*, (London), 16 July 2005. Vol. 376, Iss. 8435, pg. 12.

13 "An under powered economy; Brazil," *The Economist*, (London), 8 May 2004. Vol. 371, Iss. 8374, pg. 53.

14 "A thin red line. Brazil's landless movement," *The Economist*, (London), 21 May 2005. Vol. 375, Iss. 8427; pg. 59.

15 "A challenge to Mr Lula; Brazil," *The Independent*, (London), 16 May 2006. pg. 38.

16 "Brazil confident UN reform will go ahead," *BBC Monitoring Americas*, (London), 15 September 2005. pg. 1.

17 Canuto, Otaviano. "Foreign relations; United Nations; United Nations Security Council, Brazil on CD and internet." Date of Access: 22 December 2005. <http://www.mre.gov.br/cdbrasil/itamaraty/web/ingles/relext/mre/nacun/csegur/index.htm>.

18 "A Giant Stirs; Brazil's foreign policy," *The Economist*, (London), 12 June 2004. Vol. 371, Iss. 8379. pg. 52.

19 "Brazil confident UN reform will go ahead," *BBC Monitoring Americas*, (London), 15 September 2005. pg. 1.

20 Diego Cevallos. "Mexico: Fox's String of Foreign Policy Woes Just Grows and Grows," *Noticias Financieras*. 9 August 2004.

21 "WTO: G20 gains clout in Hong Kong by agreeing to disagree, *Global Information Networks*," (New York), 13 December 2005. pg. 1.

22 "WTO Trade Talks: Hong Kong December 13-18: Big trade powers share blame for stalled talks, *Asian Wall Street Journal*," (Hong Kong), 8 November 2005. pg. 1.

23 "Brazil, Developing World Weighs New ideas for paring emissions," *The Wall Street Journal Eastern Edition*, (New York), 12 December 2005. pg. B.2.

24 Szklo, Alexandre Salem. Schaeffer, Roberto. Schuller, Marcio Edgar. Chandler, William. "Brazilian energy policies side-effect on CO2 emissions reduction," *Energy Policy*, Elsevier Ltd., 2005. Vol. 33 pg. 349-364.

fuel” cars that run on ethanol and petrol.²⁵ However, the Kyoto Protocol has no emissions targets for developing countries such as Brazil. A recent UN report claims that Latin America and the Caribbean generate eight to nine percent of the world’s production of greenhouse gases, with most of this output coming from Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico.²⁶

Involvement in G8 Expanded Dialogue

The 2005 Gleneagles Summit

In July 2005, Brazil was invited by UK Prime Minister Tony Blair to attend a meeting alongside other G5 countries during the G8 Summit in Gleneagles to discuss climate change and global economic issues.

Members of the G5 signed a joint declaration that reaffirmed their support for the G8 on issues of poverty eradication, free trade, and climate change. This included support for increasing aid to 0.7% of GDP, support for reducing third world debt, and recognition of the Kyoto Protocol. In particular, they urged the G8 “to devise innovative mechanisms for the transfer of technology and to provide new and additional financial resources to developing countries under the [United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change] and its Kyoto Protocol.”²⁷

However, Brazil took a different view on poverty reduction. In an address at the Summit, President Lula da Silva asked not for an increase in aid, but fairer agricultural subsidies for poor countries.²⁸ Brazil’s belief in the abolishment of agricultural subsidies may be what puts it most at odds with G8 countries.

Involvement in Post-Gleneagles Meetings

On several occasions since Gleneagles, Brazil reiterated its belief that the US and the EU farm export subsidies are considerable barriers to growth in developing countries. As noted previously, Brazil rallied the G20 countries into a collective stance against US and EU farm subsidies at the WTO meeting in Hong Kong.²⁹

On the issue of climate change, Brazil has always felt strongly committed to the problem. The Brazilian government’s continued support of bio-fuel automobiles and other renewable energy programs has helped to reduce green house gas emissions. Brazil’s contribution at the UN Conference on Climate Change in December 2005 and support for the Kyoto Protocol shows Brazil’s efforts to address the issue of climate change. However, to make a significant contribution to climate change, Brazil will have to find better ways to protect the Amazon, and prevent environmental degradation. On Africa, Brazil has made little effort to help the continent per se, but its commitments to free trade have indirectly supported G8 commitments to the continent.³⁰ Brazil has also increased peace efforts in Africa.³¹

Potential involvement at St. Petersburg

After President Lula da Silva was invited to take part in the St. Petersburg Summit in early April, Finance Minister Guido Mantega insisted that developing nations should be given a larger role in discussing major

25 “A thankful of sugar; alternative fuels,” *The Economist*, (London), 24 September 2005. Vol. 376, Iss. 8445, pg. 91.

26 “United Nations says global warming could affect Latin American economies,” *El Universal*. 17 February 2005.

27 “[Joint Declaration](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/plusfive.pdf) of the leaders of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa, G8 Gleneagles Summit,” G8 Information Centre, 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 31 May 2006. <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/plusfive.pdf>.

28 “Brazil’s Lula calls on G8 to lower unfair agricultural subsidies,” *BBC Monitoring Americas*, (London), 8 July 2005. pg. 1.

29 “WTO: G20 gains clout in Hong Kong by agreeing to disagree,” *Global Information Networks*, (New York), 13 December 2005. pg. 1.

30 “WTO: G20 gains clout in Hong Kong by agreeing to disagree,” *Global Information Networks*, (New York), 13 December 2005, pg. 1.

31 “A Giant Stirs; Brazil’s foreign policy,” *The Economist*, (London), 12 June 2004. Vol. 371, Iss. 8379, pg. 52.

topics at the Summit, including energy security, global health and education. He further specified that developing countries “would like to take a more active part in defining the agenda.”³²

As a large emerging economy with increasing energy demands, Brazil's participation in ensuring global energy security is crucial. The Three Country Energy Efficiency Project, run by the World Bank and the United Nations, estimated that improving energy efficiency in commercial buildings and factories can reduce the country's energy usage by 25%.³³ Brazil has been cooperative in contributing to the world dialogue on energy security. In February 2006, Brazil was invited as one of three guest countries to the G8 finance ministers' meeting on the global economy and energy security.³⁴ Brazil was also present at the International Conference on Energy Security held in Moscow in March 2006 along with representatives of the G8.³⁵

The Brazilian government committed to supporting education in Africa and is now providing educational programs in information technologies, modern governance, and banking - three areas where Brazilian expertise is strong.³⁶

Brazil is affected to a large extent by infectious diseases, including malaria, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. The Brazilian government has focused its efforts on improving public health and fighting epidemics.³⁷ Brazil is committed to securing an agreement on low-cost, generic HIV/AIDS drugs and may act as a voice for developing countries on the issue.³⁸ However, many Brazilian positions on the HIV/AIDS crisis are at odds with proponents of intellectual property rights within G8 countries.

Conclusion

While Brazil continues to face the challenges of corruption scandals, pressures of land reform, relatively low standards of living, and continued concerns over its greenhouse gas emissions, its place in Latin America and the world is prominent. Although the inclusion of Brazil into the G8 appears unlikely at the present time, Brazil's role as a leader of the world's developing countries and advocate for free trade and democratic government, has not gone unnoticed by G8 countries. Tackling global issues such as the environment, education and health requires long-term cooperation and the active participation of non-G8 members with growing regional and international clout such as Brazil. The St. Petersburg Summit will provide an opportunity for Brazil to contribute to discussions on these issues.

Compiled by:
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32 “Brazil insists on developing countries' bigger role in debates of G8 topics” (St. Petersburg), 25 April 2006. Date of Access: 29 May 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/news/20060425/1148265.html>.

33 S. Leahy, “Development: Energy-hungry nations also most wasteful,” Global Information Network, (New York), 31 May 2006. pg. 1

34 A. Kramer, “G-8 Ministers Warn of Risks from tight oil supply, Pittsburgh Post – Gazette,” (Pittsburgh), 12 February 2006. pg. A.5.

35 “International energy security conference a success – Khristenko [Daily Report Edition],” Daily News Bulletin, (Moscow), 14 March 2006. pg. 1.

36 “Brazil to deepen its ties with Africa, African Business,” (London), October 2005. Iss. 313; pg. 48.

37 “Brazil to deepen its ties with Africa, African Business,” (London), October 2005. Iss. 313; pg. 48.

38 “Americas: Brazil Could Turn a Trade Victory Into Defeat,” Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition), (New York), 16 December 2005. pg. A19.

China

Invitations to G8 Summits in Evian through St. Petersburg show the G8's recognition of China's growing influence. Permanent membership for China in an expanded G8 is unlikely, though it will surely continue to be an important "strategic outlook partner" given its economic and political importance.

China's Place in the World

Economy and Development Status

Since introducing market reforms in the early 1980s, China's economy has exploded. With a GDP of US\$8.859 trillion, China ranks first among the G5 in economic size, significantly ahead of second ranked India.³⁹ Beijing stands fourth in both GDP per capita, at US\$6800, and income inequality, with a GINI score of 44.7%.⁴⁰ However, China ranks first among the G5 in poverty measures, with only 4.6% of its population living below the national poverty line, a significant 5% below second place Mexico.⁴¹

With a 2005 growth rate of 9.9%, China's economy is already larger than Italy's and is expected to overtake those of France by 2006 and Germany by 2007.⁴² It is estimated that China's growth rate will be sustained over the next three decades, after which it will most likely drop to around 3%. Its financial exchange reserves are currently the second largest in the world behind Japan's.⁴³ Moreover, China's exports and imports total about US\$1.2 trillion, making China the world's third largest trading nation.⁴⁴

Political Developments

China is taking an increasingly active role in Asia while undergoing reforms to better adapt to the changing international context. In order to gain entrance to the World Trade Organization (WTO), China agreed to undertake a series of important commitments that would make its regime more open and predictable for trade and investment. These commitments include providing non-discriminatory treatment to all WTO members and eliminating dual pricing practices.⁴⁵

Although China has taken steps to liberalize economically, the country continues to garner international criticism for its human rights record. Many non-governmental organizations, such as Amnesty International, and numerous national governments, including the United States and the United Kingdom, have expressed concerns about China's non-democratic political system and its non-commitment to human rights.

As for relations with other G8 countries, China continues to forge a strong economic relationship with the European Union (EU). Politically, both bodies have engaged in cooperative dialogue on a broad range of issues, including the state of human rights in China, the development of peaceful nuclear energy, and

39 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ch.html>.

40 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ch.html>; "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

41 "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

42 Goldman-Sachs. "Global Economics Paper No: 112 - The G8: Time for a Change," Goldman-Sachs. 3 June 2004. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. <http://www.gs.com/insight/research/reports/report15.html>; "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ch.html>.

43 Goldman-Sachs. "Global Economics Paper No: 112 - The G8: Time for a Change." Goldman-Sachs. 3 June 2004. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. <http://www.gs.com/insight/research/reports/report15.html>.

44 "Background Notes on Countries Of the World: People's Republic of China," US Dept. of State: Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, March 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>.

45 "WTO successfully concludes negotiations on China's entry," WTO News. 17 September 2001. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/pres01_e/pr243_e.htm.

economic trade and investment between the two countries.⁴⁶ However, the EU has been less cooperative on the issue of lifting the arms embargo imposed on China after 1989's Tiananmen Square massacre. Fierce opposition from the United States and Japan, a lack of consensus among the EU's 25 members, and EU concerns over China's human rights record currently serve to prevent the lift.⁴⁷

Relations with the United States have been cooperative as well, although there remain areas of disagreement. While both the United States and China engaged in constructive dialogue to address threats to global security, namely those posed by the North Korean and Iranian nuclear programs, they have also been at odds with each other over China's policy towards Taiwan and Hong Kong. China's passage of an Anti-Secession law in March 2005 was viewed by the US as unhelpful to the cause of promoting cross-Strait and regional stability.⁴⁸

Involvement in regional and international forums

In the past fifteen years, China has been active in a majority of existing international organizations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). China is also a dialogue member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and an observer of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). China has also taken a leadership role in the UN General Assembly and the G77 bloc – a coalition of 132 developing states.

In terms of China's relationship with the G8, China attended the 2003 and 2005 G8 Summits and has been invited to the upcoming St. Petersburg Summit. It interacts more frequently with the G20, having attended every meeting since 1999. They hosted the most recent G20 Summit held on 15-16 October 2005 in Beijing.⁴⁹

G8 Membership: International and Domestic Opinion

There is much speculation as to whether the G8 will eventually expand to include China as a permanent member. As early as 1999, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder laid out conditions for Chinese membership.⁵⁰ However, China's non-democratic electoral system and patchy support for the rule of law make membership unlikely.⁵¹ More importantly, President Hu Jintao has not publicly campaigned for a seat in the G8 although he has affirmed that China attaches great importance to the influence and role of the G8 in international affairs.⁵² With membership, Beijing would lose access to certain aid funds, and would have fewer policy options.⁵³ It might be the case that the CCP would prefer to stay out of the G8 but maintain good relations with it.⁵⁴

46 "The EU's China Policy." European Union External Relations, Januray 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006.

http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/china/intro/index.htm.

47 "Little prospect of EU lifting China arms ban: UK," Washington Post, 8 June 2006 Date of Access: 10 June 2006.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/07/AR2006060701150.html>

48 "Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs," US Department of State, April 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>.

49 "China to hold first summit of G20 finance ministers," The People's Daily. 30 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://english.people.com.cn/200501/30/eng20050130_172383.html.

50 Patrick Goodenough "Should China Be Invited to Join G8?" CNSNews.com. 29 June 2005. Date of Access: 26 June 2006.

http://www.gopusa.com/news/2005/june/0629_china_g81.shtml.

51 Seema Desai. "China and the G8". Open Democracy. 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization-G8/china_2689.jsp.

52 Xinhua News. "G8 summit may discuss yuan exchange rate". China View. 23 June 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-06/23/content_3127921.htm.

53 Patrick Goodenough. "Should China be invited to join the G8?" CNS News. 29 June 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://www.gopusa.com/news/2005/june/0629_china_g81.shtml.

54 Patrick Goodenough. "Should China be invited to join the G8?" CNS News. 29 June 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://www.gopusa.com/news/2005/june/0629_china_g81.shtml.

Involvement in the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit

During the Gleneagles Summit, China, along with India, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa, participated in an “outreach session” with the G8 leaders. This session focused on two key issues, climate change and the global economy.⁵⁵ Chinese participants did not openly address the international media at Gleneagles or issue an official statement after the session.

Climate Change

The G8 committed to tackling climate change by promoting clean energy and sustainable development. Beijing was brought into the discussion because China’s rapid industrialization and growing manufacturing sector has led to marked increases in energy-related carbon emissions and energy consumption.⁵⁶ In the Climate Change Plan of Action tabled at the Gleneagles Summit, G8 members agreed to “promote the continued development and commercialisation of renewable energy” by following the deadlines and ideas put forth by the International Action Programme of the Renewables produced at the International Conference for Renewable Energies, held in Bonn in 2004.⁵⁷

Global Economy

In a joint statement with the rest of the non-G8 members at the Gleneagles Summit, China identified stability and certainty as necessary to the world economy. The statement noted that hunger and poverty continue to be major obstacles to sustainable development and called for more international financial support and the removal of trade barriers, especially with regards to Least Developed Countries.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the joint statement claims a strong desire to see progress in the negotiations at the 6th Ministerial Meeting of the WTO and for further reform of the current international economic system to make it more supportive of development.⁵⁹

Post-Gleneagles Contributions and Involvement in Related Meetings

Africa

During the Gleneagles Summit, the G8 agreed to “stimulate growth [in Africa], to improve the investment climate and to make trade work for Africa.”⁶⁰ China’s fast-growing investment in Africa increased by 64% in 2004, while exports grew by \$14bn (36%) and imports by \$16bn (81%). More than 700 Chinese firms now operate on the continent.⁶¹ China’s interest in Africa has been seen as a result of its desire to secure oil interests on the continent (i.e. Nigeria), though Chinese investment in other sectors, such as railways, mining, pharmaceuticals and construction, is also fast growing.⁶²

55 Patrick Goodenbough. “Should China be invited to join the G8?” CNS News. 29 June 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. http://www.gopusa.com/news/2005/june/0629_china_g81.shtml.

56 “China still under pressure to achieve energy-saving goal,” China View, 9 June 2005. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-06/09/content_4671511.htm

57 “Climate Change: Plan of Action”. 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 8 January 2006. http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/PostG8_Gleneagles_CCChangePlanofAction.pdf.

58 “Joint Declaration of the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa participating in the G8 Gleneagles Summit”. G8 Gleneagles Summit.. 7 Jul 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/press_release/2005/July/5.htm.

59 G8 Gleneagles Summit. “Joint Declaration of the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa participating in the G8 Gleneagles Summit,” G8 Official Documents 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/press_release/2005/July/5.htm.

60 “Chair’s Summary, Gleneagles Summit, 8 July”. G8 Official Documents 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 8 Jan 2006. <http://www.g8.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1119518698846>.

61 Fitzgerald, Niall. “Africa Post-Gleneagles: threats and opportunities (or “Will a year of talk be followed by a year of walk?”)”. CBI Annual Lecture. 18 January 2006. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. www.cbi.org.uk/pdf/cbilecture2006.pdf.

62 Fitzgerald, Niall. “Africa Post-Gleneagles: threats and opportunities (or “Will a year of talk be followed by a year of walk?”)”. CBI Annual Lecture. 18 January 2006. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. www.cbi.org.uk/pdf/cbilecture2006.pdf.

What's more, China's Africa Policy Paper, published in January of this year, indicated the need for mutually beneficial cooperation between China and the continent due to their common interests. According to Mandisi Mpahlwa, Minister of Trade and Industry for South Africa, "For the first time, there are centers of power [specifically China and India] that understand our development challenges."⁶³

Climate Change

Following Gleneagles, China took steps to control the level of harmful emissions it produces, both from automobile traffic and its manufacturing industries. Beijing's direction on climate change is guided by the International Action Programme, which was signed at the Bonn Conference of Renewables in 2004. China is currently taking steps to implement a wide variety of new environmental policies aimed at reducing carbon dioxide emissions by up to 813 million tonnes per annum by the year 2010.⁶⁴ As for the Kyoto Protocol, analysis of China's adherence to the agreement undertaken by the US Department of State found that China has not yet taken some necessary steps, such as starting to desulfurize a portion of its power plants.⁶⁵

On 7 September 2005, China and the EU issued a Joint Declaration on Climate Change. This statement reaffirmed China's commitment to adherence with the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol. It also set goals with the EU aimed at reducing the level of dangerous emissions and at developing environmentally-friendly forms of technology. The declaration endorsed the newly created China-EU Action Plan on Clean Coal and Industrial Co-operation on Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energies.⁶⁶ China also participated in the International Conference on Climate Change in Montreal in December 2005.

The Global Economy

The G20 Summit and the WTO Hong Kong Ministerial

Beijing hosted the G20 summit in October 2005. Global development was on the agenda, and participants recognized the need for economic growth and called for a greater effort to increase both foreign aid and trade. Reform of the Bretton Woods Institutions and the G20 were discussed.⁶⁷ The Summit's communiqué urged members that would be at the Hong Kong Ministerial in December to "make real progress."⁶⁸

China and the St. Petersburg Summit

Along with the Summit, China was invited to G8 Energy, Health, and Education Ministers' meetings. It also engaged in "productive discussions" with G8 Finance Ministers at St. Petersburg on 9-10 June 2006.⁶⁹ China is promoting energy-saving policies, pushing projects designed to reduce emissions and

63 "China, India imply opportunities for Africa," People's Daily Online, 2 June 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006.

http://english.people.com.cn/200606/02/eng20060602_270509.html.

64 International Conference for Renewable Energies. "Renewables 2004 – Expected Outcomes – IAP Content Analysis". Renewables 2004. 30 August 2004. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://www.renewables2004.de/pdf/IAP_content_analysis.pdf.

65 "Briefing: U.S. Participation in the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate," US Dept. of State. 6 January 2006. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. <http://www.state.gov/g/rls/rm/58780.htm>.

66 "Joint Declaration on Climate Change between China and the European Union," Europa. 7 September 2005. Date of Access: 8 January 2006.

<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/05/226&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

67 "G-20 Reform Agenda for 2005," G20, 15-16 Oct 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://www.g20.org/Public/Publications/Pdf/2005_reform_agenda.pdf.

68 "Communiqué," G20. 15-16 Oct 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2006.

http://www.g20.org/Public/Communiques/Pdf/2005_china.pdf.

69 "G8 Finance Ministers' Final Communiqué, G8 Research Group. 10 June 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca.

the consumption of fossil fuels.⁷⁰ Its ability to shape the future energy and geopolitical dynamics in Asia⁷¹ will make it a necessary member of any discussion on international energy security.

On education, China, along with its G5 partners, recognizes that education is vital to the maintenance of steady economic, political and social growth. With nine other developing countries, China participated in the Sixth E-9 Ministerial Review Meeting in Monterrey, Mexico on 14-16 February 2006. The E-9 Initiative, launched in 1993, is mandated to strengthen the UNESCO Education for All-related efforts of nine large developing countries including Brazil, Mexico, and India. These efforts include reducing adult illiteracy and providing primary education to all children. What's more, China will be hosting the 5th meeting of the High-Level Group on Education for All from 28-30 November 2006.⁷² The meeting will bring together upwards of thirty Ministers of Education, the heads of key development agencies and representatives of civil society to discuss the Education for All agenda.⁷³

Finally, on the issue of global health, as one of the largest poultry producers and the world's most populous country, China should play a key role in discussions about combating Avian influenza. China is in a unique position to offer advice and expertise about infectious outbreaks. In the Spring of 2003, Beijing dealt with an outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). Further, in January 2006, the Chinese government, the WHO and UNAIDS jointly estimated that 650,000 people were living with HIV in China, including about 75,000 AIDS patients.⁷⁴ China's participation in global health discussions will be crucial.

Conclusion

While permanent G8 membership is unlikely, Beijing's active participation in the international community and increasing economic and political clout have made it difficult to ignore. Its existing and current contributions to issues like climate change and Africa, as well as its potential contributions to the issues of energy security, infectious diseases and education, all demonstrate China's willingness to integrate itself into the international system.

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70 "China launches massive reconstruction of buildings for energy saving," The People's Daily. 29 March 2006. Date of Access: 15 May 2006. http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200603/29/eng20060329_254429.html.

71 Mehmet Ögütçü. "China's Energy Security: Geopolitical Implications for Asia and Beyond," Oil, Gas & Energy Law Intelligence. 29 January 2003. Date of Access: 8 Jan 2006. http://www.gasandoil.com/ogel/samples/freearticles/article_15.htm.

72 "UNESCO-Education for All," UNESCO. 15 February 2006. Date of Access: 22 February 2006. http://www.gasandoil.com/ogel/samples/freearticles/article_15.htm.

73 "A High level group on Education for all," UNESCO. Date of Access: 26 June 2006. http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/global_co/policy_group/index.shtml.

74 "HIV & AIDS in China," Avert.org. 29 March 2006. Date of Access: 31 May 2006. http://www.gasandoil.com/ogel/samples/freearticles/article_15.htm.

India

As the world's largest democracy and 12th largest economy, India is emerging as an increasingly powerful player in international affairs. Despite impressive gains, India faces pressing challenges, such as the ongoing dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir, overpopulation, environmental degradation, extensive poverty, and ethnic and religious strife. 2005 was marked by the late 2004 Tsunami, tense relations with regional states, most notably China and Pakistan, nuclear development, and the Kashmir earthquake.

Nevertheless, India is poised to emerge as a global leader. It has long been strengthening its diplomatic and economic relations with G8 countries. It is also an influential actor in addressing global issues such as climate change and energy security. As a result, G8 leaders have recognized its importance in world affairs. India attended the 2003 Evian Summit and the 2005 Gleneagles Summits and will be present at St. Petersburg.⁷⁵

India's Place in the World

Political Conditions

With 18 major languages and 7 major religions, India appears to be a well functioning multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious democracy.⁷⁶ Indian Finance Minister Shri P. Chidambaram stated that there an "obvious fit between India's values and those of the mature industrial economies."⁷⁷ India's democratic values and its sense of global cooperation act as major benefits to its relations with the G8.

Economic and Development Status

It is increasingly difficult to think of major market democracies without India. With a total GDP of \$3.611 trillion,⁷⁸ India has the sixth largest economy in the world and the second largest economy in the G5, significantly behind China. India compares poorly with G5 countries in both per capita GDP, where it placed last at US\$3300, and poverty measures, where it ranked fourth with 24.6% of its population living below the poverty line.⁷⁹ However, New Delhi leads the pack on income equality, with a GINI score of 32.5%.⁸⁰

India is rapidly moving forward with its market-oriented economic reforms that began in 1991. Recent reforms include liberalized foreign investment and exchange rate regimes, industrial decontrol, considerable reduction in trade barriers, modernization of the financial sector, important changes in government monetary and fiscal policies, and the protection of intellectual property rights.⁸¹ Despite a record of economic gain, India's growth is hindered by deficiencies such as inadequate infrastructure, a burdensome bureaucracy, corruption, and high fiscal deficits.⁸² Although there is a large and growing middle class of 320-340 million with disposable income for consumer goods and a rapidly modernizing

75 "Indian premier thanks Russian president for G8 invitation, praises nuclear cooperation." G8 Russian Official Website. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/news/20060317/1145894.html>.

76 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

77 "India best functioning multi-ethnic, multi-religious country in the world," India Review October 2005 in Embassy of India Archive, 01 October 2005. Date of Access: 02 January 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/India_Review/2005/October%202005.pdf.

78 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/in.html>.

79 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/in.html>.

80 "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

81 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

82 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

economy, India is still largely agricultural, with two thirds of the population relying on agriculture for its livelihood.⁸³

In international economic relations, trade with G8 countries constitutes 25% of India's total external trade,⁸⁴ and increased by 17% in 2004-2005, reaching the US\$48 billion.⁸⁵ The United States is India's largest trading partner. In 2004 bilateral trade was US\$21.7 billion. Trade with the U.S. increased 19% in 2004-2005. Exports to the U.S. have gone up by 16%, while imports from the U.S. increased by 25%.⁸⁶ The United States is also India's largest investment partner, with a 17% share. American direct investment in India was estimated to be US\$3.8 billion in 2004.⁸⁷

However, the outlook for further trade liberalization is mixed. While India is committed to eliminating trade barriers and is pursuing open market policies, key issues such as India's tax structure constrain foreign investment.⁸⁸ According to Goldman Sachs, some important points remain clear: India's middle class will increase four-fold in a decade, the majority of the population will earn a middle class income in fifteen years, and India's economy is estimated to overtake the economies of Italy, France, Germany, and Japan in the next 25 years. India is needed as a partner on many issues including, but not limited to, global health and the improvement of education systems around the world, climate change, energy security and the development of sustainable and innovative technologies.

Involvement in Regional and International Organizations

India is taking the lead in strengthening regional cooperation and integration, reinforcing its regional and strategic power. The South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA), which came into effect on 1 January 2006, includes members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and seeks to eliminate trade barriers in the South Asian region. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh estimated that trade would increase from the present \$6 billion to \$14 billion two years after SAFTA's implementation.

However, full implementation by all members is years away.⁸⁹ Furthermore, some argue that politics may constrain the success of SAFTA, especially considering tensions between India and Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan, all of which appear to resent India's dominance⁹⁰. Political instability in SAARC member states, particularly the recent political violence in Sri Lanka and Nepal, could also affect SAFTA and regional integration.

Nonetheless, taking a lead in regional economic activity is perhaps the most important step in defending its zone of influence in South Asia. This is crucial in India's aspirations to become a global power, and it could strengthen India's case for inclusion in an expanded G8 dialogue.⁹¹

In June 2005, India signed a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement with Singapore. The agreement removes trade barriers and promotes cooperation in healthcare, education, media, and

83 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

84 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

85 "India's trade with G8 countries up 17%". Domain-B.com. 10 July 2005. Date of Access: 02 January 2006.http://www.domain-b.com/news_review/200507july/20050711newsb.html.

86 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

87 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

88 "Background Note: India" U.S. State Department, December 2005 .Date of Access: 02 January 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3454.htm>.

89 Mohan, C. "Getting SAARCastic". Bilaterals.org, 6 January 2006. Date of Access: 04 January 2006.

http://www.bilaterals.org/article.php3?id_article=3181.

90 Mohan, C. "Getting SAARCastic". Bilaterals.org, 6 January 2006. Date of Access: 04 January 2006.

http://www.bilaterals.org/article.php3?id_article=3181.

91 Mohan, C. "Getting SAARCastic". Bilaterals.org, 6 January 2006. Date of Access: 04 January 2006.
http://www.bilaterals.org/article.php3?id_article=3181.

tourism. It links not only India and Singapore, but is “seen as a precursor to India’s closer economic integration with southeast Asia.”⁹²

The United Nations Security Council

India, Brazil, Germany, and Japan have become known as the ‘G4 reform partners’, which reflects their aspirations in becoming permanent members of an enlarged United Nations Security Council (UNSC). However, the G4 failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2005. However some UNSC and G8 members support India’s bid. The British High Commissioner in India, Michael Arthur, reaffirmed Britain’s continuing support for India in July 2005: “Britain has been one of the strongest supporters of India’s claim for the UN Security Council seat over the years. If the UN is to maintain its international legitimacy, countries like India with its size and global importance should be part of the Security Council”.⁹³ France is also a strong supporter. Days before the September 2005 G4 vote, President Jacques Chirac stated “India belongs to the UNSC”.⁹⁴

Involvement at the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit

India, along with Brazil, China, Mexico, and South Africa (also known as the G5), were invited to the Gleneagles Summit to discuss issues such as climate change. Prime Minister Singh highlighted the importance of action for developing countries, which are most affected by climate change. The implications of climate change for India, he stated, include lower rice and wheat yields by 20-50% and 35-60%, respectively. Climate change would also likely cause mass population displacement.⁹⁵ Prime Minister Singh also focused on the essential differences between developed and developing countries in terms of national development, energy use, and fuel emissions.⁹⁶

Prime Minister Singh reaffirmed India’s commitment to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol; however he was concerned over developing countries’ access to critical technologies which can significantly impact decarbonization.⁹⁷ Prime Minister Singh, along with the other leaders from the G5, proposed a new paradigm for international cooperation on climate change based on the “...principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.”⁹⁸ India’s proposal focuses on the partnership between developed and developing countries to decarbonize the future while taking into consideration the circumstances of developing countries.⁹⁹ The three main components of India’s proposal are: access to clean technologies for developing countries, additional financial resources for critical technologies, and a network of Research & Development (R&D) institutions from both developed and developing countries to engage in research for new technologies.¹⁰⁰

Prime Minister Singh also suggested placing some Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) on energy efficient and clean energy technology in the public domain. This would increase the access of energy efficient

92 “India, Singapore ink landmark economic agreement”. India Review July 2005 in Embassy of India Archive, 01 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/India_Review/2005/July%202005.pdf.pdf.

93 “Britain reaffirms support to India on UNSC”. Xinhua News Agency in China Daily, 01 July 2005. Date of Access: 12 May 2006. http://english.people.com.cn/200507/02/eng20050702_193656.html.

94 Ramachandran T.R. “India to buy 6 French Scorpene Submarines”. The Tribune News Service, 12 September 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006 <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2005/20050913/main1.htm..>

95 “Dealing with the threat of climate change, India country paper, The Gleneagles Summit,” India’s Ministry of External Affairs. 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>

96 “Dealing with the threat of climate change, India country paper, The Gleneagles Summit”. Ministry of External Affairs. 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>

97 “The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>.

98 “The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>.

99 “The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>.

100 “The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>

technologies in developing countries. In demonstrating India's resolve in moving toward a low carbon economy, Prime Minister Singh highlighted India's efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.¹⁰¹

Essentially, India's main contributions at Gleneagles focused on the issue of access and suggesting new approaches to making decarbonization a feasible option for developing countries.

Post-Gleneagles Involvement on Climate Change

India is continuing on its path to a low carbon economy by joining the United States initiated Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, which seeks to reduce air pollution and increase energy efficiency by sharing technology and promoting research among member states. As a participating member, India formed task forces to study areas relevant to climate change including the development of cleaner fossil energies.¹⁰²

In September 2005, India also teamed up with the European Union to launch an India-EU Initiative on Clean Development and Climate Change. Both sides have agreed to take steps to make 'clean technology' widely available in both India and the EU, to promote clean technology research and technology, and to hold expert meetings on climate change. The first follow-up meeting was held 11-12 November 2005.¹⁰³

The G20 Climate Summit and the Montreal Conference on Climate Change and the 2005

India participated in the G20 Climate Summit in November 2005. The Summit was widely considered to have pushed "technology not targets". Prime Minister Blair stated, "The blunt truth about the politics of climate change is that no country will want to sacrifice its economy in order to meet this challenge. The solutions will come in the end, in part at least, through the private sector developing the technology and science."¹⁰⁴ Prime Minister Blair's remarks at the conference echo India's position on the importance of technology and access.

The 2005 Montreal Conference focused on the importance of developing the science and technology to tackle climate change. India, along with China, agreed to play an active role in future talks, but they did not commit to any targets.¹⁰⁵

The 2006 Russian Presidency and India

As G8 leaders discuss the issues of energy security, global health and education, debate over G8 expansion will resurface. While support from traditional supporters of India's bid remains strong, Russia stated it considers expansion unlikely and potentially disruptive.¹⁰⁶ Moscow's opposition to India's inclusion stems from its position that there is a potential for conflict between India and China, which might threaten the G8's cooperative partnership.¹⁰⁷

101 "The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 12 May 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>.

102 "Six Asia-Pacific nations join in climate change partnership". U.S. Department of State, 06 January 2006. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2006&m=January&x=20060106170520lcniellep0.9115869&t=livefeeds/wf-latest.html>.

103 "The India-EU strategic joint action plan". Europa, 07 September 2005. <http://europa.eu.int/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/05/223&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>. Date of Access: 04 January 2006.

104 Shanahan, M. "G20 Climate Summit pushes technology not targets," SciDev.net in Climate Ark, 3 November 2005. Date of Access: 12 May 2006. <http://www.climateark.org/articles/reader.asp?linkid=47852>.

105 "India must show leadership on climate change," Khaleej Times Online, 17 December 2005. Date of Access: 12 May 2006. http://www.khaleejtimes.com/DisplayArticle.asp?xfile=data/opinion/2005/December/opinion_December54.xml§ion=opinion&co=.

106 "In 2006 Russia will be G8 President," Interview with T.I. Kosachev, president of the State Duma committee for International Affairs. Civil G8. 11 January 2006. Date of Access: 12 May 2006. <http://en.civilg8.ru/g8rus/publications1/1230.php>.

107 "In 2006 Russia will be G8 President," Interview with T.I. Kosachev, president of the State Duma committee for International Affairs. Civil G8. 11 January 2006. Date of Access: 12 May 2006. <http://en.civilg8.ru/g8rus/publications1/1230.php>.

The Issue of Energy Security

Energy security is the key theme at St. Petersburg. India and China's rapidly growing impact on world resources are centre-stage. India's position on energy use is firm. New Delhi maintains that increased energy use is imperative for realizing its national development goals and, as Prime Minister Singh states, "India cannot accept any commitment to limit the growth of its energy consumption or any particular pattern of energy use."¹⁰⁸ However, Singh noted that India is committed to cleaner energy technology.¹⁰⁹

India is committed to achieving "power for all" by 2012, clearly implying a significant increase in energy consumption.¹¹⁰ This makes India a key potential contributor to the dialogue prior to and during the St. Petersburg Summit as international energy security cannot be discussed meaningfully without the participation of a country determined to ensure its population of one billion has access to power.

India also formed several bilateral energy pacts with various countries in 2005, including a trilateral Business Conference, the India-E.U. Strategic Partnership, and the U.S.-India Energy Dialogue. The trilateral Business Conference, which includes China and Russia, strengthens trilateral cooperation in various areas, with a focus on energy security.¹¹¹ India's Strategic Partnership with the European Union, among other things, focuses on joint efforts on energy-related matters of mutual interest.¹¹² The U.S.-India Energy Dialogue seeks to address the issues of affordable, stable, efficient, and sustainable energy markets in India.¹¹³

India also seeks to strengthen nuclear cooperation with Russia. Prime Minister Singh has stated that both sides would continue to pursue opportunities for an expanded peaceful nuclear energy partnership, highlighting a nuclear power plant that is being constructed with Russian assistance.¹¹⁴ Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov also maintained that Russia would deliver fuel to India's Tarapur reactors.

In light of these developments, India appears well placed to make important contributions on international energy security at the St. Petersburg Summit.

India and Global Health

Global health is one the three key themes for the St. Petersburg Summit. The sheer size of India's population and its high prevalence of deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis (TB) render it a necessary member of discussions on global health, specifically the spread of infectious diseases. For example, with a population of over 4.5 million living with HIV/AIDS, India could seriously impact the overall spread of HIV in Asia, the Pacific, and beyond.¹¹⁵ India also accounts for 30% of the global tuberculosis burden.¹¹⁶ However, India's TB treatment and prevention programs can be seen an example to developing nations. It recently instigated a nationwide Directly Observed Treatment (DOTS) program,

108 "The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 16 May 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>.

109 The way forward: a new paradigm for international cooperation for action on climate change, India non-paper, The Gleneagles Summit. Ministry of External Affairs, 07 July 2005. Date of Access: 16 May 2006. <http://www.mea.gov.in/>.

110 "India is moving toward power for all by 2012, India Review July 2005 in Embassy of India Archive, 01 July 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/India_Review/2005/July%202005.pdf.pdf.

111 "India, China, Russia to hold trilateral business conference," India Review October 2005 in Embassy of India Archive, 01 October 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/India_Review/2005/October%202005.pdf.

112 "The India-EU strategic joint action plan," Europa, 07 September 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. <http://europa.eu.int/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/05/223&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

113 "Joint statement promises a global partnership," India Review August 2005 in Embassy of India Archive, 01 August 2005. Date of Access: 04 January 2006. http://www.indianembassy.org/India_Review/2005/August2005.pdf.

114 "India to expand nuclear cooperation with Russia". Official Website of the G8 Presidency of the Russian Federation in 2006, 17 March 2006. Date of Access: 30 May 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/news/20060317/1145847.html>.

115 "HIV/AIDS India," USAID. 14 July 2005. Date of Access: 30 May 2006. http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_health/aids/Countries/ane/india.html 14 July 2005. Date of Access: 30 May 2006.

116 "DOTS prevents TB deaths in India" in Health: a key to prosperity 2000. World Health Organization Date of Access: 30 May 2006. <http://www.who.int/inf-new/tuber3.htm>.

which is widely considered to be the most effective strategy available for controlling TB.¹¹⁷ India has also been able to maintain a relatively low cost per patient.¹¹⁸

It is also important to note that while India supplies 40% of the world's low-cost generic drugs, in 2005 the government amended the Patents Act requiring Indian drug manufacturers to pay "reasonable royalties" to the patent holder, mostly in an effort to meet its obligations as a member of the WTO.¹¹⁹ Critics of the controversial legislation and non-governmental organizations such as Médecins sans Frontières are concerned that India's move will have global consequences in terms of drug prices.¹²⁰

As India's healthcare professionals and public officials deal with the challenges of deadly disease and national coverage programs, which include expanding services to its majority rural population, India's actions will have international repercussions, thus making it an important contributor to G8 discussions, especially with respect to research and solutions to global health challenges faced by the developing world.

Conclusion

India's sheer size, population, and strategic location give it an important voice in international affairs. Moreover, it possesses economic and military strength and scientific and technical prominence. While there are arguments for India's full inclusion in the G8, opinion remains mixed as to whether India will be invited to join. Nonetheless, despite its challenges of overpopulation, poverty, and environmental degradation, India has managed to become a country that few, if any, can afford to ignore. It is becoming increasingly clear that the issues the G8 is now highlighting, such as climate change, energy security, global health, and poverty eradication, cannot be addressed meaningfully without India's involvement.

**Compiled by:
Hajenthiny Para**

117 "Nationwide DOTS coverage achieved in India," WHO India. 16 May 2006. Date of Access: 30 May 2006. http://www.whoindia.org/EN/Section3/Section123_1087.htm . 16 May 2006.

118 "Nationwide DOTS coverage achieved in India". WHO India. Date of Access: 30 May 2006. http://www.whoindia.org/EN/Section3/Section123_1087.htm .

119 "India ending generic drug loophole," CNN.com, 23 March 2005. <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/BUSINESS/03/23/india.drugs/>. Date of Access: 30 May 2006.

120 "India ending generic drug loophole," CNN.com, 23 March 2005. Date of Access: 30 May 2006. <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/BUSINESS/03/23/india.drugs/>.

Mexico

In the past several years, Mexico has followed a path of economic and political development that has allowed it to wield regional power and to emerge as an important international actor. Mexico's position in world affairs has not gone unnoticed by the G8. Accordingly, the G8 extended invitations to Mexico to attend the summits in Evian in 2003, Gleneagles in 2005, as well as to this year's summit in St. Petersburg, where New Delhi will participate in a separate meeting with G8 leaders alongside other Group of Five (G5) members.

Mexico's Place in the World

Economic Development

Mexico's involvement in past G8 Summits and again in this year's Summit distinguishes it as a significant emerging economic power. However, various socio-economic factors continue to challenge Mexico's relationship with the G8 countries and its continued participation in the expanded G8 dialogue.

More than a decade after Mexico's last big economic crisis in the 1990s, the country has demonstrated strong economic performance. Public finances are in excellent shape, and the Mexican stock market has hit highs more than 40 times in the past year.¹²¹ Moreover, the federal deficit has fallen to less than one percent of GDP and Mexico's trade balance appears secure.¹²² This macroeconomic stability has kept consumption rising¹²³ and permitted real wages to climb for three consecutive years¹²⁴, strong signs that the country's economy is gathering steam.

Mexico's GDP of US\$1.067 trillion is fourth among G5 countries, while its per capita GDP of US\$10 000 sits second behind South Africa's.¹²⁵ Mexico ranks third in terms of income inequality, with a GINI score of 54.6%, and second on poverty measures, with only 10.6% of the population living below the national poverty line.¹²⁶ Indeed, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) recently reported that the proportion of people living in extreme poverty in Mexico dropped from 16.2 to 11.7 percent between 1992 and 2004.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, observers have pointed out that these statistics are measured strictly on the basis of income and ignore the persistent social inequalities that plague Mexican society. For instance, despite their increased political influence, indigenous peoples in Mexico have made little economic and social progress in the last decade and continue to suffer from higher poverty, lower education, and a greater incidence of disease and discrimination than other groups.¹²⁸

Some observers consider Mexico's recent economic growth a disappointment, particularly in light of its virtually free access to the world's largest productive market, the United States.¹²⁹ Mexico's average growth rate for 2005 rests at an "anaemic" 3% compared to the heady expansion experienced by China, India and many other rapidly advancing nations.¹³⁰ Furthermore, the country's grinding stagnation has led to a net loss of 2.1 million jobs and a surge of illegal immigration to the United States.¹³¹ According to the 2004 UNDP Human Development Report, over 45 million Mexicans live on less than US\$2 a day and 10 million live in extreme poverty.¹³²

121 John Lyons. "Mexico's Market Paradox; Growth Lags Behind soaring, Albeit Narrow, Benchmark Index," Wall Street Journal. 20 December 2005.

122 M. Deleal Baer. "Mexico at Impasse," Foreign Affairs. Jan/Feb 2004. (83,1), 101.

123 Geri Smith. "Fiesta Time For the Bolsa," Business Week. 28 November 2005.

124 M. Deleal Baer. "Mexico at Impasse," Foreign Affairs. Jan/Feb 2004. (83,1), 101.

125 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006.
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mx.html>.

126 "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006.
<http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

127 Diego Cevallos. "Not Everyone Celebrates Improved Poverty Statistics," Inter Press Service. 23 August 2005.

128 "Indigenous Peoples Still Lag Behind Despite Increased Political Power." World Bank Press Releases. 18 May 2005.

129 Steve Forbes. "Fact and Comment," Forbes. 25 July 2005.

130 Steve Forbes. "Fact and Comment," Forbes. 25 July 2005.

131 Steve Forbes. "Fact and Comment," Forbes. 25 July 2005.

132 "OECD Economic Surveys: Mexico," OECD. January 2005, 205.

Political Developments

The past 20 years have brought extraordinary changes to the Mexican political landscape in line with the G8's commitment to democracy. In 2000, Mexico carried out its first truly democratic national contest that led to the electoral victory of Vicente Fox, leader of the centre-right National Action Party (PAN), putting an end to 71 years of authoritarian rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).¹³³ Nevertheless, Mexico continues to struggle to institutionalize its recent transition to a modern democracy. Fox's government, for example, was seriously troubled by corruption. Transparency International ranked Mexico the 21st most corrupt country in the world.¹³⁴

In the July 2006 elections, Felipe Calderon's National Action Party won the presidency with a thin margin of 220, 000 votes.¹³⁵ Calderon's defeated populist opponent, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, refused to accept the result, calling for a full recount and appealing to his supporters, who are mostly from Mexico's poor and working classes where there is a widespread belief that the election was stolen.¹³⁶ While Washington called the election "free and fair", thousands of Obrador supporters made their way to Mexico City to protest the result.¹³⁷ At present, the election result hinges on the decision of a seven-judge panel on Mexico's electoral court. The panel is studying Obrador's claim that the election was rigged in favour of Calderon. The peaceful means by which the election is being contested is a positive indication of Mexico's growing democracy.

Involvement with the G20, G5, G8, and other international or regional bodies

Mexico's foreign policy continues to be dominated by its bilateral ties with the United States. These relations considerably intensified when Mexico joined the US and Canada to create the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, one of the world's largest free trade areas. However, in recent years, Mexico expanded its role in the world economy in order to accelerate economic growth and develop trade outside the cyclical movements of the US economy. Accordingly, Mexico is an active member in more than seventy other international forums, including the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.¹³⁸ Mexico also pursued free trade agreements (FTA) around the world, resulting in FTAs with 41 nations, including the 25 members of the European Union (EU). Mexico's foreign trade is currently greater than the combined trade of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Colombia.¹³⁹

On the other hand, although Mexico may be the Latin American giant in terms of trade, it has maintained a low profile when it comes to leadership in international politics. It is true that Mexico sat on the UN Security Council in 2002-2003 and hosted the fifth World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial meeting in Cancun. However, when compared with other emerging economies such as Brazil, Mexico is drastically underrepresented in the international arena.¹⁴⁰

Mexico has also faced challenges in commanding leadership in Latin America, a position President Fox promised to achieve by the end of his term in 2006.¹⁴¹ In late April 2005, the Mexican Foreign Minister withdrew his candidacy for the Secretary-General post in the OAS due to tensions between Mexico and

133 Emily Edmonds Poli. "Courting Democracy in Mexico: Party Strategies and Electoral Institutions/Mexico Under Fox," Latin American Politics and Society. Summer 2005.

134 Kerry A. Dolan. "The Mexico That Might Have Been," Forbes. 15 August 2005.

135 "Mexico's Divided Politics," BBC News, (London), 7 July 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/5156580.stm>.

136 "Mexico's Divided Politics," BBC News, (London), 7 July 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/5156580.stm>.

137 Peasants Head to Mexico City for Vote Protest," Reuters, (New York), 13 July 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006.
http://today.reuters.com/news/newsArticle.aspx?type=AmericasElections&storyID=2006-07-13T234041Z_01_N28358335_RTRUKOC_0_US-MEXICO-ELECTION.xml.

138 "Mexico," CIA World Factbook. 1 November 2005. Date of Access: 6 January 2006.
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mx.html>

139 "Mexico: Country Outlook," EIU ViewsWire. 17 November 2005.

140 Kenneth Emmond. "Brazil is Latin American Leader in Foreign Relations Instead of Mexico," Noticias Financieras. 9 August 2004.

141 Diego Cevallos. "Mexico: Fox's String of Foreign Policy Woes Just Grows and Grows," Noticias Financieras. 9 August 2004.

several Latin American nations who refused to back the Mexican candidate.¹⁴² Furthermore, Mexico's bid to establish a US-backed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) divided the region during the Summit of the Americas held in Argentina in early-November of last year.¹⁴³ Recently, the Fox administration has clashed with Brazil on trade issues and the two countries are currently in an unofficial contest to represent Latin America with a permanent seat on an expanded UN Security Council.¹⁴⁴

Nonetheless, as an emerging economic power, Mexico has been integrated along with the wealthier developing countries of India, China, Brazil, and South Africa in the Group of 5 (G5). These states often engage in dialogue with other international institutions and establish proposals addressing poverty, exclusion and the lack of opportunities for developing countries. At the recent Gleneagles Summit, President Fox informed the media of the importance of the G5 nations, which account for 40% of the world's population and constitute a US\$4 trillion annual GDP.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Fox stressed that Mexico's role as a G5 member was to remind the G8 countries that a dialogue between the two bodies was crucial to "eventually produce results."¹⁴⁶

Mexico is also included in the greater bloc of developing nations, called the Group of 20 (G20), formed at the 5th Ministerial WTO Conference, held in Cancun, Mexico to promote broad participation between industrialized and key emerging markets with a view to supporting international financial stability. Mexico's involvement in these multilateral bodies represents its drive to influence international initiatives that directly affect developing nations and its own national interests.¹⁴⁷

Mexico's engagement with the G8 began at Evian in 2003 where President Fox, along with Brazilian President, Lula da Silva Luiz Inacio, presented the G8 with a proposal established at the Summit of Rio Group meeting in May 2003. The proposal included a request for the G8 to eliminate farm subsidies and other protectionist measures.¹⁴⁸ Mexico used the Evian summit as an opportunity to conduct brief bilateral meetings with heads of state from Russia, France, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US). President Fox later indicated at a press conference that these bilateral meetings were an important advantage of being invited to G8 summits.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, Fox requested that the G8 be extended to include Mexico as an associate or permanent member in order to effectively represent Latin American interests.¹⁵⁰

Involvement at the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit

In 2005, Mexico participated in an extended meeting of the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland. For his part, President Vicente Fox articulated to the assembled G5 and G8 nations that it was "time to shift from discourse to specific actions."¹⁵¹ The Mexican President applauded the recent decision adopted by the G8 countries to absolve the multilateral debt of some of the least developed countries in the world and requested that the policy be extended to Central American countries in need.¹⁵² Furthermore, Fox

142 Diego Cevallos. "Mexico: Fox's String of Foreign Policy Woes Just Grows and Grows," Noticias Financieras. 9 August 2004.

143 "No Trade Deal at Americas Summit," BBC News. 6 November 2005. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4410190.stm>.

144 Diego Cevallos. "Mexico: Fox's String of Foreign Policy Woes Just Grows and Grows," Noticias Financieras. 9 August 2004.

145 Sarah Brun. "Press Briefing: Vicente fox," 2005 G Online. 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 28 December 2005. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/g8online/2005/english/press-briefing3.html>.

146 Sarah Brun. "Press Briefing: Vicente fox," 2005 G Online. 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 28 December 2005. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/g8online/2005/english/press-briefing3.html>.

147 "G8/ G20 Description," G8 / G20 Mexico. Date of Access: 25 Juen 2006. <http://g8mexico.itam.mx/index>.

148 Diego Cevallos and Mario Osava. "Lula, Fox Vie for Leadership in Visit to G8 Summit," International Press Services. 30 May 2005.

149 "Encuentro del Presidente Fox Con Medios De Informacion Mexicanos," Conferencia de Prensa. 1 June 2003.

150 Diego Cevallos and Mario Osava. "Lula, Fox Vie for Leadership in Visit to G8 Summit," International Press Services, 30 May 2005.

151 "President Vicente Fox Concludes Participation in G-8 and G-5 Meetings," Internet System of the Presidency of the Republic (Mexico). 7 August 2005. Date of Access: 6 January 2006. <http://envivo.presidencia.gob.mx/?Art=9283&Orden=Leer>.

152 "President Vicente Fox Concludes Participation in G-8 and G-5 Meetings," Internet System of the Presidency of the Republic (Mexico). 7 August 2005. Date of Access: 6 January 2006. <http://envivo.presidencia.gob.mx/?Art=9283&Orden=Leer>.

stressed the need for progress in the Doha round, and greater and better access for developing countries' products to the markets of industrialized nations.¹⁵³

Mexico also highlighted the importance of supporting the efforts to achieve both economic growth and development in the emerging countries, considering that they "constitute major poles of regional development."¹⁵⁴ In this respect, President Fox expressed his support for the fulfillment of the commitments assumed at the Monterrey Consensus of Financing for Development that aimed at achieving the goals in the Millennium Declaration adopted by the UN.¹⁵⁵

On the issue of global warming, the Mexican leader stressed the importance of reinforcing international efforts regarding climate change. On the whole, Mexico along with the other fast-growing economic powers of the G5, which are becoming big consumers of oil and other pollution-producing fuels, endorsed Tony Blair's acknowledgement that human activity is a probable cause of global warming. They also committed themselves to launch multinational talks on climate change in the subsequent months.¹⁵⁶

Involvement in Related Meetings after Gleneagles

Following Gleneagles, Mexico continued to participate in meetings and initiated actions concurrent with commitments made at the G8 Summit. Most recently, Mexico played a role in discussions at the pre-St. Petersburg working meetings of Energy, Health, and Education Ministers on 27-28 April, 16 March, and 1-2 June respectively.

Climate Change

Mexico publicly acknowledges the importance of promoting actions against climate change, especially considering a recent UN report which states that Mexico and other Latin American nations are vulnerable to the dangers of global warming. The report also claims that Latin America and the Caribbean generate eight to nine percent of the world's production of greenhouse gases, with most of this output coming from Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina and Mexico.¹⁵⁷

President Vicente Fox's administration enthusiastically endorsed the Kyoto Protocol on climate change. At a ceremony marking Mexico's support for the treaty, which went into effect on 16 February 2005, Fox acknowledged that "the time has come to confront a reality that puts at risk the equilibrium of the planet and the very survival of our species."¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, Fox administration officials acknowledged that Mexico has taken the initial steps to comply with the Protocol by implementing various programs to clean up emission at the state run oil company, PEMEX, and by promoting innovative projects like the one in the northern city of Monterrey, where garbage gases are used to power street lights.¹⁵⁹

In addition, Mexico created a special office to promote the development of clean-energy technology (Mecanismo de Desarrollo Limpio, MDL). To date, the Fox government awarded five permits for MDL projects, with approval for another 15 permits pending. Some of the projects will be conducted with financial assistance from Japan, Canada, and a number of European nations. Mexico is also assembling a guide based on its own experiences to help other Latin American countries implement some of the recommendations in the Kyoto accord.

153 "Mexico's Participation in G8 Meeting Recognition of its Capacity as an Intermediary," Internet System of the Presidency of the Republic (Mexico). 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 5 January 2006. <http://envivo.presidencia.gob.mx/?Art=9280&Orden=Leer>.

154 "President Vicente Fox Concludes Participation in G-8 and G-5 Meetings," Internet System of the Presidency of the Republic (Mexico). 7 August 2005. Date of Access: 6 January 2006. <http://envivo.presidencia.gob.mx/?Art=9283=Leer>.

155 "Afirma Fox que Mexico sera la voz de los paises pobres ante el G8," Agencia Mexicana de Noticias. 5 July 2005.

156 Warren Vieth. "The World; G-8 to Boost Africa Aid, Further Climate Dialogue; Wrapping up Scottish summit, wealthy nations pledge \$9 billion for the Palestinians. China and India are to be included in global warming talks," Los Angeles Times. 9 July 2005.

157 "United Nations says global warming could affect Latin American economies," El Universal. 17 February 2005.

158 "Mexico strongly endorses Kyoto environmental accord," SourceMex Economic News & Analysis on Mexico. 2 March 2005.

159 "President Fox celebrates entry into force of Kyoto Protocol," El Universal. 17 February 2005.

In accordance with these concerns and international obligations, Mexico has attended various related meetings aimed at establishing an international regime to address climate change. Mexico was an active participant at the International Energy Efficiency Conference hosted by the UK and the European Commission on November 2-3, 2005, designed to tackle global warming and discuss clean energy. Later that month, Mexican environment ministers participated in the International Conference on Climate Change held in Montreal. The meeting allowed the Mexican delegation to inform participants that Mexico's Congress is about to approve a new law for the production of ethanol, a new fuel that when combined with gasoline could clean the environment from Carbon Dioxide (CO₂). Mexico also managed to obtain important benefits from the conference in terms of coordinating a joint declaration for cooperation with the environment ministries of Germany and Canada to develop projects for emission reduction and the eradication of greenhouse gases.¹⁶⁰

Nonetheless, environmental activists and scientists in Mexico contend that the Fox government has "a double standard" when it comes to the environment. Mexican scientist Luis Roberto Acosta, a pioneer in the measurement of atmospheric pollutants, argues that "the Mexican government has ratified international agreements like the Kyoto Protocol on climate change, but does not deal seriously with the growing pollution problems that are overwhelming the country's major cities."¹⁶¹ Others have noted that neither the state-run oil company PEMEX nor the government electrical utility, Comision Federal de Electricidad (CFE), have set goals to reduce air contaminants or participated in international efforts to develop technologies that would help improve their environmental performance.¹⁶²

The Global Economy

Mexico attended the Meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors in China last year where it committed itself to concrete policy measures in accordance with the G20 Accord for Sustained Growth. In particular, Mexico agreed that the key priority for its country is to achieve a balance between public revenue and expenditure. Mexico also pledged to "invest in physical and human capital, reduce poverty and inequality, through public expenditure that emphasizes social development and infrastructure."¹⁶³ Mexico participated in the WTO Hong Kong Ministerial meeting that took place in mid-December of 2005. At the conference, Mexico joined Brazil, a country with which Mexico shares serious commercial differences, and other developing G20 countries in demanding wealthy nations to eliminate agricultural subsidies.¹⁶⁴

Education

On education, a priority issue to at St. Petersburg, Mexico has played an active international role. In particular, Mexico is a member of the E-9 initiative launched in New Delhi, India in 1993 as part of the Education for All (EFA) Summit of Nine High-Population countries (Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, and Pakistan). These countries pledged to universalise primary education and significantly reduce illiteracy in their respective countries.¹⁶⁵ On 14-16 February 2006, Mexico hosted the Sixth E-9 Ministerial Review meeting in the city of Monterrey. The meeting was important as it built on the commitment from the last meeting in Cairo that called for the revitalization of the E-9 initiative.¹⁶⁶

160 "Obtiene Mexico Beneficion en Cumbre Ambiental de Montreal: SEMARNAT," Agencia Mexicana de Noticias. 11 December 2005.

161 Diego Cevallos. "Environment: Mexican scientist condemns "double standard"," Global Information Network. 1 August 2005.

162 Diego Cevallos. "Environment: Mexican scientist condemns "double standard"," Global Information Network. 1 August 2005.

163 "G20 Reform Agenda 2005: Agreed Actions to implement the G20 Accord for Sustained Growth. Meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors. Xianghe, Hebei, China, October 15-16, 2005," G8 Information Center. 16 October 2005. Date of Access: 28 December 2005. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/g20/g20-051016reform.html>.

164 "OMC: México firme junto a los países que piden el fin de ayudas agrícolas," Agence France Presse. 8 December 2005.

165 "Monterrey: E-9 Education Ministers miserably fail to address child labour as the greatest impediment to EFA." Global March Against Child Labour. <http://www.globalmarch.org/news/monterrey.php3>.

166 "Opening of the Sixth E-9 Ministerial Review Meeting in Monterrey, Mexico." UNESCO. 16 February 2006. Date of Access: 14 May 2005. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-PressReleaseURL_ID=31764&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

Global Health

Mexico has been actively involved in addressing global health concerns. Since 1929, Mexico has been an active member of the Pan-American Health Organisation. In September 2005, Mexico City hosted a meeting that allowed countries to learn and share valuable lessons about pandemic preparedness related to vaccines and antiretrovirals, public health measures, communications and surveillance.¹⁶⁷ Mexico has also been commended for its leadership in the advancement of international coordination during public health emergencies through the development of a database of resources and support networks among countries.¹⁶⁸

With regards to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which currently plagues an estimated 0.3% of the adult population in Mexico,¹⁶⁹ the Fox administration has pledged to host the XVII International AIDS Conference from 3-8 August 2008. The event will make Mexico the first in Latin America and the Caribbean to host the world's largest conference on HIV/AIDS.¹⁷⁰

Potential Contributions to the St. Petersburg Summit

As demonstrated, Mexico has been an active participant at prior G8 Summits, working together with other G5 nations to articulate the position of the developing world while contributing to the discussion on pertinent matters like climate change and the international economy. Thus, we can anticipate similar involvement in the dialogue on the issues to be discussed at the upcoming St. Petersburg Summit.

In terms of international energy security, Mexico can offer important contributions as a developing nation and the world's ninth largest oil-exporter.¹⁷¹ This was demonstrated at the Montreal Conference on Climate Change where Mexico was able to articulate legitimate concerns regarding the financing of new energy sources. The Mexican delegation explained that developing and emerging countries are not in the appropriate economic and social positions to undertake the technological changes required for successful development of renewable and clean energy. Accordingly, Mexico advocated for negotiation and coordination between wealthy nations and the developing world to guarantee the transfer of appropriate resources and information.¹⁷² The Mexican delegation also indicated that the Mexican population recognizes their role as a petroleum nation and shares the necessity to change the system of energy production "to ensure a better world for future generations."¹⁷³ It is also important to note that the inclusion of Mexico in the dialogue on energy security is related to its role as a major oil supplier to the US.¹⁷⁴

Conclusion

In the past the Mexican government pushed for the expansion of the G8 to include emerging developing powers. Fox made this explicit during the Evian Summit where he stated, "The G8 should not be an exclusive club of the richest nations but rather a forum where countries of different levels of development can discuss the world's problems and find common solutions."¹⁷⁵ Despite Mexico's petition to be included in the elite group of countries, the question remains whether it possesses the international prominence in terms of international and regional leadership and socio-economic standing to become permanently

167 "Sixth Ministerial Meeting on Health Security and Bioterrorism, Rome November 18, 2005," G8 Information Centre. 18 November 2005. Date of Access: 9 May 2006. <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/health/rome2005.html>.

168 "Sixth Ministerial Meeting on Health Security and Bioterrorism, Rome November 18, 2005," G8 Information Centre. 18 November 2005. Date of Access: 9 May 2006. <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/health/rome2005.html>.

169 "HIV / AIDS in Mexico," Global Health Reporting. Date of Access: 2 May 2006. <http://www.globalhealthreporting.org/countries/mexico.asp?collID=16&id=1371&mailID=1373&tblID=1372&hivIC=1368%20&mailC=1369&tblC=1370&map=1375&con=Mexico&p=1>.

170 "Mexico City to Host XVII International AIDS Conference." Medical News Today. 19 February 2006. <http://www.medicalnewstoday.com/medicalnews.php?newsid=37851>.

171 Kerry A. Dolan. "The Mexico That Might Have Been," Forbes. 15 August 2005.

172 "Afirman diputados que Mexico promueve desarrollo de energias limpias," Agencia Mexicana de Noticias. 6 December 2005.

173 "Afirman diputados que Mexico promueve desarrollo de energias limpias," Agencia Mexicana de Noticias. 6 December 2005.

174 John Kirton, "Energizing Global Sustainable Development: Promising Prospects for the Gleneagles G8." Paper prepared for the conference on "Security Overspill: Between Economic Integration and Social Exclusion," Centre Etudes Internationales et Mondialisation, Université de Quebec a Montreal. G8 Information Centre. 27-28 October 2005.

175 "Fox: Expand G-8 to G-9," Business Mexico. July 2003.

included as a member of the G8. Nonetheless, the history of Mexico's relationship with the group and the country's participation in previous Summits and related meetings indicates that Mexico, although not likely to be a permanent member in the near future, will continue to play a constructive role in the G8's expanded dialogue.

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South Africa

Since the 2000 Okinawa Summit, South Africa has been invited to attend each G8 Summit, including this year's Summit in St. Petersburg.¹⁷⁶ Although it is unlikely that South Africa will be integrated politically and financially into the G8 as a permanent member, the G8 has recognized the country's relevance as a leader in the African continent, and the crucial role that it can play in addressing issues of both regional and global importance, from establishing peace and security in Africa to addressing the need for global cooperation in ensuring economic growth and stability in the developing world.

South Africa's Place in the World

Political Developments

South Africa has taken serious steps to establish a democratic political regime. Through policies to ensure racial tolerance and gender equality, strategies to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment, and actions to promote the growth of a vibrant, integrated economy, South Africa has attempted to strengthen its democracy and leadership on the African continent.

South Africa is perceived as a regional leader, frequently playing a principal role in conflict resolution and the maintenance of peace and security in Africa.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, President Thabo Mbeki's primary regional focus is on building peace throughout the continent by strengthening the African Union (AU) and its organs. Although an advocate for the AU, South Africa is also actively involved in United Nations (UN) activities and has been supportive of its policies. Such involvement has allowed South Africa to be a leading African candidate for representation on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

President Mbeki further emphasizes the need to implement the objectives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and to seek the emancipation of women in order to ensure sustained socio-economic development. Mbeki believes that both developments are crucial for sustainable peace on the continent and for strengthening relations with members of the G8.¹⁷⁸ However, despite being the African economic and political powerhouse, it still remains at odds with G8 leaders on certain political issues.

One of the major issues of contention is Mbeki's tolerance of Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe. Despite, recent pledges by President Mbeki to condemn Zimbabwe's leader for permitting human rights abuses, indirect appeasement via "quiet diplomacy" has been prevalent since the late nineties.¹⁷⁹ Mbeki was also criticized for his lack of public opposition to the Mugabe's handling of Zimbabwe's parliamentary elections in March 2005.¹⁸⁰ UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw noted, "I'm surprised and saddened that Zimbabwe's neighbours have chosen to ignore the obvious and serious flaws in these elections."¹⁸¹

Economic and Development Status

At US\$12, 000, South Africa stands first among the G5 in per capita GDP. Johannesburg is at the opposite end of the G5 spectrum in terms of total GDP.¹⁸² At US\$533.2 billion, it stands significantly

176 "Brazil insists on developing countries' bigger role in debates of G8 topics," 25 April 2006. Date of Access: 22 May 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/news/20060425/1148265.html>.

177 "Brazil insists on developing countries' bigger role in debates of G8 topics," 25 April 2006. Date of Access: 22 May 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/news/20060425/1148265.html>.

178 "Strategic Plan 2005-2008," Department of Foreign Affairs. Date of Access: 1 December 2005. <http://www.dfa.gov.za/departments/stratplan05-08.pdf>.

179 Robert Rotberg, "Side by side... but in starkly different worlds," 4 June 2004. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/opeds/2004/rotberg_botswana_zimbabwe_latimes_070404.htm.

180 "Why South Africa does not criticize Mugabe," BBC News. 9 March 2005. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4327199.stm>.

181 "Straw condemns Zimbabwe elections," BBC News. 5 April 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4412763.stm.

182 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sf.html>.

behind fourth ranked Mexico.¹⁸³ South Africa also fared badly in terms of income equality, where it placed second last with a GINI score of 57.8%, and poverty measures, where it also placed second last with 50% of its population living below the national poverty line.¹⁸⁴

Following the Gleneagles Summit in 2005, the Africa Infrastructure Project, a new body in the South Africa's Department of Public Enterprises was created to prompt state-owned enterprises (parastatals) to invest heavily in building up rail, power and other infrastructure. These investments are the result of recommendations by the head of the initiative, Bongi Gasa, who argued that the Gleneagles Summit would result in a flow of investment opportunities for the next 10 years and South Africa's parastatals needed to position themselves so as to be able to "take advantage" of such opportunities.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, upon completion of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) annual country assessment in 2005, South Africa received approval for its economic policies.¹⁸⁶ The assessment shows results of strong growth, low inflation, good fiscal policy management, and an increase in foreign reserves. South Africa's external position has improved markedly and expanded economic activity has created additional jobs.

However, the IMF directors warned that serious economic challenges remained: persistent high unemployment, poverty, large wealth disparities, and a high incidence of HIV/AIDS.¹⁸⁷ As a result, despite the fact that South Africa's economy is bigger than the combined economies of most other southern African countries, this is not enough for permanent membership in an expanded G8.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, Africa as a whole continues to account for only 2% of global trade.¹⁸⁹ However, Africa will likely continue to be an important area of focus for the G8 leaders, even though this year's summit will not take African issues as a key theme. The issues of education and global health will surely involve the African continent intimately.

Involvement at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit

At the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit, President Thabo Mbeki along with his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Dlamini Zuma, participated in two different dialogue sessions: the G8+5 Dialogue and the G8-Africa session. In his interaction with other G8 leaders, Mbeki called for practical outcomes based on a commonly agreed set of priorities reflected in the NEPAD program and in the G8 Africa Action Plan¹⁹⁰ (G8 AAP). Specifically, these priorities include:

- the need to formulate specific recommendations for the implementation of the G8 AAP adopted at the 2002 Kananaskis Summit
- the need to agree on the implementation of specific projects and resources aimed at addressing the priority areas of NEPAD including information and communications technology (ICT), infrastructure and agriculture development
- the need to reach consensus on debt relief for African countries which transcends the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative
- The need to reach consensus on the outcomes of the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations with particular reference to the matter of agricultural subsidies

183 "The World Factbook," The Central Intelligence Agency, (Washington, D.C.), 2006. Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sf.html>.

184 "Human Development Report," UN Development Programme, (New York). Date of Access: 14 July 2006. <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/>.

185 "SA invests in African Infrastructure," South Africa Info, 4 August 2005. Date of Access: 18 November 2005. http://www.southafrica.info/what_happening/news/african_union/parastatals-040805.htm.

186 "South Africa: Economic Overview," The Jakarta Post, 2006. Date of Access: 14 May 2006. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/AdsSpecial/rsa/Economic.html>

187 "SA invests in African Infrastructure," South Africa Info, 4 August 2005. Date of Access: 18 November 2005. http://www.southafrica.info/what_happening/news/african_union/parastatals-040805.htm.

188 "Divided We Fall? The Politics of Poor Nation Groups," AllAfrica.com, 17 December 2005. Date of Access: 25 December 2005. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200512200921.html>.

189 "Africa and the UN Security Council Permanent Seats," Africa, News from Africa, 6 May 2005. Date of Access: 29 December 2005. http://www.newsfromafrica.org/newsfromafrica/articles/art_10251.html.

190 For more specific information on the G8 African Action Plan and a historical overview of the G8 and Africa please see: The G8 and Africa Final Report: "An Overview of the G8's Ongoing Relationship with African Development from the 2001 Genoa Summit to the 2005 Gleneagles Summit" Edited by Vanessa Corlazzoli and Janel Smith, G8 Research Group. 24 June 2005.

Immediately following President Mbeki's participation in the Summit, he received a number of requests for bilateral meetings during which he made significant contributions to the case for African development. Minister Dlamini Zuma interacted with both Russia's Vladimir Putin and France's Jacques Chirac to secure further support for the African agenda.¹⁹¹

Involvement in Related Meetings after Gleneagles

South Africa participated in several forums after Gleneagles, particularly the International Conference on Climate Change, the G20 Summit Meeting, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Meeting, to address issues that topped the agenda at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit. South Africa has also been active in the areas of energy security, global health and education, having been party to Energy, Health, and Education Ministers' meetings prior to this year's summit. As an African leader in political, economic, and environmental issues, South Africa can contribute an African voice at the St. Petersburg Summit.

International Conferences on Climate Change

The first meeting of the parties to the Kyoto Protocol was held in Montreal in November of 2005. The meeting also marked the opening of talks about post-2012 commitments for the developed countries bound by Kyoto. At the meeting, South Africa along with other developing countries including India, China, and Brazil promised to do more to address climate change but simultaneously made it clear that they would only pursue policies and take measures that are practical, affordable and consistent with their development paths.¹⁹²

South Africa and other developing countries pushed for further improvement of the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) and for the provision of clear policy signals for the second, post-2012 commitment period. In particular, South Africa said it was necessary for developed countries to make substantially deeper emission cuts during the second commitment period, and for implementation of global emissions trading and technology transfer programs. To bear its own responsibility under the Kyoto Protocol, South Africa agreed on a work program based on positive incentives from the developed world, for actions that simultaneously promote local sustainable development, and reduce greenhouse gas emissions in a manner appropriate to national circumstances.¹⁹³ The meeting in Montreal was a major step forward as South Africa achieved all of its key objectives.

G20 Summit

The G20 is composed of the financial ministers and central bank governors of 19 countries and the European Union. South Africa is the only African member-country.¹⁹⁴ South Africa's involvement in the G20 meeting on 15-16 October in Xianghe, China signifies South Africa's active leadership role and determination in prioritizing African issues not just in the G8, but at multiple forums. South Africa's Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel, attended this meeting to discuss issues pertinent to the theme of the meeting - "Enhancing Global Co-operation and Promoting Global Economic Development in Balance and Order" with other finance ministers. The meeting yielded, among other actions, the formulation of a set of technical proposals that call for the elimination of export subsidies by 2010 and a substantial, real

191 "President Thabo Mbeki to depart from the AU to the G8 Summit, Gleneagles, Scotland, Thursday, 7 - Friday, 8 July 2005," Department of Foreign Affairs, (Pretoria), 5 July 2005. Date of Access: 20 November 2005. <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2005/euro0705.htm>.

192 "Opening speech by Marthinus Van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, at the National Consultative Conference on Climate Change," (Gauteng), 18 October 2005. Date of Access: 25 December 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05101812151001.htm>.

193 Opening speech by Marthinus Van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, at the National Consultative Conference on Climate Change," (Gauteng), 18 October 2005. Date of Access: 25 December 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05101812151001.htm>.

194 "About G-20," G-20 Australia 2006. Date of Access: 26 Jun 2006. <http://www.g20.org/Public/AboutG20/index.jsp?>.

reduction of trade-distorting domestic support provided by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.¹⁹⁵

WTO Hong Kong Ministerial Meeting

South Africa was an active participant at the sixth WTO ministerial meeting held in December in Hong Kong, China. It played a major role in setting tough conditions for the four-year-old Doha Development Agenda negotiations as part of its response to an international trade system that it considers unfair to developing countries. Together with fellow emerging economies in the G20 coalition (Brazil, India, and China, among others), South Africa sought the elimination of export subsidies, tighter disciplines on food aid dumping, greatly reduced domestic support payments, and reductions of import duties. Furthermore, as a result of South Africa's competitiveness in commercial farming and desire to utilize its sufficient supply capacity, it called for increases in the size of total market access, instead of mere redistribution of existing opportunities.¹⁹⁶ Johannesburg believes that raising the "aid for trade programme" will expand trade capacity-building and enhance competitiveness and action in importing countries. This will ultimately assist South African exports penetrate markets and raise the returns accruing to the continent.¹⁹⁷ Nonetheless, observers note that the meeting resulted in an imbalanced outcome on the three main components of a so-called "development package". Developing countries gained very little on issues of cotton, market access for Less Developed Countries (LDC), and "aid for trade",¹⁹⁸

Possible Contributions to St. Petersburg

South Africa has been invited to participate in a separate meeting along with Mexico, Brazil, China, and India, during the G8 Summit in St. Petersburg. South Africa's interest and relevance in discussions on the priority issues of energy security, global health and education may help to ensure that the Summit's outcomes are reflective of broader global involvement.

Participation in the dialogue on International Energy Security

South Africa is growing both as a producer and a consumer of oil and gas and this will assist it in advancing the agenda of the AU and NEPAD. In accordance with this development, the 18th World Petroleum Congress was held in South Africa, on 25 September 2005 under the theme "Shaping the Energy Future: Partners in Sustainable Solutions". The meeting was a success as all members recognized that oil producers, oil consumers, and oil companies must work together to stabilize the oil market. As a result of the meeting, a number of actions were taken to deliver that enhanced stability, including further investments in refining capacity and efforts to create a favorable investment climate for the future. The importance of policies that promote energy conservation, efficiency and sustainability through new technology, alternative sources of energy, and oil product subsidies was also acknowledged.¹⁹⁹ Closer to home, South Africa is a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which adopted an Energy Co-operation Policy and Strategy focusing on energy trade (electricity, oil, gas and coal), information and experience exchange, training and organizational capacity-building, and investment and funding.

195 "Group of 20, Communiqués: Meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors," G20, 2005. Date of Access: 17 May 2006. http://www.g20.org/Public/Communiques/Pdf/2005_china.pdf

196 Ngwawi, Joseph. "Africa Demands to be Heard at WTO Talks," AllAfrica.com, 6 December 2005. Date of Access: 27 December 2005. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200512060071.html>.

197 "Keynote speech by Minister of Trade and Industry of South Africa, Mandisi Mphahla, at South Africa's National Consultative Conference for the 6th World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference," 27 October 2005. Date of Access: 15 December 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05110115451001.htm>.

198 Khor, Martin. "WTO Ministerial Outcome Imbalanced Against Developing Countries," 20 December 2005. Date of Access: 27 December 2005. <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title2/twninfo339.htm>.

199 "Address by Thabo Mbeki at the opening ceremony of the 18th World Petroleum Congress," (Johannesburg), 25 September 2005. Date of Access: 10 November 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05092614451001.htm>.

Participation in the dialogue on Global Health

Despite recent declines in HIV/AIDS rates, South Africa continues to exhibit a 30% HIV rate among pregnant women, suggesting the country is experiencing one of the world's most severe HIV/AIDS infection rates.²⁰⁰ To address this issue, the South African government launched various public treatment programs and awareness campaigns. The chances of success are limited as South Africa has an 80% illiteracy rate. Yet, the persistence of the South African government was recognized during the last review of the global response to HIV and AIDS, during which the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan commended South Africa for a substantial increase (from ZAR264 million²⁰¹ in 2001 to ZAR1.5 billion in 2005) in budgetary allocation for the epidemic.²⁰²

In addition to appealing for more partnerships between government and non-governmental organizations to address challenges of HIV/AIDS, South African Health Minister, Dr. Tshabalala-Msimang, has joined the Global Steering Committee convened by UNAIDS to identify challenges and seek measures to achieve universal access to treatment.²⁰³

The importance of global health to the country is also evident in its enthusiasm in hosting and attending various HIV/AIDS conferences and summits including the International AIDS Economic Network (IAEN) meetings hosted in Cape Town, South Africa, from 7-8 April 2005,²⁰⁴ and the biannual International Microbicides Conference from 23-26 April 2006; the first time this conference was held in a developing country²⁰⁵. Moreover, Minister Tshabalala-Msimang attended the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on HIV/AIDS this year from 31 May to 2 June in New York, following attendance at similar forerunner meetings in Moscow, Abuja, and Geneva in the month of May.²⁰⁶ Minister Tshabalala-Msimang's program commenced with an address to the G8 Healthcare Ministerial meeting held in Moscow, Russia, from 27 to 28 April, at which she was one of five Health Ministers from non-G8 countries invited to attend.²⁰⁷

Participation in the dialogue on Education

Similar to energy security, education, as a major determinant of a countries' economic growth, has become an area of prime concern for many leaders in both the developing and developed world. South Africa's concern with the issue of education escalated upon the recent release of a survey by the World Bank on the Investment Climate in South Africa. This report indicates that the country's high labour costs, especially of skilled workers and managers requiring additional education are a deterrent to investors. The high premium paid for education results in salaries for such workers that are considered high by international standards. Although wages are similar for unskilled workers in China and South Africa, managers' wages are over three and a half times as high in South Africa, despite its high labour productivity.²⁰⁸

As a result of increasing salience of education issues, South Africa has increased attendance to global education conferences and has taken various initiatives to address education issues at home and abroad.

200 AVERT, "HIV and AIDS in South Africa," 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. <http://www.avert.org/aidssouthafrica.htm>.

201 The South African currency is the rand. As of 26 June 2006, 1 rand was equivalent to US \$0.14. This means that South Africa increased its contribution from US\$ 1.8 million to US \$10.7 million.

202 SA Ministry of Health, "Health Minister calls for a positive projection of AIDS response," 6 April 2006. Date of Access: 16 May 2006. <http://www.hst.org.za/news/20041193>.

203 SA Ministry of Health, "Health Minister calls for a positive projection of AIDS response," 6 April 2006. Date of Access: 16 May 2006. <http://www.hst.org.za/news/20041193>.

204 International AIDS Economics Network, "IAEN Meetings in Cape Town, South Africa, April 2005." Date of Access: 16 May 2006. <http://www.iaen.org/mtng/capetown05/index.php>.

205 Development Gateway.org: "The 2006 Microbicides Conference, Cape Town, South Africa." Date of Access: 16 May 2006. <http://topics.developmentgateway.org/hiv/rc/ItemDetail.do~1061734>.

206 Government of South Africa: "Health Minister participate in global preparation for UN Special Session on AIDS," 25 April 2006. Date of Access: 29 April 2006. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/06042609451001.htm>.

207 Government of South Africa: "Health Minister participate in global preparation for UN Special Session on AIDS," 25 April 2006. Date of Access: 29 April 2006. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/06042609451001.htm>.

208 "Statement on the release of the dti - World Bank Assessment of the Investment Climate in South Africa," 13 December 2005. Date of Access: 17 December 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05121315151001.htm>.

The Minister of Education, Mrs. Naledi Pandor, attended several dialogue sessions pertaining to education, including the Sino-African Ministers of Education Forum and the fifth session of the Education for All (EFA) High Level Group, held 28-30 November 2005. The deliberations of the High-Level Group at the conference in Beijing focused on literacy for empowerment, gender parity, education for rural people, and resource mobilization for the EFA. The conference gave Ministers an opportunity to agree on shared priorities for concrete action to accelerate progress towards the achievement of the EFA goals over the next 10 years.²⁰⁹ Moreover, South Africa has also taken unilateral action in hosting a national commission that works to promote South African Education Projects and works with UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNDP towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and EFA by 2015. Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor stated, "We have to build on the momentum created by the commitments made by G8 leaders at Gleneagles in July, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) conference in October, and the UNESCO general conference in October." With the aid of South Africa's Department of Education, the South African commission of UNESCO recently launched UN Literacy Decade and the UN Decade for Education on Sustainable Development.²¹⁰

Other issues of importance

South Africa has been active in ensuring that African issues such as development, trade, and crisis management figure on the St. Petersburg Summit agenda. In May 2006, President Mbeki met with UK Prime Minister Tony Blair in London for "extensive discussions" on various issues, including support for the African agenda at the St. Petersburg Summit and the implementation of Gleneagles' commitments to developing countries such as debt relief.²¹¹

In terms of trade negotiations, South African concerns about developed countries not showing the political will to ensure a successful Doha round of WTO negotiations were met by Blair's statement that failure to find agreement would have "devastating outcomes for the world's poorest countries."²¹² South Africa and other African countries would also benefit from discussion and any resulting commitments or solutions put forward by G8 leaders to address the prevention, management, and resolution of regional conflict on the African continent.²¹³

Conclusion

Although South Africa presently lacks the capacity necessary for gaining permanent membership into an expanded G8, it can contribute to the G8 agenda and discussions, particularly at the upcoming St. Petersburg Summit. South Africa's experience and involvement in important global issues, such as education, democracy-building, and global health, will make it a valuable contributor of information and ideas. Johannesburg, as a regional leader and developed democracy, is a strategic partner to G8 leaders, especially as Africa has become a region of concerted G8 attention and commitment.

Compiled by:
Katherine Kanczuga

209 "South Africa Education," Department of Education (South Africa), 24 November 2005. Date of Access: 18 December 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05112415451001.htm>.

210 "Address by the Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor at the inauguration of the new national commission for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) South Africa," South Africa Government, 7 December 2005. Date of Access: 18 December 2005. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05120911151001.htm>.

211 Benton, Shaun. "Mbeki, Blair to meet in London," 22 May 2006. Date of Access: 28 May 2006. http://www.southafrica.info/what_happening/news/news_international/mbeki_london220506.htm.

212 Benton, Shaun. "Mbeki, Blair to meet in London," 22 May 2006. Date of Access: 28 May 2006. http://www.southafrica.info/what_happening/news/news_international/mbeki_london220506.htm.

213 "Final documents of the Forum Civil G8-2006" Civil G8 Russia, Date of Access: 28 May 2006. <http://en.civilg8.ru/final1003/1657.php>.

Multilateral Organizations Invited to the Summit

The Russian Presidency will involve a broad range of actors at the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit. Prior to extending invitations to Brazil, China, Mexico, India and South Africa, the Presidency decided to invite international organizations relevant to the Summit's major priority subjects. Seven organizations will attend the Summit: (1) the Commission of the African Union (AU); (2) the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); (3) the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); (4) the International Energy Agency (IEA); (5) the World Health Organization (WHO); (6) the United Nations; (7) the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Representatives from the United Nations, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, and the International Monetary Fund have participated in G8 Summits since the 1996 Summit in Lyon, France.²¹⁴

Commission of the African Union

Represented by: Alpha Oumar Konare, Chair

The African Union (AU), the successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), was formed following the Durban Summit in Durban, South Africa. Formally established on 9 July 2002, the AU joins together 53 African states in the pursuit of political, social and economic integration on the continent.²¹⁵ The Union's primary aim is to raise the quality of life for Africans by fostering open democratic practices, good governance and economic growth. Its secretariat, the Commission, consists of a chairperson and several deputies that overlook the daily operative functions and activities of the Union, including the preparation of strategic programmes and the monitoring of their implementation. One such programme is the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) - a comprehensive development plan designed by Africans to "place Africa on a path of sustainable growth."²¹⁶ At the 2001 Genoa Summit, the leaders of the G8 lent their support to the new initiative and called for the "development of a concrete Action Plan" to be approved at the 2002 Kananaskis Summit.²¹⁷

At Kananaskis, the G8 endorsed the Africa Action Plan which not only encourages accelerated economic growth, debt relief and sustainable development but also the strengthening of institutions and governance, the promotion of education, and the improvement of health. Since then, the AU has been closely involved with the G8. More recently at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit, several African leaders including the Chairman of the AU's Commission, Alpha Oumar Konaré attended the 2005 Gleneagles Summit where the G8 agreed to 100% debt relief for 18 eligible Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) in Africa.²¹⁸ While the issue of African debt relief and sustainable development dominated Gleneagles, the G8 and the AU also collaborate in the areas of infectious diseases and education, two priority areas of the Russian Presidency. Part of the AU's mandate requires that it work with "relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health."²¹⁹ Accordingly, Chairman Konaré has been invited to the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit. Given that Africa accounts for an estimated 25% of the world's diseases, including HIV and AIDS, the AU has both much at stake and much to offer at the summit table.²²⁰ Ending the gender disparity in education is also a major concern for the AU. Thus, the AU aims are closely related to those of the G8.

214 Working Meetings, Summit 2006, Official Russian G8 Website (Moscow) 2006. Date of Access: 9 July 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/. Also please see Appendix B.

215 African Union in a Nutshell, African Union Organisation (AU) (Addis Ababa). Date of Access: 9 June 2006. http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AboutAu/au_in_a_nutshell_en.htm.

216 The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), African Union (AU) Commission Special Programmes (Addis Ababa) Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/SpecialPrograms/nepad/nepad.htm>.

217 Genoa Delegations and Documents, U of T G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 20-22 July 2005. Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2001genoa/africa.html>.

218 Gleneagles Official Documents: Chair's Summary, U of T G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 16 January 2005. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/summary.html>.

219 African Union in a Nutshell, African Union (AU) (Addis Ababa). Date of Access: 9 June 2006. http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AboutAu/au_in_a_nutshell_en.htm.

220 HIV in Africa, G8 Gleneagles 2005 Summit: The Official Summit Magazine, produced by Herald News (Glasgow), July 2005: page 35.

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

Represented by: Nursultan Nazarbayev, Chairman-in-Office

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), established in December 1991, joins several former Soviet states, including the Azerbaijan Republic, Republic of Armenia, Republic of Belarus, Georgia, Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine together on the basis of sovereign equality.²²¹ As stipulated in its Charter, the primary goal of the organization is to further cooperation in certain policy areas – both external and domestic; to strengthen relations between member-states; and to deepen integration in economic and in humanitarian sectors.²²² President Vladimir Putin has invited the President of Kazakhstan and current CIS Chairman, Nursultan Nazarbayev to participate in the G8 St. Petersburg Summit.²²³ Rich in natural gas and uranium reserves, Kazakhstan's presence at the summit table is valuable, where energy issues will dominate the agenda.²²⁴ Kazakhstan's Minister of Education and Science Birganim Aytimova, acting on behalf of the CIS, took part in the pre-summit G8 Education Minister's discussion.²²⁵

Russia is the link between the G8 and the CIS. Russia, which accounts for an estimated 70% of the CIS's GDP, takes its membership in the CIS seriously, and has long consulted its CIS members on relevant G8 issues.²²⁶ For instance, on the issue of energy security, Russia worked closely with the CIS to "provide weapons scientists ... with opportunities to redirect their talents to peaceful scientific pursuits."²²⁷ With regard to development aid, Russia has shifted attention away from Africa to focus on the problems facing former Soviet states. Putin therefore advocates for assistance to CIS countries, saying that: "We are experiencing extremely acute problems similar to those confronting African countries – the problem of education and the fight against infectious diseases and poverty. These problems exist in this country, as well, and in neighbouring CIS countries."²²⁸ The G8 and the CIS share some common interests: Russia has called for increased aid to CIS countries for the development of energy security and governance, the fight against infectious diseases, and the improvement of education.

AU and CIS descriptions compiled by: Susan Khazaeli

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), created in 1957 as the United Nations (UN) body "Atoms for Peace," facilitates international and multi-sectoral cooperation in the global nuclear energy arena. The IAEA's overarching mandate is to ensure safe, secure, and peaceful uses of nuclear energy and science. With its multinational Secretariat located in Vienna, Austria, the IAEA is presided over by Director General Mohamed ElBaradei and six Deputy Directors General.²²⁹ The Agency's mission is shaped by its Member States' objectives, while the work of the IAEA falls under three categories: Safety and Security, Science and Technology, and Safeguards and Verification. Safety and Security efforts aid countries in protecting individuals and the environment from harmful radiation generated by nuclear energy, while

221 CIS Executive Committee, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Minsk). Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3360>.

222 CIS Executive Committee, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Minsk). Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3360>.

223 Kazakhstan invited to attend G8 Summit in Russia, Kerala News (Kerala) 31 May 2006. Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://www.newkerala.com/news3.php?action=fullnews&id=2766>.

224 Kazakhstan invited to attend G8 Summit in Russia, Kerala News (Kerala) 31 May 2006. Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://www.newkerala.com/news3.php?action=fullnews&id=2766>.

225 Working Meetings: List of Participants in G8 Education Ministers (Moscow) 2 June 2006. Date of Access: 9 June 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/12_2.html.

226 G8: The Russian Federation, Official Website of the G8 Presidency of the Russian Federation in 2006 (Moscow). Date of Access: 9 June 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/g8/members/russia/>.

227 Prime Minister Announces G8 Global Partnership Programs, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Ottawa), 30 May 2003. Date of Access: 9 June 2006. http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreign_policy/global_partnership/pm_announces_g8-en.asp.

228 Putin Wants G8 Aid for CIS Countries, People's Daily Online (English) (Beijing) 14 February 2006. Date of Access: 9 June 2006. http://english.people.com.cn/200602/14/eng20060214_242461.html.

229 About IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency. Date of Access: 25 May 2006. <http://www.iaea.org/About/index.html>.

Science and Technology efforts focus on promoting sustainable development in developing countries through peaceful applications of nuclear science and technology. Safeguards and Verification efforts are essentially nuclear inspections to ensure that nuclear energy and activities are not used for military purposes.²³⁰ Thus, the IAEA's function has direct relevance to the G8 St. Petersburg Summit, where the issue of global energy security will dominate the agenda.

Russian Minister of Energy and Industry Victor Khristenko defines global energy security as “a stable system of legal, political and primarily economic relations allowing to maintain efficient functioning of the world energy system,”²³¹ instantiated in an uninterrupted supply of energy to all people at economically justifiable prices, long-term stability in the energy markets, and environmental security—all of which are challenged by soaring global energy demand, particularly in developing countries, and an unprecedented reliance on fossil fuels.²³² Nuclear energy is an alternative energy source and an integral component of the global energy system upon which many (primarily industrialized) countries rely for power generation. Thus, the IAEA's extensive expertise, resources, and experience in all aspects of nuclear power and its efforts to foster economic development will be indispensable in working towards greater global energy security and equity.

The IAEA has participated and provided expertise in several Working Meetings of the Summit, namely, “Energy Security: International Conference” (13-14 March 2006) the G8 Energy Ministers Meeting (16 March 2006), and the Meeting of Senior G8 Authorities for Environmental Protection and Industrial Safety of the Energy Sector (23-24 March 2006). Moreover, the Agency was an organizer of “Effective Nuclear Regulatory Systems, ‘Facing Safety and Security Challenges’: International Conference” (28 February - 2 March 2006).²³³ Developing nuclear power and diversifying energy sources are important policy objectives for the Summit, for which the Agency's input will be crucial. Finally, according to President Putin, Iran's nuclear program, for which the IAEA has been the chief inspection and negotiation authority, constitutes a focal point of G8 attention.²³⁴

International Energy Agency (IEA)

Represented by: Claude Mandil, Executive Director

Initially set up during the 1973-74 oil crisis, the International Energy Agency (IEA) now functions as an energy policy advisory body to its 26 member states, helping them ensure reliable, affordable, and clean energy for citizens. The IEA has traditionally focused on oil crisis management, and has expanded to cover climate change policy, market reform, energy technology collaboration, outreach to the global community and other broader energy issues,²³⁵ such as improving the energy supply and demand structure by developing alternative energy sources and increasing efficiency of use.²³⁶ With its headquarters in Paris, the IEA is connected to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), guided by the Governing Board and presided over by Executive Director Claude Mandil.²³⁷ The Agency also directs an exhaustive energy research programme, compiles data, distributes the latest energy policy analysis, and offers recommendations for improvement.²³⁸ Thus, as a result of the

230 Our Work, International Atomic Energy Agency. Date of Access: 25 May 2006. <http://www.iaea.org/OurWork/index.html>.

231 Victor Khristenko, The International Conference on Energy Security Started in Moscow, The International Conference on Energy Security (Moscow) 13 March 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.minprom.gov.ru/G8/eng/news/1>.

232 Victor Khristenko, The International Conference on Energy Security Started in Moscow, The International Conference on Energy Security (Moscow) 13 March 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.minprom.gov.ru/G8/eng/news/1>.

233 Working Meetings, the Official Website of the G8 Presidency of the Russian Federation. Date of Access: 26 May 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/.

234 Iranian Issue Remains in Focus—Putin, Official Website of the G8 Presidency of the Russian Federation (Moscow) 25 May 2006. Date of Access: 25 May 2006. <http://en.g8russia.ru/news/20060525/1150669.html>.

235 About International Energy Agency, International Energy Agency (Geneva) 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.iea.org/Textbase/about/index.htm>.

236 International Energy Agency—An Overview, International Energy Agency (Geneva) 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.iea.org/Textbase/about/Overview.pdf>.

237 International Energy Agency—An Overview, International Energy Agency (Geneva) 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.iea.org/Textbase/about/Overview.pdf>.

238 About International Energy Agency, International Energy Agency. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.iea.org/Textbase/about/index.htm>.

Agency's significant resources and broad mandate encompassing a variety of energy issues, the work of the IEA will have great relevance to the G8 Summit agenda item of global energy security.

Addressing the delegates to the International Conference on Energy Security, which took place on 13-14 March 2006, Russian Minister of Energy and Industry Victor Khristenko assessed oil-related issues as paramount in the energy arena. Khristenko emphasized the threat of disparity between an increasing demand and supply of oil fuel, high volatility of oil prices, the negative environmental impact of the energy sector, and the threat of terrorist attack on the energy system as a whole. Khristenko has also estimated the requisite financial investment until 2030 to ensure acceptable energy security.²³⁹ The work of the IEA deals directly with the issues of energy security, including its relations to global equity and the environment. The IEA's network of professionals is a leading authority on the scientific, economic, and social dimensions of the current energy situation and the potential for improvement thereof. The IEA's extensive expertise will be drawn upon by the G8 delegates in discussing all of the above issues, as well as in designing improvement schemes. Thus far, the IEA has participated in several Working Meetings of the Summit, such as the G8 Energy Ministers' Meeting (16 March 2006) and the Meeting of Senior G8 Authorities for Environmental Protection and Industrial Safety of the Energy Sector (23-24 March 2006).²⁴⁰

IAEA and IEA descriptions compiled by: Julia Muravska

The United Nations (UN)

The United Nations (UN) is an organization that seeks to solve the problems facing humanity. Cooperating in this effort are more than 30 affiliated organizations, known together as the UN System. These affiliated organizations include the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UNAIDS, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and the World Health Organization (WHO). As the most representative multilateral institution in world affairs, the UN System works to promote respect for human rights, protect the environment, fight disease and reduce poverty. The UN and its agencies assist refugees, set up programs to clear landmines, help expand food production and lead the fight against AIDS. It also facilitates cooperation in international law and international security.²⁴¹ The United Nations has produced numerous agreements and regimes, including: the Millennium Development Goals, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the UN Information and Communication Technologies Task Force.

Events from the past year include: The UN Climate Change Conference from 28 November to 9 December 2005 in Montreal, Canada;²⁴² the High Level Group Meeting on Education for All from 28-30 November 2005 in Beijing China;²⁴³ and the High Level Group Meeting on AIDS from 31 May to 2 June 2006 in New York, United States.²⁴⁴ UNAIDS and the WHO attended the G8 Health Ministers' Meeting in April 2006; UNESCO participated in the Education Ministers' Meeting in early June the same year; the Meeting of Senior G8 Authorities for Environmental Protection and Industrial Safety of the Energy Sector was attended by the UN Environment Programme; and the IAEA was present at various G8 working

239 Victor Khristenko, The International Conference on Energy Security Started in Moscow, The International Conference on Energy Security (Moscow) 13 March 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.minprom.gov.ru/G8/eng/news/1>.

240 Working Meetings, the Official Website of the G8 Presidency of the Russian Federation. Date of Access: 26 May 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/.

241 The UN in Brief, The United Nations (New York) 2006. Date of Access: 25 June 2006. <http://www.un.org/Overview/brief.html>.

242 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (Bonn) 2005. Date of Access: 9 July 2006. http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/global_co/policy_group/index.shtml.

243 High-level Group on Education for All, UNESCO (Geneva) November 2005. Date of Access: 9 July 2006. http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/global_co/policy_group/index.shtml.

244 2006 High-level Meeting on AIDS, UNAIDS (New York) May-June 2006. Date of Access: 9 July 2006. <http://www.un.org/ga/aidsmeeting2006/>.

meetings on energy security.²⁴⁵ Since the 1996 Lyon Summit, the United Nations has attended every G8 Summit.²⁴⁶

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Represented by: Koichiro Matsuura, Director-General

UNESCO has worked since its creation in 1945 to improve education throughout the world with technical advice, standard-setting, capacity-building and networking. UNESCO's mission is threefold: to promote education as a universal right, to improve the quality of education, and to stimulate experimentation, innovation and policy dialogue. UNESCO has commissioned studies on the state of education in 190 countries around the world as well as close links with education ministries and other partners in those countries. The focus of this organization falls under one of the three main priority issues of the St. Petersburg Summit, that of education. UNESCO attended the working meeting on 18-19 April 2006 entitled "Knowledge and competences for innovation society" as well as the working meeting of G8 education ministers on 1-2 June 2006. UNESCO has a history of involvement in the G8, having written to G8 leaders before previous summits in order to seek support for "Education for All by 2015," its guide to action in the field of education.²⁴⁷ UNESCO also focuses on basic education for all, with special attention to literacy, HIV/AIDS prevention education and teacher training in sub-Saharan Africa. This coincides with another one of the priority themes at the St. Petersburg Summit, that of "infectious disease/disease control".²⁴⁸

UN and UNESCO descriptions compiled by: Jennifer Hodgins

World Health Organization (WHO)

Represented by: Dr. Anders Nordström, Acting Director-General

Established in 1948 as a division of the United Nations, the World Health Organization (WHO) is dedicated to tackling the most critical issues in world health and wellness. Its stated objective is to achieve "the highest possible level of...physical, mental, and social well-being" for all people in the world.²⁴⁹ The WHO has been a leader in a number of global health initiatives, including the eradication of polio, the prevention of blindness and visual impairment and the "3 by 5" campaign against HIV/AIDS infection. With 192 member-states currently sitting on the World Health Assembly, the WHO has established itself as one of the foremost authorities in the monitoring and management of global healthcare matters.

The WHO is poised to play a crucial role at this summer's G8 Summit in St. Petersburg, where the topic of infectious diseases has been placed at the top of the agenda, alongside energy security and education. Since the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in late 2002, the WHO has been warning of an imminent global influenza pandemic and advising governments to prepare precautionary emergency plans. In his personal letter inviting WHO Director-General Lee Jong-Wook to attend the July summit, President Putin wrote, "I strongly believe the World Health Organization could make its valuable contribution to the elaboration of initiatives of the G8 in 2006."²⁵⁰ Furthermore, both President Putin and Russian Finance Minister Alexei Kudrin have outlined plans to "step up the fight against infectious diseases" by strengthening the WHO and further developing the global monitoring system.²⁵¹ While the primary issue will likely be devising new strategies to handle the H5N1 virus (cause of the so-called "bird

245 International Organizations at the Annual G7/8 Summit, G8 Research Group (Toronto) 30 May 2006. Date of Access: 9 July 2006. http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/factsheet/factsheet_io.html.

246 Working Meetings, Summit 2006, Official Russian G8 Website (Moscow) 2006. Date of Access: 9 July 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/.

247 See press releases, UNESCO (Geneva) 2006. Date of Access: 6 July 2006. www.unesco.org.

248 Working Meetings, the Official Website of the G8 Presidency of the Russian Federation. Date of Access: 26 May 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/.

249 About WHO, World Health Organization (Geneva), 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. <http://www.who.int/about/en>.

250 Director-General to Attend G8 Summit (Geneva) 31 March 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/notes/2006/dg_g8_summit/en/.

251 Address by Russian President Vladimir Putin to Visitors of the official site of Russia's G8 Presidency in 2006 (Moscow), 2006. Date of Access: 28 May 2006. <http://www.en.g8russia.ru/agenda>.

flu”), the WHO will also seek to initiate dialogue on such other deadly diseases as tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS – all highly infectious illnesses that threaten to retard or reverse development in nations around the world.

Though the main Summit begins on 15 July 2006, some preliminary discussions have already begun in the smaller G8 working meetings. At the Civil G8 International Social Forum held from 9-10 March 2006 in Moscow, WHO representatives participated in roundtable discussions with fellow non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the future of infectious disease control. A list of recommendations, entitled "Prevention of Global Pandemics" was subsequently released urging all G8 leaders to develop national programs for research funding, increased cooperation, and distribution of treatment services.²⁵² At the 25-26 April 2006 conference on Fighting against Infectious Diseases: From Initiatives to Actions, WHO Assistant Director-General of Communicable Diseases Dr. Margaret Chan chaired a number of sessions on the "Global Challenge of Infectious Diseases" and the emergence of new diseases in the twenty-first century.²⁵³ Just days later, on 28 April 2006, WHO Director-General Lee Jong-Wook presented a speech at the G8 Health Minister's meeting in Moscow where he emphasized the need to uphold the health commitments made at the 2005 Gleneagles Summit in Scotland as well as the continued vigilance of all states in preparing for an influenza pandemic.²⁵⁴

Though the WHO lost its most public figure with the recent death of Director-General Lee Jong-Wook, the WHO's overall message and influence at the summit are unlikely to be impaired. In fact, the WHO has vowed to become even more active in pushing for comprehensive national disease containment measures and G8 commitments in Africa, and in the fight against polio in honour of the former Director-General's memory.

Compiled by: Miranda Lin

252 Prevention of Global Pandemics: Recommendations to G8 Summit (Moscow) 9-10 March 2006. Date of Access: 29 May 2006. <http://en.civilg8.ru/priority/infection/1526.php>.

253 Working Meetings Summit 2006: Fighting against Infectious Diseases-From Initiatives to Action (Moscow) 25-26 April 2006. Date of Access: 28 May 2006. http://en.g8russia.ru/page_work/9.html.

254 Meeting of the G8 Health Ministers (Moscow) 28 April 2006. Date of Access: 27 May 2006. http://www.who.int/dg/lee/speeches/2006/g8_health_ministers_meeting/en/.

APPENDIX A

Joint Declaration of the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa Participating in the G8 Gleneagles Summit

1. We, the Heads of State and/or Government of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa thank Prime Minister Tony Blair for the invitation to participate at the G8 Gleneagles Summit.
2. At the historical juncture of the UN 60th anniversary and other important upcoming events this year, including the process of UN reforms aimed at providing a greater voice to developing countries in UN decision-making, the Gleneagles Summit is an opportunity to give stronger impetus to these processes and to send a positive message on international cooperation. This should be achieved through the promotion of multilateralism, the enhancement of North-South cooperation, as well as through a renewed commitment to sustainable development and the harnessing of the benefits of globalization for all.
3. We reaffirm the role of South-South cooperation in the context of multilateralism, and the need to strengthen it. We are fully committed to close coordination and cooperation to meet the challenges arising from globalization, and to promote the common interest of developing countries by striving to more effectively bring together our priorities and international engagement strategies. We recall the outcome of the Second South Summit held in Doha in June 2005, which recognised the importance of initiatives such as the "Action against Hunger and Poverty", and the proposal for the Southern Development Fund.

Global Economic Issues

4. More stability and certainty in the world economy are paramount, together with an international context that provides developing countries with better and more equitable opportunities. Developing countries usually bear the brunt of crises and macroeconomic imbalances in the major economies that are in a position to spur conditions for global economic growth and development.
5. The persistence of hunger and poverty, even when the means to eliminate them are available, is a major obstacle to sustainable development.
6. The mobilization of international support for raising additional financial resources for development and the fight against hunger and poverty, through the effective implementation of the agreements and commitments reached by the international community in the "Consensus of Monterrey" agreed at the Conference on Financing for Development of the United Nations, is a necessary condition to reach the targets and objectives established in the "Millennium Declaration". Thus, we should preserve the coherence, the association, the will, and the sense of shared responsibility that are the common elements and principles that have to be adopted by every member of the international community if we are to see successful results.
7. The Millennium Development Goals cannot be timely and fully implemented with the current levels of ODA, which remain focused on short-term projects and vary according to the budgetary and policy priorities of donor countries. Therefore, donor countries should fulfil their commitments and reach the target of at least 0.7% of their GDP's allocated to ODA. This would greatly assist the funding of national and regional initiatives to combat poverty and hunger.
8. We welcome the decision adopted by the G-8 Finance Ministers to promote further debt relief for a number of the Least Developed Countries.
9. The removal of trade barriers to products and services of interest to developing countries is essential for development, the fight against poverty and the protection of the environment. The Doha Development Agenda explicitly places the development dimension at the heart of current trade negotiations. However, more progress is needed to implement this collective commitment. There is a

need to redress the development deficit which became more acute as a result of the Uruguay Round agreements.

10. The international community needs to send a clear and positive signal to the Doha round of trade negotiations that the success of the 6th Ministerial Meeting of the WTO, to be held in Hong Kong, China, in December 2005, is essential. In this connection, a fundamental requirement is to achieve substantive progress, by the end of July 2005, regarding agricultural negotiations, access to non-agricultural markets, services, trade facilitation and rules. Trade-distorting domestic support for agriculture in developed countries must be substantially reduced and all forms of export subsidies must be eliminated by a date to be agreed.
11. All members of the international community should work together for the reform of the current international economic system to make it stronger and supportive of development, including through reforming the Bretton Woods Institutions and assuring greater say to developing countries.

Climate change

12. Climate change has, and for the foreseeable future will continue to have, a profound impact on the development prospects of our societies. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its Kyoto Protocol establish a regime that adequately addresses the economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development.
13. The international regime represented by the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol rests on the differentiation of obligations among Parties, according to the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities of States. Developed countries should therefore take the lead in international action to combat climate change by fully implementing their obligations of reducing emissions and of providing additional financing and the transfer of cleaner, low emission and cost-effective technologies to developing countries.
14. In line with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol do not provide for any quantitative targets for emission reductions for developing countries but still require these countries to implement appropriate policies and measures to address climate change, taking into account their specific circumstances and with the support of developed countries.
15. The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) incorporated in the Kyoto Protocol provides an important and innovative framework for the participation of developing countries in international efforts to address climate change. In addition, our countries have already carried out mitigation and adaptation efforts that precede and complement those related to the CDM.
16. The Gleneagles Summit should recognise that the Convention establishes economic and social development and poverty eradication as the first and overriding priorities of developing countries. As such, there is an urgent need for the development and financing of policies, measures and mechanisms to adapt to the inevitable adverse effects of climate change that are being borne mainly by the poor.
17. Changes in the unsustainable production and consumption patterns in the industrialized countries must be implemented. Energy efficiency and renewable energy sources, such as solar, wind and hydro-electrical power, and bio-fuels such as ethanol and biodiesel offer opportunities that deserve careful consideration.
18. We urge the G-8 leaders and the international community to devise innovative mechanisms for the transfer of technology and to provide new and additional financial resources to developing countries under the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol. For this purpose, we propose a new paradigm for international cooperation, focused on the achievement of concrete and properly assessed results, taking fully into account the perspective and needs of developing countries. Such a paradigm must ensure that technologies with a positive impact on climate change are both accessible and affordable

to developing countries and will require a concerted effort to address questions related to intellectual property rights. Additional financial resources, apart from those already available through ODA, should be directed to developing countries to enable them to access critical technologies. Collaborative research for new technologies, involving both developed and developing countries also needs to be encouraged.

APPENDIX B

International Organizations at the Annual G7/8 Summit

Compiled by: Laura Sunderland, G8 Research Group

1996 Lyon

United Nations: Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General
International Monetary Fund: Michel Camdessus, Managing Director
World Bank: James Wolfensohn, President
World Trade Organization: Renato Ruggiero, Director-General

2001 Genoa

United Nations: Kofi Annan, Secretary-General
World Bank: James Wolfensohn, President
World Trade Organization: Mike Moore, Director-General
World Health Organization: Gro Harlem Brundtland, Director-General

2002 Kananaskis

United Nations: Kofi Annan, Secretary-General

2003 Evian

United Nations: Kofi Annan, Secretary-General
World Bank: James Wolfensohn, President
International Monetary Fund: Horst Köhler, Managing Director
World Trade Organization: Supachai Panitchpakdi, Director-General

2005 Gleneagles

Commission of the African Union: Alpha Oumar Konare, Chair
International Energy Agency: Claude Mandil, Executive Director
International Monetary Fund: Rodrigo de Rato y Figaredo, Managing Director
United Nations: Kofi Annan, Secretary-General
World Bank: Paul Wolfowitz, President
World Trade Organization: Supachai Panitchpakdi, Director-General

2006 St. Petersburg

Commission of the African Union: Alpha Oumar Konare, Chair
CIS: Nursultan Nazarbayev, Chairman-in-office
International Energy Agency: Claude Mandil, Executive Director
International Atomic Energy Agency: Mohammed ElBaradei, Director-General
UNESCO: Koichiro Matsuura, Director-General
World Health Organization: Dr. Anders Nordström, Acting Director-General
United Nations: Kofi Annan, Secretary-General

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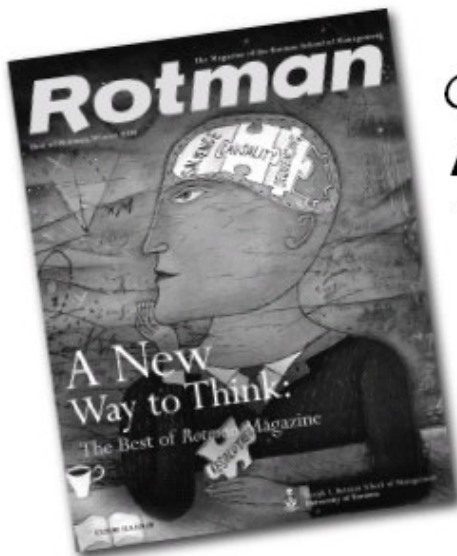
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